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The Ontology of the Venetian Halo in its Italian Context

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**THE ONTOLOGY OF THE VENETIAN HALO IN ITS ITALIAN
CONTEXT**

by

SUSAN MORAG MARTIN

A thesis submitted to the University of Plymouth
in partial fulfilment for the degree of

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SUSAN MORAG MARTIN

THE ONTOLOGY OF THE VENETIAN HALO IN ITS ITALIAN CONTEXT

This thesis aims to reposition the halo's status within an artwork through arguing a reassessment of its activity 'as a sign' rather than acceptance of its passivity. This active state is further explored and expanded by a heuristic application of semiotic theory to interrogate its fluctuation between sign/non-sign and its oscillation between a seemingly real status and behaviour juxtaposed with its very consciously artificial "manifestation".

A variety of halo shapes are considered, together with texture contained in and on its surface, and this has revealed the Venetian and Venetan artistic innovation of "glass" and "silk" haloes, through artists' utilisation of contemporaneous industrial practices and their application to halo appearance. Additionally, extant architectural vocabulary is translated and reformulated into internal halo motifs by Venetian and Venetan artists, further enhancing the halo's somatic characteristics, contextualized by examination of halo representation in various media in Florence, Rome and Siena, and a consideration of haloes within other, mainly Italian, centres. Additionally, the fugitive and transient qualities of the nimbus are noted, with its mimesis of the dying corporeal body in its fading insubstantiality, a further factor in its inexorably reductive form as increasing realism in art challenges its ontological traits.

Textual characters contained within the halo body are also examined in their many forms and languages and their contribution to an intertextual function espoused by the *ideologeme*. An adjunct to this function is the halo's propagandist role presented by artists. It will be demonstrated how all these different strands of interpretation are imbricated in the changing theological, political and societal landscape, encapsulated within the halo.

THE ONTOLOGY OF THE VENETIAN HALO IN ITS ITALIAN CONTEXT

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Sta tesi xé dedicada a Michele Crestani.

Elo ghe voleva tanto ben ala so Venesia, e, generoso come che'l gera, ghe piaseva da morir spartir i so secreti. El so continuo farme coragio, i so sapienti pensieri, el so fidar de mi, gà fato sì che sia riussia a realizar sto gran lavoro. Tute le ore passade drento le ciese e i musei, e dopo a parlar de tuto quello che gavevimo visto, le gera un piazer ancor più grande proprio parchè gerimo sempre insieme, mi e lu.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Graduate Committee.

Relevant seminars and conferences were regularly attended, at which work was often presented; external institutions have been visited for consultation purposes and several articles prepared for publication.

Publications:

Books and Catalogues in Brief: "Italian Paintings 1250-1450 in the John G Johnson Collection and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Carl Brandon Strehlke", *The Art Book*, Volume 13, Issue 3, August 2006, p. 68.

Books and Catalogues in Brief: "Icons and Power: the Mother of God in Byzantium, Bissera V Pentcheva" *The Art Book*, Volume 14, Issue 2, May 2007, p.47.

Books and Catalogues in Brief: "Sacred Books of the Three Faiths: Judaism, Christianity, Islam", *The Art Book*, Volume 15, Issue 3, August 2008, p. 76.

Presentations and Conferences Attended:

From Dinner Plates to Rings of Confidence – Association of Art Historians' Summer School, 2006

Crossroads: Fukuoka and Venice) Papers delivered at
The Propagandist Halo) the University of Plymouth
Cristallo and Glass Haloes) Art History Seminar

Patristics

Haloes: Transient or Eternal? - Renaissance Dualisms Conference, Queen's University, Belfast, 2008. I have also been requested to submit an article for a potential publication of the Conference Proceedings, and await a decision.

I attended the *Seri di Conferenze sulle I Primi Ordine Religiosi a Venezia*, 2009

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Signed.....

Date.....

CHAPTER ONE

Prolegomena to the Thesis Hypothesis

1.1 Aims of the thesis

The halo is a symbol which is found in several religions across a very broad time-span and a vast geographical area. In Christian art it usually denotes that a being, mostly human although occasionally an animal or bird, is ‘different’ and therefore needs to have this distinction made visually manifest. This ‘difference’ is usually a higher, celestial, divine or blessed status and so the halo is a very familiar component of Western Christian art, with which this thesis will be concerned. Although accepted unthinkingly by spectators as part of a specific repertoire found within a religious scene or narrative, it does not exist as an actual object - it cannot exist in the reality of our terrestrial, physical world. Thus, the halo is very problematic, since although non-existent, it appears to oscillate between object and sign, yet this fluctuation has never been addressed previously, perhaps because it is so difficult to interpret. Therefore, a study is required to investigate the halo and its behaviour, but a synoptic survey would not be sufficient. To interrogate this question of exactly what the halo is, object or sign or both, this thesis will argue that the halo functions within an artwork on several different levels. Its response – if any - to external societal, theological and aesthetic stimuli, will be monitored to assess if it is behaving as an active rather than passive instrument. If it is much more active than hitherto suspected, then this thesis will propose that the halo (as visible/invisible object/sign) needs a re-evaluation and re-positioning within the discipline of Art History. The Venetian halo will be used as an

exemplar to which these investigations may be applied and to ascertain whether Venetian industrial practices were reflected by artists in contemporary representations of haloes, thus actively manifesting modern technological references as well as historical features within them. The hypothesis of this thesis therefore, is that an in-depth investigation of the halo, particularly its object/sign oscillation, and with specific reference to the Venetian halo, will reveal a more important status for the halo per se.

Although it seems familiar, the halo itself has changed vastly over the centuries, and not just in appearance. Previous scholars have investigated different aspects of the halo: tooling or punching within halo borders; Latin appellations and Kuficising “inscriptions”; differing shapes; the application of colours, and all this discrete information is very helpful although this research has tended to privilege the visual and representational viewpoint. An analysis of the halo’s “behaviour” is a problematically contentious proposition, as previously highlighted, since a conundrum is faced immediately in the “assessment” of something that does not exist, which is why this has not been previously undertaken. Synoptic assessment, as stated previously, is insufficient to reach a full interpretation for the object/sign oscillation thus it is evident that a new tool is required for this interrogation. Therefore, this thesis will additionally employ a semiotic approach as an extra instrument to analyse the halo’s functioning as a contribution towards the dynamics within an artwork not just visually, but in a multiplicity of layered meanings, rather than being the hitherto accepted mere attractive embellishment. This oxymoronic investigation of the ontology of a non-existent object to help ascertain and define the halo’s exertion of influence, requires the application of a modern specialist tool like semiotics, juxtaposed with visual analysis, in order to re-assess and tease out the halo’s auxiliary and protagonistic roles.

The combined realisation of visual analysis and semiotic application will lead to a new way of “entering” and analysing Renaissance thought and art, thereby adding a new element to the vast repository of Renaissance scholarship, and furthermore will support the argument of this thesis to relocate the halo’s position within historical and art historical narratives.

1.2 Explanation of Methodologies Utilised – Sources and Techniques

This thesis will deploy two approaches, namely an empirical assessment and a semiotic strand to provide interpretation regarding the halo’s behaviour as a sign/object, that empirical research alone would not provide.

The overall empirical interrogation will deploy several methodologies in order to provide deep, wide, but also detailed evidence to support the halo’s re-evaluation. These methodologies are sphragiology, epigraphy, cultural anthropology and patronage studies. Visual analysis data has been recorded within a Table of Haloes [See Appendix I]. Thus the thesis will explore empirically the physical changes and modifications to the halo’s texture and location/orientation and behaviour between 1250 and 1580, together with artists’ treatments of it. This has involved artworks being examined in situ where possible, otherwise in museums, exhibitions, exhibition catalogues and books, and via museum websites on the internet. Haloes have been examined in illuminated manuscripts, ivories, mosaics, frescoes, ampullae, coins and medals, icons, marble and bronze statuary, painted wooden crucifixions, altarpieces, marble reliefs, painted tiles, processional banners, glazed terracotta, tapestries, silver reliquaries, gold leaf on/in glass, glass, drawings, *mariegole* and intarsia. The Table of Haloes (hereafter referenced as ToH) records “Date, Artist, Medium, Title”, with more detailed data on whether the halo was punched, if it contained an internal design, or internal textual elements, a

description of its appearance, size, shape, position, and the artwork's current location. It must be noted that this Table is not a corpus; such a task would be beyond the parameters of this specific document and would merely allow for a cataloguing of haloes. While a fascinating exercise in itself, it would not allow for the further and deeper investigation which is the scope of this project. Although haloes in other religions may be briefly referred to, the research will concentrate on Western Christian art, and specifically Italian art, as stated earlier. In order to provide a manageable framework for the data collected, and a purposeful scope for the study, selected geographical boundaries and a time frame have created parameters for a focused investigation. Thus, halo execution in the cities of Venice, Rome, Siena and Florence has been explored, with a deeper concentration on Venice as a form of "control" against which to check/compare the evidence collected from other centres. Venice has been utilised for this function, since it appeared to be the epicentre of both traditional and innovative artistic practices, absorbing influences flowing in eastwards from Dalmatia, Byzantium and the East, from Flanders, Germany and Austria in the north, and from Lombardy in the west and Tuscany and Umbria in the south, subsequently assimilating and/or exporting these to other areas. The time frame has been set as 1250 – 1580 because during this long historical period, many changes can be seen in the halo, both in terms of its design and its function. Additionally, this was a time of unprecedented patronage and artistic production, with artists travelling between different city states or countries to fulfil commissions, factors which it was thought would have an important impact on the halo and its appearance. However, it will be necessary at times to stray outside these temporal and geographical parameters, to point up precedents which have a direct relevance on the particular epoch specified, and to extrapolate texts which may have a subsequent bearing on artworks under discussion.

The empirical methodology must assess the contributions made to the central interrogation by the use of different media, and their impact on the halo's physicality in terms of its colour and texture. Contemporary artistic treatises will feed into this discourse and their application to the halo will highlight variations in its shape and size, position or location, meshing with other physical characteristics given to the halo by the various artists mentioned, in terms of structure, and ornamentation on and within its surface to produce an element of texture, and a consequently enhanced visibility. Factored into this consideration will be exemplification of the halo's slippage backwards and forwards between its suggestion of divinity or transcendence of reality and thus unreal status, and its depiction as a tangible object that obeys the laws of Nature. In order to analyse this oscillation, the development of the iconography of light will be considered, utilising a two-pronged approach combining a theological examination of Divine light with the emergence of *perspectiva* and optical studies, and how these were assimilated by artists into halo design. These analyses will relate to the unreality of the halo and its status as a semiotic sign. Its materiality and tangibility, and thus its "reality" as represented will be addressed by an examination of corporeal light and its relationship with the halo, including the manifestation of effects such as light and/or shadows thrown onto the halo, and conversely situations where light and/or shadows are being cast by the halo. This will address the halo's status as a natural sign obeying the laws of Nature. Consequently, Peirce's triadic semiotic model of the *representamen* – the form the sign takes, the *interpretant*, (my italics) i.e. the "comprehension" of this sign, or what it was believed to stand for, and finally, the "object" to which the halo is referring to, will also be considered, to tease out the ambiguities between the halo's "natural" and "semiotic" phases. The previously-mentioned sphragiological approach will be applied to examine halo texture, specifically regarding artists' engagement with tooling and punching practices.

Sphragiology” is the term coined by Erling Skaug, Professor Emeritus at the University of Oslo, to describe the study of punch-marks, derived from the Greek word “sphragistics” used to describe the study of seals, and this has led to the discovery of a new element of halo design that has not been previously discussed in the existing literature, namely the elaboration of external pinnacle borders and their variations. Epigraphic practices will form part of the investigation into the textual elements of some haloes, cross-referencing with medieval sources, and their assimilation into contemporaneously established and developing theological exegesis and liturgical praxis.

A cultural anthropological approach will also be layered into the investigation, particularly with regard to agency and patronage studies. As my study considers the late quattrocento, this will also encompass contemporary industrial practices and innovations, specifically relating to glass manufacture and sericulture, both of which, this thesis argues, have a very visible and textural impact upon halo production in Venice and Florence, since it will be argued within Chapter Three that glass can be considered analogous with the halo in the sense that something very ephemeral is being shown in material terms (i.e. glass can appear in some circumstances to be completely clear and almost invisible). Underlying these approaches, as stated previously, the development of the sciences of optics and *perspectiva* must be considered, together with how artists have applied differing facets of luminist exploration to the halo. Finally, the halo’s function and operation as a didactic vehicle within specific narratives will be examined, alongside pertinent theological or liturgical texts, to gauge their interaction, within the on-going semiotic enquiry.

The second methodological tool to be deployed is the application of an over-arching and ongoing semiotic analysis appropriating Julia Kristeva's redefinition of Medvedev's term of the 'ideologeme'.¹ The 'ideologeme' is the linguistic equivalent of the atom, it is the basic ideological unit, although the ideologeme is additionally shaped through a process of social discourse. Kristeva reformulates thus: "the ideologeme is that intertextual function read as "materialized" at the different structural levels of each text, and which stretches along the entire length of its trajectory, giving it its historical and social coordinates."² This term will be transferred from her locus of the novel and applied to the halo to analyse its impact upon the halo and its function during the period stated, and its application to Giotto's frescoes within the Arena Chapel at Padua will be specifically considered as an exemplar for this methodology.

The thesis is arranged as follows: within the remainder of this Chapter, the historiography of the halo will be examined, Chapter Two will consider etymological roots of terms for the halo and survey contemporary sources relating to the relationship between divinity, the representation of light, Divine Light, and the consequent import for haloes. Chapter Three will examine halo changes in terms of texture, the application of ornamentation to its internal field and surface, and variations in shape and size. This exploration of the dichotomy between physicality and theological concepts encapsulated within the halo will demonstrate the halo's behavioural versatility and its oscillating status between object/sign. The inclusion of contemporary industrial manufacturing references in the halo's ontology will contribute to this treatise. Chapter Four will concentrate on the presence of text within and around the halo and analyse how this is functioning, contrasting these written elements with those of ornamentation

¹ Kristeva, Julia, "From Symbol to Sign", in Mori, Toril (ed.), *The Kristeva Reader*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., [1986], 1987, pp. 63-73.

² Kristeva, Julia, "The Bounded Text" in Leon S. Roudiez, ed., *Desire in Language A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1977, pp. 36-63, p. 36.

discussed in the previous chapter. Discourse relating to the production of the ideologeme will be particularly pertinent at this juncture, and the hypothesis that the construction of such is both overt and covert within the halo's design and execution will be tested. Chapter Five will consider corporeal light, and how this can be manifested onto, or by, the halo utilising firstly the phenomenon of shadows, and secondly perspective and its application to the halo, to further expand observation of the halo's increasingly naturalistic behaviour and ontogenetic qualities. Chapter Six will consider the halo in the Bellini Bottege, utilising works from Jacopo, Gentile and Giovanni as a paradigm to examine the evidence presented throughout the thesis. Additionally, it will consider how the halo may function in an actively propagandist mode in a banner painted by Gentile, specifically with regard to the canonization process of Lorenzo Giustiniani, the first Patriarch of Venice. There is an Appendix of Documents (Appendix II) pertaining to this latter chapter, mostly gathered from the Archivio di Stato in Venice, or reconstructed from assimilations of published versions by other authors, compared with those original documents. Thus, through the arrangement of these chapters, a periegesis of the changing physicality, meaning and function of the halo will be unfolded with the enhancement of a semiotic analysis of signification. Chapter Seven, the Conclusion, will close the investigation with a summary of the findings arrived at.

1.3 Historiography of the halo

One of the most surprising factors discovered during this study, is the paucity of specific ekphrasis commenting on the presence or ontology of the nimbus or halo in

early Christian and Byzantine art,³ noteworthy in itself, since Patristic writings are the source of much later comprehension regarding specific items, objects or practices.

Similarly, there is no specific formula in Holy Writ for the manifestation of the halo per se, although there are references to the glory of the Lord, or the *doxa*. It seems that the halo was developed by artists as a visual response to the verbal glosses and anagogical interpretations of theologians, particularly from the twelfth century onwards, as will be examined in other sections of this thesis. There is not a huge corpus of scholarship devoted specifically to the halo or nimbus. The main authors are: Johann Nicolai, (*Disquisitio de nimbis antiquorum*, 1699), Adolphe Napoléon Didron, (*Christian Iconography: The History of Art in the Middle Ages*, 1844), Ludolf Stephani, (*Nimbus und Strahlenkranz in den Werken der alten Kunst*, 1859), Emile Mâle (*L'art religieuse du XIIIe siècle en France*, 1898), Adolf Otto Hermann Kruecke, (*Der Nimbus und verwandte Attribute in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, 1905), Gerhard B. Ladner (*The So-called Square nimbus*, 1941), Marthe Collinet-Guerin (*Histoire du nimbe des origine aux temps moderns*, 1961), Mark Zucker (*The Polygonal Halo in Italian and Spanish Art*, 1978), Sylvia Auld, (*Kuficising Inscriptions in the work of Gentile da Fabriano*, 1984) and Christian Hecht, (*Die Glorie: Begriff, Thema, Bildelement in der europäischen Sakralkunst von Mittelalter bis zum Ausgang des Barock*, 2003). Each is concerned with the halo or nimbus as some form of attribute, some chronicle evolutionary stages within halo representation, others record a specific halo shape, but none of them has considered the halo or nimbus semiotically. All regard it as a passive “motif”, and no-one has proposed it as an active, functioning component within a narrative, which is a key point that this thesis will be arguing.

³ Louth, Andrew, (Andrew.louth@durham.ac.uk). *Haloes*. E-mail to Susan Martin susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), 24th January 2007.

The first work completely devoted to the nimbus was Johann Nicolai's 1699 *Disquisitione de nimbis antiquorum: imaginibus dorum, imperatorum olim, & nunc Christi, Apostolorum & Mariae capitibus adpictis*. Setting out the etymology of the nimbus, which for him was derived from the Greek word for "heavy rain", νίμψα, he cites from Elisa Coles' *English Lexicography* her definition of the nimbus as "a storm, a shower of rain, tempest, watering-pot", and described the significance of the cleansing and purifying importance of the rain and how the ground was left clean and pure afterwards.⁴ He tracked different forms of nimbus, for example Plautus in *Poenulus* (Act. I, Sc. 2), who discussed certain women wearing a linen band decorated with gold leaf around their heads to make them more noticeable, but many of these were considered prostitutes rather than women of high social status.⁵ Horace, on the other hand, (*Ode 33* and *Letter 7*) spoke of women wearing a nimbus described as a small wreath lying around the head, threaded through the hair, to make them more distinguished. The nimbus was also light - "...Nimbus erat lumen..." – surrounding the head of a holy person.⁶

In a woodcut of Jove, printed by Nicolai, the god is shown with a semi-circle of rays around the upper portion of his head, behind his crown. Greek heroes, such as Alexander the Great and emperors were similarly endowed. Additionally, the sun is personified with a face, surrounded with waving rays, interspersed with a fringe of fine rays.⁷ Nicolai presents this appropriation of the straight "solar" rays by emperors, Sol of course being highly venerated. Coins show Augustus as the Sun-God with rays around his head, later Constantine the Great is shown on a coin where on the obverse a

⁴ Nicolai, Johann, *Disquisitione de Nimbis antiquorum: Imaginibus dorum, imperatorum olim, & nunc Christi, Apostolorum & Mariae capitibus adpictis*, Jena: Johannis Jacobi Ehrten, 1699, Nicolai, pp 3-5.

⁵ Nicolai, p. 6. The comedy *Poenulus* was written around 202.
<http://web.tiscali.it/alphaomega/Poenulus.pdf> [accessed 19.11.09.]

⁶ Nicolai, p. 6.

⁷ Nicolai, p. 24.

phoenix with a semi-circle of rays around its head stands on a star-spangled globe, representing the eternal nature of this Christian symbol.⁸

Constantine was a crucial figure in this osmosis of the nimbus from pagan to Christian iconography, as explained by Patrick Bruun, who pointed out that Constantine was appropriating elements relating to Augustus via the nimbus and the globe of victory. Following his victory at Ponte Milvio in 312 AD, Constantine had had a vision of Apollo, consequently assuming *Sol Invictus* as his protector. Additionally, by depicting his portrait with a halo on coinage, he was referencing divinity through the nimbus as a symbol of the sun, translating this as a sign of the divine status of the emperor. The halo is also operating as a “legitimation” of the emperor’s predecessors Claudio il Gotico and the emperor Costanzo. Ten years later, the halo was regarded as a Christian legitimation of the emperor, and Constantine’s dynasty became a holy dynasty through the inspiration of God.⁹ Usually, Constantine was shown enthroned, endowed with a halo, possibly a source for subsequent images of Christ and saints with haloes. Thus, it is possible to see the cross-over of the halo from pagan to Christian meaning during this early period of art.

Very early Christian art shows Christ depicted as the Helios in a quadriga, often with the vine of Dionysius as a symbol of immortality. Fig. 8 shows an altar dated 200 AD, dedicated to Sol Invictus. Fig. 9, a mosaic dating from the second half of 300 AD shows Christ’s head surrounded by the long, sharp rays of the Hellenic Sun-God, so this syncretic process is seen to be at play already at this time.

⁸ Nicolai, p. 61.

⁹ Bruun, Patrick, “Una Permanenza del ‘Sol Invictus’ de Constantino nell’Arte Cristiana”, from *Constantino il Grande dall’Antichità all’Umanesimo: Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel Mondo Antico*, Università degli Studi di Macerata, 1992, pp. 219-229, esp. p. 226.

Nicolai discusses the type of nimbus given to the Apostles and the Virgin, noting the lozenge-shaped rayed halo bestowed upon Christ to differentiate Him from the Apostles,¹⁰ There is also a woodcut of the type of monogram that San Bernardino would later use (although here the letters are reversed as SHI rather than HIS) surmounted by a cross.¹¹ Nicolai's treatise remained the authoritative text on the nimbus unaugmented by other publications for at least another one hundred and fifty years.

It is very noticeable that much of the literature concerning what Stratton McAlister later terms "haloism"¹² appeared in the nineteenth century, stimulated by extensive archaeological expeditions and discoveries. Adolphe Napoléon Didron was in the vanguard writing this next tranche of literature, his seminal work *Christian Iconography: The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages* a major reference point cited by all scholars interested in the halo. In Volume I, he refers to the "nimbus, or glory" distinguishing the nimbus as an attribute applied to the head of a holy figure, vertically, while the glory enveloped the entire body, although the nimbus appears to be a derivative of the glory in his definition. He describes a print of a miniature from the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* as follows:

the elliptical figure within which the Saviour is represented is an *aureole*; the transverse line intersecting this ellipsis in the centre, is the rainbow, or perhaps clouds, as they were usually drawn by Italians at that epoch. This line seems, also, to form a support for the Saviour in His ascension to Heaven.¹³

¹⁰ Nicolai, p. 117.

¹¹ Nicolai, pp. 121-122.

¹² Stratton Eileen McAlister, *An Historical Study of the Development of Halo Symbolism from an Art Appreciation Perspective*, University of Tulsa Thesis, 1974.

¹³ Didron, Alphonse, N., *Christian Iconography The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages*, Vols 1 & 2, trans E. J. Millington, New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., [1851], 1965. Vol II was completed with additions and appendices by Margaret Stokes, pp. 22-25, Fig. 2, p. 24.

This exemplifies the confusion about the term *aureole* and the loss of its special distinction as an “extra reward”, as defined by Aquinas, discussed later.¹⁴ Didron’s etymological sources for “nimbus” concur and differ from those of Nicolai, as he asserts that both Latin and Greek meanings are synonymous, although he considers the Greek verb νίφω νίφειν, meaning “to snow, to water, to wet”, to be the origin of the word. The noun derived from this refers to “snow, shower, dew, a raindrop, and even by extension, hail.”¹⁵ As it also means a cloud, the place where these phenomena are formed, it links back with the idea of a cloud of mist. Didron pushes the meaning further, citing Virgil’s use of the cloud as a chariot for the gods, finally linking it metaphorically with the very fine veils worn by women. He also quoted Isidore of Seville’s *Origines*, who had in turn cited the same passage from the *Poenulus* that Nicolai had discussed, although Didron disagreed with Isidore’s definition of the nimbus as a form of headband ornamented with gold worn around the head of a woman. Instead, Didron suggested that the state of being *nimbata* discussed by Isidore actually served as a metaphor for an ideal type of beauty, expressed by the adjective “radiant”.¹⁶ He was concerned that artists did not properly consider the etymology of the nimbus when they executed it within artworks, which according to him “ought always to have the character of a cloud, a vapour, or flakes of snow”.¹⁷

He additionally examined the form of the halo, as well as the specific nimbus of God and those given to saints and angels, and noted nimbus typologies for living people and allegorical personages. Drawings commissioned by him from the original artworks

¹⁴ An aureole is also defined as “a glory enclosing the whole body” in Twining, L., *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Medieval Christian Art*, London: John Murray, 1885, p. 27. In Didron’s figure, this motif of ascension is termed a mandorla.

¹⁵ Didron, p. 25.

¹⁶ Didron, p. 26.

¹⁷ Didron, p. 27.

illustrate both volumes,¹⁸ and they are undoubtedly one of the most important and extensive texts on the nimbus (alongside Collinet-Guerin's later study of 1961).¹⁹

Gilbert J French's 1854 *Notes on the Nimbus*,²⁰ issues a riposte to Didron's theory concerning the "cruciform (sic) nimbus", formed when two intersecting diagonal lines within the halo disk form a cross. The adjective "cruciferous" will be used to describe this form, and "cruciform" to describe the type of halo that is composed from the arms of a cross following Edward Hulme's definition. However the authors are using the adjective "cruciform", so it is necessary to follow suit in order to report their arguments accurately.²¹ Didron asserted that it was a Christian motif adopted by artists of other religions. French argued that it probably originated with "eastern pagans" citing the Hindoo (sic) goddess Maya (also mentioned by Didron) as having a large circular nimbus of beams radiating from her head.²²

Stephani's 1859 paper *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz in den Werken der alten Kunst* concentrated on a Hellenic origin for the nimbus, and is another foundational text for scholars of the halo.²³ Examining the presence of glories and aureoles in manuscripts,

¹⁸ This edition includes within Volume II, Appendix II, "The Byzantine Guide to Painting", translated into French from a Greek manuscript by Dr Paul Durand, and then from French into English by Margaret Stokes. It sets out prescriptive formulae for the representation of specific narratives and scenes from the Bible, as well as such events as The Oecumenical Synods at Constantinople and Chalcedon. Didron footnoted the entries extensively, including information about when and where a nimbus had been included or omitted.

¹⁹ Collinet-Guèrin, Marthe, *Histoire du nimbe, des origines aux temps modernes*, Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1961.

²⁰ French Gilbert K., *Notes on the Nimbus*, Bolton: John Heaton, 1854, p. 7.

²¹ Hulme, Edward, F., *The History, Principles and Practice of Symbolism in Christian Art*, London: Swann Sonnenschein & Co., New York: The Macmillan Company, [1891, January 1892, December 1899], 1901, Footnote 2, p. 63. Didron, p. 32.

²² Additionally combined with three separately marked rays, he concluded that this halo design was common to both pagans and Christians, designating divinity. French, pp. 10-12.

²³ Stephani, Ludolf, *Nimbus und Strahlendranz in den Werken der altern Kunst*, in "Aus den Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de St Petersburg", Series VI, Vol 9, St Petersburg: Buckdruckerei der K. Academie der Wissenschaften, 1859. *Strahl* is defined as a "beam, ray", and the verb *strahlen* means "to emit rays, to radiate, beam, shine". The two nouns *strahlenkranz* (masculine) and *strahlenkrone* (feminine) are defined as "glory, gloriole, halo nimbus". Wildhagen, K., *German English Dictionary*, Wiesbaden, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972.

he quoted extensively in Latin and Greek, from Aristophanes, Virgil, Martial, Homer and Plutarch, demonstrating, for example, Aeneas talking of Venus in the Aeneid: “Dazu bemertet schon Servius: ‘In luce; in nimbo, qui cum numinibus semper est’”²⁴, continuing “Die Servius mit der Bemerkung erklärt:

Nimbo effulgens, nube divina. Est enim fulgidum lumen, quo deorum capita cingentur; sic etiam pingi solet.²⁵

He considered Herculaneum and Pompeii, supplying an extremely detailed list of haloed Greek heroes and gods, all supported by quotations and/or references to the images, many of which are contained in the *Virgil Codex* and *Vaticanische Handschrift*. Stephani also expanded Didron’s discussion on “the family of shapes” including the half-moon *Halbmond*, together with variations of the *Schwankend*²⁶. He highlighted different versions used for coins and statuary, and the use of the nimbus in imagery found on vases and terracotta and gems, providing an inventory of these.²⁷ He considered the later use of the nimbus in Constantinople and Rome, particularly at San Giovanni di Laterano.²⁸

In 1864, Crowe and Cavalcaselle noted Saints Peter and Paul painted in the fourth or fifth centuries identified by nimbi, in the Neapolitan catacombs, and Christ’s halo containing the alpha and omega. The earliest mosaics in Rome are fourth century, at Santa Costanza, including the Saviour, with a simple nimbus, and at San Paolo fuori le

²⁴ *Aeneid*, II, 588 ff, Stephani, p. 4.

²⁵ “Radiant nimbus, divine cloud. It is certainly a flashing light, that girdles the head of a god; as such it was accustomed to be painted.” This is akin to Densham’s later description of the *doxa* portrayed as a “storm-cloud” nimbus encircling the head of a deity.

²⁶ Stephani, p. 39.

²⁷ In particular, he referred to Syriac deities with haloes, found on vases. Further sub-division of nimbed figures includes The Virtues, and The Seasons. Stephani, p. 73.

²⁸ Stephani, p. 132.

Mura, they noted the nimbus around the Saviour “of vast diameter and rainbow hue, from which rays of light diverge”.²⁹

Three books published in 1885 and 1891³⁰ examined symbolism in Christian art and of necessity, considered the nimbus. Hulme and Lindsay quoted extensively from Latin and Greek sources, all authors referenced Didron.

A principal text of the iconography of medieval art, Emile Mâle’s *L’art religieuse du XIIIe siècle en France*, 1898,³¹ is also cited by scholars writing about the nimbus. Mâle suggested that there might be a *Summa* incorporating a ‘manual of iconography’ for painters and sculptors, similar to the book written by the monk Denys which Didron discovered on Mount Athos, the Byzantine Guide to Painting (previously discussed). Although Denys’s manual only dates from the eighteenth century, Mâle concurred with Didron that it had incorporated some ancient traditions, and described the *aureole* as an attribute designating eternal bliss, bestowed upon the three persons of the Trinity, the Virgin and the souls of the Blessed.

In 1905, a thesis written by Adolf Otto Hermann Kruecke³² considered the protocols for using the halo when the Christ Child was represented. He identified three hierarchies where haloes were endowed, although this was still rather random in the early centuries of Christianity. However, one rule that always pertained was that the cruciferous

²⁹ Crowe, J. A., and Cavalcaselle, G. B., *History of Painting in Italy*, Vol I., London: John Murray, 1964, Footnote 3, p. 7, and p. 16. Throughout the book, they utilise “cruciform nimbus”.

³⁰ Lindsay, Lord, *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, Vol 1, London: John Murray 1885. “Nimbus”, however, was the preferred term to “halo”.

³¹ Mâle, Emile, *L’art Religieux de XIIIe siècle en France*: Paris, E. Leroux, 1898, and Mâle E., *The Gothic Image; Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans from 3rd edition by Dora Mussey, London: Collins – The Fontana Library, 1961.

³² Kruecke, Adolf Otto Hermann, *Der Nimbus und verwandte Attribute in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, Strasbourg: Universitäts buckdruckerei von J H E Heitz, 1905

nimbus, the *Kreuznimbus*, was only used for Christ, or representations of Christ as the Holy Lamb.³³

J Tavernor-Perry published two articles in 1907 entitled “The Nimbus in Eastern Art”³⁴ where he considered Nero’s Colossus in Rome which was “encircled by an aureole of seven rays, each of which projected no less than twenty-two feet from the head”.³⁵ Similarly, the Colossus of Rhodes had large rays projecting from its head and he suggested that it must have been specially strengthened, possibly by a circular band, immediately giving the impression of a halo. He further proposed that the use of marble or stone rather than bronze necessitated more substantial support in the form of a disk, which also seemed like a halo. Noting the halo’s use in the West by the first Christian emperors and subsequently in Byzantium as a symbol of power and authority gradually transferring to a sacred use, he cited the mosaics at Ravenna, particularly that of Empress Theodora, as an example of the former function. His second article, noted that in India during the reign of Emperor Akbar the halo became more like that executed by the Italian painters. Similarly, it retained its royal significance in Persia, and Emperor Akbar’s contemporary, Shah Abbas, dispatched Persian artists to Italy to study, with a consequent effect on halo depiction in Persian art.³⁶

In 1910, Mrs Henry Jenner published *Christian Symbolism*³⁷, consolidating information from previous publications, (particularly Twining) but additionally noting much extra information concerning symbolism, which is quoted extensively in later twentieth century papers. She defines the nimbus as something that encircles the whole head, whereas the aureole encloses the whole body, but both signify a luminous cloud. She

³³ Kruecke, p. 22.

³⁴ Tavernor-Perry, J., “The Nimbus in Eastern Art”, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol 12, 1907.

³⁵ Tavernor-Perry, p. 20.

³⁶ Tavernor-Perry, p. 95.

³⁷ Jenner, Mrs Henry, *Christian Symbolism*, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1910.

cites the face of Moses shining after his descent from the Mount, and the vision of John the Evangelist, as examples of the idea of the emanation of light being linked with God. Quoting examples of fourth century gilded glass where it appears (see Fig. 4) she mentions that although eventually used for sacred purposes, its original function denoting dignity meant that on occasions, Satan was so honoured. Like Kruecke, she describes both the earliest instances of the cruciferous halo applied to Christ found in a Constantinian terracotta dish at the British Museum, and its application to the Holy Lamb, signifying Christ. Acknowledging its etymological origin in luminosity, she records that for many centuries it had lost this meaning, being executed as a circle of gold or coloured disk around the head, sometimes with rays extending beyond its circumference, although the luminous nimbus reappeared in the Renaissance. The aureole should only have been used for Divine Persons and the Virgin, and it was occasionally used to represent the soul released from the body, in this instance, she is using it synonymously with *mandorla*, to show an ascent. Invariably, light is contained within it, although not always. She defines the most common usage of the aureole for depictions of Christ in Majesty, followed by the Immaculate Conception and images of the Virgin and Child together. She highlights an ancient practice of enclosing the Christ Child within an aureole, which is enclosed within the body of the Virgin.³⁸ Discussing The Trinity, she describes the Holy Dove as the natural representation of the invisible and intangible “Breath” of God, which is invariably endowed with a gold or yellow-gold nimbus intersected by a red cross.

³⁸ Jenner, pp. 89-91. A new Marian iconography developed in the mid eleventh century, known both as *Episkepsis*, “Visitation or protection” and also as a *Blachernitissa* by virtue of its promotion by the Blachernai Monastery in Constantinople. It conflated an image of the Mother of God with her hands raised with that of the Virgin holding a “medallion with the Christ Child inside”. However, the new iconography showed the Virgin orans with this medallion (which corresponds to a mandorla) as if it is suspended on her chest. In the fifteenth century, this representation was also designated *Znamenie*, the Russian word for “sign”. Pentcheva, Bissera V. pp. 146 and 237.

The considerable archaeological activity of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century stimulated much literature concerning Christian symbols. In 1912 Wladimir de Grüneisen, wrote an article about the “so-called rectangular nimbus”. Usually, as discussed later in this thesis, within Christian art this type of nimbus was bestowed upon people such as popes during their life-time as an acknowledgement of their privileged status but also as a recognition that they had not been beatified. He discusses the case of Apa Jérémie in Egypt, distinguished by two haloes, a square halo contained within a circle, and the presence of square haloes within Egyptian funerary motifs.³⁹ The square or rectangular halo represents the passage of life, the circular represents eternal life, and this is examined further in Chapter Three, in relation to Christian art.

The next two decades of twentieth century scholarship emphasised the halo’s physical appearance, particularly through the practice of gold tooling and, using this as a tool of connoisseurship, the attribution of artworks. This strand of halo decoration was picked up, and refined by Øsvald Siren, Richard Offner, Henry Maginnis and Bernard Berenson. Richard Offner published *Studies in Florentine Painting* in 1927, and then began the publication of his *Critical and Historical Corpus* over several decades in ten volumes.⁴⁰ Utilising tooling style as a means of establishing chronology, in Volume 5, he applied halo style in order to connect Orcagna with Daddi. He used black and white photographs for his plates, like Berensen, which are helpful when examining specific tooling details. Berensen began to publish his *Lists* in 1932 detailing Italian pictures of

³⁹ Grüneisen, Wladimir de, “Le portrait d’Apa Jérémie: Note à propos du soi-disant nimbe rectangulaire” in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, tome XII, deuxième partie, Paris : Librairie Klincksieck, 1912.

⁴⁰Continuing after his death through the editorship of Klara Steinweg, Miklos Boskøvits and Mina Gregori

the Renaissance (later revised in 1957 and 1959) becoming one of the standard reference texts of Art History, still utilised today.⁴¹

In 1933, D. V. Thompson translated Cennino Cennini's *Il Libro dell'Arte*, a handbook written by Cennini (c. early 1400s),⁴² a practising artist, in the quattrocento detailing artistic practice in the trecento. The chapter on gold tooling and its application within haloes is particularly interesting, as are the sections on grinding pigments, and painting on parchment and banners. This text has become an extremely valuable art historical source, quoted extensively by scholars examining haloes.⁴³

In 1941, Gerhard B. Ladner published "The So-called Square Nimbus", in which he examined the iconography of the square nimbus, specifically within mosaics and frescoes in Rome.⁴⁴ Citing Apa Jeremias, he tracked the origins of the square attribute, examining Greek and Roman-Egyptian sources for it. This has remained the seminal text on this subject.

Meanwhile, Byzantine scholarship expanded and André Grabar published *Byzantine Studies* in 1953, a very rigorous study of the fifth to the fourteenth centuries, covering mosaics from Salonica, Ravenna and Constantinople to Rome, Venice and Sicily. He

⁴¹ Berenson, Bernard, *The Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932, and Berenson, Bernard, *The Italian Pictures of the Renaissance, Venetian School*, Vol. 1, London: The Phaidon Press, 1957, and Berenson, Bernard, *The Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, London: The Phaidon Press, [1952], 1959.

⁴² http://www.aneira.org/grisaille_scroll_documentation.pdf [23.12.09.]

⁴³ Thompson, Daniel Varney, trans., Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *Il Libro dell'Arte*, New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1954, [Yale University Press, 1933].

⁴⁴ Ladner, Gerhard, B., "The So-Called Square Nimbus", *Medieval Studies*, 3, (1941), pp. 15-45, later re-published in *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art*, Vol. 2, *Volume 156 di Storia e letteratura*, 1983, pp. 115-166, (re-published in 1983, with the addition of more examples).

also considered frescoes in the Balkans and Greece, as well as icons, and the haloes contained therein.⁴⁵

In 1955, Gertrude Coor-Achenbach discussed the iconography of Ugolino di Nerio's Santa Croce Altarpiece in Florence, which had been broken up between 1810 and 1814. Using halo position and design, amongst other observations, to attribute various predella scenes in other museums to this altarpiece, she noted that Ugolino used Duccio's method of halo design, but also alluded to a "quick" practice of halo execution which Simone Martini had used in his *Maestà*. This article is cited by several other scholars.⁴⁶

In 1957 Meyer Schapiro reiterated proposals he had made in an earlier article on the frescoes at Castelseprio, subsequently taken up and challenged by André Grabar. Schapiro had argued for a re-dating of the frescoes, probably to the second half of the eighth century. They feature a specific type of cross nimbus, and he had contrasted this with the more solid Byzantine example he had cited in the earlier article. He believed that this cross nimbus was much more suggestive of its etymological derivation of luminosity, likening it to the halo given to the personification of the sun, and to the phoenix in Roman art, in which rays of light are very prominent. He linked the idea of the triple ray with metaphors written by Pseudo-Dionysius and Tertullian, arguing that at Castelseprio, the three rays of the nimbus represented light, rather than the idea of the Trinity suggested by the three cross arms.⁴⁷

André Grabar's *Christian Iconography – A Study of its Origins* which examined the antecedents of the nimbus and its very early usage within Christian iconography, was

⁴⁵ Grabar, André, trans. S. Gilbert, *Byzantine Painting*, Lausanne: Editions d'Art, Albert Skira, 1953.

⁴⁶ Coor-Achenbach, Gertrude, "Contributions to the Study of Ugolino di Nerio's Art", *The Art Bulletin*, 1955, pp. 153-165.

⁴⁷ Schapiro, Meyer, "Notes on Castelseprio", *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (December 1957), pp. 292-299. He utilises the description of a "cross nimbus", rather than cruciform or cruciferous.

published in 1961.⁴⁸ His examination of the Transfiguration discusses the fourth century Christian appropriation of the Roman apotheosis of the emperor, within which a quadriga containing the emperor crosses the sky diagonally, observed by a human eyewitness, thereby attesting to the emperor's new divine status. Christian artists changed the iconography so that in early Ascension scenes, the chariot was shown face-on, and then in later Theophanic narratives, an "aureole of light" appears around God. Grabar likened this light emanation to that of early images of the personified sun, haloed by light, which he suggested probably came from Mazdean in Persia, recording its first appearance in the nave mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.⁴⁹

An extremely important study was also published in 1961, one of the definitive texts of the study of the halo and nimbus, Marthe Collinet-Guerin's *Histoire du nimbe des origines aux temps modernes*. This very extensive survey, covering not only Europe but also Mexico, Peru, Nicaragua, Panama, Costa Rica and Bolivia, examines the subject in three sections: "Pre-Nimbus, the Pagan Nimbus and the Christian Nimbus".⁵⁰ At the end of each section, she provides a bibliography which includes many works not cited by other scholars, in addition to the accepted corpus. Within the last section on the "Christian Nimbus", she examines its presence in catacombs and churches in Naples, Ravenna, Rome and Milan. Analysing works in mosaic, sculpture, miniatures, ivories, intarsia and gems, she notes the difference in usage between the East and the West and the influences of eastern and Byzantine art on the nimbus in the West via works from Bulgaria, Rumania and Russia. Treatment of different Biblical scenes is covered, rather like the Byzantine Guide included in Didron's work, and she identifies fifteen iconographic themes.

⁴⁸ Grabar, André, *Christian Iconography – A Study of its Origins*, The A W Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, Princeton: Bollingen Series XXXV, with The National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1961.

⁴⁹ Grabar, 1961, p. 117.

⁵⁰ Collinet-Guerin.

Of particular interest is the chapter entitled “Le Nimbe Gothique – ses transformations ses prolongements – du XIIe a la Renaissance” which compares haloes found in sculpture, paintings, glass, engravings, textiles and manuscripts in Italy, France, Spain, England and Germany. The next section, “Le nimbe dans la peinture Italienne de la fin du Dugento au debut du Cinquecento” considers the influence of Siena, Florence, Pisa and Assisi. The use of Latin text within the halo border of the Virgin is noted and the works of Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti brothers are considered for their innovations in the trecento. Quattrocento haloes are considered through the works of Gentile da Fabriano, Fra Angelico and Lorenzo Monaco amongst others.⁵¹ The only illustrations in the entire publication are those showing the “family” of haloes.

In the 1960s, both Møjmir Frinta and Erling Skaug began researching punch marks found in halo designs, regularly publishing their findings over the last fifty-five years. Frinta initially wrote about these in “An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of the Mediaeval Italian and non-Italian Panel Paintings”,⁵² followed by “Notes on the Punched Decoration of Two Early Painted Panels at the Fogg Art Museum: St Dominic and the Crucifixion”.⁵³

Also in 1971, Skaug published “Contributions to Giotto’s Workshop”.⁵⁴ In 1972, Frinta gave two papers on punched decoration⁵⁵ and between 1975 and 1998 both published

⁵¹ She particularly references *The Adoration of the Magi*, *Tabernacle des Linaioli di S Michele* and *The Virgin and Saints* by each of these three artists respectively.

⁵² Frinta, M., “An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of Mediaeval Italian and non-Italian Panel Paintings”, *Art Bulletin* XLVII, 1965, pp. 191-195.

⁵³ Frinta, M., “Note on the Punched Decoration of Two Early Painted Panels at the Fogg Art Museum: St Dominic and the Crucifixion” *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 53, September 1971, pp. 306-309.

⁵⁴ Skaug, Erling, “Contributions to Giotto’s Workshop”, *Mitt.*, KIF, XV

⁵⁵ Frinta, M. “On the Punched Decoration in Mediaeval Panel Painting and Manuscript Illumination” *Conservation of Paintings and the Graphic Arts*, ILC Lisbon Congress, and Frinta, M., “New evidence of the relationship of Central European and Italian painting during the fourteenth century, CIHA/XXII International Congress, Budapest, 1969.

extensively. The works most pertinent to this study are footnoted herewith,⁵⁶ but there are two particular studies, cited earlier, which are essential. These are Skaug's *Punch Marks from Giotto to Fra Angelico: Attribution, Chronology, and Workshop Relationships in Tuscan Panel Painting c 1330-1430*, Vols I and II⁵⁷ which is a synthesis of his many previous publications. Like Frinta, he has photographed many haloes in close-up to demonstrate the distinctive punch marks which he uses to track the dispersal of punch tools and calls for the development of "sphragiology" – the study of punch marks – as a separate discipline within Art History. The other major study of punch marks is Frinta's *Punched Decoration on Late Medieval Panel and Miniature Painting, Part I. Catalogue Raisonné of all Punch Shapes*, which includes over 3,000 macro-photographs of punch marks, found in tooled decoration, of which the greater number are within haloes. He examined works across Europe, including Bohemia, although he used a different system to Skaug to classify punch marks.⁵⁸

In 1974, Eileen McAlister Straton's University of Tulsa thesis also considered what she termed medieval use of colour haloism.⁵⁹

In 1978, Mark Zucker highlighted differences in halo shapes occurring between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italian and Spanish art, particularly those he termed "– 'scalloped' polygonal form", suggesting there was a need for a "full-scale

⁵⁶ Frinta, M., "A seemingly Florentine yet not really Florentine altarpiece", *Burlington Magazine*, CXVII; Vol. 117, No. 869, August 1975, pp. 527-535.

Skaug, Erling, "The 'St Anthony Abbot' ascribed to Nardo di Cione at the Villa I Tatti, Florence", *Burlington Magazine*, No 117, 1975; Skaug, E., "Punch Marks – What are they worth? Problems of Tuscan Workshop Interrelationships" CIHA/ La Pittura nel XIV e XV Secolo: Il Contin: proceedings of the 24th International Congress of the History of Art.

⁵⁷ Skaug, E. S., *Punch Marks from Giotto to Fra Angelico: Attribution, Chronology, and Workshop Relationships in Tuscan Panel Painting, c 1330-1430*, Vols I and II, Oslo: ILC Nordic Group, The Norwegian Section

⁵⁸ Frinta, Mojmir S., *Punched Decoration on Late Medieval Panel and Miniature Painting, Part I, Catalogue Raisonné of all Punch Shapes*, Prague: Maxdorf, 1998

⁵⁹ Straton, 1974, p. 234. She records halo development as beginning in the sixth century and appearing in Egyptian, Indian and Hebrew art, with an expansion of shapes between the seventh and fourteenth centuries.

study of halo history”.⁶⁰ This article is frequently cited by scholars considering the halo, with a very useful appendix of works.

During the 1970s and 1980s, small, but important, studies were undertaken. Technical evidence about the physical execution of haloes was discussed by Hayden B. J. Maginnis in 1976 in his article about the Lorenzetti Passion Cycle at Assisi.⁶¹ The editorial of a special issue of *The Burlington Magazine* devoted to the Italian trecento in memory of Millard Meiss specifically noted that Frinta and Skaug had attributed certain panels based on an examination of halo tooling, acknowledging Meiss’s influence as a catalyst on the departure from utilising stylistic evidence to that of hard, physical proof.⁶²

Ladner’s 1983 “An Additional Note on Hexagonal Nimbi” is an expanded version of his original 1942 *Mediaeval Studies* article, considering number symbolism allied to Franciscan theology, and applying this to the hexagonal halo.⁶³

Following Sylvia Auld’s 1984 article “Kuficising Inscriptions in the work of Gentile da Fabriano”, great interest has centred on pseudo-cufic (or pseudo-Kufic) lettering

⁶⁰ Zucker, M., “The Polygonal Halo in Italian and Spanish Art”, *Studies in Iconography*, IV, 1978, pp. 61-67.

⁶¹ Maginnis, Hayden, B. J., “The Passion Cycle in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi: The Technical Evidence”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 39 Bd., H. 2/3, (1976), pp. 193-208.

⁶² Maginnis, Hayden, B. J., “Assisi Revisited: Notes on Recent Observations”, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 117, No. 869, Special Issue Devoted to the Italian Trecento in Memory of Millard Meiss, (August 1975), pp. 511-517. In the same issue, Mojmír Frinta wrote “A Seemingly Florentine Yet Not Really Florentine Altarpiece”, pp. 527-535. In 1979, Osborne considered a case of “mistaken identity” through the bestowal of a square nimbus on Pope Leo IV Osborne, J., “The Portrait of Pope Leo IV in San Clemente, Rome: A ‘re-examination of the so-called square nimbus’ in Medieval Art”, *British School of Rome Papers*, 1979, and Joseph Polzer considered radiances extending from haloes, in his 1981 article “The ‘Master of the Rebel Angels’ Reconsidered” in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 63, No. 4, (December 1981), pp. 563-584, p. 579. In 1995, Sally Fisher briefly covered halo shapes in her book *The Square Halo & Other Mysteries of Western Art*, New York: Harry N Abrams, 1995.

⁶³ Ladner, 1983.

contained within borders of mantles, and also within haloes.⁶⁴ This has tended to develop alongside a tranche of interest in Islamic decoration within artworks. Auld has continued to develop scholarship concerning Mamluk commercial interests with Venice. Maria Vittoria Fontana has also examined Islamic epigraphy in many different sites within Italy, specifically examining those within the haloes of Giotto at Santa Maria Novella, Florence.⁶⁵ Rosamund Mack's 2003 *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art 1300-1600*, re-examined the presence of what she terms pseudo-Arabic elements in Gentile da Fabriano's work, particularly lettering within haloes, and highlighted other works in which these are present.⁶⁶

The presence of textual elements within the halo, whether Latin or pseudo-Arabic, are not discussed by Christian Hecht, who published his work *Die Glorie*, in the same year. Amongst other themes, he explores the concept of holiness, including how artists represented Heaven.⁶⁷ After examining the theological theories pertaining to the "Gloria", he considers themes of the Transfiguration and The Assumption of the Virgin as a visual expression of this holiness. He also cites Virgil and the antique mosaics at S Pudenzia in Rome, (c. 401-407) noting the shift from the practice of nimbing Roman emperors to endowing Christian figures with the attribute. Angels, similarly had been honoured with the nimbus for quite some time, confirmed by Isidore of Seville, who

⁶⁴ Auld, Sylvia, "Kuficising Inscriptions in the work of Gentile da Fabriano", *Oriental Art*, 32, No. 3, 1986.

⁶⁵ Fontana, Maria Vittoria, "I caratteri pseudo epigrafici dall'alfabeto arabo" in Ciatti Marco and Seidel, Max (eds), *Giotto: La Croce di Santa Maria Novella*, Florence: Edifir Edizioni, 2001, pp. 217-225. Earlier, *The Enthroned Madonna with Christ Child and Two Angels*, attributed as an early work of Giotto, was the subject of an article by Peroni, Adriano, "Le Aureole della Madonna di San Giorgio alla Costa", *Florilegium: scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Carlo Bertelli*, Milan: Electa, 1995. Fabio Bisogni's short 1999, highlighted the dichotomy that on some occasions Blessed personages are endowed with a nimbus of rays, yet at other times they have a full halo, as if fully canonized, seemingly a deliberate strategy to assist and promote a canonization process, according to the author of this thesis. Bisogni, Fabio, "Raggi e aureole ossia la distinzione della santità", *Con l'occhio e col Lume*, Atte del Corso Seminariale di Studi su S. Caterina da Siena, Università per Stranieri di Siena, Dipartimento di Scienze Umane, Siena: Edizioni Cantagalli, 1999.

⁶⁶ Mack, Rosamund E., *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art 1300-1600*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003.

⁶⁷ Hecht, Christian, *Die Glorie: Begriff, Thema, Bildelement in der europäischen Sakralkunst vom Mittelalter bis zum Ausgang des Barock*, Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2003.

described its vaporous nature, as noted previously.⁶⁸ Hecht quotes the advice of Sicardus that Christ should always be painted crowned, “Dominus Jesus semper coronatus depingitur...”, and then repeated his additional statement on the triple crowns of Christ.⁶⁹ Christ’s halo in Fra Angelico’s 1436 *Deposition* is provided as a visualisation of Durandus’ and Aquinas’ exegesis of the “corona”,⁷⁰ together with the presence of three cross arms within it. Cyril of Alexandria’s *Cantica Canticorum* in praise of using gold to glorify the Lord, and the darker nimbus bestowed on Judas by Giusto de’ Menabuoi in the Dome mosaics at Padua are mentioned.⁷¹ Remaining in Padua, the problems of perspective and the halo are instanced by Giotto’s frescoes at the Arena Chapel, Padua, as well as works by Masaccio, Andrea del Castagno and Francesco del Cossa in connection with this. The section on “The Aureole” also references Bede’s anagogical exegesis of the passage from Exodus, underlined by the Franciscan Alexander von Hales’ assertion that the “aurea” is always superior to the “aureola”.⁷² A section on the use of gold ground and the changes that occurred when this was discontinued is included, and Hecht also considers the “Heilige” as the *alter Christus*. The second section, “Religion und Kunst” includes an analysis of the *kreuznimbus*, the cruciferous nimbus, and reproduces two helpful tables of cross and monogram designs⁷³, as well as listing examples. Within this, he considers tetramorphs, and the Hand of God that may have a cruciferous nimbus, before going on to discuss the presence of different types of crosses within varying locations, such as an eighth century marble tablet from Narbonne.⁷⁴ Section IV considers the altarpiece within the Florentine and Roman High Renaissance, and within the beginning of the sixteenth

⁶⁸ ‘... lumen quod circa angelorum capita pingitur nimbus vocatur: licet et nimbus sit densitas nubis’ “. Hecht, p. 53, and Footnote 17, citing Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum libri XX*, Lib. XIX, Cap. XXXI (*De ornamentis capitis feminarum*), 2, in Migne, PL. Bd., 82, Sp. 698-699.

⁶⁹ Hecht, Footnote 24, p. 54.

⁷⁰ Hecht, pp. 56-57.

⁷¹ Hecht, p. 58 and Footnote 43.

⁷² Hecht, p. 63.

⁷³ Taken from the *Lexikon der Symbole* and *Erklärendes Wörterbuch z. christl. Kunst*.

⁷⁴ Hecht, Part II, pp. 1-33.

century in Venice, he includes a discussion on Titian's *Assunta*, and Lotto's *St Nicholas of Bari*.

Cruciferous haloes were briefly addressed by Didron in 1851 and latterly much more fully by Hecht in 2003, as mentioned above. The exploration of this point within my study will cover different ground from Hecht's, i.e. within Chapter Six of this thesis, where a possible "propagandist" motive will be proposed in a specific variation utilised by Giovanni Bellini within the internal cross design.

Within this first Chapter, the aims of this thesis to alter the perception of the halo as a passive component of an artwork to that of a dynamic element, through the deployment of various methodologies, have been set out. Similarly the interrogation of its slippage between sign/non-sign has been signalled. The quest of artists to represent something that is in theory, unrepresentable, since it is non-existent, is part of this process. The metamorphosis of the halo in terms of its physicality and thus ontology has been signalled. The deployment by artists of new modes of "depiction" subtly alters what the halo does within an artwork, acting as a catalyst for semiotic shifts, which need to be more fully examined. As stated earlier, contemporaneous theological texts impacting upon the halo will be contrasted with a presentation of contemporaneous industrial practices and commercial factors. A reprise of the existing literature specifically relating to the nimbus or halo has been set out. Some of the ground covered by this will now be revisited again, of necessity, because it is intended to additionally expand the exploration of the variations in the halo's appearance and function over the designated period and its contribution to *karoi* - the Christianisation of time, and *topoi* - the

Christianisation of space,⁷⁵ utilising proxemics, the semiotics of space, and chronemics, the semiotics of time.⁷⁶ The investigation will thus activate new areas of interpretation relating to the halo in order to stimulate a greater and higher appreciation of its performance within an artwork.

⁷⁵ McMannes, J., ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 75 and 89.

⁷⁶ Nöth, Winfried, *Handbook of Semiotics*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990, pp. 410 and 415.

CHAPTER TWO

Medieval Written Sources Relating to the Halo, Divinity, Light and its Representation

2.1 Etymology of the words “nimbus” and “halo” and related terms

The etymological roots of the terms “halo” and “nimbus” will now be examined. “Halo” is derived from the Latin word *halōs*, meaning “the circle of light around the sun”. The Greek word *hálōs* refers to “a threshing–floor, disk of the sun, moon or a shield”.¹ The “halo” was the circular area left on the ground in the threshing room by the ambulatory trajectory of a beast continuously turning a millstone whilst threshing. This circle could be visually differentiated from the remaining surface, and its transposition to the head of a special person or special creature, such as the dove or lamb, consequently highlighted their “otherness”. This “otherness” was a different status, a holy or divine rank that needed to be signified visually to the viewer. The word “nimbus” is derived from the Latin words *nebula* or *nephele* meaning “vapour” or “cloud”. The corresponding Greek word is νεφέλη.² Like the application of a halo it is used to describe the luminous cloud or mist around the head of a “different” person or creature, a mimesis of the similar phenomenon appearing naturally around the sun, the “anthelia”, and the “halo” around the moon,³ the latter also known as an “alóne” in Italian, (Fig. 1). Although also circular, they are not strictly defined by a circumscribed perimeter, because there is a fugitive quality, as with mist, to their appearance. The

¹ Onions, C. T., Friedrichsen, W. S., and Burchfield, R. W., eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of Etymology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 424.

² Herbermann, Charles G., Pallen, Edward A., Shahan, C. B., and Wynne, T. J., eds., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XI, New York: Robert Appleton & Co., 1911, p. 80.

³ *The Catholic Encyclopedia on Line*, www.newadvent.org [accessed 01/02/05].

Greek sense of “halo” seems to denote a delimited area, since the total surface area of both halo and circumference, of necessity, would have been curtailed by the length of rope securing the working beast to the mill-stone. Therefore throughout this thesis, the word “halo” will be used to describe that sign used to denote divinity that has a visible periphery. The word “nimbus” will be utilised to describe the type of luminous and ethereal mist used to suggest holiness or divinity, and which has a much more indistinct boundary, (unless specific texts are being discussed which do not follow this distinction).

Within the Septuagint, the word *doxa* denotes “cloud” surrounding the Godhead.⁴ Derived from the Greek verb *dokeo* meaning “to think”, it is used synonymously in the LXX to discuss the Lord’s glory, described in Exodus 24:17, paralleling the Hebrew *Shekinah*. However, in the LXX, the word *doxa* is used instead of glory.⁵ (The Greek word δόξα “belief”, was used to translate the Hebrew word כבוד “glory”. Thus the Greek word shifted its meaning.⁶ Christ is considered to be the *radiance* of God’s glory, and this word is derived from *apagausma*, from the noun *apaugázo* meaning “to emit light or splendor”, derived from *apó*, “from” and *augázo*, “shine”. The resulting combination has a literal meaning of “off-flashing” and relates to the effulgence which arises from a luminous body. The description can applied in situations relating to both reflected and refulgent light.⁷

⁴ Densham, Robert, “Another Look at the Disappearing Christ: Corporeal and Spiritual Vision in Early Medieval Images”, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 79, No. 3, (Sept. 1997), pp. 518-546, p. 526.

⁵ http://www.preceptaustin.org/hebrews_13.htm [21.12.09.]

⁶ *The Catholic Encyclopedia on-line*

⁷ http://www.preceptaustin.org/hebrews_13.htm [22.12.09.]

2.2 Terminology used for the Nimbus and Halo in the Medieval and Renaissance Periods

The *aurea* is a “golden crown” (and *aureole* its diminutive form), which became synonymous with the saint’s “crown of glory”, the *corona* described by Thomas Aquinas in several works, such as *IV Sententiarum, Dist. 49, Q.5. A.1, Parma, II, 1233*:

The first essential reward of man is the state of beatitude, resulting from his complete union with God . . . and this reward was metaphorically called a crown or halo...⁸

Saints are those souls who live in Heaven in a state of beatitude and bliss, and the *aurea* visually represents this bliss.⁹ In *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Durandus compared it with a shield, which would have been disk-shaped:

Thus all the Saints are depicted, crowned, as if they would say: O Daughters of Jerusalem, come and see the martyrs with the crowns with which the Lord has crowned them. And in the Book of Wisdom: The Just shall receive a kingdom of glory, and a crown of beauty at the hands of the Lord. And a crown of this kind is shown in the form of a round shield, because they enjoy the divine protection of the Holy God, whence they sing rejoicingly: O Lord, Thou has crowned us as with a shield of Thy good-will¹⁰

(The German word for a halo, *Heilingschein* connects the blissful state with the iconographic sign very clearly, but it was unused until the seventeenth century.¹¹) So, *corona*, *aurea* and the halo were synonymous and would eventually be bestowed upon God, Christ, the Virgin Mary, the saints and the Holy Spirit in the form of the Dove or the Holy Lamb. However, the *aurea* is termed the “essential reward” that was awarded

⁸ Hall, Edwin, and Uhr, Horst, “*Aureola* and *Fructus*: Distinctions of Beatitude in Scholastic Thought and the Meaning of Some Crowns in Early Flemish Painting”, *The Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, pp. 249-270, Footnotes 5 and 7.

⁹ Hall, Edwin, and Uhr, Horst, “*Aureola super Auream*: Crowns and Related Symbols of Special Distinction for Saints in Late Gothic and Renaissance Iconography”, *The Art Bulletin*, December 1985, Volume LXVII Number 4, pp. 567-603, p. 567, Footnote 2.

¹⁰ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1911, p. 80, citing Gulielmus Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, I, 3, 19, sq. Source is the Vulgate text of Psalm 5:13, according to Hall and Uhr, 1978, p. 250.

¹¹ Hall and Uhr, 1978, Footnote 7, p. 249.

to all saints, although there were also two more rewards of merit, discussed by St Thomas Aquinas, in both *Sententiarum* and Question 96 of the *Supplementum* to the *Summa Theologica*. These were the *aureole* and the *fructus* or fruit, termed “accidental rewards”. The *aureola* is an extra, special distinction given to specific categories of saints, a “small golden crown”, accorded to martyrs, virgins or doctors of the Church, or preachers. According to Aquinas:

Accordingly it must be said that an “aureole” denotes something added to the “aura”, a kind of joy, to wit, in the works one has done, in that they have the character of a signal victory: for this joy is distinct from the joy in being united to God, which is called the “aurea”.¹²

Previously, Bede (c. 673 – 735 AD) was the first theologian to link the *aureola* with the Vulgate text of Exodus 25:25, where God gives instructions to Moses on making a special table for the Bread of the Presence:¹³

You shall make a table of acacia wood, two cubits long, one cubit wide and a cubit and a half high. You shall overlay it with pure gold, and make a moulding of gold round it. You shall make round it a rim a handbreadth wide, and a moulding of gold round the rim. You shall make for it four rings of gold, and fasten the rings to the four corners at its four legs. The rings that hold the poles used for carrying the table shall be close to the rim. You shall make the poles of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold, and the table shall be carried with these. You shall make its plates and dishes for incense, and its flagons and bowls with which to pour drink-offerings; you shall make them of pure gold. And you shall set the bread of the Presence on the table before me always.¹⁴

Bede interpreted the “moulding of gold” as a “*coronam interrasilem*”, a “polished crown”, and the “moulding of gold around the rim” as a “*coronam aureoolam*”, “a little golden crown”. Thus the “polished crown” was a metaphor for the *aurea* or “gold

¹² <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/5096.htm>, Question 96, Article 1, *Whether the aureole is the same as the essential reward which is called the aurea?*, “On the aureoles” [accessed 14.11.09].

¹³ Hall, and Horst, 1985 p. 568, Footnote 7.

¹⁴ *The Holy Bible, NRSV Catholic Edition*

crown” that was rewarded to all saints, and was subsequently depicted as a halo. The “little golden crown” is represented as a small crown awarded in addition to a halo, and which can be seen, for example in the frontispiece of the *Letters of St Catherine*, the 1500 Aldine edition compiled of sources originating from Prior Bartolomeo d’Alzano, who was closely linked with S. Pietro in Martire, Murano, (Fig. 2). In this, flying angels hold three distinct crowns, to award her the additional *aureole* for her virginity, her martyrdom and the fact that she was a Doctor of the Church, or preacher.¹⁵ In the trecento, a Gothic crown was often added to the halo to represent the extra distinction. The noun *sertum* is synonymous with *aureola*, originally having the meaning of a “garland”, and then in the Middle Ages it became synonymous with “crown”,¹⁶ an interpretation often used later in the cinquecento.

The word *glory* is frequently cited throughout the Old and New Testaments to signal the divine presence of God, and this is represented by light that surrounds both the head and the body. By association, therefore, it is used by artists in depictions of saints. In Carpaccio’s c. 1491 *Apotheosis of St Ursula*, (Fig. 3) the saint is surrounded by a whole body *glory*, while two flying putti hold a golden crown above her head, as she stands on a column of palms.¹⁷ The Virgin is also given a crown to represent the *aureola* of virginity (different to her crown during her coronation as the Queen of Heaven), for example in Botticelli’s 1481 *Madonna del Magnificat*, (Fig. 192) where the presence of the words of the Magnificat she has written resonate with the imminent event of the Incarnation, and the actual representation of the Christ Child in the painting, doubly

¹⁵ Humfrey, Peter, “Fra Bartolomeo, Venice and St. Catherine of Siena”, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 132, No. 1048, (July 1990), pp. 476-483, pp. 482-483.

¹⁶ Hall and Uhr, 1985, p. 571.

¹⁷ Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice, c. 1491.

emphasising her virginity.¹⁸ If the word *corona* is used alone without its qualification of *aurea* or *aureola*, it can confusingly mean both, i.e. the halo, or the extra award signalled by a smaller golden crown.¹⁹ The term *glory* is also utilised by Barthélemy de Chasseneux (1480-1541) in his “Catalogus Gloriarum Mundi” published in 1546. He writes that “Deus dabit gloriam sanctis in Gloria”²⁰

Dives et Pauper was a treatise upon the Ten Commandments, attributed to the Carmelite Henry Parker, probably written circa 1405-10 and published by Richard Pynson in 1493, republished in 1496. The dialogue sermon discusses the importance of all the Commandments, following Patristic commentaries and in the First Precept there is a discussion about images in churches and why they are not idolatrous. Within this, “those round things painted on their heads or about their heads” is mentioned, and the explanation provided that they are “all shining” and “betoken the bliss that they have without end”

Dives: Qhat betokenyn þe rounde thynggys þat been peynted on here hedys or abouten here hedys?

Pauper: Þey betokenyn þe blisse þat þey han wytouten ende, for as þat rounde thyng is endeles, so is here blisse endeless, of queche blisse sey3t Ysaye þe prophete, li [11]; leticia sempiterna super capot eorum, etc. Endeles merthe shal been on here hedys; þey shullyn han ioye inward and outward wytouten ende; al syhyng and sorwe shall flein away.²¹

¹⁸ Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Hall and Uhr, 1985, p. 572.

¹⁹ , Hall and Uhr, 1985, p. 585

²⁰ Hecht, p. 22.

²¹ Heath Barnum, Priscilla (ed.) *Dives and Pauper*, vol. 1, London : Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1976, p. 94. The author of this thesis thanks Laura Jacobus for kindly bringing this reference to her attention.

In his 1646 edition of the *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, Sir Thomas Browne believed the “glory” to show the divine light of saints had been imported from France.

The *fructus* was recognition of a rejection of carnal pleasures for spiritual ones, on which Bede wrote a gloss,²² subsequently cited by Thomas Aquinas in Article 5 where there were doctrinal significances between the *aurea*, the *aureola* and the *fructus*. However, since the eighteenth century, the terms *aureola* and *aurea* have become conflated and their individual meanings, and very precise distinctions, have thus been lost.²³

For the sake of completeness, the other distinctive signs utilised for holy persons should also be considered at this point. A *mandorla* is oval-shaped, derived from the Latin word for “almond”, frequently used in artworks to depict a vehicle for the ascension of Christ and/or the Virgin to Heaven. Sometimes it appears to be supported by, or composed of, clouds, at other times it appears to be delineated by a host of cherubim. Occasionally, it is made of seven doves, representing the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit²⁴, but at all times Christ and the Virgin are situated inside the mandorla. It is found as early as 553 AD at St Catherine’s Monastery, Mount Sinai.²⁵ Sometimes, the Latin term *vesica piscis* has been used to describe a mandorla, which has been interpreted as an appropriation of an ancient pagan symbol, that in subsequent Christian iconography signified Christ’s passage from death into the new life of the Resurrection.

²² Hall and Uhr, 1978, 252.

²³ Hall and Uhr, 1985, p. 250.

²⁴ Grabar, André, *Christian iconography*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

²⁵ Lord Lindsay, p. 257.

The etymologies and contemporary usage of the *halo*, *nimbus*, *doxa*, *aureola*, *glory* and *mandorla* have been presented, and it will now be visually demonstrated throughout this thesis how artists materially depicted these words, in their changing manifestation of the sign. Following the Twenty-Fifth Session of the Council of Trent in 1563, it will be seen from Jacopo Tintoretto's works in the Table of Haloes that the increasing tendency to omit haloes, not just for saints, but also for the Holy Family, is reversed, and that a variety of halo and nimbus forms and colours reappear (ToH pp. 27-28). The "Decree on the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images" does not actually specify that haloes must be used; nevertheless, Pius IV reiterated that

"the legitimate use of images. . . . the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God and the other saints are to be had, and retained particularly in temples and that due honour and veneration are to be given to them". Furthermore, ". . . the bishops shall carefully teach this. – that by the means of the histories of the mysteries of our Redemption, portrayed by paintings or other representations, the people are instructed and confirmed in the habit of remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of faith; as also that great profit is derived from sacred images, not only because the people are thereby admonished of the benefits and gifts bestowed upon them by Christ, but also because the miracles which God has performed, by means of the saints, and their salutary examples, are set before the eyes of the faithful"²⁶

Much later in 1696, an engraving of Father Francis Suárez, a Spanish Jesuit theologian, was the subject of a complaint to the Inquisition. It showed him alongside the Virgin Mary "with beams of light coming out of the image of the Virgin in the same manner from the image of Father Suárez". This was against the Council of Trent's edict that only saints canonised by the Church may be painted with rays and a diadem.²⁷

²⁶ <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/ct25.html> [accessed 06.05.12.]

²⁷ Manning, Patricia, *Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain: Inquisition, Social Criticism and Theology in the case of El Criticón*, Leiden: Koninklijke Brill Nv, 2009, p. 126

2.3 Christ and the “Traits of Hermes” – without haloes

Four centuries after Christ’s death, Athenagoras, Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexander incorporated Homer’s poetry into their syntheses of the Hebraic Corpus into its newer Hellenic form, believing it championed the immortality of the soul.²⁸ Consequently Old Testament events and Hellenic myths were similar,²⁹ specifically the Virgin Birth, Christ’s Passion and Ascension, although Justin Martyr believed the pagans had plundered the ideas from Christianity.³⁰ In *Apologies*, he wrote,

“If we say that Christ, the word of God, was born by a particular divine generation this is a phenomenon he has in common with Hermes whom you call the *logos* or divine messenger”. (1 *Apol*, 22.2).³¹

Justin insisted that Christians were re-appropriating their heritage from the pagans, yet both pagans and Christians were using these same motifs and elements to bolster their arguments, simultaneously. Hermes underwent a syncretic transformation, uniting with the Egyptian Wisdom God Thoth in the second and third centuries AD, thenceforward worshipped and known as Hermes Trismegistus, “the thrice-wise Hermes”. There are parallels between the Hermetic and the Gnostic schools, the former worshipping Hermes as the “embodiment of salvific teaching and initiation”, the Gnostics worshipping Christ,³² consequently Hermes is often depicted as The Good Shepherd, or *Buon Pastore*, frequently within idealised bucolic scenes. Gradually, this melding of

²⁸ Murphy, Father Francis Xavier, *Patristic Heritage in the Renaissance and the Modern World*, New York: Shepherd Press, 1990, p.1.

²⁹ Murphy, p.2.

³⁰ The “Orpheus-Christ” is found in early frescoes in the Catacomb of Domitilla, Rome, without a halo. Temple, R., *Icons and the Mystical Origins of Christianity*, London: Luzac Oriental Ltd., 2001, pp. 111-112.

³¹ Murphy, p. 2, citing Justin Martyr.

³² Hoeller, Stephan A., “On the Trail of the Winged God: Hermes and Hermeticism throughout the Ages”, originally printed in *Gnosis: A Journal of Western Inner Traditions*, (Vol 40, Summer 1996), reproduced in: <http://www.gnosis.org/hermes.htm> [accessed 08/02/07], pages un-numbered. The author of this thesis thanks Lin Holdridge for bringing this article to her attention

pagan and Christian iconography resulted in Christ's depiction as The Good Shepherd too, with "the traits of Hermes", although noticeably at this early stage, He does not yet have a halo.³³ A later depiction of the same subject, a late fourth century gilded plate, (Fig. 4), shows Christ with arms raised, but similarly He is not endowed with a halo, and Hermes, likewise never in "Good Shepherd" scenes.

The concept of a spiritual guide as a form of shepherd can be traced in Hermetic literature and many parallels are seen between the figures of Hermes and Jesus Christ, and their confections within early Christian art. Hermetic concepts seem to mirror those of early Christianity, such that even their liturgical rituals are closely allied, pre-figuring the roles that both John the Baptist and Christ would later play. It is noteworthy, however, that neither Hermes nor Christ are endowed with any form of halo at this stage, nor even the glimmer of any form of ray near their heads, so the suggestion of any visible holy or divine distinction was not of obvious theological or critical concern up to the fifth century AD.

2.4 The Semiotic *Celestial Hierarchy*, Divine Light and the Halo

Circa 500 AD, in *De coelesti hierarchia* Pseudo-Dionysius drew up a taxonomy of Heaven, including a hierarchy of angels.³⁴ Other writers had attempted to establish an angelic hierarchy, but the Triad structure envisaged by Pseudo-Dionysius was the most well-known and accepted, based on the neo-Platonic Doctrine of Degrees through which the entire universe is related, via a series of ascending cosmic and spiritual stages to the

³³ Murphy, p. 3.

³⁴ Peers, Glenn, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium*, Los Angeles, Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 2001, p 4.

Supreme Being.³⁵ He cautioned artists that the images are only symbols, suggesting that they should not be perfect so that the worshipper would always recall the spiritual essence beyond the physical appearance.³⁶ Thus, and following the logic of Pseudo-Dionysius, when it is present, the halo or nimbus is operating dually as a spiritual signifier in this situation, and also an aide memoire reminding the worshipper of the spirituality both implicitly inherent in the referent in the image, and furthermore represented by the image. *De coelisti hierarchia* was a very comprehensive description of the spiritual creations of God, “an essentially allegorical framework”.³⁷ Like Origen, Pseudo-Dionysius advocated the value of symbols as a path for mankind to try to approach knowledge of God; they made him more accessible and comprehensible. (Dun Scotus, 1265-1308, later wrote a formal commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy*³⁸.)

Stephen Gersh refers to these symbols as “enigmatic utterances which display one meaning on the surface of the letter but keep within a loftier meaning for the understanding”. He continues:

Utterances of this kind are called symbols from “syn”: that is, together and “olon”: that is, a whole because a multiple knowledge is contained in these utterances, and because a literal understanding resounds on the surface of the letter while a tropological and anagogic understanding is contained within.³⁹

Thus Pseudo-Dionysius is layering meanings into his symbols, but his necessity to create this taxonomy of symbols in order to provide some sort of clarification about angels and Divine Powers highlights the continuing limitations of language – its

³⁵ Peers, p. 4.

³⁶ Winternitz, Emanuel, “On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century: A Critical Approach to Realism and Symbolism in Sacred Painting”, *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 4, (October 1963), pp. 450-463, p. 451.

³⁷ Peers, p. 90.

³⁸ Gersh, Stephen, *Concord in discourse: harmonics and semiotics in late classical and early medieval Platonism*, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996, p. 199.

³⁹ Gersh, p. 226.

ineffability - to describe presences or perceptions that are immaterial or transcendent, - such as a halo - and it also suggests a shift in the Church's thinking about acceptance of a need for visual aids. The hierarchy of angels is also known as the Divine Ray, the means by which mankind can be led to God, and simultaneously, God is revealed to mankind, and is arranged in the Nine Choirs of Angels.⁴⁰

This arrangement seems to have a resonance with representations of the halo in terms of who receives one, and will be discussed further in relation to *The Last Judgement* mosaic at Torcello, in Chapter Three. This principle of a transfer between the different levels was originally formulated by Plotinus, resulting in each level assimilating the image of its superior level, simultaneously becoming the prototype for its immediate inferior level, what Dionysius terms "the imitation of Divine Power", as follows:

"According to the same law of the material order, the Fount of all order, visible and invisible, supernaturally shows forth the glory of its own radiance in all-blessed outpourings of first manifestation to the highest beings, and, through them, those below them participate in the Divine Ray. For since these have the highest knowledge of God, and desire pre-eminently the Divine Goodness, they are thought worthy to become first workers, as far as can be attained, of the imitation of Divine Power and Energy, and beneficently uplift those below them, as far as is in their power, to the same imitation by shedding abundantly upon them the splendour which has come upon themselves; while these, in turn, impart their light to lower choirs. And thus, throughout the whole hierarchy, the higher impart that which they receive to the lower, and through the Divine Providence all are granted participation in the Divine Light in the measure of their receptivity.... The holy orders both lead and are led, but not the same ones, nor by the same ones, but that each is led by those above itself, and in turn leads those below it."⁴¹

⁴⁰ Temple, p. 78.

⁴¹ Temple, p. 80, quoting *De Coelistic Hierarchia*.

Light as a symbol of Divine, spiritual presence, is brought to the forefront of the discussion, although Dionysius distinguishes between the concept of spiritual light, which is invisible, and its binary opposite, physical, visible light, and in these, as stated, he is following Plotinus, who himself had followed Plato by asserting that the light of the sun “is a corporeal substance but from it there shines forth that other ‘light’ which, though it carries the same name, we pronounce incorporeal”⁴². This next section will therefore continue the discussion about the *Celestial Hierarchy* but in terms of light imagery.

2.5 Medieval Exegesis Relating to Divine Light and Pertaining to the Halo

Pseudo-Dionysius’ hierarchy was adopted into the Christian canon and utilised over the centuries as a visual aid to the “symbolic interpretation” referred to above. In a wax encaustic icon at Mount Sinai, circa 600 AD, *Christ Pantocrator*, (Fig. 5) Christ holds a book symbolising wisdom, His raised fingers encompass the teaching gesture. Behind His head, is a large flat disk gold halo, heavily outlined, with what seems to be a simple punched border lying inside this delineation, (Fig. 5a). According to Plotinus, “*Spirit penetrates Matter to endow Form*”, and this has been given visible expression by the painter, who has been the intermediary between the lower and the higher, the Christian “divine spark” of the soul. Temple elucidates thus:

. . . This is why traditionally, in icons of Christ, the nimbus around the head contains letters signifying the mystery of Existence: *Ho on (III ON)* meaning 'Existence', 'The Being', or 'I am that I am' as the Authorised Version has it.⁴³

⁴² Temple, p. 96, quoting from Plotinus, *The Enneads*, trans. MacKenna, London, 1969, p. 408.

⁴³ Temple, p. 94

A much later example of the application of the *Celestial Hierarchy* can be seen in a c. 1350–1355 *Biblia historiale*, illuminated in Paris, now in the St Petersburg State Library. Compiled by Guyart des Moulins in the 1290s, it was a collection of sacred history which included a translation of Petrus Comestor’s *Historia scholastica*. The entire scheme of Creation is shown, and each of the nine orders of angels is identified by a golden letter, arranged like a ladder, thus the angels are linking the invisibility of heaven, with the visibility of earth.⁴⁴ Within the *Biblia*, Hugh of St Victor wrote a commentary on the *De Coelisti Hierarchia*:

Our soul could not ascend to the truth of these invisible things, if not through the learned consideration of visible things. Thus it is seen that visible forms should be considered to be representations [or similitudes] of invisible beauty.⁴⁵

This seems to be an important shift in rendering the invisible visible, indeed it is a very positive and substantial support of visibility as a didactic aid.

Another visible form used in a symbolic manner was the cloud in Ascension imagery. Both Jerome and Ambrose had considered Isaiah’s statement, “And the Lord will ascend on a light cloud, and will enter Egypt” (Isaiah 19:1) as a prophecy of Christ entering the world via the agency of the Incarnation. The “cloud” was a reference to his mortal flesh received from the Virgin, because she was chaste and therefore without mortal sin, this cloud/flesh was “light” in the sense of weightlessness.⁴⁶ Robert

⁴⁴ Hamburger, Jeffrey E., “The Medieval Work of Art”, in Hamburger, Jeffrey E and Bouché Ann-Marie, eds, *The Mind’s Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006, pp. 379 – 380, and Footnotes 58 and 59.

⁴⁵ Hamburger, Footnote 59.

⁴⁶ Densham, p. 526.

Densham considers the cloud in the Annunciation scene in his discussion of the eleventh century Benedictional of Æthelwold thus:

The cloud, however, assumes a radial configuration around the Virgin's head, forming a kind of nimbus. Usually a nimbus was depicted as a conventional geometric disk, like the one around Gabriel's head, and it commonly symbolized an aura of supernatural light. But the literal meaning of the nimbus, which etymologically [derives] from the combination of *nubis* (cloud) and *imber* (rain), was a storm cloud. Ancient classical authors often used nimbus to describe the flashing storm cloud around the body or head of a deity, essentially what the Septuagint termed the doxa of the Godhead. Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, a standard medieval school text well known in Anglo-Saxon England, defined the nimbus as both a storm cloud and the light painted around the heads of angels. In the Benedictional, the radial pattern of cloud around the Virgin's head is evidently a literal representation of the nimbus as a divinely lit cloud. Conceived in this fashion, the Virgin's nimbus became a profound symbol of the weightless cloud of Christ's humanity overshadowing and tempering the radiance of his divinity, which literally illumines her in the Incarnation."⁴⁷

In this passage, Densham seems to suggest that the nimbus, already a symbol, operates on two levels simultaneously, both as a sign of the holy distinction bestowed on the Virgin herself and as a visual reference to Christ's incarnation. In his discussion of the Ascension, Augustine asserts that Christ had to disappear from corporeal sight in order that he could be perceived as God by the Apostles. Their "eyes of flesh" could only see Christ in his human image, but after his Ascension and physical disappearance, they were able to "see" with "the eyes of the mind" that he was not only with God, but also at one with God.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Densham, p. 526.

⁴⁸ Augustine, *De Trinitate*, trans. Stephen McKenna, (Washington DC, 1963), cited in Densham, p. 533; Augustine *Sermo*, CCLXIV iii, Pat. Lat. XXXVIII, 1212-16.

Both Augustine and Bonaventura grappled with the conundrum of representing the Trinity because in Augustine's opinion, "it was invisible in such a way that it cannot be seen [even] by the mind".⁴⁹ In *De genesi ad litteram*, he had formulated a tripartite theory of vision, whereby the viewer saw things of the terrestrial world by *corporeal vision*. Using *spiritual vision*, the viewer could "see" images internally by using mental images similar to tangible, earthly ones, and through *intellectual vision*, the viewer "saw" the imageless truth, that produced by divine action.⁵⁰ Bonaventura discussed vision in the *Breviloquium*, drawing on the *Celestial Hierarchy* and Diadochus' fifth century theory regarding progression towards perfection moving "from glory to glory" (*Perf 89*), each degree resulting in a more intense amount of illumination. When perfection is achieved, "when the intellect begins to come frequently under the influence of the divine light, it becomes entirely transparent, with the result that it can see its own light in abundance,"⁵¹ perfectly complementing Augustine's assertion that:

The reward for those who imitate God is that like the spirits they come to be penetrated by intelligible light and enjoy perfect happiness in the participation of God.⁵²

Thus it can be seen repeatedly that light represents God, but it is not a metaphor, and varying degrees of exposure to this light result in different levels of transparency denoting a journey towards God, very important regarding the representation of the halo.

⁴⁹ McGinn, Bernard, "Theologians as Trinitarian Iconographers", p. 186, and Footnote 3, p. 203, quoting Augustine *Ep.* 120.2.7 and 12 (PL 33:444 and 458).

⁵⁰ Walker Bynum, Caroline, "The Mass of St Gregory" in *The Mind's Eye*, p. 210, and McGinn, p. 187.

⁵¹ Russell, p. 247.

⁵² Augustine, *De Civitatis Dei*, CSEL 40(1), cited in Russell, p. 322.

Robert Grosseteste, writing in the early thirteenth century, utilised both Pseudo-Dionysius, whose work he translated from Greek into Latin, and Augustine in his commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*:

I [Grosseteste] therefore say that there is a spiritual light (*lux spiritualis*) that floods over intelligible objects (*res intelligibiles*) and over the mind's eye (*oculus mentis*) - [this is a light] that is related to the interior eye and to intelligible objects just as the corporeal sun relates to the bodily eye and to corporeal visible objects. Therefore, the intelligible objects that are more receptive of this spiritual light are more visible to the interior eye . . . And so things that are more receptive of this light are more perfectly penetrated by the mind's gaze (*acies mentis*) that is likewise a spiritual irradiation, and this more perfect penetration is greater certitude.⁵³

Although referencing the extramission theory of vision in Grosseteste's treatise, the *lux spiritualis* is not a metaphor, for him it is a reality, it has a dimension, well illustrated in *The Triumph of Aquinas* circa 1340, (Fig. 6), recently ascribed to Francesco Traini and Lippo Memmi in the Chiesa di Sta. Caterina, Pisa.⁵⁴ The panel depicts four separate levels, the uppermost occupied by Christ, the *Logos*, whose words literally "pour" from his mouth in golden rays onto the head of the Thomas Aquinas, endowed with a halo, occupying the panel centre, situated directly below Christ. Other rays, directed at the heads, thus minds, of all the protagonists, radiate to the prophets and wise men, also haloed, arranged in an arch above Aquinas. These rays are then further "transmitted" to Aquinas's mind from the words of the books they have written and which are all directed at him. Flanking the Dominican, smaller in stature, are the philosophers

⁵³ Tachau, Katherine H., "Seeing as Action and Passion" in *The Mind's Eye*, pp. 343 - 344, quoting from Grosseteste's *In posteriorum analyticum*

⁵⁴ Tachau, Fig. 5, p. 344. This thesis has utilised the same example of Thomas Aquinas as Tachau, since it contains all the elements it wishes to discuss at this particular juncture.

Aristotle and Plato, who have received divine rays radiating from Christ's body into their works, and which they, too, reflect to/at Thomas Aquinas, who in turn, holds open a large book containing his texts, which continues the transmission of rays down to the lower register of theologians and clergy beneath him. Thus, we see an application of the Divine Ray espoused by Pseudo-Dionysius, and the receipt by Thomas Aquinas of "personal, direct, unmediated, and unbroken divine illumination, as well as reflected, and therefore indirect illumination".⁵⁵ Similarly, via the agency of Aquinas's teaching, "the Word" will continue to be disseminated.

This representation of divine light, *lux spiritualis*, is not confined to the "Truth" which Christ speaks, but also, it can be argued, to the haloes of the philosophers and Thomas Aquinas himself. The spectators' corporeal vision sees the tangible objects, books and texts, visual representations of the verbal, but Traini and Memmi are both representing and invoking spiritual vision not only for Aquinas, but also for the viewer, to "see" and understand the haloes, along with the divine ray.

An example of St. Bonaventura's argument, allied with both divine light and divine love, is Fra Filippo Lippi's Barbadori Altarpiece predella, commissioned around 1437, where Augustine is represented "spiritually seeing" the Trinity and receiving divine love through the agency of divine rays. Like his definitions of light, Augustine had categorized love as *cupiditas*, "the love of anything at all without regard for God", and *caritas*, "the love of God, self, and neighbours, only for God's sake".⁵⁶ Augustine's attribute of the pierced heart is exemplified by Fra Lippi's representation of Augustine

⁵⁵ Tachau, p. 344.

⁵⁶ Newman, Barbara, "Love's Arrows: Christ as Cupid in Late Medieval Art and Devotion", in *The Mind's Eye*, p. 268.

in a study, his upturned face gazing at three cherubim contained within a mandorla of golden rays as three golden arrows, representing each person of the Trinity, pierce his heart. As Newman points out, the cherubim in the mandorla “must be meant to evoke the imageless *visio intellectualis*, the saint’s highest category of vision, which by definition eludes the painter’s art.”⁵⁷ It is we, the spectators, who require an “image” of the Trinity, Augustine can see it through his *oculus mentis*. Lippi has not bestowed a halo on Augustine in this work, unlike Zanobi Strozzi’s miniature from an antiphony showing the young Augustine’s conversion, where the haloed saint looks up to a haloed angel holding three arrows representing the Trinity, aimed at Augustine’s heart.⁵⁸ The presence of Augustine’s halo here suggests that God has already imbued him with divine grace and accepted him as a proselytiser of the Truth even though this is the moment immediately prior to his conversion. A similar representation of this scene is in the Chiesa di San Stefano, Venice, in a quattrocento fresco, (Fig. 7).

The concept of Christ’s humanity would become one of the central tenets of Franciscan theology, and a theme explored by many artists especially within the quattrocento.

Irenaeus had spoken of the prophecies that God should be seen by men:

For man does not see God by his own powers; but when He pleases, He is seen by men, by whom He wills, and when He wills, and as He wills . . . For as those who see the light are within the light, and partake of its brilliancy; even so, those who see God are in God, and receive of His splendour.⁵⁹

Thus, it can be seen that later, there will be two separate considerations that artists will need to tackle, the physical incarnation of Christ, and the metaphysical quality of the

⁵⁷ Newman, p. 273.

⁵⁸ Museo di San Marco, Florence, mid-fifteenth century.

⁵⁹ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 4. 34.5-7, Latin and Greek text from Harvey, *Sanci Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libros Quinque Adversus Haereses*, Tom. 3, pp. 216-219, http://www.earlychurchtexts.com/main/irenaeus/glory_of_god_humanity_alive.shtml [accessed 24.11.09].

mystical brilliance of God's light, and both will have ramifications for halo "representation".

2.6 Conclusions

It has been shown within this Chapter that Divine Light signifies the presence of God, and of God's grace, and it is manifested in different modes: as rays, sometimes but not always, pouring into a halo; as a nebulous mist of light; as a bounded circle; as a gold 'representation' of the *doxa*; as an all-enclosing "shell" surrounding Christ, the Virgin or a saint. Each of these "manifestations" refers back in some way to its etymological foundations,

It has been demonstrated that early representations do not utilise a halo for Christ, but later, when they are bestowed, there is no suggestion of an alteration of shape – the "rounde things" remain circular, whether nebulous or radiated rays. There is no geometric variation in these examples, and no discussion of colour. "Shining", "effulgent", are the adjectives utilised to help the perception of Divine Light. Therefore, the examples provided all contribute to the narrative of the scene and consequent comprehension of the story being unfolded to the viewer, particularly through the encapsulation of contemporaneous theological discussion.

CHAPTER THREE

Texture, Ornamentation and Shape of the Halo

3.1 Introduction

The first section of this Chapter will explore the physical appearance and structure of the halo in terms of texture, how this has been achieved, and why artists have felt it necessary to texturize this holy signifier. By using this term “texture”, this thesis is referencing the process of the building up of materials, either with plaster or the suggestion of other materials on the surface of, and/or integral to, the halo design to allow patterning and focus on the material substance of the halo’s construction. These attempts by artists to represent materially this non-existent object will demonstrate the cultural transition of thinking based on the symbol to that based on the sign occurring between the 1200s and 1400s, and this shift is manifested in the representation of the halo.¹ Thus, the theological terminology presented in the previous chapter will now be tested against the actual practice of painting or otherwise constructing haloes. The noun “texture” is defined as “... anything woven, a web; manner of weaving or connecting; disposition of the parts of a body; structural impression resulting from the manner of combining or interrelating the parts of a whole; the quality conveyed to the touch, especially by woven fabrics”.² All these different elements of texture will be extracted from visual sources through the course of this Chapter, and it is the author’s intention to demonstrate that sometimes artists are texturizing haloes with an actual representation of woven fabrics, thus literally activating the transitive Latin *texere*

¹ Kristeva, 1977, p. 38.

² Kirkpatrick, Davidson, Seaton and Simpson, (eds.), *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary*, Edinburgh: W & R Chambers Ltd., 1985.

meaning “to weave” from which the English verb derives. The second section of this Chapter will consider different shapes and positions of the halo, when changes to these occur, and to which personages. The plain disk halo undergoes an evolutionary process in its manifestation within mosaics, frescoes, statues, ivories, icons, illuminated manuscripts, crucifixes and altarpieces, so that the flat, even colours are replaced by many techniques and substances imbuing it with an unprecedented texture and tactile quality, hence this tangibility results in more perceptible visibility. Embellishment of the halo by ridging, tooling and punching, *pastiglia*, the insertion of “jewels”, enamelling, the use of precious metals and *sgraffito*, specifically within frescoes, altarpieces and icons will be considered, in terms of the sensorial and visual impact of these practices mediated by the halo, on the spectator. The decoration within mosaic haloes will be considered in Chapter Five. The presence of script within the halo, textuality, will be discussed separately in Chapter Four.

Although it seems oxymoronic to talk about the texture of a halo, this is one of the fundamental pieces of evidence proposed within this thesis for re-evaluation, because the author believes that the importance of the texture of the halo resides in specific functions. Firstly, it has the ability to enhance its owner’s appearance with the richness and quality of its surface, thus assisting the spectator to concentrate upon the figures within a narrative, assigning a hierarchy to them guided by their different haloes, and consequently aiding the meditative and didactic process. Secondly, both texture and halo shape have roles as temporal and sometimes geographical indicators by virtue of their intrinsic and/or extrinsic designs, consequently also an identifying *firma* of a particular artist or workshop, as demonstrated in the Table of Haloes. Referencing these faculties, external social, civic, religious and technological factors impacting upon its design will be presented, adding cultural anthropological threads that will be

highlighted within the discourse, and specifically, the proposition of this thesis that the deployment of local technological innovations, particularly within the Veneto, are major sources of halo texture. Consequently halo representation, from the mid-quattrocento, will be shown as a factor hitherto unexplored in any systematic or analytical manner. There will be some cross-referencing with Chapter Five, particularly regarding tooling and punching, since the texture thereby produced enhances the light-reflecting or light-absorbing qualities of the surface, and thus the halo's visibility. The classifications laid down by the late Møjmir S. Frinta in his 1998 *Catalogue Raisonné of all Punch Shapes* will be applied to discuss and examine specific punch marks, alongside Erling S. Skaug's *Punch Marks from Giotto to Fra Angelico*, since these are the two groundbreaking and seminal works regarding sphragiology, discussed previously in Chapter One. The former was published with the implicit intention of becoming a verification tool for museum curators (see Fig. 11 for Frinta's Classification Charts), and includes many examples from different schools, not just in Italy, but also within Bohemia, Bulgaria, Spain and Portugal. Skaug's work concentrates mainly on Tuscany, particularly Florentine artists and as well as these, this thesis will also consider halo ornamentation within Venice. However, as both scholars point out, one of the major obstacles to utilising punchmarks is their inaccessibility; Skaug had undertaken detailed examinations during restoration work following the 1966 floods in Florence, and Frinta had spent thirty years travelling around Europe photographing artworks in high magnification for his *Catalogue Raisonné*. Observations regarding Venetian halo ornamentation therefore, will be based primarily on this author's empirical examination of the artworks *in situ*, with its attendant limitations. The internal cruciferous design of the halo will be discussed separately in Chapters Four and Five. The cruciform halo, i.e. a halo that is actually structured in the shape of a cross, is considered later within this Chapter. Each section of this Chapter examines a specific strand of the halo's

physicality demonstrated with examples, in order to amplify the hypotheses set out in Chapter One.

3.2 Texture, the Servi's *Madonna* and a Franciscan semiotic radiance

The flat disk halo in frescoes, situated parallel to the picture plane, exhibits gradual changes over the centuries, especially in its colouring. It alters from a pale yellow-brown or pale blonde field in the fourth century catacombs in Rome and Naples, (and in a different medium, the fifth or sixth century fragment of the *The Cotton Genesis*, see Fig. 12)³ to a dark yellow, as in the remains of the early trecento frescoes in the Apostoli Church, Venice, (Fig. 13) or to the bright gold field that Giotto uses at the Arena Chapel, Padua (1300-1305, Figs. 166-172I), although the pale blonde tones continue to be utilised in Treviso by Tommaso di Modena in 1354, (Fig. 14).⁴ Eventually internally coloured fields disappear altogether in the cinquecento; Lotto merely applies a bright gold ring halo to St. Clare in his Trescore 1524 fresco cycle. In addition to colour, a decorative surface is often applied via the use of “ridging” inside the halo, the breadth, length and distance between the ridges all factors that can be manipulated; similarly radiation of the ridge to the absolute circumference of the halo or to a smaller internal border, or ridge radiation immediately from the head itself or from a zone apart from the head, are also motifs that differentiate simple halo designs, and not only within frescoes. In his c. 1268 *Madonna col Bambino*, commissioned for the Church of Sta Maria dei Servi, Risalti, Orvieto, Coppo di Marcovaldo (1225–1276) produced an innovative composition. Synthesising *Hodegetria* and Romanesque *Maiestas* formats⁵ (Fig. 16), he drew additionally on the *Madonna degli occhi grossi*

³ BL. Cotton MS Otho B VI, f. 26v, British Library, London, featured in *Sacred Exhibition Catalogue*, 2007.

⁴ Tommaso di Modena, 1352 fresco of St Jerome at San Nicolò, Treviso.

⁵ Belting, Hans, trans. Edmund Jephcott, *Likeness and Presence, A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994, [Bonn, 1990], p. 387.

panel in the Duomo at Siena, culturally very significant, since its site linked it with the High Altar, where Buonaguida had consecrated Siena to the Virgin,⁶ becoming the city's Protectress as the *Hodegetria* was the Protectress of Constantinople.⁷ The devotion of the Servi di Maria focused on the Sorrows of the Virgin, who will suffer during the Passion of her Son, thus, Coppo's referencing of the Duomo *Madonna* in the Servi's *Madonna with Child* operates on three levels simultaneously: religious, civic and also fraternal. Coppo has both changed the hieratic arrangement of the figures to incorporate the *Hodegetria* pose, and additionally the positioning of the haloes of the Virgin and Child, which in the antependium Duomo panel overlap the frame. In the Duomo panel, there are large oval impressions in the nimbus, but in his Orvieto *Madonna and Child* panel (Fig. 16a), Coppo has "crimped" the outer circumference of the Virgin's halo, with short, sharp, deep arrow-shaped incisions, rather like a pie-crust, whereas the remainder of the inner field is completely plain, a design he uses on several occasions, possibly mimicking the metallic haloes found specifically in Cypriot icons, or which may have a prototype in the *Istorja vvizantiskoj ziropisi* icon (Fig. 17). Cypriot haloes are executed in gilded *pastiglia* to imitate embossed gold or silver sheets, for example the c. 1200 Archangel icon from the Monastery of St Chrysostomos featuring very large scroll designs,⁸ a motif that continues in Venice, Croatia and Crete until the mid-quattrocento. (*Pastiglia* is discussed further in 3.7, Paolo Veneziano's use of scrolls in 4.5.) Coppo's lay-out innovation for the Servi has been echoed within the haloes by a new type of design, assimilated, it would seem, from an icon prototype.

⁶ Belting, p. 389. The Chiesa di S. Cristoforo operated as the seat of public power prior to construction of the Palazzo Pubblico, Corrie, Rebecca W., "Coppo di Marcovaldo's *Madonna del bordone* and the Meaning of the Bare-Legged Child in Siena and the East", *Gesta*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1996), pp. 43-65, p. 57.

⁷ The 1262 Statutes of Siena show the city council supplied funding to the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians and the Servi and these subsequent new premises were situated in a quadrant around Siena, the Virgin was "present" in a protective ring around the city. Corrie, p. 55-57.

⁸ Frinta, Mojmir S., "Raised Gilt Ornament of the Cypriot Icons and the Occurrence of the Technique in the West", *Gesta*, Vol 20, No. 2 (1981), pp. 333-347, p. 33, fig. 6. See also Fig. 40, the Cretan icon recently sold by The Temple Gallery.

In Cimabue's fresco, c.1280, of the *Enthroned Madonna between the Angels and St Francis* (Lower Church, Assisi) all figures have bright yellow-gold flat disk haloes behind their heads, devoid of any decoration, against a dark blue ground, (Fig. 18). However in the *St Francis* panel (Museo di Santa Maria degli Angioli, c. 1285) he changed the saint's halo, so that from some angles, the very broad, deep, pointed ridges echo the type of sun-ray halo bestowed upon Helios, (Fig. 9) although all rays are of equal length, radiating to the outer circumference in Cimabue's version, (Fig. 19).⁹ St Francis wrote *Laudes Creaturarum* or *Praise of all Creatures*, including the *Canticle of the Sun*, around 1224, in which "Brother Sun" was singled out for special praise amongst God's creatures. The resemblance of the decoration of the saint's halo to the radiance of a sunburst is, this thesis proposes, a direct reference by Cimabue to this text of St Francis, particularly the last section, ". . . And he is beautiful and radiant in all his splendour". This would be most appropriate in terms of the light that is brought to Mankind from God via "Brother Sun" and the original location of this particular work.¹⁰ Additionally, through the agency of St. Francis, the divine light of God is being referenced in a simultaneous transference of meaning, overlying a secondary existing understanding.¹¹ Cimabue is utilising the halo, the "sign", as the visual locus of communication about Brother Sun, which is in turn a reference to the Creator of everything, and simultaneously a visualisation of God Himself within the light rays, the "representamen".¹² The development of St Francis as the *alter Christus* is possibly also

⁹ It is similar to Coppo's in the two works mentioned earlier, but in Cimabue's work, the ridges are deeper and broader and more extensive.

¹⁰ Written in Umbrian dialect.

¹¹ "A work of art, therefore, is a complete and *closed* form in its uniqueness as a balanced organic whole, while at the same time constituting an *open* product on account of its susceptibility to countless different interpretations which do not impinge on its unadulterable specificity. Hence every reception of a work of art is both an *interpretation* and a *performance* of it, because in every reception the work takes on a fresh perspective for itself." Eco, Umberto, *The role of the reader: explorations in the semiotics of texts*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984, p. 49.

¹² Peirce, Charles, 1.540, "By sign, I mean anything that conveys any definite notion of an object in any way, as such conveyors of thought are familiarly known to us. Now I start with this familiar idea and make the best analysis I can of what is essential to a sign, and I define a *representamen* as being whatever that analysis applies to." Cited in Eco, p.180.

being referenced via this halo. Along with the wounds of the *stigmata* imposed/endowed upon Francis, the multiplicity of light references (including the traces of the Apollonian pagan “sunburst”) within the halo can be said to mirror what Keane describes as “metapragmatic statements”.¹³ Citing the recitation of certain passages from the Qur’an as a means of the recitor acquiring the specific powers being mentioned, he describes this process by which the passages are changed from a completed narrative into instructions for actions occurring when the words are physically uttered.¹⁴ Thus, the words of St Francis in his *Cantic of the Sun*,

Be praised, my Lord, through all your creatures, especially through my lord Brother Sun, who brings the day; and you give light through him. And he is beautiful and radiant in all his splendour! Of you, Most High, he bears the likeness

both in their actual and mimetic significance, are being manifested, using the halo as their vehicle.

3.2 *The Crucifixion and a punched proleptic halo*

In contrast to the *St Francis* tavola, Cimabue’s painted *Crucifixion* in Santa Croce, Florence, has a very solid disk nimbus behind Christ’s head, three concentric circles incised into the inner gold field and two cross arms made up of “jewels”, the uppermost arm “tilted” to arise from the top of Christ’s head, seemingly a transitional version between Christ *triumphans* and Christ *patiens*.¹⁵ In the main Venetian Franciscan Church, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, there is a painted *Crucifixion*, (Fig. 20) finally

¹³ Keane, Webb, “Religious Language”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 26, (1997), pp. 47-71, p. 51.

¹⁴ Keane, p. 51.

¹⁵The painted cross only appears in Italy, usually Tuscany and Umbria, possibly innovated by Pisano. Settis, Salvatore, “The Iconography of Italian Art 1100-1500: An Approach”, *History of Italian Art*, Vol II (trans. Claire Dorey), Cambridge and London: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers, 1994, p. 169.

attributed to an Umbrian duecento artist, the *Maestro del Crocifisso del Frari*, after its 1992 restoration.¹⁶ The halo is gold leaf, circumscribed with red and although large sections are abraded, it is possible to see some of the internal halo decoration, firstly the inner, single ring punch border that closely follows the outer circumference. Within this is a hexa-punch design, and then inside the halo field a smaller single ring punch border, the innermost circle being a very small single punch delineation, (Fig. 20a). The whole halo design is very plain, referencing Christ's special status as the Son of God, but in keeping with St Francis' teaching, His humanity is emphasised, the flesh that has been tortured for mankind is literally purged of the blood that He has shed for us, so that the faithful can pray "*mentaliter potius quam vocalitur*"(in the mind more than out loud), before the Crucifix, in fixed contemplation: "*continuatis aspectibus*"¹⁷ The image of Christ on the cross is assisting in this process, the realism of His bowed head and His suspended body highlighted by the musculature of the slung arms and the scapular sheath. This is a Franciscan Church, within which both uneducated and educated people worshipped, therefore they required help and based on the beliefs of St Francis, this came through image, realities that they could relate to and understand.

Additionally, St Bonaventura had discussed the function of painting as stirring the viewer emotionally, and particularly in consideration of the *Crucifixion* he urged the worshipper to study and meditate on this. The Frari *Crucifixion* is a visual exegesis of this dictum, subtle details such as the red delineation of the proleptic halo referencing the shedding of the Holy Blood, helping the viewer comprehend the import of what is before him or her. Here, this thesis uses the adjective "proleptic" in its morphological

¹⁶ The *Crucifixion* was installed in the new, enlarged Frari Church circa 1260-65 when the High Altar was consecrated. Following the religious suppression of 1810, it was handed over to the diocese Gatti, Isidoro, Padre, *S Maria Gloriosa dei Frari: Storia di una presenza francescana a Venezia*, Venice: Grafiche Veneziane, 1992, pp. 128-130.

¹⁷Settis, p. 176, citing Bonaventura's *Legenda maior sancti Francisci*.

sense, since the blood of Christ has already been shed, as noted above. If this halo is read philologically, rather than as a visual text, appropriating Stephens' hypothesis regarding the use of the Latin future infinitive with the subjunctive plus *ut*,¹⁸ it could be posited that what he terms as “the constituents of a predication” may be considered to be those elements he defines grammatically as “subject, direct object and indirect object”. Thus, Christ can be read as “subject”, His blood as “direct object” and the halo as “indirect object”. Furthermore, the “adjuncts” Stephens references, “time, means, manner, result, attendant circumstances” may be transposed onto the halo as well. “Ut” means “so that” or “in order to”, therefore something happens in order that a consequential event may occur. Thus the grammatical distinctions can be paralleled as the Crucifixion is referenced, the death of Christ, the reasons for this event and the future salvation of mankind, all packed as meanings into the halo field circumscribed by the red perimeter.¹⁹

3.4 Duccio's *Maestà*, Simone Martini's *Maestà*, and their textural treatments

These two treatments of the same theme have been selected to demonstrate their artists' responses to a religious and a civic commission, and how both commercial and theological Mariological currents are incorporated within their halo designs. As well as their Christological devotion, the Franciscan Order greatly honoured the Virgin, and the Frari religious community was very active in its efforts to preach and diffuse the Cult of the Immaculate Virgin throughout Venice. The 1260 General Chapter of the Franciscan Order agreed that the main window behind the high altar, one of the most visible zones within the church, could show a Crucifixion scene, or the Virgin and St Francis and St Anthony. Marian devotion has entered a new era, the status of the

¹⁸ Stephens, Laurence, D., “The Latin Construction Fore/Futurum (Esse) Ut (I): Syntactic, Semantic, Pragmatic, and Diachronic Considerations”, *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 110, No. 4, (Winter 1989), pp. 595-627, p. 595.

¹⁹ Stephens, p. 604.

Mother of God has been elevated. Now her image is considered a worthy and acceptable alternative to that of Christ, and as such a new trend in altarpieces dedicated to the Virgin began to develop, an important theological shift. Duccio was commissioned to produce an altarpiece dedicated to her for the Duomo of Siena, 1308-11. Entitled *Maestà*, it features the enthroned Madonna flanked by the other four kneeling Siena City Saints, and ranks of angels, each figure endowed with a large gold disk halo embellished with different decorative features, all hand-tooled (Figs. 21 and 21a-c). These haloes are quite intricate including concentric internal circles interspersed with lozenge shapes and a double-punch design, plus additional areas of hatching delineating arabesques, themselves sometimes intersected by oval shapes.²⁰ For example, in the Angel Gabriel's halo, two sets of concentric circles make up the border area where a single ring punch alternates with a hexa-rosette surrounding a single ring punch, like flower petals. Between the border of Gabriel's halo and his head, the internal field contains a tetra-lobe flower design interspersed with beaded groups. In this halo, unlike some, there is no hatching.²¹ Other angels have different haloes, some with apparent pseudo-Arabic script within their borders. This thesis argues, therefore, that along with similar, though diverse, facial characteristics for each angel and saint, the different manifestation of haloes suggests an individuality of this "sign", much like corporeal and physiognomic individuality, which is part of the transitional process referred to at the beginning of this Chapter, where in the mindsets relating to symbol and sign, the latter began to dominate. In Kristeva's definition:

The transcendental foundation evoked by the symbol seemed to capsize. This heralds a new signifying relation between two elements, both located on the side of the 'real' and 'concrete'.²²

²⁰ Christiansen, K. "The Metropolitan's Duccio", *Apollo*, February 2007, pp. 40-47, p. 44.

²¹ Although granulation often replaced cross-hatching between motifs within halo borders, the practice continued into the quattrocento, for example Fra Angelico utilised the technique in his *San Domenico Altarpiece*, c. 1425, Fiesole, Skaug, p. 144.

²² Kristeva, 1977, p. 39.

Maestà was the title usually associated with Christ, enthroned, signifying His role as the triumphant Redeemer, thus its application to the Virgin signals a different usage, in that not only a religious but also a political message is being highlighted. This political message continues with Simone Martini's *Maestà* of 1315-16, commissioned by the Nove for the Palazzo del Comune, Siena, where again the enthroned Madonna is surrounded by the patron saints of Siena, (Fig. 22). The medium is fresco, not panel, and Martini continues to use the traditional rayed design for the haloes – made through the impression of a ruler into built-up layers of plaster - but additionally innovates new designs by using panel-painting techniques experimentally on the fresco medium within the haloes of the Madonna and Christ Child, producing flowers, leaves and stars, more ornate than the familiar ridge.²³ By overlaying gold leaf on *secco* (the dried plaster) rather than fresco, after gilding them Martini texturizes the surface, suggesting simultaneously relief and metallic surfaces, such as the Virgin's crown and her throne. It is believed Martini may have replaced these in 1321 when he amended his own work of 1315. Onto these, he applies semi-transparent coloured oil glazes, so they physically reflect light, making them more realistic.²⁴ The final embellishment is to insert lozenges of painted glass, *verre églomisé*, which glitter like precious gems, in the Fanciullo's halo and in the large brooch on the Virgin's gown (Figs. 22a-c).²⁵ The formats of the two works are very different; the Virgin's throne becomes a piece of beautifully tooled Gothic architecture in Martini's version, she is seated underneath a canopy/baldacchino, and the Byzantine maphorion transformed into contemporary vestments. Although still surrounded by the Protector Saints of Siena, she no longer seems to be in the celestial golden realm, but instead of the terrestrial world, a shift not only in place but also

²³ Hoeniger, p. 67 discusses the technique of pressing matrices of the designs into the built-up plaster.

²⁴ Hoeniger, pp. 68-69.

²⁵ Cennini particularly recommended its use for reliquaries. Gordon, Dillian, "A Siennese *verre églomisé* and its Setting", *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 123, No. 936, (March 1981), pp. 148-152, Footnote 1.

jurisdiction, in that as part of the latter, although simultaneously the Mother of God, and Queen of Heaven, she also functions as the Protectress of the City of Siena within the very seat of the Government of that City. The halo designs vary considerably; those on the upper right side have short evenly-spaced rays within concentric circles, prompting speculation that some of these were produced by *aiute* in Martini's shop, although it is accepted that those haloes on the left side (as the spectator views the fresco) are autograph works. Beautifully-veined leaves curl around a penta-rosette (see Figs. 22a and 22b), repeated not only within this fresco, but also in the *Five Saints* within the transept of the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi. Another motif that is repeated is the "moonface" design, so distinctive in the halo of St Clare, and which also appears in the *Dream* and the *Meditation* in the Capello di San Martino in the same Church, (Figs. 23, and 23a).²⁶ In both the *Maestà* and *Five Saints* frescoes, Martini has used pure gold leaf for the haloes which is why they are still in such good condition, whereas other gilded areas, such as the rods supporting the baldacchino/canopy, are not.²⁷ (Cennini explained that *stagnato dorato* could be a cheap substitute for gold, and discussed a form of laminated gold, *oro fino*.)²⁸ This repetitive design within the frescoed halo was probably created by using wooden matrices, which would have been larger than the early punch tools that were beginning to be developed, and used particularly by Simone Martini. The period between 1315 and the early 1320s was quite crucial in the transition from a design produced by free-hand tooling with a stylus to an entirely punched design, not only within the halo but also in the background and on the frames.²⁹ Ground stippling, and simple punch motifs were used pre-Duccio, as noted in the Frari *Crucifixion*, and also in the *ancona* of *San Donato* attributed to Paolo

²⁶ In *Laudes Creaturarum*, St Francis also praised *sora Luna*, "Sister Moon", referring to her and the stars which God had made as "clear and precious and beautiful".

²⁷ He had used copper resinate, azurite and carmine for the Christ Child's halo and the Virgin's crown and halo. Tintori, p. 95.

²⁸ Cennini, p. 60

²⁹ Skaug, *Punch Marks from Giotto to Fra Angelico*, p. 124.

Veneziano, c. 1310, the very simple hexa-bar-star motif circumscribes the inner single-point border, (Figs. 24 and 24a).³⁰ This hexa-bar-star may have been made with a stylus, since the (Frinta) Dbb26 punch used by Paolo, also a hexa-bar-star, in the signed and dated 1358 *Coronation* altarpiece (Frick Collection, New York) has each bar more closely spaced. However, Simone Martini seems to have been the catalyst for the development and use of combining motifs, evidenced by the increase in the number of punches utilised in his workshop, experimenting with them in both fresco and altarpieces. For example, in (Frinta) Punch No. I15, the serrated leaf motif has been translated from the Assisi frescoes into a specific punch, and the penta-rosette has been translated into (Frinta) Punch No. Kb5a, both of which Martini subsequently uses in the *Enthroned St Louis with Robert of Anjou* altarpiece, (Figs. 25, 25a).³¹ Lippo Memmi was also involved with the use of these punches, as seen from the frequency that they appear in the latter's autographed works as well as collaborative efforts with Simone, collated in Frinta's catalogue, (Fig. 26), and also tabulated within Skaug's charts. Additionally, Ugolino di Nerio and the Lorenzetti brothers began exploiting the new technique during the 1320s thus Siena became the centre of innovation for punched design, itself a source of civic pride.³² Around 1333, the Florentine artists enthusiastically embraced this new technique, which soon spread to other Italian centres, thereafter, into France, Spain and Bohemia.³³ Between 1320 and 1340, Martini and Pietro Lorenzetti developed a more sophisticated design by combining different punches to realise a complex and recurring pattern, (Skaug references as the "cluster style") and this type of motif occurs particularly within halo execution. The attention to the detail of texturing these haloes again emphasises the transitional phase of the halo to its status as a sign, in the sense that it is still referring to something that is

³⁰ This *ancona* of San Donato, Bishop of Evorea, was commissioned by the Podestà of Murano, Donato Memo.

³¹ Frinta, 1998, p. 310, (2.7 x 2.3 magnification).

³² Skaug, p. 495.

³³ Probably the result of Giotto's adoption of the method. Skaug, p. 134.

unrepresentable (because it does not exist) and yet it is being presented, indeed *represented* as something very tangible, very visible and as an individually distinctive object.

3.5 Complex punched designs, and external pinnacle patterns

Simone Martini's 1333 *Annunciation*, painted for the Duomo, Siena, (Fig. 33) will be discussed in Chapter Four in terms of *splendor* and the halo's interaction with light and the dense iterative punching he uses to create this specific effect, so here seems an appropriate juncture to explore the actual process of creating this richly textured surface.

The initial preparation of a trecento altarpiece was of crucial importance, because a blemish-free surface was vital for the subsequent execution of the work. Invariably popular in Northern Italy, the panel was sized with *gesso grosso* followed by a layer of *gesso sottile*, subsequently polished many times to give an ivory-like surface. Since gold was the first colour to be applied, successful adherence of the gold leaf was vital to the finished project, and so after the panel surface had been glaired and dried, the gold leaf was laid onto the next layer, *bole*, a form of sticky red clay. The constant polishing of the gold leaf to give a surface "as even as a mirror . . . almost dark from its own brilliance"³⁴ results in a physical change to the underlying clay so that the plate-like elements of the bole lie in a horizontal direction,³⁵ facilitating the essential smooth and perfect surface, thus the spectator's attention is drawn to the tooling in the burnished gold rather than any imperfection. It is now that all the tooling and punching of the gold leaf takes place, before the execution of the painting, so it would seem to

³⁴ Cennini, p. 74.

³⁵ They lie flat because they are not round. The bole is usually red because of its iron oxide content, but it is possible to have yellow and other colours. Skaug, www.punchmarks.net, *Glossary*. [02.09.09.]

inevitably affect the subsequent work of the artist or shop within the project, because he/she was constantly having to adapt to, and accommodate, what was already there. The work would have been very labour-intensive and perhaps self-limiting in the sense that once tooled, there was little possibility for changing the design, thus alterations to physiognomy, positions, indeed the actual figures themselves, would have been very difficult. It can be seen therefore, that the punching and decoration of a halo within an artwork on panel was not a final finishing-off stage - the “icing on the cake” - but the very beginning of the work’s execution, around which everything else would revolve, a fundamental point to bear in mind.

Even though the gold leaf had been affixed and prepared as described, the *gesso* layers underneath still had a sufficient quantity of moisture in the glue components to ensure their plasticity, so the three types of tooling - incision/indentation, punching, and granulation or stippling - could be executed without danger of cracking the under-surface or injuring the malleable gold leaf. Particularly in the duecento much of the linear design was executed free-hand by the artist, with a stylus or pair of compasses, or alternatively indentation with a ruler or stylus was utilised, giving a broader impression.³⁶ Even with such simple instruments, through altering the amount of pressure applied, the size/breadth of the stylus, and the frequency of the impressions, it was possible to produce variations in the decorative effects. Examples of both techniques can be seen in the Saints’ haloes in Martini’s *Maestà* (see Figs. 22 and 22a-c). In this first stage in the tooling process the artist’s intimate connection with the whole process can be seen, initiating these guidelines ready for the main patterns to be produced by the use of motif punches, and then for the background and interstitial areas

³⁶ Skaug, p. 62, Footnotes 90 and 91, points out that incising actually removes matter from the surface, therefore leaving a jagged outline when magnified, which is deeper than an indented impression. He notes it is possible to see many Florentine haloes of the early 1330s where indented patterns cover large areas of what is otherwise punched design.

to be granulated or stippled. Skaug organises punching into three separate groups: “simple punching, combined punching, and re-worked and composite punching”. Simple punching, as previously mentioned, is found in duecento work, particularly within halo borders, often the outer circumference, where every punch mark stands alone as a decorative motif, and usually this is a simple ring punch, such as (Frinta) C.³⁷ The ring punch was the most common punch design in all centres, probably because it was the easiest punch to produce. The design was utilised extensively over a period of time in the Venetian Veneziano bottega, for example: Paolo Veneziano’s *St John the Baptist* (Fig. 10); Lorenzo Veneziano’s 1369 *Jesus giving the keys to St Peter* (Figs. 27 and 27a); Stefano Veneziano’s 1376 *St. Christopher* (Figs. 28 and 28a). It was used into the quattrocento, for example, in Jacobello del Fiore’s delightful *Virgin and Child*, (1420-30, Museo Correr, Venice), where outer circumferences of both the Virgin and her sleeping Fanciullo’s haloes are punched with a single ring punch, although also containing more complex internal punch designs, (Figs. 29, 29a-c). The Venetan (not just Venetian) taste for simple punching also extended into the cinquecento, for example in Lorenzo Lotto’s 1529 *Virgin and Child*, (Museo Correr) where a very simple ring punch provides the decorative element of the haloes of the Virgin and Christ Child and those of the angels, and texturizes the Virgin’s gown, (Figs. 30, 30a-c).

The enhancement of the simple punch design by Florentine artists in the 1330s resulted in another new style. Instead of just utilising one simple circular punch in a band or border, they produced concentric circles of different, single punch motifs, “pearls on a string”, utilised by Giotto and Bernardo Daddi amongst others, giving a quite different effect from the “cluster style” of Siena, or combined punching, mentioned previously.

³⁷ Within his two volumes, Skaug had indexed 742 types of motif punches. Frinta’s catalogue raisonnée is based on over 16,000 negatives of punch work detail. Skaug’s classification is divided into nine divisions which are further sub-divided, Frinta’s into sixteen divisions. They both agree that the simple circular ring punch is the least rewarding punch in terms of attribution because it is so general, thus their examples are selective.

This “pearls on a string” design, although popular in Florence, did not translate across to Venice or Padua, where a simpler form of punching continued to be preferred throughout the trecento. For example, in Jacobello di Bonomo’s *St. John the Baptist*, c. 1370-90, Museo Correr, he executes a very simple tetra-prong border with (Frinta) Punch Ad14 within a double band, two smaller, undecorated concentric bands are inscribed in the middle of the halo, (Fig. 31). He bestows similar haloes on St Peter and St Andrew, (Figs. 31a-b).³⁸ Incision work, often in the form of a scroll-like pattern, was preferred within Venetian examples, as in this work where it is used as an additional component of a punched design. This motif also appears within Paolo Veneziano’s shop where the scroll-work is contained between, and connects, the punched designs. The shop comprising Paolo, with his sons Luca, Giovanni and Marco, together with his brother Marco and pupil Lorenzo, developed a “trade mark halo”:

“ . . . the form of the aureoli, very large, engraved flat against the gold background with a series of tiny excrescences in triple groups, these being connected by invisibly fine scroll works. This nimb (sic) is one of the “trade marks” of the *bottega* of Maestro Paolo”³⁹

This scroll-work translates across into Croatian works, notably the 1445 *Ugljan Triptych* by Ivan Petrov. A later quattrocento panel by an anonymous Greek painter in the Correr contains two very delicate haloes bestowed on the Virgin and Fanciullo, made up of individual single points, swirling into arabesques with curlicues, the Fanciullo’s further delineated by a voided red cross, (Figs. 32, 32a) thus it can be seen that this motif is exploited over a number of years. Combined punching is the utilisation of several motifs together to produce a pattern which is repeated, the previously mentioned “cluster style” developed by Martini and the Lorenzetti. Quite

³⁸ Jacobello di Bonomo, like several Venetian artists, worked along both Adriatic coasts. Strehlke, p. 303. Footnote 67, gives details of his *garzone*.

³⁹ Sandberg Vavalà, Evelyn, “Maestro Paolo Veneziano”, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 57, No. 331, October 1930, pp. 160-183, p. 165.

frequently this covers a larger surface area than the pattern produced with a single punch, although both patterns may be found simultaneously within works, as for example in Simone Martini/ Lippo Memmi's *Annunciation*, Uffizi, (Fig. 33 Frinta I32), and this design often includes vegetal shapes, both simple and serrated. Leaves were also used in Paduan and Venetian punching, some typical examples are the *SS Sebastian and Prosper* panel, from the School of Marco Zoppa (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale), (Frinta) I62, Niccolò Semitecolo's 1367 *Trinity* polyptych in the Duomo, Padua, (Frinta) I86a and in Jacobello del Fiore's *Crucifixion* at the Museo Civico, Padua (Frinta) I96b, (Figs. 33a-c).⁴⁰

Within re-worked punching, one single motif is made more ornate via extra punches or rings or incisions, a trait detected in the 1340s in Florence, and continuing into the quattrocento. Again, both Martini and Memmi utilise this variation, as in their *Annunciation* and Memmi's *St Louis of Toulouse*, where (Frinta) Ea Cusped Oval appears. Another common variation is the poly-circle and poly-lobe, (Frinta) punch-marks Oc, 1-8 appearing, for example, in Jacobello del Fiore's c. 1410 *Storie della vita di S Lucia*, (Figs. 34 and 35).⁴¹

Composite punching consists of trilobes and hexarosettes made using simple ring punches arranged in a specific pattern, utilising basic rings and dots, which may appear in the internal borders, or as part of the halo decoration of the internal field. There is however a feature of halo border decoration which has not been addressed in the existing literature. This thesis has detected it as often prevalent in Venetian art but also present in Dalmatian, Greek, Cretan and (occasionally in Florentine works), making it worthy of further consideration. This feature is the poly-lobed "pinnacle" border often

⁴⁰ Punch-mark I86a which is a very slightly serrated leaf punch also appears in works in Siena and Florence, and in the Martini/Lippi *Annunciation*.

⁴¹ This work, Musei Civici di Fermo, consists of eight small panels, originally from an altarpiece in the Chiesa di S. Lucia del Fermo.

found as an external embellishment to the halo circumference, for example in Giovanni da Bologna's 1377 *St. Christopher* tavola, (Museo Civico, Padua), commissioned by the *Scuola dei Mercanti* in Venice, where a small pyramidal design has been executed with a simple ring punch. In the Correr's afore-mentioned fourteenth century *Virgin and Child* executed by an anonymous Greek artist (Fig. 32), and detail, (Fig. 32a), the pyramidal border is quite high, and the entire filigree design of the nimbus appears to have been executed with a stylus. This deep decorative border is also present in a fourteenth century Veneto-Byzantine *Crucifixion with Saints* (Correr, Venice) (Figs. 36, 36a-b), but here the motif has been altered to produce a pronounced external pinnacle border, similar to those borders produced by the knotted lace tradition of the eastern Mediterranean, and especially to Pag Lace, derived from the eastern Mediterranean lace tradition, (Fig. 38). This needlepoint lace was made in the fourteenth century by the Benedictine nuns at Zadar, and at the Franciscan convents on the Croatian islands of Hvar and Visovac. Pag is also an ancient Croatian island, and although its main town, also called Pag, was only constructed in 1453, there had been communities at Stari grad centuries earlier, when the island was strategically important because of its salt panning activities.⁴² After coming under Venetian jurisdiction, a Ducal Palace was built in Pag in the Quattrocento, functioning like the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, as both official residence and the seat of government. Thus there was constant contact between Venice and Pag/Zadar, evidenced by the commissions awarded to Venetian artists, and the number of Croatian artists working in Venice, recorded in archival sources.⁴³ Zadar was the locus of great artistic activity and consequent dissemination of ideas and techniques to the Dalmatian communities. In the mid-quattrocento Donato Bragadin,

⁴² In 2002, a postage stamp celebrating Pag Lace, and illustrating two different designs, including a three-point pinnacle border, was issued by The Croatian Post. There had also been a specific type of lace produced in Dubrovnik, known as *point di Ragusa* but sadly no examples of this have survived. <http://www.posta.hr/main.aspx?id=193&idmarke=441> [accessed 14.10.09.]

⁴³ <http://personal.unizd.hr/~ehilje/gsz-txt.htm> [accessed 11.08.09.]. This site gives a summary of Hilje, Emil, *Gothic Painting in Zadar*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1999. Dr Hilje is based at the Art History Department in the Faculty of Philosophy at Zadar.

the Venetian painter who had signed a “trading agreement” with Jacopo Bellini, (see Document No. 6, Appendix 1), was working in Zadar with his sons Jacopo and Tommaso in the Chapel of St. Anastasia in the Cathedral of Zadar. On 7th October 1460, Pietro Bragadin, another son, was contracted to decorate a new chapel in the Monastery of St. Demetrius.⁴⁴ Additionally, there is a panel of the *Mother of Christ and Child* in the Benedictine Monastery at Pag, thought to be by Andrea Mantegna. Thus, it can be seen that there was a great deal of two-way transmission of artists and works between Croatia/Zadar and Venice/Padua.⁴⁵ Several of the artists cited used a trilobate pinnacle border in their haloes, such as in St Jerome’s halo in Ivan Petrov’s *Ugljan Polyptych* (Fig. 37). The pyramidal punch marks are quite closely spaced, similar to the pinnacle border found in the late fourteenth century unattributed Gothic *Madonna dell’Umiltà*, in the Franciscan Chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna, Venice resembling a border design utilised in Pag lace, which remained unchanged in its Renaissance motifs until the nineteenth century⁴⁶ (Fig. 38). Pag lace is different from *reticello*, the mixture of lace and embroidery utilised in Venice prior to the development of the delicate *punto in aria* lace stitch there in the fifteenth century. However, *reticello* does not use this pinnacle motif.⁴⁷ In his 1450 *St Louis of Toulouse*, (Louvre), Antonio Vivarini used a variety of techniques to decorate the saint’s halo, (Fig. 39) and the pinnacle border has been produced by a stylus rather than a ring punch, like that of the *Virgin and Child* from the Cretan School, (Fig. 40).⁴⁸ This is more like an undulating perimeter with a small triple-lobed “knot” at the top of each “wave”, a very simple

⁴⁴ Hilje, website.

⁴⁵ Squarcione’s influence can also be detected within Zadar, and Croatian works. Hilje, website.

⁴⁶ The designs were known as *mendulice*, *kolumbariçi*, and *listaçiçi*, plural adjectives referring to “almond-shaped, dove-shaped and leaf-shaped”. <http://www.posta.hr/main.aspx?id=193&idmarke=441>.

⁴⁷ The Virtual Museum of Textiles cited here has the academic advisor Dott.ssa Doretta Davanzo Poli, an expert on historical textiles, from the Università of Ca’Foscari, Venice. www.museocapra.it. [accessed 10.08.09.] . *Reticello* is also the name of a design applied to a late quattrocento/cinequecento Muranese glass design which has net-like features overlaying the glass base.

⁴⁸ This work was in The Temple Gallery, London, (sold 2008) and it can be seen that the curlicues decorating the Virgin’s maphorion and the Christ Child’s gowns are similarly included within their haloes.

design.⁴⁹ The Vivarini bottega utilised both pinnacle designs in their works. Within Antonio Vivarini's signed and dated 1464, altarpiece, the *Polittico di Pesaro* (Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome), there are widely-spaced quadrilobe pinnacled borders, whereas in the (circa 1467) *St. Clare* panel (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Fig. 41), the saint has a tall hexa-lobe pinnacle halo border. The stylus technique to execute this pinnacled border is utilised frequently by the Vivarini bottega, for example in Bartolomeo's 1486 *Madonna and Child with Sts Christopher, Sebastian and Roche, Bernard of Clairvaux and Bernard of Siena* (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan, Fig. 43), where similar pinnacles appear, the internal fields of the haloes covered with floral and geometric motifs.⁵⁰ Bartolomeo's *St Sebastian* has a quadrilobe pinnacled border, slightly shorter and more usual in later quattrocento works than the taller Greco-Venetian or Cretan-Venetian external pinnacle borders in indigenous Venetian works, such as Jacobello's del Fiore's.⁵¹ Bartolomeo has combined it with a beaded border within two bands, executed with a simple ring punch, the internal field of the halo is incised with very slim rays, and as can be seen from the black and white reproduction, the pinnacles catch light, like a granulated field. In addition to lacework motifs, the pinnacle borders discussed to date resemble a specific Venetian architectural feature, the *merli*, decorative elements on the top of building façades derived from Islamic *stele* tombstones. Originally defensive in function, they gradually lost this role, becoming purely decorative. The original terracotta *merli* began to be produced in stone and their designs and size varied from triangular to arched summits.⁵² The author's photograph, (Fig. 43), shows the *merli* on the Palazzo Ducale. The word *merli* referring to the

⁴⁹ Temple, Richard, (Richard@templegallery.com), *Icon of Virgin and Child from Cretan School, Late Fifteenth Century*. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk) (15.08.09.). Dr Sir Richard Temple noted that the punching did not seem to be as delicate and skilful as the execution of the painting which he said was of a very high quality. He suggested the halo execution seemed to be "routine professional work" and discussed the multitude of assistants employed within the Cretan workshops.

⁵⁰ The Virgin in this work is very similar to his Virgin in the *Chiesa di Bragora* in Venice.

⁵¹ Pinnacle borders can also be found in his *Madonna col Bambino*, Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio, and his *Madonna della Misericordia*, 1415-20, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.

⁵² Examples of different types of *merli*, are reproduced in Perocco, P., Salvadori, S., *Civiltà di Venezia, Vol 1*, Venice: Stamperia di Venezia Editrice, 1977, [1973], pp 363-367.

architectural motif is very similar to the Italian noun *il merletto* meaning “lace”. This thesis suggests a synthesis between the two media, lace and architecture, appropriated by artists and used as a decorative motif, the locus of this process being Venice. On Pag, remnants of Byzantine fortifications date from the Justinian period, but much of the architecture, particularly in the city of Pag, dates from the later quattrocento, without the melding of Arabic and Byzantine styles that were absorbed into architecture, as in Venice. There is not a causal link between these two media and external pinnacle borders within artworks, but it can be speculated that the presence of both Pag lace within the great trading centre of Venice and the very visible and constant presence of Arabic ornamentation on the façades of many Venetian *palazzi* had an impact on the mindsets of artists and a developing aesthetic turn. Thus this thesis proposes that these factors influenced their subsequent execution of halo decoration, like the presence of silks and other ornamented luxury textiles, glassware and brassware, that were subsequently translated into designs in haloes in artworks, as argued later in this Chapter and within Chapter Four. Although there may have been a strong desire to decorate all forms, nevertheless it could be argued that this appropriation and assimilation into halo representation of architectural motifs, themselves possibly translated from fabrics and other luxury ware, is a further example of the halo’s journey from symbol to sign, its “concretisation” utilising everyday visual experience. Thus, this immaterial paradoxical “object” is seen to be in contention with the previous century’s thinking where “the symbol does not ‘resemble’ the object it symbolizes”.⁵³ Rather, through its incorporation of recognisable commercial and architectural designs within its body and on its periphery, the halo is demonstrating “the strained ambivalence of the

⁵³ Kristeva, 1977, p. 38.

sign's connection, which lays claim to resemblance and identification of the elements it holds together, while first postulating their radical difference.”⁵⁴

However, pinnacle borders were not always a feature of Vivarini production; frequently they utilised an internal arcaded border, such as those found in the *Ancona di Santa Sabina* at San Zaccaria, 1443, Venice, incorporating many elements of High Gothic decoration and style, including a very ornate frame, complete with soaring architectural pinnacles, (Fig. 44). The saints' haloes are elliptical disks, the plain gold field internally bordered with a simple small arcade, whereas the Archangel's halo is punched with a high external pinnacle border (Figs. 44a-b).

Gentile da Fabriano, who had sojourned in Venice between 1409 and 1415, also bestowed similar halo borders in his *Virgin and Child* (1408-1410, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Figs. 45, 45a) and the earlier *Virgin and Child between St. Francis and St. Clare*, (1390-95, Malspina Pinacoteca, Pavia, 46, 46a). However, he also executed a triangular border intersected by a vertical line, around the halo perimeters, (see Fig.110), more geometric in style than the usual Venetian drop pendant border, but reminiscent of the triangular *dentata* design on the external façade of the Duomo at Murano, (Fig. 47, 47a).⁵⁵

3.6 Granulation and *pastiglia* work

Once the main pattern had been punched, stippling or granulation was executed in two ways, free-hand or by using a specific punch(es), usually mostly covering the interstitial spaces, although in the *Annunciation* Martini/Memmi have also used the technique to

⁵⁴ Kristeva, 1977, p. 39.

⁵⁵ In Chapter Five, the appropriation of Venetian architectural motifs is noted both within Jacopo Bellini's artworks and the frames of his works.

distinguish different types of fabric.⁵⁶ In this work, amongst others Martini used a type of punch with several points, square or rectangular, (also used in fresco) for granulating. In the Virgin's halo, granulation detail is seen between the motifs executed with a simple ring punch, whereas in the *Five Saints* fresco at Assisi, the background surrounding the "moonface" motif has a reticulated texture, (see detail in Fig. 23a), a pattern found in some Neapolitan panels which have been linked with Cypriot works by Crusader artists, very probably where Martini first encountered it when he was working in Naples.⁵⁷

Cennini described the reason for granulation as making the ground "sparkle like millet grains", which helps throw out light and reflect it,⁵⁸ very similar to the Byzantine practice in luxury relief icons in which repoussé, filigree and enamel work provide a distinct texture to their surface. An example is the late tenth century *Icon of the Archangel Michael*, booty from the Fall of Constantinople in 1204, now in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice, (Fig. 48). Beautifully intricate filigree patterns decorate the internal nimbus field and also the external background. The halo is circumscribed by a double border containing enamelled white-outlined diamonds with an internal red pattern, surrounded by blue enamel, all interspersed at regular intervals with gems. Thus form and radiance are simultaneously experienced in the icon, which is the same experience that Cennini is describing, when discussing the granulated surface of gold leaf "sparkling like millet grains". In both instances, therefore, although executed several hundred years apart, the texturised upper layer of the halo is physically activating the viewer's senses, the coruscating surface is an integral component of the

⁵⁶ Cennini discusses a *rosetta*, an iron tool to granulate the panel. Milanese, Gaetano and Carlo, "*Trattata della Pittura di Cennino Cennini da Colle de Valdese: di nuova pubblicato, con molte correzioni e coll'aggiunta di più capitoli tratti dai codici fiorentini*", Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1859, p. 184 (Tavola). Skaug, p. 65, points out that a specific tool, a cog-wheel, called a *rotella* or *rulino* was utilised by Northern and Central European artists, although he says that execution of granulation by this means "is extremely rare in Italian Trecento painting".

⁵⁷ Frinta, 1981, p. 339.

⁵⁸ Cennini, (Milanese), Capitolo CXL, p. 93.

viewing/contemplative process, (Fig. 48a). As Pentcheva points out, the relief icon “responds to the prevailing theory of vision known as *extramission*”, because the spectator’s eye is constantly roving over the icon’s surface engaging with its varying textures.⁵⁹ Additionally, she discusses the performativity of the icon “through its materiality”⁶⁰ and the halo described above is an intrinsic element of this materiality.

This taste for ornamentation also encompassed *pastiglia* and cast application, two forms of raised decoration technique much favoured by Venetian artists, such as Jacobello del Fiore, Michele Giambono and the Vivarini bottega, as well as Venetan artists such as Stefano da Verona. *Pastiglia*, recommended by Cennini as particularly suitable for reliquaries, was produced in two ways. *Gesso sottile* was laid directly onto the ground while still warm, and then layers were built up using a brush. Alternatively, a technique similar to piping royal icing from a bag could be employed with *gesso sottile* of a thicker consistency to form foliate or scroll-like motifs, which were later gilded and burnished. According to Frinta, *pastiglia* was a cheap substitute used by immigrant workers in thirteenth century Cypriot icons (and a group found at St Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai) for the precious metal repoussé work found on luxury icons. Consequently, the traditional Eastern spiritual meanings attached to gold, silver and precious gems may have changed. Gilded *pastiglia* was not a Byzantine ornamentation.⁶¹ In a Sieneese *Crucifix* in San Gimignano, attributed to the Guidesque Clarisse Master (active in the 1290s), there is a *pastiglia* halo, which was not contemporaneous in Sieneese art but did appear in Crusader art following the flight to Cyprus after the Fall of Acre.⁶² Its later appearance on Balkan icons may have resulted from its great popularity in Venice. It lends itself to tactility and to the play of light,

⁵⁹ Pentcheva, p. 641.

⁶⁰ Pentcheva, Bissera A., “The Performative Icon”, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol LXXXVIII, No. 4, December 2006, pp. 631- 655.

⁶¹ Frinta, 1981, pp. 333-335.

⁶² Derbes, Footnote 64.

expertly exploited not only in Venice, but also in Florence by Gentile da Fabriano where a fine demonstration of its qualities can be found in his 1423 *Pala Strozzi*, (Fig. 49) produced some fourteen years after his sojourn in Venice. He has used *pastiglia* to model both Gaspare's and Melchior's crowns, the hilt of the servant's sword and the gold bells on the kestrel's legs (Figs. 49a-b).

Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna's *Coronation of the Virgin*, 1444, Chiesa di San Pantalon, Venice, contains gilding work on the books, copes and mitres orchestrated into a sumptuous display of the differing light effects of gold, complemented by an internal arcaded border in the haloes, (Figs. 50, 50a.). Antonio Vivarini's *trittico, San Bernardino with Sts Jerome and Louis*, c.1451-56, at San Francesco della Vigna, Venice, also contains *pastiglia* work, on St Jerome's book and St Bernard's emblem, seemingly functioning as a "surrogate" halo here, (Figs. 51, 51a). The haloes are quite thick but very plain, the ornamentation is in St Bernard's *I H S* monogram, the visual focus for the spectator, quite different from the *St Louis* panel, c. 1450 (Fig. 39) which again has very noticeable *pastiglia* work on the mitre, the pastoral staff, the embossed book cover and the saint's stole. The halo has an external pinnacle border with a darker gold inner broad band of pseudo-Arabic script, which seems to be in relief work, as though a form of *pastiglia*, (Figs. 52a-c). Similarly, the signed and dated 1446 *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints*, (Accademia, Venice, Fig. 53) has much *pastiglia* decoration within it. Commissioned by the *Scuola della Carità* for their albergo, it resembles Martini's 1315-16 *Maestà* at The Palazzo del Comune, Siena, in the sense that the Virgin is located in a place where meetings and business are to be conducted (although in the Venetian *Scuola's* case, these meetings are not civic). Vivarini's Virgin is flanked by the four Church Fathers, Sts Gregory, Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine. The figures are seated or standing on a raised stone pedestal, and they

are in a space surmounted by *merli*, slightly taller than those of the Palazzo Ducale, behind which it is possible to see the sky and trees, so this conflation of divine with terrestrial is in a specifically Venetian site, (Fig. 53a).⁶³ The gilded *pastiglia* similarly gives a presence and solidity to the haloes of the Virgin, Child and saints, thereby affirming their presence in the terrestrial *Scuola*, (Figs. 53b-g). Once again, the halo is interposing in the terrestrial/celestial relationship, signifying the holiness of the figures, yet its undeniable materiality further complicates its oscillating status as an immaterial, non-existent sign. The earlier 1421 *Triptych of Justice* (Fig. 54) commissioned from Jacobello del Fiore for the Magistrato del Proprio at the Palazzo Ducale does not specifically situate the Virgin/Justice/Venezia and the Archangels Gabriel and Michael within Venice, but again the liberal use of *pastiglia* in the haloes is not only eye-catching because of the light play on the gilded surfaces, but its projection from the surface is three-dimensional. Thus, in Jacobello's work there is both a temporal and physical rupture of the viewing space of the spectator, and additionally, there is an intrusion into the liminal space of the viewer's presence. Time is an essential factor in the viewing process and of necessity the mind requires time, indeed a time lapse, when the spectator is viewing an artwork. This is part of the sifting process where the mind "encounters obstacles, interprets, rejects, then repudiates or transcends its rejection".⁶⁴

3.7 *Cristallo* – the Venetian industrial realisation of a theological metaphor

Light plays not only on gilded surfaces, but also on the medium of glass, and glass was one of the most important Venetian industries both for her home market and for exports.

Based on Murano, glass manufacturing was strictly controlled by the Venetian Senate,

⁶³ Final "proof" of the Venetian location is the emblem of the Scuola delle Carità appearing several times within the painting.

⁶⁴ Bonnefoy, Yves, "Time and the Timeless in Quattrocento Painting", in ed. Norman Bryson, *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 9.

with the two-fold purpose of maintaining its high quality and the secrets of its manufacturing processes.⁶⁵ Several different types of glass were produced at Murano, including a type of white glass, *vetrum blanchum*, (sic) *crystallino* and an opaque white glass called *lattima*, in which oxide of tin produced the porcelain-like effect.⁶⁶ Prior to 1450, luxury glass was a colourless, Islamic-style enamelled product, exemplified in a group named the *Aldrevandin beakers*, (Fig. 55) made by Magister Bartolomeus Aldrevandin, with his brother Petrus, important makers of *vetrum bianchum*. The enamelled decorations are considered to have been inspired by the Pillars of Acris, standing in front of the Basilica di San Marco, Venice (Fig. 156), another example of an architectural motif within Venice being used by artists as a decorative element within their work. Glass enamellers were usually local, although archival records mention enamellers from Zadar and Greece.⁶⁷ The use of the Levantine flux, *allume catina*, in the Venetian furnaces had been mandatory since the trecento to regulate quality, and a 1384 Decree of the Senate reinforced the ban on its sale to other glass-making centres, like Milan, Verona, Vicenza and Padua. Venetian merchants used the *allume catina* ashes as ballast in their ships in the cotton trade with Syria.⁶⁸ In 1450, however, Angelo Barovier through lixiviation,⁶⁹ perfected the art of making *crystallo*, a very high quality and truly transparent glass, much more so than even rock crystal. The *Aldrevandin* glass was of a darker hue, and its quality was not as fine, so immediately *crystallo* became the benchmark for glass manufacturing.⁷⁰ Thus it can be seen that *crystallo* not only had a high financial value, but its social and cultural status was also considered important for

⁶⁵ In 1419, Bartolomeo di Giovanni and colleagues were fined two and a half lire because they had gone “*ad laborandum de arte vitrorium fuori di Venezia*”. ASV Podestà di Murano, Busta 12, fasc. 3

⁶⁶ *Lattima* first appears in records in 1420. Turner, Guy, “ ‘Allume Catina’ and the Aesthetics of Venetian *Crystallo*”, *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 12, No. 2, (1999), pp. 111-122, p. 116. Throughout this next section of the thesis, it will be seen that *crystallo* is written in a variety of ways, these have been taken from the archival records and thus are reproduced as shown there.

⁶⁷ Page, Jutta-Annette, Doménech, Ignasi, *Beyond Venice: Glass in Venetian Style 1500-1750*, Manchester, Vermont: Hudson Mills Press, 2004, p. iv, citing Carboni 1998 and Krueger 2002, and p. 5.

⁶⁸ The ashes of *allume catina* come from a type of coastal plant high in sodium alkali. Turner, p. 115.

⁶⁹ This is a method of purifying the glass flux, Turner, p.111.

⁷⁰ In his 1612 treatise *L'Arte Vetraria*, the Florentine monk Antonio Neri, described the process in very descriptive alchemical language, comparing its production with that of gold from base metal.

the Venetian state, so much so that during the mandatory *cavata* recess when the furnaces were repaired, Angelo Barovier, Jacopo d'Anzolo and Niccolò Mozetto were granted official permission to keep their furnaces burning in order to fulfil orders for *cristallo*.⁷¹ Additionally, imitation glass gemstones were manufactured on Murano, specifically *calcedonia*, (like banded agate), and in 1475 Jacopo d'Anzolo delivered eleven *calcedonia* vessels to Filippo Strozzi in Florence,⁷² a demonstration that wealthy and powerful Florentine customers, as well as those in many other parts of the world where Venetian merchants traded, were appreciative of the prestige associated with this Venetian luxury ware, (Fig. 56). In 1480, a group of pilgrims from Venice en route to Jerusalem gave *cristallo* ware to the *diodero* in Damascus.⁷³ It is therefore not inconceivable that the impact of the experiments leading up to the stabilisation of the manufacturing method of *cristallo* should excite some form of response within artworks, themselves extremely prestigious “commodities” within which an element of innovation was often appreciated by their *committente*. The presence of Venetian artists in Florence and Florentine artists in Venice during the first half of the quattrocento is well documented, and the 1440s were particularly rich in this trans-State diffusion of artistic influences.⁷⁴ The Chiesa di San Zaccaria, Venice, is an interesting locus to consider this artistic exchange, specifically that of Domenico Veneziano, (active 1438-1461), an artist not particularly well documented owing to a dearth of archival records, although seemingly born in Venice c. 1410. He always retained his Venetian

⁷¹ They were recognized as being superb craftsmen, ASV Podestà di Murano, Busta 23, cited by Zecchin, L., “Nascita del cristallo veneziano”, *Vetro e Silicati*, no. 66, (Novembre – Dicembre 1967), p. 21.

⁷² Zecchin, 1973, p. 121. A document called the *Veriselli* in Venice, around 1400, gave “recipes” for making coloured and colourless glass imitating precious gemstones, Turner, p. 118.

⁷³ *Cristallo* first appears in a 1453 document written in Ragusa, mentioning a salt cellar. Barovier Mentasti, R., and Carboni, S., “Enameled Glass between the Eastern Mediterranean and Venice”, in *Venice and the Islamic World, 828 – 1797*, Exhibition Catalogue, pp 260-269. *Cristallo*'s first mention within Venetian documents is the inventory of Francesco de Aleotis, deceased. Zecchin, L., “Prodotti vetrari nei documenti veneziani (1457-1468)”, *Rivista della stazione sperimentale del vetro*, Vol. decimo, no. 1, pp. 17-22.

⁷⁴ Florentine merchants commissioned Donatello's signed and dated polychrome wooden 1438 *St John the Baptist* for the Frari Church, and Salviata Martini, widow of the Florentine Giovanni Martini commissioned the Martini Chapel in the Chiesa di San Giobbe, its ceiling decorated in polychrome terracotta roundels of *Padre Eterno e gli Evangelisti* by the Della Robbia bottega in 1475.

citizenship, signing himself as *Domenicho da Vinesia dipintore*, in a letter to Piero de' Medici dated 1st April 1438.⁷⁵ He seems to have worked for Gentile da Fabriano in Venice, before his apprenticeship to him between 1422 and 1423 in Florence.⁷⁶ According to Vasari, he was so well-known in Venice that it was impossible for Jacopo Bellini to achieve any form of recognition until “after the departure of the said Domenico” to work in Florence and Perugia.⁷⁷ Michelangelo Muraro had become convinced of Domenico's involvement in the execution of the figure of *St John the Evangelist* in the fresco cycle within the Capello di San Tarasio during the course of extensive restoration work, when he noted the different colour palette used by the artist in comparison with Castagno, who was also working on the cycle in August 1442⁷⁸. Muraro tracked the eight stages of the intonaco junctions, and specifically mentioned Domenico's luminous treatment of the hands, where he:

.. has lightened the knuckles with discontinuous touches of red to suggest want of blood in the diaphanous hands”, and the use of white “...and bone black in the eyebrows . . . to suggest a subtle visual sense of vaporous material.”⁷⁹

From this description, it can be seen that Domenico is experimenting with light and as a Venetian, albeit a temporary visitor, he surely would have become aware of the experiments leading to the development of *crystallo* production because not only is Venice a very small city, but there was also a documented commercial exchange

⁷⁵ His burial documentation describes him as Dominicho Vineziano and Domenicho Veneziano. Wohl, Hellmut, *The Paintings of Domenico Veneziano. A Study in Florentine art of the Early Renaissance*, Oxford and New York: Phaidon, 1980, p. 6.

⁷⁶ Robertson, Giles, “Untitled Review of *The Paintings of Domenico Veneziano, c. 1410-61, A Study in Florentine Art of the Early Renaissance*, by Hellmut Wohl, Phaidon, 1980”, p. 61. Gentile had three great pupils, Pisanello, Jacopo Bellini and Domenico Veneziano, and he left his tools in his Will to Pisanello. Wohl p.7.

⁷⁷ Vasari, *Le Vitae*, ed. Milanese, Florence, 1878, p. 674, cited in Muraro, M., “Domenico Veneziano at San Tarasio”, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol 41, No. 2, (June 1959), pp. 151-158, p. 157. Domenico is described as “the most progressive painter of his time” in the late 1430s, Pope-Hennessy, John, “The Early Style of Domenico Veneziano”, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 93, No. 580 (July 1959), pp. 216-223, p. 223.

⁷⁸ As noted in the signed inscription found in the 1950 restoration.

⁷⁹ Muraro, p. 158.

between artists and the glass factories since the former supplied designs to the glass factories,⁸⁰ and the *vendecolori* supplied pigments to both artists and glass manufacturers. The father of the Vivarini brothers was involved in the glass industry on Murano, although the brothers appeared to live and work in central Venice.⁸¹ Antonio Vivarini, Giovanni d'Alemagna and Ludovico da Forlì were commissioned by the nuns of San Zaccaria to produce their beautiful triptych for the High Altar, as well as the Santa Sabina and the Corpus Christi altarpieces but this was the following year in 1443⁸², so although the idea is tantalisingly appealing, it is unsafe to assume that Domenico and the Vivarini/d'Alemagna did have contact at San Zaccaria, though it is most certainly possible that they already knew each other. However, the following year, 1445,⁸³ Domenico produced his *Virgin and Child with Saints* pala, commonly known as the *St Lucy Altarpiece*, for the Chiesa di Lucia de' Magnoli in which for the very first time, the figures are endowed with gold-rimmed "glass" haloes, in a variety of positions, flat or above or behind their heads, (Fig. 57). There is the slightest suggestion of a gold "wash" on parts of St Lucy's halo, almost as though the gold rim was reflecting its colour onto the glass halo. This thesis proposes that this new "glass" halo is Domenico's response to the exciting new glass he had encountered in Venice, only just being produced in a more transparent form as *crystallo*. This is particularly appropriate in view of the inclusion in this altarpiece of St Lucy, the patron saint of eyesight owing to the circumstances of her martyrdom, and whose very name means

⁸⁰ Jacopo Bellini is recorded as providing designs *vaxo damaschin* to Alvise Dragan, a glass-maker, for adaption to decorate glass-ware. Barovier Mentasti, Rosa, and Carboni, Stefani, "Il vetro smaltato tra l'Oriente mediterraneo e Venezia", in *Venezia e Islam 828 – 1797*, Exhibition Catalogue, Venice: Marsilio Editori, s.p.a., 2007, pp. 273 – 293, p. 283.

⁸¹ Steer, Susan Dr., (susanruthsteer@gmail.com) *Bartolomeo Vivarini – Christ Enthroned*. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), 14th August 2009.

⁸² The Church is dedicated to John the Baptist's father.

⁸³ The *St Lucy Altarpiece* was dated to the early 1440s by Wohl, based on the shift in palette, which he likened to those of Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi contemporaneously. Schulz Anne Markham, "Untitled Review of *The Paintings of Domenico Veneziano, ca. 1410-61. A Study in Florentine Art of the Early Renaissance* by Hellmut Wohl, New York and London: New York University Press, 1980" in *The Art Bulletin*, June 1981, Vol LXIII, No. 2, pp. 334-335, p. 334.

“light”.⁸⁴ Proud of his Venetian citizenship, Domenico signed this work and that of the Carneseccchi Tabernacle

*OPUS DOMINICI DE VENETIIS and DOMI[NI]CUS D[E] VENECIIS
P[INXIT]*⁸⁵

The *St Lucy Altarpiece* has been considered very innovatory in terms of both spatial composition and particularly colouring (it is tempera on panel)⁸⁶ and its antique Byzantine format overlying a new Renaissance composition. Situated in a *loggia* with orange trees visible above the upper horizontal borders through the arches, this has visual echoes in the previously-mentioned Vivarini 1446 *Carità* work (Fig. 53) where foliage is visible in the dark sky behind the *merli*, thus based on a comparison of these two compositions, this thesis suggests that the artists had had some form of Venetian contact. The *St Lucy* haloes are quite large, (Figs. 57a-c) more precisely their gold rims are, and prototypes for these can be traced in the gold-lipped edges of solid disk haloes in Domenico's *Carneseccchi Tabernacle*, c. 1440-04, particularly the *Head of a Tonsured, Beardless Saint*.⁸⁷ Additionally, the *St Lucy* haloes are up above, or behind, the heads, not lying flat to the picture plane, another innovation much more obvious in this composition than in gold-tooled panels. This innovation of the “glass halo” was slow to be taken up initially, then Cosmè Tura bestowed gold-rimmed “glass” haloes on the Virgin and Christ in his 1460 *Pietà*, (Correr, Venice) but these are more like *Aldevandrin* glass than *crystallo*, opaque rather than crystal clear, and instead of “floating” behind her head, the Virgin's halo is a slim ellipsis on top of her head, (Figs.

⁸⁴ Her relics are now venerated in the Chiesa di San Geremia, Venice on 13th December, the shortest day, in anticipation of the increasing light to come.

⁸⁵ *De Venetiis* and *De Veneciis* are statements of Venetian nationality. Wohl, p. 17.

⁸⁶ Keith Christiansen discusses Domenico's “paleness of palette”, cautioning that this altarpiece is badly-bleached. He describes Domenico's “detailed intellectual approach to narrative” and Longhi's correct understanding of “the deep affinity that exists between Domenico's approach to painting – his *narrativa ornata* – and ideas developed by Alberti in *De Pictura*”, in his review of the exhibition *Masaccio and the 'pittura di luce'*. *Florence in The Burlington Magazine*, Vol 132, No.1051 (Oct 1990), pp. 736-739, p. 739.

⁸⁷ National Gallery, London.

58-58a). Venetian artistic currents flowing into Padua during Tura's sojourn there between 1453-56 may have been osmotically retained by Cosmè. There was certainly a two-way transmission of ideas in Padua, for example, the *sacra conversazione* format used by Domenico Veneziano and also Filippo Lippi⁸⁸ may well have influenced Donatello's *Santo* altar, which in turn has many resonances in Andrea Mantegna's *San Zeno Altarpiece* of 1457-60, further evidence of the slow, rather than immediate, filtration of particular elements into the artistic mainstream. Indeed, Lippi's triptych can be seen to have influenced Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna's *Four Fathers of the Church* altarpiece, previously discussed.⁸⁹ A drawing by Tura, originally attributed to Lippi, of *The Virgin and Child with Saints Sebastian, Francis, Dominic and Agatha* certainly echoes a specific Paduan influence, found in an extant composition used by Pizzolo in a sculpted relief in the Ovetari Chapel. In this, the Virgin's head and that of the Christ Child are situated below those of the saints, which is quite a rare design. Additionally, elements of Squarcione's School are present in Cosmè's works,⁹⁰ this bottega was the locus for more artistic exchange since Marco Zoppa is recorded as working in Squarcione's shop in an adoption contract at the same time that Cosmè was in Padua, and simultaneously, Andrea Mantegna and Donatello.⁹¹

In 1465, Marco Zoppo produced three wonderful haloes in his *Dead Christ Supported by Saints* (National Gallery, London), in which the translucency of disks of fine glass can be seen, the edges not gold nor even silver, but crystal rims where light meets the hard material yet the sky behind can be viewed through it. Almost like slabs of ice

⁸⁸ *Madonna and Child with Four Saints*, now divided between the Metropolitan Museum of New York and the Accademia Albertina, Turin.

⁸⁹ Chapman, Hugo, *Padua in the 1450s: Marco Zoppo and his Contemporaries*. Exhibition Catalogue, London: British Museum Press, 1998, p. 16.

⁹⁰ Cosmè never quite lost the awkwardness of his early experiments, such as in *Saints Peter and Paul, Maurelius and a kneeling donor*, c. 1474. The small "glass" halo of Maurelius is placed above, but the rear circumference obscured by, his head, and St Paul's is flat to the picture plane behind his head, though not a perfect disk, neither exactly in ellipsis

⁹¹ Chapman, p. 8, citing a document of 24th May 1455 suggesting that Zoppo had already been in the shop for two years, however a later document suggests he began working there in April 1454.

illuminated by the sun, the haloes are present, yet their very translucency endows them with an insubstantiality, (Figs. 59, 59a-c).⁹² This is a total reversal of the textural elements examined to date; here it is the absence of texture that is so noticeable, the spectator's gaze skates across the smooth, even surface, the only caesura, using a literary phrase, caused by the reflection of the pure light bouncing off and through the haloes. Zoppo bestows a similar halo on St Jerome in *St Jerome in the Wilderness* (c.1460-70, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Fig. 60) the very "iciness" of the nimbus contrasting with the dry rock contours, recalling the etymology of "nimbus" examined in 1.1. Again, this nimbus is in ellipsis and just "hovering" above the saint's head.⁹³ Yet there is another rupture in the *Dead Saints* panel, which will be echoed by Giovanni Bellini in his Palazzo Ducale *Pietà*, and this is the hand that is interposed between Christ's halo and His head, a representation of two carnal objects "sandwiching" a representation of a non-existent and "unrepresentable" object in a believable sequence.

From this point artists in both Venice and Florence began depicting haloes in two new modes, as well as continuing with the traditional punched halo on gold leaf. Firstly, haloes became more transparent as if made from glass, (rather than ice), usually in ellipsis and frequently gold-rimmed like goblets, which was an appropriation of another manufacturing practice developing from around the 1450s, the gilding of glass drinking glasses. At this stage, Venetian glass-makers were working in Florence, although because of the different raw materials (and absence of *allume catine*), the Florentine glass still had a slightly greenish hue, the Venetian glass-makers used manganese oxide

⁹² Hills also considers Zoppo an innovator, but says Zoppo is developing a new grammar of colour. Hills, (1999), p. 104. This thesis is proposing a different argument, namely arguing for the mimesis of *crystallo* by Zoppo.

⁹³ This thesis thanks Ma. Eugenio Alonson, Curator Assistant Old Masters at the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, for bibliographic information concerning this painting.

to clarify their glass and remove the green tints of the iron in silica.⁹⁴ It was therefore not surprising that the earlier “glass” haloes painted by artists there have a slightly more opaque quality with a yellowish tint, rather than the crystalline effect produced by Zoppo.⁹⁵ There was a fascination about the aqueous content of rock crystal and glass, a lingering superstition that somehow ice was suspended within it. Furthermore, there was a belief that by virtue of its transparency, crystal was very pure, anything evil could be shown up by it, and indeed it was thought that crystal would spontaneously shatter if it came into contact with any form of poison, hence because of its incorruptibility it was an ideal medium with which to distinguish particularly the Virgin and Christ and saints.⁹⁶ Sunbeams passing through glass without causing any harm acted as a metaphor both for the Annunciation and the Incarnation, and had been a part of the theological “landscape” in Europe for centuries.

The printing of Pliny the Elder’s *Natural History* in Latin in Venice in 1472 by Nicolas Jensen, and the subsequent edition of Cristoforo Landino’s Italian translation in 1476, again in Venice, may well also have spurred interest in the “glass halo”, since the production of glass was discussed in this.⁹⁷ The application of the “glass halo” continued into the cinquecento, Carpaccio frequently utilised it and in his c. 1515 *Flight into Egypt*, (Figs. 61, 61a-b), beautiful, polished glass haloes are bestowed on the Holy Family.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Cagno, Simone, (Simone.Cagno@ua.ac.be), *Tuscan Glass*. E.mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), 19th August 2009. Simone Cagno of the University of Antwerp kindly provided this information, based on an examination of samples collected from the Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza, Florence. The later Tuscan examples of high quality glass scientific instruments, such as thermometers, produced for the Medici, were dated to the late cinquecento and are evidence of a well-established industry.

⁹⁵ Vanoccio Biringuccio (1480-1539) wrote *De la pirotechnica*, a metallurgical treatise, published in 1540, which discussed the decoration of glass after its removal from the furnace.

⁹⁶ Breeze, Andrew, “The Blessed Virgin and the Sunbeam Through Glass”, *Barcelona English Language and Literature Studies*, 2, (1991), pp. 53-64, p. 54-63, passim.

⁹⁷ Inc. B.3.2., Cambridge University Library. Hills, (1999) also noted this.

⁹⁸ Oil on panel, 72 x 111 cm., National Gallery of Art, Washington. Interestingly Carpaccio is using oil, whereas Zoppo was using tempera, to produce these beautiful, translucent surfaces.

3.8 Silk veil haloes - interpreting Holy Writ through halo agency

In the 1470s, simultaneously, artists began producing haloes that were very diaphanous, as if composed of an extremely fine and light material, more like a veil than glass, sometimes with an internal cruciferous design if the Christ Child was depicted. This development coincided with a parallel growth in the manufacture of very light silk veils, both in Venice and also in Bologna. Until the late trecento, Bologna had been the largest producer of silk veils in Italy, and one of their largest markets was Venice. A raft of legislation, similar to that imposed upon the glass industry to control and uphold quality – but also protectionist in nature - was imposed upon the many different types of silks and luxury fabrics both produced in, and imported into, Venice. Bolognese veils were made from an extremely fine silk produced in Emilia, and then imported into Venice.⁹⁹ Additionally, *veli sottili* were produced in Venice using Emilian silk¹⁰⁰ and became an important sector of the Venetian silk trade. There were many different weights, sizes and thus transparency, of silk veils.¹⁰¹ Different veils distinguished the social hierarchy within Venetian society so the silk veil was an intrinsic factor in

⁹⁹ Molà, Luca, “Le Donne nell’Industria Serica Veneziana del Rinascimento” in eds. Luca Molà, Reinhold C. Mueller, and Claudio Zanier, *La seta in Italia dal Medioevo al Seicento: Dal baco al drappo*, pp. 423-459, p. 435. Dr Molà very kindly suggested sources to the author of this thesis and confirmed that precisely from the 1470s there had been a great development in the production of silk veils. Molà, L. (L.Mola@warwick.ac.uk.) *Silk Veils*. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk). 27.08.09.]

¹⁰⁰ Molà, Luca, *La Comunità dei Lucchesi a Venezia: Immigrazione e Industria della Seta nel Tardo Medioevo*, Istituto Veneto di Scienza, Lettere ed Arti, Vol LIII, 1994, pp. 29-30. The Venetian silk industry was very well established, and had been given a great impetus in the trecento when silk-workers from Lucca emigrated to Venice between 1314 and 1430, concentrating around San Giovanni Crisostomo, although the Venetian silk industry lay in a swathe from the Rialto to Cannaregio, including the parocchi of S. Bartolomeo, S. Cancian and SS. Apostoli. In this exhaustive analysis Dr Molà concludes that in the early quattrocento, the silk industry in Venice, Florence and Genova was no longer dominated by the Lucchese, but instead by ‘home-grown’ entrepreneurs, producers and workers, p. 277. He had only found one recorded Lucchese fabric designer “pictor operum sete”, Bartolomeo da Tassignano, but noted that in the quattrocento they were recorded in both Florence and Genova. He noted that Anna Rinversi, Jacopo Bellini’s wife, was the niece of Pietro di Coluccino Rinversi, a Lucchese silk merchant resident in Venice, p. 189 and footnote 145, in Molà, Luca, (1994). Jacopo Bellini has already been mentioned supplying designs to the Muranese glass factories, and his book of fabric designs in the Louvre contains designs for silk fabrics.

¹⁰¹ Molà, “Le Donne nell’Industria Serica Veneziana del Rinascimento”, p. 434 and Tab. 1.

everyday life, viewed constantly on the *fondamente* of Venice, and was an important export, specifically from the 1470s onwards, tightly regulated by government controls. It is therefore quite natural that, as with *crystallo*, elements of this precious Venetian commodity were appropriated by artists, like Bartolomeo Vivarini, and transposed into gauze-like, exquisitely-textured haloes, such as in his 1473 *Madonna of the Misericordia* at the Chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa, Venice, (Figs. 62, 62a) where the Virgin's halo beneath her crown held by two angels is like a dark gold silk veil. Bartolomeo paints this new type of diaphanous halo again in the *Virgin and Child* c. 1475¹⁰² (Fig. 63) where the Fanciullo's cruciferous nimbus overlies the Madonna's veil, and His blonde ringlets lie over the sky viewed through the nimbus. Her nimbus similarly shows the background of the slim dark curtain (rather than a cloth of honour as in trecento Sieneese paintings) situated behind her. His 1480 *Virgin and Child*,¹⁰³ (Fig. 64) is a similar composition. The 1487 Frari *Virgin Enthroned with Saints*, (Fig. 65, 65a) also features "silk veil" nimbi, flat and foreshortened, with a yellowish-gold hue inside their gold circumferences, as does his 1490 *Virgin and Child* (Figs. 66, 66a).¹⁰⁴ In Homily I, among many other descriptions, Proclus of Constantinople develops the concept of the Virgin as a textile loom. Her womb represents the workshop, and the loom inside it weaves the flesh of God.¹⁰⁵

Additionally, in a well-known metaphor, Mary is described as the "tabernacle" of Christ. In his paintings, it could be argued that Bartolomeo is highlighting the Virgin's role as both the "tabernacle", and the "weaver" of Christ's "flesh", superimposing these

¹⁰² Tempera on panel, 54.4 x 42.6 cm., Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

¹⁰³ Tempera on panel, 66.4 cm., x 49.4 cm, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art. The nude Christ Child, stands directly on the parapet rather than a tasselled cushion, a slim, plain, dark curtain behind the Virgin, glimpsed through her sheer nimbus.

¹⁰⁴ Tempera and oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 57.5 x 46.5 cm. The Hermitage Museum, Moscow. Here, the nude Christ Child sits on a tasselled cushion on a parapet, both He and the Madonna are in front of a dark green curtain, its creases easily viewed through their "silk" haloes, His is subtly cruciferous, and both have a dark gold circumference.

¹⁰⁵ Constatas, p. 145, citing Homily I on the Incarnation.

meanings upon her halo which has the likeness of a textile, a silk veil. Thus, through the agency of her “silk veil halo” he is reinforcing both this function, and Christ’s role.

However, it is not just in Venice that the “silk halo” is encountered. In Chapter Five several examples are given of haloes with gold stippling, and/or *linee serpentine*, the gold “twirl” patterns, particularly utilised within Florence, especially by Fra Lippi and Botticelli, to decorate their “silk veil” haloes. Botticelli’s *Madonna del Libro*, c. 1480 is a fine example of this usage, (Fig. 67).¹⁰⁶ (See ToH entries, pp. 18-24). Both haloes are exquisitely ornamented, (Figs. 67a-b) the Virgin’s has a deep border surrounding the internal *linee serpentine* radiating from her head. The Fanciullo’s is cruciferous, the cross arms containing a delicate internal decoration, areas of gold stippling separating them extending to the gold rim. Each halo is a yellowish gold, contrasting with the absolute sheerness of the Virgin’s long, white silk veil, with its gold border and tasselled fringe, the colour echoing her halo border. Vasari claimed that before Botticelli entered the workshop of Fra Filippo Lippi, he had been apprenticed to a goldsmith,¹⁰⁷ and certainly the intricacy of Sandro’s designs within his haloes could have been influenced by this early training. In the Virgin’s halo border in the *Madonna del Libro*, within the roundels, there is a hexa-bar star design, similar to those found within punched haloes. Bartolomeo Vivarini also sometimes utilised *linee serpentine*, for example in his 1482 *Madonna Enthroned* (Fig 65) at the Frari, but they tend to be slimmer and much less complex than those produced by Botticelli. Quattrocento and cinquecento fabrics were frequently embellished with gold or silver threads, imported from the Middle East, Cyprus, Calabria and Lucca until the end of the trecento. Alongside the development of the silk industry in Florence, there was a parallel development of the *arte dei battiloro*, the “gold-beaters” who began to produce the gold

¹⁰⁶ Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, 58x 39.6 cm.

¹⁰⁷ Conaway and Bondanella, p. 224.

and silver threads for their domestic markets from 1420. However, at Genoa and Venice, the *battilori* had already been operating since the end of the duecento,¹⁰⁸ and so again, it can be seen that the stuff of everyday life is being translated into a sacred form by artists. It may be surmised that this exquisite ornamentation of the Virgin's halo, especially, was a reaction against sumptuary laws, and that the decorative embellishments were transferred from clothing where they may have transgressed the legislation, to the site of the halo. Here, in addition to being aesthetically beautiful, they simultaneously paid homage to the Virgin, like the traditional use of lapis lazuli exclusively for her.

The first section of this Chapter has traced artists' practice of texturizing and decorating their haloes. It has examined the changes in colour initially from the very early Christian frescoes through a variety of media. The very simple device of "ridging" within the halo field has been examined and traced from its early ducento and trecento use in frescoes by artists such as Cavallini at Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome, and Giotto at the Arena Chapel, Padua. Additionally, its use by Cimabue in his *St Francis* tavola has been considered.¹⁰⁹ It has been shown that ridging was not just utilised in frescoes, however, the application of very fine ray-like lines, incised into gold leaf haloes has been demonstrated, for example in Mantegna's *St Sebastian*.¹¹⁰ The immediate effect of applying ridged ornamentation to a halo, whether in fresco or gold leaf, is to texturize it, giving it depth and substance, relief and conversely, light. The extraordinary care artists took when embellishing haloes with "jewels" or producing complex punched designs, similarly affected the way they were viewed because of the halo's reaction with, and to, light, a factor that could change at different times of day

¹⁰⁸ Buss, Chiaa, (ed.), *Tessuti Serici Italiani 1450-1530*, Exhibition Catalogue, Milano: Electa Editrice, 1983, p. 19.

¹⁰⁹ Vincenzo Foppa still ridged the internal field between the Virgin's head and her halo border in the c. 1468 fresco of *The Assumption of the Virgin*, at the Chiesa di Sant'Eustorgio, Milan,

¹¹⁰ This autograph work is tempera and gold leaf on panel, 1453-54.

and during different seasons. Giotto, particularly, exploited this factor in the Arena Chapel, utilising natural light to literally “illuminate” the Marian metaphors relating to the Annunciation and the Incarnation discussed earlier, where a sunbeam passes through glass without harming it.¹¹¹ Additionally, candlelight was an important component of the Arena Chapel, the flickering illumination similarly “activating” figures and elements as it struck them, this coruscation necessarily playing upon the halo surface, drawing the spectator’s eye to the glittering area, giving substance to the concept of Divine light. This was something that had been recognized by the Byzantine icon-makers, who with their finely-crafted filigree work similarly provided the locus for a display of light play, reverberating between the icon itself and the spectator, “bonding” each to the other. Cennini’s description of granulating halo fields has been cited, the “sparkle” like many thousands of millet grains so effectively evoked by him, this effect translated into artworks via punch tools with which artists executed both simple and complex halo designs with extraordinary care. Their preoccupation with these designs seems to have been interlinked with contemporary theology, overlaid with a desire to pay homage to the Virgin and Christ through the beauty of their haloes, in much the same way that precious pigments were reserved for them. Thus, we see that in Giotto’s *Christ in Judgement*, within the cruciferous halo, he has placed mirrored disks on the cross arms, to reflect both daylight and candelight, in addition to “jewels” as befits the Prince of Heaven, the Redeemer, the Son of God. After two centuries of manipulating light through the agency of hand and punched tooling, artists began appropriating contemporary technology to provide different types of texture to their haloes, be they

¹¹¹ In a very insightful article, Laura Jacobus describes the importance of the Golden Mass, the *Missa Aurea* performed on the Feast of the Annunciation, 25th March, at the Arena Chapel, and how it “activated” the frescoes, which themselves became part of a paraliturgical “performance”. Just before ten o’clock in the morning, it has been observed that a single ray of sunlight enters the Chapel through a window in the south wall eventually striking the fresco of the Virgin holding the Christ Child with the kneeling Scrovegni in front of her, finally entering the door of the fictive, painted Chapel. Jacobus, Laura, “Giotto’s Annunciation in the Arena Chapel, Padua”, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 81, No. 1, (March 1999), pp. 93-107, p. 104, (citing Hans Michael Thomas and Giulano Romano). Similarly, the Virgin’s role as “carrier” of Christ is also referenced here.

“crystal”, “ice” or “polished glass” with their attendant durability and thus physicality, or the ethereality of the diaphanous “silk” haloes, whether or not embellished with gold *linee serpentine*. Literally a physical manifestation of the word “texture” with which this Chapter opened, “silk” haloes demonstrate a degree of “tactility” by virtue of their ontological qualities. As with tooled haloes, and the beautifully freehand-incised haloes, they are all drawing the viewers’ gaze, not necessarily kinetically as the didactic haloes discussed in the next Chapter, but in a sense through their rupture of reality, however subtle this may be. They are not real, but their physical, decorative beauty or delicacy and gauze-like sheerness belie this; their reaction to and within light is an actual reality, and because of these factors, they are playing a vital role within an artwork.

Several haloes have already been observed changing location from a position parallel to the picture plane to an elliptical stance behind or above the heads of their “owners”, and the next section will consider their changing shape and the impact this may have upon their position and function.

3.9 The Square Halo

So far, texture and ornamentation have been examined. Mostly, the inquiry has been concerned with the disk halo, in its many manifestations, affected by external factors such as light and perspective, and also, as previously mentioned in the first section of this Chapter, its ornamentation and internal decoration, whether by a cross for Christ, gems, *pastiglia*, or by text as will be investigated in Chapter Four. It has already been demonstrated how the internal ray, of differing dimensions, lengths and interspersions, was a fairly constant motif throughout Renaissance halo design, although not always used.

However, there are occasions when the halo is not represented as a disk in any of its perpetuations, but with an altogether different shape and this next section will seek to set out and consider these varying and less pervasive designs. As previously, it will be necessary at times to pass outside the temporal and geographic boundaries of the study to extrapolate information for comparison and provide a basis for contextualisation.

The Table of Haloes demonstrates that the flat disk halo lying parallel to the picture plane has been the original and most common shape bestowed upon holy and imperial personages for centuries.¹¹² However, in early Christian art this was not the only shape utilised, since a motif that appears in Rome within mosaic and fresco portraits between the eighth and twelfth centuries is that of a square or rectangular halo.¹¹³ Extensive research by the archaeologists Grüneisen and Wilpert in the early twentieth century revealed a pre-Christian Egyptian source for this motif from the Roman period.¹¹⁴ An unusual example of a frescoed square halo is that of Apa Jeremias, who died at the end of the fifth century.¹¹⁵ Situated at Quibell at Saqqara, Egypt, his figure is depicted

¹¹² Examples abound, from wall paintings at Constantine's Palace, Trier, circa 307 AD, fourth century catacombs in Rome and El Baghaouat in Libya, sixth century wax encaustic icons of Christ at St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, to the c. 1570 mosaic that Arminio Zuccato executed from Tintoretto's cartoons in the Chiesa of San Pietro in Castello, Venice.

¹¹³ Ladner, Gerhart B., "Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: selected studies in history and art, I", *Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi*, 155, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1983, p. 115.

¹¹⁴ Mummification procedures changed so mummies were decorated with naturalistic portraits, in two forms. The head and neck were painted on a rectangular wooden panel which was fastened onto the mummy's face, or an image of the deceased was painted directly onto the shroud, showing them in front of their sepulchral pylons, so that their heads appeared "framed" by the pylon's top edge. This became the accepted format of the funerary portrait. Unlike the wooden portrait, shroud portraits could be full length, could include other figures, and were also square or rectangular, despite the contemporary use of the clipeus form for backgrounds. Ladner, p. 136, and Grüneisen, M. W., in "Le Portrait d'Apa Jérémie: Note à Propos du Soi-Disant Nimbe Rectangulaire", in *Extrait des Mémoires Présentés par Divers Savants à L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Tome XII, 2 Partie*, Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, MDCCCXII, pp 1-10, 2-7, passim.

¹¹⁵ Grüneisen, p. 2. Collinet-Guerin, classifies this square shape under "Pseudo-Nimbe", describing it as "carré planchette à portraits".

frontally, his head surrounded by a square halo which is in turn encircled by a disk halo, although at this stage he was merely “*venerable Jérémie*”, therefore not canonised.¹¹⁶

The symbolism of the square as a symbol of righteousness and excellence can be traced from Philo (1 AD), who additionally discusses the number four, and right angles in several treatises. Clement of Alexandria in *Stromata* (written after 200 AD) and Origen in *Homilies on the Book of Genesis* (c. 185-254) both describe the perfection of the square.¹¹⁷ Gradually the conflation of Hermes-Logos-Thoth–Anubis diffused into Egyptian mummification procedures so that what had once only been a decorative practice also embraced a new symbolism, thereby providing a source of this square halo, although the example found at Bawit is what Ladner terms a “mere frame-line” rather than a coloured field.¹¹⁸

The first textual evidence of a square halo is John the Deacon’s reference to the portrait of Pope Gregory (c. 540-604 AD) in his *S Gregorii Magni Vita*, written in the late 800s, noting that Gregory was “bearing around his head the likeness of a square, which is the sign for a living person, and not a crown”.¹¹⁹ Unlike the disk nimbus, this suggests that the square was not a type of halo, rather an indication that it should be considered as a picture panel.¹²⁰ It can be surmised from this that the presence of a square halo did not necessarily mean that the portrait was painted while the subject was still alive, it could have been painted posthumously. Two other early Roman examples where the square

¹¹⁶ Grüneisen, p. 2. Ladner, p. 129. Two frescoes show Apa Jeremias with the square and disk nimbus, one with the Virgin and Archangels, and one where he is alone. Ladner believes the frescoes were painted in the first half of the sixth century, soon after his death.

¹¹⁷ Ladner, p. 142.

¹¹⁸ Ladner, *ibid.*, pp. 142-147, *passim*.

¹¹⁹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, *Vita Gregorii Magni*, 75, col. 230, 231. “*circa verticem vero tabulae similitudinem, quod viventis insigne est, praeferens, non coronam*”

¹²⁰ The portrait was painted in *rota gypsea*, which was a very old form of portraiture. Ladner, p. 116.

nimbus is utilised are portraits of Pope John VII, (705 – 707 AD, and Pope Paschal I (c. 882), see Figs. 68 and 69).¹²¹

The shift in the significance of the square halo occurs in the cycle of papal portraits in St Peter's commissioned by Pope Nicholas III (circa 1277-1280) in which Pope Liberius (325-366) appears. Previously, all the popes before Silvester I were endowed with a circular halo and those after him with a papal tiara and circular halo.¹²² Now, Liberius has a square halo, he is “separated” from his peers and predecessors, which Ladner suggests is because of his stance on the Arian heresy, he was given a square halo in the second cycle as a mode of showing his ‘difference’.¹²³ This perfectly exemplifies the reasoning Durandus applies to the square halo, as a sign of someone who was human, but not as holy as a saint, although still deserving some form of visual distinction to elevate him or her from ordinary people. In *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (circa 1295) he spoke of the square halo as being less perfect than the circular halo bestowed on saints, but typifying additionally the four Cardinal Virtues.¹²⁴ He described it as “*cum aliquis praelatus aut sanctus virus pingitur, non in forma scuti rotundi, sed quadrati, corona ipsa depingitur*”,¹²⁵ therefore continuing the early significations discussed previously assigned by Philo, Clement of Alexandria and Origen of the square as a sign of excellence.

¹²¹ Osborne, p. 64, Footnote 39, signals that the icon in S Maria in Trastevere where a donor has a square halo might be a portrait of John VII, although other sources cited suggest it may have been a later addition. He cautions that “from the early eighth century until the late ninth century all known representations of contemporary figures in Roman art make use of this attribute, and that during this period the motif is used exclusively in this context.

¹²² Ladner, p. 121.

¹²³ Ladner, pp. 120-123.

¹²⁴ Gietmann, G., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol XI, pp. 80 – 81. Also cited by Grüneisen, Footnote 1, p. 2, as follows: “Any living prelate or Saint.....the glory is not fashioned in the shape of a shield, but four-square: that he may be shown to flourish in the four cardinal virtues ”

¹²⁵ Durandus, Gulielmus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lib. 1. 3, cited in eds Smith, W., and Cheetham, S., *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, II, London: John Murray, 1880, p. 1,401.

As well as Rome, the square or oblong halo is found in other centres, for example, a large collection of manuscripts and frescoes connected with Monte Cassino contain square haloes, as do many pontifical and exultet rolls. Sometimes in these liturgical rolls, its sides fold in so that it appears to be like a scroll.¹²⁶ Occasionally, the Church is personified by the application of a square halo. The use of the square halo did not continue into the quattrocento, although in the (1459-60) *Crucifixion* panel from the predella of his *San Zeno Altarpiece*, (Figs. 70, 70a) Andrea Mantegna positioned the shield of the centurion in the foreground of the picture plane in such a manner that its top half suggests a square halo, thereby alluding to Longinus, the Roman centurion who recognized Christ as the Son of God.¹²⁷ However, this was not the usual iconography for Longinus, as will be examined later in this section when polygonal haloes are discussed.

3.10 The Triangular Halo

Another halo form appearing from the quattrocento, particularly in Italy and Greece¹²⁸ was the triangular nimbus.¹²⁹ Usually given to God the Father, the triangle, suggests the Holy Trinity.¹³⁰

Prototype representations of the Holy Trinity had been developing since St Athanasius set out the doctrine relating to the Paraclete in his Creed, and the subsequent arguments propounded by the Church Fathers were being worked out by artists through experimental arrangements of the Trinity as three persons, sometimes only one of whom

¹²⁶ Collinet-Guerin, classifies this under “Pseudo-Nimbus”, describing it as “*en rouleau*”.

¹²⁷ Musée Louvre, Paris.

¹²⁸ Didron, Vol. 1, p. 58, cites an example at Mount Athos in which the letters representing “The Being” were inscribed in the three corners of the triangle.

¹²⁹ *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p.1401.

¹³⁰ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, p. 80. The triangular halo is a specific response by artists to dogmatic pronouncements debated and accepted by the Ecumenical Councils relating to the Holy Trinity.

had a flat disk cruciferous halo, at other times shown with a flat disk halo behind their heads or angels.¹³¹ The Fourth Lateran Council of November 1215, had declared the doctrine of the Filioque as a dogma of faith, in the First Constitution. During Session 6 of the Council of Basel (1431-1534 AD), the Definition of the Holy Ecumenical Synod of Florence was established and the doctrine was again clarified.¹³²

From this point, the triangular halo began to be adopted by artists as a symbol of the Trinity, and its use for God has continued up until the twenty-first century; sometimes its outline was coloured red, at other times it had a gold delineation, but it was always plain, there was never any decoration within the internal field, aside from its colour.¹³³ Particularly popular during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, examples can be found in the lunette above Cima da Coneglione's *Baptism* in San Giovanni in Bragora, Venice, (1492-94, Figs. 71, 71a),¹³⁴ in Gerolamo Mocetto's stained glass windows in SS Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, in Antoniazio Romano's *Altarpiece of the Confraternity of the Annunciation* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, (1500)¹³⁵(Figs. 72, 72a) and Tintoretto's *Martyrdom of St Stephen* of 1594 in S Giorgio, Venice.¹³⁶ Jacopo della Quercia executed triangular haloes for God in his marble reliefs on the portal of San Petronia in Bologna, (1425-38, Figs. 73, 74). Completely different from the *doxa* of Chapter One, the triangular halo, although plain and simple, nevertheless conveyed quite explicitly its iconography of the ultimate power wielded by the God-head, but in none of its manifestations does it emit light, an important point to note.

¹³¹ Didron, *Christian Iconography*, traces the development of the Holy Trinity in Vol II, pp 1- 63.

¹³² Tanner, Norman, P., ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, [www.ecum08.plus\[accessed](http://www.ecum08.plus[accessed) 14.07.09.]

¹³³ The iconography of this type of nimbus is slightly different from the triangle surrounding the all-seeing eye of God, which developed in the Renaissance

¹³⁴ This lunette has been tentatively attributed to Cima.

¹³⁵ The panel is painted with tempera, but the triangular halo behind God's head, situated in the upper left corner, is very faint and difficult to discern, especially owing to the position of the altarpiece.

¹³⁶ Also, within S. Giorgio, there is a statue of God with a triangular halo in front of the High Altar.

3.11 The Polygonal Halo

Another example of the halo being influenced by theological discourse is the polygonal halo, most specifically the hexagonal halo. The first hexagonal halo occurs in Giotto's cycle of Franciscan Virtues in the Lower Church at Assisi. This design was innovated by the Franciscans based on the connection of the number six with various virtues propounded by Bonaventura in several of his works. Discussing the six degrees of sanctity in *In Festo Omnium Sanctorum Sermo I, IX*, (Quaracchi, 1901), p 598 ff, the six degrees of humility in *De S. Patre Nostro Francisco Sermo II*, and in *De Sex Alis Seraphim*, he sets out the six virtues that Franciscan superiors require, highlighting the connection to the six wings of the seraphim that were present when St Francis was stigmatised,¹³⁷ thus it can be seen that the number six references many qualities important in Franciscan liturgy. Andrea Pisano subsequently used hexagonal haloes for the personification of the Virtues on the Baptistery doors in Florence between 1330 and 1336, (Figs. 75, 75a-e) and in 1347 Alesso di Andrea bestowed a pink hexagonal halo on *Hope* in the Duomo at Pistoia. Hexagonal haloes appear in a *cassone* panel of 1436 executed by Giovanni della Ponte, showing *The Seven Liberal Arts*, (Prado, Madrid), which is also the subject of the companion panel to the Pesellino shop's c. 1460 *The Seven Virtues* cassone panel (Figs. 76, 76a-g) where dark blue heptagonal haloes are replicated.¹³⁸ In both these examples, their circumference is scalloped rather than straight-edged, traced by an internal gold linear border. The Virtues' heads lie in a variety of poses against their haloes, which lie parallel to the picture plane. A rather different use for the hexagonal halo occurs in Bernardo Daddi's 1338 *Crucifixion* at the

¹³⁷ Ladner, p. 167.

¹³⁸ *The Seven Virtues* cassone panel is at the Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama. Dr Jeannine O'Grody, Chief Curator and Curator of European Art at Birmingham, kindly confirmed for this thesis that the haloes are painted in tempera and the gold lines have been applied using mordant gilding, some of which may have been reinforced. O'Grody, J., (jogrody@artsbma.org) *Pesellino Seven Virtues*. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk) 21st September 2009.

Courtauld, (Figs. 77, 77a) where a hexagonal halo, containing very large punch-marks, has been given to Longinus, the Roman centurion who pierced Christ's side and then pronounced that he was truly the Son of God.¹³⁹

Aside from the hexagonal halo and its specific Franciscan usage, there does not seem to be any particular formula relating to the number of sides a polygonal halo may have, nor any rule relating to whether the edges are scalloped or straight. Taddeo Gaddi's tondos (1327-32) of *Two Virtues* in the Baroncelli Chapel, Florence, (Fig. 78), have pentagonal sides which give a concave effect, whereas he has bestowed full lozenge-shaped haloes on the *Two Theological Virtues*, (Figs. 79, 80) in the same locus, as a distinction of their superiority in the hierarchy of Virtues. However, Santa Croce, where the Baroncelli Chapel is situated is a Franciscan Church, and the Franciscans venerated the five wounds of Christ, so this thesis proposes it is another Franciscan innovation. In Padua the 1370 frescoes attributed to Giusto de'Menabuoi feature nine-pinnacled polygonal haloes bestowed on *The Cardinal Virtues of Fortitude and Temperance* (Fig. 81) lying flat to the picture plane, although their heads are slightly turned.¹⁴⁰ Most unusually, God is given a gold-sprinkled, sixteen-pinnacled, scalloped halo in Francesco Pesellino and Filippo Lippi's 1455-60 *Trinity and Four Saints*, from *The Pistoia Santa Trinità Altarpiece*, (Figs. 82, 82a).¹⁴¹ Semi-oval in shape and seemingly slightly concave, to the author's knowledge this is the only occasion that such a nimbus has been given to God.

¹³⁹ Mark Zucker supplies a very helpful appendix, writing that the occurrence of the polygonal halo within unattributed Italian *Crucifixion* scenes is almost a guarantee of a Siense provenance, p. 68.

¹⁴⁰ *The Cardinal Virtues of Fortitude and Temperance* fresco, Giusto de'Menabuoi (attributed), 1370s, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua.

¹⁴¹ Egg tempera and oil on panel, National Gallery, London.

3.12 Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna's *Adoration of the Magi* and a proposal for their polygonal haloes

The examples supplied so far have demonstrated that the polygonal halo, regardless of the number of sides, was frequently utilised in Siena and Tuscany, but more rarely in Venice and Padua, (see ToH, pages 12–23). Although the Florentine Giusto de'Menabuoi did employ them in Padua as mentioned above, Giotto did not utilise any haloes for the Virtues in his Arena Chapel frescoes, not even for the personification of Justice, whose pivotal position means that she is functioning simultaneously as a Virtue and also as a parallel to Christ as Judge in the *Last Judgment* fresco.¹⁴² However, one fine Venetian example is that of Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna's 1445-47 *Adoration of the Magi* panel, (Gemaldegalerie, Berlin, Fig. 83) in which the Three Wise Men have a total of ten, seven or five visible pinnacles on their haloes, their heads and/or crowns obscuring the others. These specifically-shaped haloes appear to be operating very particularly. In the quattrocento and later, there was a renewed interest in the Magi's dual status as philosopher-astronomers/ Kings. There was no Cult of the Magi in Venice although humanist circles there constantly exchanged literature particularly via the Florentine/Venetian Camaldolese communities. The Camaldolese themselves were heavily influenced by the texts of the Egyptian Desert Fathers and disseminated "this Christian Platonic spirituality" throughout Europe via their translations.¹⁴³ As well as translating Patristic texts, Traversari, the Calmaldolese Hellenist at the monastery of S. Maria degli Angeli, Florence, had been involved with Cardinal Bessarion in writing the decrees at the Council of Florence, seeking to reconcile the culture of the East with the Latin West.¹⁴⁴ *The Adoration of the Magi* by Vivarini and D'Alemagna is a visual realisation of this ecclesiastical reconciliation,

¹⁴² The importance of Justice's parallellism with Christ is emphasised through postural mirroring. Riess, Jonathon, B., "Justice and Common Good in Giotto's Arena Chapel Frescoes", *Arte Cristiana*, Vol LXXII, 1984, pp. 69-80. However, this thesis notes that Justice is crowned like an enthroned Madonna but without any halo, and Christ is adorned with a large cruciform disk halo.

¹⁴³ Lackner, p. 15.

¹⁴⁴ Lackner, p. 23.

suggesting that the Eastern and Western Churches needed to be united to thwart the growing Turkish threat.¹⁴⁵ Additionally, important reference is being made to the Doctrine of the *Filioque* adopted by both Churches at the Council of Florence, through the rather spectacular gold nimbus lying flat behind the Holy Spirit, in the shape of the dove. Almost central it is also receiving rays of divine light from God's "three-dimensional" nimbus above, both haloes are also surrounded by gold rays, (Fig. 83a). Some Carolingian theologians had suggested that the Three Magi were descendants of Noah's sons, but writing in 1489 in *Apologia*, Ficino asked, "Why do you doubt to use the name of Magus, a name gracious in the Gospel, which does not signify a Witch or Conjurer, but a wise man or a Priest?"¹⁴⁶ This indicates a shift in perception of the Magi, and this modification of their role will be visualised in the Vivarini/d'Alemagna *Adoration* as will be seen shortly.

In 1403, thanks to a bequest by a humanist donor, two public schools were established, one at San Marco and one at Rialto, both a public commitment by La Serenissima to *studia humanitas*, their educational emphasis was upon the practical application of humanist studies.¹⁴⁷ Within this Venetian humanist atmosphere therefore, in a city of many churches dedicated to Old Testament Saints and with renewed interest in "rehabilitating" the image of the Magi, this thesis proposes that it was an innovative and sophisticated step for Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna to have used scalloped polygonal haloes for the Three Magi. If the tradition that they were descended from the sons of Noah had been accepted, still they were not divine like the

¹⁴⁵ Blass-Simmen, Brigit, "Laetentur coeli oder die byzantische Hälfte des Himmels. Die Anbetung der Könige von Antonio Vivarini und Giovanni d'Alemagna in der Gemäldegalerie Berlin", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, No. 4, 2009, pp. 449-478, p. 449. This thesis is grateful to Dr Blass-Simmen for her communications regarding her recent research on this painting. Blass-Simmen, B. (bbs@blass-simmen.de) *The Adoration of the Magi*. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), 1st September 2009.

¹⁴⁶ Serracino-Ingloft, Peter, "Ficino the Priest", in *Marsilio Ficino: his theology, his philosophy, his legacy*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ King, Margaret L., *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986, p. 227.

Holy Family and additionally they were Gentiles so they could not have a disk halo, like a saint; yet they were involved in the narrative of the Nativity so the by-then obsolete square halo was inappropriate. The bestowal of the polygonal halo, however, distinguishes the Magi from the other figures within the narrative, according them a status above their regal rank, and indeed the different number of sides also acts as a mode of separation between them, (Figs. 83b-d). The sign is dualist, hierarchical and hierarchizing,¹⁴⁸ therefore these particular haloes are designating a hierarchy. According to Durandus the disk nimbus was a representation of perfection without beginning or end and thus was utilised for Christ, Mary (and sometimes, Joseph, in Italian works, as in this *Adoration of the Magi*), angels, The Apostles, Mary Magdalen and saints. However, Joseph was also given a slightly different type of nimbus, as in Luca Signorelli's *Sacra Famiglia*, oil on panel, c. 1495, Uffizi, Florence, where the Virgin and Christ Child have large gold-rimmed, gold sprinkled transparent haloes, and Joseph's head is surrounded by a "sunburst" nimbus of slim gold rays. He is given a gold polygonal scalloped nimbus with six points visible, in the *Retablo del Presepio* (Fig. 196), so his status seems to be alternating between a saint and quasi-saintliness.¹⁴⁹

However, one final and important point to note is that the eldest, kneeling Magi is actually a portrait of the Greek emperor, John VIII Paleologus – who was still alive at this time.¹⁵⁰ Immediately, therefore, the polygonal halo has acquired yet another new stratum of meaning in this work, not only differentiating mortal and holy figures, but additionally identifying a contemporaneous living person. Once again, as posited in the Prolegomena, the halo is playing an active role within a narrative, it is mediating

¹⁴⁸ Kristeva formalises this semiotic function by claiming that "the ideologeme of the sign is therefore, in a general way, like the ideologeme of the symbol", p.40.

¹⁴⁹ Pinacoteca Nazionale, Cagliari, Sardinia, tempera on panel, attributed to the Maestro del Presepio, late 1400s.

¹⁵⁰ Blass-Simmen, p. 9, and E-mail.

between being a decorative adornment and a sign that is imparting information about its owner's status and character, an identification mark, and contemporaneous issues.

3.13 The halo of rays and artistic Treatises

The ray halo has been considered regarding its formulation as ridges within frescoes, but there is also a type of halo composed entirely of rays. Here, it is not the intention to consider the circle of rays placed around the head of a *Beato* or *Beata*, i.e. a person who has not yet been canonized but who is considered "Blessed", such as in the Chiesa di San Pietro Martire in Murano, where a series of Dominican *Beati* and *Saints* have been frescoed under the ceiling and between the arches, probably dating from the cinquecento, (Fig. 84). They do not have, strictly speaking, a halo. Artists such as the Dominican Fra Angelico also used rays like this around the heads of those considered worthy of salvation in *The Last Judgement* altarpiece of 1425-30 (Museum of San Marco, Florence).¹⁵¹ Instead, the halo of rays to be considered next is one that is utilised for Christ, both as the Christ Child and also as the adult Christ, in addition to its application to the Virgin.

The second century marble head of *Sol Invicto*, (Fig. 8) has five very solid rays radiating from the top of the figure's head, but thereafter this is not a design that will be utilised constantly within Christian art until much later in the trecento. Prior to this, in illustrated manuscripts, flat disk haloes are used, often coloured and circumscribed with gold. Bartolomeo Pellerano da Camogli's 1346 signed and dated panel, *Madonna of Humility*, (Figs. 85, 85a-b), is a good example of a halo of rays.¹⁵² Slim gold rays

¹⁵¹ On 30th October 1625, Pope Urban VIII issued a Bull prohibiting the use of a halo for anyone who was not officially a saint.

¹⁵² Tempera and gold leaf panel, Galleria di Palermo, Sicily.

radiate from around the Virgin's head, punctuating in tiny stars in the longer rays. The Christ Child also has graduated rays around His head, the very longest emerging from the top. Although the artist was Genoan and had a workshop there, he may have painted this at Avignon. As well as the Annunciation scene in the upper borders outside the fictive frame, the lower register shows the instruments of Christ's Passion, flanked by kneeling worshippers. The tiny stars at the ends of the rays match those contained in roundels bordering the scene, and also on the Virgin's maphorion, the *Stella Maris*, "Star of the Sea". The halo of rays continued to be developed and used into the quattrocento when, for example, a *Virgin and Child with Angels* (circa 1410, Fig. 86, 86a) tentatively attributed to Jean Malouel features the Christ Child with two sets of extremely long rays, the upper tips of some having a tiny cross motif, thus referencing His future sacrifice.¹⁵³ Jacques Daret's 1434 *Visitation* (Fig. 87, 87a) also has very long metallic-looking rays surrounding the heads of the figures, as does Hans Multschen's 1437 tavola containing scenes of both the *Oration in the Garden* and the *Resurrection*, (Figs. 88, 88a). In the former, Christ's nimbus contains two or three red rays interspersed with golden rays, in the latter, a "fleur de lys" forms a cruciform design, surrounded by medium-length golden rays. (See pages 24-25 of the Table of Haloes for later examples of the halo of rays.)

It is important to distinguish between these arrangements of rays currently under discussion, and the rays that will be discussed in Chapter Five, "Light, Shadow, Perspective and the Halo" in connection with works by Simone Martini/Lippo Memmi. The rays circumscribing the Virgin's halo in Martini's *Annunciation* are an additional highlighting of *divine light* as an agent of God, and they radiate **from** the nimbus rather

¹⁵³ This canvas, in the Gemaldegalerie, Berlin, also has a flat disk gold halo for the Virgin.

than being a **nimbus of rays**.¹⁵⁴ This is very different, however, from Bartolomeo Vivarini's signed 1459 *San Giovanni di Capistrano* tavola (Musée Louvre, Paris, Fig. 89). The Franciscan, a follower of San Bernardino of Siena, is shown in miniature as if about to step out from the flag on which he stands, his *I H S* emblem held forward. His head is surrounded by tripartite alternating bunches of short and long, slim gold rays. This type of ray nimbus was also very popular in France, Flanders and Northern Europe, not just for God, but for the Virgin and the Christ Child, (see ToH, pp. 20-23). It is noticeable how prominent the Northern European artists made their ray haloes, both in terms of extreme length and sometimes breadth, but this practice was not followed in the Italian schools. Rather, when implementing this "fringe" of rays around the Virgin, like Hans Memling's *Standing Virgin and Child*, (Figs. 91, 91a), the Italian artists arranged them in a more delicate "sunburst" arrangement, with equal undulations of shorter rays.¹⁵⁵ In the Chiesa di SS Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, there is a circa late thirteenth century panel, *Madonna della Pace* by an anonymous Byzantine artist, in which the Christ child has red rays radiating around His head, (Fig. 90). In c. 1455, Rogier van der Weyden used a design of three bunches of graduated rays for Christ in his panel showing the *Life of John the Baptist* and this more subtle manner is frequently used from then on, particularly within Venice, (see ToH, pages 21 and 25). In his 1460 *Cristo Benedicente* (Musée Louvre, Paris, Fig. 92), Giovanni Bellini has painted a semi-lozenge design of three sets of bunched golden rays radiating from the top and each side of Christ's head. The outer rays of each bunch graduate in size so that the central six rays are the tallest, thus he has formed a new cruciform design additionally, although

¹⁵⁴ In Paolo Veneziano's *Madonna col Bambino e due committenti* tavola, circa 1330, Accademia, Venice, the Christ Child sits within a mandorla in which gold rays radiate from His body to the outer circumference of the mandorla, each segment of rays interspersed with stars. The Virgin's left hand holds the lower border of the mandorla, complying with the "Playtera" Byzantine formula of representation.

¹⁵⁵ There is a rather unusual example of rays lying over a flat gold disk nimbus in Jean Malouel's c. 1400 tavola, *Compianto sul Cristo*, Musée Louvre, Paris, but this is not a practice executed by Italian artists.

this is only a trace of the former heavy red cross pattée arms previously utilised.¹⁵⁶ A similar design is found in his *Baptism*, 1500-02 at the Chiesa di San Corona, Vicenza, (Figs. 93, 93a) although additionally here he uses tiny rays interspersed between the bunched larger rays around the circumference of Christ's head. A later version of *The Risen Christ Blessing* shows Christ, full frontal again, a half-lozenge shape of three bunches of graduated golden rays radiating from each side and the top of his head, (Figs. 94, 94a).¹⁵⁷ A further refinement of this type of design can be found in Giovanni's *The Blessing Christ* of c. 1505-10, (Fig. 95). In this, only two of the rayed bunches are visible, there is a trace of the bunch radiating from the right side of Christ's head. However, these graduated rays are extremely fine and silver-coloured, graduating to two high points, as opposed to one highest ray in the other examples just cited.¹⁵⁸ Vincenzo Foppa similarly uses this ray lozenge in several of his *Madonna col Bambino* panels, specifically his 1485 panel in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, where gold rays adorn the head of the Christ Child Benedicente. In his 1498 *The Blessing Redeemer*, Alvise Vivarini (Fig. 96) refines the ray lozenge to very small, short rays, but then Marco Basaiti in *The Risen Christ* enlarges and enhances the rays once more so that a central high ray is surrounded by two curved rays on either side. In some ways this is a "quasi-cruciform" halo, but one that perhaps is more obvious is from Giotto's shop, *The Peruzzi Altarpiece*, in which a blessing Christ in a central panel flanked by saints in other, separate panels, gazes out at the spectator, three long, rectangular cross arms radiate from His head, all containing an 'X' design running through them, (Figs. 97, 97a).¹⁵⁹ What distinguishes the cruciform halo from the usual cruciferous halo is that

¹⁵⁶ Hugo van der Goes bestowed long golden rays all around the Virgin in his *Adoration of the Magi* panel, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

¹⁵⁷ Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.

¹⁵⁸ Oil on poplar panel, currently at the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

¹⁵⁹ Usually at the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, North Carolina, currently on loan to the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. The painting is c. 1310-15, tempera and gold leaf on panel, 105.7 x 250.2 cm.

there is no bounding circle to define any sort of perimeter. Cruciform haloes are uncommon, the cruciferous is the usual form.

In the cinquecento, the half lozenge and lozenge-shaped nimbus undergoes a further metamorphosis in the workshops of Raphael, Tintoretto and Titian, so that the individual rays of gold become merged into a mistiness of white or yellow light, becoming an actual half or full lozenge. Different from the triangular haloes discussed earlier in this Chapter, they can fulfil the same function. Raphael in his *Disputà* fresco of 1505-10 in the Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, Rome, (Figs. 98, 98a) places a lozenge nimbus behind God's head.

Over the course of his prolific career, Tintoretto utilised a variety of nimbus shapes and designs, their luminosity and size also changing along with their colour, which often ranged from a bright yellow glow to a nebulous white emanation. His work for the Scuola di San Rocco is a virtuoso display of these many nimbus varieties, including another change to the semi-lozenge where instead of being a vaporous mass, once again rays are present, but this time they are rays of light, rather than rays of gold, and this signals a shift in artistic practice. Two excellent examples from the Scuola di San Rocco programme are *The Ascent to Calvary* (1565-67)¹⁶⁰ (Figs. 99, 99a) and the *Adoration of the Magi*, 1583-87, (Figs. 100, 100a).¹⁶¹ In the latter a yellow rayed semi-lozenge surrounds the Christ Child's profile, His mother's circular light-evanescence contrasting with it; in the former, the half-diamond light radiation is punctuated by three slightly broader rays. These nimbi are different from the previous haloes discussed

¹⁶⁰ Painted for the entrance to the Sala dell'Albergo in front of the *Crucifixion*, signed, dated oil on canvas, 525 x 390.

¹⁶¹ Painted for the Sala Inferiore of the Scuola di San Rocco, signed, oil on canvas, 525 x 544 cm.

from the ducento and trecento, they are much more fugitive, once again Kristeva's term *semanalysis* is perhaps more appropriate to analyse these.¹⁶²

Like Alberti's work, the Milanese Lomazzo's (1538-1600) *Trattato*, published in Venice in 1584 had a great impact on artists. He considered proportion, movement, colour, light and perspective in the first five books but additionally considered iconography, and like Armenini (although writing slightly later at the end of the cinquecento), felt that painting should further the cause of Christianity via its images, reiterating Alberti's proposition that painting assists its spectator to be pious.¹⁶³

As in Gilio da Fabriano's 1564 dialogue on painting, elements of Counter-Reformation responses can be detected, in that much more realism and accuracy is expected, particularly to invoke an appropriate emotional response.

Prior to this, Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) had published *Lettere*, in Italian rather than Latin, in Venice in six volumes between 1537 and 1557. Particularly fluent on the use of Venetian *colorito*, he also utilises the concept of *ekphrasis* to convey the concept of naturalism.¹⁶⁴ In 1548 Paolo Pino published *Dialogo di pittura*, also in Italian, in Venice. He himself was a painter, his teacher was Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo, an artist who worked mostly in Venice although originally from Brescia.¹⁶⁵ Pino's *Dialogo* was a response to Alberti's *De pittura*, which the former felt was written from a mathematical viewpoint rather than from a painter's, and consequently there is much

¹⁶² Roudiez, p. 18, "Kristeva's concerns have sometimes led her to prefer "semanalysis" to "semiotics" – owing to the etymology of "analysis": *analyein*, to dissolve; dissolving the sign, taking it apart, open up new areas of signification",

¹⁶³ *Trattato*, VI, I, p. 280, cited in Rensselaer W. Lee, "Ur Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting", in *Art Bulletin*, 1940, pp 197 – 269, p. 237.

¹⁶⁴ Hall, James, "Pietro Aretino (1492-1556), Paolo Pino (fl. 1534-65), and Lodovico Dolce (1508-68) in Murray, C., ed., *Key Writers on Art: From Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century*, London and New York: Routledge, [2003], 2005, p. 61.

¹⁶⁵ Hall, p. 61.

more emphasis on colour in Pino's treatise, less on mathematical formulae to achieve perspectival effects.¹⁶⁶

In Tintoretto's work, colour and the colour of light are pre-eminent concerns of the painter. The emotion he conveys is very strong, and referring to Gilio da Fabriano's and later, Armenini's, expectations of art aiding Christianity, it can be seen that Tintoretto's new, dazzling yet transient nimbi are operating as a component which is assisting in this process of asserting Christ's humanity. He has dissolved the sign from its trecento "materiality" in semiotic terms. Although the nimbus did not and could not physically exist in the terrestrial world, nevertheless it can be seen that it is intrinsic to the "display" of Christ to the spectator, mediating between viewer and the Son of God, and adhering to the Council of Trent's 25th Decree that

. . . nothing may appear that is disorderly or unbecoming and confusedly arranged, nothing that is profane, nothing disrespectful, since holiness becometh the house of God.¹⁶⁷

3.14 The ring or circlet halo

Ekphrasis and naturalism have just been mentioned, and the latter certainly has an impact on yet another type of halo, the gold circlet that begins to make an appearance from 1460 in the works of Giovanni Bellini. Although there are simultaneously "glass" and "silk" haloes being produced in Venice, Bellini begins to bestow a plain gold circlet halo, parallel to the picture plane, on many of his Madonnas in paintings from 1460 onwards, (see ToH, pages 16-21). He does not always use them, his shop has a repertoire of halo designs, textures and colours, and as will be seen in Chapter Six, on

¹⁶⁶ Hall, p. 62.

¹⁶⁷ Decree 25, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*

occasions he deletes them completely from his compositions, (see ToH, pages 17–25). Many patrons in Venice contemporaneously commissioned private devotional works and works for public view in a “conservative” format, i.e. they still required gold-leaf flat disk haloes, which the Vivarini bottega accomplished with great skill into the very late quattrocento, and Lotto also was able to produce when required even in the early cinquecento. However, inexorably, more and more artists begin to execute the very simple gold circlet halo, often situated in the same position as the flat disk halo, although there were also elliptical, hovering ring haloes, such as the Bolognese Amico Aspertini’s in his 1515 *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Figs. 101, 101a) at the Uffizi. One of Aspertini’s hallmarks is the great size of his ring haloes, they seem to have a very broad diameter even when foreshortened. Other artists, such as Lotto, sometimes utilised circlet haloes of a very small diameter, almost “hugging” the outline of its subject’s head, as in his *Madonna and Child with Sts Jerome, Peter, and Francis and a Female Saint*, c. 1505, (Figs. 102, 102a),¹⁶⁸ although on other occasions his, too, were large, though parallel to the picture plane. The ring halo was also adopted in Florence in a variety of positions, as demonstrated by Ghirlandaio in his fresco cycle in the Tornabuoni Chapel, Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, where they are also quite large.

A specific variation on the ring halo utilised for the Virgin and a further example of theological discourse directly influencing the halo’s depiction is that of the twelve-starred halo, as this is a direct reference to the Immaculacy of the Virgin, i.e. her conception without sin, not the Incarnation of Christ. Originally Bonaventura had linked the Revelations text of the ‘Woman of the Apocalypse’, who “was robed with the sun, beneath her feet the moon, and on her head a crown of twelve stars” with the Immaculate Virgin. The concept of her immaculacy had caused great debate,

¹⁶⁸ National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. Lotto has signed the work “LOTVS” across St Jerome’s scroll.

particularly between the Franciscans and the Dominicans, the latter believing she had been absolved *in utero* like John the Baptist, though not exempted from original sin. Conversely, the Franciscan scholar the Blessed John Duns Scotus cited the doctrine of *potuit, deuit, fecit*, meaning that God could create a person who was simultaneously human but exempt from original sin in body and soul.¹⁶⁹ In 1477, Pope Sixtus IV recognized the Immaculate Conception as a Feast Day in December, and gave special indulgences to those who attended services on that day. A great supporter of the Virgin, he also established the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, in Siena, as well as encouraging devotion to the Rosary.¹⁷⁰ The *Song of Songs* and many other metaphors relating to her purity were used, and typological references were made to her as the Second Eve, and so the representations of her with a halo of twelve stars began to appear, particularly in the late cinquecento, as illustrated by Tintoretto's post-1588 *Paradiso* (Figs. 103, 103a).

The only other time a starred halo is endowed is for St John of Nepomuk, a Bohemian saint, (c. 1345-93), killed for opposing the seizure of Church property. Legend says that on the night he was killed, five stars appeared over the river where he was drowned, hence he has a five-starred halo.

3.15 Chapter Conclusions

This Chapter has examined major changes in the way that the halo has been “made” by artists, from a simple circle in early manuscripts and frescoes to its sophisticated depiction as a nebulous mist around the Saviour's head, thereby reverting to its etymological antecedents, (see 1.1). The word “made” rather than “depicted” is used,

¹⁶⁹ Reeves, Eileen, *Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 141-143.

¹⁷⁰ Blondin, Jill Elizabeth, in Verstegen, Ian (ed.), *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the Della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2007, Footnote 27, p. 26.

because it seems that there has been an actual process of “construction” of these haloes. This is evidenced in the great care taken by artists in the execution of haloes through the use of colour, ridging, punching, incision work and *pastiglia* embellishments within the internal fields which have been considered, together with stylus decoration of their external pinnacle border. Additions of precious metals and precious gems have been noted, together with substantial alterations in the physical shape of the halo. Theological discourse has been shown to have been displayed via the halo, as in the square nimbus bestowed on Liberius, the proleptic red-rimmed halo in the Frari *Crucifixion* and Paolo Veneziano’s *St John the Baptist*, the hexagonal halo given to Longinus and the Virtues, and the twelve-starred halo endowed on the Virgin. Therefore it can be seen that far from being a mere decorative element within an artwork, the halo is a site of information, it is where dogma resides and from whence it is visually disseminated. It is also hierarchising, e.g., Fig. 196, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, where the Virgin has a disk halo, symbol of perfection, and Joseph has a polygonal halo. He is her husband, part of the Holy Family and has been distinguished from the shepherds by this halo, and also his rich gown. The two kneeling figures adore the Christ Child, unadorned, unlike the Vivarini/d’Alemagna *Adoration*, (Fig. 83), where the multi-pinnacled haloes of the Magi highlight their difference from the crowd, yet unlike their crowns, also symbols of their rank, the haloes do not emit light like those of the Holy Family. This relates to Pierce’s triadic semiotic model referred to in the Introduction: the representamen is being manipulated by the artists and the interpretant consequently changes. The halo is engaging in a contemporaneous, cultural discourse with the society in which it is produced, as highlighted in Chapter One, such as in Giotto’s application at Assisi, or in Cimabue’s “sunburst” arrow haloes. Additionally, economic and industrial factors have been shown to impact significantly upon the halo, most specifically in artists’ appropriation of motifs from architectural and

commercial sources, and the application of cutting-edge technology as a new means of “depicting” this important component, and in developing a new quality of translucency. Finally, in relation to this last point and its innovation within Venice, it cannot be stressed too much how the unique environment of this city exerts an influence on the new technology of the “glass” and “silk veil” haloes; the constant shifting of light and its reflection off the ever-present water and buildings, the vaporous Autumn mists and the Summer *afa*, the humidity brought by the Sirocco, are all factors that must be constantly acknowledged when considering the haloes of the Venetian artists, which changed forever the way that they were painted.

CHAPTER FOUR

TEXTUALITY IN THE HALO

4.1 Introduction

The presence of ornamentation within, and on the halo by decorative elements has just been considered, and this Chapter will now consider the application of text to the halo, in the form of letters or characters which may be monograms, appellations, names, invocations and salutations, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and pseudo-Kufic. Oleg Grabar suggests that writing cannot be considered as “the signifier of the signified”. Instead, and drawing on Derrida, he moots that it is “the signifier of the signifier”,¹ because in the relationship between the writing itself and its subject matter, the actual words stand between them.² Derrida states that:

The formal essence of the signified is *presence*, and the privilege of its proximity to the logos as *phonè* is the privilege of essence.³

Within this Chapter, the *grammé*, the term Derrida uses for a unit of writing, will be utilised to consider the presence of pseudo-scripts, imitative of Arabic and Hebraic writing (often without any literal meaning), as well as actual Kufic script within Renaissance halo design. In some instances, this script may itself be an ornamental embellishment, a “*calliphoric*” means of providing pleasure, or what Grabar defines as

¹ Grabar, Oleg, from “The Mediation of Ornament”, in Plate, S. Brent, (ed.) *Religion, art and visual culture: a cross-cultural reader*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002, pp. 101-105, p. 101.

² Grabar, *ibid.*

³ Derrida, Jacques, *Of Grammatology*, (trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak), Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, p. 18. In *Image, Music, Text*, London: Fontana Press, 1977, p. 35, Roland Barthes describes God as a “logothete, a founder of a language”.

“*terpnoipoietic*”, something that carries beauty.⁴ There will therefore be two main strands to this investigation of textuality: firstly the consideration of the actual letters and/or words and their relationship to the halo, together with the application by certain artists of pseudo-scripts and why they have used these instead of actual lettering; and secondly, how these “scripts” functioned within the halo. As indicated in the Prolegomena, the presence of certain forms of text may additionally be a temporal indicator, and this will be argued, in parallel with Derrida’s sense of “*une trace instituée*”, the built-in trace that is resident in text.⁵ Here, it is important to distinguish between epigraphy and palaeography, the latter concerned with studying actual modes of writing in ancient manuscripts, epigraphy examining both the lettering and the meaning of inscriptions on stone and metal.⁶ Immediately, therefore, an oxymoronic situation will pertain in this Chapter when the noun “inscription” and the verb “to inscribe” are considered in relation to the halo, since although its surface is visible to the spectator inside the artwork in which it is situated, and though sometimes the halo is itself “constructed” from gold leaf, and there has to be a physical, i.e. visual, engagement with it in order to read its text, in the terrestrial world the halo does not have actual, physical properties. Again, it will be seen that this oscillation of the halo between terrestrial/other-worldly is problematic, therefore additional semioticians’ approaches will be applied to the textual elements to attempt to unravel this conundrum. Writing can be made eternal,⁷ and although the halo does not exist in reality, the text contained on/within it does, even if it has not been uttered in speech. Thus precise epigraphic terms are being used with the proviso that this enigma is borne in mind, together with the consideration that the pseudo-texts may additionally have inherent palaeographic qualities which are also being applied to an

⁴ Auld, Sylvia, Shorter Review on “The Mediation of Ornament, The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts 1989 (Bollingen Series XXXV – 38) by *Oleg Grabar*, Princeton, NJ and London: Princeton University Press”, in *Art History*, Vol. 17, Number 1, March 1994, pp. 136-138, p. 137.

⁵ Grabar, p. 102.

⁶ Sandys, Sir John Edwin, *Latin epigraphy: an introduction to the study of Latin Inscriptions*, Cambridge: 1927, Second edition revised, Groningen, 1969, p.1.

⁷ Grabar, p. 103.

object that is essentially non-existent. In this Chapter, epigraphy and palaeography will be drawn on to provide tools for interpretation of the halo's design and the implications for understanding it as a bearer of meaning. These tools will be applied heuristically, i.e. rather than rehearsing extensive research in epigraphy and palaeography in its own right, its insights will be deployed to aid further interrogation of the ontology of the halo, the central question of this study.

Didron's 1886 *Christian Iconography* described his acquisition of a manuscript from Mount Athos, the *Guide de la Peinture*, which he subsequently published,⁸ (see also 1.8). Only written in the eighteenth century by Dionysius of Fournas, the greater part of it discusses Christian iconography utilising very old Byzantine sources. Mostly textual, it deals almost exclusively with painting, unlike similar treatises which considered other artistic practices and frequently contained designs as reference points.⁹ It contains instructions to inscribe specific letters on the internal cross arms of the nimbus, so that the *omicron* is to be placed on the right-hand arm, the *omega* on the upper, vertical arm, and the *nu* on the left-hand arm, thus spelling out the words "I am that I am".¹⁰ On other occasions, the words "He is" appear on the cross arms. In the Latin West, Didron notes that artists additionally sometimes apply the word "Rex" on the three cross arms citing a drawing in the *Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum* of an ivory book cover used for the Gospels, which had originally been in the Museum of San Michele in Murano.¹¹

⁸ Didron's discovery of the *Hermeneia*, as it is also known, are discussed in Scheller, Robert, W., trans. Michael Hoyle, *Exemplum: Model-book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages ca. 900 – ca. 1450*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995, in "Appendix: Byzantine Model Books?"

⁹ Barasch, Mosche, *Theories of Art: from Plato to Winckelmann*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 84

¹⁰ Didron, 1965, pp. 46-47. He refers to a "cruciform" nimbus when describing a halo intersected by internal cross arms, rather than the descriptor "cruciferous" that is utilised throughout this study for the same design, as set out in Chapter One.

¹¹ Didron, p. 47, quoting Gori, Antonio Francesco, *Thesaurus Veterum diptychorum Consulariimi et Ecclesiasticorum*, Vols 3 folio, Florence: Gaetano Albizzini, 1759. Although this author has seen another ivory Evangelorium from the Camaldolese monastery of San Michele in Murano said to date from the sixth century, she has not seen the specific example cited by Didron. The Evangelorium she viewed, however, did not have any text within Christ's nimbus.

Very occasionally, in early Christian art, the Greek letters “X” and “P” appear within Christ’s halo as a monogram of the name *XPICTOC*, and although the Alpha and Omega, “A” and “Ω”, (the beginning and end) sometimes appear at the top of the artwork, or flanking the figure of Christ, they do not appear within the halo field itself.¹² Saints were not specifically identified with their written name before Iconoclasm, but a subsequent shift saw their names inscribed within the halo border. Additionally the sigla *IC* and *XC*, a monogram for *Iesous Cristos*, started to appear within His halo field.¹³ Furthermore, the initials of the Archangels Gabriel and Michael and the Prophets, appear inside their nimbus, and the monogram *MP ΘΥ* “Mother of God” for the Virgin.¹⁴ Prior to Iconoclasm, Henry Maguire argued, the identification of a saint within an icon was irrelevant, since it was the icon not its subject matter that conferred protection, although operating outside the Church’s control. However, a central tenet of post-Iconoclastic Byzantine belief was that the icon itself was the actual presence of the person it was depicting, whether Christ, the *Theotokos* (Mother of God) or a saint. This illustrates how different the post-Iconoclastic climate was, including this change in the status of saints, who as the mediators between worshippers and God were now under the jurisdiction of the Church. In this transfer of values relating to the “sign”, i.e. the contained “presence” of the saints, it was they themselves who were considered to perform miracles rather than the sum total of the icon, thus their individual identification became essential, not only through their physical representation, i.e. a specific type of beard, or hair colouring and style, but additionally through the inscription of their name.¹⁵ This belief that the saints themselves were actually “present” in their icons was God’s revelation through their visibility; even though they

¹² Didron, p. 66.

¹³ Boston, Karen, “The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts”, in Eastmond Antony and James, Liz, (eds.), *Icon and Word: the power of images in Byzantium: studies presented to Robin Cormack*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003, p. 35.

¹⁴ Didron, p. 75.

¹⁵ Boston, pp. 35-36.

were physically dead, they were spiritually active via their intercessory role, and the consequent power of the icons to work miracles thus ensured, and accumulated, further veneration.

In 787 AD, the Second Council of Nicaea, the Seventh Ecumenical Council, enacted the necessity of venerating icons, because this was the affirmation of the Incarnation of God through Christ, and the possibility of the deification of Man. The teaching of John of Damascus, encapsulated the new theology:

If he who is imaged is filled with grace, the materials [i.e. wood and paint, mosaic, tesserae, etc.] become participants of grace in proportion to his faith.¹⁶

This revelation of God is the presence of God, so by participating in this revelation the spectator is deified. The icon was not a representation of an absent person, it was the *presence* of the person, which is very significant,¹⁷ and as will be demonstrated, this will have ramifications for the didactic halo discussed in 4.3.

4.2 Trecento use of pseudo-Kufic, pseudo-Mongol and pseudo-Hebraic script

As described above, in Byzantine icons, name inscriptions were frequently situated at the side of a halo, or flanking a figure, whereas in Europe, the practice of inscribing a saint's name inside his or her halo gained popularity; during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in France, saints' names were often written within scrolls held by their owners instead.¹⁸ Halo inscription was especially popular in Italy during the trecento and quattrocento, appearing until the early sixteenth century in Italy and late sixteenth

¹⁶ Perl, Eric D., " ' . . . That Man Might Become God' . Central themes in Byzantine Theology" in Safran, L. (ed.) *Heaven on Earth: art and the Church in Byzantium*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, [1998], 2002, p. 4.

¹⁷ Perl, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto*, p. 161, notes the sudden emergence of the word in the 1340s, particularly in the use of books and banderoles, and discusses the "dichotomous experience" that painters were creating for their spectators.

century in Germany. These “didactic haloes”, particularly the Italian examples, gradually became more sophisticated, incorporating both names and appellations, especially when applied to the Virgin. Furthermore, it will be evidenced by the examples presented throughout this Chapter and the Table of Haloes that specific social influences were embedded within the inscriptions in the form of humanist lettering, Latin formulae or theological dogma, sometimes also manifesting regional variations, thus realising the Prolegomena’s earlier claim regarding temporal indications. From the duecento in Italy, a majuscule form of Gothic script was used in inscriptions in paintings,¹⁹ and before the fifteenth century adoption of *humanistica*, the humanistic script, it can be seen that a miscellany of scripts incorporating elements from Arabic, ‘Pags Pa, Kufic, *naskh* (or *nashki*), *thuluth* (or *thulth*), Hebrew and Latin were used by artists, particularly in trecento Italy.²⁰ *Thuluth* or *thulth* is a large, ornamental cursive script used for official documents during the Umayyad dynasty between 661 and 749, and frequently used in Mamluk Qur’ans, especially for chapter headings and titles, from the twelfth century throughout the eastern Arab world.²¹ *Nashki* script, developed in the tenth century, is smaller than *thulth*, and considered to be very legible.²² ‘Pags Pa (also called *hPags Pa* or *Phagspa*) is a ‘quadratic’ Tibetan script commissioned by Kublai Khan (1216-94) in 1260, named after the monk who developed it. The preceding cursive script, commissioned by Gengis Khan (1162 – 1227), was *Uighur*, a Turkish script, but the new script’s alphabet transcribed the sounds of the Mongol

¹⁹ Covi, Dario A. “Lettering in Fifteenth Century Florentine Painting”, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol 45, 1962, pp. 1-17, p. 2.

²⁰ Mack, Rosamond E., *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300 – 1600*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002, p. 51. The first Italian works reproducing Kufic pseudo-inscriptions, or pseudo-Kufic inscriptions in painting and sculpture are attributed to the duecento, a diffusion from mosaics and architectural ornamentation. Fontana, Maria Vittoria, “An Islamic Spheroconical Object in a Tuscan Medieval Marble”, in *East and West*, Vol. 49, Nos. 1-4, (December 1999), pp. 9-34, p. 25, and footnote 45.

²¹ Reeve, J., ed., “Islam Glossary”, *Sacred: Books of the Three Faiths: Judaism, Christianity, Islam*, London: The British Library, 2007, p. 218.

http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2004/artexchange/artexchange_glossary.shtm#thuluth, [accessed 01.09.09.]

²² Reeve, “Islam Glossary”, p. 218.

language more effectively than *Uighur*. From 1278, all official documents sanctioned with the Royal Seal were written in ‘*Pags Pa*, especially “passports” issued by Kublai, the *pai-zu*.²³ Between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries, there was a great appropriation of “exotic” texts in European art generally, not just Italian, but often, artists produced a hybrid imitation, mixing elements from different ancient eastern Mediterranean scripts with those of Arabic scripts.²⁴ Within Italian Renaissance art they frequently resembled elements of the cursive Hebraic and Arabic alphabets, although they were not exact copies. Medieval pseudo-Kufic inscriptions however contained letters which were not derived from cursive Arabic, but from Kufic.²⁵ Fontana utilises “pseudo-Kufic” to distinguish two situations where Kufic is used: firstly as elements which do not form an actual Arabic word, “pseudo-ductus or kufesque”, secondly where an actual word is written in Kufic, but not in the correct sequence, or where this ‘word’ is repeated or alternated within a pseudo-inscription.²⁶ The incidence of these certainly bears witness to the exposure of trecento artists to these different cultures,²⁷ if not through a direct, “first person experience”, instead via

²³ www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2004/artexchange [accessed 15.11.05.] Mack, p. 52 describes metal passports as a *pai-zu*. The website <http://arts.cultural-china.com/en/143Arts4308.html> [accessed 20.09.09.] highlights a thirteenth century example, described as a *paiza* or plural *paizi*. It was circular or rectangular, metallic, and worn as a necklace or fastened to clothing, immediately visible to ensure safe passage. In Footnote 9, p. 194, Mack suggests Italian painters knew ‘Pags Pa from the red authorisation seals on paper money and from Marco Polo, who would have had a *paiza* inscribed with ‘Pags Pa. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, website, accessed in 2005 stated that Europeans considered the paper money and the passports as “exotic curiosities”.

²⁴ Mack, citing Spittle, Footnote 11, pp. 151-152. Fontana presents examples of pseudo-inscriptions with textual elements derived from the Arabic alphabet appearing in Italian Renaissance art derived from medieval pseudo-Kufic inscriptions, and explores the relationship between Islamic and Western art through the mediation of Byzantium, in “Byzantine Mediation of Epigraphic Characters of Islamic Derivation in the Wall Paintings of Some Churches in Southern Italy” in Burnett, Charles and Contadini, Anna, eds., *Islam and The Italian Renaissance*, Warburg Institute Colloquia, 1999, pp. 61-75.

²⁵ Fontana, 1999, p. 61.

²⁶ Fontana, 1999, footnote 2.

²⁷ Although heavily influenced by the luxury textiles, glassware, illuminated manuscripts, ceramics and metalwork imported from the East, as discussed later in this Chapter, artists did not “read” the Arabic text, and thus did not reproduce a true text. Nolan, John, “Considerations on the Halo and Garment Patterns in the Work of Tommaso del Mazza”, *The Twilight of a Tradition*. Exhibition Catalogue by John Nolan et al, Greenville: The Bob Jones University Museum and Art Gallery, 2009, pp. 19-21. The author of this thesis is grateful to John Nolan, the Museum’s Curator, for his kindness in forwarding both copies of this article and photographs for her use herein. Fontana distinguishes between two types of ornamental pseudo-Kufic used in architecture as a decorative feature in six churches in south-eastern Italy included in her article. One style is composed of pseudo-Kufic with “an interrupted ductus, comprising small groups of elements, always on a vegetal scroll”, p. 62. The other is what she terms “pseudo-Kufic with a

encounters with their artefacts. Semiotically, therefore, this utilisation of hybrid or pseudo textual characters within haloes could be considered a “quasi” example of Derrida’s “hinge”, (*La bresure*) because it allows the “difference between space and time to be articulated”.²⁸ Thus, these haloes are exhibiting a visual shift from the belief of the *presence* of a saint or person contained within an icon, (what we could surmise as Barthes’ “*here-now*”)²⁹ to a manifestation of emic (i.e. culturally specific) time, illustrated and represented by the pseudo-Kufic and ancient eastern Mediterranean scripts.³⁰ However, this thesis has demonstrated that despite the insertion of the hybrid and pseudo-scripts into the halo resulting in simultaneous chronemic and proxemic functions, the halo itself, as sign, does not fulfil all the conditions for the passage from Derrida’s (written) “graphic” to (uttered) “phonic” chain because – despite their multiple functions within the halo site - these textual elements are not *spoken*, they are only *viewed* by the spectator,³¹ even though referencing what were perceived as being the words spoken by Biblical figures in these ancient scripts.

The Council of Vienna’s Decree 42 of 1311-1312, approved the study of Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaic³² for Catholic scholars to evangelise and convert³³ unbelievers, stipulating two experts *in situ* at each of the designated study centres should “make faithful translations of these books into Latin”, thus the vast scope of this project can be envisaged. Some of the first instances of the pseudo-Arabic scripts were found in

continuous ductus”, but without additional scrolls or other elements. Within the Veneto, she discusses two stone capitals with “nielloed” pseudo-Kufic characters at the Chiesa dei SS. Vittore e Corona at Feltre, Belluno, in “Un itinerario italiano sulle tracce dello pseudo-cufico”, *Grafica*, Anno VII, Numero 10/11, Dicembre 1990/Luglio 1991, pp. 67-85, p.82.

²⁸ Derrida, p. 66. Derrida sees this as a single word for designating difference and articulation.

²⁹ Barthes, Roland, “Rhetoric of the Image”, *Image, Music Text*, (trans. Stephen Heath), London: Fontanapress, 1977, p. 44

³⁰ “The study of time becomes emic when it is concerned with culture-specific and thus arbitrary segmentations and conceptualizations of the temporal continuum”. Nöth, p. 416.

³¹ Derrida, *ibid*.

³² Katō, Toshiaki, “Analisi delle lettere ornamentali nella pittura italiana del XIII e XIV secolo” in *Art History* (Tohoku University), No. 18, 1997, pp. 97-112 in the original Japanese text, pp. 113-120, in the accompanying Italian text.

³³ Tanner, p. 63.

frescoes considered to be early works of Giotto and his shop, c. 1290, at Assisi in the Upper Church,³⁴ where in a vault fresco (destroyed in the 1997 earthquake), the book held by St Ambrose in the *Four Doctors of the Church* had text in pseudo-Arabic and those of St Augustine and Pope Gregory in pseudo-Mongol³⁵. Additionally, pseudo-Kufic characters are used as part of a narrative format by Giotto in this cycle, and within the Scrovegni Chapel at Padua.³⁶ He also used pseudo-Arabic designs on his representations of fabrics, such as *tiraz* bands on the collars and cuffs of garments, as in the Arena Chapel at Padua, on the border of the Virgin's mantle and that of the cloth of honour in the *Ognissanti Madonna* (Fig. 235).³⁷ Originally from the Persian word *tarāzidan* meaning "embroidery"³⁸, a *tiraz* was a legible inscriptive band containing the name and title of a Muslim ruler that was used on his garments and textiles produced in the royal weaving-mills. Sometimes conferred on important officials, they were consequently highly prized in the Islamic world as a sign of social status. They were diffused into Italy and the rest of Europe by returning Crusaders, where they were often utilised as liturgical garments.³⁹ Subsequently appropriated by Italian artists as a designation of status,⁴⁰ Giotto uses the *tiraz* for the Virgin and the Christ Child. Later it

³⁴ <http://expo.khi.fi.it/gallery/assisi/frescoes-in-the-upper-church/the-vault-of-the-doctors-of-the-church> [01.01.2010]. The area around St Jerome was almost completely destroyed, the project is on-going.

³⁵ Mack, p. 52. The National Gallery of Art website accessed in November 2005 (see Footnote 24) spoke of Giotto's blending of letter shapes that had been derived from "both Arabic and Mongol Pags-pa", which, it was suggested, he probably knew from the travels of Italian merchants to Mongol emperors.

³⁶ Fontana, Maria Vittoria, "The influence of Islamic art in Italy", *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale*, (Naples), Vol. 55, 1995, pp. 296-319, p. 298 and Footnote 2. The author of this thesis wishes to extend her grateful appreciation to Prof.ssa Fontana of Sapienza, University of Rome, for her generous assistance in supplying articles and references.

³⁷ Fontana, 1990/199, pp. 67-84, supplies a black and white drawing of the characters on p. 81.

³⁸ Nolan, p. 19.

³⁹ http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2004/artexchange/artexchange_glossary.shtm#mamluks [04.08.09].

⁴⁰ "The mediaeval weavers of these stuffs were so accustomed to working inscriptions that they had come to regard them as so much decorative material, and, in arranging a new pattern, they cut up a sentence and turned it about as their design and loom might dictate. To them the meaning of the words they used was a matter of importance quite secondary to the completeness of their pattern". A H. Christie, "The Development of Ornament from Arabic Script in *The Burlington Magazine*, 40 (1922), pp. 287-292, and 41 (1922) pp. 34-41. Also, "...considering that to simulate Cufic lettering was the normal practice in Islamic art, it is to be expected that Christian craftsmen would copy both the correct and the simulated inscriptions", S. D. T. Spittle, "Cufic Lettering in Christian Art", in *Archaeological Journal* 111, (1954), pp. 138-152, both articles cited by Fontana, Maria Vittoria, "I caratteri pseudo epigrafici dall'alfabeto arabo" in *Giotto: La Croce di Santa Maria Novella*, eds. Ciatti, Marco and Seidel, Max, Florence: Edifir - Edizione Firenze, 2001, pp. 217-227, p.218.

will be used in Florence in sculptures such as Ghiberti's (1412-1416) *St John the Baptist* at Orsanmichele, where his mantle hems are decorated with pseudo-Kufic lettering.⁴¹ Similarly, Verrocchio's *David* (1473-1475) has a broad border of seemingly *thuluth* script along his breastplate, (Figs. 105 and 105a).⁴² The *tiraz* was also used in Cretan icons commissioned for Serbian churches at a similar date.⁴³

Initially, trecento use of pseudo texts seems to have been a mode of elevating decorative elements in the representation of painted fabrics, mimicking designs seen in imported fabrics, but also acknowledging the royal, thus exclusive, connections of the *tiraz*. The Council of Vienna's on-going project to convert pagans via acquisition of their languages was realised in many different ways, for example, at the Chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore, Florence, in the *Madonna col Bambino* of the Scuola di Coppo di Marcovaldo, the Madonna's shoes are embellished with a pseudo-Kufic inscription.⁴⁴

Later, Giotto utilised pseudo-Arabic lettering within his halo borders, such as in the 1300 *Crucifixion* at Santa Maria Novella, where both the Virgin's and the Evangelist's haloes contain pseudo-inscriptions based on the Arabic alphabet.⁴⁵ The Arabic *grammées* of Christ's halo seems to be executed in *sgraffito*, here reminiscent of Islamic niello patterning, between the *verre églomisé* "gems", (Fig. 106).⁴⁶ This practice of separating elements of pseudo-Arabic lettering or pseudo-epigraphs by a different shape

⁴¹ Bronze, executed between 1412-1416, restored in 1992, now in the Museo di Orsanmichele.

⁴² Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. Fontana, 1990/91, compares David's breastplate with the *muwashshah*, an element of eleventh century Spanish Islamic poetry, the etymology of which derives from the Arabic words describing a type of double-folded sash decorated with gold Kufic calligraphy, pp. 80-81.

⁴³ Rakić, Svetlana, "The Representations of the Virgin on Cretan Icons in Serbian Churches in Bosnia-Herzegovina" in *Serbian Studies: Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2006, p. 77.

⁴⁴ In 1486, in an account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land by Breydenbach and Reuwich, copies of the alphabets of old Ethiopian, Syrian, Coptic, Arabic and Armenian were published. Wood, Christopher S., *Forgery, replica, fiction: temporalities of German Renaissance art*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008, p. 278.

⁴⁵ The same elements additionally found within the frame of the Crucifix. Fontana, *Giotto: La Croce di Santa Maria Novella*, p. 217.

⁴⁶ Fontana, p. 218, notes the presence at the base of the Cross of an Islamic fabric, the design of which is made up of crosses and eight-pointed stars, seemingly a Spanish fabric widely imported into Italy in the late thirteenth century.

such as a circle or penta-circle resembling a rosette is very typical of the type of decoration found on Mamluk metalware, considered a luxury object in trecento Italy.⁴⁷ Similarly, designs on silks and other textiles were often broken up by circular shapes.⁴⁸ Additionally, in the titulus for the *Crucifixion*, Giotto used actual, rather than pseudo-Hebraic script, a practice more evident in the early quattrocento.⁴⁹

Notwithstanding the practice in Islamic art, previously referenced, of utilising actual Kufic characters or words, sometimes mis-assembled so that they form a non-sensical inscription, Fontana feels that Giotto's motivation for utilising pseudo-Arabic script within the *Crucifixion* haloes stems from a desire to ornament them, rather than impose any form of "magical" intervention upon them.⁵⁰ This seems to fit in with his appropriation of textile designs, and his utilisation of these motifs within the frames of the *Madonna di Ognissanti*, (Uffizi), and *Stigmatate* (Louvre) altarpieces, in the *Croce* in the Scrovegni Chapel, Padua and within the haloes in the *Madonna di San Giorgio alla Costa*.

Pseudo-Arabic letters also appear in the Virgin's halo in Giotto's 1330 *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Baroncelli Chapel at Santa Croce, Florence, of necessity much larger than those of the *Crucifixion*. Bernardo Daddi, Giotto's apprentice, similarly used a conflation of pseudo-Arabic and pseudo-Mongol inscriptions, although after his last

⁴⁷ Luxury Byzantine icons also had a pattern in the outer circumference of the halo where a regularly interspersed different colour or shape broke up the general pattern, see the *Icon of St Michael*, San Marco, Venice, (Fig. 48). Mack, p. 63, likens the haloes to *thuluth* inscriptions found on shallow circular Mamluk dishes.

⁴⁸ A design in a brocade at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London features octo-circles containing the title of "*al-Ashraf*" which break up the ogival decoration. Auld, Sylvia, "Kuficising Inscriptions in the work of Gentile da Fabriano", *Oriental Art*, Autumn 1986, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 213-328, p. 256.

⁴⁹ Hebraic lettering sources may have been extant books and tombstones. However, many Hebrew inscriptions in quattrocento works were translations of Latin, rather than being actual Hebraic texts. Wood, p. 278, and Footnote 68.

⁵⁰ Fontana, "I caratteri . . ." p.219.

work of 1347, it seems that pseudo-Arabic halo inscription diminished until its quattrocento revival⁵¹ as discussed in Section 3.6.

4.3 Didactic Haloes and Latin inscriptions

This Chapter's Introduction described the presence of Latin inscriptions.⁵² In Chapter Three, the Lorenzetti brothers' rapid adoption of new punching techniques and designs to produce innovative haloes was highlighted, and Ambrogio's workshop was equally receptive to Latin-inscribed haloes. His c. 1330 *Madonna col Latte*⁵³ contains the salutation:

Ave . Maria . Gratia . Plena . Dominus . Tecum . Bene

written in a wide internal band circumscribed by a beaded border plus plain bounding circle. The Angelic Salutation of the Annunciation is translated as "Hail Mary, full of grace, The Lord is with thee", or sometimes "Greetings, favoured one! The Lord is with you" and is derived from the Gospel of St. Luke, 1:28. One of the most common inscriptions written in the Virgin's halo, it is found in all regions where inscribed haloes appear, although the original Greek salutation from which the subsequent Latin translation was taken actually reads "Be graced", rather than "Full of grace".⁵⁴ Another *Madonna and Child* by Ambrogio, (undated), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New

⁵¹ Mack, p. 63.

⁵² Covi, p. 15, reports the first Latin halo inscription in a fresco cycle of Santa Cecilia dated 1011, in S Urbano of Cafarella (also cited by Auld, Footnote 23).

⁵³ Tempera on wood, 90 x 48 cm., Palazzo Arcivescovile, Siena.

⁵⁴ Goffen. R., "Bellini, S. Giobbe and Altar Egos", in *Artibus et Historiae* 7, 1986, pp. 57 – 70, Footnote 21, p. 68, citing Professor Salvatore I. Camporeale,

York, (Fig. 107) contains the inscription

AVE . MARIA . GRATIA

in the Virgin's halo, and

JESV CRIS [TVS]

in the Christ Child's.⁵⁵

Ambrogio Lorenzetti's 1332 *Madonna and Child with St Nicholas and St Proculus* contains the salutation

Ave Maria Gratia Plena

in the Virgin's halo, and the Christ Child's halo is inscribed with the letters spelling out *Christi*, with the words *SANCTUS NICCHOLA* within the halo border of St Nicholas.⁵⁶

Once again, halo inscriptions are found within the haloes in his 1342 *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple*, (Fig. 108) based on the Gospel of Luke 2:22-38, where Mary, The Christ Child, Joseph, the prophetess Anna and Simeon all have Latin-incised haloes, Simeon's reads *SANCTUS SIMEON*.⁵⁷ It is noteworthy that the lettering on his headdress has been identified as "pseudocufic" by Maginnis, and intended to be read as "holiness to the Lord".⁵⁸ In this scene, Lorenzetti conflated elements of the *Purification of the Virgin*, the *Presentation of Christ* and the *Circumcision*.⁵⁹ Until the quattrocento, Simeon was usually depicted as a haloed elderly man in flowing robes, sometimes

⁵⁵ Originally from the Cappella di San Francesco at Pompano near Siena, this work is tempera and gold on wood, measuring 94 x 56.2 cm. but the panel is in a very poor state.

⁵⁶Tempera on panel, 171 x 57 cm.,Uffizi. The panel was cited in Ghiberti's *Commentaries* of 1453, Fossi, p. 130.

⁵⁷ Uffizi, tempera on panel, 257 x 168 cm.

⁵⁸ Maginnis, p. 138.

⁵⁹ Luke 2:21.

holding the Christ Child, otherwise the High Priest holds Him. Lorenzetti is emphasising not only Simeon's role in this narrative, but also through his cradling of the Infant the *Presentational* aspect, rather than Mary's *Purification*. Artists' quests for increasing naturalism of the picture field in the early trecento resulted in a consequent shift in identification information. Like the early Christian works referenced at the beginning of this Chapter, saints' names had often flanked their image, but the desire to reduce the tension between the new plasticity of figures and the presence of inscriptions meant that textual information had to be displayed in a less obtrusive and disruptive site. From around the 1320s, names were included within haloes, but generally, Maginnis records a switch in the locus of all forms of explanatory textual elements.⁶⁰ These include text on *banderoles*, that written in codices which are held by figures, (see Footnote 95 regarding their specific signification), inscriptions written on the risers of steps and still, occasionally, free-floating inscriptions, such as the Annunciate Angel's gold *pastiglia* words in Simone Martini's and Lippo Memmi's *Annunciation*, (Fig. 33).⁶¹

In addition to name identification, one of the simplest inscriptions found is that in Nardo di Cione's c.1450 *Crucifixion* in which the description *MARIA MATER* can be seen in the Virgin's halo, (Fig. 109),⁶² an intrinsically didactic process. It continues into the quattrocento, for example, on six newly-rediscovered panels by Gentile da Fabriano of Sts. John the Evangelist, James, Jude Thaddeus, Matthew, Peter and Bartholomew, all saints' names are inscribed in Gothic script within their haloes.⁶³ In his Perugia

⁶⁰ Maginnis, pp. 150-151.

⁶¹ Maginnis, p. 160.

⁶² Tempera on panel, Uffizi, Florence, 145 x 171 cm.

⁶³ Catalogue Note relating to Lot No. 2, *St John the Evangelist*, Sale No. NO8516, New York, 29th January 2009, by Sotheby's. Inside St John's halo is inscribed *S(t) JOHANN*. The work is tempera and gold ground on panel, and it has been proposed by Andrea di Marchi, and supported by Keith Christiansen that these panels were originally from the Perugia altarpiece before it was broken up. Professor Di Marchi's proposal is to be published, pp. 50-53, in A Di Marchi and M Mazzalupi, eds,

Madonna and Child, the Virgin's halo contains the salutation

*Ave Maria gratia plena dominus tecum bened [icta].*⁶⁴

In the saints' haloes of Gentile da Fabriano's Valle Romita Altarpiece, c. 1405, the inscriptions read:

Santus ieronim(us) docto(r)

Santus Dominicus confessor

Santus Franciscus confessor

Santa Maria Magdalena

In the Virgin's cloak there is the inscription

*"Ave gemma pretiosa super solem speciosa virginalis gaudium".*⁶⁵

The Ferrara *Madonna and Child*, also 1405, contains the inscription

Ave Maria gratia Dominus tecum

in the Virgin's halo, in a mixture of majuscule and minuscule Gothic script, the words separated by rosette motifs, (Fig. 110). The *Madonna and Child with Angels*, in the National Gallery, Athens, attributed to Gentile da Fabriano c. 1418, also has Latin halo

Pittori ad Ancona nel Quattrocento, Milan, forthcoming.

http://www.sothebys.com/app/live/lot/LotDetail.jsp?lot_id=159512570 [accessed 10.08.09.]

⁶⁴ Auld, Appendix. The work is tempera on panel, its dimensions are 115 x 64 cm and it is in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia. Di Marchi has offered a slightly earlier dating, c. 1405 of this panel, because of the Venetian artistic vocabulary which he has used, meaning that Gentile was actually in Venice earlier than the documented date of 1408, possibly as early as 1402. The *Madonna and Child* at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, also has quotations from the same antiphon in the angel's scroll, although spelt slightly differently.

⁶⁵ See Domenico di Bartolo's *Madonna and Child* discussed in 4.4 of this Chapter. The Valle Romita altarpiece is in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.

inscriptions.⁶⁶ Its composition is of a *Madonna of Humility* type, three angels are situated above her and two on the ground beside her. Similar to the Perugia *Madonna*, the Athens panel is not included in Auld's Appendix, but the inscriptions read as follows:

Santa (sic) Maria Mater Dei

in the Virgin's halo, and

Jesus Naçarenum rex Judaeorum

in the Christ Child's halo.

Unusually, the Christ Child's halo is not cruciferous, and this internal inscription is more commonly found on the titulus of the Cross.⁶⁷ In the 1425 *Quaratesi Madonna* (Figs. 111 and 111a) Gentile bestows Latin-inscribed haloes, with

Ave Maria. Gratia. Plena

in the Virgin's halo, and the appellation

YHS/XPS/filii

in the Christ Child's.⁶⁸

The other sections of the Uffizi's *Quaratesi Altarpiece*, similarly have Latin-inscribed haloes, "*Santa Maria Magdalena*" for the Magdalene, "*Sanctus Nicholaus*" for St Nicholas of Bari, "*Sanctus Iohannes Baptis*" for the Baptist, "*Sanctus Georgius Martir*"

⁶⁶ Brandi, Cesare, "A Gentile da Fabriano at Athens", *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol 120, No. 903, Special Issue Devoted to the Italian Quattrocento, June 1978, pp. 385-387.

⁶⁷ Brandi. *ibid.* See Footnote 51, Chapter Six, "The Halo in the Bellini Botteghe" for Lucco and Pontarini's explanation of the titulus execution.

⁶⁸ The Royal Collection, oil on panel, 220.5 x 85 cm. Accession Number RCIN 407614.

for St George, (Figs. 111b and 111c).⁶⁹ Two more depictions of the *Madonna and Child* by Gentile da Fabriano, one a fresco at Orvieto c.1425, and one at Velletri, also have the inscription “*Ave Maria gratia plena*” and “*Ave Maria Gratia*”.⁷⁰

4.4 Domenico di Bartolo’s *Virgin of Humility* and her cartiglio-circumscribed halo

The Virgin’s salutation by the Annunciate Angel is found, as mentioned earlier, in many centres, e.g. Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano’s 1420 *Madonna and Child with Angels* contains the inscription

*AVE GRATIA PLENA D[OMIN]US TECU[M].*⁷¹

However, an inscription actually circumscribing the external lower border of the Virgin’s halo, rather than being situated inside it, is found in the Siense artist Domenico di Bartolo’s 1433 *Virgin of Humility* (Fig. 112).⁷² The Virgin, with the Christ Child on her lap with a rank of angels, one playing a stringed instrument, is seated on

⁶⁹ Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, tempera and tooled gold leaf. 139.9 x 83 cm.

⁷⁰ Auld Appendix,

⁷¹ Signed and dated tempera and gold on panel, Metropolitan Museum of New York.

http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/collection_database/european_paintings/madonna_and_child_with_angels_pietro_di_domenico_da_montepulciano/objectview.aspx?page=1&sort=0&sortdir=asc&keyword=halo%20inscriptions&fp=1&dd1=11&dd2=0&vw=1&collID=11&OID=110001738&vT=1
[15.08.09.]

⁷² Strehlke, Carl Brandon, “La 'Madonna dell'Umiltà' di Domenico di Bartolo e San Bernardino”, *Arte Cristiana*, 1984, pp. 381 – 390. The signed and dated work, tempera and gold leaf on panel, is now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.

the ground, barefoot. In front of her, a *cartiglio* bears the words:

*O DECUS O SPETIES O LUX O STELLA SUPREMI / ETERIS EXAUDI
MISEROS FAMULOSQUE PRECANTES. / DOMINICUS DOMINI MATREM
TE PINXIT ET ORAT- MCCCCXXXIII*⁷³

from which it can be seen that this is a laudatory painting to the Virgin, who, as previously explained was, and is, the Protector of the City-State of Siena, the *Civitas Virginis* (the city of the Virgin). Her foreshortened halo is placed high above her head and skirting its lower border, supported by wings, is another *cartiglio* on which is written

*AVE MARIS STELLA GEMMAQUE PRETIOSA*⁷⁴

These inscriptions refer to light and beauty, and Strehlke argues that both the words and iconography of the entire painting, are based on sermons previously delivered by San Bernardino, the Sienese preacher, who as discussed in 3.3, Chapter Three, had a particular and profound devotion to the Virgin.⁷⁵ This use of the appellation *Maris Stella* in the salutation *Ave Maris Stella* instead of the usual *Ave Maria* as previously seen in the Lorenzetti panel, is Domenico's visualisation of an ancient descriptor of her, originally utilised by St Jerome, then quoted by San Bernardino in *Le Prediche Volgari*, when he was preaching about the Annunciation.⁷⁶ A further example of its use can be seen in the mosaic titulus at the Duomo in Torcello, where extra resonance is given to

⁷³ Strehlke, 1984, p. 381. His translation of the inscription is: "Oh Beauty, oh Splendour, oh Light, oh Star of the highest Heaven, Listen to the poor servants who pray to you. Domenico painted me, Mother of God, and prays to you. 1433."

⁷⁴ "Hail Star of the Sea and Precious Gem".

⁷⁵ He was collating these sermons into a treatise in 1432. Strehlke, 1984, p. 388, Footnote 4.

⁷⁶ Strehlke, 1984, p. 382, and Footnote 9, p. 388, citing San Gerolamo, *De Interpretatione nominum hebraicorum* in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Migne, JP, Paris 1844-1875, Col XXIII, c. 842. There is a hymn traceable to the eighth century, entitled "Ave Maris Stella".

the stellar imagery by the gold star on the shoulder of the Virgin's maphorion.⁷⁷ Although the use of three gold stars is a frequent motif in Byzantine icons⁷⁸, Domenico has synthesised this ancient use with contemporaneous Franciscan theology in which the area between the upper clavicle and the neck of the Virgin was considered to be the origin of the Divine Grace which the Virgin herself transmitted.⁷⁹ It can be seen that in Domenico's panel, this concept of Divine Grace is overlaid with the light imagery of the star within the halo circumference, and the star-like radiation of gold rays inside the halo, enhancing its presence and signification as a star. Her barefoot position, seated on the ground, is quite typical of the Sienese *Madonna dell'Umiltà*, although additionally she is wearing a small crown of precious gems because she is *La stella supremi eteris*, or as San Bernardino described her in *Le Prediche Volgari*, the "star of heaven", *La stella caeli*.⁸⁰ This simultaneous presentation of the Virgin as *humilis* on the floor, barefoot and yet crowned was repeated in Siena and Florence.⁸¹ It showed her dual role as the Mother of God and the Queen of Heaven.⁸² The five precious stones in her crown are echoed within her halo.

The *cartiglio* itself is suspended by two wings, representing the Holy Spirit, thus further emphasising the Virgin's role as the "vessel" through which the Divine Grace was transmitted to mankind.⁸³ This particular halo is certainly didactic, its meanings

⁷⁷ See Chapter Four, regarding the Torcello Virgin.

⁷⁸ Usually, three stars are used in Byzantine icons to represent the Virgin's eternal virginity, before the Annunciation, during the birth of Jesus, and post-parturition. Constatas, p. 213.

⁷⁹ Strehlke, 1984, p. 382 and Footnote 11 discusses the *collo sfundente*. In his *Adiutricem populi* of 1810, Leo XIII referred to the Virgin as the "dispensatrix of all the gifts" and she is "the neck", connecting the Head of the Mystical Body to the Members. But all power flows through her neck". Father William G. Most, "Mary, Mediatrix of all Graces" in <http://www.ewtn.com/faith/teachings/marya4.htm>, [accessed 23.11.10.]

⁸⁰ Bernardino, *Prediche volgare di S. Bernardino da Siena: per la prima volte messe in luce*, Landi, G., and Alessandri, N., (eds.), Siena: Landi and Alessandri, 1853.

⁸¹ Meiss, Millard, "The Madonna of Humility", *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 4, December 1936. pp. 435- 464, notes the adoption of this composition throughout Italy in the late quattrocento and early cinquecento, as well as diffusion into Spain, France and Germany, p. 435.

⁸² Similar examples by Guariento and Nicoletto Semitecolo at Padua may be the source of the composition in the late trecento. Strehlke, (1984), Footnote 28, p. 388. Florence.

⁸³ Strehlke, (1984), p. 382–384, passim.

intelligently layered: its symbolic internal stellar rays visually reinforce the textual appellation physically supporting it, and both of these messages additionally strengthen and echo the *cartiglio* at the Virgin's feet, thus framing her and the Christ Child in an actual, physical "frame" and simultaneously within the conceptual "frame" of San Bernardino's sermons.

The inscriptions are written in humanistic letters imitating ancient Roman inscriptions, an innovation in Siena and one of the first examples of this use in quattrocento art.⁸⁴ Four years later, he painted a *Virgin and Child*, (Fig. 113) again using inscriptions, this time on a scroll held by the Christ Child, in whose cruciferous halo are the words *MU [N]DI EGO*, an abbreviation from the Gospel of St John 12, verse 12.

The Virgin's halo, (Fig. 113a) like the Fanciullo's, is tooled and bears the inscription

*AVE REGI [N]A C [AELORUM]*⁸⁵

intersected by a red pentagon rosette seemingly topped with pearls. Again, the lettering is in humanist script, and is an abbreviation from the antiphon used at the Feast of the Purification.⁸⁶ The rosette patterns echo the red and white roses climbing up a trellis behind the Virgin, a reference to her purity, possibly derived from St Bernard of Clairvaux who likened her chastity to a white rose and the red rose to charity. The *rosa charitatis* reflected the contemporaneous belief that red was the colour of charity and

⁸⁴ Strehlke, 2004

⁸⁵ "Hail, Queen of the Heavens". The painting is in the John G. Collection at The Philadelphia Museum of Art, tempera on panel, signed and dated 1437, 62.2 x 44 x 3.6 cm. Strehlke, (2004), p. 116. Fig. 113a shows the work prior to its recent cleaning and restoration.

⁸⁶ Strehlke, *ibid.* describes four antiphons dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, "Alma Redemptoris Mater", "Salve Regina", "Ave Regina Coelorum", and "Regina Coeli".

was cited by many medieval writers as such.⁸⁷ It may also refer to her status as a “hortus conclusus”, the image derived from King Solomon’s *Song of Songs* 4:12:

A garden locked is my sister, my bride,
A garden locked, a fountain sealed.

Domenico’s halo exemplifies the assertion posited by this thesis that theological dogma is embedded within the halo site, and simultaneously its function as a hierarchizing vehicle is illustrated by the jewels contained within it, echoing those of her crown as the Queen of Heaven.

4.5 *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne and Angels, Sant’Anna Metterza and her halo by Bicci di Lorenzo*

The Sieneuse use of humanistic script seen in Bartolo’s *Madonna of Humility* seems to be earlier than in Florence, where Fra Angelico is credited with appropriating its principles in *The Coronation of the Virgin*, c. 1437 and the Perugia polyptych of c. 1437-38. However, this lettering is not contained within the haloes, and it is still a rather hybrid style.⁸⁸ In c. 1422-23, upper case Roman capitals were used by Masaccio and Masolino in the *St Anne with the Virgin and Child* (or the *Sant’Anna Metterza*), panel for the words *AVE MARIA GRATIA* on the base of the Virgin’s throne (Fig. 114). The origin of this title comes from mediaeval Latin *mettertia*, “the same third” because St Anne extends her arm protectively towards the Virgin and Child.⁸⁹ Additionally in

⁸⁷ In Dante’s *Purgatorio* (XXIX 121 – 132) the clothing of the dancing Charity is “tanta rossa”. Derbes, Anne and Sandona, Mark, (eds.), *The Cambridge Guide to Giotto*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 213.

⁸⁸ Covi, p. 4.

⁸⁹ Covi, p. 5.

her halo (Fig. 114a) are inscribed in Gothic majuscules

AVE MARIA GRATIA DOMINUS.

St. Anne's halo is inscribed with the appellation

SANT' ANNA È DI NOSTRA DONNA FASTIGIO.

Similarly, Bicci di Lorenzo's *Sant'Anna Metterza* panel, (early 1420s-1430s, Fig 115) which is compositionally based on Masaccio and Masolino's panel, has Latin halo inscriptions.⁹⁰ St Anne's reads:

SAN ANNA MATER VIR[INIS]

but this is not in humanistic script, with its crisp, clear lines, neither is it Northern Gothic, with its elegant and elongated outline, (Fig. 115a). These letters do not have serifs, and their bases are rounded with a deep intersection, particularly noticeable in the majuscule "I" and "R". The details of the lettering show how Bicci has executed it using a stylus to punch the outlines into the gold leaf, (Figs. 115b and 115c). An amalgam of different texts is occurs at this period, evidenced by the "exotic mixed alphabet" written in 1436 by Sigmund Gotzkircher, the Munich court physician who had studied medicine at Padua in the 1430s. His alphabet includes seven types of 'N', nine types of 'A', and eleven types of 'M', all based on pre-Gothic letters.⁹¹

Bicci has utilised a simple ring punch in St Anne's halo circumference and the lettering is contained in a broad band circumscribed by a concentric "stand-alone" single ring

⁹⁰Painted in the early 1420s/ 1430s, tempera on panel, Bob Jones University Collection, South Carolina. Grateful thanks to John Nolan, Curator of BJU for his generosity in supplying photographs and information.

⁹¹ Wood, p. 205.

punch border rather than a reticulated pattern, and he has covered the interstitial areas between letters with dots produced by stylus, leaving the inner field of the letters plain, giving the effect of highlighting the letters, thereby making them more visible. In contrast to St Anne's stark, hieratic appearance, the halo lettering is quite decorative with its curling embellishment, with an almost "feminine" aspect, (Figs. 115b-d). The lower "feet" of some letters, such as the 'A' and the 'N' with their intersection, betray a similarity to the feet of Pisanello's *thuluth* script, (discussed in 4.6, see Fig. 124).

In contrast to the trecento haloes containing pseudo-Kufic and pseudo-Hebraic *grammées*, Bicci's haloes demonstrate the contemporary practice of combining different textual shapes based upon Latin script, rather than Mediterranean or Arabic characters. Once again, the precision applied to the "construction" of the letters may be calliphoric, simultaneously enhancing the texture of these haloes. Semiotically, this contemporary practice based on Latin script demonstrates the difference between perception and recognition, the halo is now socially recognized as a sign, the "arc that extends from person to person and across *inter-individual space*".⁹²

4.6 Quattrocento use of pseudo-Arabic text in Florence and Rome

Around 1420, there is a resurgence in the use of pseudo-Arabic text in textiles within paintings and sculptures via the application of *tiraz* bands, and now additionally within halo inscriptions. In a study of Tommaso del Mazza's works, John Nolan found that of a possible forty-eight panels, there is a repetition of his garment border design in around thirty. Produced freehand in mordant gilding, it includes a pair of 'X' shapes together with pseudo-Arabic characters, reduced according to their placement, and

⁹² Bryson, Norman, "Semiotics and Visual Interpretation" in N. Bryson, M. A. Holly and K. Moxley, (eds.). *Visual Theory*, New York: Harper Collins, 1991, p. 65.

approximating the Islamic calligraphy for “Allah” or “God”.⁹³ Bicci di Lorenzo’s garment border, (Fig. 116) also uses pseudo-Arabic elements, but excludes the double ‘X’ pattern. Gentile da Fabriano’s 1420 *Coronation of the Virgin* at The J Paul Getty Museum (Fig. 117) contains the appellation “*YHS/XPS (Fil)ius*” in the Christ’s halo (Fig. 117a) with a pseudo-Arabic inscription in the Virgin’s halo.⁹⁴ Furthermore she has an inscription in Latin on the hem of her gown, which reads:

*Ave Maria g (ratia) plen (a) dominus tecum be (nedicta)*⁹⁵

The Getty *Coronation* was originally a double-sided processional standard, the second panel featuring St Francis with his name “*Franciscus*” inscribed in his halo, is now in a private collection in Italy. Although his contemporary Washington *Madonna and Child Enthroned* (Figs. 118 and 118a) features script imitative of *thuluth*, including the actual Arabic letter *alif*, the halo inscription was nonetheless “invented” by Gentile and therefore it cannot be read.⁹⁶ Wood raises the interesting proposition that because it was removed from reality, an artwork could become a locus where opposite themes could be juxtaposed, and particularly the concepts of stability and instability encapsulated. He further suggests that pagan motifs could, and did, rest alongside Christian icons, both simultaneously offered for display to the spectator, perhaps a strategy to create a sense of unity within Christian spectators, in its referencing of illegible exotic texts. Thus, the presence of this pseudo-Kufic text was “an opaque signifier that signified ‘alien

⁹³ Nolan compared this design with contemporaneous panels and after a vast survey of several hundred works, only found all the same constituents in Matteo di Paccino’s altarpiece of *St Bernard’s Vision of the Virgin with Sts. Benedict, John the Evangelist, Quintinus and Galgano*, (Uffizi, Florence). In his Fig. 28, there is an outer border of two dots intersected by a vertical line, echoing the halo external pinnacle pattern discussed in Chapter Three. Nolan, pp. 24-30.

⁹⁴ Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 34½ x 25½ ins.

⁹⁵ Kerber Peter Bjorn, (PBKerber@getty.edu) *Gentile da Fabriano – Coronation of the Virgin*. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), 14th October, 2009.

⁹⁶ http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2004/artexchange/artexchange_ss5.shtm. [05.08.09.] Simultaneously, Latin inscriptions on hems and neckbands are used, the appellation *MATER [DEI]* is inscribed on the Virgin’s neckband, and on the hem of her mantle the usual angelic salutation *AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOM[INVS] TECV[M] BEN[EDICTA]*. The work is in the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, measuring 108.6 x 64.8 x 8.9 cm in its frame.

signifier'.⁹⁷ This could be considered to be “an insurgent act of cultural translation . . . the space of intervention emerging in the cultural interstices that introduces creative invention into existence”.⁹⁸ The pseudo-scripts are thus an “unlockable”, strange code, but overlaying this is a sense of magical power in their depiction because of this very association.⁹⁹ The reconciliation between Eastern and Western Latin Churches was still more than a decade away, and domestic politics were also problematic. On 12th July 1420, Pope Martin issued an encyclical supporting the crusade against the Turks, highlighting the spiritual rewards for the Crusaders,¹⁰⁰ thus once again, the halo has been demonstrated as reflecting contemporary societal concerns.

Gentile da Fabriano's 1422 Pisa *Madonna of Humility* (Fig 119) contains a pseudo-Arabic inscription in the Virgin's halo which has been quartered by a decorative motif, this separation echoing a similar style found on Mamluk brassware (Fig. 137). Depending upon the amount of script to be separated, within Mamluk brassware the divisions can be at intervals of two and four, or six and eight.¹⁰¹ Gentile's preference seems to be for three or four, (Figs. 119a-b) similar to Jacopo Bellini's designs discussed later in this Chapter. In the Pisa *Madonna of Humility*, the Christ Child lies on a blanket, (Fig. 119c) edged with what seems to be a border of pseudo-Arabic script, the traditional reading of the “inscription” has been “*La Illahi Illa Allah*”, “*There is no God but God*”, together with a Latin inscription of “*Fabr. Gen*” on the Virgin's halo. However, this Islamic reading has been refuted by Mohamed Zakariya, and previously Auld had expressed doubts.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Wood, 278-9.

⁹⁸ Bhabha, Homi, “The Location of Culture” in Rivkin, J. and Ryan, M., (eds.), *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999, pp. 936-944, pp. 938-939.

⁹⁹ Wood, p. 279.

¹⁰⁰ Setton, Kenneth, M., *Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, Vol I, The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Darby: [The American Philosophical Society, 1976] 1978, p. 41.

¹⁰¹ Mack, pp. 64-65.

¹⁰² Mack, p. 195, Footnote 37. The border actually reads: “*(a)ve m(ate)r dicgna (d)ei*” Auld, p. 256. Mohamed Zakariya is an American Muslim master calligrapher, who has been awarded distinguished

In the sumptuous 1423 Strozzi Altarpiece both the Virgin's halo and, unusually, that of St Joseph have pseudo-Arabic inscriptions, (Fig. 120). Gentile used pseudo-Arabic haloes exclusively for the Virgin in seven works dating between the 1420 *Coronation* and the Villa I Tatti *Madonna*, with this single exception of Joseph. As far as this author is aware, it is the only example where he has been endowed with such a nimbus by any artist. As in the Pisa *Madonna*, Gentile has separated the text, this time with a tooled hexa-circle surrounding an internal octa-circle inside which is a central single punch, the entire motif surrounded by a design of three single punch marks arranged in a pyramidal shape at each of its corners. Gentile seems to have utilised a simple ring punch, (Frinta's Group L, Fig. 11) to create this ornamentation. St Joseph's halo is slightly less ornate with fewer punch marks delineating the outer circle. Additionally in the *Adoration* Gentile incorporated oriental elements in the page's sash and the midwife's stole, described by Auld as a "whirling rosette" motif in the sash, a popular motif in Mamluk Egypt,¹⁰³ and which this thesis has found frequently within Venice, for example, as a decorative element within the walls of the tenth century Duomo at Torcello, although this rosette is "reversed", (Fig. 122). It is also found within architecture in Venice at Desdemona's house, (Figs. 123 and 123a) and the motif is appropriated by Jacopo Bellini in his frame (Fig. 131a) architecture, as well as by Gentile himself in the Virgin's gown in the Getty *Coronation of the Virgin*, (Figs. 117, 121 and 121a discussed previously).

Gentile's "version" of *thuluth* script is a hybrid including some Gothic features, and in addition to Mamluk brassware, textiles may well have been a likely source of his

diplomas in *thuluth*, *naskh* and *taliq* scripts. He was commissioned by President Obama to create a piece of calligraphy as a gift for King Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz of Saudi Arabi during the Presidential visit of June 2009. www.artfacts.net [accessed 10.09.09].

¹⁰³ Auld, p. 250. Similar to Klesse's black and white illustrations of textile patterns, these are helpful in discerning repetitive motifs.

Islamic epigraphy. He utilised many luxury textiles in his paintings, including brocades, silks and velvets, (his father, Niccolò di Giovanni di Massio, was a textile merchant).¹⁰⁴ Examining the oriental designs on some of these luxury fabrics, it is possible to see that Gentile has copied very carefully the slanting wedges of the vertical strokes and included left-sided “flicks”, elements also found in Pisanello’s drawing of *thuluth script*¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 124), where, as in Jacopo Bellini’s drawing books, several different compositions and decorative designs are being worked out. Underneath the band of *thuluth* script, at the left of the drawing, Pisanello has sketched out a rosette type of design, similar to, but different from, Gentile’s.

Masaccio used pseudo-Arabic text in his 1422 *San Giovenale triptych*, possibly also imitated from Mamluk brassware, but the lettering is not as elegant and well-formed as Gentile’s script.¹⁰⁶ With Masolino, he produced several more pseudo-Arabic haloes, as in the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Angels*, c. 1425-25 (Uffizi) where the pseudo-script is slightly different. In his 1426 *Enthroned Madonna*, for the Carmine, Pisa, (National Gallery, London, Fig. 125) the Virgin also has a halo with pseudo-Arabic script. However, these letters are much broader and squatter, and there only seems to be one text separation with a “rosette” division; this is much less imitative of Mamluk brassware.

Within paintings, pseudo-Kufic script became less frequent in Florence after the 1430s, although in c.1464, a stained glass tondo attributed to Alessio Baldovinetti included

¹⁰⁴ Auld, p. 258, giving examples of textiles, including those of Spanish origin.

¹⁰⁵ *Studien zu Kaiser Johannes VIII. Palaiologus und arabische Schrift in Thuluth*, Blass-Simmen, Fig. 8, p. 459. Louvre, Paris.

¹⁰⁶ Mack, p. 66. Baer, Eva, “Ayyubid metalwork with Christian images”, *Studies in Islamic art and architecture: Supplement to Muqarnas*, Leiden: E J Brill, 1989, Footnote, 40, p. 47, quoting R. Sellheim, “Die Madonna mit der Schahāda”, *Festschrift*, 1968, pp. 308-15, writes that in this work, the shahāda is written backwards within the Virgin’s halo. Fontana, 2007, footnote 47 quotes Sellheim’s article and also that of Mahmud Salem Elsheikh, “Masaccio e la La Madonna di San Giovenale”, in *Orientalismi e iconografia Cristiana nel Trittico di San Giovenale di Masaccio*, Atti del Convegno, Florence: Reggello, 1998, pp. 24-27. Once again, the shāhāda is not real, but a melange of Arabic letters.

Mamluk pseudo-*nashki* characters in six compartments around the Medici coat of arms.¹⁰⁷

It has been suggested that Gentile's use of these pseudo-Arabic inscriptions was a response to the buoyant mercantile ambience in Florence because a new trading treaty had been negotiated between the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt and the State of Florence. The inscriptions could therefore represent "an interpretation of the common bond between Christianity and Islam with regard to the Virgin as a sort of public relations exercise for the people and church of Florence".¹⁰⁸

Like the Northern and Eastern Baptistery doors in Florence, Filarete's Vatican doors in Rome also contain epigraphic motifs. In addition to the pseudo-Kufic ornamented garment borders of St Paul at the Vatican, there is a cursive pseudo-Arabic epigraph within the haloes of Christ, and Sts. Peter and Paul.¹⁰⁹

Like the trecento haloes discussed in 4.2, these Florentine and Roman haloes could be considered temporal bridges reaching out to those ancient lands and scripts where the Biblical figures lived, spoke and wrote. In Islamic Qu'ranic calligraphy, it is believed that Allah is present in the textual elements, but here, we may surmise that Gentile and Masaccio were not attempting to impose this concept into their haloes. Although it seems that Masaccio did depict an actual *shāhada*, he did so incorrectly and deliberately, like Gentile's "invented" Washington halo inscription. The mystique of the Islamic "magic" calligraphy is a vehicle which can be appropriated to show their appreciation of

¹⁰⁷Fontana, Maria Vittoria, "L'influsso dell'arte Islamica in Italia", in Curatola Giovanni, (ed.), *Eredità dell'Islam: Arte Islamica in Italia*, Venice: Silvana Editoriale, 1993, p. 456. The work is in the Capella della Madonna at Santissima Annunziata, Florence. Islamic fabrics, however, increasingly appeared within paintings, and depictions of Italian copies of Islamic fabrics. Fontana, "The influence of Islamic art in Italy", p. 307.

¹⁰⁸Auld, Sylvia, p. 247. Mack feels that there is no conclusive proof of this.

¹⁰⁹Fontana, "The influence of Islamic art in Italy", p. 311 and Footnote 39, citing Lanci's description of Christ's halo when he published it in 1845-6.

its aesthetic and graphic qualities, which they then reproduce on their terms. Even though once again the owners of the haloes have not *uttered* these words, this function is very different from that of the trecento use of pseudo-Kufic script, where its royal exclusivity and decorative qualities were paramount.

4.7 Quattrocento use of pseudo-Arabic script in Venice

The surge of interest in Islamic brassware occurred not only in Florence but also in the Veneto and Venice.¹¹⁰ During the quattrocento, increasing quantities of Islamic brassware, particularly Mamluk, were imported into Venice, and many objects have been found bearing the *stemmi* of Venetian families, leading to speculation that there were Islamic craftsmen based in Venice producing “Veneto-Saracenic” brassware, although this has now been discounted.

In Venice itself, the use of Latin-inscribed, didactic haloes was not very common, as can be seen from a “trawl” of extant works within the Churches recorded in the Table of Haloes, small devotional works, sculptures, or in the *mariegola* of the various *Scuole*, although there was a taste for pseudo-Arabic epigraphy or ornamentation in carpets and decorated glassware. This dearth of Latin-inscribed haloes is surprising, in view of the fact that more workshops, particularly those of the Bellini and the Vivarini were beginning to sign their works in the form of *cartellini*, and additionally include palaeographic inscriptions, sometimes in Roman capitals, or in Gothic script.¹¹¹ Jacopo Bellini, however, in his commissions, did use Latin inscriptions within many of his

¹¹⁰ Katzenstein, Rane A., and Lowry, Glenn, D., “Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork”, in ed. Grabar, Oleg, *Muquarna I: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983, pp. 53-68, p. 66.

¹¹¹ Matthew, p. 620.

Madonna paintings, such as the late 1420s/early 1430s Lochis *Madonna* in Bergamo where the salutation

AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA

is inscribed in the Madonna's halo, although the inscription in the Christ Child's is now illegible.¹¹² In the Ferrara *Madonna col Bambino* the salutation is varied to

AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM

and in the *Enthroned Madonna and Child*, (Fig. 126) another work of the early 1430s, in the Cagnola Collection, Gazzada, he has again inscribed

AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS

This work has wonderful Kufic mantles and very rich textiles, like the Brescia *Annunciation*, (Figs. 127) and the *Madonna and Child* (Figs. 132) at the Uffizi, amply demonstrating Jacopo's great interest in contemporary exotic textiles and artefacts, and his utilisation of textile books and patterns.¹¹³ The Brescia *Annunciation* contains the words

PLENA GRATIA AVE

¹¹² Eisler, Colin, *The Genius of Jacopo Bellini: The Complete Paintings and Drawings*, New York and London, H. N. Abrams and The British Museum Publications, 1989, p. 510. When the work was transferred to canvas between 1901-08, pastiglia modelling within the haloes was removed, p. 514.

¹¹³ Röthlisberger, Marcel, "Notes on the Drawing Books of Jacopo Bellini", *The Burlington Magazine*, October 1956, pp 358 – 364, p.363. Additionally there were Jacopo's textile design from the Louvre Book of Drawings", Venturi, Lionello, *Origini della Pittura Veneziana, Vol I*, Venezia: Istituto Veneta di Arti Grafiche, M CM VII, p. 153. Ricci, Corrado, *Jacopo Bellini e i suoi Libri di Disegni*, Vol 2, Florence: 1908, discusses possible work on the terra ferma and writes that the Louvre book, circa 1450 shows antique marbles, and inscriptions, Ricci, *Il Libro di Louvre*, p. 10, also Eisler, p. 531.

in gold Gothic lettering, although not as a halo inscription, they are instead the actual words spoken by the Annunciate Angel physically visualized.¹¹⁴ Completed in 1444, this *pala* was most probably based on an *Annunciation* commissioned from Fra Angelico for the Order's mother church, Santissima Annunziata, Florence.¹¹⁵ The *Virgin Annunciate* is clothed in beautiful oriental fabrics, edged with pseudo-Arabic *tiraz* bands, as is the suspended curtain behind her. Her halo, however, (Fig. 127a) slightly angled behind her head, has an outer border of ornamental designs, with some arabesques but no pseudo-Arabic text. There are also bunched golden rays within the inner circumference, punctuated by tiny stars which are echoed in the receding coffered ceiling. This could well be a reference to the Twelve Apostles, cited by Bonaventura in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in his discussion of the Annunciation when he describes the Virgin with a crown of stars.¹¹⁶

As can be seen, Jacopo is utilising a mixture of oriental "pseudo" text and Gothic lettering, although his halo inscriptions always appeared in Gothic text.¹¹⁷ After winning the commission to paint the *Madonna of Humility* for Lionello d'Este, (Fig. 128)¹¹⁸ Jacopo again positions the halo flat behind the Virgin's head, (Fig. 128a), four outer and four inner concentric bands creating a border containing the words:

*Nues.ave.mater.regina.mundi.avei*¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Matthew, p. 618.

¹¹⁵ Humfrey, P. "The Bellini and the Vivarini in Venice", in eds. E. Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Giofredi, *Italian Altarpieces 1250 - 1550: Function and Design*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 144.

¹¹⁶ Meiss, p. 462, citing Bonaventura, Chapter 36. Meiss cites Bonaventura's First Sermon on the Incarnation, to be understood by twelve metaphors.

¹¹⁷ Covi, p. 279 highlights that Gothic script is used for such inscriptions until the end of the quattrocento. Additionally, most printers utilised Gothic typefaces.

¹¹⁸ Document 7, Appendix 2 of this thesis is the notification of a gift from Lionello d'Este to Jacopo of two bushels of wheat, published by Ricci, *Il Libro di Louvre*, who also reports that a poem was written about this work by Ulisse, perhaps known as Aleotti, praising Jacopo very much.

¹¹⁹ Eisler, p. 518.

The lettering is Gothic lower case, the words separated by a decorative element, like the pseudo-Arabic texts broken up in imitation of the Mamluk brassware. The Christ Child has a cruciferous halo, which is placed above His head, although so close as to seemingly touch His crown,¹²⁰ and additionally Jacopo utilised richly-gilded pseudo-Arabic text on the Virgin's garment borders. In 1450, Jacopo inscribed a more sophisticated "message" in the Virgin's halo in the *Madonna col Bambino*, (Figs. 129, 129a).¹²¹ In the outer rim, positioned in the border between two outer concentric bands and two inner bands with ridged arches, is the antiphon

*REGINA. CELI. LETARE. ALLELUIA. QUIA. QUEM. MERUISTI.
PORTARE. ALLELUIA*

This is part of an antiphon written to the Virgin, praising her as the "carrier" of Christ, "Queen of heaven. Rejoice because you are worthy to carry [Him]. Rejoice" and is written in Italian Gothic miniscule script.¹²² This echoes the Virgin's description by Proclus of Constantinople in *Homily I* as "the living tabernacle containing not the law but the giver of law".¹²³ This metaphor of the Virgin as a holy "carrier" was further developed by San Bernardino, and latterly within Venice by Lorenzo Giustiniani, its first Patriarch.

In the Lovere *Madonna and Child*,¹²⁴ (Fig. 130) Jacopo has used exactly the same frame architecture for this work as the *Madonna con Cherubini*, (Fig. 131),¹²⁵ demonstrating the bottega's application and re-use of a repertoire of design elements, as highlighted by

¹²⁰ Huter, p. 19.

¹²¹ Gallerie d'Accademia, Venice.

¹²² Moschini Marconi, Sandra, *Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia I*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1995, p. 34. Covi cites Luigi Lanzi's observation in 1785 that the Roman characters of lettering were revived", for inscriptions in Italian painting after the mid-1400s, p. 2.

¹²³ Constan, p. 131.

¹²⁴ Dated by Eisler to the 1440s, but by Humfrey to 1450, it is signed on a *cartellino* with the signature *JACHOBUS BELLINUS* in uppercase Roman letters. The work is in the Museo Tadini, Lovere.

¹²⁵ Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.

Ricci below. Comparing the *Madonna con Cherubini* with the *Lovere Madonna* and the central panel of the *trittico* with the *politico* of the Raccolta Cagnola in Milan, he writes:¹²⁶

Compare, moreover, the haloes of the Madonna and of the Putto in the Cagnola artwork with those of the Madonna of *Lovere* and of *Venice (Madonna con Cherubini)*. In the halo of the Cagnola a recurring exhortation to the Virgin is written in gold letters in the same position and in the same characters as those of the *Lovere* panel. The rose-petalled design, that divides each word, is identical to the rose designs that are seen in the halo of the *Madonna con Cherubini* in Venice. Also, the lower central section of the halo, with incised lines, appears to be similar to the *Lovere* and Cagnola paintings. The haloes of the Christ Child in all Jacopo's artworks show a same division by a Greek cross.¹²⁷

This division of the Gothic halo inscription by the rose-petal motif is again, a reference to the Mamluk metalware encountered earlier in the work of Gentile da Fabriano in Florence some twenty years previously, although it can be seen that the pseudo-Arabic elements in Jacopo's *Madonna con Cherubini* are not as broad as Gentile's pseudo-*thuluth* script, because they are pseudo-cursive characters, possibly pseudo-Nashki.¹²⁸

This appropriation of pseudo-Arabic elements is shared by the Venetan (rather than Venetian) artists, especially from the ambit of Padua and Squarcione's influence. The brass roundel given by Donatello to his Florentine physician in 1456, shaped like a plate with a recessed centre, has a lip with a concentric band containing a gilded pseudo-Arabic inscription, considered ornamental rather than didactic. There is evidence that perhaps Donatello executed it whilst in Padua rather than after his return to Florence in 1453.¹²⁹ Squarcione (c. 1397-1468) had a large collection of drawings and also

¹²⁶ Ricci, p. 25.

¹²⁷ In the Galleria's guides of 1845, 1846 the work was not noted, but it is registered in that of 1852.

¹²⁸ Fontana, Maria Vittoria (mariavittoria.fontana@gmail.com). E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), *Grafici Thuluth e Grafici Kufic o Pseudo-Kufic*, 8th January 2011: "...But I believe that it is a pseudo-Nashki, (or, in any case, a cursive writing), rather than a pseudo-Kufic, as is more common in the fifteenth century".

¹²⁹ Radcliffe, p. 377, footnote 3, and Avery, p. 384. The roundel is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

antiquities for the instruction of the *garzone* in his bottega. He himself has left only two signed works, one of which, the *Madonna and Child* has haloes with pseudo-cursive textual elements within their rims, (Fig. 134).¹³⁰ Another pupil, Andrea Mantegna, studied Squarcione's collection of antiquities, something which would become a lifelong passion for him and one of the most important elements in many of his works. In his *San Zeno Altarpiece*, Mantegna's version of pseudo-Arabic script can be seen on the haloes of all the figures, Sts Peter, Paul, John the Evangelist and Zeno on the left of the picture plane, and Sts Benedict, Lawrence, Gregory and John the Baptist on the right, who are all flanking the central composition of the enthroned Virgin and Christ Child, (Fig. 135). As noted in Chapter Three, the haloes are in a variety of positions and ellipsis behind their owners' heads, and a consistent factor is that all have pseudo-Arabic characters in the broad halo borders. Mantegna has foreshortened these grammées in the haloes of John the Evangelist (Fig. 135b) and the little singing angel beneath the left corner of the Virgin's throne (as viewed by the spectator, Fig. 135c). Additionally there are *tiraz* neckbands and cuffs and pseudo Arabic script in the book cover held by St Zeno and a richly-coloured Turkish carpet which contains actual Kufic script (Fig. 135a).¹³¹ Gregorio Correr commissioned this altarpiece and perhaps all these exotic elements utilised by Mantegna would have been seen as a conflation of those early tongues of the Christian Church discussed previously, together with Arabic scholarship and the connotations of status referenced by the *tiraz* elements. A

¹³⁰ Tempera on wood panel, 82 x 70 cm, c. 1455, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliches Museen, Berlin, Presussischer Kulturbesitz. Fontana, Maria Vittoria (mariavittoria.fontana@gmail.com). E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), *Grafici Thuluth o Grafici Kufic o Pseudo-Kufic*, 9th January 2011. "The Nashki, and, generally, the cursive writings, tend to be curved and round (Arabic: *muqawwar wa mudawwar*). There are six cursive canonical styles: Thuluth, Nashki, Muhaqqaq, Rayhani, Riqà, Tawqui, but – as you mentioned – the Nashki is one of the most common in the manuscripts in Arabic."

¹³¹ Piotrovsky, Mikhail, "God Loves Beauty", *Hermitage 8* [Online] http://www.hermitagemagazine.com/netcat_files/Issues/08HermitageEn.pdf, October 2007, pp- 8-9. [12.09.09.]. Mills, John, *Carpets in Pictures*, London: The National Gallery, 1975, notes that like the use of the *tiraz*, the original symbolic interpretation of the designs on the carpet is not translated into the painting, p. 3. In European paintings, they are hung up like tapestries, or placed on the tops of tables, so that they may be admired.

simultaneous over-layering of the many classical architectural references would probably have made the whole “package” irresistibly attractive to a humanist intellectual like Correr. This appeal was not just aesthetic, since Correr was additionally the Abbot of San Zeno, there would have been a multiplicity of important references for him in this artwork.

There was a further impetus within Venice for the use of pseudo-Arabic script within artworks, the importance of which may not have been realised previously, and that is the presence in San Pietro di Castello, of the *cathedra di San Pietro*, a marble and sandstone throne said to have belonged to St Peter himself, and which he had used in Antioch, (Figs. 136, 136a). However, the reality is more prosaic; it seems that the back of the throne was actually an Islamic tombstone, a *stèle* dating from the eleventh or twelfth century. Inscribed with verses from the Qu’ran, which are in Kufic script,¹³² the invocation “*La ilah illah Allah*” is also inscribed on the throne, together with Islamic ornamentation on its back.¹³³ However, the presence of such a prestigious Islamic treasure, in the very church that had been the Cathedral of Venice until the construction of the Basilica di San Marco, could well have stimulated curiosity in Arabic calligraphy.

Another contributory factor to the presence of pseudo-Arabic scripts in Venetian artworks may have been the regular auctions conducted by the Procurators of St Mark’s

¹³² Carboni, Stefano, “Serenissima Arabesque”, *Hermitage* 8, October 2007, Exhibition Review, p. 62. The author of this thesis attended a “Round-Table Discussion” on *The Feste del San Piero in Castello* on 23rd June 2010 and was able to view a new wall text situated by the “Throne”, with the Italian translation from the Kufic that reads : “O SIGNORE! DACCI QUEL CHE TU CI PROMETTESTI PER BOCCA DEI TUOI MESAGGERI, E NON CI SVERGOGNARE NEL GIORNO DELLA RESURREZIONE!”. This is taken from Corano Sura XXIII: Versetto 118. It continues: “E TU DI’ I PERDONA. ABBI PIETA’IT TU SEI PIETOSI IL MIGLIORE!” This text had not been present on her previous visit in 2008.

¹³³ Fugagnollo, Ugo, *Bisanzio e l’Oriente a Venezia*, Trieste: Edizioni LINT, 1974, p. 221, transcribes the invocation as “There is no other God but Allah”, slightly different from that said to have been utilised by Gentile da Fabriano, “*La Illahi Illa Allah*”, “*There is no God but God*”, cited by Mack and discussed earlier in this Chapter.

in Piazza San Marco or at Rialto, where books were frequently sold, attracting buyers not only from Venice but also from the mainland.¹³⁴ The subjects ranged from encyclopaedias, devotional works, classical texts such as Cicero and Seneca, more recent works such as Dante, theological treatises, and Commentaries on these, to specific manuals on law and medicine, astrological treatises and translations of Arabic works.¹³⁵

The presence of such scripts and St Peter's Throne, combined with the thriving import of Mamluk brassware (Fig. 137), silk, spices and pigments, must surely have additionally exerted an influence on the Venetian/Venetan artists who consequently utilised pseudo-cursive script within their haloes. The fact that they resemble pseudo-Nashki does suggest a strong link with the physical presence of Arabic manuscripts in Venice. A fine example is Antonio Vivarini's *St Louis of Toulouse*, now in The Louvre, (Fig. 39). Although there is much *pastiglia* work throughout this piece, (as discussed in Chapter Three), Antonio has utilised a pseudo-cursive motif only in the halo border, (Fig. 138) it does not appear on the bookbinding, nor on the saint's cope, and there is no separation by a floral design. The saints depicted on his cope have plain flat disk haloes. The script is neither an epigraph nor a legible piece of writing, so it does not communicate any message, but rather implies an oriental mystique consonant with the status of the bishop from the royal House of Anjou.¹³⁶ Another contemporary use of pseudo-Arabic elements appears in Giovanni Bellini's *Pietà* of 1453-55, in the gold halo borders of Christ and the putti, (Figs. 139, 139a). Again, they are very different from the broad *thuluth* script that Gentile da Fabriano produced, more akin to Jacopo

¹³⁴ .Connell, Susan, "Books and their Owners in Venice 1345-1480", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol 35, (1972), pp. 163-186, esp. pp. 164-165.

¹³⁵ Connell, p. 180.

¹³⁶ The presence of the printing presses in Venice may have had an influence on Venetian pseudo-inscriptions, Barasch, Mosche, "Some Pseudo-Inscriptions in Renaissance Art", in *Visible Language*, Vol. 23, Spring/Summer, 1990, pp. 170-187, p. 186.

Bellini's "script" and Mantegna's, they are much slimmer.¹³⁷ Behind Christ's head is a dark gold, solid-looking, foreshortened halo, circumscribed with continuous pseudo-cursive script, though, again, it is not an inscription. The light source enters from Christ's right and the halo casts a shadow across His left shoulder, an assertion of the physical presence of the divine signifier.¹³⁸ There is a deep emotional input by Giovanni into this work, combined with his attention to physical detail on the halo surface. The inner disk is intersected by slim red foreshortened rays radiating from the centre, and transposed on these is a sliver of a red cross, the arms of which are blunt-ended.¹³⁹ The red cross of the halo, facing down towards the edge of the sepulchre is a reminder of Christ's blood, shed for humanity and the edge of the tomb also functions as a reminder of the altar on which later, Christ's blood would be celebrated in the Eucharist.¹⁴⁰ The halo is in three temporal zones simultaneously, reminding the spectator of what has happened, viewed against the continuation of everyday life, and then in its relationship with the sepulchre/altar, of what will happen. The combination of the halo's positioning underneath the celestial sphere but highlighted against the sky of the earthly world and its perpendicular placement behind Christ's head juxtaposed with the lip of the undeniably solid tomb jutting out, firmly sites it in our world, the red of the cross within it picking up the hints of blood of Christ's wounds. An even later example of Giovanni's pseudo-Arabic haloes can be found in his *Dead Christ between St. Mark and St. Nicholas of Bari*, the date of which now seems to be accepted as

¹³⁷ When Gentile da Fabriano came to Venice to work on the Sala del Maggior, he was registered as a member of the Scuola di San Cristoforo dei mercanti (see Document 21, Appendix of Documents), which Giovanni Bellini would later join. De Marchi, Andrea, *Gentile da Fabriano*, Florence: Giunti Industrie Grafiche S.p.A., 1998, p. 49.

¹³⁸ "In Bellini's work, the striking attention paid to cast shadows on the parapet and cloth of honor (sic) may be understood as further affirmations of the Virgin's physical presence." Goffen, Rona, "Icon and Vision: Giovanni Bellini's Half-Length Madonnas", *Art Bulletin*, LVII, No. 57, 1975, pp. 487-518 pp. 498-499.

¹³⁹ For a similar design of cross, albeit on a much more transparent halo, see his *Man of Sorrows*, 1460, at the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum in Milan. The cross in the Correr *Pieta* is also much slimmer. A similar pose, Christ supported by two angels, is present in the *Polittico di San Vincenzo Ferrer*, 1464-68, in SS Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, where Christ's halo is very transparent but plain, and there is no cruciform design within it.

¹⁴⁰ See Goffen, 1975, pp. 499-501, and p. 504, for her exposition of the parapet as altar/tomb.

1472.¹⁴¹ In some ways these haloes seem to be rather anachronistic for Giovanni, since he had already used gold circlet haloes in many works over the previous decade. The very red cruciferous style of Christ's halo as a temporal marker is further discussed in Chapter Six with relation to the Cult of the Precious Blood of Christ, and its appearance at this late stage, together with *tiraz* inscriptions on the Virgin's mantle and the Evangelist's neckband, are noteworthy, (Fig. 140).

This thesis wishes to highlight the most unusual way that Giovanni has shown the Virgin's left hand, curling around her dead son's head, between the halo and the crown of thorns, (Fig. 140a) both depicted as solid, and thus material, objects. This is similar to Marco Zoppo's 1465 *Dead Christ Supported by Two Saints*, (Fig. 59) where again, a hand interposes between the flesh of His head and the ice-like halo. These are classic examples of the application of perception by the spectator, what Umberto Eco describes as "*perception as interpretation of sensory data which are organized through a complex transactional process by a cognitive hypothesis based on previous experience*".¹⁴² The crown of thorns is a real, tangible thing being represented in this image. The halo, of course, is not a real object, and yet Giovanni has given ontogenetic substance to both, the Virgin is the intercessor between celestial and terrestrial through the agency of her hand interposing between the real and unreal. The spectator views both the halo and the crown of thorns, selectively defining terrestrial and spiritual elements, yet reading and accepting all within the narrative, based on empirical experience. Bellini's representation of the Virgin's curling hand is mimetic, but the "constructed" halo cannot be mimetic, it is not of the "natural" world. However, Bellini has represented delicate white floral motifs on the deep red, broad cross arms, almost as an amelioration of the

¹⁴¹Lucco, Mauro and Villa, Giovanni Carlo Federico, (eds.), *Giovanni Bellini*, Exhibition Catalogue, Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2008, p. 174. This work, *Pietà*, is in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice.

¹⁴²Eco, Umberto, *A Theory of Semiotics*, Indiana and London: Indiana University Press, 1976, and The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1976, p. 166.

shock they present. Surrounding them in the border, he has imposed a graphic system, which in the words of Greimas, Collins and Perron, "... depends on the oppositions between its various graphic features ("round", "hooked", and so on)..."¹⁴³ The calligraphy is imitative of Arabic script, but like other examples discussed previously, it is not a visual articulation of formal language because it is random. However, this thesis proposes that what it is signifying is a reference to Christ's human life on earth, His speech to and with others in the Aramaic language, this is Giovanni's "version", juxtaposed with the deep red cross signifying Christ's sacrificed blood. This is Christ's "trace", even though He is now dead, it is His presence inside the halo. This is not the delicate gold circlet halo that Giovanni has endowed, and will continue to bestow, on many of his Madonnas. This dark gold halo is like a piece of Mamluk brassware, sections of it illuminated in the light, picking out gold highlights in the fictive calligraphy. Following the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, Venice suddenly depended much more on Ottoman support both for vital grain imports and to maintain her own military force;¹⁴⁴ perhaps this halo is a subtle reference to that situation, not implausible in view of the fact that Giovanni's brother, Gentile, would go to Constantinople to paint Sultan Mehmet II just eight years later. A multiplicity of messages is simultaneously being received by the spectator and, despite the fact that the halo is not a natural phenomenon, nevertheless the direct communication can be recognized by its recipient.

4.8 Conclusion

This Chapter has considered the appearance of text and textual elements within the halo infrastructure. These have been demonstrated as responses to cultural and religious

¹⁴³ Greimas Algirdas Julien, Collins, Frank and Perron, Paul, "Figurative Semiotics and the Semiotics of the Plastic Arts", *New Literary History*, Vol 20, No 3, Spring 1989, pp 627 – 649, p. 630.

¹⁴⁴ Dursteler, Eric, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006, p. 5.

factors, as for example in the post-Iconoclastic necessity of identifying saints by name. This didactic practice subsequently developed to provide extra information, and was found within haloes throughout the Italian peninsula, for example, in Benozzo Gozzoli's *The Virgin and Child Enthroned among Angels and Saints*, the otherwise-named *Altarpiece of the Society of the Purification*, commissioned in 1461 (Fig. 141).¹⁴⁵ Within this, all the saints have their names inscribed in Latin, black, humanistic script against the gold ground of their haloes,

SANCTVS HIERONIMV

SANT .ZENOBIVS

SANCT IOHANNES BAT ISTA

.SANCTVS PETRVS APOSTOLVS.

*SANCTVS * DOMINICVS*

AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINI

and Jesus's cruciferous halo overlies the Virgin's, His inscription reads "*HIESVS CRISTVS*". Gozzoli has slimmed some of the inscribed letters to fit within the halo field, further reducing the artistic tension of including them within the picture plane (as discussed earlier). Within these haloes, Gozzoli has utilised several abbreviations where it has been difficult to write them in entirety, the punctuation mark he uses is like a combination of a figure '9' and an apostrophe, thereby additionally contracting "Sanctus" to "Sant", and further identifying St Peter as an Apostle.¹⁴⁶ St Dominic's

¹⁴⁵ Tempera and gold on panel, 162 x 170 cm, National Gallery, London. O'Malley, Michelle, "Altarpieces and Agency: The Altarpiece of the Society of the Purification and its 'Invisible Skein of Relations'" *Art History* 28, September 2005, pp. 417 – 441.

¹⁴⁶ There is no specific name for this type of punctuation mark, which is commonly used in Latin to denote the missing letters "-us". Waghorn-Milton Nicola (Nicola.Waghorn-Milton@ng-london.org.uk), *Benozzo Gozzoli – Virgin and Child Enthroned amongst Saints*. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), 28th September, 2009.

name is intersected by a star, a reference to his brow radiating a supernatural light because his godmother had seen a star alight on it at his baptism.¹⁴⁷

Vincent Foppa (1427/30–1515-16), who had also studied under Squarcione, likewise bestowed didactic haloes, particularly on his Virgins, for example, in the *Madonna of the Book*, (1460-68, Fig. 142), where the usual salutation applies.¹⁴⁸ However, and with reference to the appearance of “silk haloes” which this thesis has identified and explored in Chapter Three, his 1480 *Virgin and Child* has the invocation

GENUISTI EUM QUI FE FECIT

physically woven into the vaporous silk, (Figs. 143, 143a).¹⁴⁹ As posited in the Prolegomena, a devotional epigraph has been embedded within the halo site, by a contemporary industrial practice, the silk industry, thereby simultaneously operating emically within the artwork as a temporal indicator.

Butinone and Zenale’s late quattrocento, early cinquecento *Polittico di San Martino* (Fig. 144) contains several saints with halo name inscriptions.¹⁵⁰ The partnership worked mainly in Milan and across North Italy. In Sardinia, there are examples of didactic haloes, in the bright gold haloes of the Virgin and St Michael, from the *Retablo di Tuili*, (Fig. 145) by the Maestro di Castelsardo, 1489-1500, Chiesa di San Pietro, Tuili; by now all Gothic lettering has disappeared and the clean-cut lines of the humanistic script, often giving the impression of deeply-carved impressions, is the most popular form of halo inscription lettering. As previously stated, the practice of

¹⁴⁷ Hall, J., *Hall’s Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, London: John Murray (Publishers) [1974], 1996, p. 106.

¹⁴⁸ Tempera on panel, Castello Sforzesca, Milan

¹⁴⁹ Tempera on canvas, 61 x 38 cm. Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, n. inv. 1644.

¹⁵⁰ Chiesa di San Martino, TREVIGLIO.

inscribing saints' names within haloes continued into the sixteenth century, particularly in engravings, such as that of *St Francis and His Three Orders* by an unknown Paduan printmaker, (Fig. 147), based on a composition executed circa 1500 by Benedetto Montagna of Vicenza of four Benedictine saints. These include St Giustina, who as well as being venerated in the Veneto generally, is a Paduan patron saint (Fig. 146). However, there are no inscribed haloes in Montagna's engraving, although in the anonymous work, a flying angel holding a *cartellino* above St Francis provides the title in the written text, and the saints have their names inscribed within their haloes. Additionally, there are the five Franciscan protomartyrs of Morocco, with an "M" as well as their names within their haloes, designating their status as "martyr". At the rear of the group are several *beati*, who have rays emanating from their heads, though strangely there are also four *beati* with a solid halo, but with the letter "B" before their names or initials, designating "Blessed". The relics of the Moroccan protomartyrs were venerated at the Santo in Padua, thus as Zucker suggests, it is most probable that the engraving was produced for a Franciscan clientele.¹⁵¹ Therefore in both Gozzoli's altarpiece and this engraving, it can be seen that the halo is still operating as a site of information, supplying names, status – whether as Apostle, Saint or Beatus - and historical data. In the latter, it additionally references a specific geographical site, the Santo at Padua, a function propounded in the Prolegomena.

Contemporary aesthetic developments in lettering have transferred across to the halo site. Biblical references, such as the Annunciate Angel's salutation to the Virgin was one of the commonest halo inscriptions, but the halo's internal field was also the locus of information, as shown in the previously-discussed *St Anne Metterza* of Bicci di Lorenzo where her status as Mother of the Virgin is displayed, or in Jacopo Bellini's

¹⁵¹ Zucker, M., "Early Italian Engravings for Religious Orders", in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 56 B.d., H. 3, (1993), pp. 366-384, pp. 376 – 378 passim. The engraving, measuring 29.4 x 22.3 cm, is in the British Museum.

Accademia *Madonna* where the Virgin's special role as the "carrier" of Christ is emphasised. The halo's circumference is also utilised for the application of Franciscan devotional Mariological theology exemplified in Domenico di Bartolo's *Virgin of Humility*. Cultural and visual elements were inserted by artists into the halo borders in the form of pseudo-Arabic grammés, but the deliberate manipulation of these to produce a non-sensical "inscription" suggests that the visual and aesthetic elements override any suggestion of linguistic accuracy; later the exoticism was associated with the elitism of the *tiraz* inscriptive bands and the prestige of Mamluk luxury ware, rather like the use of ultramarine as the most precious pigment for the Virgin's garments to enhance status. The semiotic functions of the halo were additionally manipulated by artists, as all of the haloes containing text are exerting an influence of some sort on the spectator, be it uniting the Christian observer in their inability to "crack" the mystical Islamic lettering, or additionally drawing them into the artwork by their very mode of viewing what may be just terpnopietic elements. The term "viewing" rather than "reading" is an acknowledgement that perhaps not all spectators were fully literate. However, where textual haloes are present, the viewing process is not straightforward because it occurs in sequential stages, necessitating a physical engagement, as stated in this Chapter's introduction. Trying to read a halo inscription involves a rupture in the spectator's scanning of the artwork because the viewing of the halo text is a linear action, so there is immediate engagement with the signifiers, the words.¹⁵² However, the first act of looking at the entire artwork is imposed on the spectator, followed by the focusing of the gaze onto the halo itself. This may necessitate a change of viewing position for the spectator, requiring a shifting of the head in different directions, physically moving nearer or further away from the artwork to access the words, visually "sweeping" the work. Thus the halo is kinetically subverting the spectator's gaze, it is operating

¹⁵²Gandelman, Claude, "By Way of Introduction: Inscription as Subversion", *Visible Language*, Vol. 23, Spring/Summer, 1990, pp. 140-169, p. 141.

actively in the artwork and it is interacting with the viewer, not tactically but legibly and visually. The textual halo is functioning in a perlocutionary manner because it is making the spectator do something, the importance of which has not previously been sufficiently recognized.¹⁵³

The textual halo, therefore, operates in many roles: location for name labels, site of hierarchical information, temporal indicator, locus of devotional theology, recipient of contemporary aesthetic and industrial practice, and of course signifier of divine presence. Its didactic qualities have been accepted but not greatly appreciated previously. Additionally, haloes containing devotional inscriptions, such as Jacopo Bellini's 1450 *Virgin and Child*, demonstrate yet another function displayed by the halo, that of promoting a much more active participation from the viewer, and hence referencing the original aim of this thesis, dynamically helping to activate the artwork.

Transferring Kristeva's application of the term *ideologeme* from its literary locus to the halo site, this thesis argues that its intertextuality – here, the halo's text in the different forms discussed interacting with the many theological, societal, industrial and economic factors – does engender historical and social co-ordinates, that in Jameson's definition “can project itself variously in the form of a ‘value system’ or philosophical concept, or in the form of a protonarrative, a private or collective narrative fantasy.”¹⁵⁴ The textual halo, therefore, with all, or some, of these elements in play, hitherto under-appreciated, has been demonstrated – as hypothesised by this thesis - to be an active and important component of an artwork's iconography on several different levels.

¹⁵³ Gandelman, pp. 143-145.

¹⁵⁴ Jameson, Fredric, *The Political Unconscious*, cited by Jamie Dopp, in www.humanities.org.ua&TW/ideology (accessed 30.11.10.)

CHAPTER FIVE

Light, Shadow, Perspective and the Halo

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter argues that the cumulative evidence so far presented in order to re-evaluate the halo and nimbus will be reinforced through examining its treatment by image-makers in different light conditions and its consequent behaviour, leading to further semiotic analyses of its function and somatic qualities. Examining artists' representation of real light, coupled with further probing of their representation of conceptual Divine Light, will demonstrate how these two factors may affect their treatment of the halo, with the consequent import this has on nimbus/halo depiction, and thus the real/other worldly dichotomy. Since the etymological roots already suggest two separate "entities", the nimbus, a vaporous-like fugitive mist, and the halo, a slightly more solid, therefore possibly "tangible" item, both terms will be used. Thus, aspects of texture will also be pertinent in this Chapter, as it will be shown that both the nimbus and the halo react in different ways under diverse light conditions, and in some situations this may be because of their varying surface texture or composition. Thus, an investigation of their actual physical construction within the artwork, as in mosaic, must consider whether this may be a contributory factor to this behaviour. Additionally, they may exhibit actual physical traits, as in reflecting light themselves, receiving reflecting light and/or creating a shadow, although of course with the caveat already stated, that this current examination is similarly being conducted on an object that does not exist in the terrestrial world – or perhaps it may appear only fleetingly.

Consequently, this will again give rise to certain semiotic considerations vis-à-vis the nimbus and the halo so that the physicality and/or ontology of a non-existent object can also be examined in terms of its function. The impact of liminal time and space will be referenced. Optical theories, in addition to colour symbolism and theories relating to perspective, will also form part of the investigation within this Chapter in order to consider their effect upon the halo's representation, and there will be some cross-referencing and linkage with Chapter Three, regarding ornamentation, as for example, with Giotto's fresco of *Christ in Judgement* at Padua, where mirrored glass was inserted within His cruciferous halo. The analysis will encompass different halo shapes, or rather different modes of suggesting divinity to interrogate what may be perceived as "halo-like", including the utilisation of light rays rather than the bestowal of a circular evanescence of light. Changes in position and size will also be considered, as artists try to resolve specific representational problems and engage with increasing naturalism within their artworks, in whatever media. The application of these different approaches will provide a matrix in which to examine further strands of both passive and active behaviour of the nimbus and halo.

5.2 Theories of Optics

One of the very ancient Greek theories about optics and light almost parallels the science underpinning current heat-seeking missile technology; the supposition that the eye itself emitted rays, which sought out the object of sight, but rather than destroying it like the missile, they returned the image of the object to the mind. This "extramission theory" was postulated by, among others, Pythagorus and Hipparchus of Alexandria, Euclid and Plato. Augustine described these rays as being produced in the liver, travelling to the

brain and then to the eyes through “slender ducts”.¹ The converse theory held that the eye was actually a passive instrument receiving “rays” from external objects, which were then “translated” in the mind, the “intromission theory”, supported by Aristotle and Democritus.² Five Islamic scholars - al-Kindi, Alhacen, Alfarabi, Avicenna and Averroes, contributed to the debate between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Their treatises and original sources were subsequently translated into Latin at the beginning of the twelfth century, an important period in the examination of the physiology of vision and the development of optical treatises.³ These discussions were developing alongside, and interlaced with, theological arguments, most particularly the polarisation between the Aristotlean and Platonic viewpoints. Al-Kindi’s ninth century treatise *De Spectibus* considerably influenced Robert Grosseteste’s (ca. 1168 – 1253) c. 1235 *De Iride*. Both defended the extramission theory Neoplatonically. Alfarabi’s tenth century *De Scientiis* had separated optics from physics allying it to geometry.⁴ Grosseteste adopted these principles, and utilising Patristic texts, went on to assign a metaphysical status to light in *De luce*.⁵ Grosseteste and William of Auvergne disseminated the new optical theories within Franciscan and Dominican communities, influencing subsequent theological writers like Albertus Magnus, and his student, Thomas Aquinas (1226 - 1274). Roger Bacon, (ca. 1214 –1292)⁶ assimilated Alhazen’s theories, with a synthesis of those of Augustine, Aristotle and Grosseteste, leading to the establishment of *perspectiva*.⁷ After centuries of argument,⁸ by the early trecento, different types of light had been identified

¹ Lindberg, David, C., Rosen, Edward, *Roger Bacon and the origins of Perspectiva in the Middle Ages: A Critical Edition and English Translation of Bacon’s ‘Perspectiva’ with Introduction and Notes*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. xxix.

² Turbayne, Colin, M. “Grosseteste and an Ancient Optical Principle”, *Isis*, Vol. 50, (No. 4) December 1959, pp. 467-472, p. 467.

³ Lindberg, David, *Theories of Vision from al-Kindi to Kepler*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1976], 1981, p. 211.

⁴ Eastwood, Bruce S., “Medieval Empiricism: The Case of Grosseteste’s Optics”, *Speculum*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (April 1968), pp. 306-321, p. 307.

⁵ Eastwood, p. 308.

⁶ Tachau, pp. 337 – 339, passim.

⁷ Lindberg, (1981), p. 104.

⁸ Gage, John, *Colour and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1993, p. 70, citing *Etymologies XIII, X, 12 ff.* An earlier seventh century exposition was

as *lux* and *lumen* in Latin, respectively translated into Italian as *luce* and *lume*.⁹ St Bonaventura described *lux* as:

. . . threefold, that is in itself, and in transparent media, and as terminated at the limits of the perspicuous: in the first mode it is *lux*, in the second *lumen*, in the third the hypostasis of colour.¹⁰

Lux is now accepted as the light source, and *lumen* as the light radiated from this, i.e. it is received light, as synthesised in Grosseteste's exposition of the multiplication of *species*, utilising al-Kindi's treatise *De Radiis (On Rays)*.¹¹ For Grosseteste, the word *species* was almost synonymous with the notion of "what is visible". He and Bonaventura considered colour, and *color* is defined as light that is on the surface of an object but which halts the passage of *lumen*, this latter ordinarily believed to be invisible.¹² However, *splendor* referred to the brightness of a surface, and thus was a visible manifestation.¹³ These three definitions of *lux*, *lumen* and *color* were discussed by San Bernardino of Siena. Quoting Avicenna in his *Opera Omnia*, he considered *claritas*, which is the luminosity of the bodies of the saints, the most important of the four gifts bestowed upon them. The second gift is *subtilitas*, which is transparency or translucency. We are able to see the Saints, thus, according to San Bernardino, their bodies must receive *lux* and *color* but not *lux* and *lumen*, citing Avicenna's hypothesis,

developed by Isidore of Seville thus: "*Lux* is substance itself, and *Lumen*, what flows from *Lux*, that is the whiteness of *Lux*, but writers confuse these two"

⁹ Hills, Paul, *The Light of Early Italian Painting*, Yale University Press: New Haven & London, 1987, pp. 11-12.

¹⁰ Hills, 1987, p. 11.

¹¹ Tachau, pp. 339-340.

¹² Tachau, p. 340.

¹³ Hills, 1987, p. 11.

as follows:

If anyone should object that according to the saying of Gregory cited above, a blessed body will be permeable and coloured glass, and in addition that body will be lucid, I say that it seems miraculous. For according to Avicenna, *Naturalia*, book 6 [*De Anima*, part 3, ch. I], *lumen*, *lux* and *color* are received by different things, and it is less possible for a person or thing to receive *lux* and *lumen* than *lux* and *colour*, since that which is susceptible of *lux* is opaque and dense, but that which is susceptible of *lumen* is transparent. [...] And, therefore, if the bodies of the blessed ones are lucid, it does not seem that they ought to be permeable, or that any body should be visible through them. But that which is susceptible of colour is dense, since colour only exists in a finite transparent object. Therefore it seems more possible that the body of a blessed one is lucid and coloured than lucid and luminous”.¹⁴

Lux, *lumen*, *color*, *splendor* and *claritas* will become increasingly important in artists' exploration and manifestation of the halo, as will be demonstrated within this Chapter. Camille suggests that “the transforming power of transparency articulates an increasing dematerialization” and this thesis proposes that artists are responding to this change in the psychology of light in their representation of the halo.¹⁵

5.3 Light, Colour and the Halo in Mosaics

The wall or vault mosaic halo will be considered first, centuries-old, and in Italy found specifically in Rome, Sicily, Ravenna, Florence and Venice/Torcello, spanning a very wide time-frame, (early third century to late fifteenth century) thus contemporaneous artistic traits and practices can be traced within them. For example, in the vault mosaic at the Mausoleum of the Julii, under St. Peter's in Rome, dating from the early third century AD, Gage has noted the introduction of metallic tesserae in the gold halo of the

¹⁴ English translation by Leofranc A. Holford-Strevens, cited in Toyama, Koichi, "The Headless Cast Shadow: Cast Shadows in 15th Century Sieneese Painting and the Case of Sassetta's *Stigmatization of St Francis*", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, Vol 69, No. 4, 2006, pp. 531-540.

¹⁵ Camille, p. 204.

risen Christ,¹⁶ coinciding with the gilding of glass vessels where, like the tesserae, gold is sandwiched between two layers of glass.¹⁷ Gradually, tesserae began covering the whole field, as in the late fifth century *cielo d'oro* in the Capello di San Vittore, Basilica di San Ambrogio, Milan, where this vast field represents Heaven, so it was necessary to adapt setting techniques with metallic tesserae, because the traditional pavement mosaic method produced a very smooth, regular surface with a consequently uniform lustre, inappropriate for a monumental wall or vault mosaic.¹⁸ Gage noted that Early Christian mosaicists commenced setting gold tesserae downwards at angles of up to 30° in haloes and mandorlas, to deflect light down to the spectator, citing the mid-sixth century mosaics at St Catherine on Mount Sinai,¹⁹ although by the ninth/tenth centuries this had waned. Sometimes the cubes were reversed or interspersed with silver cubes to modulate the gold ground. In Italy, the gold tesserae often had a base of red glass with a red setting-bed reflecting the red glass base over the gold, enhanced by the under-colouring of the bed, further modulating the gold ground.²⁰

5.4 The Murano and Torcello Virgins

In Venice and Torcello, like frescoes, a cartoon was transferred by brush-stroke onto a first layer of plaster, followed by the embedding of hundreds of tesserae onto a second layer of damp plaster to realise the design of the *sinopia*.²¹ Various materials were used

¹⁶ Previously, glass tesserae were more commonly used, with small “pebble-like” tesserae. Until the fourth and fifth centuries when the term *musivum* was used to describe mosaics, both wall and vault mosaics were described as *vitrīs* or “glass”. Gage, (1993), p. 40.

¹⁷ Gage, *ibid.* Many glass vessels have been found in Roman Catacombs e.g., Christ as *Buon Pastore* in the fourth century glass plate, Fig. 4. Silver tesserae were also used to create light, but initially only in small quantities.

¹⁸ MacKie, Gillian, “Symbolism and Purpose in an Early Christian Martyr Chapel: The Case of San Vittore in Ciel d’Oro, Milan”, *Gesta*, Vol. 34, No. 2, (1995), pp. 91-101, p. 92.

¹⁹ Gage, (1993) p. 41.

²⁰ Theophilus, writing in the twelfth century, specified white glass for use as a basis for gold mosaic. At Sta Maria Maggiore, Rome, gold tesserae are “on a base of several colours: greenish, brown, yellowish, pink as well as colourless.” Gage,(1993), p. 43 and Footnote 41, p. 275.

²¹ Mariacher, Giovanni, *Mosaici di San Marco*, Venezia : ARDO Edizioni d’Arte, 1980, (pages unnumbered).

for the tesserae, ranging from marble, glass, stone, terracotta to mother-of-pearl, all of which could be set at differing angles to produce an uneven surface which picks up and reflects back light, like musical notes reverberating in an enclosed space. This luminosity was a vital function of mosaics since they were intended as a means of expressing and realising the Christian iconography of light.²² In the Torcello Duomo, it is possible to see how the tesserae were set within haloes radially to produce a difference against the gold ground, and also an impression of a dynamic force. Mosaics were viewed originally by candlelight in the interior of churches; the nocturnal services in the Eastern Church lend additional darkness to the viewing atmosphere, further influenced by the passage of worshippers, disturbing and wafting the candles, causing enhanced flickering of the flames, which play onto the mosaic surface and animate it, suffusing it with a sense of movement.

Viewing mosaics by daylight is also an uplifting experience. In the Duomo of Santa Maria e Donato at Murano, Venice, there is a wonderful late twelfth-century apse mosaic of the *Vergine Orante*, realised as a very hieratic figure, standing on a small pedestal with a geometric patterned border (Fig. 148).²³ Unlike the almost contemporaneous Torcello apse mosaic, the Virgin is solitary, she is not holding the Christ Child, although in both mosaics, her appellation of *MP ΘV*, “Mother of God” is written on the gold ground by each side of her head. In Murano, inside the arc, there is an inscription referring to her as the Second Eve who will redeem Mankind.²⁴ She faces the spectator, her hands facing outwards, raised in the *orans* gesture, a very simple and tranquil figure. Her gold halo is circumscribed by pink and blue tesserae and is

²² Gage, (1993), p. 44-45.

²³ This Virgin seems to have been influenced by the Torcello *Madonna*, and although anonymous, the mosaicist was Venetian rather than Greek, since the mosaic demonstrates contemporaneous early Trecento local Venetian features, such as “linearism”, Demus, Otto, “Studies among the Torcello Mosaics – III”, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 85, No. 497 (Aug., 1944), pp. 195-200, pp. 199-200, passim.

²⁴ Perry, Marilyn, trans. Mamoli Zorzi, Rosella, *La Basilica dei SS. Maria e Donato di Murano*, Venice: Stamperia di Venezia Spa, 1980, p. 57.

differentiated from the rest of the gold ground although as one walks around the Church, light is picked up and thrown out from the apse at different angles, thus this very spiritual vision changes and alters, its content evidence of the growing cult of devotion to the Virgin, (Fig. 148a).

At Torcello, the Virgin also stands on a small pedestal, in a *Hodegetria* pose directly meeting the spectator's gaze, particularly if standing in front of the altar looking up at her, (Fig. 149).²⁵ Both the Virgin's and Christ Child's haloes at Torcello (Fig. 149a) have a mixture of blue and red tesserae delineating their circumference, red predominating. Around the apse arc, and beneath her pedestal, there are invocations to her, inspired by St Bernard of Clairvaux's Mariological doctrines, the "Star of the Sea" and the "Gate of Salvation" and once again she has been transformed into the Second Eve. Beneath these inscriptions, stand the haloed Twelve Apostles, their names appearing to their left, outside their blue-bordered haloes preceded by the initials SCS, (the abbreviation for Sanctus), all lying against the celestial gold ground, quite obviously not part of the terrestrial zone sharply terminating at the lower edges of their gowns, just above their ankles, (Fig. 149b).²⁶ The Duomo is well-lit by its high windows; underneath the Virgin and above the small panel depicting the similarly haloed St Eliodorus, there is another small arched window through which light pours.²⁷ Still very beautiful when viewed by daylight, as the spectator moves around the building, there is a slight sense of movement as the eye notes the tesserae catching light, although the effect is not as marked as if viewed in darkness lit by candlelight.

²⁵ Her neck seems almost Mannerist, consequently, although her halo is probably the same proportion as the Muranese Virgin's, it seems larger because her shoulders are also longer so the lower circumference only just seems to skim the base of her neck, whereas at Murano, the lower perimeter intersects further down her scapula.

²⁶ The Apostles mosaics at Torcello show Greek influences such as found at Hosios Lukas, Demus Otto, "Venetian Mosaics and Their Byzantine Sources: Report on the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of 1978", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 33, (1979), pp. 337-343, p. 341.

²⁷ St Eliodorus was the first Bishop of Torcello in 639 AD.

5.5 Divine Light in Venice and Rome

Within the Basilica of San Marco, Venice, is a thirteenth-century atrium mosaic representing *The Separation of Light from Darkness*, where Light is shown as red and Darkness is blue, echoing Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Rome, where Cavallini uses red for Divine Light in the *Dormition* (1291).²⁸ A variation of this code is very well demonstrated in the *Last Judgement* mosaic at the Duomo, Torcello, (Fig. 150) set on five different levels, the third level containing Christ in Judgment within a blue-framed mandorla, flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist, surrounded by the Apostles and in front of ranks of saints. Christ's halo contains three cross arms, the Virgin's is rimmed with blue-red tesserae, the Baptist's with blue. All their haloes, together with the white or black-rimmed Apostles' haloes are large and parallel to the picture plane regardless of the facial angle.²⁹ The saints and angels behind them have smaller haloes, which could be read as a demonstration of perspective in that they are farther away, or perhaps a more oblique reference to the distance of their relationship to Christ in comparison with that of the Virgin and Apostles, His closest companions. Curving its way down from Christ's mandorla into the next two levels a thick, pinkish-red feathered cord finally discharges its fiery light into the inferno, like an estuary emptying into the sea. Two Archangels, (pink from the fierce light) with blue-rimmed haloes prod the Damned (Fig. 150a).³⁰

²⁸ Gage, (1993), p. 58.

²⁹ Discussing an original fragment from the *Last Judgement* mosaic, Otto Demus describes the Byzantine use of the three quarter profile for figures who speak to each other, noting that in this fragment of an angel's head, the tilting could suggest veneration, and that there is a red portion of a halo outline. In the extant mosaic, nineteenth century restorers have copied an angel's head but not as the original. "Studies amongst the Torcello Mosaics – II", *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 84, No. 491, (Feb., 1994), pp. 41-39, pp. 42-44.

³⁰ They include a selection of oriental and Byzantine faces, and assorted blue devils. Above this scene, a Byzantine emperor with a black-rimmed blue halo and his empress with a red-rimmed green halo are seen.

In most of the previously mentioned centres where mosaics are found, the halo is usually realised as a flat gold disk.³¹ Within San Giovanni in Fonte, Rome³², there is a mid-seventh century mosaic in the Oratorio di San Venanzio, *The Blessing Christ between Two Angels*, (Fig. 151). The Virgin and Apostles in the lower register have haloes circumscribed by an inner border of white cubes and an outer band of blue tesserae, (Fig. 152). Above them, Christ and the angels appear against a background of red, blue and white curved waves, representing the Divine Light of Christ. The mosaicist has given the haloes of Christ and the angels a degree of opacity by covering the area immediately adjacent to the heads in gold ground, but surrounding this with very pale white tesserae, the full halo then encircled with a border of solid white. It is possible to see the tapering ends of these waves through Christ's halo and the angel flanking His left. A much broader wave can be seen through the upper portion of the right-flanking angel, and over the halo of both angels. Additionally, their streaming white hair "ribbon" fillet decoration can be seen, picking up the white band within the diadem. The halo appearance contrasts greatly with those of the Virgin and Apostles, the angels' are much more fugitive, Christ's slightly less so, thus the evocation of a mist of translucence is very competently realised, suggesting more of a nimbus than a halo. This helps distinguish the divine light of these supernatural beings from the mortals below – even though they are the Virgin and the Apostles. As in many early depictions of Christ, He does not have a cruciferous halo, although by 705 AD in Rome, a mosaic depicting the *Lavanda del Bambino* (Fig. 153) shows the Christ Child's halo field intersected by three arms of a Latin cross composed of an upper band of white tesserae and a lower band of dark blue tesserae, His head shown in three quarter profile, turning

³¹ There are exceptions, for example, in Rome, where Pope John VII is depicted wearing a blue square halo outlined in black, (see Fig. 70).

³² The mosaics were commissioned by Pope Theodore just before 650 AD.

to His right.³³ Within the same cycle commissioned by Pope John II, there is a mosaic of the Virgin with crossed arms, bowing her head to her left, where again the proportions of the halo are very large so that its lower circumference touches her upper clavicular border (Fig. 154).

5.6 The Cruciferous Halo

Halo size is a constant factor within these mosaics, also at San Marco, Venice, although here the adult Christ is invariably endowed with a cruciferous halo outlined in red, or a combination of red and white, or red and gold tesserae, colours referencing the shedding of His blood to redeem Mankind, the proleptic halo discussed in Chapter 3.3. Additionally, the tripartite cross arms refer to the fact that Christ's body was "to be damaged on the Cross", it "asserts the reality of the Cross".³⁴ Various types of internal cross are utilised by artists in Christ's halo, the most common form is the cross pattée in which the outer edges of the cross angle inwards as they approach the "limb", (Fig. 155). (Didron's spelling *pattée* will be used in preference to Ellwood Post's *patée*, since the former is the most commonly accepted.) This is one of many types of cross to be seen within church architecture, on walls, on altars, (Figs. 156-157) and its angled edges may be quite blunt, or very sharply delineated.³⁵ Within mosaics, the cross arms may be a solid block of colour, frequently red, (Fig. 158) or decorated with jewels or other colours, as discussed below. Sometimes, they may be "voided", that is a single or

³³ Bisconti, Fabrizio and Gentili, Giovanni, (eds.), *La Rivoluzione dell'Immagine*, Exhibition Catalogue, Milan: Silvano Editoriale Spa, 2007, p. 254. These mosaics are from the antique basilica of St Peter's, Rome.

³⁴ Rancour-Laferriere, Daniel, "The Moral Masochism at the Heart of Christianity: Evidence from the Russian Orthodox Iconography and Icon Veneration", *Journal for the Psychoanalysis of Culture and Society*, 8.1, 2003, pp. 12-22, p. 17.

³⁵ The Vivarini bottega executed some unusual examples of cruciferous haloes: Antonio Vivarini's 1440 *Polittico di Parnezo*, Basilica Enfrasiiana, features Christ with three very thick cross arms in His halo. Bartolomeo Vivarini's c. 1473 Virgin has a cruciferous halo with four visible cross arms, as does the Christ Child, in *Madonna col Bambino*, Museo Sanna, Sassari, most unusual since the Virgin also is thus honoured.

double coloured cross pattée outline is applied with an empty internal arm field, as in the *Temptation of Christ*, (Fig. 159). The limbs may also take the form of a simple Greek cross, terminating at right angles, usually internally coloured red.³⁶ The San Marco mosaics span the late eleventh to late sixteenth centuries, so contemporary and traditional influences can be detected within them, also translating into some of the haloes. For example, in the thirteenth century mosaic of *The Blessing Christ* (Fig. 160) in the north wall of the eastern arm of the Basilica, Christ has a large halo, the lower perimeter of which reaches the margins of His upper shoulders, its interior made up of silver tesserae, mostly cubes but also some triangular shapes. Three arms of a cross pattée are outlined by a single red tessera border. The main background within the arm crosses is gold tesserae, but there is a smaller cross pattée within the arms, outlined in green tesserae. Between the two cross pattée outlines, the gold tesserae are interrupted by silver orbs, thus echoing the external halo border pattern. Finally, within the inner cross pattée between its outer perimeter and Christ's head, four turquoise orbs lie in a quadrant arrangement around a large central silver orb, possibly a reference to the four Cardinal Virtues. This is very similar to the halo designed by Giotto in his *Crucifixion* in Santa Maria Novella in Florence, 1290 – 1300, although only two cross arms are visible within this latter work, (Fig. 161).³⁷

³⁶ Although these different types of crosses pre-dated the Crusades by centuries, seemingly the organisation of these designs was formulated then for heraldic reasons. Therefore, to utilise recognized descriptions of these different types of crosses, their heraldic names will be applied throughout this thesis, consulting Fox-Davies, A. C., *Complete Guide to Heraldry*, London, New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., [1909], 1961, and Parker, James, *A Glossary of Terms Used in Heraldry*, 1894, now available on-line at <http://www.heraldsnet.org/saitou/parker/Jpglossc.htm#Cross> [accessed initially 10.05.08].

5.7 Colour Symbolism

Precious stones and their colour symbolism were discussed by both medieval theologians and scientific writers. The twelve precious stones decorating the foundations of the Heavenly City of Jerusalem are described in Revelations 21:18, although it should be borne in mind that the descriptions are not necessarily the same colours as understood by a twenty-first century viewer. For example amethyst was often allied with the same symbolism as red, thereby referring to Christ's human nature, although simultaneously purple was considered a royal colour. Pearl was usually a symbol of purity, and within the narthex at San Marco, a dome mosaic executed between 1240 and 1270 narrating the story of the *Creation*, (Fig. 162) features a figure much more like Christ than God, in which pearls are quite evident. The cycle is based on the illustrations from *The Cotton Genesis*, (Fig. 12) believed appropriated in Alexandria to consolidate Venice's claim to be the "City of St Mark", following the "transfer" of the Apostle's body from there.³⁸ Thus, the figure in the Garden of Eden in the San Marco mosaics is an unbearded, young Christ with a red-rimmed cruciferous halo, the three internal cross arms made up of a pearl field. Iconoclasts at the Council of 754 insisted that "Christ" was a simultaneous reference to "God" and "man", although they were using this as a defence against the use of images.³⁹ In the San Marco mosaic, the red halo border is once again proleptic, foretelling the shedding of the mortal man's blood. In this liminal moment, therefore, Ephrem's fourth century proclamation that "He gave us divinity, we gave Him humanity", is referenced.

³⁸ Demus, Otto, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, (1984), Vol. 2, p. 162. In the spandrels around the Creation cycle are seraphim which Giovanni Bellini appropriated and modified in his "cupola" in the San Giobbe altarpiece. In the curved borders flanking the spandrels, there is also the "whirling rosette" design discussed in Chapter Four. Peers, Glenn, *Subtle bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, pp. 31-32.

³⁹ Peers, p. 85.

5.8 Unifying elements

One unifying element to be seen within the mosaics discussed is that the haloes lie flat behind the owner's head, parallel to the picture plane, regardless firstly, of whether the figures are portrayed from a frontal, three quarter or full profile view; secondly, if they are divine personages or imperial, for example as at Torcello, or thirdly, Apostles' attributes such as in San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome. The overriding point to note in the examples quoted is that the haloes never cast any form of shadow, nor is there any penumbra, despite the fact that the mosaicists have used modelling and shadowing, and have illustrated real light falling across their mosaics, such as in Jacopo Torriti's cycles in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, (Fig. 163). The angels' haloes at Torcello (Fig. 150a) have a hint of volume by dint of the lower darker gold inner circumference paralleling its opposite upper white area, but still do not cast a shadow.

A final point to note regarding light and mosaic technique occurs from the sixth century in scenes of the *Transfiguration* and the light surrounding God's hand in certain Byzantine churches.⁴⁰ For example, at the Monastery of St Catherine, Sinai, the spectator sees Christ face-on, with a large gold three-armed cruciform halo, enclosed within a mandorla. The area closest to Christ is very dark blue, and it is only as the Divine Light rays extend outside the mandorla that they become whiter, therefore "stronger", which is a reversal of the usual behaviour of light.⁴¹ Pseudo-Dionysius explained 'The divine darkness is that "unapproachable light" where God is said to live' in *On the Divine Names*, thus mosaicists were trying to represent this emanation of darkness, which as Gage highlights is very appropriate at Sinai because this is where

⁴⁰ Gage, (1993), p. 58.

⁴¹ The "usual" mandorla is executed in the Torcello *The Last Judgement* mosaic where Christ is shown within a brilliance of white light gradually becoming two shades of darker grey than the dark-blue outline of His mandorla. Gage, (1993), p. 59.

Moses “went into that darkness where God was”.⁴² The mosaicists had been grappling with the problem of representing the un-representable, and they have realised this conundrum via a valid, visual solution.

Mosaicists faced a common problem over several centuries, that of adapting their raw materials to the surface of a dome vault or wall, necessitating a different technique to the Antique pavement mosaicists, in order to provide a modulated surface for light reflection. Regional and theological influences were assimilated into their programmes, and specific colours utilised to further underline iconographic meanings for both sophisticated and unsophisticated audiences. The gradual appearance of a cruciferous nimbus for Christ, whether in his role of Infant, Redeemer, or Enthroned Majesty has been noted, a motif that will continue well into the cinquecento.⁴³ More realism has been detected in the mosaics, via the use of modelling, contouring and penumbra, although it is very noticeable that these tools have rarely been applied in any instances to the halo. Although delineated with coloured borders, and differentiated from the gold field through radial placing of internal halo tesserae, the one characteristic of a physical entity under specific lighting conditions, i.e. its ability to cast a shadow, is completely absent in all of the centres, cycles, specific locations and for any of the personages so endowed, over a period of some eight centuries. This is despite the increasing naturalism of the scenes depicted, and the heightened emotionalism of the protagonists. The mosaicists had been able to resolve certain issues of conceptual representation, e.g. the diffusion of Divine Light from the mandorla, and actual representation, e.g., the creasing of drapery, though other problems continued to await different treatments.

⁴² Gage, (1993), pp 59-60, citing Exodus 20:21.

⁴³ The first appearance of the cruciferous halo was around the sixth century, when it was also used for the Lamb of God.

5.9 Light, the Halo and Frescoes

The flat, large disk halo is also utilised within fresco decorations, not only within Italy, but in many other centres, such as Constantinople, Cyprus, Mount Athos, Mount Sinai, Romania, Bulgaria and Serbia, to name a few. The frescoes span centuries, through many different political situations and influence of various Church Fathers and theologians. Like the mosaic haloes just discussed, frescoed haloes all share the common factor of neither casting any form of shadow, nor receiving any shadow themselves. In one of the oldest Venetian churches, the Chiesa di San Zan Degolà, there is a 1250 fresco of the *Annunciation*, (Fig. 164).⁴⁴ The Angel's wings are open, his face profiled against his large pale blonde halo. The Virgin stands upright against a foreshortened building, with a typical Venetian balcony and *bifora*, her robes very heavy and stiff compared with the fluidity of the Angel's. She faces him, in three quarter profile against her blonde halo, and yet despite the modelling of the internal recesses of the *bifora* and underside of the balcony, the haloes do not radiate light or cast any shadows. Within the same church, in a fresco of *St Helena with Saints*, similar pale blonde haloes are realised for each of the figures situated in a variety of poses against them, their names above their haloes, separated from the scene depicting St Helena.⁴⁵ The pale blonde colour of the haloes in this fresco against the cream background of both levels, and of the architecture, certainly give an impression of light surrounding the heads of their owners, but like the *Annunciation* fresco, this is different from the modelling used inside the arches of the basilica and the folds of the saint's drapery which is the darkness used to suggest shadow.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Dedicated to St John the Baptist Beheaded, it can be seen on Jacopo de' Barbari's map of Venice.

⁴⁵ Two bands surmounted by a chequered border are simultaneously "read" as the underside of a balcony.

⁴⁶ Hills, (1987), p. 83, reports that it was only after 1310 that pure yellow was used significantly by Italian panel painters, a point to bear in mind even though this is a different medium.

5.10 Giotto's experiments with ridged frescoed haloes at Assisi and Padua, and their semiotic shock

Almost fifty years later, Giotto's (1266/67 – 1337) fresco cycles at Assisi and Padua herald increasing trecento realism, but his revolutionary treatment of their haloes has not been commented on. Certainly, chemical analysis of their physical make-up has been carried out, but Giotto's manipulation of their ontogenetic qualities and the semiotic shock he inflicts has not, and therefore this thesis is calling attention to these points.

Circa 1290 – 1295 he was preparing a fresco cycle of Old Testament stories for the Upper Church at Assisi, after returning from Rome,⁴⁷ fulfilling his commission from Fra Giovanni di Muro della Marca, General of the Friars of St Francis, to paint thirty-six stories from the life of St Francis in the Upper Church.⁴⁸ In *Homage of a simple man* (Fig. 165), 1300, a simple citizen of Assisi spreads his coat for Francis to walk upon, the drapery of the garment flowing down the steps immediately adjacent and above it.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ It is probable that he had come into contact with works by Cavallini and Arnolfo.

⁴⁸ Tintori and Meiss suggested three different artists worked on the cycle, but conceded that the work followed a pre-conceived plan, charting the progression of the *giornate* in addition to carrying out a stylistic analysis. Tintori L, and Meiss, M., *The Painting of the Life of St Francis of Assisi, with Notes on the Arena Chapel*, New York: New York University Press, 1962. The technical development of *buon fresco* is compared with Pompeian and Roman practices and late thirteenth techniques. *Buon fresco* was preferred because it was so practical in that a binding medium was not necessary, and it was easier to divide the areas of work, and this adoption of the *giornata* system consequently allowed for a greater degree of chiaroscuro. Tsuji, Shigeru, "The Origins of buon fresco", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*. 46 Bd., H. 2, (1983), pp 215-222, p. 222. Subsequently, in an untitled review of *Il Cantiere di Giotto. Le Storie di San Francesco ad Assisi*, by Bruno Zanardi, Julian Gardner highlighted Zanardi's discovery, as both a restorer who had worked on the frescoes, and an art historian, that there are 546 *giornate* compared with the 272 cited by Tintori, because Zanardi also included areas not discussed by Tintori and Meiss. Zanardi discovered that the *giornate* also worked across several scenes, sometimes traversing different bays, implying that the work was done horizontally across several scenes, rather than working in a consecutive scenic pattern, suggesting therefore that several artists could work simultaneously on the same scaffold. Gardner, Julian, Untitled Review, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol 140, No. 1141, (April 1998), pp. 269-270.

⁴⁹ There are suggestions that this was executed by the Maestro of Santa Cecilia to Giotto's design, since it was one of the last frescoes to be realised, and Giotto had been summoned to Rome by Pope Bonifacio VIII. Cooper, Donal and Robson, Janet, provide new evidence regarding the commissioning of the cycle in "A great sumptuousness of paintings": frescoes and Franciscan poverty at Assisi in 1288 and 1312", *Burlington Magazine*, October 2009, Vol. 151, pp. 656-662. Binski, Paul, considers patronage and dating in "The patronage and date of the legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church of San Francesco at Assisi", *Burlington Magazine*, October 2009, Vol 151, pp. 663-665. Frugoni, Chiara, discusses the

The *titulus* clarifies that it represents an event described by Bonaventura in the first chapter of his *Legenda Maior*.⁵⁰ The symmetrical scene is balanced by the foreshortened campanile of the Palazzo del Comune on the left, and the tall rectangular building on the right, with its double storeys of colonnaded *logge* and their internal receding coffered ceilings. Between them is the Temple of Minerva supported by very thin columns with a substantial tympanum containing a rose window with two flying angels holding palms on the tympanum façade. At each edge of the picture plane there is a group of two men in animated conversation. The dark blue ground of the sky does not feature a sun or moon, but the light seems to be falling from the left (as the spectator faces the scene) and Giotto specified darker hues on the architecture and draperies to suggest this. Discussing syntactical space in relation to the Assisi cycle Hubert Damisch asserts that the fresco schema is “dramatic, *representational*” in a theatrical sense and that “...the unity of the representation is nevertheless above all dramatic, for the relations between the actors – as conveyed by their respective positions, attitudes, gestures, and even the direction of their gazes and the meetings of their eyes – suffice to turn a relatively indefinite spatial framework into a stage”.⁵¹ Francis is shown in profile against his very large halo, looking down at the simple man who has spread his coat and looks up to meet the saint’s gaze. This halo is different from the usual flat disks encountered in frescoes, such as those of Cimabue’s *Enthroned Madonna between Angels and St Francis* (circa 1280) in the Lower Church, because there is a ridged pattern within it, giving a solidity and texture to the gold surface. The ridged rays do not extend to the edge of the head, but there is an area of plain gold from which they emanate. Lying as it does across both the campanile’s light rose-pink lit external façade

possibility of attribution to Giotto in of “The Death of St. Francis” in “Playing with Clouds”, *Burlington Magazine*, August 2011, Vol. 153, Issue 1301, pp. 518-520.

⁵⁰ Cianchetta, Romeo, *Assisi: Arte e Storia nei Secoli*, Narni: Plurigraf, 1981, p. 44.

⁵¹ Damisch, H. trans. J. Lloyd, *A Theory of/Cloud/ Toward a History of Painting*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002, p. 92. He goes on to cite Emilio Cecchi’s demonstration of Giottoesque space as being “primarily an architecture of gestures and glances. Psychological ‘triangulation’ clearly preceded the geometrical construction of space.” Footnote 26, p. 270.

and its receding dark wall which is in shadow, the halo's dark gold colour and textured surface is emphasised, but neither light nor shadow issue from it, it is suspended in space behind the left side of St Francis's face, (Fig. 165a).⁵² Once again, a halo is contrasted with reality, in the sense that Giotto has deliberately situated the scene in an actual setting, the Piazza del Comune in Assisi, yet the "fictive object", the halo, is just as much a component of the narrative as the actuality of the architecture.⁵³

Between 1303 and 1306, Giotto worked in Padua, on the fresco cycle in the Arena or Scrovegni Chapel, commissioned by Enrico degli Scrovegni to honour the Virgin.⁵⁴ This scheme consists of episodes from the life of Christ (including the events immediately preceding it, such as the meeting of Joachim and Anna), up until Pentecost, and was based on Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*.⁵⁵ Although only a few years separate the Franciscan cycle at Assisi and the Paduan frescoes, there are substantial differences in appearance, size and "construction" between the haloes that Giotto (or *aiute* working to his schema) has bestowed on his figures. In Assisi, in the Upper Church, the size of the halo frequently appears to be approximately three times that of

⁵² In the *Passion Cycle* painted by Pietro Lorenzetti, also at Assisi, the haloes were built up from the head to the outside perimeter, with some instances of an outer incised band. Maginnis, Hayden B., "The Passion Cycle in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi: The technical evidence", in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 Bd., H.2/3, 1976, pp. 193-208, p. 195. Giotto was painting his Franciscan cycle in the Upper Church of St Francis, but his technique there seemed to be very similar. During restoration of *L'omaggio di un semplice*, examination of the *intonaco* showed that the head of St Francis alone required an entire *giornata*, most probably because of the preparation of the halo, which was particularly elaborate. Tintori, and Meiss, (1962) cited in Virgorelli, G., and Baccheschi E., *L'Opera Completa di Giotto*, Milano: Rizzoli Editore, 1978, p. 91. Similarly, Damisch, p. 92, citing Tintori and Meiss, notes that in *The Ecstasy of Saint Francis*, a whole day was spent executing the head.

⁵³Maginnis, (1997), p. 111.

⁵⁴The Chapel was important in a civic sense in Padua, because it was built very close to the Roman arena where an actual "performance" of the Annunciation had taken place for some considerable time before its construction. The celebrants of the Feast were led by the Bishop and other priests together with the *Podestà* of Padua and other leading citizens, in procession through the city behind two young boy actors dressed to represent the Annunciate Angel and the Virgin. Jacobus, p. 93 and Footnote 8, p. 106.

⁵⁵ Kristeva discusses the light sources within the chapel, in Kristeva, J., "Giotto's Joy", in Bryson, Norman (ed.), *Calligram: Lessons in New Art History from France*, Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Gage, (1999), Footnote 7, p. 283 cites Hills' assertion that colour is subordinate to design in the Scrovegni Chapel. As the central figure between the seven Virtues, Giotto has paralleled Justice's actions and appearance with that of the Christ-Judge, and simultaneously she has echoes of the crowned Queen of Heaven. St Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274) had argued that she was the senior Virtue. Riess, Jonathon B., "Justice and Common Good in Giotto's Arena Chapel Frescoes", in *Arte Cristiana*, 1984, Vol. LXXII, pp. 69-80.

its owner's head, whereas in Padua, their proportions seem to have decreased to a doubling of the head size. In Assisi, the haloes are decorated with a slim ribbed pattern. In Padua, these ridges are broader and obviously shorter because of the smaller distance to the halo's outer circumference, and they also appear more luminous, the gold is more obvious than at Assisi.⁵⁶ In Padua, when a black outline is used on the halo circumference, it is quite broad and serves to delineate the halo from what is behind it, thus "anchoring" it in space, very apparent in the scene showing the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, (Fig. 166). Not only the size and colour have changed, more importantly, Giotto has also changed the viewing angle of the haloes, they are beginning to be seen "side-on" and the halo itself is gaining a "profile", it is no longer the flat disk situated behind its owner's head. Now, it too, becomes more plastic, its outline elongating into a slight ellipsis. This happens in scene after scene, for example in *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, (Fig. 167) St Anne's halo is very slightly angled, but Joachim's has definitely "turned" and his face is not seen in profile against it, like Francis in the Assisi cycle, rather the spectator sees its furthestmost edge arising from behind Joachim's mid-crown, curving upwards then down, to beneath his shoulders. At the upper margin of the halo, the internal ridges fan out, but along the elliptical edge behind/beside his head, the ridges are horizontal and continue like this into the lower circumference, therefore this is not a "true" ellipsis. It seems that Giotto is still experimenting with the halo in perspective. In *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, (Fig. 168) the presentation of the halo as something "affixed" to Christ's head is even more

⁵⁶ A study of approximately thirty golden haloes in the Arena Chapel was carried out using Energy-dispersive x-ray fluorescence analysis, a non-intrusive technique undertaken with portable equipment. Some haloes were in good condition, others had been completely blackened, so it was concluded that Giotto utilised gold of a relatively high purity. Analysis showed that the gold leaf was extremely thin, and of a constant thickness. Seven black haloes did not contain gold, but instead there were large quantities of lead, although it was surmised that the gold leaf had possibly been lost from this, based on a series of calculations that are set out. Two other black haloes were examined and found to contain large quantities of lead and tin, although the x-ray spectra were similar to the golden haloes. Cesareo Roberto, Castellano Alfredo, Buccolieri Giovanni, Quarta Stefano, and Marabelli Maurizio, "Giotto in the Chapel of the Scrovegni: EDXRF analysis of the golden haloes with portable equipment", *X-ray Spectrometry, X-ray Spectrom*, 2004 ; 33 289-293. Published on-line 10 February 2004 in Wiley Interscience (www.interscience.wiley.com) DOI: 10.1002/xrs. 727, [accessed 27.10.09.].

insistent, He is seen in profile blessing His followers, and the furthestmost edge of His cruciferous halo arises from behind His temple, almost directly above the nose, but the foreshortening of the internal cross arm reinforces this halo as an almost physiological feature of Christ. Giotto paints this same design in *The Kiss of Judas*, (Fig. 169) and in this scene also shows the lipped outer edge of the halo nearest the spectator, thereby giving a two-dimensional solidity to it. In the *Virgin Annunciate*, (Fig. 170) Giotto reduces the halo to a semi-circular slim ridged gold border extending from the Virgin's right temple, almost flowing around the contours of her head, echoing her coiffed hair, before disappearing below the nape of her neck.⁵⁷ In the *Cleansing of the Temple*, (Fig. 172I) Christ is again endowed with a foreshortened cruciferous halo but there is a very curious halo given to one of the Disciples, whose head is bowed, seemingly arising from the centre of his crown and running along his head to the lower nape of his neck, a ridged half-moon gold block. The viewer sees the upper perimeter as a lipped border extending to the lower curve on the neck, the lower margin then merges with the hairline, increasing in volume as it meets the upper segment. The viewing point is from below, and the head is in bowed profile, but the halo seems to lie simultaneously along the left side of the head, and also down the centre, rather like a Mohican-style haircut. Giotto has tried to tilt the halo forward, but its appearance jars. In *The Last Supper*, Giotto presents a startling new feature in the scene. The seating around the table results in two tiers of Disciples, the upper tier faces the spectator, the lower five figures have their backs to us, (Fig. 171). Christ is at the head of the table with Peter, both viewed slightly diagonally, the former with a cruciferous halo⁵⁸, the latter's ridged halo slightly elongated into an oval to compensate for the spectator's viewing angle. Two of the

⁵⁷ Jacobus, p. 100 and Fig. 11, in her discussion of the *Annunciation* fresco and its representation of contemporary performative scenes, points out that Giotto has painted the Virgin wearing a braided hairpiece and that the loose tendrils on her neck are in fact those of the actor playing her. She furthermore notes, p. 103, that Giotto has destabilised the spatial area which results in an intrusion into actual time and space. This is similar to Jacobello del Fiore's *Justice* triptych previously discussed.

⁵⁸ In the study discussed in Footnote 66, Christ's halo in this scene was one of those chosen for analysis.

Disciples are shown half-turning towards Christ and their haloes are similarly slightly foreshortened, the remaining Disciples have circular ridged haloes. However, in the lower tier, the haloes are placed *in front* of the Disciples' faces, but there is no compensatory reduction in surface solidity, no lessening of the patterning or a more translucent treatment. Even more startling is the treatment of the two figures at the extreme right of the table. In the upper tier, the Disciple sits opposite a slim column which passes over his halo and his head, but as it approaches the figure in the lower tier, a strange thing happens. The column overlies the halo but crosses *between* it and the head then emerges from behind the hair at the neck and is shown passing over the Disciple's back *through* the drapery and over the edge of the wooden bench on which the lower tier is seated, (Fig. 171a). The usual fresco execution was from top to bottom and left to right⁵⁹ and gilded haloes were added to true fresco after the plaster was dry. If the haloes were realised first, the faces would have been consciously produced in a more perspectival and humanist manner. Regardless, this is a new use of the halo, and its separation from its owner could suggest that Giotto is highlighting the imminent separation from His mortal life that Jesus is about to face. Giotto is perhaps giving a presentiment here of the events about to unfold through this unusual and disruptive element, and as throughout this thesis, semiotic considerations have a role to play here. This halo separation has not occurred in frescoes before; in this same cycle, the *Pentecost* format is almost identical, except that the Disciple is most definitely behind the column without any separation from his halo.⁶⁰ Until now, haloes have been orientated parallel to the picture plane, sometimes faces are in profile against them, but they do not appear *in front of* the faces, and they are not separated from their "owners". Giotto has instituted a major shift in image-making. From hereafter this placement of

⁵⁹ Stated on the Istituto Central per il Restauro, <http://www.giottoaglisrovegni.it/eng/capire/pop03.htm> [accessed 26.02.11]

⁶⁰ Also within the same cycle, in the *Epiphany* scene, the King's gold halo overlies the column situated behind him.

the halo in front of the face is a feature that will be utilised well into the quattrocento, particularly in Florence, by painters such as Fra Angelico, in *The Coronation of the Virgin*, c. 1430, *The Last Judgement*, 1425-30, and the c. 1432 *Coronation of the Virgin*⁶¹ although in all instances without this strange separation that Giotto has produced here. The drama of the “psychological web of his biblical narratives”⁶² is superimposed upon and simultaneously reinforced by the architectural transgression. This rupture that Giotto has presented is very significant because the spectator’s acceptance of the (non-real and therefore non-existent) halo as a “normal” feature of these narrative scenes has been confronted and shattered in this particular representation. As this thesis has shown, in other works of art the ontological peculiarities of the halo mean that its image, which in physical objects would correspond to the referent (the real object in the world) remains at the level of the signified (an ideational or mental concept). And because the halo is acknowledged to be something that does not obey physical laws and cannot, strictly speaking, have a referent, for this reason the painted signifier of the sign 'halo' has not been subjected to the same representational laws that govern the rest of the composition. Here, however, the sign is not functioning in the same way. The signified Divine Light of the halo has had the corporeal mass of the column superimposed upon it, a complete reversal of the usual situation pertaining when the halo is present.

It could be argued that the violent rupture of the halo by the column is more than a physical intrusion. Traditionally, the halo’s role within such narratives operates as a signal of special grace bestowed upon its “owner” and so interacting with the other haloes and their “wearers”, all of which enhances its synchronicity (which for Saussure places it on the axis of simultaneities). Giotto has intersected – albeit conceptually – the

⁶¹ The first two works are in San Marco Museum, Florence, the latter in the Uffizi.

⁶² Kemp., M., *Leonardo da Vinci: The Marvellous World of Nature and Man*, London, Melbourne, Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1981, p. 24, discussing Giotto.

axis of simultaneities with the axis of successions, via the diachronic event of the rupture, and thus activates the precognition of the events about to unfold.⁶³ In Fra Lippi's Trivulzio *Madonna*, there is also a rupture in the sense that the knife lodged in St Peter Martyr's head seems to pass between his head and his halo. The author of this thesis believes that in fact it is in front of, rather than between, his head and halo, therefore overlying the nimbus, which is a crucial distinction.⁶⁴ Within Venice, in his 1518 *San Mark Baptises Aniano*, (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) Giovanni Mansueti (originally an apprentice in the Bellini bottega) similarly interposes a capital between St. Mark's head and his halo, even though the column itself is some distance behind him, (Fig. 237).

The halo's somatic qualities need to be considered here, particularly related to light, which Bonaventura (1221-1274) rationalizes as a corporeal form thus:

If light names or articulates form, then light cannot possibly be a body; it must be a *something-else-than* body . . . Augustine says that humor and the earth's soil are fundamental counterparts, and philosophers say that warmth is a certain subtle kind of substance . . . Therefore, it seems clear that light, both strictly and figuratively speaking, is not a body, but a corporeal form".⁶⁵

If his argument that light is the Other of the body is accepted, then it can be seen that Giotto has reversed this position here, by the behaviour of the column. The corporeal light has articulated the form of the column, and this solid, tangible architectural structure, which of course is simultaneously just a painted illusion on a flat surface, has imposed its solidity over the Divine Light of the halo.

⁶³ De Saussure, Ferdinand, *Course in General Linguistics*, Illinois: Open Court, 1986, pp. 89-90.

⁶⁴ Castello Sforzesco, Milan. Megan Holmes, *Fra Lippo Lippi – The Carmelite Painter*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999 attributes it to Fra Lippi.

⁶⁵ Kristeva, (1988), p. 38 and Footnote 17, p. 52, citing Sanctus Cardinalis Bonaventurae, *Librum Sententiarum* [Commentary on the sentences, III] in *Opera Omnia* (Paris: Ludovique Vivés, 1864), Dist. Xiii, Art 2, Quaest, 2; pp. 552-3).

Giotto further manipulates halo shapes in the *Crucifixion* and *The Lamentation* (Fig. 172) so that as the angels “swoop” and their bodies hang down, their half-nimbus is situated behind the shoulders rather than the heads, similar to half scallop shells, the internal ridged pattern echoing the feather design of their outstretched wings, (Fig. 172a). There is also an expanse of drapery between one angel’s head and the halo, as it plunges down, but although this seems to be another subversion of visuality, it is not as radical as the ruptured halo presentation in the *Last Supper*. What is very noticeable, however, is that at the top of the huge narrative schema of *Universal Justice*, two Byzantine angels in traditional military dress roll back a “scroll” of the sky, thus Giotto highlights to the spectator the artificiality of the scene, what Peirce/Damisich describe as “*the representation of a representation*”.⁶⁶ Both angels have a halo comprising a flat circle of gold around their heads circumscribed by a broad brownish band, the gold virtually transparent, suggesting more ephemerality than the usual Giottoesque fresco halo. Beneath the angels, enclosed within a mandorla which seems to be internally illuminated, Christ sits in judgement, a large flat cruciferous halo lies behind His head. Three cross arms are visible, each containing a large orb, the arms themselves intersecting the long slim ridges which are circumscribed by an inner double border with single punch marks, echoed within the borders of the arm crosses. An outer border containing a four-petalled design surrounds a single round punch. However, once again there is no penumbra near any of the haloes and they are not radiating any form of light themselves. This fresco cycle has been acknowledged by many scholars in terms of its new emotional and psychological elements. However, there is another important experiment that Giotto is conducting in the Chapel, which has not been highlighted in previous studies, and this is his treatment of the halo. It has been demonstrated that he has altered it in terms of its texture, shape and orientation, size, and colour, as illustrated

⁶⁶ In *Decameron*, VI, 5, Boccaccio praised Giotto’s ability to paint such an accurate likeness of things that they were mistaken for reality, thus this “scroll” further emphasises Giotto’s deliberate manipulation of reality/unreality. Damisich, p. 63.

in *The Annunciation* (Fig. 170). He had incorporated contemporary dress fashions and traditional paraliturgical elements into the cycle⁶⁷ and this thesis proposes that such realistic treatment necessitated a fundamental re-think of the representation of the halo. Dualistically, as seen, he has also engaged it as an artifice, he has subverted the spectator's acceptance and reading of it as a naturalistic sign, destabilising the space of the *Last Supper*, thereby creating an "anxiety" in the spectator, resulting in a spontaneous emotional engagement with, and automatic participation in the events about to unfold. Experiments in Giotto's "laboratory" here would also shortly be tried in other centres as will be shown below.

It was not just in Padua that foreshortening was being utilised with reference to haloes. For example, in Prato in 1391, a fresco of the *Enthroned Madonna with Four Angels* was commissioned for the Tabernacolo del Ceppo from Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (active 1368 - 1414/15) by Francesco Datini, a local merchant.⁶⁸ In the completed fresco, there is no evidence of any foreshortening, but in the *arriccio* which has now been detached, it is possible to see an obliquely-positioned halo above the head of the lower right angel, whose face is seen in profile, (Fig. 236). The *intonaco* has also been detached, but is in such a poor state that it is impossible to see the exact angle of the head.⁶⁹ Gerini's composition shares some common features with Giotto's *Madonna in Gloria* tavola painted circa 1310 for the Chiesa di Ognissanti, Florence, (Uffizi), most particularly in the two kneeling angels at the front of the picture plane, (Fig. 235). Their facial features are similar and in both artworks, they are holding vases containing lilies, allusions to the Virgin's purity. Both sets of angels wear Byzantine diadems and similar coiffures. The position of Giotto's haloes painted against rocks, walls and in interiors in fresco has

⁶⁷ For a discussion of clothing, particularly in *The Visitation* and *The Annunciation*, see Jacobus, pp. 98-100.

⁶⁸ Eisenberg, Marvin, "A Few Words about Halos, Visible and Invisible", *Source*, New York, 2002, Spring No 3, pp 1-6, p.1.

⁶⁹ There are other changes between the final fresco and the *sinopia*, for example in the Virgin's mantle.

already been discussed, and in this tavola the haloes of the serried ranks of angels flanking the Virgin partially obscure the faces and heads of those behind them. Although again there is no *penumbra*, these large flat disks, lying parallel to the picture plane are exhibiting some ontological traits, the halo of the lower right angel in Giotto's tavola partially obscures the base of the Virgin's throne and those of the higher-tiered pair in Gerini's fresco overlies the serpentine columns of her throne, insisting that, as Bonaventura posited, the light of the nimbus, its luminosity, has a corporeal form which is able to block out solid architectural details. The nimbus of Gerini's Christ Child overlies that of the Virgin, intersecting its lower margin, so once again there is a duality, a confrontation between the haloes, "*something-other-than-body*", exhibiting corporeal traits. This is of course not a new convention within other media, the halo of Cimabue's *Maestà della Madonna*, circa 1272,⁷⁰ originally in the Church of San Francesco, Pisa, overlaps the back of her throne, similarly obscuring both the architectural detail and the cloth of honour suspended behind her. In Torriti's previously-discussed *Nativity* mosaic, Joseph's halo blocks out the lower edge of the bier and the column overlying it. Thus, we can see that in these examples, the halo is operating on two levels simultaneously, it has one role as a "figure", i.e. "a nonsign that, as part of a sign, belongs to a system of signs", and it is additionally functioning "as a sign that serves to designate . . . a spatial relationship".⁷¹ To conclude, it seems that artistic matters of technique and plasticity have overridden conventions of spiritual symbolism or transcendence, a significant shift from the Byzantine artistic practice previously imposed upon representational works.

⁷⁰ Musée du Louvre, Paris. 424 x 276 cm. Tempera on panel.

⁷¹ Damisch, p. 17, citing Louis Hjelmslev's definition of a "figure" from *Prolégomènes à une théorie du langage*, French trans. (Paris 1968), p. 83; English trans: *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*, trans. Francis J. Whitfield (Madison, Wisc., 1961).

5.11 Light and *Splendor* and the Halo

Franciscan theologians have already been mentioned regarding their treatises on light and optics. Another Franciscan, Bartolomeo da Bologna, like Bonaventura, described the generation of rays from a source, *lux*, and its subsequent radiation as *lumen* in his *Tractatus de Luce*. He described *splendor* thus:

. . . when rays emanating from a luminous body reach another body that is smooth, polished and shining, such as a sword or gilded panel (*tabulum deauratam*), and rebound back from that body this is called *splendor*. And by such reflections on a polished and shining body the light (*lumen*) in space is multiplied and such multiplication of light is properly called *splendor*.⁷²

Here, it is possible to see that he is comparing this visible manifestation of light, *splendor*, with the invisible *species, lumen*. As a tutor at the Franciscan School in Paris around 1265, da Bologna's dissemination of Franciscan optical theory would have been wide and influential, and consequently incorporated into artworks commissioned by Franciscan patrons.

Simone Martini's 1333 *Annunciation* (Fig. 173) is based entirely on gold ground, the haloes are differentiated magnificently against this, their light is immediately visible to the spectator because Martini has densely punched them with a mixture of very small ring and rosetta punches. Around their circumference, the haloes are surrounded by rather long, fine, incised rays, emanating from the haloes themselves, convincing the spectator of their physical and oscillating presence, quite different from the ridged fresco haloes previously discussed; Martini's punching "catches" light and reflects it through the differentiation on the halo surface. Although both saints in the side panels and the Angel Gabriel also have rays emanating from their haloes, those of the former

⁷² Hills, p. 11, and Footnote 16, p. 149, citing Squadroni, I., "Tractatus de luce fr. Bartholomaei de Bononia", *Aantonianum*, 7, (1932).

are slightly shorter and Gabriel's are more closely bunched and interspersed by longer rays, whereas those of the Virgin are much longer, echoing those of the star on the right shoulder of her mantle. This flaring effect emphasises the physical manifestation of her great emotional disquiet as she hears the words of the Angel, "*Ave Gratia Plena Dominvs Tecvm*" and shrinks away from him. The radiation of the rays echoes the swirling of the Angel's stole and his half-closed wings. In this tavola, her discomfort is much more apparent than the same scene in the Orsini polyptych,⁷³ also of 1333, (Fig. 174). Notwithstanding the differences in composition caused by the enclosure of the Angel and the Virgin within their own separate frames in the Orsini polyptych, the spectator can see that in this latter version, her halo is *receiving* rays of divine light from the Holy Spirit – the incarnation of the Son of God. The halo remains static behind her head, but it is *passive*, receptive, it is not playing an *active* role in the dialogue of the drama as it is in the Uffizi *Annunciation* with its flame-like rays of light. Immediately, there is a dualism here: in the former *Annunciation* Martini has represented what seems to be real light radiating from the Virgin's halo, it is imitating physical light in its behaviour, and yet this light remains unreal - it is an imaginative conceit if we accept that the halo does not exist, but if it is a signifier, then perhaps Martini has perfectly captured its "likeness". In the Uffizi *Annunciation* there does not appear to be a direct light source, although light from the left seems to follow the Angel's urgent entry into the scene, rather like the air disturbing his stole, and the direction of the words issuing from his mouth, passing from left to right to the Virgin. The angel's garland lies over his halo, but so do the letters of the word "Ave", and the Virgin's halo lies over the cloth which is draped behind her shoulder, so once again the spectator is confronted by unreality/reality binaries, the visible form of the non-physical word having a physical

⁷³ Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp. Gold and tempera on panel, 3.5 x 14.5 cm.

presence superimposed on the real/unreal halo and the real/unreal light of the real/unreal halo obscuring the substance of the cloth, all being realised in a fictive space.

Another scene, or rather three scenes, displayed in fictive space are those in Jacobello del Fiore's 1421 triptych *Justice between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel*, (Fig. 54), previously discussed in Chapter Three, 3.7, regarding *pastiglia* decoration.⁷⁴ The archangels in this work have wonderfully decorative haloes, the tooling similarly "catches" the light. *Splendor* was a vital element in Fra Angelico's c. 1435 *Coronation of the Virgin*, Uffizi, (Fig. 175) the entire composition set against a vast gold ground, and yet the gold haloes can be distinguished against this, light bouncing off them, but with a different effect to that playing on the central "explosion" of light above and below the cloud mandorla of Christ and His mother. In Venice, this execution of *splendor* was continued in Antonio Vivarini & Giovanni d'Alemagna's 1446 *Madonna and Child with the Four Fathers of the Church* from the *Carità Trittico*, (Fig. 53) previously discussed in Chapters Three and Four. It is painted on canvas, perhaps because it was commissioned for the *Sala Albergo*, rather than a Church.⁷⁵ Bartolomeo Vivarini's c. 1477 *San Sebastian*, (Fig. 42) previously discussed in Chapter Three, similarly demonstrates *splendor* through the finely incised internal rays radiating from the head and the beaded pyramidal border, all "catching" and reflecting back the light. Within the Veneto, it can be seen this practice continues into the cinquecento in the later example of Cima da Conegliano's (1459/60-1518) *Olera Altarpiece*, from Bergamo, c. 1517-18, (Fig. 176) particularly in the panel depicting St Francis holding a Crucifix and gazing down at the Christ figure. Cima has continued to use tooling and a stylus in his

⁷⁴ Although the frame stretches across the three scenes they do not constitute a continuous scene.

⁷⁵ Although painted on canvas, unlike similarly executed *gonfalone* (banners), it was meant to be static, not paraded in processions, highlighted by the *pastiglia* contained within it. Cennini suggested the use of honey or starch within the gesso to render it more pliable so that the image could be rolled up if it was painted on fabric. Jacopo Bellini is cited by Vasari as being one of the first artists to utilise canvas for his works. Cennini had additionally described painting on fabric in *Il Libro dell'Arte* as had Le Begue in his *De Coloribus Diversis Modis Tractatis*, including great technical detail concerning gilding on cloth. Villers, Caroline, "Paintings on Canvas in Fourteenth Century Italy", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 59 Bd., H. 3, (1995), pp. 338-358.

halo execution, to accomplish *splendor* even though his earlier *Madonna of the Orange Tree*, (c. 1495, Fig. 177, Accademia, Venice) is much more “modern” in the sense that it mirrors Giovanni Bellini’s subtle gold ring haloes, here painted parallel with the picture plane. Cima’s *Baptism* at the Chiesa di San Giovanni in Bragora Venice, has no halo for Christ, despite the golden ray of divine light emanating from the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. In his c. 1495-96 *John the Baptist with Four Saints*, painted for the Chiesa di Madonna dell’Orto in Venice, even though exploiting the favourable natural light falling onto the altarpiece, he has not endowed haloes on the figures. His *St Christopher with the Christ Child and St Peter*, c. 1504-06 has semi-transparent “silken” haloes. Similarly, his 1509-10 *Adoration of the Shepherds* at the Chiesa di Carmine, Venice, does not contain any haloes.

It can be seen from the examples cited that the use of *splendor* in haloes declined in the late quattrocento, and early cinquecento, not least because the medium of oil was frequently preferred by artists, thus Cima’s application of the effect in the *Olera Altarpiece* may well have been the patron’s choice. Cima’s collaboration with patrons and clerics had already been demonstrated with the Saraceno commission at Madonna dell’Orto, *John the Baptist with Four Saints*, since his patron’s onomastic saint St Peter is included within the scene together with the “family saint”, John the Baptist. As well as the Virgin, John the Baptist was also a subject of sermons delivered by San Lorenzo Giustiniani, the first Patriarch of Venice, originally one of the Canons of S. Giorgio in Alga who officiated at Madonna dell’Orto (also discussed in Chapter Six). Humfrey has suggested that the Canons had highlighted the text of his sermon for the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist to Cima for this altarpiece.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Humfrey, (1979), p. 124, also citing Cima’s execution of an *Adoration of the Shepherds* in 1497, for S. Giorgio in Alga, in which he included San Lorenzo.

Thus, as the use of gold ground declined in keeping with Alberti's advice, so the frequency of *splendor* began to diminish, replaced by pigments and painting techniques which imitated the effect of *splendor*, and translated into halo depiction. This transition from gold ground was very important, altering centuries of tradition, and embracing new technology, both in terms of execution and media, but also in representation, especially within Italy. The Table of Haloes from page 18 onwards shows a parallel decline in the use of haloes compared with the decrease in *splendor*.

5.12 The Halo and light reflected onto it – some case studies

Quattrocento artists began endowing extra characteristics on the halo, such as the ability to reflect light, or indeed to have light and/or shadow reflected upon it, as if it were a solid, metallic object. Selected case studies from different regions will be deployed to exemplify these new qualities.

In *The Crucifixion between the Virgin and Sts. John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene, Benedict and Romualdo* fresco⁷⁷ painted for the Camaldolese monastery of S Maria degli Angeli, Florence, Andrea del Castagno (1421–1457) provides a splendid example of this light-reflection. Like Giotto, he uses a dark blue ground, which Christ is silhouetted against, flanked on the right by San Romualdo, founder of the Camaldolite Order, and St Benedict on the left, but the haloes of the Virgin and St John the Evangelist are particularly interesting for their appearance of solid, slightly foreshortened disks of gold (rather than golden disks), both haloes exhibiting three plumes of light radiating from the heads of the Virgin and the Apostle, (Fig. 178). Although they seem to be cross arms as in Christ's usual cruciferous halo, in fact they are reflections of light, and they are arranged in the opposite direction of the light

⁷⁷ Sala della Presidenza, S Maria Nuova, Florence. Hartt, Frederick, "The Earliest Works of Andrea del Castagno: Part One", *The Art Bulletin*, June 1959, pp 159 – 181, p. 162.

plumes shown on the **top** of Mary Magdalene's halo, which is placed **on** her head rather than behind or above. Castagno has produced a very strong downward movement in all the elements of this group around Christ. His head is bowed, His hair and beard lead the spectator's eyes down the expanse of His mid-torso to dark vertical modelling which parallels the flow of blood, then sweeps over his draped loincloth via a diagonal border, following the fall of His legs to the top of Mary Magdalene's halo and the light plumes. There appears to be a dynamic interaction here, the light falling down upon her halo, being reflected back up to the Virgin's and Evangelist's haloes, which is then similarly reflected back outwards and downwards. Two different light sources seem to be operating, one from the upper left and one from below. As all the haloes have lipped edges, this "physicality" enhanced by the two different light sources emphasises their appearance as solid disks of gold. Considered one of Castagno's early works, probably executed in the late 1430s between his arrival in Florence⁷⁸ and before his 1442 trip to Venice to fresco the Cappella di San Tarasio, the *Crucifixion* panel exhibits similarities to the Venetian frescoes. Although the seven figures in the Venetian vault frescoes have traditional gold leaf haloes, that of *Hosea*, the Old Testament prophet is not only foreshortened, but as with Mary Magdalene's in the earlier *Crucifixion*, it is possible to see the halo from above.⁷⁹ Additionally, the heads of Hosea and Daniel can be seen to be reflected onto their haloes which, like those in the *Crucifixion*, seem to be polished.⁸⁰ Castagno realised his most extraordinary haloes, however, in the *L'Assunta fra S Giuliano e San Miniato*, (Fig. 179), now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.⁸¹ Originally commissioned for the Chiesa di S Miniato fra le Torri, Florence, by its Rector,

⁷⁸ The frescoes had been cleaned by Leonetto Tinttori under the supervision of Michelangelo Muraro in 1959.

⁷⁹ Hartt, p. 164 wrote that this was the earliest example he knew of such a design.

⁸⁰ Hartt also noted this and wrote that Castagno would develop this "characteristically artificial and perverse device which Andrea was to exploit where possible in all his mature works." Hartt, p. 170.

⁸¹ For Van Marle, the painting was derived from early quattrocento Florentine statuary art, particularly the depth of the drapery folds, reminding him of bronze rather than marble sculptures, pp. 345-346. Van Marle, R., *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, Vol X, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923-1938, p. 337.

Leonardo de' Falladanza da Orta⁸² it was completed by 20 April 1450. Against a gold ground, the veiled Virgin is “suspended” within a huge golden mandorla composed of orange, red and yellow bands, rather like flames except they are horizontal rather than vertical. She is perhaps enthroned, but there is no visible throne, merely what could be a throne arm protruding to the observer’s left, over which her red gown and green over-mantle cascade. She is flanked in the upper tier by two angels and by the two saints, San Giuliano to the (viewer’s) left and San Miniato to the (viewer’s) right, in the lower terrestrial register. Another pair of angels by the feet of the saints hover at the mandorla’s lower border. The whole composition is very symmetrical with a coherent rhythm supplemented by the gold, red, yellow, orange and green colours, picked up in the angels’ wings, the draperies of all the figures and the seemingly substantial mandorla. Bonaventura discusses the Triumph of the Virgin, her Assumption and subsequent Coronation in *Lignum Vitae*. Referring to her Triumph, he discusses its radiance thus:

When the light of the moon will be like the light of the sun and the light of the sun will be seven times greater like the light of seven days.”⁸³

This mandorla is a visible manifestation of that text, its brilliance touching all around it, and Castagno’s most outstanding feature is that each of the figures has a vivid red halo, whether shown in ellipsis like those of the angels, or parallel to the picture plane, like that of the Virgin, whose face is raised upwards and which consequently appears disproportionately to the left circumference of her halo. There are varying degrees of *scorci* present in this work, and it is possible to see the top and back of the halo belonging to the angel on the left. Most of the haloes have golden swirling lines where

⁸² Andrea del Castagno was paid 104 lire for the work. Van Marle, p. 337.

⁸³ Muir Wright, Rosemary, “The Iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin”, in ed., Lyle, Emily, *Kingship – Cosmos, The Yearbook of the Traditional Cosmology Society*, Vol. 2, 1986: Edinburgh, The Traditional Cosmology Society, pp. 53 – 82.

the brilliant light emanating from the mandorla touches their surface. This is not the same as the light plumes reflected in the Santa Maria Nuova *Crucifixion* fresco previously discussed, the pattern of these twisting *Assunta* motifs cannot correspond directly to a light reflection, and yet this is what the spectator “reads”, and furthermore, accepts the halo as a much more substantial entity than the ephemerality of the mandorla “cloud” in which the Virgin is ascending to Heaven. This is because the mandorla seems to be composed of waves, the previously-mentioned “horizontal flames” which simultaneously overlies and obscures the arms of the upper angels, suggesting an oxymoronic transient substantiality coupled with ephemerality. It is difficult to interpret what these “horizontal flames” are, their bright red colour gives an ambiguous reading to the viewer,⁸⁴ and because of this ambiguity, the haloes, because of the presence of light patterns – they cannot be described as rays - reflected on to their surfaces, are operating like solid bodies that “terminate vision”, according to Bacon’s optical theory. His consideration of the heavenly spheres of fire and the seven planets reasoned

. . . that only is visible . . . which can terminate vision, and this is a fact. But if they are not visible, they are non-luminous, because what is luminous is visible.⁸⁵

Thus, once again, the spectator is presented with a scene in which non-existent objects – the mandorla, the haloes – are functioning like tangible objects in the real world.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ One possibility is that they are sunset clouds, hence the richness of colour.

⁸⁵ Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius*, Pt IV, dist. 4, ch. I. (Bridges, 1900, I., p. 128) cited in Hills, p. 66 and footnote 12, 154.

⁸⁶ Around 1200, Pope Innocent III, established a canon of liturgical colour, suggesting that red should be used for Apostles’ and martyrs’ feasts because of its association with blood and the Pentecostal fire. Gage, (1993), pp. 82, 84. Castagno might be citing this medieval use of red here, along with the rather archaic gold ground, in deference to the commissioning Rector’s wishes. This thesis is grateful to Dr Stefan Weppelmann, Curator of the Museen Staatliche, Berlin, for confirmation that the painting has been neither technically examined, nor received serious scholarly attention and awaits a monographic study. Weppelmann, S., (s.weppelmann@smb.spk-berlin.de) *Andrea Castagno – L’Assunta fra S. Giuliano s San Miniato*. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), 06.04.09.

Andrea Mantegna (1431 – 1506) was also experimenting with haloes and light, as seen in his *Dormition of the Virgin* tavola, (Fig. 180) painted c. 1462 following his move to the Court of Gonzaga in Mantua.⁸⁷ It is possible to see his mastery of perspective and also the consequent effects of light upon haloes. The Virgin is lying on a bed, surrounded by the Disciples, in front of an aperture symmetrically framed by three decorated receding columns through which can be seen an expanse of water.⁸⁸ Light seems to fall from the upper right portion (as the spectator faces the work) at a 45° angle, lighting the right-hand sides of the candles, the candelabra, and their upper bowl edges. The Disciples' heads are positioned variously with a consequent differential in the angling of their haloes; in particular Peter's is an ellipsis which lies on the tip of his head. Mantegna has realised varying degrees of *scorci* resulting in differing perspectival shapes, so that it is possible to see the dark undersides of haloes where they are not illuminated by the light source. Where the light shines on them, in particular the halo of the kneeling Disciple wafting incense over the Virgin, it is possible to see the brightness as the light hits the exterior halo surface. The contrast between the haloes of the two Disciples at the extreme left of the picture plane emphasises the darker gold colouring of the halo nearest to the foreground, the back of which is not reached by the light source, but the upper right lip of which just catches the light. The neighbouring Disciple's halo is at such an angle that the entire underside visible to the spectator is lit by the light source, and thus is much brighter. Mantegna's haloes are slimmer and smaller than those of Castagno, but they still have the same suggestion of solidity, a disk of gold which seems to be actually attached physically to its owner's head, most particularly that of the Virgin. Mantegna's fascination with Antiquity and his

⁸⁷ Autograph work, executed in tempera on panel, 54.5 x 42 cm., Prado Museum, Madrid. Garavaglia, Niny, *L'opera completa del Mantegna*, Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1979, pp. 97-98.

⁸⁸ This framing feature appears to be Mantegna's execution of Alberti's "window".

meticulous representation of marbles and other stone material is well documented.⁸⁹ Similarly his depiction of the metallic censer and the ornamentation on the candlesticks is very precise, as is the folding and creasing of the different textures of the fabrics in the work. However, although this scene shows the Virgin's Death, there is also action within this work. The censer is at an oblique angle as it swings through the air, the candle above the Virgin's head has been lit for some time judging by the wax dribbling down its left side, and the Apostles are reciting the Office of the Dead, their mouths open. The Apostles are not dead, they are of this human world, bidding farewell to the Mother of God, and all have haloes reacting to the physical, tangible conditions of the human world at this liminal moment.

In his 1486 *Annunciation*, (Fig. 181) Carlo Crivelli (1430–1495, originally from Venice) provides a mixture of Divine and real light effects, reflecting onto haloes. The spectator's low viewing point provides a cornucopia of scenes, but in the lower left quarter of the picture plane, the Angel Gabriel and St Emidius are lit obliquely from below, evidenced by the shadows cast by the saint onto the floor and lower wall border, and those of the *ceiriolo* and apple on the edge of the "parapet". The underside of Gabriel's elliptical halo at the lower left and right circumference is a brighter gold than the central area, itself intersected by two diagonal rays, evidence of light reflected onto this underside. Inside the house, the young Virgin bows her head, meekly accepting the Divine rays of the Holy Spirit emanating from the epicentre of two tiers of golden cherubim within a cloud in the upper left eighth of the picture. Cloud strata, similar to those in Mantegna's works, are viewed in the blue sky above and behind the cloud, but this Divine cloud is circular, echoing the rings of cherubim, it is operating as a sign of Divinity, nevertheless still hidden. Rays of golden light initially parallel a solid slim

⁸⁹ Jones, Roger, ed. Nicholas Penny, "Mantegna and Materials", <http://www.itatti.it/I%20Tatti%20Studies/1987/ROGER%20JONES> [09.11.09.]

shaft which passes through a form of oculus in the external façade and thence via the Holy Spirit represented by a white dove balanced on a halo of rays, into the Virgin's head, behind her hair decoration, the mystical act of Incarnation. The top of her head behind this decoration is lighter blonde because of illumination by the Divine light, and the outer areas of the underside of her very slim elliptical halo are a brighter gold, the central area painted in the same way as the Annunciate Angel's halo with similar intersection by two reflected rays, although here this is because of Divine light rather than the purported "real" light shown in the external scene. The fall of light and light reflection on the halo surfaces has been realised very effectively, contrasting with corporeal light falling onto the candlestick and the glass decanter on the shelf above and behind the Virgin.

In Florence, artists like Fra Angelico and Zanobi Strozzi were still producing flat disk haloes, parallel to the picture plane, but now they have a polished appearance. In the *Bosco ai Frati* Altarpiece⁹⁰, 1450-52, Fra Angelico bestows haloes of burnished gold, (Fig. 182).⁹¹ The haloes of the Virgin and Christ Child and their flanking angels, stand out against the golden background of the brocaded cloth of honour because of their plain-textured surface. The Virgin's name is inscribed in her halo in humanistic lettering, the Fanciullo's halo has an internal red cross, but all contain patches where the light source at the left (from the spectator's viewpoint) hits the top of the haloes, including those of Saints Francis, St Anthony and St Louis (Fig. 182a). The other trio of saints on the Virgin's right are further from the light source, and so Cosmas and Damien have a noticeably darker area on their haloes' upper perimeters where the light hits them (they are both also wearing their usual large red hats, contributing to the

⁹⁰ *Madonna and Child with Sts Francis, Anthony of Padua, Louis of Toulouse, Cosmas, Damian and Peter Martyr*, San Marco Museum, Florence.

⁹¹ Painted for the monastery of San Bonaventura at Bosco ai Frati, in the Mugello, commissioned by Cosimo the Elder, thus both Medici onomastic saints, Cosmas and Damian, are present.

diminution of light absorption) and St Peter Martyr's halo is in shadow, so no light strikes it.

In Zanobi Strozzi's *Annunciation*, c 1453, punching in the outer borders of the angel's and Virgin's halo, together with incision of fine rays towards the outer circumference texturises the halo surfaces, but these are not Mantegna's solid gold disks, nor Giotto's inflexible stone ridged haloes, (Fig. 183). Like Fra Angelico's saints' haloes, these haloes are also struck by ambient light, containing much paler areas where this occurs. Ordinary light is realised by the lighter lilac of the architecture nearest the Virgin, the darker modelling of the lower borders of the cloth on which she is seated/enthroned, and Divine Light by the spiked rays of gold surrounding the angel and also the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, the latter also endowed with a tiny red cruciferous halo, (Figs. 183a-c). The angel has two paler areas above and below his head profiled against the halo where light strikes it, the Virgin's halo is marked by light above her right crown as her face is in three quarter profile against the nimbus.⁹² However, where Fra Angelico's appear to be burnished dark gold, Strozzi's haloes are bright gold and the incised rays give a very slight impression of concavity, thereby further highlighting the effect of the light hitting the halo surface.

5.13 Light, and Shadow Reflected onto the Halo

Mantegna's *St George*, dated 1446⁹³ (Fig. 184) also has a very slim halo of gold, elliptical and positioned diagonally to his head which is turned in three quarter profile, his body firmly parallel with the picture plane. The halo seems to touch the crown of St George's head and then passes behind it. His armour and broken stave are all lit from

⁹² John G Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Halo gilding has been applied over orange-red bole with decorative mordant gilding on the rays emanating from the angel and dove, and the lower border of the Virgin's mantle and ornamentation in the angel's robe. Strehlke, 2004, p. 400.

⁹³ Tempera on panel, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.

a source rising from the bottom right of the painting, casting shadows below the dragon's head and on the inner and outer aspects of the saint's true left and right legs respectively. He stands simultaneously in and on a fictive marbleised frame, the left side of which is lit, the upper and right hand borders of which are dark. Slung above him from each side of the "frame", suspended by red ribbons is a weighty swag of fruit, the vivid coloured ribbons picking up the reds of his cloak, his armour decoration and the end of the lance behind him, which has pierced the dragon, the swag "protruding" into the liminal space between the frame and the spectator. Behind him, through the fictive frame, a landscape spirals into a receding distance, where a hilltop town is glimpsed over his left shoulder, under a sky delineated with long, horizontal banks of fluffy clouds. Above this snaking horizon-line, St. George's head is profiled against the sky, the right side of his face and hair is in shadow, and similarly, there is a large semi-oval cast shadow on the halo, corresponding to the mass of his face, (Fig. 184a). Mantegna is playing with many elements here; the head of the dragon juts out over the "edge" of the frame, as does the saint's hand with the splintered edge of his lance, which also casts a faint shadow, and the elements are in proportion. His 1457-59 *San Zeno Altarpiece*, (Fig. 135) demonstrates several figures with shadows on their haloes, particularly the angels in the central section and San Lorenzo in the right-hand section. The haloes remain behind their owners' heads, still solid and with pseudo-Arabic perimeters, various angles of *scorci* sometimes providing a lipped edge as they are seen in profile, contrasting with the differing effects of syntactical space that Mantegna has "manufactured", via a synthesis of architectonic elements, such as friezes, receding marble *pavimentazione*, pilasters, and coffered ceiling. These are themselves overlaid with very precise pictorial and decorative Classical references lending an authority and veracity to this constructed locus, paralleled with contemporary references such as the precious Turkish carpet laid in front of the Virgin and the Temple lamp positioned

above her, (Fig. 135a). The delicacy of her silk veil contrasts with the hard, inflexible stone of the *rosone* situated behind her head (Fig. 135d).⁹⁴ Simultaneously, the scene is ruptured by the large decorative swags, like Crivelli's, their components impossibly disproportionate, leading ultimately to the symmetrical cloud strata in the dark sky glimpsed outside. Yet within this fictive space, the haloes are behaving more naturalistically than the "real" and therefore tangible, things, of the terrestrial world, such as the fruit and vegetables contained in the swags. Thurlemann and McKie, in their study of fictionality in this work by Mantegna, write:

The success of a particular representational image as a vehicle of meaning is, to a large extent, dependent on the code, or conditions, or reception associated with the particular genre to which it belongs. However since this code is predicated on the competence of the subjects in the communication system, it is subject to historical change.⁹⁵

Noth also discusses the evolution of codes thus:

The temporal dimensions of speech and communication discussed above belong to the synchronic dimension of semiotics. The changes in time implied by this dimension are the trivial prerequisite of communication and do not affect the semiotic code. Only when code changes take place is time a feature of the diachronic dimension of semiotics. Linguistic evolution and stylistic innovations in the arts are examples of code changes. The transformation of code structures is emic and thus of diachronic relevance whenever the structural difference is interpreted as being a result of differences between historically distinguishable codes . . . Chronemic signs are metasigns. They refer to the historical dimension of a sign and thus to a code.

The application of these models suggests that Mantegna may be a catalyst for a temporal shift in the coding of a halo, through its juxtaposition with different elements in this work.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ This thesis is utilising this term, usually used for the "rose window" in a church, as being most appropriate to describe the decorative stone circle surmounting the Virgin's throne, since their inherent structures are similar.

⁹⁵ Thurlemann and Spiese McKee, p. 748.

⁹⁶ Nöth, p. 418

In Jacopo da Montagnana's (1494-1497) *Virgin Annunciate*, the kneeling Virgin, painted in the fourth Laudable Condition, *Humiliato*, gazes in wonder, her arms crossed over her breasts, her halo lies in a perpendicular position parallel to and behind her head, (Fig. 185).⁹⁷ The halo is much smaller than, for example, Simone Martini's in the same scene, it is a completely different object, with no flaring rays emanating from its circumference. Instead, Jacopo has ornamented it with delicate over-painting of a floral motif rather than punching, and on the lower left quadrant, a shadow cast by the Virgin's head can be seen, extending to the very edge of the halo's thick-lipped edge. In reproductions, the halo seems to be a convex vessel; however in reality it does have less volume. Tiny rays radiate from the centre to the broad foliate border, and as in Mantegna's and Crivelli's works cited previously, the halo almost seems to be affixed to the back of the Virgin's head, there is no visible space between them, and the tip of her crown seems to correspond to the centre of the halo, (Fig. 185a). The coffered ceiling, architectural frieze, pilasters and broken column, plus receding floor pattern all attest to da Montagnana's wish to portray this event in the real, earthly world as naturalistically as possible, and he has extended this treatment to the unreal object, the halo, the "sign" of the Virgin, and its behaviour is like Thurleman and McKie's "competent objects", it has been subjected to change historically.

5.8. Shadows: Andrea Castagno's *Crucifixion* and Giovanni Bellini's *Pietà*

The shadow was a subject of research both iconographically and scientifically, and artists strove to depict it realistically. In del Castagno's previously-mentioned *Crucifixion* of the late 1430's, (Fig. 178) there are several diagonal cast shadows caused by the upper left light source. However, there is a strange secondary light source from

⁹⁷ Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.

below which illuminates Christ Himself, the Cross and His feet on the supradaneum, resulting in shadows being cast by His arms and fingers onto the crossbar, and the halo's much fainter shadow is thrown onto the upper arm of the Cross.⁹⁸

Alhacen stated that seeing a very transparent body at night will change the viewer's perception of it, since as it is not possible to see an opaque object clearly behind it, it will be considered less transparent. If an object is less transparent, it will be considered opaque.⁹⁹ If an object is transparent, it will not cast a shadow. Therefore the representation by Castagno of a shadow cast by the halo is in fact obeying natural law relating to an actual object, Christ's halo is acting like a solid object, halting the passage of rays because of its very tangibility and physical properties.

Giovanni Bellini's *Cristo Morto Sorretto da Due Angeli*, or *Pietà*, of 1460 (Fig. 186, detail of Fig. 139a) has a dark golden elliptical halo, placed diagonally behind the crown of the dead Christ's bowed head. Its internal red cross arms are foreshortened, as is the pseudo-Nashki script, sections of which glint as they catch the light, seeming to come from two separate directions, a lower right light source directed up towards the triangular group, but also a more disparate light from behind the figures, illuminating the town architecture at the "western" edge of the painting, the architecture in the other half much darker. This secondary light source illuminates the haloes of the putti supporting Christ, particularly their undersides. The lower light source seems to produce cast shadows of the feet of the angels on the tomb edge, and particularly darkens the right leg of the angel supporting Christ's left arm. His physiognomy is similarly modelled with darkness by this light source, but what is very striking is the

⁹⁸ Hartt, p. 165.

⁹⁹ Alhacen, (trans. Smith, A. Mark, *Alhacen's Theory of Visual Perception: a Critical Edition with English Translation and Commentary, of the First Three Books of Alhacen's De Aspectibus, the Medieval Latin Version of Ibn Al-Haytham's Kitab Al-Manazir*, Vol. 91, Parts 4-5 of Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 2001, p. 615.

huge shadow cast across the lower edge of His left cheek, hair and left shoulder. There is a mass of shadow between the tip of His clavicle falling to just below His chin. On the other side of His face, there is a small area of penumbra caused by the hair, but it is not nearly as dark, nor as sharply delineated as that cast by the halo, and indeed it *is* the halo casting the shadow, the crown of thorns is not forming any sort of reflected outline. Bellini has very deliberately created this illusion. Everything else within this painting is very naturalistic, it is full of life demonstrated by activity, from the people chatting on the path behind the holy group, to the very distant figures in the town engaged in routine activities, yet the heavy dark shadow on Christ is evidence of a substantial, tangible object, obeying physical laws of optics. This demonstrates the shift from the Augustinian classifications of vision¹⁰⁰ and Grosseteste's theory regarding the "reception of light as knowledge to the reception of grace".¹⁰¹ The viewer gazes on this scene, interacting emotionally to its quotidian normality and the tortured body of Christ, rather than being *commosso*, "moved . . . elevated, in contemplation, to the realm of sacred things", as when confronted by Fra Angelico's celestial saints. Christ's corporal, rather than spiritual, aspects are highlighted by Giovanni, reinforced by the halo's behaviour. This seems normal and yet if analysed, it is a contradiction within this visual context, because as stated previously, haloes do not exist in reality. Leonardo da Vinci studied the representation of shadows in painting, yet it could be argued that Bellini's *Pietà* not only anticipates much of his work, but also that of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura, ed architettura*, published at the end of the

¹⁰⁰ "Corporeal" vision seen with the eyes, "spiritual vision" seen in dreams or the imagination and "intellectual vision", occurring in the highest levels of the mind. Hahn, Cynthia, "Visio Dei", in Robert S. Nelson (ed.), *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 169-195, p. 171.

¹⁰¹ Hahn, p. 175. She cites the elevation of the Host as a "means" of the faithful receiving some sort of grace from its sight.

cinquecento.¹⁰² In a document found in Leonardo's *Codex Atlanticus*, (post 1506) he outlined a proposal for a book on light and shadow, writing that:

Shadow is the obstruction of light. Shadows appear to me to be of supreme importance in perspective, because without them opaque and solid bodies will be ill-defined; that which is contained within its outlines and the outlines themselves will be ill understood unless it is shown against a background of a different tone. Therefore, I state as my first proposition concerning shadows that every opaque body is surrounded and its whole surface enveloped in shadow and light. And to this I shall devote the first book.¹⁰³

Developing this theme, he went on:

Shadow is the diminution of light by the intervention of an opaque body, shadow is the counterpart of the luminous rays which are cut off by an opaque body.¹⁰⁴

Although Leonardo wrote this later than the execution of the *Pietà*, there is a resonance here in that Giovanni is treating the halo as a “solid body” and is being punctilious about its consequent effect when viewed in sunlight, therefore this “sign” has once again been translated visually as a tangible object with physical properties. The shadow has become the “other”, but of the *halo* rather than the *body*. Although Christ is now dead, there is still an ontological presence, His body is a dead shell. The halo is manifestly present too, the red internal cross slivers may be read as Derrida's “trace”. The halo's ontological qualities demonstrate that it is not just essence, but it is as tangible as the stone of the tomb and the iron of the nails, and Bellini has positioned it so that it slices across the lower level of the sky, further demonstrating its earthly, physical traits. It is visible, it obscures the architecture at its upper limit and because of

¹⁰² Published in 1585, Milan, it discusses how different lights produce variations in shadows in Book Four, and asserts that it is essential to study shadows in order to understand perspective, in the fifth Book. Da Costa Kauffmann, p. 261.

¹⁰³ C.A. 250 r, (Codex Atlanticus), Richter, Irma A., *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, New York, 1998.

¹⁰⁴ W 19152V, (from the Windsor Collection), Richter, 131.

all of these factors, it can be claimed that it has an “other”, the shadow lying across Christ’s neck and upper shoulder.¹⁰⁵

5.14 Light, Transparency and the Halo

Chapter Three of this thesis, proposed that from the mid to late quattrocento the halo’s appearance was influenced by the perfection of the *crystallo* technique in Venice, and the subsequent improvement in the Tuscan glass industry. Additionally, the possibility that the silk industry was impacting upon the depiction of haloes was considered, and in this section, these two factors will be explored in terms of their effect on the transparency of the halo. It was noted earlier that in Domenico Veneziano’s 1445 *St Lucy altarpiece*, for the first time, haloes appear to be glass with gold rims and they are no longer flat disks, they are hovering above their owner’s heads, foreshortened into ellipsis,¹⁰⁶ an interesting development, as seemingly the first occasion that the halo appears in this position, rather than behind its owner’s head. Cosimo Tura’s 1460 *Pietà*¹⁰⁷ (Fig. 60) was discussed earlier and the clumsy orientation of the Virgin’s halo, lying flat on her head, resulting in awkwardness and slightly more opacity than transparency. Artists on the terra firma also took up this new style, for example, Bartolomeo Montagna (1449-1523) painted “glass” haloes in his works. Exhibiting influences from Giovanni Bellini, the Vivarini and Carpaccio, this is perhaps not surprising, for example in his c. 1483-84 *Madonna and Child under a Pergola between St John the Baptist and St Onofrio*, Montagna’s smaller elliptical haloes hover above the

¹⁰⁵ As Lacan would later posit, the mirror stage is the identification of “I”, and the shadow stage is the identification of the “other”, Stoichită, Viktor Ieronim, *A Short History of the Shadow*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd., [1997], 1999, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Tempera on panel, 209 x 216 cm. This work is so different from the *Head of a Saint*, circa 1440, fresco transferred to tile, now in the National Gallery, in which he has endowed a very solid halo with an extremely thick outer lipped edge on the saint.

¹⁰⁷ Museo Correr, Venice.

heads of the figures, a slim band of gold delineating the glass circumference.¹⁰⁸ Two other works show similar features, his c. 1482 *Madonna and Child between Sts Roch and Sebastian*, although here, both the Virgin and Child, situated frontally and centrally within the composition, have flat disk haloes behind their heads. St. Roch's halo appears to receive less light, and is consequently darker, slightly more opaque than those of the Virgin and Child.¹⁰⁹ The *Madonna Adoring the Child between Sts Monica and Maria Magdalena* c. 1483, (Fig. 187) also features "glass" haloes, and they are noticeably smaller in comparison with others examined in this Chapter, as well as being situated close behind the figures' heads rather than hovering above them. Again, the degree of translucency is determined by the light source and the halo's position, so that the Magdalene's is shown against the sky with a different effect to that of St Monica's through which it is possible to see the grassy bank behind her.¹¹⁰

5.16 Some Florentine silk haloes and *linee serpentine*

There was a parallel development in the opacity of haloes, in that the Florentine artists continued to make their haloes ever more fragile and delicate, particularly Fra Filippo Lippi, (1406-1469), Filippino Lippi (1457-1504) and Sandro Botticelli (1445 or late 1446 -1510). Their sheerness could be likened to that of silk, rather than glass, particularly in their use of stippling, the application of tiny dots of gold within the halo circumference to enhance the effects of translucency of the halo. In Filippo Lippi's *Adorazione del Bambino con S Giovanni e S Romualdo*, both John the Baptist and San Romualdo have transparent gold-stippled haloes, whereas the angels have polygonal golden-rayed haloes. In Filippino's *Adorazione del Bambino con San Giovanni*,¹¹¹ he

¹⁰⁸ Musei Civici, Vicenza, 195.7 x 160 cm, transferred from panel to canvas.

¹⁰⁹ Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, 59 x 59 cm.

¹¹⁰ Musei Civici, Vicenza, 184 x 169 cm.

¹¹¹ All three works are in Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

also endows translucent disk haloes with some gold stippling and in his 1496 *Adoration of the Magi* panel he has additionally “sprinkled” gold on the gold-rimmed haloes of the Holy Family, giving a shimmer effect, (Fig. 188)¹¹². Filippino Lippi’s *The Virgin and Child with Sts Jerome and Dominic* of c. 1485 shows all the figures with haloes of “spun gold”, which gives a quality of transparency although this is different from the “crystal” or “silken” haloes.¹¹³ It is possible to see the gold waves and stippling within them, which gives a slightly different effect as the light hits them. The Christ Child’s also contains a red cross, and as with Botticelli, the Virgin’s sheer veil emphasises the delicacy of the haloes. This stippling seems to have become a popular practice in the late 1480s in Florence, and parallels the growing tendency to depict the Virgin as a very beautiful young girl.

In his 1485 *San Barnaba* Altarpiece, Botticelli inserts gold markings within his “glass” haloes, foreshortened and hovering above the angels’ heads, the Virgin’s is parallel to the picture plane, (Fig. 189).¹¹⁴ These delicate gold twirling effects on a glass-like halo is a motif which Botticelli exploits often. It seems to be particularly prevalent in Florence during the latter half of the quattrocento, but does not seem to have translated to Venice, (Fig. 189a). Although Castagno used this “*linee serpentine*” design in his 1450 *L’Assunta* previously mentioned, he does not seem to have “imported” this design into Venice. Botticelli refined and developed this, in his *Madonna della Loggia* (Figs. 191, 191a)¹¹⁵ and in the 1487 *The Madonna and Child with Pomegranate* altarpiece (Fig. 190)¹¹⁶, it is possible to see Divine Light “raining” down onto the Virgin through her transparent gold halo, (Fig. 190a). The Christ Child on her lap has the slimmest of

¹¹² Filippino depicts the three Magi as Pier Franceco de Medici the Elder, with his two sons, Lorenzo il Popolano and Giovanni il Popolano.

¹¹³ Panel, 203 cm x 186 cm. National Gallery, London, also called the *Rucellai Altarpiece*.

¹¹⁴ Tempera on panel, 280 x 268 cm., Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

¹¹⁵ Tempera on panel, 72 x 50 cm., Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

¹¹⁶ Tempera on panel, tondo, 143.5 cm., Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

gold rings behind His head with beautiful filigree patterns, matching the gold threads on the wrap in which she holds Him, (Fig. 190b). Like the sweetness of his Virgins, Botticelli imbues his haloes with a great delicacy and beauty, their translucency contrasted with the sheerness of the fine veils around their heads. In his *Madonna of the Book*¹¹⁷, although there is opacity of the haloes against the sky and dark background, the beautiful dark gold filigree designs, stippling and *linee serpentine* seem to be of a slightly less flexible material, with more rigidity, (Figs. 67, 67b). Additionally, Botticelli started to make the cross arms in the cruciferous haloes of gold rather than red. In yet another variation on the halo theme, Botticelli endowed a circle of bunched graduated rays around the Virgin's and angels' heads in the 1480-81 *Madonna del Magnificat*,¹¹⁸ the Christ Child has a half-lozenge of graduated gold bunched rays, (Figs. 192, 192a-b).¹¹⁹

5.17 Venetian silk haloes

This new lightness also finds expression in Venice, as previously discussed. In his Pesaro Altarpiece, Giovanni Bellini endows Christ and the Virgin with “spun gold” haloes, the circular brush-strokes giving the impression of a slight shimmer through which the spectator views the distant landscape behind them, (Fig. 193, Figs. 193a-c).¹²⁰ Bartolomeo Vivarini's (1432-1491) *Trittico di San Marco* signed “*OPVS FACTUM PER BARTHOLEVM VIVARINVM DE MVRANO 1474*” in the Cappella di S Marco o dei Corner, in the Chiesa Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, exhibits a new, lighter touch in the haloes of St Mark and the two angel musicians in the central panel, (Fig. 194, Figs. 194a-b). The Evangelist is seated on a tall, marble throne and through his translucent

¹¹⁷ Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan,

¹¹⁸ Galleria degli Uffizi.

¹¹⁹ Tempera on panel, tondo, diameter 118 cm., Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

¹²⁰ Musei Civici Pesaro, oil on panel, 260 x 235 cm. Lucco, *Giovanni Bellini*, p. 190-194 gives a very comprehensive bibliography but no specific date.

pale halo, it is possible to see the carved, highly ornate motifs behind his head. Likewise, through the halo of the angel musician seated at his left foot, it is possible to glimpse the base of the throne and the red gown of the standing angel behind it. In the Cappella Bernardo, also in the Frari, is Bartolomeo Vivarini's signed 1482 polittico, *The Virgin Enthroned with the Christ Child on her Knees*, The Virgin and Child are flanked by Sts Andrew and Nicholas of Bari (on the spectator's left) and by Sts. Peter and Paul on the right. Again, the haloes are like sheer silk, very delicate. This move towards a "lightening" of the halo through the agencies of more transparency and a less-solidly delineated circumference seems to be coinciding with a much more naturalistic treatment of the figures themselves.

5.18 Light, Vaporosity and the Halo

Lorenzo Lotto's *St Nicholas in Glory* in the Chiesa dei Carmini, Venice, (Fig. 198) demonstrates a virtuoso display of vaporosity in his treatment of the halo, which certainly imitates the meteorological phenomenon found around the moon, (see Fig. 1) and which can correctly be referred to here as a nimbus. The *tela* was painted between 1527 and 1529 for the altar dedicated to John the Baptist by the Scuola dei Venditori di Pesce. The iconography of the painting reflects the patrons' choice of their onomastic saints, John the Baptist and St George, the distant sea-shore referencing the Scuola's activities.

Lotto's elderly St Nicholas of Bari sits on a cloud bank, ascending to Heaven, attended by three angels, one holding a dish containing his attribute. John the Baptist and St Lucy¹²¹ are seated at his feet on very volumetric billowing clouds, praying and gazing Heavenwards. This scene dominates the painting and with the celestial sky takes up a

¹²¹Her attribute, her eyes, are beside her feet,

good two thirds of the surface area. Beneath this, is a landscape to the left and right of the picture plane, skirting an inlet. To the right, St George can be seen from the rear, killing the dragon, on a path leading to a building on a hill, and to the left, a track leads into the distant wooded countryside, two figures ambling along on it. What is extraordinary in this work is the contrast between the fugitive light of St Nicholas's halo and the absolute corporeality of the clouds, such that St Lucy's gown flows over the outer edge of her "bank" and the Baptist's right foot is at a 45° angle to his, although where his cloudbank meets St Lucy's leg, it is possible to glimpse her green gown through the vapour. This cloudbank seems to have such materiality that the saint's feet "disappear" into it, it is even more substantial than Mantegna's *nuvole*, so that the Baptist's body casts a shadow onto it.

St Nicholas's halo is situated behind his head, but it is a broad circle of light, within and outside which, is a hazy evanescence, very much like the halo around the moon on a misty night, (as in Fig. 1). The Italian *alòne*, has been realised very competently. The halo seems to throw light onto the upper tips of the angel flanking St Nicholas's (true) left, and also the edge of his bishop's crozier. There is a distinct contrast between this very natural-looking halo and the artificiality of the huge cloudbank, as there is between the cloudy-looking sky of the terrestrial level beneath the ascending figures, and the calm darker blue of the celestial sphere they are entering. Lotto himself was interested in alchemy, evidenced in his Bergamo cycle of intarsia, and perused Bishop Bernardo de' Rossi's library of hermetic texts in Treviso, as well as meeting the alchemist poet Giovanni Aurelio Augurello, whose *Chrysopoeia* was published in Venice in 1515.¹²²

¹²² *The Tarsias by Lorenzo Lotto: A Route between Bible and Alchemy*. Exhibition Catalogue by Roncelli, O., Bravi, G. O., Zanchi, M. and Noris, F., (eds.), Bergamo: Ferrari Editrice, p. 16. (undated, but the author of this thesis attended the exhibition in 2004).

Lotto's nimbus in this work is different from the other haloes previously discussed, it is a representation of a natural phenomenon, that of the *alòne* found around the moon, perhaps as a result of his alchemic interests.

5.19 The Halo and Light Evanescent

Titian (?1490–1578) and Tintoretto (1519–1594) are major exponents of the evanescent halo, in both its dramatic format and also as a mere suggestion of fugitive or flickering light presence. Like other artists, they utilised diverse forms of the halo, but additionally developed this evanescent type into a minuscule sign, almost but not quite invisible in several works, nevertheless perhaps more powerful exactly because of its reductive “physical” presence.

Both artists tended to work on very large pieces, Tintoretto's works mostly remain in situ in Venice, functioning as he intended, whether in churches or in the *Scuole*, instantly recognizable through his vigorous brushwork, which seems to energize his narratives and imbue his religious works with an intense spirituality. His innovative *The Miracle of the Slave* of 1548 commissioned by the *Scuola di San Marco* was originally rejected by them (Fig. 199).¹²³ Within this, it is possible to see a fine example of the “dramatic” evanescent halo, as St Mark hovers upside down over the naked freed slave, his head encircled by a white halo which gradually dissolves into long fine rays, (Fig. 199a). His cycle of works for the *Scuola di San Rocco* provides a detailed record of his variations on the evanescent halo theme. Completed in three separate tranches, they are absolutely compelling and spell-binding in their impact.¹²⁴

¹²³ Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, oil on canvas, 416 x 544 cm.

¹²⁴ The *albergo* was decorated between 1565-67 with Christ's Passion, the Great Hall between 1575-81 with scenes from the Old Testament on the ceiling, New Testament narratives on the walls, and the Lower Hall between 1583-87 contains scenes from the Virgin's Life and the Nativity.

In *Christ before Pilate* (Fig. 200),¹²⁵ Tintoretto presents Christ dressed in a white robe, still and calm, His head slightly bowed, behind which is a recognisable yellow-gold elliptical disk, fine rays radiating from its centre to beyond its perimeter, yet there does not seem to be a permanence, the spectator has the sensation that it is transient, almost that it would be possible to pass one's hands through it, if it did not disappear beforehand, contrasting with the stream of water being poured for Pilate from a jug by a kneeling servant, the water seemingly much more tangible than the halo. In *The Ascent to Calvary*, Tintoretto has painted Christ's halo into a lozenge shape where a half-diamond of yellow-white evanescence is visible behind His head, three broader and more substantial rays like the arms of a cross visible within the "mist". The magnificent *Crucifixion* renders the spectator speechless with its drama and emotion. The crucified Christ dominates the composition, all diagonal and horizontal lines from the multitude of characters highlighting Him, (Figs. 201, 201a). He is surrounded by an enormous misty-white halo of light in which fine rays overlay the glimpses of sky behind Him, the halo reaches to the top of His thighs and each of His outstretched wrists, (almost like Vitruvius' design). This divine light illuminates the upturned face of the female figure at the base of the Cross, and the space behind the Cross, adding an extra spiritual dimension to the narrative. Repeatedly, Tintoretto manipulates light effects and halo sizes so that in the *Annunciation* painted for the Sala Inferiore, the Virgin has a very slim fugitive nimbus around her head and above her the Holy Spirit in the form of a white-gold dove, encompassed within a gold circumference of concentric circles radiates fine gold rays to her, (Fig. 202). Another intensely spiritual work is *St Mary of Egypt Meditating* (Fig. 203). Behind her is a large yellow luminous glow, the viewer feels that the saint's head is surrounded by the divine mist, and similarly the golden

¹²⁵ Sala dell'Albergo, Scuola di San Rocco, Venice, containing three episodes from the Passion of Christ, *Christ before Pilate*, *Christ Crowned with Thorns* and *The Ascent to Calvary*.

highlights on the tree trunks and the foliage and the tumbling stream intensify the deep stillness of the scene.

Tintoretto's halo palette seems to vary from a very pale blonde to a translucent white light, suggested at times by very, very long thin rayed effects. On occasions, these rays are extremely elongated, as in *The Resurrection*, where the pyramidal formation of pale gold spikes lie against Christ's billowing cloak as He ascends. Tintoretto's other *Resurrection*, also in the Sala Grande of the Scuola, shows Christ ascending, His face in left profile against a circular evanescence – it cannot be called a disk because there is not a solidity, nor substance to it – which is surrounded by tiny rays, very much as the eye perceives an extremely bright light, (Fig. 204).

In the *Last Supper* painted for the Sala Grande, Christ and the Disciples are within the central band of the composition in a variety of poses. Christ's halo is a large indeterminate yellow mist around His head, the Disciples' are mostly viewed from behind or above. Foreshortened, it is possible to see the tops of their crowns inside the gold-circumscribed ellipses. Perhaps his greatest evocation of this particular theme, which he had painted many times for different churches within Venice, is the 1594 *Last Supper* at the Chiesa di S. Giorgio, Giudecca, Venice. In this, it is possible to see his manipulation of different light effects, representing both Divine Light and the corporeal light cast by candles and oil lamps within the dark interior of the room where Christ and the Disciples are eating, (Fig. 205). Wherever Tintoretto's works are placed in a church, it is always possible for the eye to pick out these evanescent haloes, no matter how high or how dark the location, and this *quadro* displays a huge variation in fictive light and shadow. The spectator's eye is drawn to Christ, again surrounded by a large yellowish haze, radiating from which are three rays, a form of cruciform halo. At the upper left of the painting, an oil lamp burns, flames leaping out from the top and light

rays raining on to the figures beneath. The Disciples have tiny evanescent haloes delineating their heads, which are turned in a variety of directions, against the dark interior walls. Large, heavy shadows are cast from the oil lamp across the table, the viewer sees that of the pottery drinking vessel falling onto the translucent glass flask, which in turn picks up highlights from the oil lamp. Thus, Tintoretto is juxtaposing corporeal light produced by the oil lamp with divine light emanating from the nimbi of the Holy people. They are similarly juxtaposed with ordinary mortals who, although dressed in contemporary Venetian costume, still adhere to Decrees issued by the Council of Trent.

5.18 Conclusions

In conclusion, this Chapter has considered the many changes to the halo over centuries, beginning with early mosaics, and moving on to examine frescoes and *pala*. Over centuries, new theories relating to optics, *perspectiva*, colour, gem symbolism, light, and shadow projection have all impacted upon the mode of representing the halo. Additionally, this thesis has demonstrated changes in its function, at times signalling a hierarchical rank, as at Torcello and Ravenna, at other times operating as a liminal time indicator, as for example in its ruptured state in Giotto's *Last Supper*, where its division from the Disciple foretells the betrayal of Jesus by Judas, and Christ's enforced separation from the Apostles. Different light effects have been realised by the application of various designs, or by the treatment of the halo surface, as in the depiction of a glass-like texture or a finish like that of polished gold, or an opaque "silken" halo. Relief effects have been produced in early frescoes, and shadows have been found on later haloes. Although not existing in reality, haloes have also sometimes radiated light, like a material light source such as a fire or candle. In short,

despite changes in artistic practice and media, the importance of the halo has not diminished even though its physicality has reduced in terms of size and position. It is now more ethereal or fugitive than the flat disk or heavily tooled haloes, and it has still engaged in and maintained a dialogue with its referent, whilst simultaneously operating as a sign. It is much closer to its etymological description, this sense of vapour with its attendant fugitive connotations. As “an invented visual shorthand”,¹²⁶ Tintoretto’s haloes are so realistic and believable, behaving in naturalistic modes, especially when juxtaposed with “natural light” or “artificial light” from candles and oil lamps. Their transient quality reinforces the sense of Derrida’s *trace* and may also be seen to encapsulate Kristeva’s sense of the *ideologeme* if this is translated/transferred from a textual to a visual locus, such as the halo. The halo in this Chapter has been demonstrated to be connected to contemporary culture and adherence to the Decrees of the Council of Trent’s final session, as well as having “imported” and “transported” all the historical meanings associated with it, and as such, it is reflecting contemporaneous society.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Peers, G., (gpeers@nail.utexas.edu), *Angels and Haloes*. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), 29th January, 2007.

¹²⁷ Allen Graham, *Intertextuality*, London: Routledge, 2000 cites Kristeva: “The concept of text as ideologeme determines the very procedure of a semiotics that, by studying the text as intertextuality, considers it as such within (the text of) society and history. The ideologeme of a text is the focus where knowing rationality grasps the transformation of *utterances* (to which the text is irreducible) into a totality (the text) as well as the insertions of this totality into the historical and social text. Kristeva, 1980:37), p. 37.

CHAPTER SIX

The Halo in the Bellini Bottega

6.1 Introduction

This Chapter will examine artworks produced both in the Bellini family bottega, and by the brothers in their own shops, as a form of paradigm to “test” the evidence so far presented regarding the halo’s development and changes, in terms of its physical appearance and functions. The *raison d’être* for selecting this studio was because of its great innovation and influence on contemporaneous artistic representation between the mid-quattrocento and early cinquecento and the subsequent generation of artists in their execution of haloes. In addition to those already examined, a mixture of works will be considered, including small devotional works for private patrons and artworks such as *pala* meant to be viewed by a large, static audience, either in a holy environment such as a Church, or in a secular situation such as the *Albergo* of a *Scuola*, (the large Meeting Room where the members of the confraternity gathered). A *Scuola* was both a society of lay people and also the place where this organisation met.¹ Each was an important site, thus their commissions, whether architectural or painted decorations, were considered prestigious. The processional banners belonging to the Venetian *Scuole*, called *gonfalone*, which were paraded in Piazza San Marco on ceremonial occasions will also be considered because these were very active and highly visible events and so the related archival sources that have been examined are reproduced in Appendix Two of

¹ The Venetian *Scuola* or *scholae* was the meeting place of a society of lay people. There were six *Scuole Grandi*, and many minor *Scuole*. Molmenti, Pompeo, *La Storia di Venezia Nella Vita Privata I*, Bergamo: Istituto Italiana d’Arti Grafiche, 1905, pp. 185 – 190.

this thesis.² In the pursuit of design changes of the halo, its exhibition of physiognomic traits will be considered in a comparison of two *Crucifixion* scenes by Jacopo and Giovanni Bellini. An overarching theme of this section will probe whether or not halo design was a matter of artistic choice, or if specifications were supplied by the commissioner, be it an organisation or an individual. Additionally, as already referenced, there are specific motifs flowing from the general quotidian atmosphere of the city of Venice which are osmotically absorbed into the works of Venetian artists and/or artists sojourning in Venice, and these will be highlighted.

6.2 Ambient influences in Venice

Quattrocento Venice was “the first industrial centre in Europe”, a major export being glass, in its many different forms. From the East, as well as the import of flux materials and raw metals, luxury silks and other textiles, metalware, porcelain, gold, spices, pigments and wax were important commodities. From the north, iron and other metals were imported from Villach. Consequently, many different communities were established within Venice, evidenced by the names of buildings and areas: the Ghetto, the Fondaco dei Turci, the Fondaco Tedesco. As previously noted, silk-spinners from Lucca had fled to Venice at the end of the duecento. In addition to the robust trading links between Venice and her colonies, the development of these internal immigrant communities and resultant exposure to foreign clothes and hairstyles, language, philosophy, science and technology, both abroad and at home, stimulated the reproduction of these by Venetian artists. The absorption of oriental motifs and scenes was also fuelled by the acquisition of “souvenirs” by Venetian merchants. This

² The archival evidence collated has already been published, but while examining the original documents, this thesis discovered that frequently small extracts of a document had been published by one author, and different extracts from the same document by another. Where considered pertinent to this thesis, these have been reconstructed, using the published extracts and with this author’s own insertions from the original documentation. A great debt is owed to the following: Paoletti, Ricci, Goffen, Sohm, Eisler and Bättschmann.

secondary impact of Venetian mercantile activity is shown in the presence of many eastern design motifs within Venetian architecture, exemplified by façade plaque of the *Scuola dei Calegheri*, Campo san Tomà. (Fig. 206). In Chapters Three and Four, a “whirling rosette” motif was discussed, a popular motif in Egypt, and appearing on the Torcello Duomo façade, and Desdemona’s House in Venice (Figs. 122, 123-a), also something that Jacopo will utilise in the frame architecture of several of his paintings, as discussed in 6.3. Additionally, a variation of this motif continued to be utilised in Venice, like that found in a fifteenth-century silk velvet produced there, (Fig. 207).³ The development of the pigment business sector by the *vendecolori* in Venice through processing, exporting and importing pigments, and raw minerals was another ambient factor. Elsewhere, colouring agents and other materials were purchased from apothecaries. In Venice *vendecolori* sold colouring pigments, the quality of which was recognized widely, so consequently they had customers from a very wide catchment area⁴ As well as the pigments sold by the *vendecolori*, the Bellini would have been doubly exposed to the colours used in mosaics, firstly from their presence in the Basilica di San Marco, and also because the *vendecolori* supplied the Murano glass makers, who also made cubes for mosaic work.⁵ Plain gold or yellow flat disk haloes, frequently though not always outlined in black, red or blue, found in frescoes in catacombs and many other centres within and outside Italy have been discussed elsewhere in this thesis. Additionally, they are found in Byzantine mosaics and icons, as well as their translation into centres such as Rome, Ravenna and Torcello. Jacopo Bellini would have known this type of design from the Basilica of San Marco, specifically the mosaic of *The Transportation of St Mark’s body*, a lunette above St

³ Davanzo Poli, F., and Modanato, S., (eds.), *Le Stoffe dei Veneziani*, Venice: Albrizzi Editore di Marsilio s.p.a., 1994, Fig. 38. There is also a section of stone *facciata* in the Chiesa di San Polo, Venice, with this motif, and within the arch mosaics over the nave in the Basilica di San Marco, although there are several more “vanes” within this one.

⁴ Matthew, Louisa C., “‘Vendecolori a Venezia’: The Reconstruction of a Profession”, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 144, No. 1196, (November 2002), pp. 680-686, pp. 680-681.

⁵ The prominence of the Bellini as artists who had worked at the Palazzo Ducale, would suggest that they must have had some contact with the mosaics within the Basilica.

Alipio's Door, circa 1260 – 1270,⁶ as well as the many Byzantine icons encountered in Venetian Churches utilising this plain disk halo, always situated flat behind the head of its owner.

Stefano Veneziano's 1385 *St Christopher* tavola indicates a slightly different halo,⁷ gold ground helping intensify the effect of the decorative tooling, particularly in the halo. Its outer circumference is decorated with a triangle of three circular punches, this simple external pinnacle decoration, giving a "teardrop fringe" effect. Within the internal halo cross arms, Stefano uses a simple ring punch containing a hexa-rosette punch, further embellishing the halo. Although still quite large, it is more reduced than those of Paolo Veneziano sixty years earlier in his *Trittico di Santa Chiara*, 1328-1330⁸, Lorenzo Veneziano's *Sant'Antonio Abate e San Giovanni Battista* tavola of 1357, Nicoletto Semitecolo's *Santa Lucia e le pie compagne danno sepoltura a San Sebastiano* of 1367⁹ (where he has bestowed red-rimmed haloes) or even Lorenzo's 1370 tavola *Jesus giving the Keys to St. Peter*.¹⁰ (Figs. 27-27a). Differing positioning of the haloes can be observed in these works: they are very large, the outer circumference lying much lower than the nape of the neck, brushing the upper borders of the shoulders. Even in Lorenzo's 1370 tavola, the heads and/or profiles of the angels and St Peter, himself, are in a sense silhouetted against the central segment of their haloes. Varying techniques of halo decoration can also be seen clearly in these examples, particularly this latter artwork, where the angels' haloes are very foliate. Christ is enthroned and within the designs at its base, there are painted subjects with ridged haloes, rather like those found within the frescoes of Giotto or Simone Martini,

⁶ Later included by Gentile Bellini in his *Procession in Piazza San Marco*, painted for the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista in 1496.

⁷ Museo Correr, Venice.

⁸ Civici Musei di Storia e Arte, Trieste. Paolo Veneziano, also known as Paolo da Venezia, was *pittore ufficiale* to the Doge. Sohm, Philip L., *The Scuole Grande di San Marco 1437-1550: The Architecture of a Venetian Lay Confraternity* New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1982, Footnote 5.

⁹ Sagrestia dei canonici of the Duomo of Padova.

¹⁰ Museo Correr, Venice.

discussed earlier, so it can be seen that there are certain stylistic similarities between the Venetian and Sienese artists, and a continuity of these motifs in the different centres. This, then, was the ambience influencing the Bellini bottega.

6.3 Pseudo-Arabic halo borders

In view of the foregoing, therefore, it seems almost inevitable that Eastern, Byzantine or oriental objects were incorporated by Jacopo, Giovanni and Gentile into their artworks, such as the turban found in *La flagellazione di Cristo all'interno di un'architettura di Palazzo* from Jacopo's Louvre Drawing Book.¹¹ Jacopo used orientalising motifs in the haloes of his Madonna paintings, for example in the previously-discussed *Madonna con Cherubini*, 1435–1444, in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, (Fig. 131). Executed in tempera and gold leaf on panel, Jacopo has painted the Christ Child seated to the Virgin's left, directly confronting the viewer's gaze, His right hand raised in the gesture of benediction, the left clasping a pear, representing His love for mankind.¹² The Virgin's right arm rests at right angles on the parapet/ledge as she holds her son, the other arm protectively placed around His shoulders, forming a square segment within the arched frame. A brooch clasps together her mantle, the Fanciullo's gown cascades onto a tasselled cushion with an oriental design, overhanging the parapet on which his sandalled foot also rests. To the right of the picture plane, a closed book juts over the parapet edge. In every available space between the top of the parapet and the arched frame, Jacopo has painted a background of cherubini, in profile, frontally, or gazing downwards, their wings crossed or raised, and all of them have tiny gold haloes.¹³ The Virgin's halo has a double-banded outer circumference, bordered within by a circular

¹¹ Jacopo should be called "the father of Venetian orientalism" rather than Gentile, according to Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli, "La pittura 'orientalista' a Venezia dal XV al XVII secolo" in the exhibition catalogue *Venezia e l'Islam 828 – 1797*, p. 141.

¹² Ferguson, George, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, Oxford, London, New York: Oxford University Press, [1961], 1989, p. 36.

¹³ Also seen in Jacopo's drawing of *Padre Eterno che regge il Crocifisso fra I cherubini*. See Ricci, British Museum Book of Drawings, No. 56. a).

bead design, inside is a broad section of cursive Arabic (non-Kufic) script, probably pseudo-Nashki¹⁴ intersected by a repetitive delicate red rosette design. Another double-banded, border highlights the ornamentation of the halo, the space nearest the Virgin's head is plain. The Christ Child's halo has a similar design, although the Arabic ornamentation is intersected by three cross pattée arms coloured red, forecast of His future sacrifice. The Fanciullo's tunic collar has a *tiraz* design, echoing that within His halo. Additionally, Jacopo has used exactly the same frame architecture for this work as the *Lovere Madonna*, (Fig. 130), derived from the "whirling rosette" motif. The halo itself is similar to that he bestowed on the San Diego *Strauss Madonna*, further evidence of the bottega's recycling of a repertoire of design elements, as highlighted by Ricci.¹⁵ The rosette in this is not the same "whirling rose" motif, but this design additionally became part of the bottega's repertoire. In his *Madonna col Bambino che regge una mela* (Figs. 208, 208a), Giovanni also uses this type of oriental design with coloured rosettes in the Virgin's halo, the Infant's contains a red internal cross-pattée.

Andrea Mantegna, Jacopo's son-in-law (1431–1506) utilised a semi-oriental design within his halo rims, but they are very different from Jacopo's and also those of Squarcione, to whom he had been apprenticed, (Fig. 134). Before painting, Squarcione had worked as a tailor and embroiderer, travelling in the East, making drawings and collecting designs,¹⁶ so Mantegna, also the son of a tailor, was perhaps very fortunate in his mentor, Squarcione, and his father-in-law, Jacopo Bellini, both of whom provided invaluable resources for him, which are subsequently re-presented in his artworks.

¹⁵Ricci, p. 254

¹⁶ Welch, Evelyn, *Art in Renaissance Italy 1350 – 1500*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 90.

Mantegna's orientalisering designs however, are more elongated and perhaps more in relief than his mentors', although these too are cursive Arabic characters.¹⁷

6.3 Didactic Haloes and the new attribution to Giovanni

Jacopo Bellini's haloes differed from his Venetian contemporaries in terms of their simplicity. Jacobello del Fiore, Michele Giambono and the Vivarini bottega were still producing very ornate, tooled gold haloes, although the tooling of their designs seems less complex than their Tuscan counterparts because they were using simpler punch tools and possibly more incised patterning, rather than the typical Tuscan combination of sphragistic techniques used to provide texture for decoration, previously discussed in Chapter Three, especially 3.6.¹⁸ Jacopo's haloes differed in other ways, since didactic haloes did not seem to be executed by other Venetian artists. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, 3.6, Jacopo does endow didactic haloes on his Virgins and although common within Florence to bestow inscribed haloes upon the Virgin, for example in works already discussed by Masaccio, Masolino, Bicci di Niro, Gentile da Fabriano and later Fra Angelico, it seems that Jacopo was the only Venetian artist who used this design. The links between Jacopo and Gentile da Fabriano are well documented, and when Gentile came to Venice to work on the Sala del Maggior, he was registered as a member of the Scuola di San Cristoforo dei mercanti (see Document 23 in Appendix Two), which Giovanni Bellini would later join.¹⁹ Throughout the Churches and the Scuole of Venice, there are many examples of the different types of haloes already considered within this thesis, but inscribed haloes and particularly Latin-inscribed haloes, are not represented. It appears Jacopo's use of this design was only for external

¹⁷ Fontana, Maria Fontana (mariavittoria.fontana@gmail.com) 8th January 2011, and Fontana, Maria. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), 9th January, 2011.

¹⁸ This practice would continue sporadically, into cinquecento works of Cima di Conegliano and Lorenzo Lotto in the Museo Correr.

¹⁹ Gentile was officially matriculated in the Guild of Arte de' medici e speciali di Firenze in 1422. De Marchi, Andrea, *Gentile da Fabriano*, Firenze: Giunti Industrie Grafiche S.p.A., 1998, p. 49.

patrons, such as Lionello d'Este, rather than Venetian patrons, a practice he imported into his Venetian bottega, after his time in Florence, for 'foreign' commissions. Unlike the *cartellino* device which he seems to have innovated based on antique Roman tradition, Jacopo's contemporaries have not appropriated the didactic halo; competitors, such as the Vivarini, maintained their Gothic decorative motifs but did not embrace the inscriptive halo.²⁰ The Bellini Madonna paintings cited so far have retained a hieratic Byzantine pose, with its echoes of the *solidus*, the gold coins of the Byzantine emperors which also contained inscribed exhortations to the Virgin along their circumference. The fact that he is utilising didactic haloes implies that this is innovative for Venice, rather like the box-frame he executed for the Brescia *Annunciation*, both of which were perhaps too modern for Venetian taste.

However, the didactic halo did survive until c. 1460 in Venice, displayed in a *Madonna and Child* owned by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, (Fig. 209). The work had been purchased and exhibited as being by Jacopo Bellini, and Keith Christiansen in 1980 had refuted suggestions that it was by Giovanni. However, in July 2008, the work was on the Museum website with an attribution to Giovanni Bellini. The author of this thesis contacted LACMA for clarification, since to her knowledge, this would have been the only occasion in his entire oeuvre that Giovanni had executed a didactic halo, and learned that there had been a new attribution, which was to be unveiled at the forthcoming *Giovanni Bellini* exhibition in Rome September 2008.²¹ The Virgin's head is in profile against the halo which is inscribed with the usual Lukan salutation

AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINU TECUM

²⁰ Goffen, Rona, "Giovanni Bellini: il Rinascimento visto da Rialto", in *Il Colore Ritrovato: Bellini a Venezia*. Exhibition Catalogue by Rona Goffen and Giovanna Nepi Scirè, Verona: Electa, 2000, p. 9 and Footnote 35, p. 21, citing Nepi Scirè.

²¹ Marandel, P. (Patrice@lacma.org) *Jacopo and Giovanni Bellini*. E-mail to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk), 30th July, 2008.

The background is dark, like Jacopo's *Madonna con Cherubini* examined earlier, although here it is plain, minus mourning cherubini. There is a similar rosette motif to that of Giovanni's *Trivulzio Madonna* (1460-65), here unpatterned, of the same colour and texture as the inscription, and at the upper margin of the painting, the letters *HP ΘV* appear in two red roundels, an appellation and site much favoured by Giovanni, (Fig. 209a). The catalogue entry of this work referenced the musings and differing attributions of art historians between Jacopo and Giovanni. The only mention of the halo was a statement that there were Gothic characters contained within it.²² The panel was painted in oil, a medium unused by Jacopo in his other works, and it had been variously dated as 1460-65 by Christiansen, early 1470s by Rand, 1453 by Eisler, and 1459-60 by De Nicolò Salmazo. This exhibition and catalogue finally attributed the work to Giovanni, proposing a date of c. 1457.

Here, then, is an example of a motif/inscription that has been "tried and tested" in the bottega by Jacopo, complementing a textual technique that is not overly popular within Venice, translated across into a new work by a younger member of the studio, thus suggesting that the patron may have had some influence on this halo design.²³

6.5 The physiognomy of the halo in two Bellini *Crucifixion* works

This thesis has previously noted the changing position and size of the halo. Surface embellishment, and gems embedded into its surface, have similarly been discussed. A further strand in teasing out the halo's ontology will now consider its exhibition of

²² Lucco, Mauro, *Giovanni Bellini*, Exhibition Catalogue, eds. Mauro Lucco and Giovanni Carlo Federico Villa, Milan: Silvano Editorial S.p.A., 2008, p. 132, ". . . come il volto del Bambino, il bordo del velo decorato di lettere pseudo-cufiche, i caratteri gotici della scritta nel nimbo . . ."

²³ Lucco, *ibid.*, cites Christiansen's 2004 observation that Giovanni used the Greek appellation "Mother of God" more as a stimulus to prayer, than an accession to his patrons' wishes. No details are given of the patron either on the website or within the Catalogue.

physiognomic “traits”, with a complementary inquiry into the effect of increasing naturalism upon this, via two different treatments of *The Crucifixion*.

The first version, is Jacopo’s, with some assistance by Giovanni, dated approximately 1460 by the Museo Correr, where it currently hangs, (Fig. 210). This scene shows Christ on the cross, surrounded by soldiers, St John the Evangelist to His left and the kneeling figure of Longinus the Roman centurion, gazing up at Him. Jacopo foregrounds Christ by His pale flesh and by placing the cross against a low horizon. St. John’s halo is a very solid-looking yellow disk behind his head, above the nape of his neck. Christ’s yellow nimbus also seems to have materiality and there is a hint within it of two red arms of a cross, referring to His sacrifice, (Figs. 210, a-b)²⁴ The nimbus is slightly tilted to Christ’s right as His head is bowed in that direction, and seemingly tucked in behind the right shoulder held aloft because the arm is nailed to the cross. (Christ’s pose is the same as in Jacopo’s Louvre drawing, but in that, the halo is more definite with a distinct internal cruciferous design.) Unlike the didactic haloes examined in the last section, this halo is functioning differently, because although it is imparting some information, this is not via an inscription, but through its physiognomic positioning, responding to the angle of Christ’s head. The manifestation of celestial light, the halo, is the link between the living and the dead. The spectator knows that Christ is now dead because His side has been pierced and yet, there is still the presence of the halo over His head, as it is behind the head of His living witness, the Evangelist. It is a signal of life everlasting, the eternal hope, the promise of our salvation and it is still shining around the head of the dead Christ, it has not been diminished by His death although it has altered its position to reflect His dead posture. It could be argued that

²⁴In Jacopo’s Louvre Book, he has drawn this scene with tear-shaped groups of cherubini. At the base of the cross there are crowds of people and soldiers, in the background, to Christ’s right there is a castle. Above the cross is a titulus. Canova, Giordana Mariana, “Riflessione su Jacopo Bellini e sul Libro dei Disegni di Louvre”, *Arte veneta*, Vol. 26, 1972, p. 20.

this work contains both proxemic and chronemic elements, since the halo's non-verbal communication - its proximity to Christ's head matching that of the Evangelist's - insists to the spectator that there is a link between "what is", "what was" and "what will be". The appropriation of these tools from their usual sociological milieu and their melding in this situation assist the viewer in assimilating and processing these "messages"

Later, on 14th July 1466, the Scuola Grande di San Marco commissioned an altarpiece of *The Crucifixion*, as well as *The Carrying of the Cross* (from Master Jacopo Bellini, painter of the altar).²⁵ The contract for these two commissions by Antonio Zivram, the Guardian of the Scuola, is reproduced in Document 12, Appendix Two, in order to show the tight conditions imposed upon the artist by the Scuola, in connection with quality, colours and pigments to be used, together with penalty clauses and periodic payment specifications. In the contract, the positioning of the first work is discussed, "on the first floor facing towards the campo"²⁶ referencing the campo of San Giovanni e Paolo in front of that great Church and the Scuola di San Marco, bounded by a canal. Additionally its size, "the entire wall",²⁷ and the subject of the *tela* are specified: "...a Passion of Christ on the Cross filled with many figures and details..."²⁸

The second *tela* is to be positioned "above the door of the meeting room, where it will begin, and will finish at the window of the storeroom, where there is another artwork"²⁹ and must depict Christ and the thieves.³⁰ The work must be executed well and Jacopo should undertake to work only on this contract for the two paintings until they are finished, otherwise he will be subject to penalties to be decided by the officials of the

²⁵ ASV Scuola Grande di San Marco, Registro (Notatorio) 16 bis, p. 35 - within the second section. (Bätschmann notes that Eisler has cited this reference also).

²⁶ "la testa de la Scuola varda suxo el campo" ASV, *ibid.* Sohm, Doc. 19, p. 259.

²⁷ "tuta quela faza" ASV, *ibid.*, Sohm, *ibid.*

²⁸ "... una pasion de Cristo in croxe richa de figure et altro che stia benissimo . . ."

²⁹ "... sopra la porta de lalbergo che principia a mezo el volto e copie fina ala finestra conzonzerse con laltro quaro suxo..."

³⁰ "el qual quaro la Instoria de Ierusalem con Cristo e i ladroni"

Scuola. He, personally, must select only the best quality pigments for the colours especially *azzurro*, (lapis lazula). His fee will be 375 gold ducats, however, if the paintings exceed the Scuola's expectations a possible further discretionary award of 25 gold ducats can be made.³¹

An initial payment of 10 ducats is to be made for expenses, followed by 25 ducats for his design of the first *tela* and then another 25 ducats for his design of the second painting. As soon as the work has commenced, further payments will be dependent upon the quality of the work and the time taken. As was the usual practice, these decisions were to be taken by a panel of his peers, and the officials of the Scuola.³² It can be seen from this contract that although the Scuola have certainly specified some content – “full of figures and other details” – and they have requested that Jacopo, himself, choose the pigments, they have not stated anything about the appearance of Christ, and no mention is made about the style or size of the halo.

The subject of *The Crucifixion* was a popular commission; Jacopo had also painted an altarpiece, now lost, for the Duomo in Verona, a work highly praised in a letter dated 1st July 1759 (see Document 30, Appendix Two), possibly written by Giambettino Cignaroli, published by Ricci.

³¹ “ . . . El qual lavor sia fato sì belo e ben fato melio che maj lavor l'abia fato de bontà e de colori perfeti d'azuri e de altri colori. Ubligandose de non tuor per fin el farà questi lavori altro lavor de alguna condizion soto pena de quello parerà a i ofiziali se troverà ila scuola a sua deschrizion e consienzia. El qual lavor el dito maistro Iachomo Belin aver debia de suo manifattura e spexe de colori, chola e horo e zeso ed ogni altra claxon aspeta a la pentura per tuti do lavori ducati 375 d'oro; e se el dito se pontate de i diti lavori si perfettamente che ai ofiziali per suo consienzia parese de darge ducati 25, questo sia in suo libertà e consienzia loro; ma per i diti ducati 25 non posi esser astretti salvo tanto quanto piacerà ai ofiziali se troverà per i tempi....”

³² ASV Scuola Grande di San Marco Notarario 16 bis, Sohm, p. 259

Giovanni's version of *The Crucifixion*, circa 1453-55, (Fig. 211) is very different, despite the mutual presence of objects such as the titulus.³³ The inclusion of the letters *IC XC* in red on the Cross arms is suggestive of a Greek derivation, as most Venetian crosses of the trecento executed under a Byzantine influence have this motif. However, in the quattrocento, the inscribed titulus began to replace it.³⁴ It is believed that the presence of both elements in this painting by Giovanni suggests it was commissioned by a Greek patron resident in Venice, hence the unusual iconography.³⁵

The paleness of Christ's dead flesh on the high elongated Cross delineates Him, although there is much less presence of blood than in Jacopo's version, where it flows from his wounds and also down the base of the Cross. Christ is flanked on either side by the Virgin and St John, standing on Mantegnesque rocks, and behind Him lies a complex landscape with distant hills and a winding river. Mary stands with clasped hands, a posture echoing duecento art, while St John gazes up at Christ, his arms lowered and apart.³⁶ The transverse arms of the Cross divide the blue celestial sky, filled with cherubini, from the lighter sky with billowing clouds of the terrestrial world, where behind the stillness of the mourning figures, life continues with a lone soldier ambling along the path towards a group of his chatting comrades.³⁷ The attention to detail in both groups, the sadness of the mourners and the indifference of the people involved in their everyday lives, adds a psychological element.³⁸ The nimbi of Christ, Mary and St. John, however, are subtle, yellow emanations of light, appearing around their upper heads, rather than solid disks behind their heads. They are definitely visible, and present, but unlike Jacopo's version, they are more insubstantial. Christ's halo is cruciferous,

³³ Giovanni used a trilingual titulus in his Prato *Crucifixion*. Lucco, Mauro, and Pontani, Anna, "Greek Inscriptions on Two Venetian Renaissance Paintings", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume 60, 1977, pp. 111-129, p. 111.

³⁴ Lucco and Pontani, Footnote 38, p. 118.

³⁵ Lucco and Pontani, *ibid.*

³⁶ Shorr, p. 68.

³⁷ Unlike Jacopo's tear-shaped groups, Giovanni has placed his cherubini across the sky.

³⁸ Goffen and Nepi Scirè, p. 144.

(Fig. 211a) but only two red arms of the cross are visible and they are blunt-ended, unlike Jacopo's cross pattée motif. Christ's head in Jacopo's version is also lower and consequently that halo's position means that the observer sees more of it than in Giovanni's version.

These haloes are so different "physically" from the tooled haloes of the preceding centuries, or from the didactic haloes considered in the previous section. What has provoked this substantial ontological change? Jacopo's fascination with perspective has already been mentioned, his Drawing Books attest to this. Additionally, a familiarity with Alberti's ideas may be being worked out in these paintings. Jacopo and Alberti had possibly met in Venice in 1437 when the latter was there, or perhaps he had read Alberti's *Della pittura* while at the humanist Court of Ferrara.³⁹ The treatise was published in Latin in 1435-36 and it can be argued that both Jacopo and Giovanni are utilising some of Alberti's suggestions here with regard to vision and visibility.⁴⁰ In particular, his assertions that:

No-one would deny that the painter has nothing to do with things that are not visible. The painter is concerned solely with representing what can be seen

and

The philosophers say that nothing can be seen which is not illuminated and coloured.

At the end of Book II, Alberti rejects the use of gold ground, exhorting artists instead to use light to model form, citing a panel of gold ground in which some areas that should have been light were dark and vice versa.⁴¹ The depiction of light, and not just divine

³⁹ Humfrey, p. 44. Canova, p. 14 also makes observations on this point.

⁴⁰ Spencer, p. 19.

⁴¹ Spencer, Footnote 84, p. 130.

light, was a continuing process of refinement, and it is well known that Giovanni da Fontana, a scientific writer on light and perception in Padua, dedicated his (lost) *Tractatus*, c. 1454, to Jacopo.⁴²

Like Alberti, Da Fontana is interested in colour and light as well as perspective and by the

greater and lesser absorption of light by an opaque body . . . by the greater and lesser reflections of luminous rays . . . and in the variations of distance between objects . . . or in the variations of the intensity of light.⁴³

Both Jacopo and Giovanni are applying these scientific principles to their paintings. Giovanni's landscape, particularly, shows the graduations in colour he is using to produce depth. In one sense Jacopo and Giovanni are working against Alberti's Ciceronian treatise, because they are making the *invisible*, the unreal nimbus, *visible*. Yet they show the spectator physical traits of the halo. It is just possible to glimpse the edges of the paths through the emanations of the Virgin's and St John's haloes in Giovanni's version, (Figs. 211b-c) suggesting that he is applying da Fontana's theory of light absorption. Consequently, via this application, a mixture of reality is being actually viewed by the spectator through unreality operating under laws of Nature in the terrestrial world, a dualism nevertheless both convincing and believable.

Mantegna's *San Zeno Altarpiece* (Fig. 135) was discussed previously, and it is appropriate here to examine how the haloes are "behaving" within it. Christ's halo is cruciferous with one arm of the cross pattée visible and the left arm ending above His right ear. The haloes are positioned in a "naturalistic" format, i.e. St Zeno's is virtually

⁴² Gilbert, Creighton E., *Italian Art 1400-1500 – Sources and Documents*, Illinois: Northampton University Press, 1980, pp. 174-175.

⁴³ Gilbert, *ibid.*

flat behind his head but St John's is above his head and tilted to reflect his head's downward posture. Similarly, the angels' haloes "move" according to their postures, the little angel on the left who is singing with head upraised, almost "loses" his halo because of the backward and upward tilt of his head and the halo's corresponding positioning.

The halo is acting, and reacting, physiognomically not only to light, but also to gravity, demonstrated in the halo positioning. Yet simultaneously, and logically, because of gravity, (if they were real) it should be impossible for them to stay where they are in mid-air, but because of their naturalistic behaviour, the spectator accepts this unthinkingly.

The haloes are communicating their message emotionally as well as visually. The turning of Jacopo's halo is "read" because the upper internal halo cross arm, arising from the top of Christ's head, has shifted from a vertical position to a slightly oblique one, thus indicating its own movement, rather like a clock face, (seen also, for example, in Giotto's much earlier *Santa Maria Novella Crucifixion*). Giovanni's reductive halo has also shifted, indicated by the oblique position of its upper cross arm. Yet this is also a depiction of a liminal moment, this transitional switch from the "quick" body of the man, Jesus, to the deceased corpse on the Cross. Just as the pale flesh has been leached of blood, so has the halo diminished in brightness, a very physical manifestation of a physical condition. In Giovanni's hands, the halo has become the visual equivalent of a whisper.

6.6 Venetian cruciferous haloes and the Cult of the Precious Blood

The internal cross arms of Christ's halo have been particularly discussed in Chapter Four. This Chapter has spoken of the ambient culture in Venice, and the cross pattée shape is constantly seen around Venice. For example, as previously mentioned, outside the Porta della Carita in the Arco Foscari leading into the Palazzo Ducale in Piazza San Marco there are two *pilastri* known as *Pilastri Acritani* or *Pilastri di Acri*. As well as an illegible monogram, a cross pattée design is carved onto the lower sections, which would most certainly have been seen by Jacopo Bellini, (Fig. 156), together with the presence of this cross pattée in works within the Venetian Churches. This design is found within other architecture throughout Venice, for example, on the external walls of the Basilico San Marco, and also within the Chiesa di Sant'Alvise the same upper three arm crosses are seen, although the lower fourth ends in a tri-lobate design, rather than this orb design shown above.⁴⁴

Variations on the cross design are found in many trecento Veneto-Byzantine works, such as the *Crucifixion* in the Correr (Fig. 36). In common with many other late trecento and early quattrocento artists, Jacopo utilised the motif regularly within haloes, although unlike the Latin Cross ratio shown in the photograph of the Acri Pilastri but similar to the design in the *Crucifixion*, he alters the proportions so that the three cross arms appear to be equidistant from a central part. Usually within his works, they are undecorated but red, the proleptic signifier. Sometimes, Greco-Veneto artists used a voided cross pattée, with the cross outlined in red, at other times they also decorated the arm crosses with stars as in (Fig. 32), but Jacopo's preferred version was the undecorated, red, cross pattée, the ends of the cross usually touching the rim of the halo.

⁴⁴ Other cross designs are also found repeated within the architecture of specific churches, as in SS Giovanni e Paolo, the great Dominican Church, where trilobate crosses are found on altar bases, and on the walls.

However, contemporaries such as Michele Giambono (active 1420 – 1462) in his *Madonna col Bambino* bestow a cruciform halo on the Fanciullo, but manipulate the cross design, so that it becomes a really solid, blunt, two-dimensional object within the halo, highlighted by the slim golden rays between each cross arm, (Figs. 212, 212a),⁴⁵ whereas Giovanni still endows a solid halo on Christ in his *Pietà* of 1453, (Pignatti, 1460) but alters the internal halo cross by slimming it into perpendicular foreshortened red slivers, (Figs. 139, 186). In his *Madonna and Child*, (1460-64) also known as the *Madonna 'Greca'* in the Brera, Milano, the Fanciullo has a voided, slim, gold plain internal halo cross with blunt arm ends, (Figs. 213, 213a).

Twenty years later, Giovanni utilised the same design with a red voided cross in the Fanciullo's halo in his *Madonna col Bambino* (circa 1480) in the Chiesa Madonna dell'Orto.

In an earlier commission, the *Pietà* for the Palazzo Ducale, he used a much broader, “impasto” cross pattée.⁴⁶ Painted for the Chapel of St Nicholas in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice, this artwork was meant for public display, (Figs. 140, 140a and Figs. 214-a). The central section shown here was from an altarpiece, Christ supported between Mary and St. John, the central group flanked by St Mark and St Nicholas of Bari. The colouring is sombre, the substantial haloes look like incised copper, with a broad outer rim of oriental design, similar to that in his earlier *Correr Pietà*. Christ's halo contains the broad arm ends of two red crosses, the third arm end obscured by His head and the

⁴⁵ Giambono worked under Jacopo Bellini at the Doge's Palace. Pignatti, Terisio, *Venise: Guide de la Peinture*, Paris: Canal Éditions, (pour la traduction française), 1996, p. 39. Giambono also worked on the Mascoli Chapel mosaics started by Castagna in 1442, showing the Virgin's Birth and Presentation in the Temple, and the Visitation and Dormition, completing the cycle after Castagna's return to Florence in 1444. Goffen, R. *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian and the Franciscans*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, p. 39, citing Frederick Hartt.

⁴⁶ Brizio, Anna Maria, “Considerazioni su Giovanni Bellini”, *Arte Veneta*, III, 1949, pp 23-39 doubted the date of 1472 for this work. Goffen later states that according to the last restoration between 1989 and 1972, her proposed date of approximately 1460 is authenticated. See Goffen & Nepi Scirè, p. 153.

Virgin's halo. The very delicate cursive pseudo-Nashk script designs overlying the red of the cross, apparently incised, are actually painted, picking up the gold patterning of the *tiraz*, the gold borders on the mantles and robes of the Virgin and St John. The haloes lie flat behind their owners' heads, quite high, St. John's ending above the back of his neck. The Virgin's halo is very awkwardly placed, she is in profile but the nimbus has not turned with her head, and this exact pose, including the awkwardness of the halo, is executed in one of Jacopo's designs in the Louvre.⁴⁷ The halo rims appear to be very metallic, and the Virgin's overlaps that of Christ, whose body is very awkward in this work too, gaunter, the skeletal structure more noticeable and tortuous than in the *Correr Pietà*.⁴⁸ The wound in His side is much more obvious, the spectator's gaze directed to it by the deep red cruciferous segments of the halo. This thesis proposes that in this work, Giovanni is deliberately referencing the Cult of the Precious Blood of Christ, and he is highlighting the sacrificial aspect here of Christ's death.⁴⁹ Although the Cult was suppressed in 1464, it had been very deeply-rooted, particularly in Flanders, Germany and Italy. The importance of Venice as a city of relics has already been recorded.⁵⁰ Additionally, within the Frari, is an extremely important Franciscan Relic, Christ's Blood congealed with the Magdalen's oil, bought in Constantinople in 1479, either by Marco Trevisan or Admiral Melchior.⁵¹ The five

⁴⁷ Goffen, Rona, *Giovanni Bellini*, trad. Anna De Lorenzis, Milano, Federico Motta Editore, 1990, p. 71, supplies the reference as Foglio 53 r in Jacopo's book of designs in the Louvre. However, an examination of the drawing published by Ricci shows that in Jacopo's version, St. John is holding Christ's right arm and pressing His hand to his lips in a kiss.

⁴⁸ Goffen, (1994), p. 73, also feels that this is an almost anachronistic work.

⁴⁹ Ghiotto Renato, and Pignatti Terisio, *L'opera completa del Giovanni Bellini*, Milano: Rizzoli Editore, 1999, p. 88 (Referring to Giovanni's *The Angel Collecting the Blood of the Redeemer* in the National Gallery, London, they suggest it was completed before 1462.) The information about the Cult's suppression would additionally support Goffen's and Nepi Sciré's revised date of 1460 rather than 1472 for the Palazzo Ducale *Pietà*. Saxl also discusses the pagan elements that Giovanni has included in the background frieze of *The Redeemer*. F., "Pagan Sacrifice in the Italian Renaissance", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol 2, No. 3, January 1939, pp 346-367, p. 351.

⁵⁰ Munk, Anna, "The Art of Relic Cults in Trecento Venice: *Corpi Sancti* as a Pictorial Motif and Artistic Motivation", University of St. Thomas, Houston, Scientific Paper, Rad. Inst. Povij, umjet. 30/206, 81-92, p. 81.

⁵¹ The Relic is housed in a silver reliquary commissioned from Evangelista Vidulic, a goldsmith from Zadar in 1485. Cooper, Donal, "Sacred Space and the Moving Viewer: Revisiting Bellini and Titian in the Frari", Lecture given at the University of Sussex Art History Research Seminar, on research

wounds of Christ were venerated, in particular the side wound, known as the “Laver of Love”.⁵² St Catherine of Siena described it as the “*barile di vino*” and the “*bottega del sangue*”,⁵³ and it was thought that its exact measurements were known. Like the feud between the Franciscans and the Dominicans over the Immaculacy of the Virgin, so there was another rift caused by the Precious Blood of Christ, i.e. was the Blood shed during the Crucifixion “hypostatically united with the Godhead during the three days that the body remained in the Sepulchre, and therefore entitled to worship?”⁵⁴ The British Library holds manuscripts written on blood-red paper, to remind worshippers about their salvation through Christ’s ultimate sacrifice. *The Blood of the Redeemer*, c. 1460-65 by Giovanni is an explicit rendition of this theme of sacrifice, (Fig. 216) depicting a kneeling angel saving the Precious Blood in a chalice.⁵⁵ In Quirizio di Murano’s c. 1461-78 *Christ showing His Wounds and the Host to a Clarissan nun*, (Fig. 217).⁵⁶ Christ enthroned is flanked by two flying angels displaying scrolls on which are written the invitation/instruction:

Venite dilectissimi mei in cellulam vinarium sanguinique meo inebriate vos

and

*Comedite, amici, e bibite et inebriamini, charissimi*⁵⁷

conducted by Dr. Donal Cooper and Joanne Allen, PhD student at the University of Warwick. This thesis is most grateful to Dr. Donal Cooper for his email correspondence and for allowing her access to this unpublished material. Cooper, Donal, (donal.cooper@googlemail.com) . Emails to Susan Martin (susan.m.martin@plymouth.ac.uk) *The Cult of the Precious Blood of Christ*, 11th April 2009, and 17th April, 2009.

⁵² Underhill, Evelyn, “The Fountain of Life: An Iconographical Study”, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 17, May 1910, pp. 99-109.

⁵³ Saxl, p. 348.

⁵⁴ Saxl. pp. 348-9. The Cult was particularly strong within Northern Italy. Mantua has a Relic of the Holy Blood in the Basilico di Sant’ Andrea, apparently brought there by Longinus, the Roman centurion who lanced Christ’s side.

⁵⁵ Tempera on poplar, 47 x 34.3 cm., the National Gallery website suggests this may have been a tabernacle door. http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/giovanni-bellini-the-blood-of-the-redeemer/*/key-facts [accessed 15.01.10.]

⁵⁶ Gallerie dell’ Accademia, Venice, tempera and oil on panel. Only consecrated and ordained priests could administer the Eucharist in Church, which meant that nuns were unable to officiate themselves. Welch, p. 187.

⁵⁷ Saxl, 350.

Christ's halo in this painting is quite substantial, there is no element of transparency, but it is also quite small, parallel to the picture plane behind His head. The connection between Christ's wound and the Host is obvious in this work because it shows the Resurrected Christ. There is also a link with Alessandro Alessandri and Polidoro Virgilio, contemporaries of Giovanni and Quirinio, who had been writing about ancient liturgical rites and bloodless sacrifice, referencing the Egyptians "who had appeased their gods with a host of bread", a direct parallel with the Host, and it seems that both artists were acquainted with their work.⁵⁸

In Giovanni's Palazzo Ducale *Pietà*, the temporal sequence is different to Quirinio's work. Giovanni has used oil to paint on canvas and the authentic light effects he achieves can be seen in the gems of the cope of St Nicholas. Light falls from the right on the left side of St John's forehead, the left side of Christ's face and the Virgin's *tiraz*. In addition to the two large altar candlesticks placed on the sepulchre at the edge, there is another smaller votive candle, its flame blown to the left.⁵⁹ Below this is a label with Giovanni's signature, "*IHOANES BELLINUS*", which seems to be very real, as though attached to the sepulchre.⁶⁰

The Palazzo Ducale was the seat of political power in Venice and St Mark was the patron saint of the Republic.⁶¹ The positioning of the haloes, their 'metallic' qualities and inflexibility all contribute to a strange mood within this artwork. Bellini's use of the *cartellino* seemingly curling into the liminal space between the sepulchre in the

⁵⁸ Saxl, p. 346.

⁵⁹ Goffen, (1975), p. 505.

⁶⁰ Renato and Pignatti, p. 59. See also Goffen & Nepi Scirè, p 9 and Footnote 35, p. 21, where Jacopo Bellini is credited with inventing the *cartellino* containing a signature.

⁶¹ The "importation" of saints into Venice resulted in the supplantation of San Theodore as main patron saint by San Marco. Georgopolou, Maria, "Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage" in *Art Bulletin*, Vol 77, 1995, especially pp. 484-85 and footnotes 52 – 55.

painting and the viewer's space causes a rupture in the gaze, just as the odd siting of the Virgin's halo does. The use of the cursive pseudo-Nashki script rather than the usual pseudo-Kufic script is another striking aspect. The enhanced visibility of the red cruciform arms in the halo and the blood of the wounds juxtaposed with the altar candles and St Mark's and St Nicholas' kneeling posture reminds the viewer of Christ's sacrifice to redeem Mankind and the future celebration of this via the Eucharist consumed at the altar.⁶² This concept of the tomb as altar is a Byzantine inheritance that Giovanni is utilising, a reference to the vision of St Gregory the Great, who was celebrating Mass "when the Eucharist was miraculously transfigured into the Christ himself, still in pain and yet already dead".⁶³

Benedetto Diana, a follower of the Bellini, similarly utilised this very broad, almost squat, cross design within a solid golden nimbus in his *Pietà*, (Fig. 218).⁶⁴ Like the Bellini, Diana also received commissions from the *Scuole*, such as that set out in the contract drawn up on 12 February 1507, between himself and the Scuola Grande di S Maria della Carità, (see Documents 26-27) for a processional banner, a *gonfalone*. The Scuola wanted him to paint the Madonna in Majesty, enthroned, and also to gild her.⁶⁵ This had to be done in "absolute beauty and perfection."⁶⁶ Additionally, Diana was to include portraits of specifically mentioned members of the confraternity and also to paint other saints and decorations of the highest quality, within the banner,⁶⁷ because the Carità wanted their *gonfalone* to surpass the new banner of the Scuola Grande di San Marco. Benedetto was therefore not to skimp on gold or figures, as was made

⁶² Goffen, (1975) p 505, and Goffen & Nepi Scirè, p. 153.

⁶³ Goffen, (1975) quoting Emile Mâle, pp 505-506.

⁶⁴ The Correr does not have a date for this work.

⁶⁵ Document 27.

⁶⁶ Document 27.

⁶⁷ Document 27.

explicit in the Contract, but no mention was made of the design or decoration of the Virgin's or saints' haloes, even though this could have affected the overall result.

In his 1529 *Vergine col Putto incoronata da due angeli*, (Fig 30) Lorenzo Lotto (c. 1480 – 1556) gives the Virgin and angels solid gold leaf elliptical haloes, with a circumference border of single punching giving a “beaded” effect. The Christ Child also has an elliptical gold leaf halo, intersected by three slim, red, painted pattée arm crosses, but the depth of the red is not as great as that of Giovanni's *Pietà*, even though the cross design is similar.⁶⁸

However, Marco Palmezzano (1459–1531) alters the internal cruciferous design completely by abandoning the cross pattée, instead substituting delicately-traced gold cross arms in his *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Fig. 219), reminiscent of those produced by Petrus Christus in his *Man of Sorrows*, 1475-76, (Fig. 220).

In this section, the cruciferous halo has been shown in a variety of styles and the breadths of internal cross arms, even the number of visible arms, is variable. Additionally, it has been shown to project a specific Christian message that referenced a contemporaneous practice that was also a developing and controversial doctrine concerning Christ's Blood. The Cult was banned in 1464; if Giovanni's *Pietà* was dated 1460, then it is most certainly referencing the Cult, since at this stage, the artist was producing slim gold ring haloes, which were much less substantial. If it was painted post-1464, (and Pignatti had queried a date of 1472 for it) then it could be a

⁶⁸ The cross pattée motif was used across Northern Italy, examples are seen in the frescoes of Fra Angelico at San Marco, Florence, particularly *The Mocking of Christ*, 1438-1443, in Cell 7, where the cross pattée seems slimmer and therefore more elongated than in Jacopo's works. Another variation Fra Angelico uses is in his *Tabernacle of the Linen Drapers*, 1433-35, San Marco Museum, Florence, where the Christ Child has an internal halo cross pattée, but a shorter one, contained within the halo and which does not reach the circumference. Filippo Lippo also uses the device in *Adoration of the Christ Child*, c. 1459 and includes it within God's halo as well as that of the Infant Jesus, although by altering the angle of the arm ends where they reach the halo circumference, he makes a subtle differentiation between the two.

defiant referencing of the Cult, working in concert with all the ruptures of reality Giovanni has introduced, (previously discussed elsewhere in this thesis) from the strange musculature, the awkwardness of the Virgin's halo, the delicate Arabic lettering on the "metallic" solidity of the halo, and the startling sight of her fingers curling around Christ's head, between His hair and crown of thorns and His halo, "reality" sandwiched between unreality and "reality", the very question of this thesis.

6.7 Gentile Bellini and (San) Lorenzo's propagandist halo

The cruciferous halo just discussed had a form of promotional function in a devotional sense. This next section will consider how the halo might operate in an overtly propagandist function relating to potential canonization procedures. Venice had promoted herself as a mythic city so successfully that she became the first stage in many pilgrimages to the Holy Land. There are so many relics in holy sites around La Serenissima, frequently brought back by merchants sometimes bought from markets in Constantinople, as earlier exemplified.⁶⁹ Relics equalled "business" to put it bluntly, the more faithful there were, the more opportunities for cash flow into the church or holy site housing the relics. Similarly the same situation pertained with an altar dedicated to a specific saint, because this meant that those who wished to venerate that saint would buy candles, leave bequests in their Wills for a mass to be said for their souls, and quite often also money for the upkeep of the altar. If the church could offer burial rights inside, this too would generate much income, so the business of faith permeated many different levels, not simply veneration; there were also commercial and political considerations in play. Many of the Orders found it very beneficial for the aforementioned reasons to

⁶⁹ Santo Brasca's *Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasco 1480: Con l'itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista, 1458*, itemises different Venetian sites where he saw and touched relics or entire sacred corpses, Munk, footnote 4, p. 89.

have a new saint, and so there was great competition between them, particularly the Dominicans and the Franciscans, and Venice was no exception to this “jockeying”.

The acquisition of a halo was an affirmation of divine validation and protection. Many campaigns were mounted to have certain individuals canonized, such as that in support of Luca Belludi whose status changed from witness to thaumaturge in early trecento historiography,⁷⁰ and shifted again by the 1380s, in Giusto di Menabuoi’s cycle of the Siege of Padua at the Santo in Padua, from passive witness to active “superhero” in the city’s struggle.⁷¹ Belludi has been painted to strongly resemble St. Anthony in the fresco cycle, and has been bestowed with a halo - all before he had been canonized. There is no difference in the size or the luminosity of his halo compared with that of St. Anthony, perhaps another “strand” in the propagandist campaign for his canonization. Louise Bourdua has established that there is no textual basis for the fresco showing Belludi’s glorification by Christ, rather it is an appropriation of the stigmatisation of St. Francis, interpreted through the emanation of two golden rays of divine light from Christ onto the upper torso and head of Belludi.⁷² Although his beatification was only formalized centuries later in 1910, the Franciscans had “made” him into a saint through the agency of his halo and the divine rays from Christ.⁷³

The Dominicans were just as eager to have a new saint at their great church, SS Giovanni e Paolo, situated in a position of both political and confraternal importance, in addition to its own status as the primary Dominican Venetian church, factors not lost on the Dominican Order. The second altar on the right, after entering the Church, is the *St Vincent Altarpiece*, now recognized as an early work by Giovanni Bellini, although the

⁷⁰ Bourdua, L, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press in association with the British School at Rome, 2004, pp. 132, 134.

⁷¹ Bourdua, p. 135.

⁷² Bourdua, p. 137.

⁷³ Bourdua, p. 138.

subject of much controversy. The polyptych itself is made up of nine panels,⁷⁴ the central panels are now accepted as autograph early works. Vincent himself, the titular saint of the polyptych, dominates the central panel, surrounded by cherubim and foregrounded by the very low horizon, the bulk of his figure filling the panel much more than his companion saints, (Fig. 221). He is dressed in a Dominican habit, simultaneously holding open the Bible and holding a flame in his right hand, which almost seems to mimic the contours of the Church itself. Unlike St Christopher who is standing in water, and St Sebastian who is standing on earth, Vincent stands on a cloudbank, further evidence of his holy status, although, once again, at this stage he had not yet been canonized, although he has the honour of a halo, a shrewd move by the Dominicans, since a cult of a saint would often spring up locally, as in the case of Luca Belludi, irrespective of the lack of full canonization credentials.

This was something that happened in the case of Lorenzo Giustiniani. (1381 – 1456) one of the most venerated of the Venetian saints. The son of Bernardo Giustiniani and Quirina Querini (both from noble Venetian families) he joined a monastic and contemplative community on the island of S. Giorgio in Alga, in the Lagoon of Venice. Comprising secular Venetian noblemen like Giustiniani, as well as young priests and clerics, it followed Augustine's Rule and its members spent their time in communal prayer, and studying doctrinal texts. In 1433, he was elected Bishop of Castello, this Church being the seat of the Venetian Bishops and the Cathedral of Venice. It was also a semi-political appointment in the sense that the Bishopric was independent of the Patriarchy of Aquelia, although its jurisdiction did not include the "minor" islands of Murano and Burano. His appointment as the first Patriarch of Venice in December 1451, at the instigation of Doge Foscari, greatly increased his "territory". Giustiniani

⁷⁴ The predella contains the lower three panels, the main sections depicting Saints Christopher, Vincent and Sebastian, the upper section represents the *Annunciation* flanking the *Dead Christ supported by two Angels*.

had a particular interest in the poor and sick, everyone baptized a Christian was his concern, and to this end, he obtained financial donations from both the Senate and rich citizens in order to assist those in need, granting Indulgences to those who helped him. Especially remembered for his activity during the plagues of 1424 and 1447, helping the sick alongside the other monks, these episodes are some of the most common representations of him throughout Venice. He constantly educated his flock, proselytising the message of God's love. Although not a theologian, he studied Patristic texts, and as well as treatises also wrote and published thirty-nine sermons, on subjects ranging from celebrations of Christ's life, liturgical feasts for the Virgin, and the saints. There was great veneration of Lorenzo in Venice, with many altarpieces and altars specifically dedicated to him, both on the mainland and within Venice. Most images show him dressed in the white woollen habit of the Congregation of S Giorgio in Alga, with a white or black vescoval bonnet, sometimes wearing a double pectoral cross and holding a book in his left hand.

The vigorous campaign to have him canonized was launched almost immediately after his death. On the first anniversary, in 1456, Jacopo Bellini was commissioned and paid 16 ducati by his successor at the Patriarchy for an image of Lorenzo, to be placed above his tomb in S Pietro di Castello, the original Cathedral of Venice, "*ser Iacomo Belin de aver una figura del nostro predecessor posto sopra la sua sepultura*", (Document 11, Appendix Two), but this is no longer above the tomb.⁷⁵ However, the extant bust in the Church believed to be this "*figura*" is considered by Colin Eisler to be the work of his son, Gentile.

⁷⁵ ASV Mensa Patriarcale. Registro di Casa 1444 - 1459

The commission underlines the importance attached by the Church itself to Lorenzo's reputation, but again this is further enmeshed with Venetian politics. Despite Venice's reputation as the *patria dei santi*, there was only one officially canonized local Venetian saint actually buried there, San Gerardo Sagredo (993-1046), (also represented outside the Church of San Rocco, with Lorenzo Giustiniani), Therefore if Lorenzo were to be canonized, this would greatly enhance the political prestige of Venice.

The Congregation at San Giorgio in Alga commissioned a processional panel from Gentile, which he signed and dated 1465.⁷⁶

MCCCCLXV OPUS GENTILIS BELLINI / VENETI /

The portrait of Lorenzo that Gentile produced corresponded very closely to the physical description written by his nephew, Bernardo, in *Vita Beati Laurentii Justiniani patriarchae Venetiarum* published in both Latin and Italian in 1475, making it one of the earliest printed works in Venice.⁷⁷ The Italian translation was made by Nicolò Manerbi, a Camoldolese monk, one of his contemporaries:

A little taller than normal, frail, emaciated straight deportment, with eyes expressing devotion and saintliness.⁷⁸

Many of the subsequent images and altarpieces found around Venice adhere to this physiognomy, he is instantly recognizable.

⁷⁶ Tempera on canvas, 221 x 155 cm, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.

⁷⁷ Labalme, Patricia, "No Man but an Angel. Early Attempts to Canonize Lorenzo Giustiniani, (1381-1456) – Estratto da *Continuità e discontinuità nelle storia politica, economica e religiosa, Studi in onore di Aldo Stella*, Vicenza: Neri Pozzo Editore, 1993, pp. 15-42, p. 17.

⁷⁸ Tramontin, p. 215.

Gentile's banner contains an explicit propagandist message. Lorenzo is shown in full-length profile, between two kneeling members of the Alghenese community, behind him are two angels holding his tiara and his vescoval cross, (Fig. 222). There are mountains in the background, and a Mantegnesque/Crivellian swag of fruit in the sky. The really notable and unique feature however, is that Gentile has given Lorenzo a halo, it seems to be almost a double halo, an inner scalloped halo surrounded by a slim golden luminous halo, and this is without any papal authority. Bearing in mind that Gentile was by this time undertaking major commissions for the Scuola Grande di San Marco and working on the Doge's Palace, the fact that an artist of his stature bestowed a halo on Lorenzo is note-worthy. Additionally, the gesture of benediction was a prerogative of saints,⁷⁹ and again Gentile has used this alongside the halo, to reinforce the message that Lorenzo fully merited sainthood.

Lorenzo was considered Thaumaturge, Reformer, Peace Mediator, Herald of God, even during his lifetime, and on his death, his body was laid in state for 67 days while the Venetian citizens came to pay their respects. The family ordered a marble tomb (there is correspondence between Bernardo's son, Lorenzo, and the Abbess of S Croce alla Giudecca regarding payments for its decoration in the Stato di Archivio), and as Labalme, citing Rosa, writing in 1630, points out, the Church would never have permitted the worship of Lorenzo's body as a holy relic, prior to his beatification in 1524, if there had not already been a "de facto attribution of sanctity to him by *public grido* and *fama universale*".⁸⁰ So, it is possible to see that in a united effort, the local Church, and the family are promoting the development of the cult of Lorenzo, and on

⁷⁹ Meyer zur Capellen, Jürg, *Gentile Bellini*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985, discussing the half bust in S. Pietro di Castello, p. 67.

⁸⁰ Labalme, Footnote 14, p. 21.

26th June 1473 the Venetian Senate wrote to Pope Sixtus IV, asking him to commence the canonization process, evidence also of official State intervention and participation.⁸¹

Scalloped haloes were usually bestowed on the Virtues, as discussed in Chapter 3, where Giotto used them in the Arena Chapel in Padua. A constant theme in San Lorenzo Giustiniani's written texts and sermons, was the union of the spirit with Divine Wisdom, and it could be conjectured that Gentile is alluding to this within the scalloped shape, it is another "prong" of the propaganda apparatus. As discussed previously, Durandus had stated that the circle was a perfect shape since it had no beginning nor ending, hence its suitability for members of the Holy Family. As noted earlier, St. Catherine of Siena was frequently bestowed with a scalloped halo. Considered a Doctor of the Church, her Cult was particularly strong in Venice, attested both by her altar in SS Giovanni e Paolo, and Giovanni's altarpiece there painted for the Scuola di Santa Caterina. Possibly this was Gentile's motive in bestowing a scalloped halo on Lorenzo, highlighting the latter's desire to proselytise the "correct" path for his flock.

The examples cited feature people who were considered worthy of sainthood, sometimes this valorisation was tinged with political considerations additionally. However, the bestowal of a halo in these instances was not only a wishful acceleration of the due process, but by its very presence, also an insistent simultaneous assertion of sanctity and yet a questioning as to why this had not yet been bestowed.

⁸¹ Labalme, *ibid.*, p. 23.

6.8 Franciscan Theology interpreted at San Giobbe and halo trace

San Lorenzo Giustiniani is one of the patron saints of Venice, along with the Virgin and St Mark and another minor patron saint of Venice is San Bernardino, one of the titular saints of the Franciscan Church of San Giobbe and San Bernardino in Cannaregio, Venice. The *pala* of *San Giobbe* painted by Giovanni Bellini is a huge work, which was removed from the Church in 1815, following the suppression of Religious Orders by Napoleon.⁸² Signed “*IONNES BELLINVS*”, it was originally situated on the second altar on the right-hand side of the Church, that dedicated to San Giobbe, between Marco Basaiti’s (1470 – 1530) *Agony in the Garden*, (signed 1510) above the first altar⁸³, and *La Presentazione di Gesù al Tempio* by Vittore Carpaccio (signed and dated 1510) on the third altar.⁸⁴ This altar was dedicated to the purification of the Virgin. All three altarpieces have been reunited in one room at the Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice. Pietro Lombardo had already made fundamental alterations to the Gothic Church at the request of Cristoforo Moro, a devotee of the new Renaissance style, working there between 1470 and 1485,⁸⁵ so he had probably advised Giovanni on the fictive frame architecture he painted, so that the *pala* itself melded seamlessly into the actual frame of Istrian stone.

Giovanni’s *San Giobbe Altarpiece* is a very beautiful, and innovative, work, in which the artist has combined specifically Venetian motifs with Franciscan iconography. This synthesis activates the altarpiece which, in its original setting, would have resulted in a dialogue with the Chiesa di San Giobbe, simultaneously addressing San Marco itself, through all the consonant elements resonating and referencing the Basilica (Fig. 223).

⁸²Originally measuring 494 cm in height, it was mutilated, losing its upper 52cm when removed from the Church. This was discovered during the 1994 restoration by Luigi Santo Savio. Goffen & Nepi Scirè, p. 129.

⁸³Commissioned by the Foscari family.

⁸⁴Possibly commissioned by Pietro di Matteo Sanudo.

⁸⁵Goffen & Nepi Scirè, p. 154.

The composition shows the Virgin enthroned with the Christ Child, flanked by Sts Francis, John the Baptist, Job, Dominic, Sebastian and Louis of Toulouse, and below them is a group of angel musicians. The fictive space is very realistic as the coffered barrel vault recedes into the cupola of seemingly glittering gold mosaic, directly referencing the Basilica di San Marco, secondarily its related links to Byzantium. Within this *patria di santi*, San Marco was/is the most sacred site in Venice, alongside the Palazzo Ducale, the seat of power, so immediately Bellini's artistic "conversation" links Doge Moro at San Giobbe with the heart of the Venetian government, literally a visual and political "mosaic". Thought to have been commissioned following the plague of 1478, the presence of the thaumaturges, Sebastian and Job, helps underpin this theory, since as well as the Virgin herself, both saints were invoked frequently as protectors against the plague. Job is no longer suffering from his dermatological problems, and his presence is amplified because he is also represented in the border of the gown that St. Louis wears.

San Giobbe's interior is very light, and the particular site where the altarpiece had been placed would have meant that the spectator could have seen it well from any position. The light also helps "illuminate" the fictive cupola, on which is inscribed:

† AVE · VIRGINEI · FLOS · INTEMERAE · PVDORIS⁸⁶

which means "Hail, undefiled flower of virgin modesty"⁸⁷ Written in upper case Roman characters, Bellini has incorporated this very 'new' *all'antica* style within the

⁸⁶ In the paper delivered by the author of this thesis at the *Renaissance Dualisms and Distinctions* Conference held at Queen's University, Belfast, in January 2008, she had quoted the inscription cited by Renato and Pignatti, p. 97, AVE. VIRGINEI. FLOS. INTEMERATE. PVDORIS. However, she has subsequently noticed that the catalogue entry for this work in Goffen and Nepi Scirè, p. 129, cites the inscription as AVE VIRGINEVS FLOS INTEMERATI PUDORIS. Finotto, p. 24 [second edition 1993] cites the inscription as AVE VIRGINEI FLOS INTEMERATAE PUDORIS and gives the Italian translation, "Salve, o Fiore del pudore verginale dell'Intemerata". The inscription does read VIRGINEI as quoted by Renato and Pignatti.

⁸⁷ Goffen, "Bellini, S Giobbe and Altar Egos*", *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol 7, No. 14, 1986, p 60.

‘ancient’ Byzantine architecture,⁸⁸ with a very different effect from those Gothic halo inscriptions of Jacopo examined earlier. Below the inscription lies a row of five haloed seraphim, placed behind gold disks with blue roundels, the borders of which imitate the outer beaded circumference found on tooled haloes. Within this space is the Lukan salutation already seen in many didactic haloes:

+ AVE + GRATIA + PLENA

a reference to the Incarnation, its theological definition according to Kristeva as:

. . . an impossible elsewhere, a sacred beyond, a vessel of divinity, a spiritual tie with the ineffable godhead, and transcendence’s ultimate support . . .⁸⁹

Directly below, on the top of the Virgin’s stone throne, is a large disk surmounted by a cross. The wide decorative border surrounds a plain section within which is an eight-petalled design, the “undefiled flower” of the inscription, within a Franciscan Church; a reference to the Virgin’s Immaculate Conception,⁹⁰ the cause of another bitter feud between the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The presence of Sts. Francis, Louis of Toulouse and John the Baptist is symbolic of their specific belief in the Virgin’s Immaculate Conception.⁹¹ Furthermore, as in Jacobello del Fiore’s conflation of the Immaculate Virgin, Justice and Venezia, the Virgin and the Republic of Venice are one, represented by the fictive San Marco architecture, and the referencing of the foundation of Venice on the Feast of the Annunciation.⁹² The stone disk is reminiscent of the much larger decorative “spoked” disk that Mantegna places on the Virgin’s throne and which lies behind her pseudo-Nashki halo in the (1456-59) *San Zeno Altarpiece*. At San

⁸⁸ Matthew, Louisa C., “The painter’s presence: signatures in Venetian Renaissance pictures”, *The Art Bulletin*, January 1998, p. 11.

⁸⁹ Kristeva, cited in Roudiez, p. 237.

⁹⁰ Goffen, (1986), p. 60.

⁹¹ Goffen, *ibid.*, p. 66.

⁹² Goffen, *ibid.*

Giobbe, (Fig. 223a) it has echoes of a very large tooled and punched halo, although it is above the Virgin's head rather than behind.⁹³

All the figures in the painting, except the angel musicians, are endowed with exquisitely thin gold circlet haloes behind their heads, that of St. Francis lies over John the Baptist's wooden cross, reflecting light as it does so. Sections of hair of both the Baptist and St Sebastian obscure parts of their halo, adding to the realism of the scene. The *baldacchino* seems to hang between the saints and the spectator, above us in our space, and the illusion is further overlaid by the architecture within the altarpiece imitating that of its actual setting within the Church, thus melding the sacred space into our world. This is not a *Sacra Conversazione*, in that although this may be read as a "holy community", such as in Titian's later Pesaro *Madonna*, the *San Giobbe Altarpiece* actually shows no interaction between the figures, unlike a true *Sacra Conversazione*. Each of the figures is completely engaged in their own thoughts, and isolated, spiritually, physically and psychologically and the Virgin and Child are isolated from each other additionally.⁹⁴ The observer is invited into this realm to contemplate through the angel's gesture, but the Virgin and Child do not meet the viewer's gaze. St Dominic is deeply engaged in his book, (Fig. 223b) St Francis, the *alter Christus* shows his stigmata, here already foreshadowing the Christ Child's inevitable sacrifice. The Virgin and her son are engaged in their own internalised contemplation and although the spectator has privileged information about His awful fate, all is calm in this sacred space. It is also harmoniously balanced architecturally, the central stone disk perfectly dissecting the space between the two stone pilasters, and within this, Bellini has realised

⁹³ Usually, the largest punch tool was the hexa-rosette.

⁹⁴ A detailed explanation of the term and its consequent usage is given by Goffen, R., "*Nostra Conversatio in Caelis Est: Observations on the Sacra Conversazione in the Trecento*", *The Art Bulletin*, Vol 61, 1979, pp. 198-221, esp. pp. 198-202.

some very subtle haloes, slim circlets of gold that lie parallel to the picture plane, behind the heads of the figures. They are traces of the disk haloes and yet they are very new. Although present, they are unobtrusive, and playing their role in the multiplicity of meanings layered into this work. Their reduction in colour, size, volume, decoration, the very stripping down by Giovanni of all these elements results, this thesis proposes, in a literal Derridean “trace”.

It is in the specific zone of this imprint and this trace, in the temporalization of a *lived experience* which is neither *in* the world nor in “another world”, which is not more sonorous than luminous, not more *in* time than *in* space, that differences appear among the elements or rather produce them, make them emerge as such and constitute the *texts* the chains, and the systems of traces. These chains and systems cannot be outlined except in the fabric of this trace or imprint. The unheard difference between the appearing and the appearance [l’apparaissant et l’apparaître] (between the “world” and “lived experience”) is the condition of all other differences, of all other traces, and it is *already a trace*.⁹⁵

Job is the Old Testament prefiguration of Christ, he is the “lived experience”, Francis is the *alter Christus*, he is yet to assume this role, as is the Christ Child’s destiny yet to happen. Somehow, in this timeless sacred space, temporalization of past and future is combined, the halo is the unifying factor, this trace of what was, and what will be, and its new pared-down physical appearance reinforces this message.

6.9 The Absent Halo

Throughout this investigation, this thesis has examined the presence of the halo, its iconography, its materiality, its ornamentation, its orientation, its colour and its provenance. However, there are also many occasions in sacred pictures when the halo is absent, or perhaps only suggested by surrounding spatial framing of the Saints’ or Virgin’s head, or by architectural or other elements, a form of “surrogate” halo. There

⁹⁵ Derrida, p. 65.

seems to be a marked incidence, and although there will not be space within this thesis to deeply engage with this event, nevertheless, it is important to at least consider its occurrence from the 1460s, albeit briefly.

In the Chiesa di S. Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice, hangs Bartolomeo Vivarini's trittico *Madonna col Bambino tra I Santi Giovanni Battista e S Andrea* signed by the artist, "Bartholomeus Vivarinus de Muriano pinxit 1478", and although he is still using gold ground, the content of this work is very different from the extravagant and highly ornamented *pala* in San Zaccaria, dated 1443, painted with Giovanni d'Alemagna, in which the figures have tilted, solid haloes bestowed upon them. In Bartolomeo's later panel, the saints are no longer endowed with haloes, but those of the Virgin and Child lie behind their heads, they are like glass with gold rims. He has also simplified the Virgin's throne and it is noticeable that no tooling has been employed in this work. Alvise Vivarini's *Cristo Risorto*, dated 1497-1498 in the same church is dominated by the huge figure of Christ, painted on gold ground, but once again, no haloes are present. Similarly, his *Cristo benedicente* of 1494 and *Madonna col Bambino* circa 1485-1490, both also in S Giovanni Battista in Bragora, do not contain any haloes, not even an "architectural suggestion", although in the latter the Virgin is centrally seated between two arched windows through which we glimpse the *paessagio*, a scene which owes much to Giovanni Bellini's influence. Giovanni Bellini seems to be one of the artists providing the impetus for this new representation of holy figures without haloes. In circa 1465, he produced his *Presentation of Jesus at the Temple*⁹⁶ (, (Fig. 226) which has a very similar composition to Andrea Mantegna's treatment of the same subject, except that Mantegna has used thin gold circlet haloes behind the heads of the Holy Family and

⁹⁶ Galleria Querini Stampalia, Venice.

the High Priest, whereas Giovanni has completely excluded them.⁹⁷ Joseph and Mary are presenting the Baby Jesus to the High Priest at the Temple in Jerusalem, forty days after his birth, according to custom.⁹⁸ Both artists have given prominence to the Virgin holding the tightly-swaddled Child and to Simeon, the High Priest, with Joseph observing the scene from behind them. Mantegna's composition contains six figures, Giovanni's has eight, all of whom have been proposed as members of the Bellini family, from right to left, Giovanni, Andrea Mantegna, Nicolosia (Giovanni's sister and Andrea's wife) or Ginevra Bochetta (Giovanni's wife) and Anna, the mother of Giovanni, (or alternatively Ginevra).⁹⁹ But Mantegna's *tela* is replete with haloes including bunched rays for the Christ Child's halo, and Giovanni's is completely devoid of them. The Presentation was an important event for the Holy Family, at which God is thanked for a safe delivery by the recitation of the *Nunc Dimittis*.¹⁰⁰ Both artists have devised the scene within a marble frame, representing/echoing the altar. If it is accepted that the Bellini family are the models for the Holy Family, then it is not a great step further to consider that maybe the Virgin is based on Ginevra Bochetta, Giovanni's wife and the Baby Jesus is actually modelled on Alvisè, Giovanni's son.¹⁰¹ If so, as a regular Church worshipper, in the family tradition a follower of Bernardino of Siena,¹⁰² and furthermore, well-known to Lorenzo Giustiniani, the Patriarch of Venice, perhaps

⁹⁷ Andrea Mantegna's version of this scene is in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

⁹⁸ Luke, 2:22.

⁹⁹ Pignatti, (1969), Dazzi, Merkel (1979), Lightbrown, (1986), cited by Caburlotto, *Il Colore Ritrovato*, p. 150. Trevisan, *Giovanni Bellini*, p. 176. Pignatti, in *L'Opera Completa*, p. 89, suggests that the male figure on the right in Mantegna's *tela* is perhaps identifiable with Gentile Bellini, the female figure on the extreme left in Bellini's painting with his mother. Both writers concur that the figure of Joseph is most probably a representation of Jacopo Bellini.

¹⁰⁰ Humfrey, P., *Giovanni Bellini*, Exhibition Catalogue, p. 248.

¹⁰¹ Oscar Bätschmann's Chronology confirms Alvisè's birth date is not recorded, he merely writes "148? – birth of their son, Alvisè". The author of this thesis has examined both Alvisè's Will(s), and Ginevra's Will, but neither give Alvisè's date of birth. Alvisè made his Will on 14 December 1498, and there are actually two copies in two different Busto, but neither gives his date of birth. Ginevra's Will is dated 23 September 1489, and she refers to Alvisè as "Alovisium, filium meum carissimum". He had been considered as a candidate for a post as Secretary for the Consiglio di Dieci in 1495, referred to as "unius iuvenis . . . Aloisius Belini filio Ioannis", suggesting that he was still quite young.

¹⁰² Jacopo had sketched the preacher in his portable wooden pulpit on his last visit to Venice in 1442/43, see British Museum Book, fol. 82.

Giovanni did not wish to appear disrespectful by also endowing haloes on his own family. In support of this proposition, it is possible to see that in his *Presentation of Jesus at the Temple* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, (dated by Humfrey as between 1480 and 1490), Giovanni has given the very slimmest of gold circlet haloes to the Holy Family, the Christ Child is unswaddled, and none of the figures resemble those of the Querini *Presentation*.

Sometimes, Giovanni does not use haloes in his religious paintings if a non-holy person is included within the picture scheme, e.g. *The Barbarigo Altarpiece*¹⁰³ Chiesa di San Pietro Martire, Murano. However, in his San Zaccaria altarpiece of 1505, neither the Virgin and Child, nor Sts Peter, Catherine, Lucy, or Gerolamo have haloes. Additionally the angel musicians do not have haloes. No human figures intrude in this *Sacra Conversazione*, unlike the *Madonna con il Bambino Benedicente*, *Quattro Santi e Donatore*, in the Chiesa di San Francesca della Virgin, (signed *IONNES BELLINVS / M.D. VII*) where Giacomo Dolfin is shown kneeling at the left lower margin.

On examining his oeuvre, it would appear that from 1470 onwards, in Venice, the halo is frequently dispensed with in sacred paintings, The Table of Haloes shows this occurrence earlier outside the Veneto, 1450, (see p. 13 of Table), although exceptionally Jacopo Bellini does not endow haloes on Sts. John the Evangelist and Peter in 1420, (p. 10), thereafter they are present. In Giovanni's *Trittico dei Frari*, neither the Virgin nor Child has haloes and the saints are no longer haloed,¹⁰⁴ and this is despite the fact that two of Venice's Protectors, the Virgin and St Mark, are depicted here, along with Sts. Nicholas, Peter and Benedict. This "absence" seems to be an element in Giovanni's

¹⁰³ It is signed *IOHANNES BELLINVS 1488*.

¹⁰⁴ Pignatti, (1999), p. 106 supplies a date of 1505. On a rock at the base of the painting is an inscription "*JOANNES BELLINVS*".

quest to represent a more naturalistic scene, with greater plasticity in his figures and a very great degree of verisimilitude, something that he continues to operate, for example in his *Pietà Donà delle Rose*¹⁰⁵ dated 1505, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, (Fig. 232). Here, an aging Mary holds her adult Son, His hair hanging down and still wearing His crown of thorns, but there is not even a slight evanescence of light surrounding His head. This is a dead man, cradled by his grieving mother, firmly situated in the terrestrial plane, they are on a rocky outcrop, alone, there is no visual evidence of the Cross only allusion to it by the broken tree stump, and no other witnesses, this mother is totally alone in her sorrow and loss. Behind them, Bellini has synthesised many actual architectural elements, e.g. the Duomo of the old Palazzo della Ragione, Vicenza, the bell-tower of the Chiesa di Sant'Apollinare Nuova di Ravenna as well as the Chiesa of San Vitale, Ravenna, and the Natisone of Civedale, most probably the behest of the patron.¹⁰⁶ The overall effect is one of great naturalism, superimposed on which is this visual evocation of loss.

Originally in the Chiesa di Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Venice, now in the Accademia, two organ doors are painted with scenes of the *Annunciate Angel* and the *Annunciation*; internally there had been a depiction of *San Pietro* and *San Paolo*. The beautiful marble panels have been designed by Bellini to match in colour and graining those of the Miracoli, a delightful little church with its different types and colours of marble decoration, (similar to his assimilation of the San Giobbe altarpiece with its surroundings). Probably executed in 1490 by Giovanni, neither the kneeling Virgin nor the Angel Gabriel has haloes, possibly because Bellini was incorporating contemporary theological debate into this work. The Franciscans and Dominicans had already had bitter arguments about the Immaculacy of the Virgin, the Dominicans maintaining the

¹⁰⁵ This work is known as *Pietà Donà dalle Rose*, after the Collection from which it was acquired in 1934.

¹⁰⁶ Goffen, 2000 p. 137.

doctrine of *sanctificatio in utero* whereby she had been absolved, rather than exempted, from original sin in the womb, like John the Baptist, (discussed elsewhere in this Thesis). Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus and Henry of Ghent all adhered to this. However, the Franciscans upheld the view that no exemption was required because the Virgin had been immaculate since conception, utilising the formulation of John Duns Scotus, *potuit, deuit, fecit* meaning that God could make a person who was simultaneously human yet whose body and soul were exempt from original sin.¹⁰⁷ In 1477, Pope Sixtus IV approved the celebration of the feast of the Virgin's conception, but the debate still continued since there remained confusion as to whether Mary herself was immaculate or her conception. The Papal Bull *Grave nimis* was published in 1485 in which the threat of excommunication was extended to anyone who continued to debate the subject.¹⁰⁸ Giovanni has utilised the conventional *Annunciation* light metaphor which dated from the ninth century, i.e. light enters the room from a window on the left-hand side of the painting, because the light of the rising sun came from "Jerusalem, to the south and east".¹⁰⁹ The Virgin herself was also known as the *fenestra coeli*, in addition to the appellation *porta coeli*, which simultaneously referred to her purity and her role as co-redemptrix. Additionally the Archangel Gabriel holds a lily in his hand, but Bellini's new combination of traditional Marian iconography, the typical *paessagio* of the terra ferma married with the absence of the halo, contributes to a newer, more human and naturalistic *Annunciation*.

¹⁰⁷ Reeves, Eileen, *Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997,. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was opposed by St Bernard, despite his fervent devotion to the Virgin, pp. 141-142

¹⁰⁸ Reeves, p. 142. The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary only became dogma in 1854 when the Papal Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* was published, p. 141.

¹⁰⁹ Reeves, p. 146.

6.10 Conclusions

This Chapter has demonstrated the importance and power of the Bellini bottega to influence, absorb and innovate. Many traditional motifs were re-cycled, such as Jacopo's frame architecture, and the "whirling rosette" and the angel prototype from the San Marco mosaics, which were absorbed in the bottega's production. Other fundamental features were discarded, such as haloes in the *San Zaccaria Altarpiece*, but invariably, it was one of the Bellini family of artists who was in the forefront of these new developments. The insistent move towards more naturalism has been seen in Giovanni's *Trittico dei Frari* and in his 1505 *Pietà*, so different from the earlier Correr and Palazzo Ducale versions examined above, not only in his depiction of the Virgin, but also in this absolute lack of holy signification via the halo. Propagandist motives have been displayed within the site of the halo, whether advocating and promoting a specific campaign of canonization, or referencing a Cult that has been suppressed. The halo has demonstrated "physical" qualities in its orientation and its brightness in the hands of the Bellini, at other times, its didactic message re-affirming the importance of the Virgin and imparting information about her status. Contemporaneous influences, such as pseudo-Arabic ornamentation, have appeared within it, as well as inherited decoration, such as the internal cross arms.

At all times, within the Bellini bottega, the halo has been executed with great care and as an important feature of an artwork, combining with all the other elements to "work" within it, an inherent component of the narrative.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis was to examine a seemingly bland and unimportant element of an artwork, the halo, from many different angles, covering its appearance, its “behaviour”, and its oscillation between sign/non-sign, and consequently to argue that it can be a dynamic rather than passive component, thus meriting a re-positioning of its narrative role within Art History.

It has been demonstrated that in early Christian works, the halo was not present in any form. In the late 300s AD, the Table of Haloes shows Christ as *Maiestas Domini* on a glass vessel, with a gold leaf disk halo behind His head, and from then until 1250, the disk halo, parallel to the picture plane is the standard halo format, (see ToH, pages 1-4). After this, it may be enhanced with internal embellishments, such as ridging, (see ToH, page 3). One of the most surprising findings of this thesis is the dearth of written sources about the halo or nimbus, both in Patristic exegesis, and later within Medieval/Renaissance scholarship. Thomas Aquinas discusses the aurea, the sign of being united to God and living in bliss. Durandus refers to a crown “shown in the form of a round shield”. Almost two centuries later, Dives asks Pauper about those “rounde thynggys”, once again a reference to the disk shape he has seen around the heads of different figures. These all relate to comprehension of the state of eternal bliss that the halo/nimbus is denoting, but surprisingly there is no additional discussion about their execution or any change of shape, either theologically or in artistic treatises, apart from Cennini’s advice. Almost contemporaneously, de Chasseneux utilises the term “glory”, the Biblical term that describes God’s divine presence represented by light surrounding both the head and the body. Augustine’s assertion that the nearer one comes to God, the

more transparent one is because of the penetration of intelligible light¹ is something that artists are trying to show in their “portrayals” of haloes, although without any formal articulation of what they are doing. Thus Grosseteste’s *lux spiritualis* is concentrated within the halo, for the spectator to “read” and “understand”, one example of contemporary theology being incorporated into the halo, as posited in the Prologomena of this thesis.

The first decade of the fourteenth century appears to be a fulcrum for many changes in halo design. Chapter Three of this thesis has discussed many techniques utilised by artists in their “construction” of haloes or “depiction” of the nimbus, and it has been shown that Giotto is one of the main innovators, at Padua, along with Simone Martini in Siena, (see ToH, pages 4-5), in terms of using ellipsis and internal embellishment. These change both the form and appearance of the halo. This utilisation of ellipsis is important, because it is signalling a new realism about the halo, it is being given some “natural” characteristics so that it behaves as if in the terrestrial world, although remaining a spiritual signifier, hence, an oscillation of its object/sign status. Almost simultaneously, from 1320s onwards, paradoxically, the halo is “depicted” polygonally, the antithesis of naturalism. This thesis concludes that artists are attempting to articulate a new hierarchy, suggested by the earlier practice of utilising a square halo, they are promoting new levels of awareness for non-divine, non-human semi-conceptual personifications such as the Cardinal Virtues and the Theological Virtues, so the polygonal halo reverts to a sign status. This situation pertains for more than a century, between 1320 and the late 1400s, although the use of the trecento and quattrocento haloes changes from distinction of personifications, to firstly distinction of mortals, and then uniquely, Pesellino uses a sixteen-pinnacled “halo” behind God’s head, (ToH, pages 5-23, Fig. 82a). Neither trecento nor the majority of quattrocento polygonal

¹ Chapter Two, Footnote 71.

haloes are mimetic haloes of light, and they are frequently coloured, e.g. blue or pink. Instead they are operating as signs, with the exception of Pesellino's unique multi-pinnacled gold halo that does seem to be a manifestation of divine light. Longinus, the Roman centurion, is a saint, venerated particularly in Mantua, although he usually has a polygonal halo, as discussed earlier. However, Vivarini and d'Alemagna's *Adoration of the Magi* depicts three Kings, mortal men, who were not actually saints, yet here are shown as 'quasi-saints'. Again, they do not have light-mimetic haloes, rather they are being differentiated from their retinues, not only by their regal real crowns, but also with these unreal polygonal haloes, a recognition of their importance within the Nativity narrative. Likewise, Joseph is distinguished both by a spun gold polygonal halo (not as perfect as the Virgin's disk halo) and luxurious clothes in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (ToH, page 23, Figs. 196 and 196a) painted by the Maestro di Castelsardo, Cagliari. He is painted as a mature man, rather than the apocryphal white-bearded man, so this could be considered as a propagandist use of the polygonal halo, supporting his "sainthood" before St Teresa of Avila promoted his Cult after the Council of Trent, following which he was depicted as a younger man. This thesis recognises that polygonal haloes change their function from trecento theological personification to quattrocento suggestions of a quasi-saintly status, particularly in Florence and Siena, but although executed sometimes by Venetian artists, this does not occur within Venice. The triangular halo is a sign of God and is not in any way light mimetic. It is found in many centres, there is no geographical distinction in its use.

This thesis has also highlighted differences in "haloes" of radiant light, not only in length and distribution of rays, but also in colour, both gold and silver. The northern European examples provided as a comparison with the Italian works are utilised in several narrative formats: Virgin and Child, The Visitation, the Passion, the Life of John the Baptist, the Nativity and the Lamentation. Varying in date from 1410 to 1490,

realised in silver, they surround their owners' heads like a disk halo, (Figs. 86, 86a, 87, 87a, 88, 88a, 91, 91a, and ToH, pages 8, 11-14, 19 and 21). These are different from the Italian artists' utilisation of "haloes" of radiant light, which are usually given to an adult Christ, illustrating different time periods of His life: Baptism, Transfiguration, post-Resurrection, where graduated bunches of rays are bestowed, sometimes in a cruciform shape, at other times "fringing" His head. It is often possible to distinguish a Northern European halo by its very large size in comparison with Italian ones, and also by its positioning, usually the base is congruent with the nape of the neck, different from Italian representation. Similarly, the Italian radiant light "haloes" can be distinguished because of their different format. The definition "haloes" is being differentiated here, because although placed around the head, they are rays rather than mist or effulgence, thus they are not true to the etymology considered earlier. There seems to be more similarity between the Northern European halo and the "conventional" halo, and although functioning as a sign of divine light the Italian, and specifically Venetian, radiant light "haloes" are most certainly different. This thesis argues that the Northern European "halo" is operating here as an object, whilst the Italian one functions much more as a sign, thereby this slippage between object/sign is perfectly exemplified here by these two different artistic practices in different geographical regions.

Another geographical difference that this thesis concludes is important is the use of different textual elements within the halo. The early Sienese preference for miscellaneous pseudo scripts between the duecento and trecento was disseminated into the Veneto by Giotto, particularly into Padua, and later into Florence, taken up by followers of Coppo di Marcovoldo, although its use declined in the second half of the trecento there.

However, the use of Latin inscriptions inside haloes developed from the 1300s, again in Siena, particularly within didactic examples in which names were utilised to identify specific saints, or Maria Mater for the Virgin. This continues into the quattrocento, in all centres in Italy where inscribed haloes are utilised, executed in Gothic script. Again, in Siena, Domenico di Bartolo innovates by using inscriptions in humanistic script, but this time it is for a devotional rather than didactic inscription, one of the first occasions in the quattrocento, (although it should be recalled that it circumscribes rather than inscribes the halo). In the early 1420s-1430s, in Florence, Bicci di Lorenzo adapts Masaccio and Massolino's *St Anne with Virgin and Child* panel but uses a textual design based on Latin script that is nevertheless not clean and crisp like that of humanistic script, the use of which is a feature of this decade in Florence. The simultaneous re-emergence of pseudo-Arabic text within Florence and Rome, initially based on textile decoration like trecento Siennese use, testifies to the appreciation of these exotic languages, even though there is not an intention to utilise them as "readable" texts. In a more sophisticated use than in the trecento, they are deliberately manipulated, so that whilst they resemble the original writing, in fact they are nonsensical, and even when Masaccio and da Fabriano used an actual word, they mixed it up so that it was unrecognisable and therefore not conveying any legible message, the visual impact was the most important element.

The Venetian use of Latin-inscribed haloes has been shown by this thesis to be completely different, in that it was a little-used practice. Jacopo Bellini did utilise them, but only for external patrons, and he incorporated a Mamluk-type rosette to divide the text. This rather startling absence of Latin-inscribed haloes has never been discussed before, and yet it is a very different situation from that prevailing in other centres, and consequently needs to be highlighted. The Venetian artists are producing different haloes, perhaps – although this has not been confirmed by archival sources – because

they are following their patrons' wishes. Another major difference that must be considered is that although Pseudo-Arabic elements are found in quattrocento Venetan and Venetian works, the graphemes are of a pseudo-*Nashki* type, exemplified by Vivarini and Bellini works, rather than pseudo-*thuluth*. Thus they can be used as an identification aid. The preference could be the result of the previously-mentioned Venetian book auctions, or an exposure to different mercantile sectors, or a mixture of both circumstances. It is a situation that requires further research now that it has been identified.

The later quattrocento/early cinquecento sees a complete transfer to humanistic script across Italy, there are still didactic haloes, e.g. naming of saints, but also many containing devotional inscriptions, such as Foppa's 1480 *Virgin and Child* (Figs. 143, 143a). Thus inscribed haloes can be seen to be functioning in two modes: didactic and devotional, the devotional inscriptions are found mostly within the Virgin's halo, sometimes utilising parts of an antiphon, at other times independent inscriptions, but these always remain in Latin, they are not transcribed into Italian or dialect.

The investigation of the halo's behaviour in respect of light has shown that, post-Giotto, there is a gradual development where artists have begun to treat it as an object obeying the laws of Nature, hence on occasions it casts shadows, at other times light plumes are reflected upon it from light sources, it obeys the laws of perspective, thus changing position according to its owner's head, it is shown in ellipsis, and at other times, it is itself a light source. Mimesis becomes reality. Despite this, as already mentioned, the examination of archival documents did not produce evidence of prescriptive formulae for halo "representation", rather it seemed to be left to individual artists to interpret this. The fact that naturalism was impacting upon this interpretation reinforces this thesis's assertion that the halo was being treated as a physical object, innovated by Giotto's

Paduan frescoed haloes. The decline in the use of gold ground may have similarly acted as a catalyst in this process. The halo actually becomes more prominent when it is not displayed against a gold ground, even though it may not be so intricately punched or inscribed, but as an object it is often more insistent, although simultaneously, more natural, challenging the competence of artists to include it as an integral component, without it appearing incongruous. Thus the absence of gold ground has a specific impact upon the realisation of the halo, in Italian and Flemish/Northern European art.

This thesis has also proposed that Venetian artists incorporated elements of contemporaneous industrial practice into their haloes, a synthesis of the earlier innovations by Zoppo and da Veneziana in portraying “glass” haloes. Their appropriation of this new manufacturing technique into their works shows a great modernity and a desire for complete verisimilitude of transparency, to imitate the perfection of *cristallo* glass that rapidly became one of Venice’s most prestigious exports. Although rock crystal had always been available, depending upon the quality of workmanship, it did not always have the absolute transparency that *cristallo* offered. Camille points out (Chapter 5.3), the increasing dematerialisation articulated by transparency, reiterating San Bernardino’s exegesis of *subtilitas*, which is transparency or translucency, when he discusses the bodies of blessed ones being lucid. San Bernardino had preached several times in Venice during this period, recorded by Jacopo Bellini.

Additionally, the mimesis of silk was another insertion of a contemporary industry that impacted on the Venetian halo’s appearance. Also considered luxurious, like *cristallo*, and subject to similar legislation, silk was a prestigious commodity, although unlike their Florentine counterparts, the Venetian artists did not heavily embellish their silk veil haloes, preferring the gauze-like quality with perhaps light *linee serpentine*

decoration and very light stippling incorporated. (This thesis has “invented” the phrase *linee serpentine* to describe the snaking lines that can be found within some haloes.) The Florentine artists used more gold stippling and more complex coverage of the halo surface, (ToH, pages 18 – 24). Although this practice seems to have been concentrated between the 1470s and 1480s, it is possible to see that Raphael still uses it in 1504 (ToH, p. 25). The silk haloes appear to have originated in Venice and transferred across to Tuscany.

Another motif that has been identified by this thesis is that of the halo’s external pinnacle decoration, whether filigree and stylus-produced, or punched poly-lobed. There is frequently a strong resemblance to Pag lace, and the constant traffic of artists between Pag/Zadar has been discussed. At other times, the external pinnacle borders appear very similar to the *merli*, an architectural feature situated on the top of buildings. Gentile da Fabriano’s late trecento work includes a *dentata* (tooth-like) external pinnacle design, like that on the façade of the Duomo at Murano, perhaps something he had absorbed during his Venetian sojourn. The Greco-Venetian and Cretan-Venetian external pinnacle borders tended to be higher than the usual quattrocento ones. This thesis concludes that Venetian artists appropriated many motifs and patterns from their daily visual experience and incorporated them both, and either/or, within their artworks and frequently their haloes. These ranged from the “whirling rosette” (also appearing in Florence via the agency of Gentile da Fabriano), and the Mamluk brassware rosette divisions to incorporation of these Venetian architectural motifs and that of the Pag lace border, appearing in the external halo pinnacle borders.

The Bellini bottege frequently innovated shifts towards more naturalistic haloes, although it can be seen that there is an evolution in their depiction over two generations. One of Giovanni’s most striking results is the use of the slim gold circle, placed behind

the head, the first of which is 1460-64 in *The Virgin and Child (Madonna Greca*, Fig. 213 p. 16 ToH), the same position as the traditional disk halo, but so much lighter, a trace of a Holy signifier, rather than an object. Giovanni continues producing this design, (although alongside others), up to the late 1480s, usually in *Virgin and Child* formats. Other Venetian artists follow suit, Alvise Vivarini, Mantegna, Diana, all use the gold circle and in 1487 and 1490, Rogier van der Weyden and Pietro Perugino (p. 21 ToH) also utilise them, another innovation has transferred to other centres.

The “behaviour” of the halo reflecting Christ’s dying moments and His death is manipulated by Giovanni into a misty dissolution in the 1452/3 *Correr Crucifixion*. Here, the object/sign has ontological traits, it is operating like a dying body, “life” draining from it, dimming as Christ’s life ebbs away, the spectator accepts this as completely normal in the circumstances.

In conclusion, therefore, this thesis has discovered new information about the halo, particularly in Venice, where artists treat it differently in terms of textual embellishment, and also innovate its appearance by the inclusion of local industrial and architectural elements within it. In a rather ironic “twist”, Giovanni sometimes used pulverized silica to enhance transparency, literally producing a “glass” halo.

Propagandist ideals are also encapsulated, as in (San) Lorenzo Giustiniani’s halo. The Bellini family, particularly, have led the way in changing the form and design of the halo, responding to contemporary societal, political and theological influences.

The evidence for the halo's development and use in this period demonstrates that it is an active and dynamic element, in terms of its iconography, the materials used to depict it and its positioning within a composition. This thesis has shown, additionally, that its semiotic status - the halo being used variously as a sign and as an entity - is complex, such that its identity in representation is not stable over history.

APPENDIX ONE

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

ASV is the abbreviation for Archivio di Stato di Venezia

Document 1

1416, 20 marzo C. G., n° 1.72 S. 31 (Altar in Sala)

“Parte di far una Pala con un altar de legno, come parerà al Guardian e Compagni su la nostra Sala per onor e devozion de Fradelli.”

ASV. Scuola Grande di S Giovanni Evangelista, Reg 38m Trassata pag. 58.
Published by: Ricci, 1908, p. 49.

Document 2

1421 10 April C. G. n° 1. 75 S.33 (Istoriar la Sala)

“Parte – Essendo sta’ deliberà dalla Banca de far istoriar la Sala della nostra Casa a torno, a torno, del Testamento vechio e novo. Proposta al capitola detto prò e contra, essendo 56

De sì48 } Presa
De nò 8 }

Con condizion che el nò se metta man nelli Cavedalli d’Imprestidi, né contra el prò che se ha da quelli. Item che se possa far compir e depenzer l’Altar suso la sala e fornirlo de tutte le cose necessarie.”

ASV Scuola Grande di S Giovanni Evangelista, Reg 38 m Trassata pag. 60
Published by: Ricci, 1908, p. 49.

Document 3

19 luglio 1421 Note de tute le reliquie e sanctuarie e argenterie e arnixie e masaricie de la congregation e fraternitade de la scuola del vangalista Miser Santo Marcho – El dito libro fo fato in 1421 a di 19 de lujo (Scuola Grande di San Marco)

“A l’altar de misier san Marcho suzo la salla ne son do teleri compidi per maistro Iacomo Belin pentor la palla de l’altar con misier San Marcho dorado.

1° cortina azura de tella con san Marcho in mezo con 1° vida d’oro atorno.....”

Museo Correr Ms perg IV, no 19 c. 92.
Published by Ricci, 1908, p. 49.

Document 4

A receipt from Jacopo Bellini to the Guardian Grande of the Scuola after being registered in the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista

“Thesus MCCCCXXXVII Adi III Marzo

Al nome sia de Dio e de la graciossa Vercene madre Madonna Santa Maria, e de lo apostolò Evangelista misser S. Zuane cavo e governador de questa benedeta fraternitate de dissipiana, qui soto scriverò tuti quelli i quali son stadi ricevudi a pien in tempo del provido homo misser Iacomo de Zorzii vardian grandò e di suo compagni.

..... Ser Iacomo Belin pentor”

ASV Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, Reg 72.C
Published by Paoletti, 1894, p. 6, Ricci, 1908, p. 48, Eisler, 1989, p. 530.

Document 5

Jacopo Bellini buys a table with intarsia from the estate of Jacobello del Fiore

“(Incanto delle cose di Iacobello del Fiore)

Primo incanto † 1439 a di 8 Novembrio

E a di dicto have maistro Iacomo Bellin una tavolla intarsiada duc. – L1s.8.....”

ASV Scuola Grande di S. Maria della Carità, Busta 56, Commisarian Giacomel del Fior, fasc. IV, testamento doc. 2
Published by Paoletti, 1894, p. 6, (there is more than one list, which is why my date does not accord with that of Bättschmann’s of 6 December 1439), Ricci, 1908, p. 51, Eisler, p. 530.

Document 6

“Trading” agreement between the painters Jacopo Bellini and Donato Bragadin

“1440. Die 14 Septembris

Magister donatus q. ser Iohannis bragadino pictor de confinio Sancti Leonis pro una parte, et magister Iacobus Belino q. ser Nicolaj Bellino pictor de confinio Sancti Jeminiani pro altera, sponte et libere contraxerunt et invicem fecerunt Societatum et mutuam utilitatem de omnibus et singulis picturis et magisterio pictuarum cuiuscumque sortis et conditionis qua facient et evenient sorte cuilibet eorum ad apothecas et stationes suas Ita hic Venetijs quam alibj ubicumque extra Venetias. Ita quod quicquid lucrabuntur dictis ex picturis et lucro picturarum provenientes sibi hic Venetijs et utrique partj eorum dividatur equaliter sine ulla exceptione et contraditione. Exceptis laborerijis que sibj et cuilibet eorum pervenirent extra Venetias que sint cuiuslibet ipsarum partium specialiter. Et hec Societas duret usque ad annos quinque proxime incipiendos die primo mensis octubris proxime sequiturj. Et convenerunt et pactum fecerunt invicem per totum dictum tempus. "

ASV Sez. Notarile , Cancelleria Inferiore, Atti. Elmis Francesco Busta 74, Libro 1439 – 1440, p. 216
Published by Paoletti, 1894, p. 6, Ricci, 1908, p.51.

There are slight differences between Paoletti's and Ricci's texts, in that Ricci has been able to supply words which Paoletti perhaps had been unable to read or transcribe. In addition, Paoletti tends to use the original spellings in his transcriptions, Ricci sometimes 'modernizes' them.

Paoletti also wrote: "Osservando però come questa convenzione sia stata cancellata dal rogatore, sorge il dubbio che essa non abbia avuto effetto."

Ricci wrote: ".....propose od accettò di fare un accordo di reciproco vantaggio, nella vendita dei lavori, con Donato Bragadin, pittore fiorito fra il 1438 e il 1473, di cui non conosciamo il valore artistico mancandoci opere o modo di riconoscerle. L'accordo però o non ebbe effetto o l'ebbe di breve durata. Certo nel 1441 ogni lega era sciolta, la convenzione cancellata dallo stesso rogatore, e Iacopo se ne andava a Ferrara. Nell'agosto, infatti, di quell'anno si trova che Lionello d'Este gli donò due moggia di frumento da condurre con sé a Venezia" op cit. p. 9.

Document 7

A gift from Lionello d'Este to Jacopo Bellini

1441, 26 agosto

"Mandato Illu. D. n. domini Nicolai Marchionis Estensis etc. Vos factores generales dari in donum faciatis Iacobo Bellino picturi de venetijs Modios duos de frumento domini conducendos per Eum Venetias. Lud. Casella scripsit XXVI Augusti 1441 Leonellus."

Modena ASV, Registro de'mandati, 1441 – 42

Published by Ricci, 1908, p. 52. (On p. 9, he continues "...E segui, pur là, la gara fra lui e il Pisanello, ingaggiati a fare in concorrenza il ritratto dello stesso Lionello.") P. 10 "...Nel 1443 Iacopo si trova nuovamente in Venezia, dove riconferma come aiuto e scolaro Leonardo del quondam ser Paolo suo nipote, che già stava con lui da circa dodici anni.

Document 8

Extract from an agreement made when Jacopo employed his nephew, Leonardus, in his workshop. Leonard was his sister, Elena's, son. Unusually, in this document, there are three sections where words have been crossed out. This is something I have not come across in other documents.

23 Agosto 1443

"Cum ser Iacobus Bellino quondam ser Nicolay pictor de gonfinion S Jerminianus iam annis XII vel circa tenuerit Leonardum quondam ser Pauli nepotem suum et eum nutriverit tamquam filium ex debito tam karitatis quam affinitatis usque presens; nunc vero considerans et advertens ipsum Leonardum sibi utilem fore in arte et magisterio suo pictorie et ideo velle sibi providere de mercede aliqua et utilitate decenti promitti et se obligate idem ammodo dare pro duobus annis incepturis die primo mensis septembris proximi, videlicet pro primo anno ducatos XII auri et pro secundo ducatos XIII auri sine ulla exceptione, solvendos de quatuor mensibus in quatuor menses pro rata; . . . "

ASV Cancelleria Inferiore, Notaio Francesco (dagli) Elmis, Busta 74/75. Fasc 28, fol 20
Published by Paoletti, 1894, pp 8-9, Eisler 1989, p. 531, Goffen, 1990, p. 262.

Document 9

Jacopo Bellini receives a commission from ser Nicola Inversi of Venice

“Carta di Commissione data da Nicola Inversi a Iacopo Bellini Die XIII Februarii 1452 (1451 m.v.)

"Ser Nicolaus Inversij de Venetijs rogavit cartam Commissionis ser Iacobo bellino pictorj de confinio Sancti Jeminiani specialiter ad utendum juribus et rationibus ipsius committentis in quocom que iudicio et officio hic Venetijs contra quascumque personas et personam tam agendo quam definiendo, producendum et alligandum et petendum terminos et dilationes, iurandum etc. audiendum quamlibet sententiam, et determinationem et fatiendum mitti exequitioni. Apellandum etc. Et generaliter etc.

Testes al Presb. Maurus de Ydronto Ecclesie S.eti Marci Magister Bernardus Antonius furlanus.

ASV. Sez. Notarile, Cancelleria Inferiore, Atti Elmis Francesco Busta 76, Reg. 1451 - 1455, pag. 11.
Published by Paoletti, 1894, p. 8, Ricci, 1908, p. 53, but Ricci's transcription is much more detailed.

Document 10

Jacopo offers to paint a large *gonfalone* (processional banner) for la Scuola di Santa Maria della Carità and this is the contract drawn up between them.

1452 19 Giugno

“In Christi nomine, amen. Anno a nativitate Eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo. Indicione ser Franciscus Spiera vardianus magnus scole batutorum Sancte Marie de Charitate de Venetiis, ser Pantaleo lapizida vicarius dicte scole, ser Paulus Zuchato scriba dicte scole, ser Andreas de Savina, ser Antonius Augustino, ambo dechani dimidii anni dicte scole, ser Iohannes Bernardus de Aleotis, ser Sanctus de Vazonibus, ser Vitus Bono, ser Antonius Marioni, ser Marcus Francisci, ser Lodovicus de Stropis, ser Lodovicus Salvazo, omnes dechani dicte scole et tamquam maior pars officialium dicte Scole per se et nomine dictorum eorum Scole ex una parte, et providus vir ser Iacobus Belino quondam Ser Nicolai pinctor ex alia parte, pacta compositiones et conventiones fecerunt et contrasserunt ad invicem in hunc modum videlicet: quod predictus ser Iacobus facere tenetur et debet atque promixit predictis officialibus dicte scole Sancte Marie de Charitate nomine predictionum eorum Scole recipientibus et acceptantibus unum penelum magnum pro dicta eorum Scola de septem tilis sindonis et longum brachiis septem vel circha laborandum per dictum ser Iacobum de figuris auro fino et de l'azurio ultramarino fino secundum formam et designum datum per dictum ser Iacobum eisdem officialibus dicte Scole, pro quo penelo fiendo ut supra dicti officialles solum ponere tenentur et debent sindonem et tellarium in quo fieri debet dictus penelus, dictus vero ser Iacobus ponere debet aurum et colores necessarios pro dicto penelo, quem quidem penelum dictus ser Iacobus propriis manibus laborare tenetur et promixit cum illis laboratoribus, qui erunt necessarii, facies vero figurarum dicti peneli dictus ser Iacobus solus propriis manibus laborare teneatur et in quo penello dictus ser Iacobus nichil laborare debet de argento, et hoc nominatim pro pretio et nomine pretii ducatorum centum quadraginta auri. Quod quidem pretium predicti officialles dicte scole dare teneantur et promiserunt eidem ser Iacobo ipso laboranti et continuando laborerium predictum quod mercatur solutionem predictam ad pagas

infrascriptas, in quatuor pagis infrascriptis videlicet: de presenti ad voluntatem dicti ser Iacobi quartum sive quartam partem pretii predicti et quibuslibet tribus mensibus proximis venturis, unam aliam quartam partem dicti pretii ita quod ultima paga solvatur quando factum fuerit dictum laborerium et ultima paga sit de ducatis quadraginta de pretio antedicto ducatorum centum quadraginta proinde dando tantum minus de aliis pagis cum omnibus infrascriptis pactionibus et conventionibus inter predictos contrahentes et partes factis, habitis et firmatis videlicet: quod dictus ser Iacobus dare tenetur et promixit dictum penelum completum eisdem officialibus dicte Scole a modo usque ad medietatem mensis martii proximi venturi, intelligendo in tempore predictorum officialium salvo iusto impedimento infirmitatis et ut dictus penellus compleatur ad dictum terminum dictus ser Iacobus donec dictus penelus fuerit completus non potest nec debet recedere de Venetiis pro laborando. Item in quantum dictus ser Iacobus usque ad dictum terminum non compleverit dictum laborerium, sit in libertate suprascriptorum officialium vel successorum suorum facere complere dictum laborerium per quamcumque persona voluerint dicti officialles, et in quantum pro faciendo complere dictum laborerium expenderent ultra ducatos centum computato illo quod solverent dicto ser Iacobo illud plus dictus ser Iacobus de suo solvere teneatur et promixit, ita quod dicta Scola tali casu non habeat expensam pro dicto laborerio nisi de ducatis centum computato illo quod solutum fuerit dicto ser Iacobo. Item quod in quantum dictus ser Iacobus ad dictum terminum compleverit dictum laborerium ultra pretium suprascriptum ducatorum centum quadraginta esse debeat in libertate predictorum officialium donandi dicto ser Iacobo illud plus quod eis videbitur ultra pretium supradictum prout eis videbitur ipsum ser Iacobum meruisse. Item in quantum dictus ser Iacobus faceret debitum suum et predicti officialles non attenderent ipsi ser Iacobos eius solutionem pretii supradicti ad terminos pagarum supradictarum, tunc predicti officialles cadant in pena ducatorum quadraginta auri, qui esse debeant dicti ser Iacobi pro suo dampno ultra pretium suprascriptum si dictus ser Iacobus ad terminos petierit suam solutionem sibi fieri. Que omnia et singula suprascripta et in presenti instrumento et carta contenta, suprascripti contrahentes et partes promixerunt et convenerunt sibi ad invicem hinc inde firma, rata et grata habere et tenere, attendere, facere et observare et non contrafacere vel venire per se vel alios aliqua ratione vel causa, de iure vel de facto sub pena dupli totius eius in quo, vel de quo ullo modo contrafacerent pro solempne stipulatione sibi ad invicem hinc inde promissa, solvenda per partem contrafacientis in aliquo aut per omnia non servantem parti servanti et observare volenti totiens quotiens fuerit in aliquo quomodolibet contrafactum aut per omnia non servatum et non adimpletum, ut supra dicitur. Et in super refectionis et emendationis dampnorum expensarum et interesse littis et extra. Qua pena soluta vel non et expensis dampnis et interesse reffectis vel non nichilominus rato manente presenti contratu cum omnibus et singulis in eo contentis. Et pro observatione premissorum omnium et singulorum suprascripti contrahentes et partes, videlicet prefati officialles dicte Scole obligaverunt se et successores suos et omnia et singula bona predictorum eorum Scole mobillia et immobillia presentia et futura. Et predictus ser Iacobus Belino obligavit se et heredes et successores suos et omnia et singula bona sua mobillia et immobillia presentia et futura realiter et personaliter, promittentes et constituentes suprascripti contrahentes et partes se sibi ad invicem hinc inde soluturos, facturos et observaturos atque adimleturos omnia et singula suprascripta Venetiarum, Padue et alibi ubicumque locorum, et fori, et in quolibet particulariter et in totum locurum distantia vel aliquo alio non obstante. Renuntiantes exceptioni rei non sic vel aliter geste privilegio fori conditioni indebiti et sine causa vel ob iniustam causam doli, mali, deceptioni fraudis in factum actioni feriis et diebus feriatis, et omnibus et singulis aliis exceptionibus, privilegio, auxilio, et beneficiis per quas vel que premissis vel aliquibus premissorum possit aliquid quomodolibet excipi obici vel opponi. Ulterius

predictus ser Franciscus Spiera, vardianus predictus, in presentia mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum dedit et solvit dicto ser Iacobo ducatos triginta tres et grossos octo pro prima paga pretii suprascripti.

Actum Venetiis in Rivoalto ad stationem mei notarii infrascripti, presentibus domino presbitero Iacobo quondam ser Mathei diacono Sancti Marci, ser Bartolomeo de Graxolariis notario etiam mecum rogato de premissis et aliis.

S:T : Ego Bartholomeus de Graxolariis filius quondam ser Antonii de Venetiis publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius et iudex ordinarius ex auctoritate, licentia et libertate, atque concessione michi traditis et concessis per illustrissimam et excellentissimam ducalem dominationem Venetiarum de libris, registris et prothocholis quondam. Circumspecti viri ser Antonii Gambaro notarii, suprascriptum instrumentum sumpsit et exemplavi a predictis libris, registris et prothocholis dicti quondam ser Antonii Gambaro notarii et ad fidem me subscripsi et in hanc publicam formam reddegi signumque meum apposui consuetum. Anno a nativitate domini nostri Ihesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo, indicione quintadecima, die quarto mensis Octobris.

In Christi nomine amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo. Inditione quintadecima die vigesimo mensis Septembris. Providus vir ser Iacobus Bellino quondam ser Nicolai pictor, per se et heredes et successores, suos fecit et facit finem et securitatem plenariam egregio viro ser Francisco Spiera vardiano magno Scole batutorum Sancte Maria de Charitate de Venetiis et ceteris sociis suis officialibus predictae Scole et suis successoribus de ducatis triginta tribus et grossis octo ad aurum qui sunt pro parte et secunda paga ducatorum centum quadraginta auri pretii unius penelli fiendi per dictum ser Iacobum Belino pro dictis de dicta scola prout apparet per instrumentum exinde factum manu ser Antonii Gambaro notarii, die decimonono mensis Iunii proxime preteriti. Nunc autem quia dictos ducatos trigintatres et grossos octo ad aurum pro parte dictorum ducatorum centum quadraginta et pro solutione predictae secunde page predictus ser Iacobus Belino habuit et recepit hoc modo videlicet: ducatos decem, quos dictus ser Franciscus Spiera sibi dedit et solvit die vigesimosexto mensis augusti proxime preteriti et reliquos ducatis viginti tres et grossos octo ad aurum pro resto dicte secunde page dictus ser Iacobus habuit et recepit ac sibi dedit et solvit, tradidit et numeravit predictus ser Franciscus Spiera, vardianus predictus, in presentia mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum. Ideo predictus ser Iacobus reddidit predictum ser Franciscum vardianum predictum et ceteros socios suos officialles predictae Scole atque predictam eorum scolam et successores suos securos exinde in perpetuum, quia nichil inde remansit, unde amplius exinde compelli vel molestari valeant per ullum ingenium sive modum.

Actum Venetiis in Rivolto ad stationem mei notarii infrascripti presentibus domino presbitero Bernardo de Regio beneficiato in ecclesia Sancti Baxilii, ser Florino Gavatelo varotario et aliis.

(S.T.) Ego Bartolomeus de Graxolariis filius quondam ser Antonii de Venetiis publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius et iudex ordinarius premissis omnibus interfui et rogatus scripsi et publicavi, meisque signo et nomine roboravi.

ASV Scuola Grande di S. Maria della Carità, Busta 3, Pergamena no. 105.

Published by Paoletti, 1894, pp.8-9, Ricci, 1908, p. 53 (much longer transcription) and Sohm cited short extracts, p. 303

Document 11

Jacopo Bellini receives payments for work undertaken for the Patriarch. Having examined the original document, I am reproducing Ricci's transcription:

1456 - 1457

1456 Misser Bellin de dar a di primo fevvrer per capara et parte de una figura contadi per d Vetorduc	4	-	-	1456. ser Iacomo Belin de aver una figura del nostro predecessor posto la sua sepoltura c.te. 107 ¹duc	16		
26 contadi per parte de la dicta figura per d. Vetor	10	-	-	1457 e de aver per 3 figure fate su tela mese in la sala del patriarca c.te 107 ²	21		
16 Marzo contadi 1457.....	2	-	-			-	-
1° Aprilis contadi per capara de una depentura de S Piero e S Polo . .	5	-	-				
29 contadi per don Vetor . . .	3	-	-				
contadi per dom Vetor per resto a so fio contadi duc. 2	13	-	-				
				1c.te 106. 1457 Per una palla mesa in la sala granda, la qual fese Iachomo Belin par c.te 122.	21		
				2 c.te 107 1458 Per una palla granda Posta in sala c.te.	21	-	-
						-	-

ASV Mensa Patriacale, Registro di Casa 1444 – 1459, Busta 66, p. 122 (this was the reference for Paoletti and Ricci, but the current reference is Busta 58, I, Librette carte cop. Perg. Elenco affitali, spese, and also fol 106, 107, carta 122 (left) and 12 (right)

Published by: Paoletti, 1894, p. 9, Ricci, 1908, p. 57, Eisler, p. 521.

Document 12

Agreement between the Scuole Grande di San Marco and Jacopo Bellini for two commissioned paintings, *The Carrying of the Cross and The Crucifixion*.

1466 17 luglio

† **In Christo nomine MCCCCLXVI a di XVII Luio**

“Chonvinzion e pati fati tra misser Antonio Zivran guardian grando de la Scuola de misser S. Marcho et de suo compagni da una parte et maistro Iachomo Belin depentor dal altra, chome apar per scrittura de man del dito misser lo guardian et sotoschrita de man de ser Alvixe de Usnagi avichario per confermazion de quela et sotoschrita de man del dito maistro Iachomo Belin chome el contenta ai diti pati i qual dixè in questo modo

Mercado fato A dechiarazion de la veritade questi son i pati et convinzion fata tra
 cum maistro misser Antonio Zivran, guardian grando de la Scuola de S. Marcho e
 Iacomo suo compagni da una parte e maistro Iachomo Belin da l'altra parte.
 Belin El dito maistro Iachomo Belin promete de far in la testa de la
 depentor Schuola varda suxo el campo tuta quela faza nela qual ne entra una
 Pasion de Christo in chroxte richa de figure et altro che
 stia benissimo.....Item uno teler dal chanto sopra la porta de l'albergo,
 che prinzipia a mezo el volto e compie fina a la fenestra conzonzerse con
 l'altro quaro, suxo el qual quaro farà la Instoria de Ierusalem chon
 Christo e i ladroni e sa. El qual lavor sia fato sì belo e ben fato melio che
 mai lavor l'abia fato de bontà e de cholori perfeti de azuro e de altri
 cholori, ubligandose de non tuor per fin el farà questi lavori altro lavor de
 alguna condizion soto pena de quello parerà a i ofiziali se troverà in la
 Schuola a sua dischrizion e consienzia. El qual lavor el dito maistro
 Iachomo Belin aver debia de suo manifatura e spexe de cholori, chola e
 horo e zeso e ogni altra chaxon aspeta a la pentura per tuti do lavori
 ducati 375 d'oro e se el dito se portase de i diti lavori si perfetamente che
 ai ofiziali per suo consienzia parese de darge ducati 25, questo sia in suo
 libertà e consienzia loro; ma per i diti ducati 25 non posi esser astreti
 salvo tanto quanto piaxerà ai ofiziali se troverà per i tempi. El
 pagamento de diti die aver al prexente per chapara ducati X d'oro e
 designado l'averà el quaro davanti de la Pasion abia ducati XXV e
 disegnà l'averà l'altro quaro davanti abia altri ducati XXV et chusì de
 tenpo in tenpo secondo chomo lo lavorerà e soliziterà lo lavor de parte in
 parte l'abia danari fin compido lavor in perfizion chomo è dito da esser
 zudegà per tuti intendenti de simel mestier et ancho per i fradelli e
 ofiziali de la Schuola che Christo a tuti dia sanità e contento de le aneme
 e di chorpi.

Adi 16 Luio 1466

Fo prexo a la bancha tra nui ofiziali i pati sorascritti chon la condizion
 soprascrita, de qual se atrovasemo in l'albergo XII, di qual fo de sì 8 e 3
 de no et el guardian da matin non volve meter balota et mi Alvixe de
 Usnagi indegno avichario ho sottoscrito de consentimento et de volontà de
 tuti nui.

M.CCCCLXVI, adi XVII luio

E mi Iachomo Belino depentor som chontento chomo è schrito de sopra.
 E mi Nicholò da le Chartre scrivàn de la dita Schuola de mia mano propria
 ho scritto la soprascrita schritura.”

ASV Scuola Grande di San Marco, Notario 1479 - 1503, p. 3, Sala Diplomi, Autografi

Published by: Molmenti, 1888, pp 225 – 227, Ricci, 1908, p. 56.

Sohm also cites extracts from this, p. 259, his reference is ASV S Marco, Reg 16 bis, fol 35, quoted by
 Bättschmann (who additionally notes Eisler, pp 524, 532), who provides Not. 1428 - 1503, 35, Sala
 Diplomatica, autografi, and this is the reference I used to find this document. I have noted that within
 the document, the Scrivan uses different spellings of the same word, e.g. *Scuola* or *Schuola*, and
 inconsistent punctuation, e.g. *l'albergo* or *lalbergo*, often within the same paragraph. As is usual with
 these documents, on the left margin, a note of the contract is noted.

Document 13

A commission is given to Gentile Bellini for two paintings by the Scuola Grande di San Marco. The subjects are *Moses in the Desert* and *Flood of Sin, or The Downfall of Pharaoh*. Gentile's fee will be 150 ducats for each work.

1466, Dec 15

“Chonvenzion e pati fati chon maistro Gentil Belin de plui lavori apar qui de soto, e prima dise chusi:

M^o Gentil
Belin dipentor

Sia manifesto a chi vedrà questo scurito chome misser Antonio Zivran vardian de la scuola de misser S. Marcho e romani dachordo chon maistro Gentil Belin pentor, el qual maistro Gentil de far suso la dita schuola over sala de la dita schuola de miser S. Marcho do teleri de pentura *suso terlise* (Sohm) *suso la losa* (Ricci). I qual teleri lui a nele man suso i qual ed de far suso uno istoria chome faraon esci fuora dela zità chon el so ezerzito e chome el se sommerse et in laltro chomeal so populo se sommerse, e chome l'altro populo de Moisè furzi nel deserto, chome in parte a mostrà per el disegno; el de far el dito lavor ben e diligentemente e meter boni colori azuro o chome accadrà a tute sue spexe in modo chel stià a pararigon con i altri.

E per so manifattura de aver de la scuola de misser S. Marcho ducati zento zinquanto senza quali li a promexo ser Nicolò da le Carte. El pagamento de aver in questo modo, che subito inzesado che l'averà i diti teleri de aver per chapara ducati 5. Chome lui li averà poi designadi de aver ducati 12½. El resto del pagamento de aver secondo che de tempo in tempo el lavorerà a chusi de tempo in tempo i se de andar dagando danari, e faxando el suo dover anchora lui avia el suo. E perché el dito maistro Gentil se ubliga far mior e maior opra over tanta chome quela de so padre maistro Iacomo Belin, faxando chome è dito, de aver de so manifattura tanto per tanto, quanti sarà plui fatura e mancho fatura de quela del dito maistro Iacomo Belin de aver pluj e mancho.”

ASV Scuola Grande di S. Marco, Registro 16bis, Notatorio 1478 – 1503, p. 36, Sala Diplomatica, Autografi
Published by: Ricci, 1908, p. 57, Sohm, p. 259, cited by Bächtmann.

Document 14

Extract from commission to Bartolomeo Vivarini and Andrea da Murano. Their fee will be the same as that paid to Jacopo Bellini, and the contract specifies that their artwork must be the same size as that made by him.

1467 gennaio 10

“.....uno teller in do pezi suso j qual de depenzer la jstoriae de buran zoe una per pezo le qual istoriae.....”

ASV S Marco, Reg 16 bis., fol 37
Published by: Paoletti, 1894, p. 10, Ludwig *Geschichte der venezianischen Malerei*, p. 17, Sohm, *The Scuola Grande di San Marco*, p. 259, Bächtmann also notes it, p. 216

Document 15

Extract from commission to Lazzaro Bastiani. His fee will be the same as Jacopo Bellini's.

1470 gennaio 7

La-zaro sabestian,
Depentor

“..... far el teller el qual e in do campi sopra et proxima
al volto de la scalla ne li qual el debi depenzer linstoria de
david secondo el desegno”

ASV S Marco, Reg 16 bis, fol 38.

Published by: Molmenti, 1888, pp 228-229, Sohm, p. 259.

Document 16

Signed contract between Giovanni Bellini and the Scuole Grande di San Marco

1470, aprile 24

zuan belin

“...Fo deliberato de dar el teller in cavo de la scuola primo versa laltar
grando de campi 2..... ser zuan bellin nel qual die far el deluvio
et larcha de Noe cum le sue pertinentie....”

“Io Zuan Bellini sono contento di quanto e sopra scripto sopra.” (signed by Giovanni Bellini)

ASV S Marco, Registro 16 bis, Not 1428 – 1503, fol 38, Sala Diplomatica, autografi

Published by: Molmenti, 1888, p. 228, Paoletti, 1894, pp 11-12, Goffen, 1990, p. 263, noted by Bäschmann, p. 216

Document 17

Letter from Elisabetta Morosini to her brothers Pietro e Marco de Paola

1471 11 maggio

“ Prego caramente vui messer Marco che ve piaqua per la amicità qual intendemo
che have di con zentile over zuane belin depentors astrenzerli per tal modo che i
vogliamo insegnar la rasom (sic) del desegno a pre domingo nostro”

Published by: Anedetto, F. S., “Nuovo Archivio Veneto” 2 (1891), p. 382 and cited by Goffen, p. 263,
who goes on to write that Anedetto said that the letter was conserved in ASV Atti di Carlo Bruni di Loreo
but that she had been unable to find it. I, too, have not been able to locate this document yet.

Document 18

Letter from Antonio di Choradi da Pera, to his brother in law, Nicolò Gruatto, *intagliator*. He wanted him to commission Lazzaro Bastiani to paint an artwork of Christ and if this was not possible, or if he accepted the commission then died, Giovanni Bellini was to be asked instead.

1473 18 aprile

“.....Apresso andatte da Lazaro Bastian che stanno sopra el campo di San Polo che chusi li schivo a lui e fateme far uno quadroto Con la figure di misser Iesù Cristo che siano belo chome li scrivo a lui, o se per chaxo che idio el guarda el fusse morto, over lo nol volesse far, andate da Ziane Belino e mostrateli el mio e distese il voglio a quel modo chome stano quello con quella soaza d’oropolita e bela...”

ASV Scuola Grande delle Misericordia, Busta 23,
Published by: Paoletti, 1894 , p. 12.

Document 19

Marco Bastiani receives a commission from the Guardian da Matin of the Scuole Grande di San Marco.

“.....depentor a san lio... do fare el penello....duc. 40/ duc. 40/ fina n. 50/ ...”

ASV S Marco Reg 16 bis, fol 2r.
Published by: Molmenti, 1888, Sohm, p. 261 (who gives the folio reference as 2v, but I found the document on 2 recto.)

Document 20

The College appoint Giovanni "pittore del nostro Dominio" and this means that he no longer has to pay a subscription to the Confraternità dei pittori.

1483, 26 febbraio (1482 m.v.)

“..Joannes pictor nostri Domini est appellatus, et Ideo assumptus ad renovandam Salam Maioris Consilii et a nostro Dominio publice permiatus utque ad eam solam rem vacare possit liber ab omnia alia cura. Per intrascriptos Dominos Consilians exemptus cactus fuit ab omnibus officiis et beneficiis scollae seu fratulae pictorum....”

ASV Collegio, Notatorio Registro 13, 1481 – 1489, fol 22r (new 25 r)
Published by: Molmenti, 1888, p. 92, Goffen,1990, pp 264-264, the latter cited by Bättschmann, p. 217.

Document 21

Giovanni Bellini is registered as a member of the Scuole Grande di San Marco. He was, already a member of the Scuola di S. Cristoforo dei Mercanti in which from the beginning of the fifteenth century, “Maistro Zentil da Fabriano S Sofia” was also registered. (See ASV S Maria e San Cristoforo dei Mercanti, Scuola alla Madonna dell’Orto, Busta 406). Paoletti also reports that both Gentile and Giovanni were registered as members of the Scuole Grande della Misericordia.

1484

“.... Ser Zuane belin depenter qm. Ser Iachomo.....”

ASV Scuole Grande di San Marco, Marejola no. 4
Published by: Paoletti, 1894, p. 56..

Document 22

Giovanni Bellini signs a contract guaranteeing Ginevra Bocheta, his wife, her dowry. It can be seen that at this time, they are living in Santa Marina.

1485, 30 luglio

“Plenam et irrevocabile securitatem facio ego Ioannes Bellino q.d. Jacobi pictor de confinio Sancte Marine....”

ASV Notarile, Lorenzo Stella, Busta 875, n. 162
Published by: Paoletti, 1894, p. 13, Goffen, 1990, p. 263, the latter cited by Bächtmann, p. 217.

Document 23

Extract from document listing the painters working on Sala del Maggior Consiglio and their payments.

1493 – 1495

“..depentori de la Sale de gran Confero

Maistro Zuan bellin depentore in gran confero cominze adi 25 marzo 1492
Adint 5 al missoe al ano duc 60..”

Others mentioned are “Maistro alinxe vivarein depentor”, also paid 60 ducats per annum, who commenced on “24 marzo 1492”. “Christofalo da parma depentor” is to be paid 8 ducats monthly, 44 per annum, “Latantio damano banina” is to be paid 48 ducats per annum, “Moneori mareciam depentore” is to be paid 24 ducats per annum, “Vizonzo da trompo” is to receive 36 ducats per annum, “Francs.o bussuol” (Francesco di Vittore Bissolo) will receive 24 ducats per annum, and “Perin fasste di depintezer” and “Mathio dicto maxo fanti di depentores” will both receive 6 ducats per annum

ASV Consiglio de Dieci, Misto Registro 26, C.X. Misti No. 26, 1493 – 1495, Fol 199r and 200v
Published by: Goffen, 1990, p. 264, cited by Bächtmann, p. 217.

Document 24

Will of Donato Civailelli, a Knight (*eques nobilis*), stipulating an altarpiece by Giovanni Bellini for the Chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary in the family tomb in the Church of Santa Maria in Zara in Dalmatia. He leaves 300 ducats for its execution. I noted that in the original document, he states his name as “Donatus Civealelus”, Goffen refers to him as “Donaldo Civailelli” and Bättschmann calls him “Donato Civailelli”. In the *Alfabetto Testamenti* (the alphabetical index of the Wills) of Busta 48 the notaio, Pietro Florian, has written his name as “Donati Civealeli”, and this is also on the cover sheet of the actual Will.

1497 10 agosto

“..Ego Donatus Civealelus eques nobilis iadrenis de confinio Sancti Johannis Novi(there is a large section of the actual Will missing in this translation of Goffen) . . Item volo et orino quod residuarii mei teneantur et sint obligati in termino anni unius cum eorum comeditate portavi facere corpus meus iadrem simul cum cadavere quondam domini Hyeronimi fra tris mei quod est Paude . . . et sepeliatur dictum cadaver meum et cadaver supra scriptum quondam fratris mei apud ecclesiam Sancte Marie ordinis Sancti Benedicti. In qua ecclesia volo quod de bonis meis fiat capella in honorem Virginia Marie . . .in qua expndatur duc ati trecenti auri simul cum eius palla altaris, quam fieri volo per dominum Joannes Bellino . . . “

ASV Testamenti Pietro Florian, Busta 408, n. 95
Published by: Goffen, 1990, p. 264, cited by Bättschmann, p. 217.

Document 25

In 1492, Giovanni and Gentile Bentile had agreed the production of two paintings for the meeting room of the Scuola Grande di San Marco. Gentile now suggests another painting for the Scuola and has already prepared a design.

1505 9 Marzo

“...chom sit per lj deputado altre volte sopra la fabrjcha dela schuola nostra insieme con al vardian che a quel tempo se trovava el fose fate zerte composizioni con messer zentjl belin et messer zuane suo fradelo i qual avese a dover depenzer 1 albergo dita scuola nostra (ut in ea legitur) la qual putura may fo prenzipiada fina al ano 1504 che per el spetabel messer marco pelegrin degnissimo vardian grandio et suo compagnj fo fate prinzipiar per el predito messer zentil uno teler in testa di laboro predito el qual teler dito messer zentil fina questo zorno a fato bona partte chome se pol veder, et perche el prefato messer zentil e sumamente desideroso de far qualche benefitjo a questa scuola chome zua manifestamente se pol beder per lopera per luj prinzipiada che non se troverja homo che tolse tal impraxa per altrettantj danarj et farsi molto piu, et perho eso messer zentil non senza gran studio a preparato uno zerto model in desegnjo che sono una bela fantasia per dover far uno altro teler secondo qual desegnjo, nel dito nostro albergo di sopra dela porta che sara la faxes oposita a quella dove là prinzipia el primo teler el qual teler sara alquanto mazor a quello che la prenzipia tamen eso messer zentil se offerse a farlo per el prexio chel fa el prjmo in tuta perfezion de colorj e doro dove la chadera e questo de consentimento e voler del prefato messer marchio pelegrin chome guardian grandio.

ASV Scuola Grande di S Marco, Notatorio Registro 17, fol 28
Published by: Paoletti, 1894, p. 19, Sohm, 179.

Document 26

The Banca of the Scuola di Carità wish to match the other Scuole with a new processional banner.

1506 agosto 27

“...Tute le scuole de questa nostra inclita cita cercano con tuti I mezzj a loro possibilj in exaltar et gloriar quelle con diversj modj et principue in adornamenti et forniche maxime de cosse necessarie dele qual operation non se puol se non quelle grandmente laudar fazando tuto a laude e gloria del omnipotente dio.... E perche la scuola nostra sia le altre cosse che li e necessarie a honorar prima i dio e poi esser egual a le altre scuole li e de gran necessita haver uno penello over gonfalon che possi star al parangon con quelli dele altre scuole, et haver etiam uno pano da corpi che sia bello per poter honorar le sepulture de nostri fradelli...”

ASV Carità, Reg 253, fol 84 r.

Published by Sohm, p. 305 (who also cites Rosand's reference in *Titian*, noting that the latter has not quoted another version in Reg 236, fol 31.)

Document 27

After winning the competition, the contract for the processional banner is drawn up between the Scuola Grande di S Maria della Carità and Benedetto Diana.

1507, febbraio 12

“...debia depenza uno penello per dicta schuola da portar un procession el qual debia esser in tutal bellezza et perfection depento et dorado con la nostra Dona in maiesta sentada in sedia eminente con anzoli atorni che sia in reverentia de quella et con tanti batudi quanti piasea ali predominati misser Alvixe rizo, misser Nicolo di rampiaxi, misser Nadal di Jacopo et misser Ant.o vidal over a la mazor parte de loro per la liberta gli e sta concessa cerca questo per la parte presa in albergo se dicta scuola tracti al natural che j siano con quella reverentia et meglio modo sia possibile et far altri sancti et altri ornamenti al dicto penello che sia ben quanto sia possibile se che la bonta et perfection di quello sia estima piu et exceda el penero nuovo bello de la Scuola de misser San Marco in figure et adornamenti del dicto penelo zoe quanto apertine e depentura et oro si chel non sia de mancho beleza e perfection di quello ma piu tosto meglio come e dicto di sopra et el dicto m.o. Benedecto se obliga de far facto et compido dicto penello come el die star sicche non li manchi cossa alguna per quanto aspecta altri danno a la festa de la nativit de nostra signor proxima che e MCCCCCVII a modo de venexia senza alguna contradiction. Et per sua manifatura et integro pagamento dicto m.o. Veneto die haver quello ponera ali prefati misser Alvixe, misser Nic.o, misser Nadal et misser Ant.o over a la mazor parte de loro da duc. Cento in zoso.....refundar dicto lavor et farlo over refar ad altri maistri come a loro ponera a tute spexe dano et interesse de dicto m.o. Benedecto el qual in tal case ha bia refar a la dicta scuola ogni spexa fosse case senza alcuna contradiction...”

ASV Carità B, 2 perg. No. 107

Published by: Sohm, p.305

Document 28

Contract between Giovanni Bellini and Scuole Grande di S Marco for a painting of the martyrdom of San Marco. There is a specification that its quality must surpass that of the *Preaching of St Mark* on the opposite wall.

1515 4 –5- luglio

“.. de far uno teller de tella sopra el qual se die far depenzer una historia di misser S Marco come essendo in Elexandria el ditto fo strassinato per terra da quelli mori infideli. El qual teller die esser sopra la porta de Albergo grandio fra uno muro e l'altro per meso l'altro teller depenno che se troval sopra la bancha dove stanno el vardian et compagni. El qual teller die esser fatto per el dito messer Zuan Belin cum i patti, tempi, pretio, et condition infrascritti, et primo: Dieno el ditto vardian et compagni dar al ditto messer Zuan le telle andarano a far el ditto teler a spexe dela scuola. Sia etiam obliato el ditto meser Zuan depenze suso el ditto teller la istoria soprascritta, cum suo casamenti, figure, animali, et tutto quello achedera a tutte sua spese si de colori, come de ogni altra cosa in tutta perfection, come se convien a quel luogo, et come richiede la excellentia dela virtù del ditto messer Zanne, memorando el teller che se trova al incontro el qual fece messer Gentil suo fredello. Promettemo (il guardian e compagni) dar al ditto messer Zanne per sua merce de depenzer el sopra scritto teller quel medemo pretio have messer Gentil soprascritto, cum quelli medemi modi et patti have ditto messer Gentil. Se obliga el ditto messer Zanne dar compido el ditto teller a tutta aperfection in tanto tempo quanto dete, el soprascritto messer Gentil el sopraniminato teller cum quel modi precisi. Siamo obligati i soprascritti vardian et compagni dar al ditto messer Zanne de presenti per capara del soprascritto lavor fatto sara el teller ducati 10 de contradi. Siamo anche obligati i soprascritti dar al ditto messer Zanne de tempo in tempo danari secondo esso messer Zanne lavorara. El qual lavoro deba de tempo in tempo el dito vardian et . . . messer Andrea provededor . . . andar a vedar et secondo el proceder del lavor tanto dar al ditto messer Zanne in come per parte presa in capitolo zeneral appar . . .

1515, adi 4 luio. (Firmato).

Io, Vettor Ziliol, vardian grande

Io, Andrea Ruzier, provedador.....

Io, Zuan Belin sono contento de quanto è soprascritto”

The following day Giovanni supplied a receipt for the initial payment of 10 ducats

“**1515, adì 5 luio** – Recevi mi Zuan Belin da messer Vetor Ziliol ... ducati diese ... per parte del lavor soprascrito....”

ASV Scuole Grande di S Marco, Registro 17, foglio 60

Published by: Paoletti, 1894, p. 14, (who also noted a copy of the document dated 11 August 1515),
Sohm, p. 281 Goffen, 1990, p.269, cited by Bächtmann who also quoted Tempestini's publication on p. 107

Document 29

Extracts from Codicil to the Will of Jeronimo hollivier, made in 1524, requesting that his altarpiece of *Madonna col Bambino* painted by Giovanni Bellini should be placed in the Church of Madonna dell'Orto, above an altar.

1528, 16 maggio

“...Io Jeronimo hollivier... ho considerando esser nezesario azonzer al mio testamento quello che per hobliviori ho pretermesso

Vollgio siano datti per la fabbriche della giexia de san fellixe duc. Cinque....

Interzettera vollgio et hordeno che el quadro de nostra dona fatto per man de Zuan bellin che a el retratto della bon memoria del q. messer Marcho fo mio fradella vollgio . . . quello sia sozrado de jnttaio dorado e fatto tanto bello e sontuoxo quanto possibile posj esser e quello sia posta in lla giexia de Madona Sancta Maria dell'ortto in llugo de palla a qualche unto delli altari della ditta giexia...ho veramente della sagrestia secondo chome parera aj padri della ditta giexia a questi vollgio sia fatto senza fallo..al qual quadro fo fatto delli danari della spiziallita del quondam messer Marcho.....

ASV Sez notarile, Busta 190 and 192, Testamenti notaio Girolamo Canal, no. 139, codicil 190.
Published by: Paoletti, 1894, p. 15, Goffen, 1990, pp 90-92, 271, cited by Bächtmann, p. 219

Document 30

This is an extract from a letter published by Ricci, which had been written in 1759 about Jacopo Bellini's *Crocifissione* in the Duomo, Verona. Although anonymous, Ricci suggests that perhaps it was written by Giambettino Cignaroli.

“Amico Carrissimo
1759

Verona 1 Luglio

“.....Quest'opera numerosa di quaranta figure o poco meno, rappresentava la Crocifissione di Cristo; e fu dipinta nel quattrocento trentasei o in quel torno, de Iacopo Bellini cittadino veneziano, padre di Gentile, e di Giovanni, che tu poi del divino Tiziano guide e maestro Sotto la croce stavano soldati con vari attitudini sopra la veste inconsutile, mettendo la sorte. Si vedevano pure diverse donne devote, e fra queste Maria, ornato il capo di aureola dorata alla greca, e di un lungo manuta e grave”

Ricci also writes that several laudatory sonnets and a poem were written about this particular artwork, by Giuseppe Torelli, Antonio Tirabosco and Marcantonio Pindermonte.

Published by: Ricci, 1908, p. 59.

APPENDIX TWO

TABLE OF HALOES

PERIOD	DATE	ARTIST	MEDIUM	TITLE	PUNCHED	INTERNAL HALO DESIGN	INTERNAL SCRIPT	DESCRIPTION	SIZE	SHAPE	HALO POSITION	ABSENT HALO	LOCATION
2-3 AD	II century	Anon.	White marble	<i>Soli Invicto</i>	No	No	No	5 long rays	Large	Individual rays	Above upper head		Musei Vaticano, Rome
	II century, 2nd half	Anon.	Mosaic	<i>Christ-Helios</i>	No	No	No	7 long rays	Large	Graduated rays	Around head		Musei Vaticano, Rome
3 AD		Bottega 3, Rome	G. leaf / enamel / glass	<i>Buon Pastore</i>	NO HALO							Christ	Musei Vaticani, Rome
	IV century, 2nd half	Anon.	Glass	<i>Maiestas Domini</i>	No	No	No	Gold leaf	Broad	Slightly flattened disk	Behind head	Saints Peter & Paul	Musei Vaticani, Rome
4 - 5 AD	390	Anon.	Mosaic	<i>Portrait of Giustinian</i>	No	No	No	Gold, v. broad red cube / white orb rim	V. large	Disk	Behind head		Basilica di Sant' Apollinare Nuova, Ravenna
	493-526	Anon.	Mosaic	<i>Portrait of Sant' Ambrogio</i>	No	No	No	Blue tesserae	V small	Disk	Around head		Basilica di Sant' Ambrogio, Milan
	V century	Anon.	Wax encaustic icon	<i>Christo Pantocrator</i>	Yes	Yes, decorated cross arms outlined in red	No	Patterns made with simple ring punch	Large	Disk	Flat behind head		St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai
	400-500 AD	Anon.	Illustrated manuscript	<i>Cotton Genesis, Abrah & angl's</i>	No	1 fragment seems to have rays	No	Gold, black circumference	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head		British Library, London
	650 AD	Anon.	Mosaic	<i>The Blessing Christ between two angels</i>	No	No, nor in Christ's	No	Gold, white-rimmed	Large	Disk	Flat behind heads		Baptistry San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome
	Mid	Anon.	Ivory	<i>Annunciation</i>	No	No	No	Slightly concave	Medium	Disk	Flat behind heads		Castello Sforzesco, Milan
	? 6AD	? Palestinian	Lead/tin Ampulla/ Rel	<i>Adorazione del Bambino</i>	No	No	No	Virgin's 2-bordered 8-rayed star in nimbus above her	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head		Museo e Tesoro del Duomo, Monza
	VI/VII cent	? Palestinian	Lead/tin Ampulla/ Rel	<i>Ascensione</i>	No	3 arm crosses	No	2 angels in profile against disk Christ in mandorla	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	Apostles	Museo e Tesoro del Duomo, Monza
	706-706 AD	Anon.	Mosaic	<i>Lavanda del Bambino</i>	No	Yes, Latin cross	No	Gold, blue-white rim, internal blue-white cross arms	Large	Disk	Behind head in profile		Vatican Grotto, St Peter's, Rome
	Early	Anon.	Mosaic	<i>Vergine della Natività</i>	No	No	No	Gold, silver, double-blue border	V. Large	Disk	Flat behind head		Vatican Grotto, St Peter's, Rome

	Early	Anon.	Encaustic on canvas	<i>Icon of Theotokos</i>	No	N	No	V simple, Christ's double border	V small	Disk	Low, flat behind head	Chiesa di Santa Maria Nova, Rome
	VI century	Anon.	Mosaic	<i>Portrait of Pope John VII</i>	No	No; square	No	Gold, green black border	Medium	Square	Flat, behind head	Vatican Grotto, St Peter's, Rome
	705-707	Lombard sculptor	Marble relief	<i>Christ in Glory</i>	No	3 plain arm crosses	No	White, internal carving in cross arms	Medium	Disk	Flat, behind head	Duomo, Cividale
8 AD	745	? Constantinople	Silk fragment	<i>Annunciation</i>	No	No	No	Gold disk, black rim, black border	Medium	Disk	Flat, behind head	Musei Vaticani, Rome
	882AD	Anon.	Mosaic	<i>Pope Paschal I</i>	No	Internal field blue tesserae. Black/white vertical border bands	No	Slightly 3-dimensional "frame" effect	Large	Rectangular	Flat, behind head, to below shoulders	Chiesa di Santa Prassede, Rome
	IX	Anon.	Gold coin	<i>Gold solidus of Constantine VII</i>	No	Cruciform - 3 arm crosses	No	Disk with cruciform design	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	Emperor Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks
	914-19	Anon.	Gold coin	<i>Gold solidus of Basil II</i>	Yes	Cruciform with internal decoration	No	Disk with 3 cross arms	Medium	Disk	Flat, low behind head	Emperor Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks
	963	Anon.	Illustrated manuscr't	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	No	Cruciform - 3 arm crosses	No	White disk, gold cross, red outline	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head/profile	Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen
	963-984	Anon. Egypt	Illustrated manuscr't	<i>A Book of Homilies, Repose St J</i>	No	C's 3 red blunt cross pattee	No	V's halo is blue, St John's gold	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	British Library, London
	989-990	Anon.	Gold & enamel icon	<i>Archangel Michael</i>	Filigree	Beading and filigree designs	No	Outer band contains enamelling	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Tesoro di San Marco, Venice
1000	X century	Theodore	Illustrated manuscr't	<i>Theodore Psalter, Psalm 26</i>	No	No	No	Gold, with red circumferences for all	Large	Disk	Flat behind head/profile	British Library, London
1100	1066	Anon. Spanish	Illustrated manuscr't	<i>The Silos Apocalypse</i>	No	Christ's 3 white cross pattee	No	Gold field, angel has blue halo Arch Michael has blue halo	Med / small	Not true disks, blunt bott	Flat behind head/profile	British Library, London
	1109	Venetian but anon.	Mosaic	<i>Vergine orante</i>	No	No	No	Gold halo circumscribed with pink / blue border	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Duomo Santa Maria e Donato, Murano

Late 1100	Late 1100	Venetian but anon.	Mosaic	<i>Hodegetria</i>	No	No	No	Gold halo circumscribed with blue border. Apostles' haloes blue-bordered	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Duomo, Torcello
		? Constantinople Anon	Icon	<i>Nicopea</i>	No	No	No	V badly abraded, but revetment has precious gems	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Basilica di San Marco, Venice
	1200s	Maestro del Crocifisso dei Frari	Tempera on wood	<i>The Crucifixion</i>	Yes	Yes, simple ring punching around circumference	No	Badly abraded in parts. Red-rimmed	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Chiesa di S Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
1200-1220	? XII	Venetian but anon.	Mosaic	<i>Giudizia Universale</i>	No	3 cross arms in Christ's halo	No	Gold, Virgin's blue-red rim, Baptist's blue,	Large	Disk	Flat behind heads	Duomo, Torcello
		N. Iraq, anon.	Illustrated codice	<i>Syriac Gospel Lectionary</i>	No	Christ's 3 red cross pattee, gold	No	Blue-white border for C, others black rimmed Apostles' white or black-rimmed	Large	Disk	Flat behind head/profiles	British Library, London
1220-1230	1216-1220	Limoges, anon.	Metal & enamel	<i>Pyx</i>	No	Blue enamel inner field	No	Yellow, then black outer circumference	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Victoria & Albert Museum, London
	1st half XI	Nuns of Hedingham	Ink with colour wash	<i>Obituary Roll of Lucy de Vere</i>	No	Angels have blue or pink halo	No	Inner coloured field, blonde border, black border	Small	Disk	Flat behind profiles	British Library, London
1230-1240	1225-30	Anon.	Brass inlaid silver	<i>The Black Ewer</i>	No	No	No	Iraqi, given to archers and harpist	Small	Disk	Flat behind head	British Museum, London
1240-1250	1232	Venetian but anon.	Fresco	<i>Annunciation</i>	No	No	No	White blonde haloes circumscribed with outer border	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Chiesa di San Zan Degolà, Venice
	1240-70	Venetian but anon.	Mosaic	<i>Story of Genesis</i>	No	White cross arms	No	V. Large gold halo	Very large	Disk	Flat behind head	Basilica di San Marco, Venice
	1250	Maaestro di Tressa	Gold, tempera on panel	<i>Madonna con Occhi Grossi</i>	Yes	Hollows containing black "gems"	No	Deep internal hollows in halo internal field	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena
	c. 1265	Coppo di Marcovaldo	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	No	"Pie-crust" internal ridging	No	Gold disk halo	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto

	1267	Anon.	Fresco	<i>Mad & Child & Sts & donor</i>	Yes	Rays, different motifs	No	Flat disk halo	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, Milan
1260-1270	1267	Novgorod School	Tempera on panel	<i>Ascension of Elijah</i>	No	No	No	Pale blonde/gold	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Gallerie di Palazzo Leoni Montanari, Vicenza
1272	XIII - 2nd	Cimabue	Tempera su legno	<i>Maestà della Madonna</i>	Yes	Internal punched border	No	Flat gold	V. large	Disk	Flat behind head	Musee du Louvre, Paris
	1285	Cimabue	Tempera on panel	<i>St Francis tavola</i>	No	Yes, internal "flutes"	No	Deep, heavy internal ridges	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Museo di Santa Maria degli Angeli, Assisi
1280-1290	1278-80	Cimabue	Fresco	<i>Enthroned Madonna between St Francis and angels</i>	No	No	No	Flat gold halo	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Museo di Santa Maria degli Angeli, Assisi
		Venetian	Mosaic	<i>Cristo benedicente</i>	No	3 decorated cross arms	No	Silver, red cube & gold orb rim	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Basilica di San Marco, Venice
	1290s-1300s	Venetian	Mosaic	<i>Vergine Orante</i>	Mosaic	No	No	Flat with red/blue border	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Duomo di Santa Maria e Donato, Murano
	1290s-1300s	Venetian	Mosaic	<i>Virgin and Child</i>	Mosaic	No	No	Cruciferous, voided cross arms	Large	Disk	Flat behind heads	Duomo di Torcello, Venice
1290-1295	Late	Giotto - ?workshop		<i>Old Testament</i>	No	No	No	Flat gold halo	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Chiesa Superiore, Assisi
1295-1300	1291-96	Jacopo Torriti	Mosaic	<i>The Nativity</i>	No	Yes, 3 cross arms	No	Blue for angels, Virgin's red-rimmed gold, Infant's cruciform	Medium	Flat disk	Flat behind heads	Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome
1300	1300	Giotto - ?workshop	Fresco	<i>L'omaggio di un semplice</i>	No	Slim ridges	No	Dark gold	V. large	Disk	Behind head in profile	Chiesa Supeiore, Assisi
	1300	Giotto	Tempera on wood	<i>Crucifixion</i>	Yes	Ring punch delineates cross arms	No, but niello patterning in rim	Very solid, with "gems"	Large	Disk	Behind head in profile	Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, Florence
	1300	Giotto	Fresco	<i>Meeting at the Golden Gate</i>	No	Broad shorter ridges	No	Gold halo with black border	Smaller	Disk, v slight ellipsis	Behind head in profile	Scrovegni Chapel, Padua
	1303-06	Giotto	Fresco	<i>Presentation of the Virgin</i>	No	Broad shorter ridges	No	Gold halo with black border	Smaller	Disk, more ellipsis	Behind head in profile	Scrovegni Chapel, Padua
		Giotto	Fresco	<i>Christ's Entry into Jerusalem</i>	No	BS ridges, 2 cross patee arms with internal decoration in Christ's halo	No	Gold, black rimmed	Smaller	Elliptical Disk	Behind head in profile	Scrovegni Chapel, Padua

	Giotto	Fresco	<i>The Kiss of Judas</i>	No	As above	No	As above	Smaller	Less ellipsis of disk	Behind head in profile	Scrovegni Chapel, Padua
	Giotto	Fresco	<i>The Annunciation</i>	No	Broad ridges	No	Gold, black-rimmed	Smaller	Sharper disk ellipsis	Behind head in profile	Scrovegni Chapel, Padua
	Giotto	Fresco	<i>La Scacciata dei Mercanti</i>	No	BS ridges, 2 cross patee arms with internal decoration in Christ's halo	No	Gold. Black-rimmed	Smaller	Some disk ellipsis	Behind head in profile	Scrovegni Chapel, Padua
	Giotto	Fresco	<i>Compianto su Cristo Morto</i>	No	As above, but fainter	No	Gold. Black-rimmed	Christ's is much smaller		Behind His left profile	Scrovegni Chapel, Padua
	Giotto	Fresco	<i>Ultima Cena</i>	No	Christ as above	No	As above, Apostles' plain	Apostles' smaller than Christ's		Behind heads and in front of faces	Scrovegni Chapel, Padua
	Giotto	Fresco	<i>Universal Justice</i>	No	Angels' - No	No	Yellow light emanescence	Small	Round	Flat behind head	Scrovegni Chapel, Padua
	Anon.	Fresco	<i>Deposition</i>	No	Christ's blue cruciform x 2	No	Yellow, black-rimmed	Medium	Disk	Flat behind heads&profile	Chiesa SS XII Apostoli, Venice
Early 1300	Venetian but anon.	Mosaic	<i>Episodes of Creation in Atrium</i>	No	God has 3 white cruciform arms	No	Gold halo, red-rimmed	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Basilica di San Marco, Venice
Early 1300	Giotto attrib.	Tempera on poplar	<i>Pentecost</i>	No	No	No	Dark yellow gold disks	Large	Disks	Flat behind/in front of heads	National Gallery, London
1300s	Venetian but anon.	Fresco	<i>Deposition</i>	No	No	No	Gold, outlined in black	Medium	Disks	Flat behind heads & profile	Chiesa di Apostoli, Venice
1310	Paolo Veneziano	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>Ancona of San Donato</i>	Yes	Ring and hexa-bar star punch patterns	No	Internal halo field plain, decoration at circumference	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Patriarchal Palace, Venice
	Duccio	Temp/gold on poplar	<i>Maestà</i>	Yes	Vegetal, different punches	No	Bright gold all different	Large	Disks	Flat behind headprofile	Museo dell'Opera, Siena
1310-1320	c. 1311	Giotto	<i>Madonna in maestà</i>	Yes	Cross patee arm	No	Gold	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	1308-11	Simone Martini	<i>Maestà</i>	Yes, vegetal, rosette, different punch	Gems, incision,	No	Bright gold disks, some ridging	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	Palazzo del Comune, Siena
	1310-15	Shop of Giotto	<i>The Peruzzi Altarpiece</i>	A little	Coloured "gems" within cross arms	No	Cruciform halo	Medium	Cruciform	Parallel to head	North Carolina Museum of Art
1320-1330	1315	Ugolino di Neri	<i>Santa Croce Altarpiece predella</i>	Yes							National Gallery, London

1317	Simone Martini	Tempera, gold, pastiglia	<i>St Louis Enthroned with Robert of Anjou</i>	Yes	Broad band of punched decoration	No	Halo field by head plain, rest punched	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head, reaching to below neck	Museo di Capodimonte, Naples	
1315-16	? French author	Illuminated Manuscript	<i>Pilgrim's Guide to Compostela</i>	No	Hat and scallop shells	No	Red halo with specific ref to St James	Medium	Disk	Flat behind heads	British Library, London	
1324-25	Simone Martini	Tempera su legno	<i>Annunciation</i>	Yes	Tooling and punching	No	Gold, slim rays	Large	Disk	Flat behind heads	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence	
c. 1325	Jacobello del Fiore	Gold leaf on panel	<i>Sante</i>	Yes	V simple, 4 bands of 8 ring punch	No	Inner border star punches, all gold leaf, 5 bands in toto	Large	Disk	Flat behind heads	Chiesa di S Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice	
1332-38	Taddeo Gaddi	Fresco	<i>Tondos of Two Theological Virtues</i>	No	Intersecting lines 4 concavity	No	Concave effect	Medium	Diamond	Behind head, tilted	Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence	
1332-38	Taddeo Gaddi	Fresco	<i>Tondos of Two Virtues</i>	No	No	No	Polygonal. Gold	Medium	Pentagon	High behind head/profile	Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence	
1327-1332	Taddeo Gaddi	Tempera & gold leaf	<i>Crucifixion and Lamentation</i>	Yes	No	No	Large internal punched border	Medium	Disk	Flat behind profiles	Bristol City Art Gallery, Bristol	
1330-40	1330-36	Andrea Pisano	Bronze relief	<i>Faith, Charity, Humility,</i>	No	No	No	Polygonal halo	Large	Hexagonal	Flat behind heads	South Doors of Baptistery, Florence
1330-36	Andrea Pisano	Bronze relief	<i>Fortitude & Temperance, Justice & Prudence</i>	No	No	No	Polygonal halo	Medium	Pentagonal	Flat behind heads	South Doors of Baptistery, Florence	
1333	Simone Martini	Tempera on panel	<i>Annunciation from Orsini Polittico</i>	Yes	Rosettes and several borders	No	Mixture of punches	Medium	Disk	Flat behind tilted head	Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp	
1338	Bernardo Daddi	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>Crucifixion panel from triptych</i>	Yes	Large simple punching	No	Polygonal halo	Large	Hexagonal	Flat behind profile	The Courtauld Gallery, London	
-	Paolo Veneziano	Tempera, gold leaf	<i>Lunetta di Madonna con Bambin</i>	Yes	No	No	Outer beaded, red rim, dark gold halo, haloes	Large	Disk	Flat behind head/profile	Chiesa di Santa Maria in Gloriosa, Venice	
1336	Simone Martini	Tempera su legno	<i>Annunciation</i>	Yes	Beading, rosette punch	No	Gold, several punches used	Large	Disk	Flat behind head in profile	Musee des Beaux-Arts, Paris	
c. 1340	Francesco Traini/Lippo Memmi	Oil and gold on wood panel	<i>The Triumph of St Thomas Aquinas</i>	No	Some rays	No	Simple gold	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	Chiesa di Sta. Caterina, Pisa	

1340-1350	c. 1340	Taddeo Gaddi	Tempera & gold leaf	<i>Madonna con Bambino e Santi</i>	Yes	Foliate contained in looped band	No	Virgin's gold disk heavily embossed, also Christ's halo	Large	Christ's is arabesque	Flat behind profiles	Karlstein, Castello
	1340	? Venetian	Mariogola della Scuola di S Michele	<i>San Michele atterra il demonio</i>	No	Christ's has cruciform on 1 side	No	Plain gold in ellipsis outlined with black	Small	Elliptical, tilted back	Behind heads	Biblioteca Correr, Venice
	1342	Ambrogio Lorenzetti	Tempera on panel	<i>The Presentation in the Temple</i>	Yes	Simple punching	No	Yellow-gold haloes	Large	Disks	Flat behind heads/profile	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	c. 1345	Anon	Fresco	<i>L'Albero della vita</i>	No	Jesus has cruciform halo	No	Virgin's is incised q. deeply	Large	Large rays	Flat behind heads	Santa Maria Maggiore, Bergamo
	1346	Guariento	Tempera & gold leaf	<i>Angel Principalities</i>	Yes	Incision	No	Overlap onto faces	Large	Flat disks	Flat behind profiles	Museo Civico, Padua
	1346	Bartomomeo da Camogli	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna dell'Umilità</i>	No	No	No	Slim gold rays, 3 x bunch for Christ Child	Quite long	Virgin's has stars at end	Around heads	Galleria Nazionale, Palermo
	1347	Greek-Venetian	Inv. Cl. I. n. 383	<i>Madonna con Bambino e Santi</i>	Yes	Zig-zag, Christ's cruciform	No	Gold	Large	Disk	Flat behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice
1350-60	c. 1350	Tommaso da Modena	Fresco	<i>Santa Caterina</i>	No	Incised inner band	No	Pale blonde circle, much smaller than Giotto's	Small	Disk	Flat behind head	Chiesa di Santa Caterina, Treviso
	c. 1350	Tommaso da Modena	Fresco	<i>San Gerolamo in his studio</i>	No	No	No	Very pale, with fringed rayed circumference	Large	Disk	Flat behind hat/head	Monastery of San Nicolo, Treviso
	c. 1352	Simeon (Bulgarian)	Manuscript	<i>Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander</i>	No	White voided cross pattee x 3	No	Gold	Medium	Disk	Flat behindhead/profile	British Library, Lodon
	1352	English, ? Anon.	Illustrated Manuscr't	<i>Holkham Bible Picture Book, Noah and the Ark</i>	No	4 large red petal cross arms	No	Blonde, black circumference in God's halo	Medium	Disk	Disk	British Library, London
	1355-56	Tommaso da Modena	Fresco	<i>Storie di Sant'Orsola</i>	No	Plain blonde disk	No	Not exactly positioned centrally behind head	Medium	Disk	Flat behind profile	Museo Civico, Treviso
	? 1350	Orcagna	Marble relief	<i>Death & Assumption of Virgin</i>							No haloes for anyone	Chiesa di Orsanmichele, Florence
	c. 1357	Catarino	Tempera on panel	<i>Incoronazione della Vergine con angeli</i>	Yes	New tool punch	No	Venetian Gothic, red-rimmed				Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice

	1359	Taddeo Gaddi	Tempera on panel	<i>St Eligius in the Goldsmith's Shop</i>	Yes	Mixture of circular punches	No	Very large outer band	Large	Disk	Flat behind profile	Museo del Prado, Madrid
1360-70	c. 1360	Paolo Veneziano	Tempera on panel	<i>Ss. Agostino, Pietro, Giovanni Battista, Evangelista, Paolo</i>	Yes	Star-punch border	No	Internal free-hand incision	Large	Disk	Flat behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice
	c. 1365	Andrea Bonaiuti	Fresco	<i>The Pentecost</i>	No	Deep ridges	No	Plain gold, 2 in front of faces	Medium	Disk	Flat bhd/in front	Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence
	c. 1366-68	Paolo Veneziano	Tempera on panel	<i>St. John the Baptist</i>	Yes	Simple ring punch border	No	Red-rimmed, internal curly pattern	Large	Disk	Flat behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice
	1366-68	Paolo Veneziano	Painted wood	<i>Crucifixion</i>	Yes	Simple ring punch border	No	2 red outlined arm crosses	Large	Disk	Flat behind head, arm cross tilted 2 head	Chiesa di San Stefano, Venice
		Stefano Veneziano	Tempera / gold on panel	<i>Madonna in trono col Bambino</i>	Yes	Foliate design, 3 gold cross arm	No	Plain gold outer border, upper triangular punch in Mad.	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head and profile face of Christ	Museo Correr, Venice
	1369	Lorenzo Veneziano	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter</i>	Yes, ring punches	4 x "gems" arranged in square around central "gem"	No	Internal decorated cross patee on foliate background	Large	Disk	Flat behind head	Museo Correr, Venice
	Later 1300s	Greek-Venetian	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	Yes	Cruciform with star in arms	No	Virgin's has internal spirals x 2 rows	Large	Disk	Behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice
	1300s	Venetian-Byzantine	Oil on wood	<i>Crucifixion with Saints</i>	Yes, v. Ornate design	V. Broad red cross pattee arms are tilted	No	v. Ornate internally, looped external pinnacles,	Large		Slightly foreshortened	Museo Correr, Venice
	1300s	Frere Laurent	Illustrated Manuscr't	<i>La Somme le roi, Moses r'g Law</i>	No	3 red, decorated cross arms	No	Blue halo for Christ	Medium	Disk	Flat behind heads	British Library, London
1370-80	1370s	Giusto de Menabuoi	Fresco	<i>Fina Buzzacarina prst'd to Virg</i>	No	3 red/white cross arms	No	Bright gold haloes	Medium	Disk	Flat behind heads/profile	Battistero, Padua
	1370	Giusto de Menabuoi	Fresco	<i>The Cardinal Virtues of Fortitude and Temperance</i>	No	No	No	Polygonal halo	Medium	Scalloped	Flat behind heads	Palazzo della Ragione, Padua
	c. 1376	Stefano Veneziano	Tempera/gold on panel	<i>San Cristoforo</i>	Yes, ring punches	3 x cross arms in Christ Child's	No	Stylus, punching, external pinnacle	Large		Flat behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice

	c. 1376	Antonio Veneziano	Tempera / gold on panel	<i>L'Apostolo San Giacomo Magg</i>	Yes		V simple beaded internal border	No	Gold flat disk	Medium	Disk	Flat behind profile	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
	1370-90	Attrib to Jacobello da Bonomo	Tempera/gold on panel	<i>St John the Baptist and St Paul</i>	Yes		Incised rays, double border	No	Internal swirls, outer 4 point border ring punch border	Large	Disk	Behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice
1380-90	1384	Anon.	Tempera on oak	<i>The Wilton Diptych</i>	Yes		Incised nails & crown of thorns	No	Virgin's has outer punched border, like polished gold	Medium	Disk	Flat, behind/profile	National Gallery, London
1390-1400	1395-40	Gentile da Fabriano	Tempera on panel	<i>Virgin & Child with Sts. Nicholas & Catherine & donor</i>								No haloes for anyone	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
	1395	Gentile da Fabriano	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>Virgin & Child with Sts Francis & Clare</i>		Mixture, broad inner bands	Arcades, foliate, vegetal	No	Quadrilobe external pinnacles	Medium	Disks	Flat, behind heads/profiles	Pinacoteca Malaspina, Pavia
	1395-1400	Cristoforo Cortese	Miniature Illust Ms	<i>Lettere</i>	No	No		No	8-pointed halo for Santa Caterina	Medium	Polygonal	Flat behind heads	Biblioteca Comunale, Siena
	1395	Jean Malouel	Tavola	<i>Compianto sul Cristo Blessed Franciscus di Venetis</i>		Incised	No	No	Rays on top of disk	Medium	Disk/rays	Flat behind head	Musee du Louvre, Paris
1400-1410	1400s	Paduan school	Fresco	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	No		Zig-zag linear design in internal field	No	Quite decorative internal field	Small	Disk	Flat, head slightly turned	Chiesa di San Stefano, Venice
	1405	Gentile da Fabriano		<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	Yes		Different external border,	Latin	Floral	Medium	Disks	Flat behind heads	Pinacoteca nazionale, Ferrara
		Gherardo Starmina	245. NG	<i>Beheading of a female saint</i>								B4 death	National Gallery, London
	c. 1410	Jean Malouel	Tempera on canvas	<i>Virgin & Child with angels</i>	No		Disk & rays for V, long rays for C	No	2 x sets rays with unusual little crosses	V long	Disk/rays	Behind/sides of head	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
	1408-10	Gentile da Fabriano	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	Yes		Several punches used	Latin, miniscule	Beaded borders round script, external pinnacles	Meium	Disk	Flat behind head, brushing necks	Galleria Nazionale, del Umbria
	1400s	Greek, anon	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>Virgin and Child</i>	Yes,		Scrolls, cross arms for Christ Child	No	Red delineations of cross arms, high external pinnacles	Large	Disk	Flat behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice

	Antonio Vivarini & Giovanni d'Alemagna		<i>Madonna in trono col Bambino e i Santi Gregorio, Girolamo, Ambrogio e Agosto</i>	Yes			? Kufic					Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
c. 1405	Masaccio	Fresco	<i>The Holy Trinity</i>	No	No	No	Dark gold, tilted in ellipsis foreshortened	Small	Elliptical disks	Behind/diagonal head		Santa Maria Novella, Florence
c. 1410	Zanino di Pietro	Anastasis / ?tempera	<i>Virgin & Child & 12 Apostles</i>	NO HALOES, but in v poor condition. However cannot see any trace of haloes for any figures							All	Duomo di Torcello, Venice
c.1410	Jacobello del Fiore	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>St Lucy between flames of stake</i>	No	Internal arcaded circumference	Yes	Bright gold, outlined in black	Medium		Flat, head in profile against it		Musei Civici di Fermo
1420	Gentile da Fabriano	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>Madonna and Child</i>	Yes	Beaded border, rosette divisions	Pseudo-Arabic	Rest of internal field is plain	Large	Disk	Flat behind head		National Gallery of Art, Washington
c. 1420	Francesco Pesellino		<i>The Seven Virtues</i>	No	Dark	No	Polygonal with 7 visible points	Medium	Polygonal	Flat, 1 tilted		Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama
1420-30	1420-25 c	Jacobello del Fiore	Tempera/gold on panel	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	Yes	Beaded double border	No	Rosette punch in double border	Medium	Gold disks	Behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice
1420	Gentile da Fabriano	Tempera and gold leaf on panel	<i>Coronation of the Virgin</i>	Yes	Rosettes, complex designs	Latin script	Beaded border, no external pinnacles	Quite large	Gold disks	Flat against profiles		John Paul Getty Museum, Malibu
1421	Jacobello del Fiore	Temp/gold	<i>Justice between Michael & Gabriel</i>	Yes	Broad outer border	No	Large punch also used for breastplate	Medium	Gold disks	Flat behind head	Justice/Virgin	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
1422	Gentile da Fabriano		<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	Yes	Beaded border, inner spades	Yes, Kufic	Floral, vegetal motifs in Virgin's	Q large	Gold disks	Flat behind profiles		Museo nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa
1420-23	Gentile da Fabriano	Tempera, gold, pastiglia	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	Mixture of punches	Mix, simple arcades, vegetal	Pseudo-Arabic in Virgin's	Lots different types	Med/small	Gold disks	Flat behind profiles/heads		Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1420-30	Fra Angelico	Tempera / gold	<i>The Last Judgement</i>	Yes	Mix, ? Foliate designs	No	Disks, but also gold rays in front of faces of blessed	Small	Disks/rays	Behind and in front of faces		San Marco Museum, Florence

1421	Robert Campin	Tavola	<i>Madonna del Muretto Fiorito</i>	No	No	No	Gold disk	Small	Disk, only for Virgin	Flat behind downturned head	Baby Jesus	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1420-23	Masolino	Oil on panel	<i>St Peter & St Paul</i>	Yes	Simple, ring punch designs	No	Gold disks	Q large	Gold disks	Flat behind head/profile		John G Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art
1425-30	Andrea del Castagno	Fresco	<i>Crucifixion between the Virgin e i Santi Giovanni, Madalenna, Benedetto e Romualdo</i>	No	No, but light plumes	No	Solid disks of gold	Medium	Solid disks of gold	Above & behind heads		Ospedale Santa Maria Nuova, Florence
	Masolino & Masaccio	Tempera and gold on panel	<i>Madonna & Child with St Anne</i>	Yes	Simple beaded internal border	Latin Gothic Majuscules	External looped pinnacle design	Large for St Anne, med for Virgin	Disks	Flat behind heads		Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
c. 1425	Jacques Daret		<i>Vitsitation</i>	No	No	No	Very long metallic rays	V long	Gold rays	Around head		Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1425	Gentile da Fabriano	Tempera on panel	<i>Four Saints from Quaratesi Altarpiece</i>	Yes	Various internal arcades	Latin	Mixture punches, different external perimeters	Medium	Disks	Flat behind head/profile		Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1425	Gentile da Fabriano	Tempera and gold on panel	<i>Quaratesi Altarpiece</i>	Yes	Large beaded border delineates script	Latin	Script is very noticeable in this	Quite large	Gold disks	Flat behind heads		Royal Collection on loan to National Gallery, London
1425-38	Jacopo della Quercia	Bronze relief	<i>Creation of Adam, Creation of Eve,</i>	No	No	No	Inverted triangle for God	Large	Triangle in relief	Flat, behind head, reaching to shoulders		Basilica di San Petronio, Bologna
1426	Masaccio	Tempera on panel	<i>Enthroned Madonna</i>	Yes	3 x red cross ams	Pseudo-Arabic	Script motif separator, external looped pinnacles	Medium	Disk for Virgin, ellipsis for Jesus	Virgin's flat, behind head, J's horizontal		National Gallery, London
Late 20's	Jacopo Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>S Giovanni Evang & San Pietro</i>								No haloes for either saint	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1420s-30's	Bicci di Lorenzo	Tempera and gold on panel	<i>Sant'Anna Metterza</i>	Yes	Mostly taken up with band of script	Latin	Simple ring punch borders, stylus in interstitial spaces	Medium	Disks	Flat behind heads		Bob Jones University Museum and Art Gallery, SC
1430-1440	Early 1430s	Jacopo Bellini	<i>Enthroned Madonna & Child</i>	No	Floral divisions, 3 x cross pattee arms	Latin letters in Virgin's, pseudo-Arabic in Jesus'	Gold lettering stands out against dark field	Medium	Disk	Flat behind tilted heads		Cagnola Collection, Gazzada

1433	Domenico di Bartolo	Tempera and gold leaf on panel	<i>Madonna of Humility</i>	Yes	"Gems" included	No	Unusual ellipsis	Small	Disk in ellipsis	Hovering very high above head		Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena
1434-35	Rogier Van der Weyden	Oil on panel	<i>The Descent from the Cross</i>								Christ only has Crown of Thorns, no halo	Museo del Prado, Madrid
1434	Stefano da Verona	Tempera su tavola	<i>Adorazione dei Magi</i>	Yes	Large swirls in internal field	No	Gold, slightly oval	Q large	Gold ovals	Flat behind heads		Pinacoteca di Brera, Brera
1434	Jacques Daret	Oil on oak panel	<i>The Visitation</i>	No	No	No	Very long, fine, silver rays	Very long, but slim	Circular	Radiate from behind heads		Staatliche Museen, Berlin
1430-35	Jacopo Bellini	.	<i>Madonna col Bambine & L d'Est</i>	Yes	C's has 2 red cross pattee arms	Latin miniscule	Gold disks, C's v foreshortened	Medium	Gold disks	Flat/on head		Musee du Louvre, Paris
Early 30's	Hans Multschen	Tavola	<i>Orazione nell'Orto</i>	No	2 or 3 red rays interspersed with gold rays		Gold rays	Medium				Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
c.1435-38	Hans Multschen	Tavola	<i>Resurrection</i>	No	"Fleur de lys" cruciform arms x 3		Gold rays	V long	Rays	On/sides of head		Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
?1435	Stefano Sassetta	Tempera on poplar	<i>The Stigmatisation of St Francis</i>	Yes	Broad punched outer border	No	Large punch in double beaded band	Medium	Gold-coloured disk	Flat, behind head		National Gallery, London
c.1435	Donatello	Polychrome wood sta	<i>St John the Baptist</i>								No halo	Chiesa Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
c. 1437	Benezzo Gozzoli	Fresco	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	No	Baby Jesus 3 long slim red arms	No	Gold disks	Medium for all		Flat behind head/profile		San Marco Museum, Florence
c. 1437	Domenico Veneziano	Fresco on tile	<i>Head of a Saint</i>	No	No	No	Solid disk with lipped edge	Medium	Solid disk	Behind head		National Gallery, London
1437-44	Stefan Lochner	Oil on panel	<i>Virgin and Child in a Rose Arbour Yes</i>		Tri-lobate x 3 arms cross	No	Gold disks with various punches, incl stars	Large	Solid disk	High, behind head/profile		Wallraf-Richartz Museum.Cologne
1437	Hans Multscher	Tempera on panel	<i>Wurzacher Passion</i>	No	No	No	Fleur-de-lys groups of 3 rays	Quite long	3 x bunches	Radiate from behind heads		Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1437	Domenico di Bartolo	Tempera and gold leaf on panel	<i>Virgin and Child</i>	Yes	2 x cross pattee arms for Christ child with embedded "gems"	Humanist Latin script	Decorative, rosettes and "gems" in Virgin's	Medium	Disks	Flat against head/tilted head		Philadelphia Museum of Art
1438	Vivarini		<i>Hieronymous Altarpiece</i>	Yes			Lots of punching	Medium	Disk			Kunsthistorisches Museen, Vienna

1438-43	Fra Angelico	Fresco	<i>Crucifixion and Saints</i>	No	3 red broad cross arms	No	Gold disk, upper arm cross tilted to head	Q. large	Disk	Flat behind head	San Marco Museum, Florence	
1440-1450	c 1440	Andrea del Castagno	Fresco	<i>Hosea</i>	No	Head reflected onto halo, seems polished	Foreshortened, seen from above	Medium	Gold but damaged	Seen from above	Chiesa di San Zaccaria, Venice	
	c. 1440	Fra Filippo Lippi	Tempera on panel	<i>Coronation of the Virgin</i>	NO HALOES AT ALL FOR ANY OF FIGURES							Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1441	Michele Giambono	Inv. Cl. I. n. 1083	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	Yes	2 dimensional red blunt crosses	No	Gold, outer beaded punched border	Big	Dull gold disks	Behind Virgin's head	Museo Correr, Venice	
1441-42	Vivarini		<i>Madonna della Misericordia</i>	No	V sheer	No	Gold-rimmed transparent disk	Large	Transparent disk	Flat behind head	Chiesa Santa Maria Formosa, Venice	
1442	G D'Alem & Ant Viv	Panel	<i>St Sabina altarpiece</i>	Yes	Gold disk, arcade border	No	All same except angel's pinnacle border	Medium	Flat, elliptical disks	Flat, diagonal behind	Chiesa di San Zaccaria, Venice	
1441-47	Giovanni D'Alemagna & Antonio Vivarini	Pala	<i>Coronation of the Virgin</i>	Yes	Slim rays in God's	No	Gold disks	Medium	Slight ellipsis	Mostly flat behind heads	Chiesa di San Patalon, Venice	
1440	Jacopo Bellini	Panel	<i>Annunciation</i>	No	Slim rays, delicate floral motif; ?Kufic border motif	No	Disk, rayed pattern, stars between bunched rays	Medium	Ellipsis	Diagonal behind heads	Chiesa di Sant'Alessandro, Brescia	
1443	Enguerrand Quarton	Tavola	<i>Compianto sul Cristo & donatore</i>	No	Extremely long grad rays for C	Yes for St	Disks/ v long rays	Medium	V, v long, grad rays	Round head	Musee du Louvre, Paris	
1443	Michele Giambono		<i>San Crisogno</i>	?	Very plain	No	Seems brown now	Medium	Solid disk	Flat, high behind head	Chiesa di San Trovaso, Venice	
1443	G. D'Alem & A Vivarini	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>Ancona of Santa Sabina</i>	Yes	Internal arcaded circumference	No	Bright gold, plain internal field	Medium	Disk in ellipsis	Flat/behind heads in ellipsis	Chiesa di San Zaccaria, Venice	
1444	G D'Alem & A Vivarini	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	No	No	No	Flat disks, but polygonal for Magi	Medium	Disks/polygons	Behind heads/profiles	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin	
1444	Giov D'Alem & A Vivarini	Tempera, gold, pastiglia	<i>Coronation of the Virgin</i>	Yes	Internal arcaded circumference, large hollows	No	V solid, "3-dimensional"	Medium	Disk	Flat behind tilted heads	Chiesa di San Pantalon, Venice	
1444	Bartolomeo Bon	Istrian stone tympan	<i>Virgin & Child with Kneeling Members of Misericordia</i>	No	V plain	No	Originally painted	Medium	Disk	Flat, behind heads	Victoria / Albert Museum, London	

c. 1444-66	Domenico Veneziano	Tempera on panel	<i>St Lucy Altarpiece</i>	No	No	No	Gold rims, seem to be glass	Large	Gold rimmed circles	Above heads in ellipsis	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence	
1445	Andrea Mantegna	Cat 588	<i>St George</i>	No		No	Solid, gold	Slim	Tilted, foreshortened	Diagonally behind head	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice	
1445-47	Giov D'Alem & A Vivarini	Canvas	<i>Four Fathers of the Church</i>	Yes	Some pastiglia work for gems?	No	Arabesques, gem cruciform arm in C's	Medium	Gold disks	Flat behind heads/profiles	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice	
c1445-50	A. Vivarini	Triptych	<i>Annunciazione tra i SS. Antonione e Michele Arcangeli</i>	Yes	Wide punched outer border	No	Gold, Holy Spirit's & M's foreshortened	Small	Disk	God's behind head	Chiesa di San Bernardino e San Giobbe, Venice	
1445	Jacopo Bellini	Tempera on poplar	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	No	No	No	Gold v abraded	Medium	Disk	Flat behind heads	Pinacoteca di Brera	
1445	Ivan Petrov		<i>St Jerome from Uglyjan Altarpiece</i>	Yes	Single punch designs, external pinnacle	No	Different sizes of ring punches used	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	Permanent Art Collection, Zadar	
1446	Antonio Vivarini		<i>St Peter Martyr burns</i>	No	No	No	Solid gold disk	Medium	Elliptical	Behind/diagonal to head	Gemaldgalerie, Berlin	
1446	Jacopo Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>Crucifixion</i>	No	Hint of 2 red arm crosses	No	Yellow, solid disks	Smallish	Solid disks	Behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice	
1448-50	Andrea del Castagno	Pala	<i>Assumption of the Virgin</i>	No	Gold squiggles	No	V bright red	Medium	Foreshortened tilted	Virgin's behind head angels' elliptical	Staatliche Museen, Berlin	
c. 1448	Stephan Lochner	Oil on oak	<i>Sts Matthew, Cat of Al, John Ev</i>	Yes	Internal rays	No	Gold, simple large single punch border	Large	Disks, Christ's conc.	High, behind head/profile	National Gallery, London	
1440-50	Jacopo Bellini	Tempera sul tavola	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	Yes	Red rosettes in pentagon	Pseudo-Nashki	Gold disk, v. ornate	Medium	Disk,	Flat behind heads	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence	
1440-1450	Jacopo Bellini	Tempera on canvas	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	No	Broad outer plain border	Latin	Fairly plain	Medium	Disk	Flat, behind heads	Accademia Tadini, Lovere	
1450-1460	c. 1450	Nardi di Cione	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>The Crucifixion</i>	Yes	Deep scallop indentations	Latin	Gold	Large	Disk	Flat behind heads	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1450	Petrus Christus		<i>Exeter Madonna</i>								No haloes at all for anyone	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
c. 1450	Petrus Christus	Oil on panel	<i>Man of Sorrows</i>	No	No	No	3 x groups of very foliate, metallic rays	Large	Free standing foliate rays	Radiating from behind head	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, UK	
1450	Antonio Vivarini	Tempera, gold, pastiglia	<i>St Louis of Toulouse</i>	Yes, borders simple ring punches	Gold with dark field for script	Broad band of pseudo-Arabic	External looped pinnacle design	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head slightly turned	Musee du Louvre, Paris	
1450	Michele Giambono	Tempera, gold, pastiglia	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	Yes	Slim rays, pattern like tarzia	No	Dark gold, broad punched border, arabesques, 3 arms	Quite large	Disks, Christ's conc.	Flat, high behind head	Galleria Nazionale d'Arte, Rome	

1450	Michele Giambono	Tempera, gold on panel	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	No	3 x red cross arms & gold rays	Pseudo-Arabic, rosette divisions	Large, solid-looking	Quite large	Disks	Flat behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice
c. 1450	Giovanni di Paolo	Tempera / gold panel	<i>St John the Baptist going into Wild</i>	Yes	Simple arcade	No	Gold	Large	Disks, Christ's conc.	Behind profile	National Gallery, London
c. 1450	Jean Fouquet	Tempera on panel	<i>Virgin and Child</i>							No haloes for either	Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp
1450	Piero della Francesca	Tempera on panel	<i>The Baptism of Christ</i>							No haloes for anyone, including Holy Spirit in form of dove	National Gallery, London
c. 1450	Fra Angelico	Tempera on poplar	<i>Boschi ai Frati</i>	No	2 red arm crosses	Yes	Polished gold, Virgin's & Saints' names inscribed	Large	Gold disks	Flat behind heads	Museo San Marco, Florence
c. 1450	Petrus Christus	Pala	<i>Annunciation & Nativity</i>							No haloes, but Baby Jesus on ground surrounded by gold rays	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1450	Jacopo Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna with Child</i>	No	Mostly taken up with band of script	Latin	Very plain, almost looks like wood	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
c. 1450	Rogier van der Weyden	Pala	<i>Nativity</i>	No	No	No	Extremely long rays for King / Baby Jesus	V long	Gold rays	Round heads	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1450s	Zanobi Strozzi		<i>Annunciation</i>	Yes	Slim rays & punched border	No	Bright gold, slight concavity due to rays	Medium	Bright gold disks	Flat behind head in three quarter profile	John G Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art
1451	Antonio Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>St Bernard of Siena, St Jerome & St Louis</i>	Simple ring punching at circumference	Plain internal field	No	Quite solid	Medium	Disk	Flat, heads tilted against them	Chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna, Venice
1452	Giovanni Bellini	? Oil on panel	<i>Crucifixion</i>	No	2 red arm crosses; faint		Small yellow light emanation	V small	Circular "mist"	Around head	Museo Correr, Venice
1452	Marco Zoppo	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna & Child with 8 angels</i>	No	Foreshortened slim red cross	No	Solid outer circum. Transparent inner field with cross	Small	V dark, foreshortened	Behind/on head	Musee du Louvre, Paris

c 1453	Alessio Baldovinetti	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna col Bambino e Santi</i>	No	No	No	Gold foreshortened disks, V's has reflection of head,	Medium	C's more transparent	Diagonal/behind heads	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
c. 1453-55	Giovanni Bellini		<i>Cristo morto sorretto da due angeli</i>	No	Cruciferous, 3 x red arm crosses	Pseudo-Nashki	Looks solid but very slim	Medium	Disk in ellipsis	Diagonal behind head	Museo Correr
1453-55	Rogier van der Weyden	Tempera on panel	<i>Life of St John the Baptist</i>	No	No	No	Double gold cirlet for Virg, Christ has rays	Small	Gold. 3 x bunched rays	Behind head/profile	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1453-55	Andrea Mantegna	Tempera & oil on panel	<i>San Zeno Altarpiece</i>	No	2 red cross arms in Christ's	? Kufic lets	Gold, Kufic letter designs in borders, lipped rims	Small	Foreshortened disks	Tilted, behind heads	Chiese di San Zeno, Verona
1453-55	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>The Crucifixion</i>	No	3 very faint cross arms	No	More nebulous, yellow	Small	Fugitive disks	Behind heads	Museo Correr, Venice
c. 1455	Jacopo Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna wiith Child</i>	No	Pink rosette motif in Virgin's, 3 x cross pattee in Jesus'	Pseudo-Nashki	Very dense Arabic script inside border	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
1455-60	Alessio Baldovinetti	Half-bust	<i>Annunciation</i>	No	No	No	Gold, foreshortened disks, shadow of head reflected	Small	Foreshortene disk	Diagonal/high behind head	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1455-60	Francesco Pesellino & Filippo Lippi	Tempera on panel	<i>Trinity and Four Saints</i>	No	No	No	Long, polygonal halo for God	Medium but long	Gold, elliptical disks	Flat, or in ellipsis behind heads	National Gallery, London
c. 1455-60	Francesco Squarcione	Poplar pane	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	No	Pseudo-Nashki	No	Looks like metalwork	Medium	Disk	Flat behind profile	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1456-59	attrib Giov Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna on il Bambino</i>	No	3 red cross pattee arms in C's	Latin characters	Penta-circle, but painted	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head/profile	Los Angeles County Museum of Art
	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on wood	<i>Trasfigurazione</i>	No	No	No	Tiniest sliver of yellow light emanescence	Tiny	Line	Follows head	Museo Correr, Venice
1456	Andrea Mantegna	Tavola	<i>St Sebastian</i>	No	No	No	Pronounced flatness	Medium	Disk	Behind head	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
1457	Cosimo Tura	Tempera on panel	<i>Pietà</i>	No	No	No	Gold-rim, opaque halo	Small	Elliptical	Flat, on head	Museo Correr, Venice
c. 1457	Cosimo Tura		<i>Leichnam Christo von Engel</i>	No	No	No	Tilted				Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
?1457-60	Filippo Lippi	Inv. VV 1877	<i>Madonna & Sts Adoring Christ</i>	No	3 cross arms in Fanciulla's	No	Internal rays, gold disks	Medium	Slight ellipsis or flat	Behind/above head	Staatliche Museen, Berlin

1457-60	Andrea Mantegna	Tempera on panel	<i>San Zeno Altarpiece</i>	No	Broad outer band of script, plain inner field	Pseudo-Arabic script	Red cross pattee arms in Christ Child's	Medium	Disks in ellipsis	Behind, diagonal to heads	Chiesa di San Zeno, Verona
1457-60	Andrea Mantegna	Tempera on panel	<i>Crucifixion predella from San Zeno altarpiece</i>	No	No	No	Yellow-gold, upper half shield like square nimbus	Small	Disks	Behind heads	Musee du Louvre, Paris
1457-59	Maestro della Natività di Castello	Tempera on panel	<i>Adorazione del Bambino</i>							No haloes, but God in mandorla with Cherubim & Seraphim	Accademia, Florence
ca. 1459	Gentile Bellini	Tavola	<i>Madonna and Child with Donors</i>	Yes	No	No	Lightly punched outer border	Small	Gold disk	Flat behind head	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1459	Bartolomeo Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>San Giovanni di Capistrano</i>	No	No	No	Graduated rays	Medium	Circular	Radiate from behind heads	Musee du Louvre, Paris
1460-1470	1460-70	Francesco Squarcione	?	?	Kufic border, looks dark	No	Looks like metalwork	Medium	Disk	Flat behind profile	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1460	Bernardino Butinone	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna e Angeli</i>	No	Looks punched, ?pseudo-Kufic border	No	Mixture opaque, solid haloes	Small	Disks, extreme ellipsis	Virgin's is flat on head	Coll. Duca Gallarati Scotti, Milan
1460	Shop of Pesellino	Tempera/mordant gilding	<i>The Seven Virtues</i>	No	Gilded inner edging	No	Dark blue halo field, scalloped	Large	Heptagonal	Flat behind head/profile	Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama
1460	Andrea Mantegna	Tavola	<i>The Agony in the Garden</i>	No	Foreshortened red cross on back	No	Semi-opaque gold nimbus, gold haloes, mixed shapes of disk	Small	Ellipsis	Behind heads, diff angles C's seen from bhd	National Gallery, London
1460-68	Vincenzo Foppa	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna of the Book</i>	No	Double outer border	Latin	Cruciform rays for Jesus, gold disk for Virgin	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	Castello Sforzesca, Milan
?1461-78	Quirizio da Murano	Tempera on panel	<i>Christ showing Wounds to Nun</i>	?	Seems to be pentar-bar star	No	Concave circular borders	Small	Flat disk	Flat behind head	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
1460-62	Andrea Mantegna	Tempera/ oil on panel	<i>Dormition of the Virgin</i>	No		No		Small	Solid disk of gold	Behind, attached to heads	Prado Museum, Madrid
c. 1460	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on panel	<i>Cristo Morto Sorretto da due An Pietà</i>	No	V Slim foreshortened cross arms	Pseudo-Nashki	Dark golden halo	Slim	Elliptical gold disk	Diagonally behind head	Museo Correr, Venice
c. 1460	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>Pietà</i>	No	3 x slim, red arm crosses	No	Sheer, transparent, "silk" halo	Small	Transparent disk	Flat behind head	Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan

1460	Giovanni Bellini		<i>Cristo Benedicente</i>	No	No	No	3 x bunched rays	Small	Gold rays	Top/sides head	Musee du Louvre, Paris
Post 1460	Michele Giambono	Tempera on panel	<i>Coronation of the Virgin</i>	Yes	All different but simple	No	Very bright gold	Medium	Ellipsis, circular	1 elliptical from behind	Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice
1460	Gentile Bellini		<i>Lorenzo Giustiniani</i>	No	Inner scalloped halo	No	Slim gold outer halo	Small	Dark, then light gold	Flat behind profile	Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice
	Giovanni Bellini		<i>Madonna and Child</i>		Gems, Kufic but ? Punched	No		Small	Flat disks, very ornate	Flat behind heads & profile	Castello Sforzesco, Milan
c. 1460	Bartolomeo Vivarini		<i>San Ludovico da Tolosa</i>	Yes	Single-punch internal border	No	Gold disk, pinnacle ext border	Medium	Flat disk	Flat behind heads & profile	Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence
1460	Jacopo Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>The Crucifixion</i>	No	Very faint arm crosses	No	Yellow gold	Small	Disks	Flat, behind heads & profile	Museo Correr, Venice
1460-64	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna col Bambino aka Madonna Greca</i>	No	Voided gold cross arms in Christ Child's	No	Very slim gold rings	Medium	Gold ring	Flat behind head	Pinacoteca di Brera
1460-64	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>Trivulzio Madonna</i>	No	Rosette divisions	Pseudo-Nashki	Darker outer band of script	Medium	Disk	Flat behind heads	Civica Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Milan
c.1460-65	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>The Blood of the Redeemer</i>	No	Part of 1 red arm cross visible	? Pseudo-Nashki	A little similar to Correr Pieta halo	Medium	Disk in ellipsis	Diagonal behind head	The National Gallery, London
1460	Andrea Mantegna	Tempera on panel	<i>Presentation at Temple</i>	No	No	No	Slim gold ring circlets, C's has tiny gold rays inside	Medium	Flat behind heads, crosses face		Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1460	Andrea Mantegna	Tempera on panel	<i>St. George</i>	No	No	No	Solid gold disk	Medium	Disk in ellipsis	Diagonal behind head	Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice
1461-62	Benezzo Gozzoli	Tempera on panel	<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned amongst Saints</i>	No	Plain field	Names	Very bright gold haloes	Medium	Disks	Flat behind heads	National Gallery, London
1465	Marco Zoppo	Tempera on panel	<i>Dead Christ supported by Sts.</i>	No	No	No	White crystalline ellipses	Medium	Diagonal	Diagonal to head	National Gallery, London
1465	Gentile Bentile	Processional banner	<i>The Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani</i>	No	Seems to be scalloped design	No	Seems to be remains of disk halo	Small	?disk containing polyganol	Flat behind head	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
1465	Andrea Mantegna	Tempera on wood	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	No	? Kufic border, looks punched	No	Mix. Dark & light gold, depending on light	Small	V. sharp ellipsis	All titled behind heads	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

	1465	Andrea Verrochio	Bronze relief	<i>David</i>								Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence
	c. 1464-68	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera on wood	<i>St Vincent Ferrer Pala</i>	No	No	No	Yellow, but transparent opaque	Small	Circular "mist"	Flat behind heads & profile	SS Giovanni e Paolo, Venice
	1465-66	Antonio Vivarini		<i>Santa Chiara</i>	Yes	Penta-prong, penta.bar star	No	Gold. Pinnacle border	Medium	Disk	High, flat behind head	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
.-.	1465	Giovanni Bellini		<i>Polittico di Genzano</i>	No	No	No	Dark gold, V's & C's outlined in deep red	Medium	Disk	Flat, behind heads	Chiesa Madre di Santa Maria della Platea, Genzano di Lucania
	1465	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on panel	<i>Madonna and Child</i>	No	3 x cross pattee arms, rosette divisions	Latin script	Very solid-looking	Medium	Disks	Flat behind heads	Los Angeles County Museum of Art
	c. 1465-69	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera and oil on panel	<i>Presentation in the Temple</i>							No haloes	Fondazione Querini Stampalia Museum
	1466-67	Gentile Bellini	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna and Child</i>	No	V slim internal cross arms; internal red cross arms	No	Thin circlets of gold	Small	Gold circlets	Behind head, perspectivaly	National Gallery, London
	c. 1467	Antonio Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>St Clare</i>	Yes	Simple ring punching in borders	No	Gold, very high external pinnacles	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head, high	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	c. 1460s	Gregorio Schiavone	Oil on panel	<i>Madonna and Child</i>	No	No	No	Bright circular incandescence	Medium	Circular, tangible	Behind heads	Present location unknown
	c. 1467	Fra Negroponte	Tempera, paper on panel	<i>Madonna and Child with Sts</i>	?	Yes	No	Outer border contains gems & ornate designs	Medium	Flat disks	Behind heads	Chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna, Venice
	?1468-70	Marco Zoppo	Tempera su tavola	<i>Enthroned Madonna & Ch & Sts</i>	No	No	No	Mixture glass/gold	Medium	Ellipt disks	Diag behind/on heads	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
	? Post '69	Giovanni Bellini	Tavola	<i>Madonna in Trono che Adora il Bambino Dormiente</i>	? Painted	Cross arms & oriental design		Double-bordered, 6 point pattern	Medium	Gold, foreshortened	Above / behind heads	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
		Gio or Gentile Bellini	Cat 591	<i>Cardinal Bessarion Pres's Staur</i>	No	No	No	Gold haloes in Stauroteca, different from original	Small	Gold disks	Flat behind heads	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	?1450-70	Verrochio & Leonardo	Tempera / oil on panel	<i>The Baptism of Christ</i>	No	2 red cross pattee arms	No	Elliptical gold disks	Small	Bright gold	High, behind heads	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1470-80	1470-75	Hugo van der Goes	Oil on panel	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	No	No	No	V. long graduated rays all round Virgin	Long	Gold rays	All round head	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin

c. 1471	Bartolomeo Vivarini	Tempera su tela cent	<i>Meeting between Sts Gioa&Anna</i>	No	No	No	Upper half of angel's halo seen	Small	Gold-rimmed	Flat behind head	Saints	Chiesa Santa Maria Formosa, Venice
1471	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on panel	<i>Pesaro Altarpiece Sts Paul, Maurelius and donor</i>	No	No	No	Spun gold, silk-like	Small	Very sheet	Behind heads		Museo Civici, Pesaro
c. 1472	Cosimo Tura			No	No	No	Seem to be glass	Small	Gold-rimmed	Above / behind heads		Galleria Colonna, Rome
1472	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera and oil on canvas	<i>Dead Christ between St. Mark and St. Nicholas of Bari</i>	No	2 v broad, short cross arms, white designs; crimson short cross	Pseudo-Arabic	?Kufic in all halo rims, dark gold, hold highlights	Medium	Dark gold disks	Beind heads but not directly		Palazzo Ducale, Venice
1472-75	Bartolomeo Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>Enthroned St Mark with Saints</i>	No	No	No	Transparent haloes, t haloes, diff 2c St Mark's, tiny ray fringes	Medium	Slight gold rim	Behind/oblique mirroring of outer Sts		Chiesa di Santa Maria in Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
1472-75	Verrocchio & Leonardo	Tempera/oil on panel	<i>The Baptism of Christ</i>	No	2 x red cross pattee arms	No	Elliptical gold disks	Small	Bright gold	High, behind heads		Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1470-75	Shop of Della Robbi		<i>Padre Eterno e gli Evangelisti</i>	No	No	No	God's gold, others white, others gold-rim white	Small	Slight ellipsis of disk	Behind profile		Chiesa di San Bernardino e San Giobbe, Venice
1472	Antonio Rossellino Sh Marble statues	Glazed terracota	<i>SS Francis, John, Anthony</i>								No haloes at all	Chiesa di San Bernardino e San Giobbe, Venice
1473	Giovanni Bellini		<i>Descent of Christ into Limbo</i>	No	No	No	Gold-coloured	Very small	Seen from below and behind	Seen from behind		Bristol City Gallery, Bristol
1473	Giovanni Bellini	Tapestries	<i>Pentecost</i>	No	No	No	Gold-rimmed, elliptical and conical	V small	V's is strange shape	High, hovering		Treasury of San Marco, Venice
1473	Bartolomeo Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna of the Misericordia</i>	No	No	No	V. Sheer and transparent, silk-like	Small	Disk, but transparent	Flat/elliptical behind heads		Chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa, Venice
1474	Giovanni Bellini	Tapestries	<i>Enthroned Madonna Adoring Child</i>	No	2 red cross & like 6 ring punch	?Kufic	Dark gold, light highlights lights, broad outer border	Small	V's elliptical	Seen from below, bind		Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice

1474	Alvise Vivarini	Tempera on wood	<i>Assumption of the Virgin</i>									Even though made for Chiesa dell'Incoronatio di Martinengo, Brescia, there are no haloes	Pinacoteca di Brera, Brera
c. 1475	Antonella da Messina	Tempera mista sul ta	<i>St Jerome in his Study</i>									No halo for St.	National Gallery, London
c. 1475	Francesco Botticini	Oil on panel	<i>Assumption of the Virgin</i>	No	No	No	Gold mesh	Small	2 seen from behind	In perspective			National Gallery, London
1475	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera on wood	<i>Resurrection</i>									No halo	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
c.1475	Luca Della Robbia	Tavola	<i>Madonna & Child & 2 Angels</i>	No	No	No	Orange-yellow disks	Small	Slight tilting of C's	Flat behind head/profile			Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence
1475	Maestro del Libro di Casa Tavola	Glazed terracota	<i>Ultima Cena</i>	No	No	No	Yellow-gold disks	Medium	1 in front of face	Flat behind head/profile			Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
c.1475-76	Giovanni Bellini	Gold ground	<i>Madonna and Child</i>	No	No	No	Gold circlet rings	Medium	V slim circlets	Flat behind head			Prev. Chiesa Madonna dell'Orto, Venice
c.1475	Bartolomeo Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna and Child</i>	No	Arm crosses in Christ Child's	No	V. Sheer, transparent, silk-like	Small	Disks, gold-rimmed	Flat behind heads			National Gallery of Art, Washington
1475-77	Cosimo Rosselli		<i>Virgin & Child Enthroned & Sts</i>	No	No	No	Transparent gold-rimmed	Medium	Slight ellipsis of C's	Flat behind head/profile			The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
1475-79	Alvise Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna in trono fra santi</i>	No	No	No	Dark gold ring circlet	Medium	Ring	Flat behind head/profile			Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
1475-80	Hugh van der Goes			No	No	No	Rays, softer effect & light evanescence	Small	Rays/light	Around head			Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1475-80	Giovanni Gaggini	Tavola	<i>The Annunciation</i>	No	No	No	Elliptical	Small		Above figures			Victoria & Albert Museum, London
1478	Giovanni Bellini	Slate panel	<i>Sts Augustine & Benedetto</i>	No	No	No	V. solid yellow haloes with v thick lip	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head/profile			Galleria Strossmayer, Zagabria
c. 1478	Giovanni Bellini	2 x panels	<i>San Gerolamo in deserto</i>									No haloes	Palazzo Pitti, Florence
1478	Bartolomeo Vivarini	Tempera and gold on panel	<i>Madonna & Child with Baptist St Andrew</i>	No	No	No	"Silk" haloes for Virgin & Christ Child	Small	Disk	Flat behind heads			Chiesa di San Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice

	c. 1478	Martin Schongauer	Oil on panel	<i>Nativity</i>								No haloes	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1480-1490	1480	Lazzaro Bastiani	Tavola	<i>Votive painting of Giovanni degli Angeli</i>	No	No	No	Gold					Chiesa di San Donato, Murano
	c. 1480	Sandro Botticelli	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna del Magnificat</i>	No	Linee Serpentine, gold stippling in Child's	No	Transparent, gold, silk-like, cruciferous in Chris Child's	Medium	Sheer disks	Behind heads, ending at necks		Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	? 1480	Bartolomeo Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>Enthroned Madonna with Sts</i>	No	Cruciform, tiny rays, stippling	No	Much lighter. Gold rim, opaque	Small	V delicate disks	Bhind, C's tilt, Sts scorcio mirroring		Chiesa di S Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
	? 1480	Bartolomeo Montagna		<i>Madonna & Child & Sts</i>	No	No	No	Slim gold ring circlets	Small, slim	Elliptical	Above/behind heads		Musec Civico, Vicenza
	c. 1480	Leonardo da Vinci	? Ancona	<i>Virgin of the Rocks</i>								No haloes	Musee du Louvre, Paris
	c. 1480	Andrea Mantegna		<i>Cristo morto</i>	No	No	No	Transparent gold disk	Medium	Disk	Flat behind prone head		Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan
	1480	Bartolomeo Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna and Child</i>	No	No	No	V sheer, transparent, silk-like halo	Small	Transparent disks	Flat behind head		Philadelphia Museum of Art
	1480	Vincenzo Foppa	Oil on panel	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	No	Plain field	Yes	3 x bunches graduated gold rays ffor C, V's plain & scr	Medium	Disk& rays	Behind/around head		Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan
	1481	Evangelista Vidulich	Fresco	<i>Reliq of Precious Blood of Chr</i>	No	No	No	Small, flat on heads	Small	Disks placed flat	On top of heads		Chiesa di Santa Maria Gloriosa, Venice
	1481-85	Lorenzo di Credi	Silver reliquary	<i>Annunciation</i>								No haloes	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	1483-84	Giovanni Bellini		<i>Miracle of St Mark-recov Aniano</i>								None, not even St. Mark	Kupferstichkabinet, Berlin
	c. 1483	Butinone & Zenale	Drawing	<i>Polittico di Treviglio</i>	? Painted	Plain but Sts' names	Yes	Unusual lettering	Medium	Elliptical disks	Diagonally behind heads		Chiesa di San Martino, Trevigliio
	1483	Bartolomeo Montagna	Tempera on panel	<i>Virgin & Child between Sts. Monica & Mary Mag</i>	No	No	No	"Glass" halo	Small	Disks	Flat/diagonal to heads		Museo Civici, Vicenza
	? 1484	Sandro Botticelli		<i>Madonna & Child with Pomegr</i>	No	Exquisite gold rays, rosettes	No	Flat, transparent disks, gold rims	Medium	V delicate disks	Flat behind heads		Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	1485	Filippino Lippi		<i>Rucellai Altarpiece</i>	No	Gold waves & stippling	No	Transparent circles, Christ's with 3 cross arms	Small	Spun gold circles	Above/behind heads		National Gallery, London

1485	Alvise Vivarini	Panel	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	No	No	No				Madonna	Chiesa di S Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice
1485	Cosmè Tura	Pala	<i>S Domenico</i>	No	No	No	Slim rays radiating from head	Medium	No circumference just rays	t rays, gold	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
c. 1485	Sandro Botticelli	Tempera on panel	<i>San Barnaba Altarpiece</i>	No	Lacy gold patterning on V's halo	No	Gold-rimmed chiffon-like circles	Medium	Rings, some ellipsis	Behind heads, some scorcio	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
c. 1485	Hans Memling	Wood	<i>Johannesaltarc hen</i>	No	No	No	Long slim gold spiked rays	Medium	Quite widely-spaced	All around heads	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
1486	Carlo Crivelli		<i>Annunciation</i>	No	No	No	Bright gold	Tiny	Disks in sharp ellipsis	Above / behind heads	National Gallery, London
1485-90	Giovanni Bellini		<i>Madonna degli Alberetti</i>	No	No	No	Gold ring circlets	Medium	Gold circlets	Behind heads	Galleria d'Accademia, Venice
1485-90	Carlo Crivelli	Oil on panel	<i>Vision of the Blessed Gabriel</i>	No	No	No	Long slim gold spiked rays	Medium	Fore shortened	Around head	National Gallery, London
1485	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera on wood	<i>Pesaro Altarpiece</i>								Chiesa di Santa Maria in Gloriosa, Venice
1486-90	Domenico Ghirlandaio	Fresco	<i>Birth of the Virgin</i>	No	Spokes, seen from behind	No	Transparent gold	Medium	Elliptical	Diagonal above heads	Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, Florence
1486	Carlo Crivelli	Oil on canvas	<i>Enthroned Mad & B key to St P</i>	No	No	No	Bright gold concave disks - shadows reflected on them	V small	Diagonal, behind heads		Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1486	Andrea Mantegna	Tavola	<i>Madonna col Bambino</i>	No	No	No	V's spun gold, C's transparent disk, v. strange size	V small	Some stippling in C's	Behind/above crown	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1486	Filippino Lippi	Tempera on panel	<i>Virgin & Child with the Baptist & Sts. Victor, Bernard & Zenobius</i>	No	No	No	Transparent "silk" haloes	Medium	Elliptical	Behind heads	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1487	Benedetto Diana	Tempera & oil on panel	<i>Enthroned Madonna between donors and Sts.</i>	No	No	No	Gold ring circlets	Medium	Rings in ellipsis	Behind/diagonal to heads	Ca d'Oro, Venice
1487	Andrea Mantegna	Tempera on wood	<i>St Sebastian</i>	No	No	No	Transparent	Small	Gold-rimmed	High behind head	Ca'd'Oro Museum, Venice

1487	Rogier van der Weyden		<i>Deposition</i>	No	No	No	Rays, sunburst for V, 3 x arms for Christ, ring circlet	V long	Gold, rings v slim	Around, high, behind head/pro	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1487	Bartolomeo Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>Virgin enthroned with Saints</i>	No	No	No	Transparent, sheer, silk-like	Small	Disks	Flat or in ellipsis behind heads	Chiesa di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
c. 1487	Giovani Bellini	Oil on panel	<i>San Giobbe Altarpiece</i>	No	No	No	V. Slim gold circlets	Large	Disk circlets	Flat behind heads	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
Late 1480s	Leonardo Boldrian	Oil on panel	<i>Crucifixion</i>	No	4 petals - cruciform	No	petals' forming cross arms	Small	Circular but tilted	Above / behind heads	Chiese di S Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice
1488	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on canvas	<i>Votive Painting of Doge Barbari</i>							No haloes	Chiesa di San Pietro Martire, Murano
1488	Vittore Carpaccio	Wood carving	<i>The Apotheosis of St. Ursula</i>	No	No	No	Halo merged into mandorla	Small	Merged into mandorla	Behind head	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
1488	Giovanni Mansueti	Tempera on canvas	<i>Allegorical Crucifixion</i>	No	No	No	2 x bunched rays for Christ	Small	Gold rays for God	All round head	National Gallery, London
1488	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on panel	<i>Frari Altarpiece</i>							No haloes	Chiesa di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
1489-1500	Maestro di Castelsardo	Tempera, pastiglia on panel	<i>St Michael the Archangel</i>	Simple ring punches	Letters raised in relief	Latin	Very bright gold haloes	Small	Disk	Flat behind head	Chiesa di San Pietro, Tuili, Sardinia
1490	Pietro Perugino	lunette above Baptism	<i>Maria mit dem Kind und vier Heiligen</i>	No	No	No	Tiny circlets of gold	V Small	Gold circlets	Hovering over head	Kunsthistorische, Vienna
c. 1490	Pietro Perugino	Cat no 151	<i>La Pietà</i>	No	No	No	Large, slim circlets	Q large	Elliptical circlets	Behind/hovering above head	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1490	Bartolomeo Vivarini	Tempera on panel	<i>Madonna and Child</i>	No	Arm cross in Christ Child's	No	V sheer, transparent, silk-like halo	Small	Sheer disks	Flat behind slightly turned heads	The Hermitage Museum, Moscow
1490	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on wood	<i>Annunciation</i>							No haloes for either Gabriel or Virgin	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
1490	Hans Memling	Oil on oak panel	<i>Standing Virgin and Child</i>	No	No	No	Graduated bunches of rays	Medium length	Circular shape	Radiate from behind heads	Aurora Art Fund, Bucharest
	Alvise Vivarini	Oil on wood	<i>Cristo benedicente</i>			No				No haloes for anyone	Chiesa di S Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice

1491	Luca Signorelli		<i>Sacra Famiglia</i>	No	Sprinkling gold stippling	No	Gold-rimmed elliptical disks, J's rays & serpente linea	Medium	Elliptical,	Above/around head		Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1492	Quinten Massys	Oil on wood	<i>Enthroned Mad & Ch & 4 angels</i>	No	No	No	Solid gold stick rays	Thick	Long rays	All round V & Christ		National Gallery, London
1492-94	Cima da Coneglione	NG 6282	<i>Enthroned Mad/Ch & 4 Sts</i>	No	No	No	Gold circlets	Thin	Circlets	Behind V & Child		Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1492-94	Cima da Coneglione	Oil on panel	<i>The Baptism Altarpiece</i>	No	No	No	Lunette panel, plain halo field for God	Medium	Triangular halo bestowed on God	Flat behind head		Chiesa di San Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice
1492-94	Filippino Lippi	Tavola	<i>Adorazione del Bam con S G Battista</i>	No	Gold stippling	No	Gold-rimmed					Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1493	Alvise Vivarini		<i>Cristo Risto</i>	No	No	No					Christ	Chiesa di S Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice
1494	Jacopo da Montagna		<i>Virgin Annunciate</i>	No	Delicate floral over-painting	No	Perpendicular, seems affixed to head	Small	Disk in ellipsis	Parallel & behind head		Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
1490s-1500	Cima da Conegliano	Tempera on poplar	<i>The Healing of Ananius</i>								No haloes, even for St Mark	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
1494-97	Lazzaro Bastiani		<i>Deposizione</i>	No	No	No	Dark gold elliptical circles, worn like hats	Small	Christ's is concave	Over, can see top		Chiesa di S Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice
c. 1495	Giovanni Mansueti		<i>Arrest and Trial of St Mark</i>	No	No	No	Transparent gold	Small	Gold-rimmed	Flat behind head		Sammlungen des Fursten von und zu Liechtenstein
c. 1495	Lazzaro Bastiani		<i>Padre eterno e angeli</i>	No	No	No	Red circlet halo for God	Small	Red circlet			Chiese di Santa Maria Formosa, Venice
1495	Cima da Conegliano	Oil on panel	<i>Madonna of the Orange Tree</i>	No	No	No	Gold rings	Medium	Ring circlet	Flat behind head		Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
c. 1495-1497	Michelangelo	Marble	<i>Pietà</i>								No halo for Christ or Virgin	St Peter's, Rome
1496	Cretan, but anon.	Icon, temp & gold	<i>Virgin and Child</i>	Yes	Semi-vegetal, swirls	No	Pinnacled border, v delicate	Small	Silver-gold, simple ring punch	g punch but filigree effect		Private collection
1497-98	Shop Andrea Ritzos	Icon, temp & gold	<i>Virgin and Child Psychosotria</i>	Yes	V large hexa-rose	No	Beaded border, v dark gold, no cross arms in C0s	Medium	V dark, disks	Flat behind heads		Richard Temple Gallery, London

	1496	Filippino Lippi	Tempera on panel	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	No	Cross pattee in Jesus	No	"Glass" haloes	Medium	Disks in ellipsis	Behind bent heads	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	Late 1490	Vittore Carpaccio	Tempera on wood	<i>The Presentation of Jesus</i>	No	No	No	Glass-like halos	Medium	Gold-rimmed	Behind heads	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
	1498	Alvise Vivarini		<i>The Redeemer Blessing</i>	No	No	No	Very short rays	Very short	3 x bunches	Top of head	Pinacoteca Brera
	1499	Andrea Mantegna	Oil on panel	<i>Mad & Child with Sts John B & Mad</i>		No	No	Gold circlets	Q. large	Gold circlets	Flat behind heads	National Gallery, London
	Late 1490	Zanino di Pietro		<i>The Passion of Christ</i>	No	2 red cross arms	No	Semi-voided cross, outer coloured halo rims	Medium	Gold disks	Behind heads/profile	Treasury of San Marco, Venice
	1499	?Giovanni Bellini	Tapestries	<i>Cristo portacroce</i>							No haloes or rays	Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio
	Late 1400s	Maestro di Castelsardo	Tempera on panel	<i>Adoration of the Shepherds</i>	No	No	No	Distinctive "spun gold" texture	Medium	Disk and polyanol	Flat behind heads	Pinacoteca Nazionale, Cagliari
	1490-1500	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on panel	<i>Presentation of Christ in the Temple</i>	No	No	No	Tiny gold circlet	V small	Gold, v slim		Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
		Lucas Cranach		<i>Kreuzigung Christi</i>	No	No	No	Radiated spikes	Q. large	Gold rays	Around head	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	1499-1500	Giovanni Bellini	Pala	<i>Head of Christ</i>	No	No	No	3 x bunches graduated rays	Medium	Gold	Top & sides head	Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid
1500-10	1500	Antoniazio Romano	Tempera/oil on panel	<i>Altarpiece of the Confraternity of the Annunciation</i>	No	No	No	Plain, undecorated	Medium	Triangular for God	Flat behind mid-crown of head	Chiesa di Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome
	1500	Alvise Vivarini & Marco Basaiti	Oil on canvas	<i>S Ambrogio in trono e Santi</i>							No haloes for anyone	Chiesa di Santa Maria in Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
	c. 1500	Michelangelo	? Oil	<i>The Doni Tondo</i>							No haloes no even or Baby Jesus	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	c. 1500	Michiel Sittow	Tempera on panel	<i>Katherine of Aragon</i>	No	No	No	Double-circumference ring	Q. large	Empty field	Flat behind head	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	? 1500	Lippi/Perugino	Oil on panel	<i>Deposition</i>	No	No	No	Gold circlets, but not for Christ in upper, yes for lower	Medium	Foreshortened rings	Diagonal / behind heads	Accademia, Florence
	c. 1500	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera, oil, gold on panel	<i>The Risen Christ Blessing</i>	No	No	No	3 x graduated bunches of rays	Small	Lozenge	Side and top of head	Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas

1500	Albrecht Durer	Tempera on panel	<i>Adorazione dei Magi</i>									No haloes for anyone, not even Baby Jesus	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
1500	Francesco Francia	Oil on panel	<i>Maria mit Kind</i>	No	No	No	Circular	Medium	Not in perspective	Behind heads			Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
1500-20	Benedetto Montagna	Engraving	<i>St. Benedict & Saints</i>	No	No	No	Plain disks	Small	Disks in ellipsis	Above, behind heads in ellipsis			British Museum, London
1500-02	Andrea Previtali	Inv. 239	<i>Sposalizio di S Caterina</i>									No haloes for anyone	Chiesa di San Bernardino e San Giobe
1500-02	Michelangelo		<i>The Entombment</i>									No haloes	National Gallery, London
1500-02	Giovanni Bellini	Tempera & oil on canvas	<i>The Baptism</i>	No	No	No	Slim, graduated silver rays	Very slim and short	Semi-circular	Radiate from behind head			Chiesa di San Corona, Vicenza
1503	Cima da Conegliano	Oil on wood	<i>Incredulity of Thomas</i>	No	No	No	Gold circlets, grad rays for C	Tiny	Orange-gold rays	Top/sides, bhd headd/pr			National Gallery, London
c. 1503-4	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on synthetic pan	<i>Caterina, Orsola, Pietro, Gerolamo</i>			No						No haloes for anyone	Chiesa di San Zaccaria, Venice
c. 1503-4	Vittore Carpaccio	Canvas trsfed panel	<i>Cristo deposto</i>									No haloes	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
c. 1504	Girolamo da Treviso	Oil on panel	<i>Christus und die Samariterian</i>	No	No	No	Transparent	Medium	Transparent disks				Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
1504	Raphael	Inv. 128	<i>Madonna col Bambino e S Gio</i>	No	No	No	Transparent, sprinkling gold on surface, gold-rimmed	Small	Sharp ellipsis				Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
c. 1504	Gerard David	Oil on panel	<i>Padre Eterno</i>	No	No	No	V long side rays for God, shorter upper rays	V long	Gold graduated	Side and top of head			Musee du Louvre, Paris
c. 1504	Giovanni Bellini	Lunette panel	<i>Fran, Seb, Gerol e un donatore</i>			No						All	Chiesa di San Francesco all Vigna
c. 1504	Vittore Carpaccio	Canvas trsfed panel	<i>St George killing the dragon</i>			No						St George	La Scuola Dalmata dei Ss Giorgio e Trifone, Venice
1505	Lorenzo Lotto	Oil on canvas trs. From panel	<i>Virgin and Child with Saints</i>	No	No	No	Ring haloes	Small	Voided disk	Flat, very close to heads			Naional Gallery of Scotland
1505	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on panel	<i>Pieta delle Dona Rose</i>									No haloes	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice

1505	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on canvas, transf'r'd from wood	<i>San Zaccaria Altarpiece</i>								No haloes	Chiesa di San Zaccaria, Venice
1505	Raphael	Tempera	<i>Madonna del Baldacchino e 4 Sts</i>								No haloes	Palazzo Pitti, Florence
c. 1505	Cima da Conegliano	Oil on panel	<i>Presepe con Santi</i>								No haloes	Chiesa di S Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice
1505-10	Raphael	Pala	<i>Disputà</i>	No	God's double-lipped	No	Mixed shapes, ring circlets, disk, lozenge	Small	Gold	Above/behind heads		Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, Rome
1505	Girolamo da Santacroce	Oil on panel	<i>The Last Supper</i>	No	No	No	5-pointed halo for Christ	Large	Opaque & gold rays	Around head	Judas	Chiese di Sant'Alvise, Venice
1505-10	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on panel	<i>Blessing Christ</i>	No	No	No	3 x bunched rays, but only 2 sides visible	Medium	Very fine silver rays	Radiate from behind head		National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
c. 1506	Francesco Bissolo	? Oil	<i>S Andrea tra i Ss Martini e Girolamo</i>	No	No	No	Gold, semi-translucent	Medium	S Martin's red-rimmed	Behind upper head		Chiesa di S Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice
c. 1506	Vittore Carpaccio		<i>St George baptising</i>								No haloes, not even St. George	Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice
1507	Andrea Solario	Oil on poplar	<i>Madonna col cuscino verde</i>								No haloes at all	Musee du Louvre, Paris
1509	Leonardo da Vinci	Panel	<i>Mad con Bamb, St Anna e John</i>								No haloes at all	National Gallery, London
1509-10	Giovanni Bellini	Charcoal on col carta	<i>Cristo portacroce</i>								No halo or rays	Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston
	Giovanni Bellini	Oil on tavola di noce	<i>Cristo portacroce</i>	No	No	No	1 x bunch graduated rays	Small	Gold	R side C's head		Pinacoteca dell'Accademia dei Concordi, Rovigo
c.1500.20	Giovanni da Udine	Oil on poplar	<i>Enthroned St Mark with Saints</i>	No	No	No	Gold circlets	Small	Only for St Mark,	Behind profile		Duomo, Udine
1507	Giovanni Mansueti		<i>The Nativity</i>	No	No	No	Gold ring circlets	Medium	Gold circlets	Behind/around heads	3 Magi	Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona
c.1505-10	Andrea di Niccolò	Oil on canvas	<i>Enthroned Mad & Child with Sts</i>	No	?	No	Circumference of all haloes have roses	Large	Disks in ellipsis	Behind heads/profiles		Chiesa di Santa Mustiola alla Rosa, Siena

	1507-10	Bernardino Luini	Oil on poplar	<i>St Catherine</i>	No	Double outer circlet	No	Very pretty internal ? Floral arcading	Medium	Disk	Flat behind head	National Gallery, London
	1508	?Fraciabigio		<i>The Last Supper</i>	No	No	No	Gold elliptical circlets	V bright	Elliptical circlets	Above, behind heads	Convent of Santa Maria dei Candeli, Florence
	?1510	Raphael	Panel	<i>The Holy Family</i>	No	No	No	Gold circlets	Medium	In perspective	Above heads	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	Early 1500s	Antonio da Solario		<i>Withypool Altarpiece</i>	No	No	Yes	Gold circlets	Medium		Behind heads	Bristol City Art Gallery, Bristol
	Early 1500s	Vittore Carpaccio		<i>St Stephen preaching at Jerus.</i>	No	No	No	Transparent gold halo	Medium	Gold-rimmed disk	Flat behind head	Louvre, Paris
	1509-10	Raphael	Fresco	<i>Disputà</i>	No	Christ's has red pattee cross arms	No	Ring haloes	Medium	Disk in ellipsis, lozenge for God	In ellipsis behind head, lozenge flat	Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, Rome
	1510	Ludovico Mazzolino		<i>The Holy Family with St Nicholas of Tolentino</i>	No	Jesus' floriated cruciform	No	Spun gold circlets for rest, God's large	Various	Round	Above/behind heads	National Gallery, London
1510-20	1510-20	Joachim Patinier		<i>The Baptism of Christ</i>							No haloes at all	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	1510-20	Anon.	Engraving	<i>St Francis and his Three Orders</i>	No	Plain field	Names	Very plain field	Small	Disks, and in ellipsis	Flat, behind heads/profiles	The British Museum, London
	?1511-14	Luca Signorelli		<i>Mad con Bamb fra angeli e sts</i>	No	No	No	Gold circlets, but wide diameter	V large	Ring circlets	Behind/diagonal to head	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
	1513	Lucas van Leyden	Oil on panel	<i>San Gerolamo</i>	No	White "cloud"	No	Disk, orange light emanescence	Q big	Hazy disk	Behind head	Gemaldegalerie, Berlin
	1513	Vittore Carpaccio	Tavola	<i>San Giorgio uccide il drago</i>	No	No	No	Thin gold circlet	Medium	Round	Flat behind profile	Chiesa di S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice
	1514	Fra Bartolommeo	Tempera on canvas	<i>Resurrected Christ with Saints</i>	No	3 red slim foreshortened arms	No	Transparent gold	Small	Elliptical disks	Hovering above heads	Palazzo Pitt, Florence
	c. 1514	Albrecht Altdorfer	Oil on canvas	<i>Il congedo di S Floriano</i>	No	No	No	Graduated, large-spaced gold ray spikes	Small	Circular	Around St's hat!	Uffizi, Florence
	1515	Giovanni Mansueti	Oil on canvas	<i>St Mark baptising Aniano</i>	No	No	No	Gold semi-transparent, seems to be behind column	Small	Disk	Flat trompe l'oeil?	Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan
	c. 1515	Amico Aspertini	Oil on canvas	<i>Adorazione dei Pastori</i>	No	Joseph with ? Cross above	No	Gold. Transparent, foreshortened	Big	Foreshortened	Diagonal to head/profile	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

	1515	Jacopo Palma Il Vec	Oil on canvas	5 saints								No haloes	Chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa, Venice
1520-1530	c. 1515-17	Vittore Carpaccio	Oil on panel	<i>The Flight into Egypt</i>	No	Christ Child's has tiny gold rays	No	Glass-like haloes, gold rim	Medium	Disk	Flat behind heads		National Gallery of Art, Washington
	1515	Vit. Carpaccio & bot		<i>Stoning of St Stephen</i>	No	No	No	Gold ring	Medium	Ring circlet	Flat behind profile		Staatsgalerie, Stockholm
	c. 1516	Girolamo da Treviso		<i>Christus und die Samariterian</i>	No	No	No	Thin circlets of gold	Small				Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	1517-18	Cima da Conegliano	Tempera and oil on panel	<i>Polittico di Olera</i>	Yes	Stylus scrolls	No	External pinnacles	Large	Flat disk	Flat behind head		Chiesa di San Bartolomeo, Olera
	c. 1518-20	Jacopo da Pontormo		<i>Cena in Emmaus</i>	No	Eye within triangle	No	Misty yellow light	Large	Ring circlets also	Flat behind head		Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	1518	Dorso Dossi	Oil on canvas	<i>St Jerome</i>	No	No	No	Clockwise circle	Medium	Yellow	Around head		Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	c. 1520	Parmigianino		<i>Madonna and Child with Sts</i>	No	No	No	Only Virgin's white halo seen against yellow glory light	Tiny	White	Above head	Jesus & Saints	National Gallery, London
	1520	German illuminator	Oil on poplar	<i>William Tyndale's New Testament, John 1</i>	No	No	No	Gold	Small	Sharp ellipsis	Behind head diagonally		British Library, London
1520-30	1520	Bernardino Luini	Manuscript	<i>Executioner Presents John the Baptist's Head to Herod</i>								No haloes	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	1524	Lorenzo Lotto	Tempera on panel	<i>Virgin & Child with Sts Cat & T</i>	No ; No		No	Gold circlets	Medium	Gold circlets	Behind head/profile		Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	1525	Dosso Dossi	Oil on canvas	<i>Riposo in Egitto</i>		Basket-weave gold for M & Jos, opaque	No	C's grad rays, bright gold spikes	Medium	Gold disk	Behind/around head		Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	1525	Parmigianino	Oil on panel	<i>Madonna with the Long Neck</i>								No haloes	Palazzo Pitti, Florence
1530-1540	1525	Lorenzo Lotto	Oil on panel	<i>Sacra Conversazione</i>								No haloes	Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	c.1526-27	Bachiacca	Oil on canvas	<i>Christ before Pilate</i>	No	3 x slim gold cross arms	No	Gold, foreshortened	V small	Gold disk	Diagonal to profile		Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
	1526	Lorenzo Lotto	Oil on panel	<i>Madonna and Child</i>	Yes								

	1526	Lorenzo Lotto		<i>St. Nicholas of Bari in Glory</i>	No	No	No	Nimbus, a typical alone	Large	Disk nimbus	Behind head	Chiesa dei Carmine, Venice
	1527-31	attrib. J Tintoretto		<i>Cristo Benedicente fra Santi</i>	No	No	No	Light-emanating lozenge	Medium	White?	Behind C's head	Chiesa di San Gallo, Venice
	1528-30	Paolo Veronese	Oil on canvas	<i>Christ addressing kneeling woma</i>	No	No	No	V fine rays from nimbus, cruciform pattern of rays	Small	Pale blonde	Around head	National Gallery, London
1530-40	c. 1530	Jacopo Tintoretto	Oil on canvas	<i>Kreuzabnahme Christi</i>	No	No	No	Suggestion yellow light but q. fuzzy	V small	Yellow	Around head	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	c. 1532	Geraloma da Santa Croce	Oil on canvas	<i>Ultima Cena</i>	No	No	No	3 x bunched rays	V Small	Yellow	Top/sides head	Chiesa di San Martino di Geminis, Venice
	c. 1534	Michelangelo	Oil on canvas	<i>Pietà</i>							No haloes	Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence
	1535-40	Jacopo Tintoretto	Marble statue	<i>Christ washing feet of Disciples</i>	No	No	No	Christ's like rayed nimbus, denseness on top part	Medium	Very transparent, 3 seen behind	3 from behind,	National Gallery, London
1540-50	1542-43	Jacopo Tintoretto	Oil on canvas	<i>Crucifixion</i>	No	No	No	Huge circle light	V large	Misty white light	Around head	Chiesa di Gesuati, Venice
	1547	Jacopo Tintoretto		<i>Martyrdom of St Stephen</i>	No	No	No	God has triangular halo	Small	Light emanation	Round head St	S Giorgio, Venice
	1548	Jacopo Tintoretto	Oil on canvas	<i>The Miracle of St Mark freeing the Slave</i>	No	No	No	Misty-white nimbus close to head	Very large	Long rays extending from nimbus	Radiating behind head	Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice
1560-70	1565-67	Jacopo Tintoretto		<i>Christ before Pilate</i>	No	No	No	Architectonic rays	Medium	Yellow elliptical emanation	Hovering diagonal to head	Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice
	1565	Jacopo Tintoretto	Oil on canvas	<i>Ascent to Calvary</i>	No	No	No	Nimbus of light rays	Broad graduated rays	Semi-lozenge	Behind head	Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice
	1576-77	Jacopo Tintoretto	Oil on canvas	<i>Bacchus, Venus & Ariadne</i>	No	No	No	Salo of stars	Quite large	Circular in ellipsis	Being held horizontally above head	Palazzo Ducale, Venice
1580-90	1583-87	Jacopo Tintoretto	Oil on canvas	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	No	No	No	Circular nimbus for Virgin, Rays for Child	Medium	Semi-lozenge for Christ Child	Behind head	Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice
	1583-87	Jacopo Tintoretto	Oil on canvas	<i>St Mary of Egypt Meditating</i>	No	No	No	Nebulous nimbus	Large	Nebulous disk	Behind head in profile	Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice
	1583-87	Jacopo Tintoretto	Oil on canvas	<i>The Annunciation</i>	No	No	No	Nimbus	Medium	Nebulous disk	Behind head	Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice

1590	Jacopo Tintoretto	Oil on canvas	<i>Paradiso</i>	No	No	No	Halo composed of stars	Large	Circular	Around head and back	Palazzo Ducale, Venice
1594	Jacopo Tintoretto	Oil on canvas	<i>Last Supper</i>	No	No	No	Evanescent light	Christ's is large	Lozenge for Christ	Behind head	San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice

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The British Library's exhibition (27th April to 23rd September 2007) presented a unique opportunity to view some very rare and priceless sacred texts from the three Abrahamic faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Drawing from its own collection, together with loans from other institutions, and supported by donors from the three faiths, its exhibition aims were to inform the public about these faiths in order to break down prejudices and misconceptions. Similarities between the faiths were explored through the thematic lay-out of the exhibition and displays of sacred texts alongside each other, this juxtaposition allowing the visitor to see the interaction between them.

The exhibition catalogue, a slim, sophisticated-looking volume condenses the exhibition's eight sections into five sections, "The Sacred Texts", "Dissemination, Division and Difference", "Establishing the Sacred Texts", "Illuminating the Word in Colours and Gold" and "Religious Life: Encountering the Sacred". Further sub-division by helpful categories at the bottom of the pages means the reader is able to absorb the overall rationale of the display whilst other factors are simultaneously addressed. Thus, in the section on illumination, beautiful examples firstly of calligraphy, secondly, illumination, from the three faiths are presented, and then in a sub-category, "Comparisons between the Faiths" different treatments of, for example, scenes from Genesis illustrated in *The Golden Haggadah*, (c 1320 from Northern Spain) and within *The Egerton Genesis*, (late 1300s, Southern England) or the designs of medallions in the *San'a Pentateuch* of 1469 (Yemen) and those of a Moroccan *Qur'an* of 1568.

Three essays by noted scholars present different aspects of the three faiths. In "The Idea of a Sacred Text" Karen Armstrong provides concise explanations of the origins of the Torah, the Gospel and the *Qur'an*, pointing out that within Judaism and Christianity, constant revisions of the texts were undertaken over many years as exegetical developments occurred, whereas the *Qur'an* was revealed in twenty-three years. She states that the *Qur'an* is an oral Scripture, meant to be recited with others, a point further taken up by F E Peters'

essay, “The Poet in Performance: The Composition of the Qur’an”. Peters tracks the transition of the Qur’an through an oral to a written culture, highlighting similarities between the Torah and the Qur’an. God’s direct words were spoken to His prophet, for subsequent recitation, and these holy words were ultimately written down, according to Peters, for fear that “the original oral version would be lost”. Thus, the heavenly book became a recited book and then a written book. Everett Fox, in “Living with Sacred Jewish Texts” also writes that the Jewish Scripture has been a way of preserving the spoken word, and again, the texts are meant to be recited. All three authors discuss the importance of the rhythm of the words and the poetry within the sacred texts. Peters describes the development of diacritical marks and symbols to aid pronunciation, further explained within the contributions supplied for the catalogue items by Colin F Baker, Kathleen Doyle, Scot McKendrick, Vrej Nersessian and Ilana Tahan. Overall, this is a very accessible and informative catalogue, one well worth having on a bookshelf.

Susan Martin

University of Plymouth

ICONS AND POWER: THE MOTHER OF GOD IN BYZANTIUM

Bissera V Pentcheva

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312 pp

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REVIEW

Professor Pentcheva's syllogistic study explores what she perceives to be a gap in Byzantine and medieval studies. This is how the cult of the Theometor, the Mother of God, was expressed through the physical presence of icons of her and specific rituals and devotional practices related to them. She argues that these particular icons and their role in Byzantine society then became an essential component in comprehension of the cult of the Virgin. Concentrating on Constantinople between the fifth and thirteenth centuries, the development of the Marian cult is tracked, from the Virgin's initial assumption not only of the attributes of the Roman Victoria, but also the associated concept of victory, and hence imperial authority. Imperial support of Marian devotion was realised through the construction of churches and three major monasteries discussed in this book, the Blachernai, the Hodegon and the Pantokrator, together with the institution of feasts dedicated to the Virgin. By the tenth century, public processions dedicated to the Theometor had become weekly events and it is the simultaneous occurrence of these processions and rituals, allied with imperial patronage, that subsequently acted as a catalyst for Byzantium to change to a culture of icons, rather than of relics, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, an enormously important shift. Professor Pentcheva suggests it is a symbiotic relationship, ultimately exploited by the Byzantine rulers operating a degree of political "spin" to re-invent history so that icons of the Theometor in a championing role resulted in the presentation of Byzantium as an empire dedicated to the Mother of God, with the Hodegetria icon, allegedly painted by the evangelist Luke, as protectrix of its capital, Constantinople.

An impressive array of textual evidence is marshalled, ranging from poems and prayers, homilies and hymns, specifically the Akathistos Hymn, dedicated to the Virgin, the significance of which has not been fully recognized, argues Professor

Pentcheva. She notes André Grabar's analysis of poetic epithets originating in hymns which refer to the powers of the Theometor, but which do not refer to a specific visual formula. Her study has focussed on how these poetic names can be shown to determine how a specific icon functioned. Pentcheva suggests that the Virgin's appellations *Theotokos* (Bearer of God) and *Meter Theo* (Mother of God) suggest a shift from passive to active power which she exerts as protectrix of city and state. This special power results from her unique state of virginal motherhood and is utilised by the Byzantine rulers in their preparations for battle. Exhaustive analysis of written sources demonstrates the change in the understanding of the manifestation of this power, from seventh century descriptions of the Theometor's physical presence in battle to accounts of the Middle Byzantine processional icons of the Virgin, and the belief that her power was then concentrated in these tangible images, the reiteration of the shift to relics firstly and then icons.

In addition to textual evidence, ivories, panels, mosaics, coins and seals are all utilised to show the development of the shift and the development of iconographic formulae. An example is the examination of the Blachernai Monastery's icon of the Virgin orans (hovering) with a medallion containing the Christ Child on her chest, intimating her metaphorical status within Byzantium as an "unbroken seal". Pentcheva also considers "hodegetria"-type iconography, in which the Virgin is a mediatrix between the faithful and Christ: their prayers are addressed to her and she in turn intercedes by presenting them to Christ and obtaining a divine response. This iconography, it is argued, was most probably generated by the inclusion of icons into the ritual processions, and it develops in two separate forms. The first is merely images showing the hodegetria visual formula. The second, in addition to this specific imagery, also includes the name Hodegetria, ("She who leads the way") which was perceived by viewers to be what Pentcheva describes as a "conscious copy" of the original cult icon, and by dint also possessed some of the special power of the original. The intersection of imperial sponsorship and public participation in the Cult of the Theometor, via processions with such icons, results in this cultural shift from venerating relics to icons.

The book is arranged in two sections, each containing three chapters. The first section considers the history of imperial power and its alliance with the Mother of

God, the second section examines how icons function. There is a very useful chronology of Emperors, divided into dynasties, and extensive notes for each chapter. Although terms and names are explained within the body of the text, this reader would have found a glossary a helpful addition for quick reference. An excellent bibliography provides rich sources for further study.

Aimed at Byzantine scholars primarily, this important study will also be of great benefit to medievalists and theologians.

Susan Martin, University of Plymouth

**THE ONTOLOGY OF THE VENETIAN HALO IN
ITS ITALIAN CONTEXT**

Volume Two

IMAGES



Fig. 1. Crestani, Michele, (November 2009) *Halo around the moon, Cannaregio* [Photograph]. In possession of author, Venice. Permission to reproduce this has been granted by Michele Crestani

Fig. 2. Aldine edition of frontispiece of *Epistolae Devotissime di Sancta Catharina da Siena*, 1500, Venice. Woodcut, Schiede Collection, Princeton. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 3. Vittore Carpaccio, *The Apotheosis of St Ursula*, c. 1491. Tempera on canvas, 481 x 336 cm. Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, (no publication date given), *Apotheosis of St. Ursula*, Available at: <http://www.wga.hu/>. (Accessed 24.06.11.)

Fig. 4. *Il Buon Pastore (The Good Shepherd)*, dating from the second half of the fourth century AD. Blown glass plate, pale green with gold leaf and enamelled edges. Città del Vaticano Collection, Musei Vaticani, Museo Cristiano. Inv. No. 60718. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

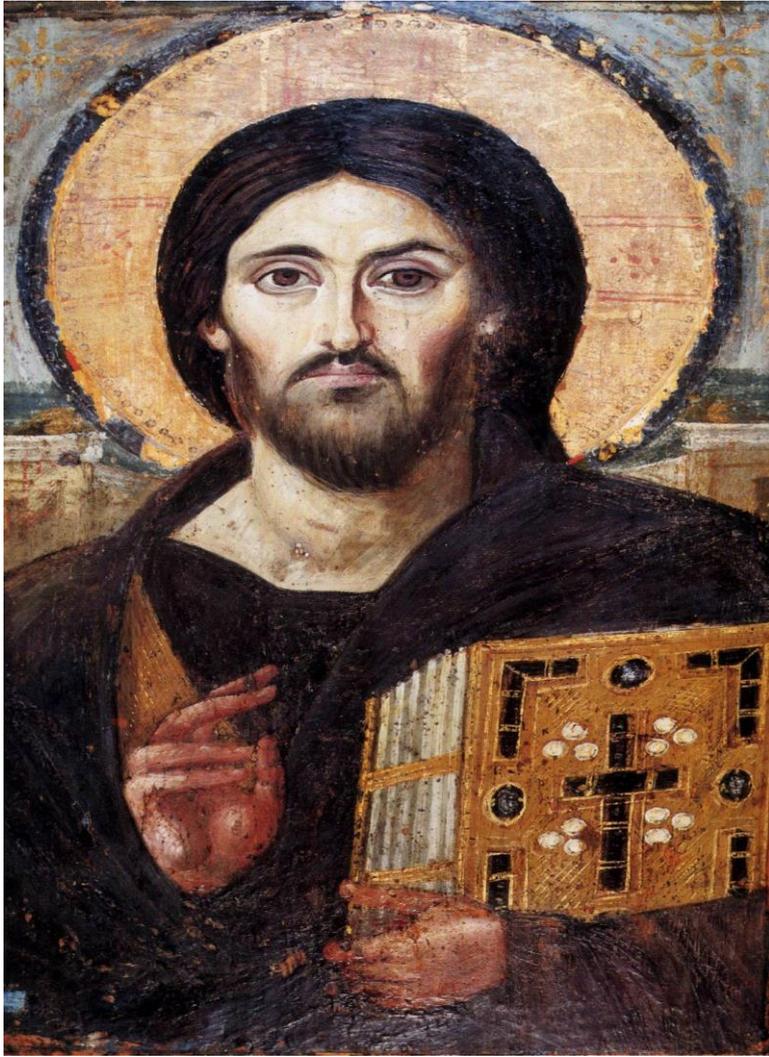


Fig. 5. *Christ Pantocrator*, Icon, c. 600 AD. Painted in wax encaustic. St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai. No source/photographer (2011). *Christ Pantocrator*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASpas_vsederzhitel_sinay.jpg. (Accessed 18 March 2012)



Fig 5a. Halo detail, showing simple punch marks and three red-delineated internal arm crosses



Fig. 6. Francesco Traini and Lippo Memmi, *The Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas*, c. 1340. Oil and gold on wood panel. Chiesa di Sta. Caterina, Pisa. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, No source/photographer, *Triumph of St Thomas Aquinas*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/m/memmi/various/thomas.html. (Accessed 11 March 2011)



Fig. 7. Unknown artist, *Blessed Franciscus di Venetis* of Augustinian Order pierced with arrow. Vault fresco, right of central nave. 1400s, Chiesa di San Stefano, Venice. Crestani, Michele, (2007), *Franciscus fresco*, [photograph]. In possession of author. Venice. Permission to use this image has been granted by Michele Crestani

Fig. 8. Altar devoted to Sol Invictus. White marble, 44 x 30 x 17 cm. Originally from la via del Mare, Rome, now in the Collection of the Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano. Inv. No. 9906. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 9. Unknown. *Christ-Helios*, dating from second part of 300 AD. Mosaic. Discovered in the mausoleum of the Giuli, in the necropolis under the old St. Peter's, Rome. <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Leinad-Z>, (2006), *Christ as Sol Invictus*.. Available at <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AChristAsSol.jpg>. (Accessed 26 September 2011)



Fig. 10. Paolo Veneziano, *St John the Baptist*, c. 1366-68. Tempera on panel. Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia

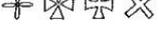
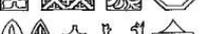
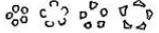
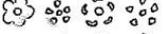
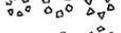
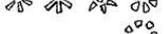
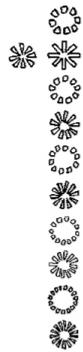
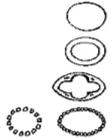
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Fig. 11. Mojmir Frinta's Classification of Basic Shapes in Punched Decoration. Images taken from Frinta, Mojmir S., *Punched Decoration on Late Medieval Panel and Miniature Painting, Part I*. Catalogue. Prague, Maxdorf, 1998. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Maxdorf Publishing and Design



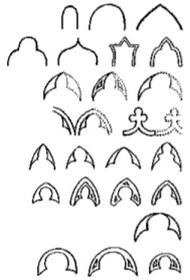
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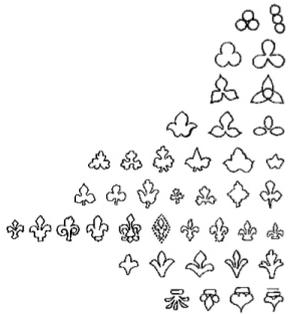
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Fig. 12. Fragment of *The Cotton Genesis*, ? Egypt, 400-500 AD. BL Cotton MS Otho B VI. f. 26v. This image has been removed due to Copyright reasons



Fig. 13. Anonymous. Fragment of Trecento frescoes at Chiesa di Apostoli, Venice. Crestani, Michele, (2009), *Apostoli Fresco*, [photograph]. In possession of author. Venice. Permission to use this image has been granted by Michele Crestani

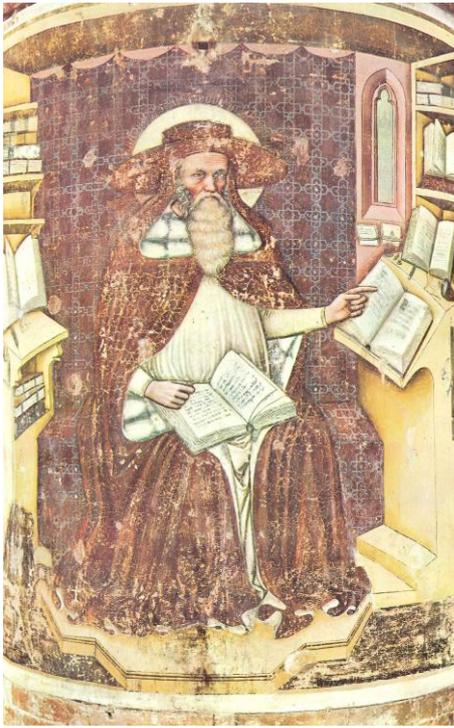


Fig. 14. Tommaso di Modena, *San Gerolamo in his studio*, c. 1352. Fresco. Monastery of San Nicolò, Treviso. Sanjo, Yukio, (2012),. Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3A8833 - Treviso - San Nicol%C3%B2 - Tommaso da Modena - San Girolamo.JPG](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3A8833_-_Treviso_-_San_Nicol%C3%B2_-_Tommaso_da_Modena_-_San_Girolamo.JPG). (Accessed 11 March 2012)



Fig. 15. Maestro di Tressa, *Madonna with Child* (also known as *Madonna con Occhi Grossi*), c. 1250. Tempera on panel. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Siena. Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AMaestro di tressa madonna with child si ena cathedral 1250s.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AMaestro_di_tressa_madonna_with_child_siena_cathedral_1250s.jpg) (accessed 1 November 2011.)



Fig. 16. Coppo di Marcovaldo, *Madonna col Bambino*, c. 1265. Tempera and gold leaf on panel. 135 x 238 cm. Museo del Opera del Duomo, Orvieto. Wikimedia (2008), Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACoppo_di_Marcovaldo_Mad.1.jpg (Accessed 10 January 2012)



Fig. 16a. Detail of Madonna's halo, showing "pleat-like" design

Fig. 17. Anonymous. *Virgin and Child*, *Istorja v zisantskoj ziropisi* icon. Moscow Pushkin Museum. Image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions



Fig. 18. Cimabue, *Enthroned Madonna between the angels and St. Francis*, 1278-80. Fresco, 320 x 340 cm.. Lower Church, Assisi. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (no date given), *Madonna enthroned with the Child, St Francis and Four Angels* Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/c/cimabue/madonna/madonn_1.html. (Accessed 21 February 2010)



Fig. 19. Cimabue, *St Francis* tavola, c. 1285, Museo di Santa Maria degli Angeli, Assisi No photographer supplied, but source given: <http://francescoilsanto.it/images/quadri/originali/1/jpg>. Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACimabue_\(attr.\)%2C_tavola_di_san_francesco%2C_museo_della_porziuncola.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACimabue_(attr.)%2C_tavola_di_san_francesco%2C_museo_della_porziuncola.jpg). (Accessed 10 December 2011)

Fig. 20. Maestro del Crocifisso del Frari, *Crucifixion*, 1200s. Tempera and gold leaf on wood. Chiesa di S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (also known as The Frari), Venice. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Fig. 20a. Halo detail. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 21. Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Maestà*, c. 1311. Tempera and gold leaf on wood. 214 x 412 cm. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena. Scan (no other details given.) Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ADuccio_maesta1021.jpg . (Accessed 6.February 2012)



Fig. 21a. Details of angels and saints



Fig. 21b. Angel's halo

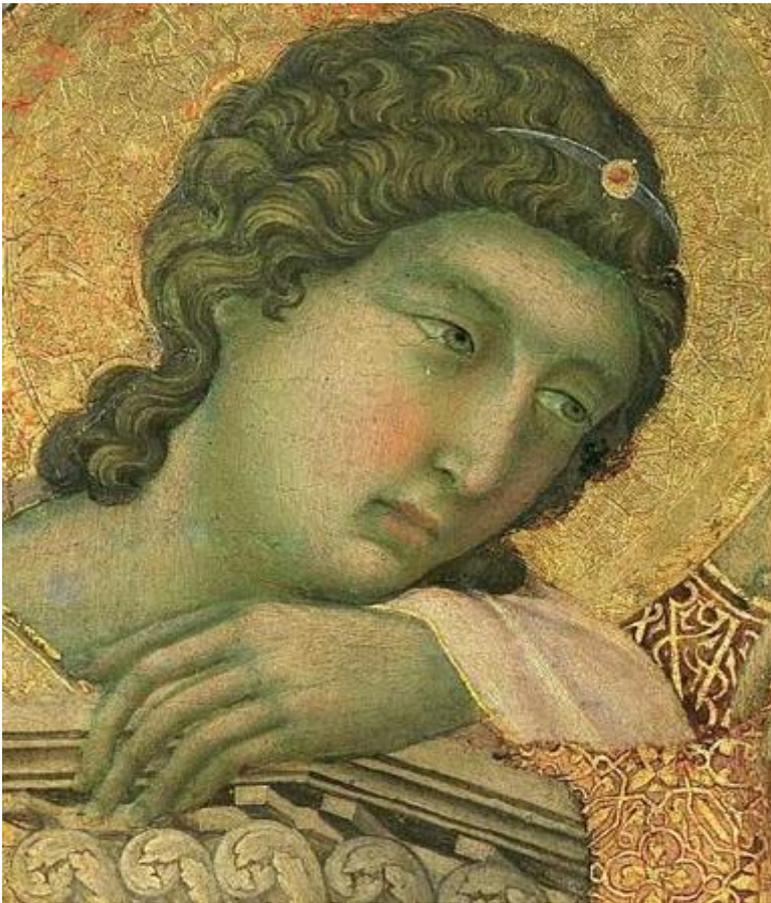


Fig. 21c. Angel's halo

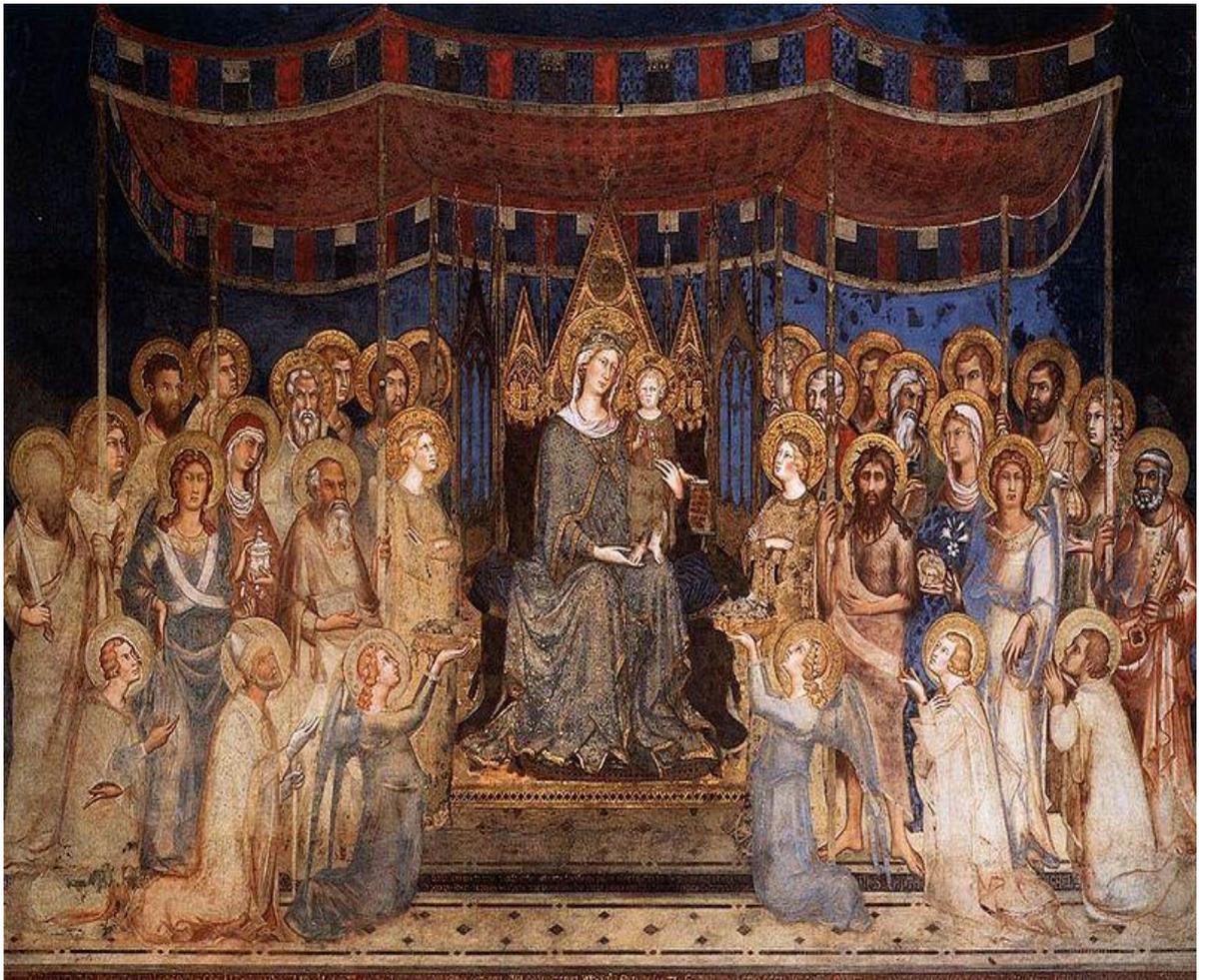


Fig. 22. Simone Martini, *Maestà*, c. 1315. Fresco, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. No source/photographer /date provided. *Maestà*, Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AMaest%C3%A0_di_simone_martini%2C_siena_palazzo_publico_1315-1321.jpg (Accessed 28 February 2010)



Figs 22a. Details of Saints' haloes from *Maestà*



Fig. 22b. Details of Saints' haloes from *Maestà*



Fig. 22c. Detail of Fanciulla's halo, showing punch marks and lozenges of *verre églomisé* decoration within it, and also as a depiction of the Virgin's brooch.



Fig. 23. Simone Martini. *St Clare* from the cycle of the *Five Saints* fresco, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi. The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH. (2005). Heilige, Detail: HL. Klara Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASimone_Martini_047.jpg. (Accessed 3. March 2008)



Fig. 23a. Halo detail of St. Clare, showing “moonface” motif and reticulated background, circumscribed by slim band and beaded border

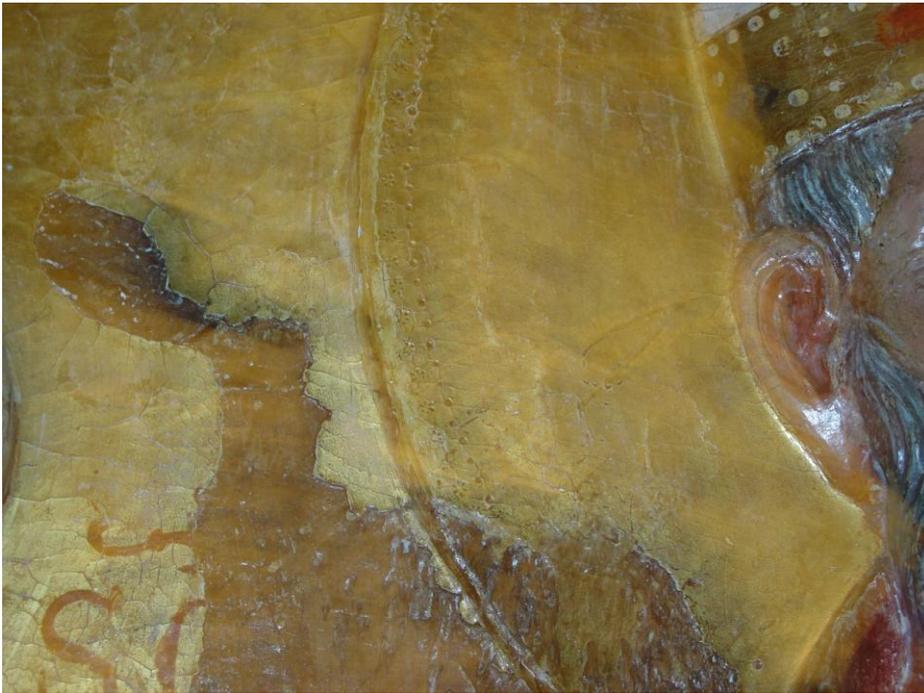


Fig. 24. Attributed to Paolo Veneziano, *San Donato*, ancona, c. 1310. Martin, Susan (2008), *San Donato* [Photograph]. In possession of author. Venice



Fig. 24a. Close-up of hexa-bar-star motif in the halo of *San Donato*



Fig. 25. Simone Martini, *St Louis Enthroned with Robert of Anjou*, c. 1317. Altarpiece. Tempera on wood, 200 x 138 cm. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. Scan – no source provided, (2010), *St Louis Altarpiece*. Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASimone Martini. St. Louis of Toulouse Altarpiece . 1317. Mus.Capodimonte%2C_Naples..jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASimone_Martini._St._Louis_of_Toulouse_Altarpiece_.1317._Mus.Capodimonte%2C_Naples..jpg) (Accessed 31 May 2011.)

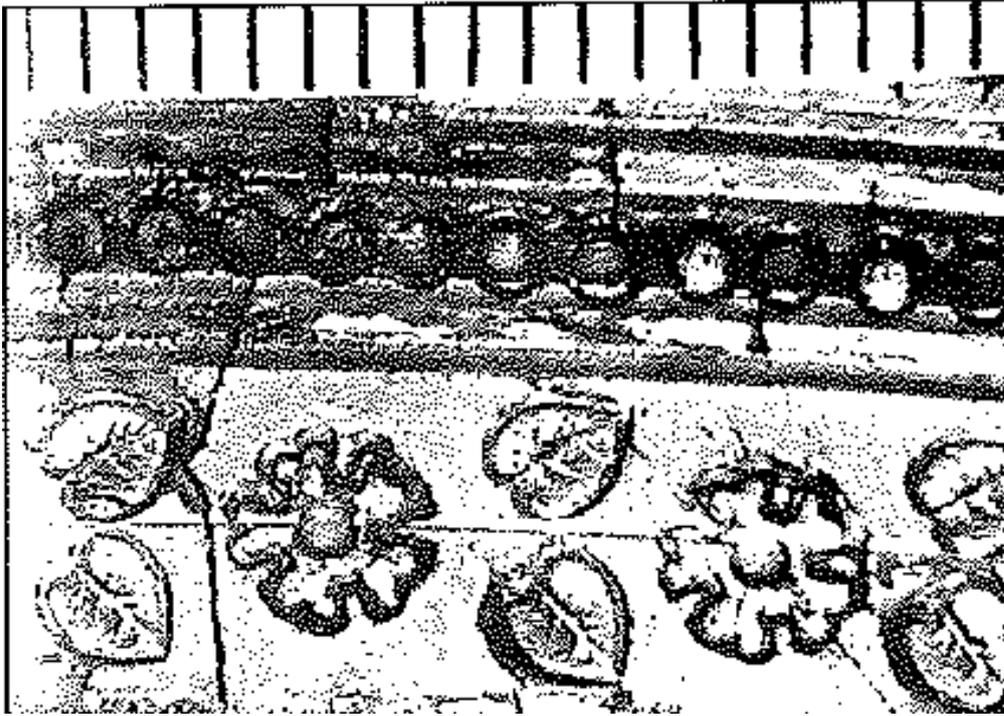


Fig. 25a. Mójmir Frinta, photograph, showing Punch Mark No. I15 (Serrated leaf motif) and Punch No. Kb5a, (penta-rosette), both used in halo of St Louis in Fig. 25. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Maxdorf Publishing and Design.

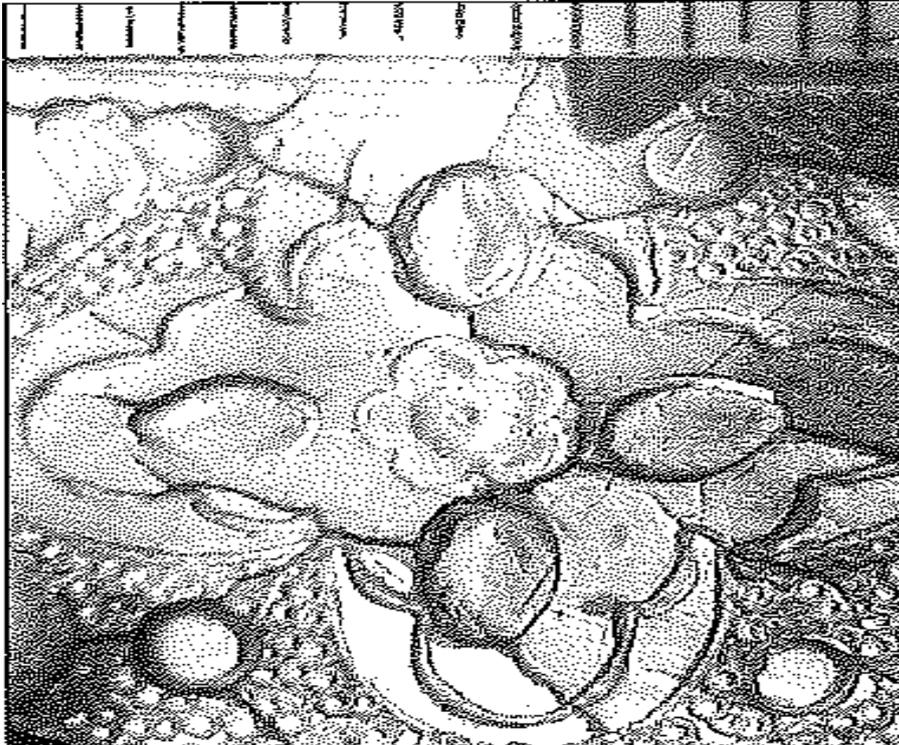


Fig. 26. Further development of simple/serrated leaf punch, this is identified as No. I32 , used by Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi collaboratively, and separately, in haloes. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Maxdorf Publishing and Design

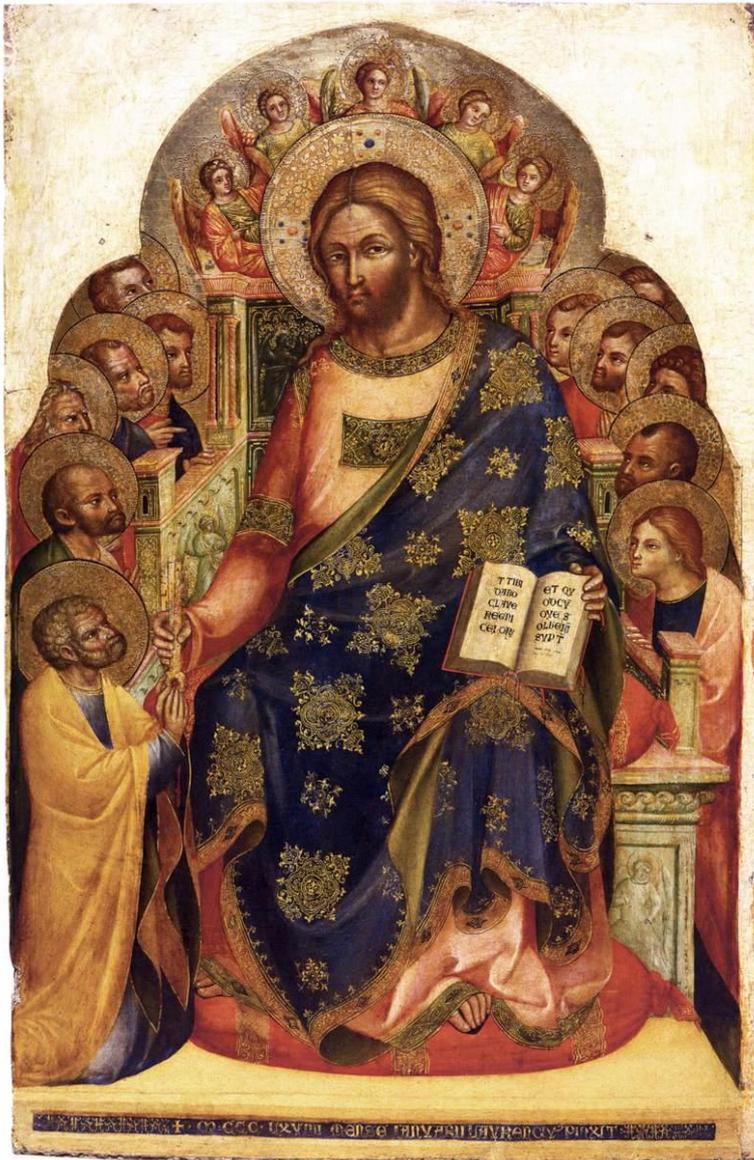


Fig. 27. Lorenzo Veneziano, *Christ giving the keys to St Peter*, 1369. Tempera on panel, 90 x 60 cm. Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia

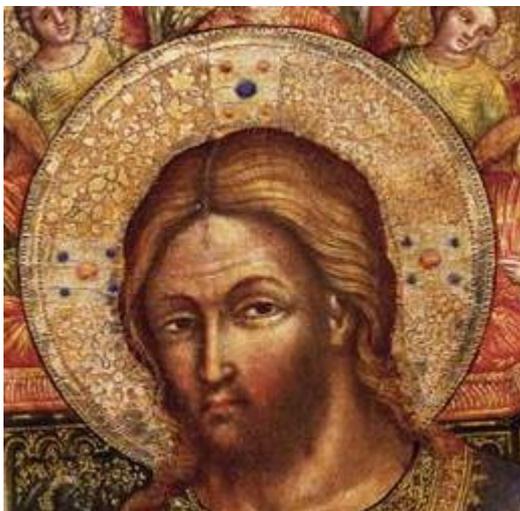


Fig. 27a. Detail of Christ's halo



Fig. 28. Stefano Veneziano, *St Christopher*, 1376, Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia



Fig. 28a. Halo detail, showing simple ring punching



Fig. 29. Jacobello del Fiore, *Madonna col Bambino*, 1420-30. Tempera and gold leaf on panel. Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia



Fig. 29a. Detail of Madonna's halo from Fig. 29, clearly showing different designs made up by simple ring punching



Fig. 29b. Enlarged detail of simple ring punching



Fig. 29c. Detail of Virgin's gown, echoing ring punching within the halo



Fig. 30. Lorenzo Lotto, *Madonna with Child*, c. 1529. Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia



Fig. 30a. Detail of Christ Child's cruciferous halo with simple ring punching



Fig. 30b. Detail of Virgin's gown, texturized by simple ring punching



Fig. 31. Jacobello del Bonomo, *St. John the Baptist and St. Peter*, 1370-90. Tempera and gold leaf on panel. Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to use this image has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia



Fig. 31a. Halo detail of St John the Baptist



Fig. 31b. Halo detail of St. Peter, showing incised scrolls within inner border.



Fig. 32. Anonymous Greek Painter, *Virgin and Child*, c. 1400s. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to use this image has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia



Fig. 32a. Halo detail of Virgin



Fig. 32b. Halo detail of Christ Child



Fig. 33. Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi, *The Annunciation*, 1333. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 450 x 371 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

- The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH (2005). Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASimone_Martini_078.jpg , (Accessed 10 July 2009)

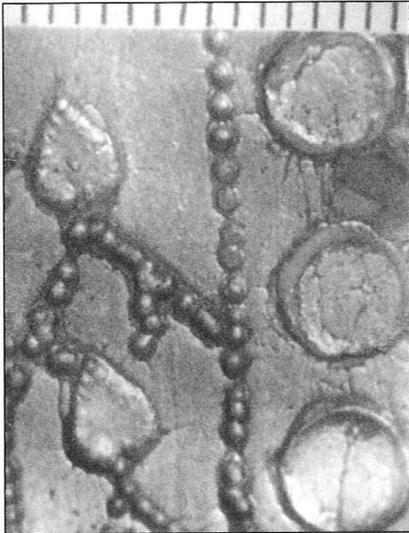


Fig. 33a. Detail of Frinta Punch Mark I62. 4.5 x 3.5 mm. Used by School of Marco Zoppo. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Maxdorf Publishing and Design.

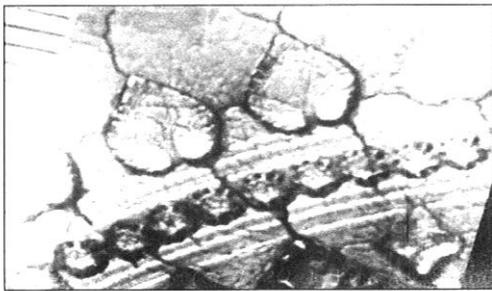


Fig. 33b. Detail of Frinta Punch Mark I86a. 5.3 x 5 mm. Used by Lippo Memmi and Simone Martini, and also Niccolò Semitecolo. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Maxdorf Publishing and Design



Fig. 33c. Detail of Frinta Punch Mark I96b. 6.5 x 4 mm. Used by Jacobello del Fiore. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Maxdorf Publishing and Design.

Fig. 34. Jacobello del Fiore, *St Lucy between the flames of the stake*, from the *Stories from the Life of St. Lucy* cycle, c. 1410. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 70 x 25 cm. Pinacoteca Fermo, This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

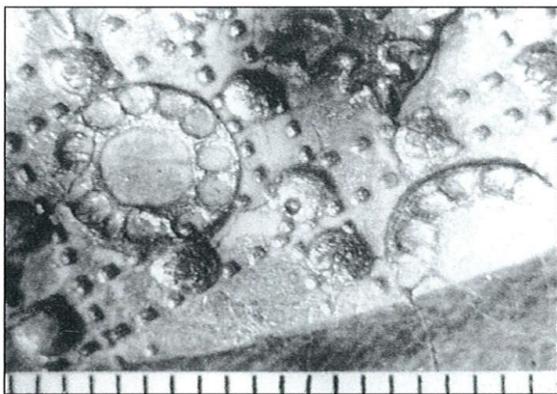


Fig. 35. Møjmir Frinta, Photograph, Punch Mark Oc5, utilised in Fig.34. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Maxdorf Publishing and Design

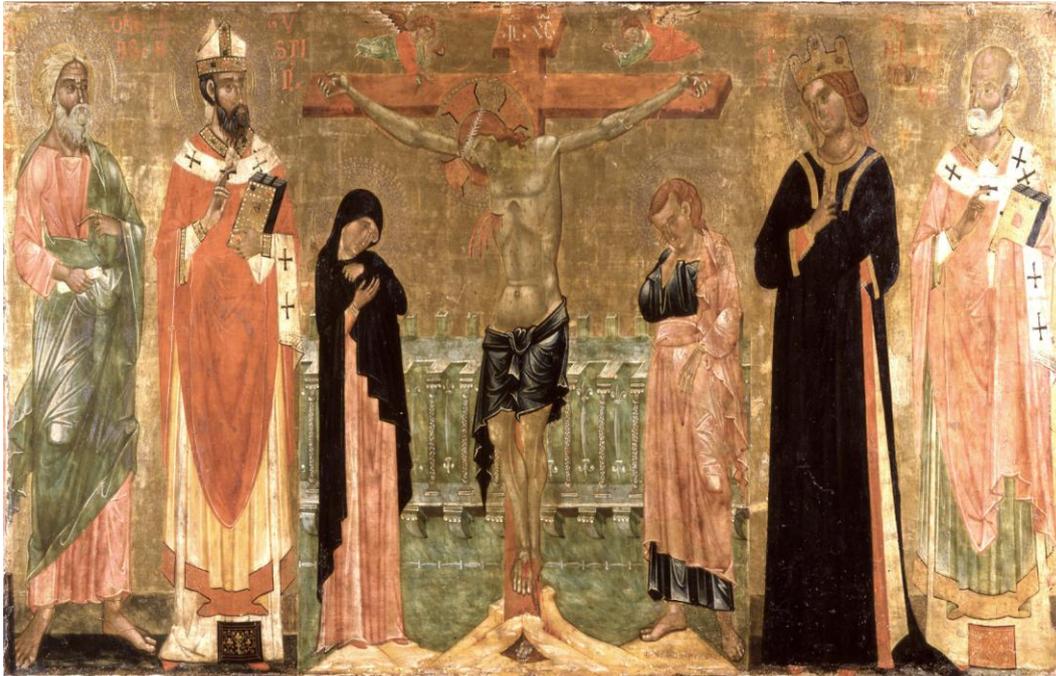


Fig. 36. Anonymous Veneto-Byzantine *Crucifixion with Saints*, fourteenth century. Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to use this image has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia



Figs. 36a and 36b. Halo pinnacle borders of saint and Christ



Fig. 37. Ivan Petrov, *Uglyjan Polyptych*, detail of St. Jerome's halo, c. 1445. Polyptych originally from the Franciscan Monastery of St Jerome on Isle of Ugljan, Zadar. No details of photographer or date. *St Jerome*. Available at: <http://djelatnici.unizd.hr/~ehilje/gsz-txt.htm> (accessed 27.9.09)



Fig. 38. Pag Lace border. Permission to reproduce this image for academic use granted by Hrvatska pošta 2012. Available at: <http://www.posta.hr/print.aspx?id=3622&m=441&p=-1>. All rights reserved. Copyright



Fig. 39. Antonio Vivarini, *St Louis of Toulouse*, 1450, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Detail of halo. [PHGCOM](#) (2009), *Portrait of St. Louis of Toulouse, probably from a polyptych. detail.* Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAntonio_Vivarini_1450_Saint_Louis_de_Toulouse_detail.jpg. (Accessed 15 May 2010)

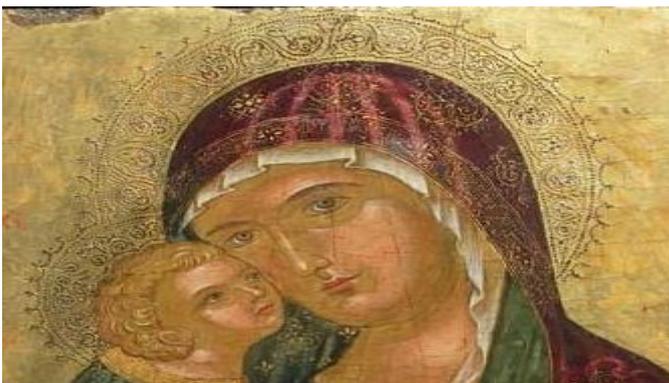


Fig. 40. Anonymous, Cretan-Venetian, *Virgin and Child*, icon, late fifteenth century, private collection. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by The Temple Gallery, London

Fig. 41. Antonio Vivarini, *Santa Chiara*, c. 1467. Tempera on panel. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 42. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Polittico di San Cristoforo*, or *Madonna and Child with Sts. Christopher, Sebastian and Roche, Bernard of Clairvaux and Bernard of Siena*, 1486. Tempera on panel. 149 x 165 cm. Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan. Halo detail of St Sebastian. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions



Fig. 43. Martin, Susan (2007), *Merli on Palazzo Ducale*, [photograph]. In possession of author . Venice



Fig. 44. Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna, *Ancona di Santa Sabina*, 1443. Tempera and gold leaf on panel. Chiesa di San Zaccaria, Venice. Web Gallery of Art [http://www.wga.hu/\(no date given\), Santa Sabia Polptych](http://www.wga.hu/(no date given), Santa Sabia Polptych). Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/v/vivarini/antonio/polypty2.html. (Accessed 11 March 2011)



Fig. 44a. Detail of internal arcaded halo border of Saint



Fig. 44b. Detail of Archangel's punched and pinnacled external border



Fig. 45. Gentile da Fabriano, *Madonna col Bambino*, 1408-10. Tempera on panel, 115 x 64. Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. Source: www.waiwaz.net,(2010). *Madonna with Child*, Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGentile_da_fabriano%2C_Madonna_with_Child%2C_perugia.jpg. (Accessed 4 January 2011)



Fig. 45a. Detail of Virgin's halo



Fig. 46. Gentile da Fabriano, *Madonna col Bambino tra san Francesco e santa Chiara*, c. 1395. Tempera sul tavola, 56.5 x 42 cm. Pinacoteca Malaspina, Pavia. Source: www.aiwaz.net, (2010). *Madonna in Gloria between Saint Francis and Santa Chiara* Gentile da Fabriano. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGentile_da_fabriano%2C_Madonna_in_Gloria_between_Saint_Francis_and_Santa_Chiera.jpg. (Accessed 17 February 2011)



Fig. 46a. Halo detail



Fig. 47. Crestani, Michele (2008), *Duomo at Murano showing external façade*, [photograph]. In possession of author. Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Michele Crestani



Fig. 47a. Detail of external triangular brickwork



Fig. 48. Icon of St Michael the Archangel, tenth century. Gold, enamel and gemstones. Treasury of San Marco, Venice. The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH. (2012). *Archangel Michael*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AMEister_der_Ikone_des_Erzengels_Michael_001_adjusted.jpg. (Accessed 10 April 2012.)



Fig. 48a. Halo detail of St. Michael

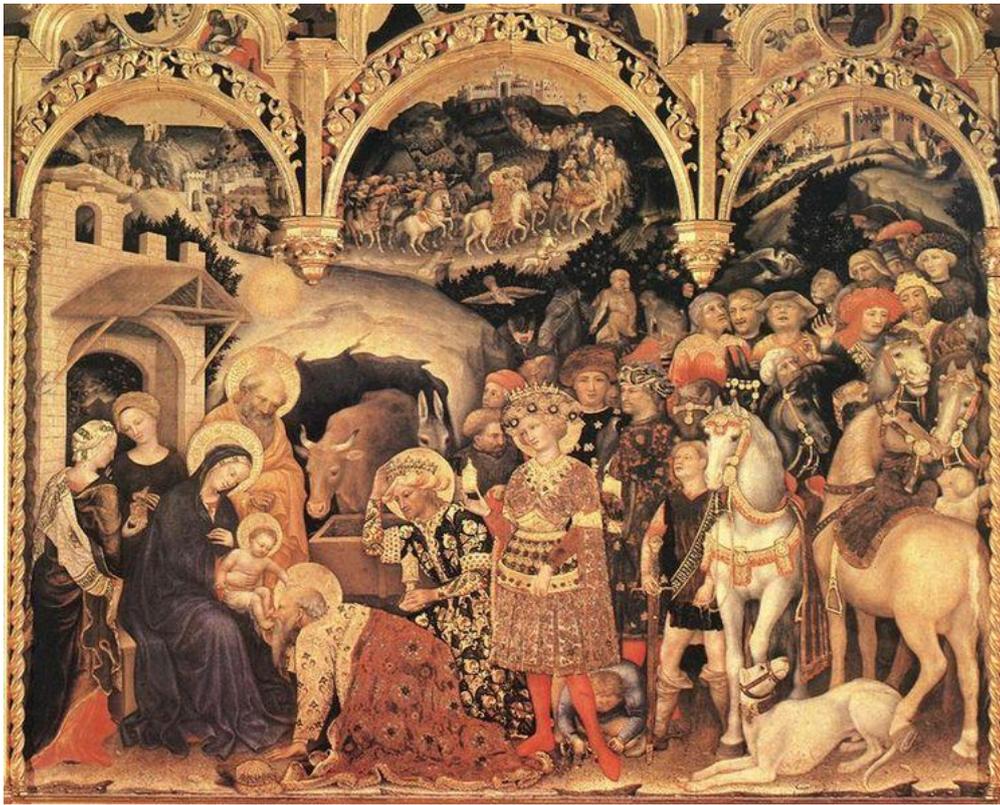


Fig. 49. Gentile da Fabriano, *Strozzi Altarpiece*, 1420-23. Tempera, gold leaf and pastiglia on tavola. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
[www://gallery.euroweb.hu/html/g/gentileadormag/1.html](http://gallery.euroweb.hu/html/g/gentileadormag/1.html) (2011), *The Adoration of the Magi*. Available at:
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGentile_da_Fabriano_Adoration.jpg.
 (Accessed 24 April 2012)



Fig. 49a. Details of pastiglia work on Gaspare's crown



Fig. 49b. Details of bells on kestrel's legs, gilded pastiglia



Fig. 50. Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna, *Coronation of the Virgin*, 1444, Chiesa di San Pantalon, Venice. Web Gallery of Art <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2009), *The Coronation of the Virgin*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAntonio_Vivarini_Coronaci%C3%B3n_de_la_Virgen_1444_San_Pantaleone%2C_Venecia.jpg. (Accessed 21 January 2012)



Fig. 50a. Halo detail showing internal arcading



Fig. 51. Antonio Vivarini, *Trittico of St Bernard of Siena, St. Jerome and St Louis of Toulouse*, c. 1451-56. Tempera on panel, Chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna, Venice. Crestani, Michele, (2008), *San Bernardino*, [photograph]. In possession of: author, Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Michele Crestani



Fig. 52. Antonio Vivarini, *St Louis of Toulouse*, c. 1450. Tempera, gold leaf and pastiglia on panel, 46 x 36 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

[PHGCOM](#) (2009), *Portrait of St. Louis of Toulouse, probably from a polyptych. detail* Available at:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAntonio_Vivarini_1450_Saint_Louis_de_Toulouse_detail.jpg. (Accessed 15 May 2010)



Fig. 52a. Halo detail showing external pinnacle border and internal pseudo-Arabic script, with pastiglia work on mitre



Figs. 52 b and c. Halo details of saints on stole of St Louis

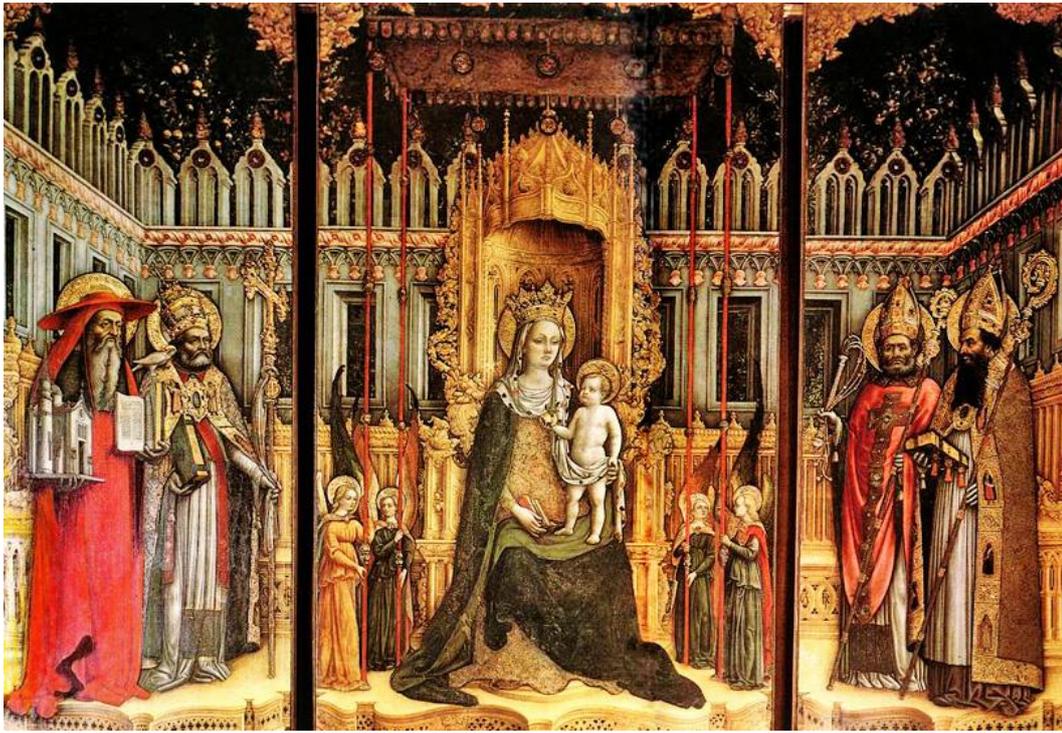


Fig. 53. Antonio Vivarini, *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints*, also known as *The Four Fathers of the Church triptych*, 1446. Tempera, gold leaf and pastiglia on panel. Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. Web Gallery of Art <http://www.wga.hu/>, (no date provided), *Triptych*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/g/giovanni/alemagna/triptych.html. (Accessed 6 February 2009)



Fig. 53a. *Merli* details



Fig. 53b.



Fig. 53c



Fig. 53d



Fig. 53e



Fig. 53g

Figs. 53b – 53g show details of the haloes of St Jerome and St Gregory, the Madonna and Christ Child, St Ambrose and St. Augustine, and angels flanking them, respectively



Fig. 54. Jacobello del Fiore, *Justice triptych*, 1421. Tempera, gold leaf and pastiglia on panel. Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. Source=www.artrenewal.org , (2009,) *Justice between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJacobello_del_Fiore_La_Justicia_en_tre_los_arc%3%A1ngeles_Miguel_y_Gabriel_1421_Academia_Venecia.jpg. (Accessed 01 June 2012)

Fig. 55. *The Aldrevandini Beaker*, c. 1330, The British Museum, London. Image © Trustees of the British Museum. Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions



Fig. 56. Gilt and enamelled *Cristallo* stem-glass. Late 1400s/early 1500s. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Nguyen, Marie-Lan, (2009) *Stem glass*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACristallo_stem_glass_Louvre_OA1974.jpg. (Accessed 3 March 2011.)

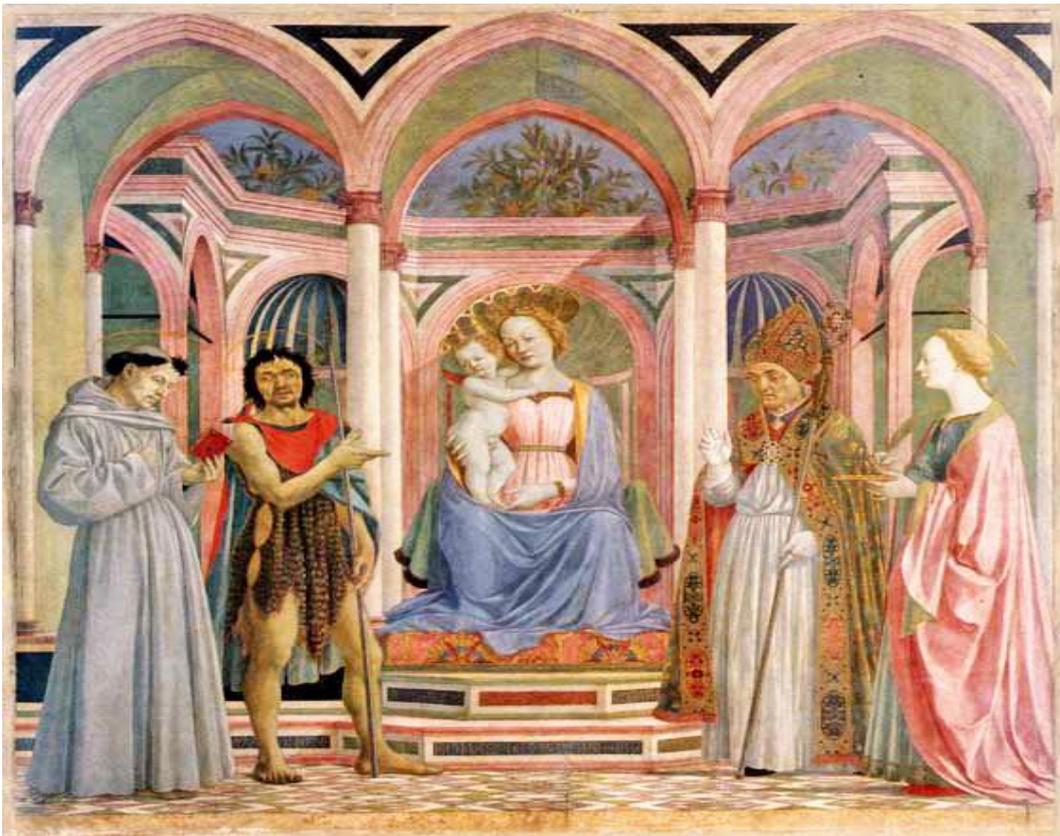


Fig. 57. Domenico Veneziano, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, or *The St. Lucy Altarpiece*. Tempera on panel. 198 x 207 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH (2005), *Maria mit Kind und Heiligen*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ADomenico_Veneziano_002.jpg (Accessed 11 April 2011)



Fig. 57a.



Fig. 57b



Fig. 57c

Figs. 57a shows halo details and positions of St. Dominic and St. John the Baptist. Fig. 57b those of St. Zenobius and St. Lucy, Fig. 57c is a close-up of the halo of St. Zenobius.



Fig. 58. Cosmè Tura, *Pietà*, 1460. Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to use this image has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia



Fig. 58a. Detail of Virgin's floating, elliptical halo



Fig. 59. Marco Zoppo, *Dead Christ between two Saints*, 1465. Tempera on panel. National Gallery, London. Zoppo, *Dead Christ between two Saints*, 1465, Photo ©The National Gallery, London



Fig.59a. Detail of St. John the Baptist's halo, showing rim and translucency



Fig. 59b. Detail of ?St. Jerome's halo, showing more ellipsis and light effects



Fig. 59c. Detail of Christ's halo, showing St. Jerome's hand between Christ's head and the halo

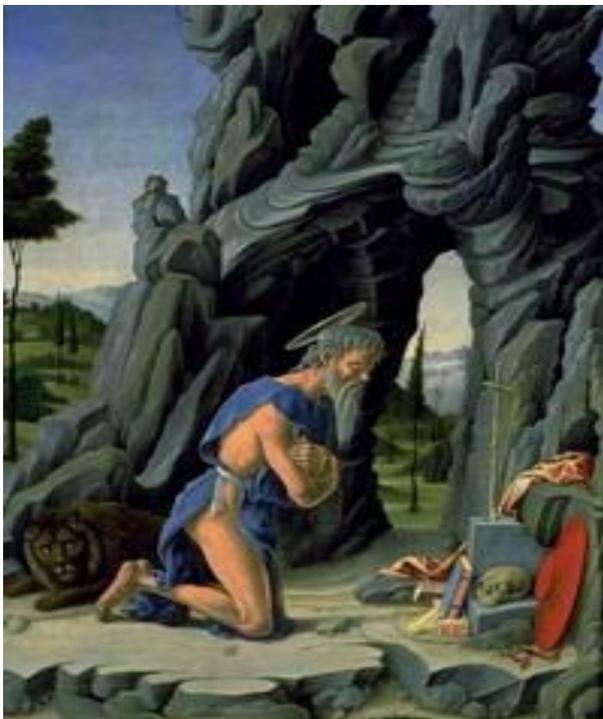


Fig. 60. Marco Zoppo, *St Jerome in the Wilderness*, c. 1460-70. Mixed media, 38 x 29 cm. Museo Thyssen-Bornemizsa, Madrid. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Museo Thyssen-Bornemizsa, Madrid.



Fig. 61. Vittore Carpaccio, *The Flight into Egypt*, c. 1515. Oil on panel, 72 x 111 cm. The Andrew Mellon Collection, The National Gallery of Art, Washington. Permission to reproduce this has been granted by The National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Fig. 61a. Detail of Christ Child's cruciferous halo and Virgin's transparent halo



Fig. 61b. Detail of Joseph's halo, showing transparency and gold-edged rim



Fig. 62. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna of the Misericordia*, 1473. Chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa, Venice. Web Gallery of Art (2010), *English: Triptych*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ADomenico_Veneziano_002.jpg (Accessed 25 January 2010.)

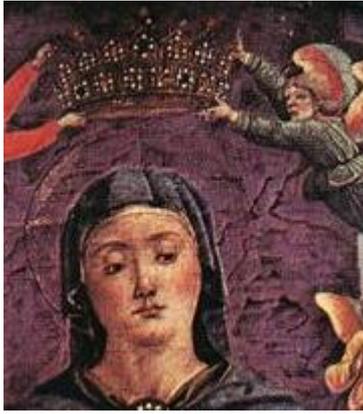


Fig. 62a. Detail of Virgin's "silk" halo



Fig. 63. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna and Child*, c. 1475. Tempera on panel, 53 x 41.5 cm. Samuel Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by the National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Fig. 64. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Virgin and Child*, 1480. Tempera on panel, 66.4 x 49.4 cm. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Philadelphia Museum of Art

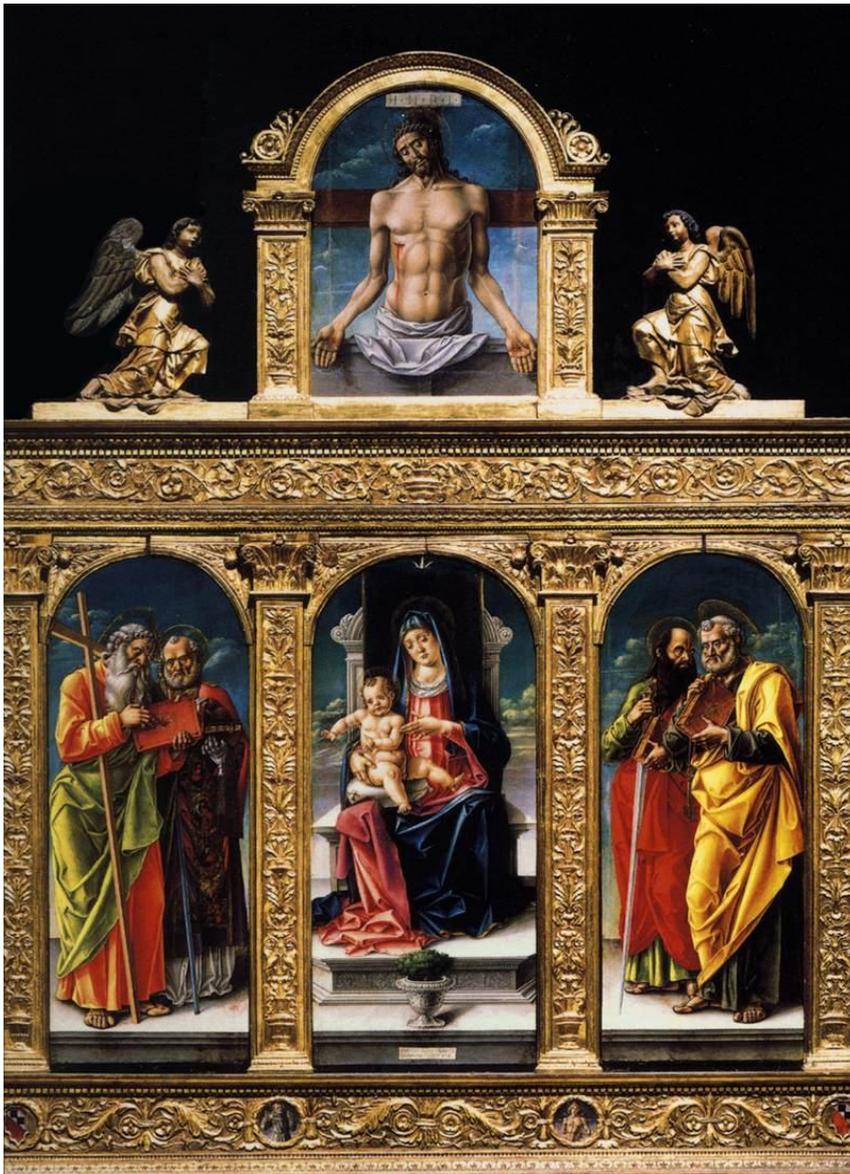


Fig. 65. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Virgin Enthroned with Saints*, 1487. Tempera on panel. Chiesa di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice. Web Gallery of Art <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2010), *Virgin Enthroned with Child and Saints*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABartolomeo_Vivarini%2C_trittico_dei_Frari_02.jpg. (Accessed 3 March 2010.)



Fig. 65a. Detail of Saints' "silk veil" haloes



Fig. 66. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna and Child*, 1490. Tempera and oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 57.5 x 46.5 cm. The Hermitage Museum, Moscow.
<http://www.liveinternet.ru/users/marylai/post290106796> (2012), *Madonna and Child*. Available at:
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABartolommeo_Vivarini_Madonna-and-Child_Hermitage.jpg. (Accessed 3 March 2012)



Fig. 66a. Detail of Christ Child's cruciferous halo and Madonna's "silk veil" halo



Fig. 67. Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna del Libro*, c. 1480-81. Tempera on panel, 58 x 39.5 cm. Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan.

<http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/cgHULpr5dnz9JA> (2011), *The Virgin and Child (The Madonna of the Book)*. Available at:
[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASandro Botticelli -
The Virgin and Child \(The Madonna of the Book\) - Google Art Project.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASandro_Botticelli_-_The_Virgin_and_Child_(The_Madonna_of_the_Book)_-Google_Art_Project.jpg).
(Accessed 21 November 2011)



Fig. 67a. Detail of Madonna's halo with *linee serpentine*

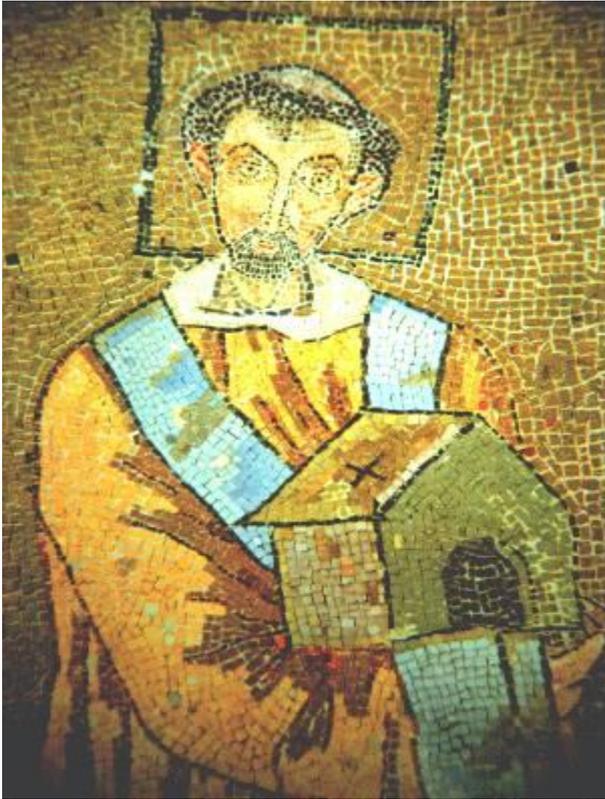


Fig. 68. Unknown artist, Mosaic of Pope John VII. Vatican grotto. The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*. DVD-ROM, 2002. [ISBN 3936122202](https://www.yorck-project.com/ISBN-3936122202). Distributed by [DIRECTMEDIA](http://www.directmedia.com) Publishing GmbH, (2005), *Porträt des Papstes Johannes VII*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AByzantinischer_Mosaizist_um_705_002.jpg. (Accessed 14 February 2008)

Fig. 69. Unknown artist. Mosaic of Pope Paschal I, c. 882 AD. Chiesa di Sta. Prassede, Rome. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 70. Andrea Mantegna, *Crucifixion* predella from *San Zeno Altarpiece*, 1457-60. Tempera on panel, 67 x 93 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH, (2005). Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AMantegna%2C_Andrea_-_crucifixion_-_Louvre_from_Predella_San_Zeno_Altarpiece_Verona.jpg. (Accessed 21 November 2010)



Fig. 70a. Detail of shield/"square halo" of Longinus



Fig. 71. Cima da Conegliano, *The Baptism Altarpiece*, c. 1492-94. Oil on panel, 350 x 210 cm. Chiesa di San Giovanni in Bragora, Venice. Crestani, Michele, (2007) *The Battesimo Pala* [photograph], Venice. In possession of author. Permission to use this image has been granted by Michele Crestani

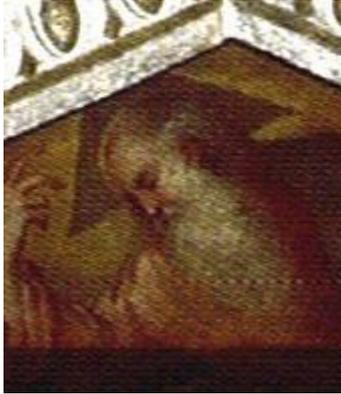


Fig. 71a. Detail of God's triangular halo in lunette above *The Baptism*



Fig. 72. Antoniazzo Romano, *Altarpiece of the Confraternity of the Annunciation*, 1500. Chiesa di Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. Permission from www.wga.hu (2005), *The Annunciation*, Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAnnunciazione_Antoniazzo.jpg, (Accessed 21 November 2010)



Fig. 72a. Detail of God's triangular halo



Fig. 73. Jacopo della Quercia, *The Creation of Adam*, sculpture relief from the Old Testament cycle flanking the entrance to the Basilica di San Petronio, Bologna. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Mary Ann Sullivan, Bluffton University



Fig. 74. Jacopo della Quercia, *The Creation of Eve*, sculpture relief from the Old Testament cycle flanking the entrance to the Basilica di San Petronio, Bologna. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Mary Ann Sullivan, Bluffton University



Fig. 75. Andrea Pisano, *Hope*, c. 1330-36, from the South Doors of the Baptistery, Florence. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Mary Ann Sullivan, Bluffton University



Fig. 75a. Andrea Pisano, *Faith*, c. 1330-36. Bronze relief from the South Doors of the Baptistery, Florence. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Mary Ann Sullivan, Bluffton University

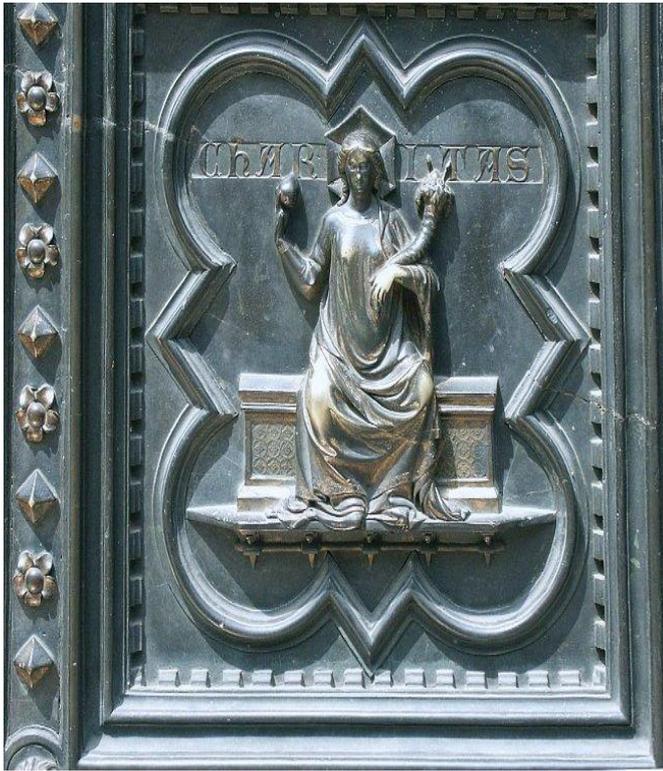


Fig. 75b. Andrea Pisano, *Charity*, c. 1330-36. Bronze relief from the South Doors of the Baptistery, Florence. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Mary Ann Sullivan, Bluffton University



Fig. 75c. Andrea Pisano, *Humility*, 1330-36. Bronze relief from the South Doors of the Baptistery, Florence. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Mary Ann Sullivan, Bluffton University



Fig. 75d. Andrea Pisano, *Fortitude and Temperance*, c. 1330-36. Bronze reliefs from the South Door of the Baptistery, Florence. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Mary Ann Sullivan, Bluffton University



Fig. 75e. Andrea Pisano, *Justice and Prudence*, c. 1330-36. Bronze reliefs from the South Door of the Baptistery, Florence. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Mary Ann Sullivan, Bluffton University



Fig. 76. Shop of Pesellino, *The Seven Virtues*, c. 1460. Tempera and mordant gilding cassone panel, Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama



Fig. 76a. *Hope*



Fig. 76b. *Prudence*



Fig. 76c. *Faith*



Fig. 76d. *Charity*



Fig. 76e. *Justice*



Fig. 76f. *Fortitude*



Fig. 76g. *Temperance*



Fig. 77. Bernardo Daddi, *Triptych*, 1338. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, Courtauld Institute, London. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by The Courtauld Institute of Art



Fig. 77a. Detail from the *Crucifixion* panel showing Longinus with a hexagonal halo



Fig. 78. Taddeo Gaddi, one of the *Two Virtues*, c. 1332-38. Fresco, Baroncelli Chapel, Chiesa di Santa Croce, Florence. Crestani, Michele, *Two Virtues*, (2006), [photograph], Florence. In possession of author. Permission to use this image has been granted by Michele Crestani



Figs. 79. Taddeo Gaddi, *Theological Virtue*, c. 1332-38. Fresco, Baroncelli Chapel, Chiesa di Santa Croce, Florence. Crestani, Michele, (2006), *Theological Virtue* [photograph], Florence. In possession of author. Permission to use this image has been granted by Michele Crestani



Fig. 80. Taddeo Gaddi, *Theological Virtue*, c. 1332-38. Fresco, Baroncelli Chapel, Chiesa di Santa Croce, Florence. Crestani, Michele (2006), *Theological Virtue 2*, [photograph], Florence. In possession of author. Permission to use this image has been granted by Michele Crestani

Fig. 81. Giusto de' Menabuoi, *The Cardinal Virtues of Fortitude and Temperance*, 1370's. Fresco, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions

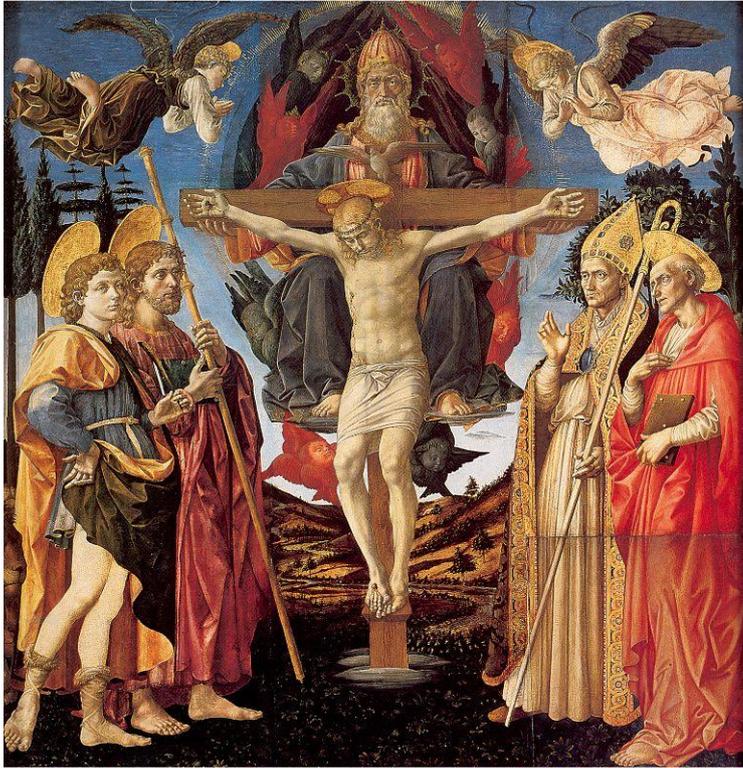


Fig. 82. Francesco Pesellino and Filippo Lippi, *Trinity and Four Saints* from *The Pistoia Santa Trinità Altarpiece*, 1455-60. Tempera and oil on panel. National Gallery, London. Pesellino and Lippi, *Trinity and Four Saints* from *The Pistoia Santa Trinità Altarpiece*, 1455-60, Photo © The National Gallery, London.



Fig. 82a. Detail of God's halo from *The Trinity and Four Saints* panel.



Fig. 83. Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1445-57. 111 x 176 cm. Gemaldegalerie, Berlin. Web gallery of art <http://gallery.euroweb.hu/html/g/gentile/adormag1.html> (2005), *The Adoration of the Magi*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGentile_da_Fabriano_Adoration.jpg (Accessed 3 March 2011)



Fig. 83a. Detail of nimbus of Holy Spirit, receiving divine rays from God. Note the *linee serpentine* in both.



Fig. 83b



Fig. 83c



Fig. 83d



Fig. 83e.

Figs. 83b-83d show halo details of the Magi. Fig. 83e shows halo details of the Holy Family



Fig.84. Unknown artist, *Beatus Albertus Magnus*, Fresco. Chiesa di San Pietro Martire, Murano. Crestani, Michele, (2007), *Beatus Albertus Magnus*, [photograph]. In possession of author. Venice. Permission to use this image has been granted by Michele Crestani



Fig. 85. Bartolomeo Pellerano da Camogli, *Madonna of Humility*, 1346. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 175 x 125.5 cm. Galleria Nazionale di Sicilia, Palermo. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Galleria Nazionale di Sicilia, Palermo



Fig. 85a. Detail of Virgin's halo of rays



Fig. 85b. Detail of Christ Child's halo of rays



Fig. 86. Jean Malouel, *Virgin and Child with Angels*, also known as the *Madonna of the Butterflies*, c. 1410. Canvas, 107 x 81 cm. Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Web Gallery of Art <http://www.wga.hu/> (2009). Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJean_malouel%2C_Virgin_and_Child_with_Angels%2C_1410_circa_\(Madonna_delle_farfalle%2C_butterflies_madonna\).jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJean_malouel%2C_Virgin_and_Child_with_Angels%2C_1410_circa_(Madonna_delle_farfalle%2C_butterflies_madonna).jpg). (Accessed 3 March 2011)



Fig. 86a. Detail of Christ Child's halo of rays, with tiny crosses at ends

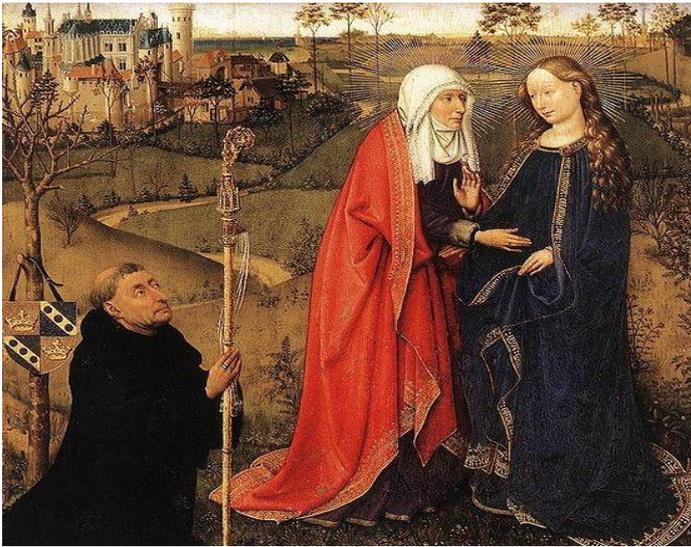


Fig. 87. Jacques Daret, *The Visitation*, 1434. Oil on oak panel, 57 x 52 cm. Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Original uploader was [Retired username](#) at [en.wikipedia](#) (2005) *Visitation*, from *Altarpiece of the Virgin (St Vaast Altarpiece)* http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ADARET_Jacques_Visitation.jpg. (Accessed 6 February 2007)



Fig. 87a. Detail of the Virgin's and St. Anne's haloes of rays



Fig. 88. Hans Multscher, *Wurzacher Passionsalter*, 1437, Oil on fir panel, Web Gallery of Art [http://www.wga.hu/\(no date give \) The Resurrection](http://www.wga.hu/(no date give) The Resurrection). Available at http://www.wga.hu/html_m/m/multsche/wurzach/4resurr.html (Accessed 6 February 2007)



Fig. 88a Detail of halo



Fig. 89. Bartolommeo Vivarini, *San Giovanni di Capistrano*, 1459. Panel, 1.92 m x 0.98 m. Musée Louvre, Paris. [Sailko](#) (2013),



Fig. 90. Anon. Byzantine icon. Chiesa di SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Crestani, Michele (2007), *Icon*, [photograph]. In possession of author,

San giovanni da capestrano, Available at:

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http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABartolomeo_vivarini%2C_san_giovanni_da_capestrano%2C_1459.JPG. (Accessed 3 March 2011)



Fig. 91. Hans Memling, *Standing Virgin and Child*, c 1490. Oil on oak panel, 43 x 36 cm. Aurora Art Fund, Bucharest. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (2011). *Standing Virgin and Child*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AHans_Memling_-_Standing_Virgin_and_Child_-_WGA14983.jpg (Accessed 30 November 2011)



Fig. 91a. Detail of Christ Child's halo



Fig. 92. Giovanni Bellini, *Cristo Benedicente*, 1460. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Giovanni Bellini . <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:PHGCOM> (2009), *Blessing Christ*, Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiovanni_Bellini_Le_Christ_Benissant_1465_1470.jpg. (Accessed 4 March 2011)



Fig. 93. Giovanni Bellini, *Baptism of Christ*, 1500-02. Tempera and oil on canvas, 410 x 265 cm. Chiesa di San Corona, Vicenza. Crestani Michele, (2008), *Battesimo*, [photograph]. In possession of author, Vicenza. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Michele Crestani

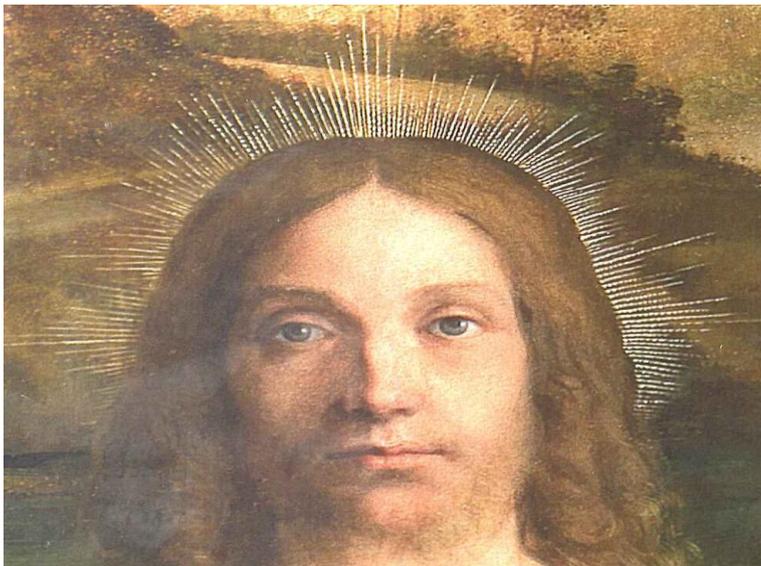


Fig. 93a. Detail of Christ's halo of rays

Fig. 94. Giovanni Bellini, *The Risen Christ Blessing*, c. 1500. Tempera, oil and gold on panel, 59 x 47 cm. Kimbell Art Museum, Forth Worth, Texas. Image has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Fig. 94a. Detail of Christ's "cruciform" ray halo. Image has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Fig. 95. Giovanni Bellini, *Christ Blessing*, c. 1505-10. Oil on poplar panel, 51.9 x 40.6 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 96. Alvise Vivarini, *The Redeemer Blessing*, 1498. Galleria Brera Image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 97. Shop of Giotto, *The Peruzzi Altarpiece*, c. 1310-15. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 105.7 x 250.2 cm. North Carolina Museum of Art. <http://collection.ncartmuseum.org/collection11/view/objects/asitem/id/451>, (2010), Giotto. *Peruzzi Altarpiece* 1310-15. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto._Peruzzi_Altarpiece_1310-15.North_Carolina_Museum_of_Art%2C_Raleigh.jpg. (Accessed 3 March 2011)



Fig. 97a. Detail of Christ's cruciform halo



Fig. 98. Raphael, *Disputa*, 1509-1510- Fresco, 770cm width at base. Stanza della Segnatura, Palazzo Pontifici, Rome. Web Gallery of Art, [http://www.wga.hu/\(no publication date given\), Disputation of the Holy Sacrament \(La Disputa\)](http://www.wga.hu/(no%20publication%20date%20given)/Disputation%20of%20the%20Holy%20Sacrament%20(La%20Disputa).html). Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/r/raphael/4stanze/1segnatu/2/00disput.html. (Accessed 11 March 2009)



Fig. 98a. Detail of God's lozenge nimbus and Christ's cruciferous halo



Fig. 99. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *The Ascent to Calvary*, 1565-67. Oil on canvas, Sala dell'Albergo, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, [http://www.wga.hu/\(no publication date given\), *The Ascent to Calvary*](http://www.wga.hu/(no%20publication%20date%20given),%20The%20Ascent%20to%20Calvary). Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/t/tintoret/3b/1albergo/2/1carry.html. (Accessed 8 November 2007)



Fig. 99a. Detail of Christ's semi-lozenge nimbus of light rays



Fig. 100. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1583-87. Oil on canvas, 425 x 544 cm. Sala Inferiore, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>(Publication date not given), *The Adoration of the Magi*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/t/tintoret/3b/3ground/2adorat1.html. (Accessed 8 November 2007)



Fig. 100a. Detail of Virgin's light-evanescent nimbus and Christ Child's semi-lozenge nimbus



Fig. 101. Amico Aspertini, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1515. Oil on wood, 44.5 x 34cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (2011), *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAmico_Aspertini_-_Adoration_of_the_Shepherds_-_WGA1019.jpg, (Accessed 19 May 2012)



Fig. 101a. Detail of ring haloes showing broad diameters

Fig. 102. Lorenzo Lotto, *Virgin and Child with Sts. Jerome, Peter, Francis and an Unidentified Female Saint*, c. 1505. Oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 80.50 x 102.50 cm. National Gallery of Scotland. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 102a Detail of flat ring haloes. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions



Fig. 103. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *Paradiso*, c. 1590. Oil on canvas, Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (publication date not given), *Paradise*, Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/t/tintoret/4a/ (Accessed 6 February 2012)



Fig. 103a. Detail of Virgin's starred halo



Fig. 104. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, c. 1576-77. Oil on canvas. Sala dell' Anticollegio, Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Web Gallery of Art. <http://www.wga.hu/> (publication date not given), *Bacchus, Venus and Ariadne*, Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/t/tintoret/4a/1antico1.html. (Accessed 6 February 2012)



Fig. 105. Andrea Verrocchio, *David*, c. 1465. Bronze, 126 cm. high. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Rufus46> (2011) *David*, Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ADavid%2C_Andrea_del_Verrocchio%2C_c_a._1466-69%2C_Bargello_Florenz-01.jpg (Accessed 1 November 2011)



Fig. 105a. Detail of breast-plate with *thuluth* script written across it

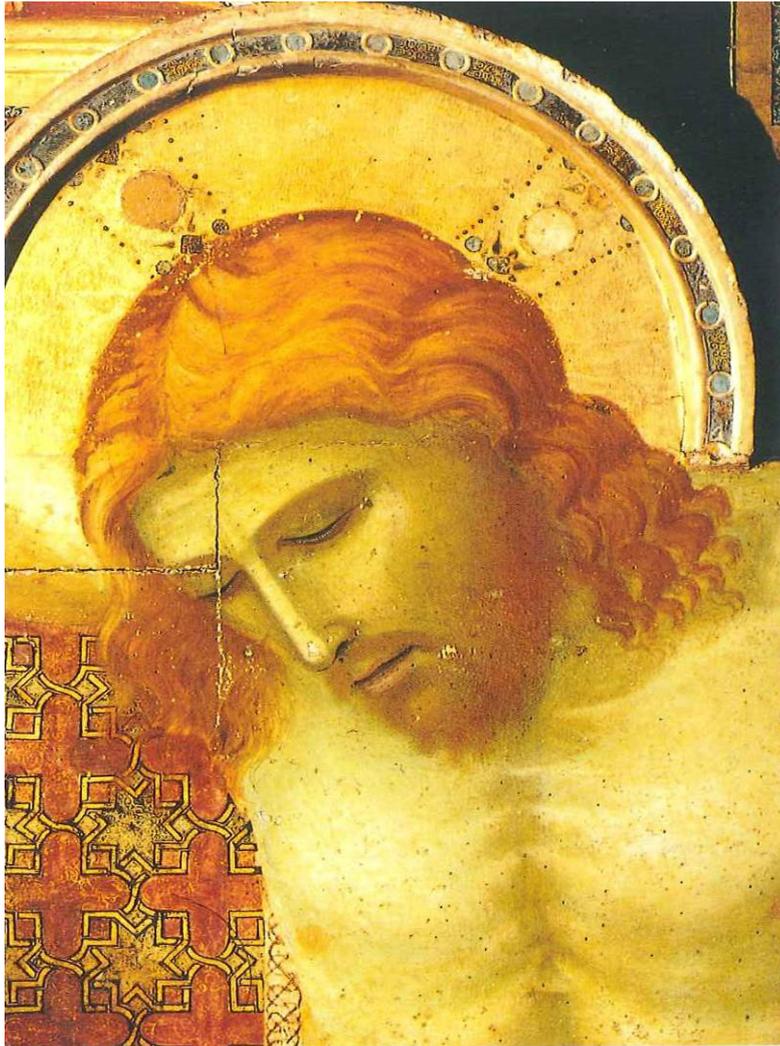


Fig. 106. Giotto di Bondone, *Crucifixion*, 1300. Tempera on panel. Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, Florence. <http://www.aiwaz.net/panopticon/giotto-di-bondone/gc20> (2010), Giotto._the-crucifix-1290-1300_Florence,_Santa_Maria_Novella. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto._the-crucifix-1290-1300_Florence%2C_Santa_Maria_Novella.jpg (Accessed 9 December 2010)



Fig. 107. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Madonna and Child*, undated. Tempera on panel with gold ground, 94 x 56.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of George Blumenthal 1941, OASC image, <www.metmuseum.org.>

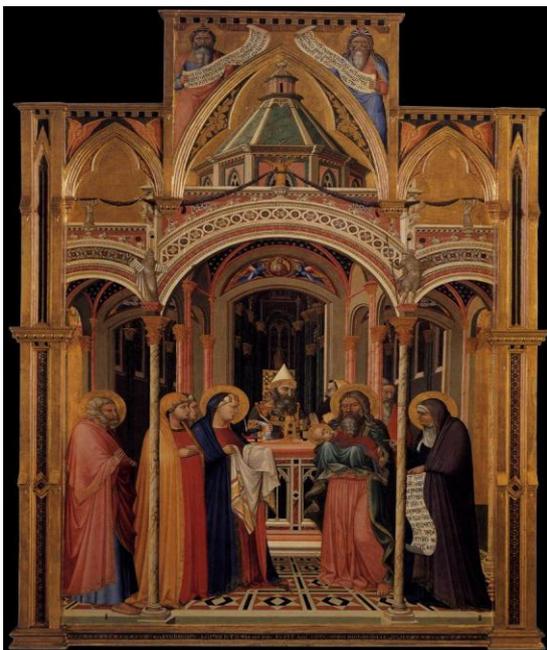


Fig. 108. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple*, 1342. Tempera on panel, 257 x 168 cm. Signed on frame *AMBROSIVS LAVRENTII DE SENIS FECIT HOC OPVS ANNON DOMINI MCCCXLII*, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (2011). *The Presentation in the Temple*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAmbrogio_Lorenzetti_-_The_Presentation_in_the_Temple_-_WGA13480.jpg (Accessed 22 December 2011)



Fig. 109. Nardi di Cione, *Crucifixion*, c. 1450. Tempera on panel, 71 x 145 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (2008), *Crucifixion*, Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AWga_Nardo_di_Cione_Crucifixion.jpg (Accessed 24 April 2009)



Fig. 110. Gentile da Fabriano, *Madonna with Child*, c. 1450. Tempera on panel, 58 x 48 cm. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Ferrara. www.wga.hu (2010), *M adonna with Child Gentile da Fabriano*, Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGentile da fabriano%2C Madonna with Child%2C ferrara.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGentile_da_fabriano%2C_Madonna_with_Child%2C_ferrara.jpg) (Accessed 24 April 2011)

Fig. 111. Gentile da Fabriano, *The Quaratesi Altarpiece*, 1425. Tempera on panel, 220.5 x 85 cm. The Royal Collection, London, on loan to The National Gallery, London. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 111a. Details of script within the Virgin's halo. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 111b. Details of St. George's halo from the *Quaratesi Altarpiece*, 1425. Oil on panel, 200 x 60 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

Fig. 111c. Details of St. John the Baptist's halo from the *Quaratesi Altarpiece*, 1425. Oil on panel, 200 x 60 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

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Fig. 112. Domenico di Bartolo, *Madonna of Humility*, 1433. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 93 x 59.5 cm. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.

<http://www.aiwaz.net/panopticon/madonna-of-humility/gi648c103> (2008), *Madonna of Humility*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AMadonna-of-humility-1433_Domenico_di_Bartolo.jpg. (Accessed 11 March 2009)



Fig. 113. Domenico di Bartolo, *Virgin and Child*, 1437. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 61.9 x 43.8 cm. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Philadelphia Museum of Art



Fig. 113a Detail of haloes



Fig. 114. Masolino da Panicale and Masaccio, *Sant'Anna Metterza*, c. 1425-25. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 175 x 103 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH. (2005), Hl. Anna Selbdritt. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AMasolino_008.jpg. (Accessed 4 May 2008)



Fig. 114a. Detail of Virgin's halo



Fig. 115. Bicci di Lorenzo, *Madonna and Child with St. Anne and Angels (Sant'Anna Metterza)*, from the Bob Jones University Collection, South Carolina.. 1420's-1430's
Tempera on panel. Permission to reproduce this image, and Figs 115a-d has been granted by the Bob Jones University Collection, South Carolina



Fig. 115a. Detail of St. Anne's halo.



Fig. 115b

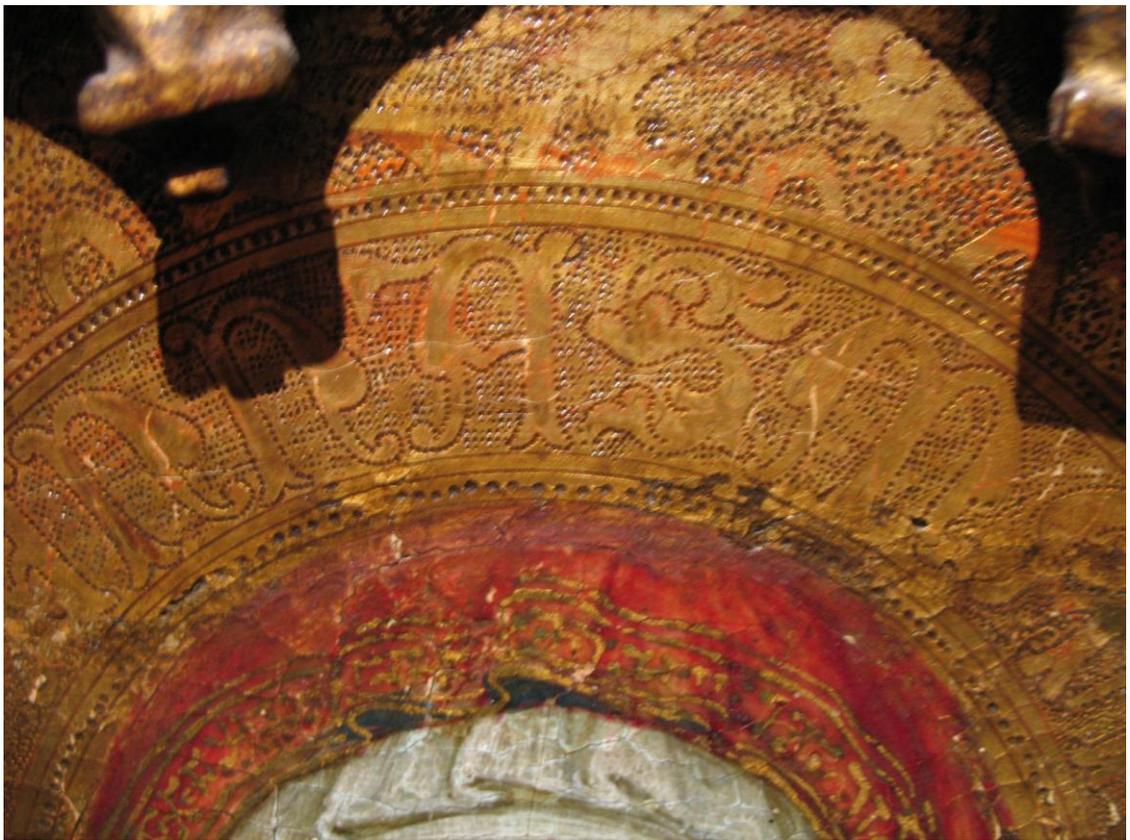


Fig. 115c



Fig. 115d



Fig. 116. Detail of St. Anne's garment border, utilising pseudo-Arabic characters. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by the Bob Jones University Collection, South Carolina.



Fig. 117. Gentile da Fabriano, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, 1420. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 87.5 x 64 cm. John Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. This image is reproduced courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



Fig. 117a. Christ's halo details



Fig. 118. Gentile da Fabriano, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, c. 1420. Tempera on panel, 95.7 x 56.3 cm. Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington. By Creator:Gentile da fabriano (www.wgaiwaz.net) (2010), *Madonna and Child Enthroned* Gentile da Fabriano, Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGentile da fabriano%2C madonna col bambino%2C washington.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGentile_da_fabriano%2C_madonna_col_bambino%2C_washington.jpg). (Accessed 6 February 2011)



Fig. 118a. Detail of Virgin's halo



Fig. 119. Gentile da Fabriano, *Madonna of Humility*, 1422. Tempera on panel, 41 x 36 cm. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa. (www.aiwaz.net) (2010), *Madonna of Humility*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGentile_da_fabriano%2C_madonna_col_bambino%2C_pisa.jpg. Accessed (6 February 2011)



Fig. 119a. Detail of Virgin's halo



Fig. 119b. Detail of Virgin's hem, showing decorative rosette separation similar to that used in her halo



Fig. 119c. Detail of Christ Child's blanket showing pseudo-Arabic script

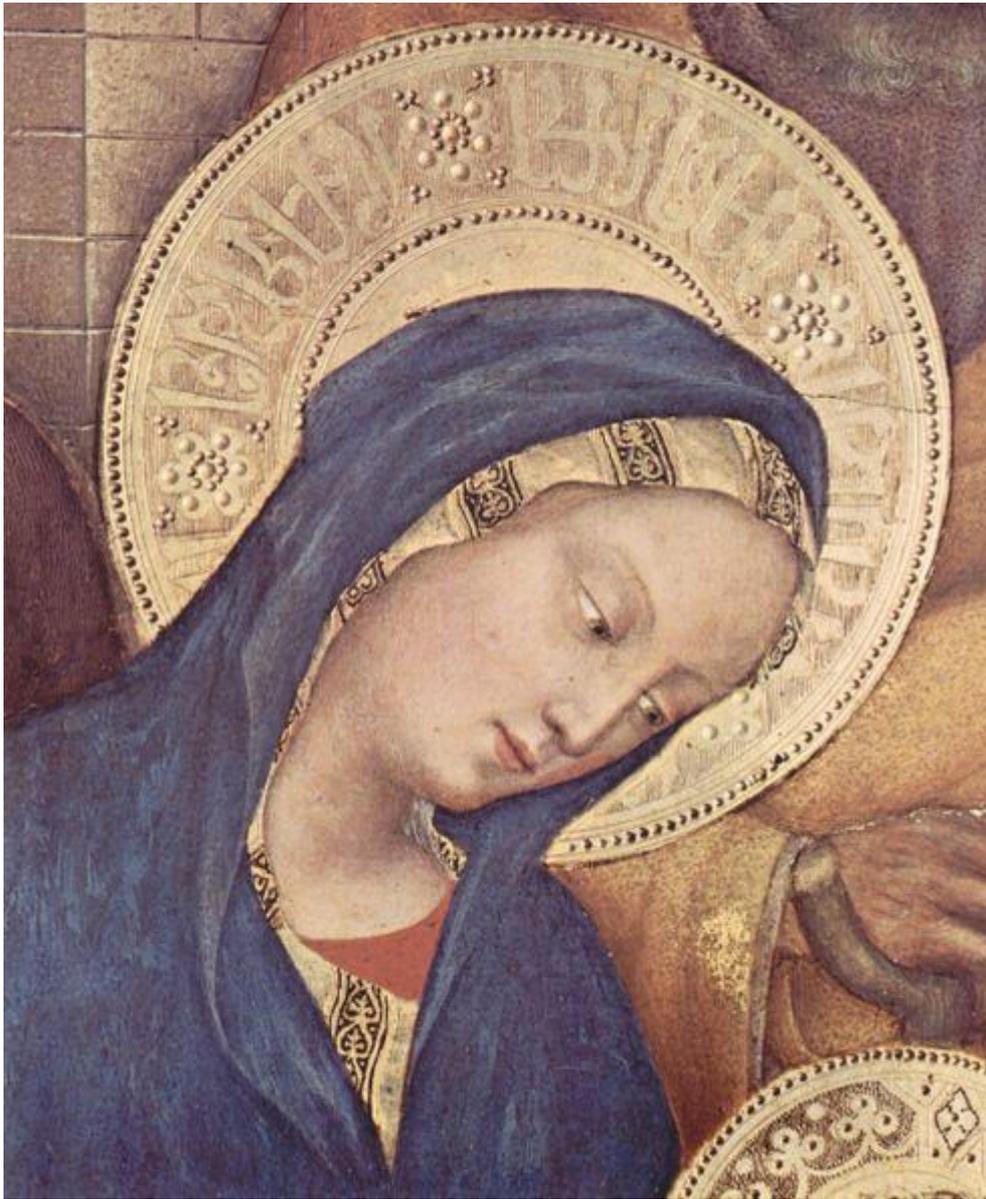


Fig. 120. Detail of Virgin's halo from *The Strozzi Altarpiece* (Fig.49) with pseudo-Arabic inscription



Fig. 121. Detail of “whirling rosette” design from Fig. 117



Fig. 121a. Close-up of motif from Fig. 117



Fig. 122. Martin, Susan, (2008), *Whirling rosette design found on portal of Duomo at Torcello*, [Photograph]. In possession of author, Venice.



Fig. 123 Martin, Susan (2008), , *Desdemona's House, Grand Canal, Venice*. [photograph]. In possession of author, Venice



Fig. 123a. Detail of “whirling rosette” from Fig. 123

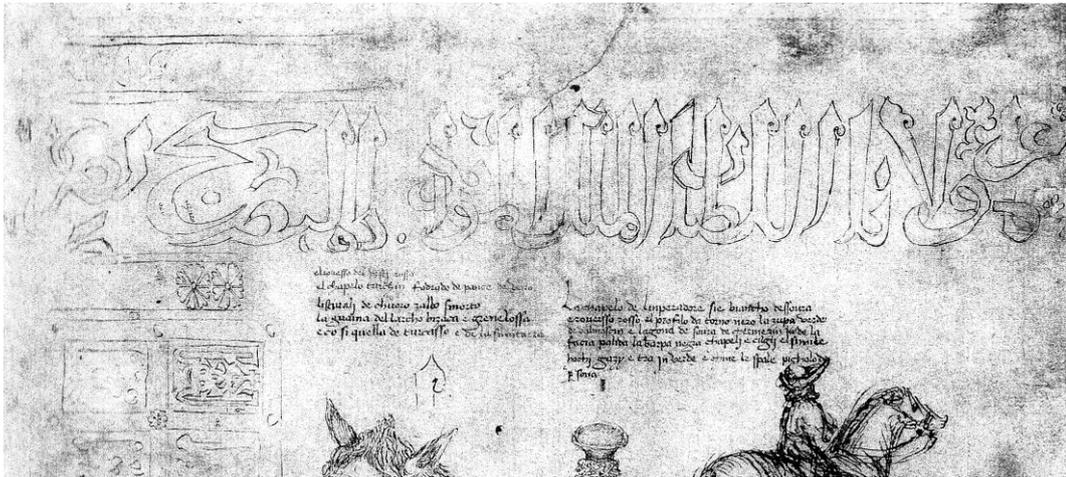


Fig. 124. Detail of Pisanello's version of *thuluth* script with rosette motif at side. Inv. M. I. 1062r. Musée du Louvre, Paris. No photographer supplied, but source is: AA.VV., *L'opera completa di Pisanello*, Rizzoli, Milano 1966, (2010), *Pisanello, disegni, louvre 1062v.jpg*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APisanello%2C_disegni%2C_louvre_1062v.jpg. (Accessed 6 February 2011)



Fig. 125. Masaccio *Enthroned Madonna*, 1426. Tempera on panel, 134.8 x 73 cm. National Gallery, London. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given), *Madonna and Child with Angels*, Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/m/masaccio/pisa/pisa_cen.html. (Accessed 6 February 2011)



Fig. 125a. Details of pseudo-Arabic script in Virgin's halo with one motif script separation

Fig. 126. Jacopo Bellini, *Enthroned Madonna and Child*, c. early 1430s. Tempera on panel. Cagnola Collection, Gazzada. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 127. Jacopo Bellini, *The Annunciation*, c. 1440. Tempera on panel. Chiesa di Sant' Alessandro, Brescia. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (2009), *The Annunciation*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJacopo_bellini%2C_annunciazione_di_sant'_alessandro%2C_brescia.jpg. (Accessed 28 November 2010)



Fig. 127a. Detail of Virgin's halo



Fig. 128. Jacopo Bellini, *Madonna of Humility*, 1441-1444.

Tempera on panel, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:PHGCOM> (2009), *The Madonna of Humility adored by a Prince of the House of Este*. Available at:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJacopo_Bellini_La_Vierge_d_humilite_adoree_par_un_prince_de_la_maison_d_Estee_1440.jpg . (Accessed 28 November 2010)



Fig. 128a. Detail of Fig. 128



Fig. 129. Jacopo Bellini, *Madonna col Bambino*, 1450. Tempera on panel. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Web Gallery of Art <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2009), *Virgin and Child*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJacopo_bellini%2C_madonna_col_bambino%2C_Accademia%2C_Venice_1450.jpg. (Accessed 28 November 2009)



Fig. 129a. Details of Virgin's didactic halo



Fig. 130. Jacopo Bellini, *Madonna and Child*, c. 1440-1450. Tempera on canvas, 98 x 58 cm. “Accademia di belle arti Tadini, Lovere. Galleria, inv. P 27”. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by the Accademia di belle arti Tadini, Lovere.



Fig. 130a. Detail of rosette motif in Virgin's halo, from Fig. 130



Fig. 131. Jacopo Bellini, *Madonna con Bambino*, c. 1455. Tempera on panel, 94x 66 cm. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (2006), *Madonna and Child Blessing*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABellini_Jacopo_Madonna.jpg.

(Accessed 4 January 2008)



Fig. 131a. Detail of frame architecture



Fig. 131b. Rosette motif in halo utilising the “whirling rosette” of Virgin and pseudo-Arabic script motif



Fig. 132. *Madonna and Child*, c. 1450 Tempera on panel, 111 x 62 cm Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (no publication date given), *Madonna and Child*. Available at: <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/b/bellini/giovanni/1510-/196madon.html>. (Accessed 4 January 2008)

Fig. 133. “Whirling rosette” design on fifteenth century fabric. Davanzo Poli, F., and Modanato S., (eds) *Le Stoffe dei Veneziani*, Venice: Albrizzi Editore di Marsilio s.p.a., 1994, Fig. 38. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

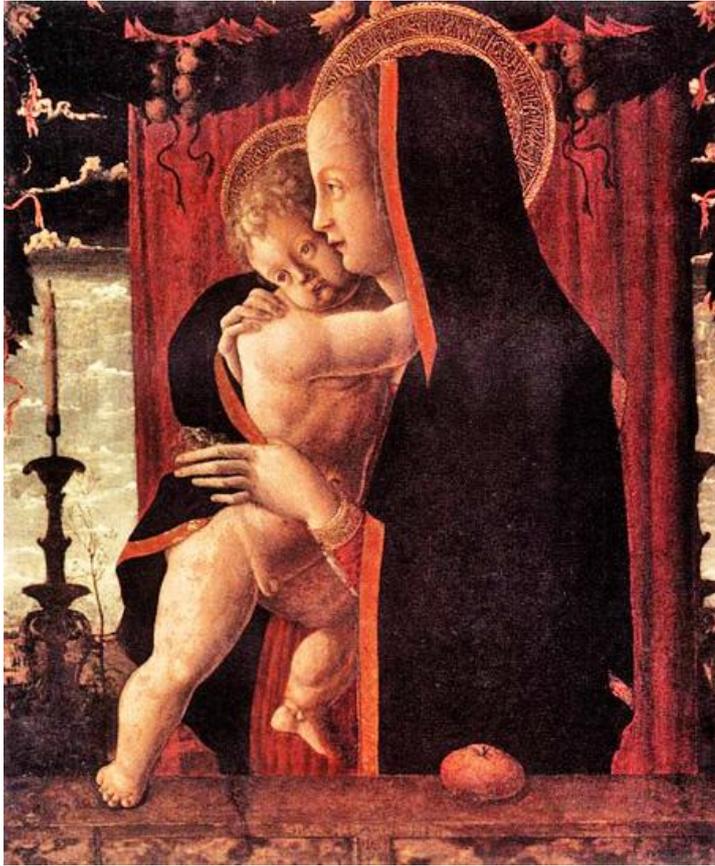


Fig. 134. Francesco Squarcione, *Madonna and Child*, c. 1455. Tempera on panel, 82 x 70 cm. Gemäldegalerie Museen, Berlin.

http://gallery.euroweb.hu/html/s/squarcio/virgin_c.html,

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:Pethan>, (2004), *Virgin and Child by Francesco Squarcione*. Available at:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASquarcione_Virgin_and_Child.jpg.

(Accessed 28 November 2008)

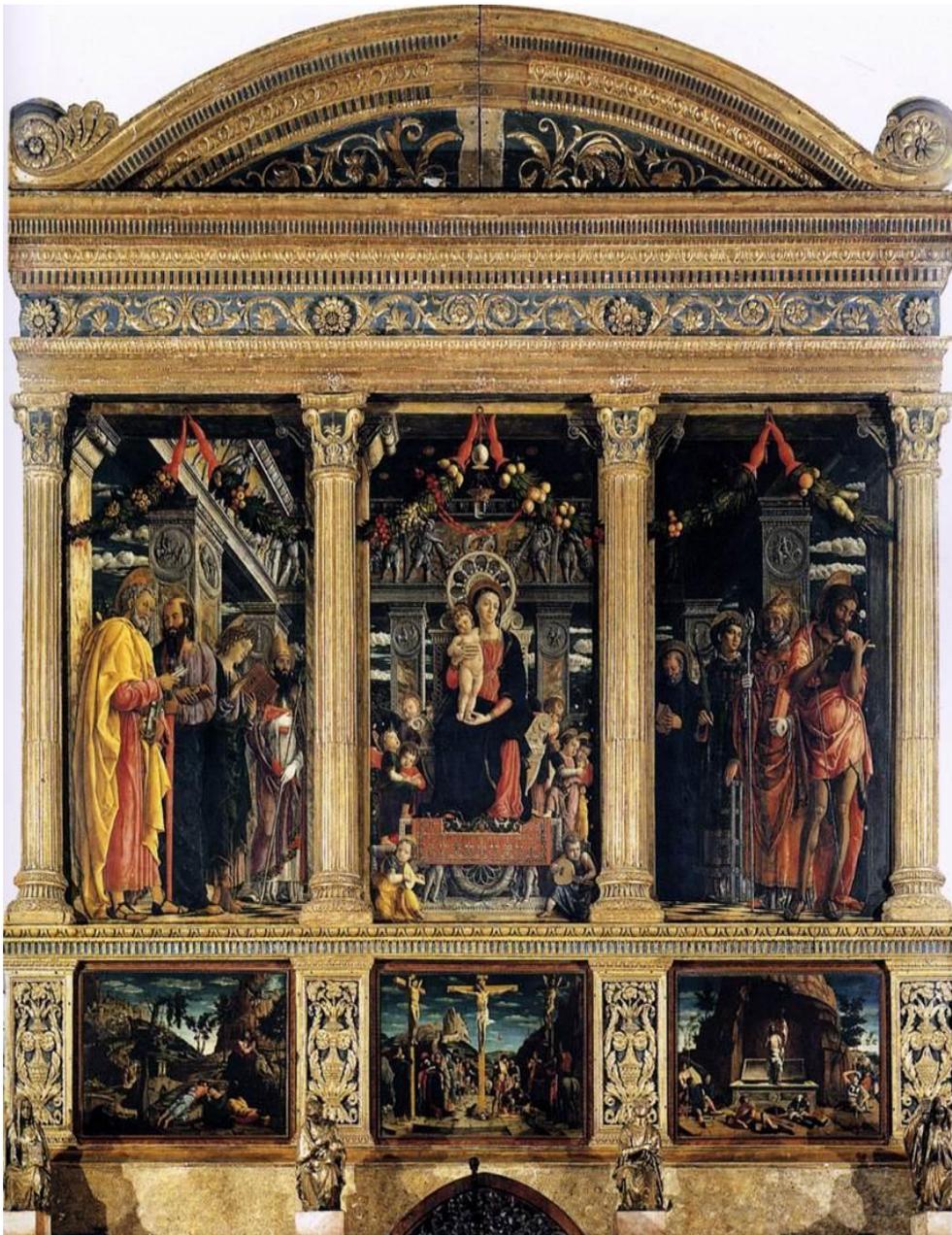


Fig. 135. Andrea Mantegna, *San Zeno Altarpiece*, 1457-60. Tempera on panel, 480 x 450 cm. Chiesa di San Zeno, Verona. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, 2008, *San Zeno Altarpiece*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/art/m/mantegna/1/san_zeno.jpg, (Accessed 29 December 2008)



Fig. 135a. Detail of carpet

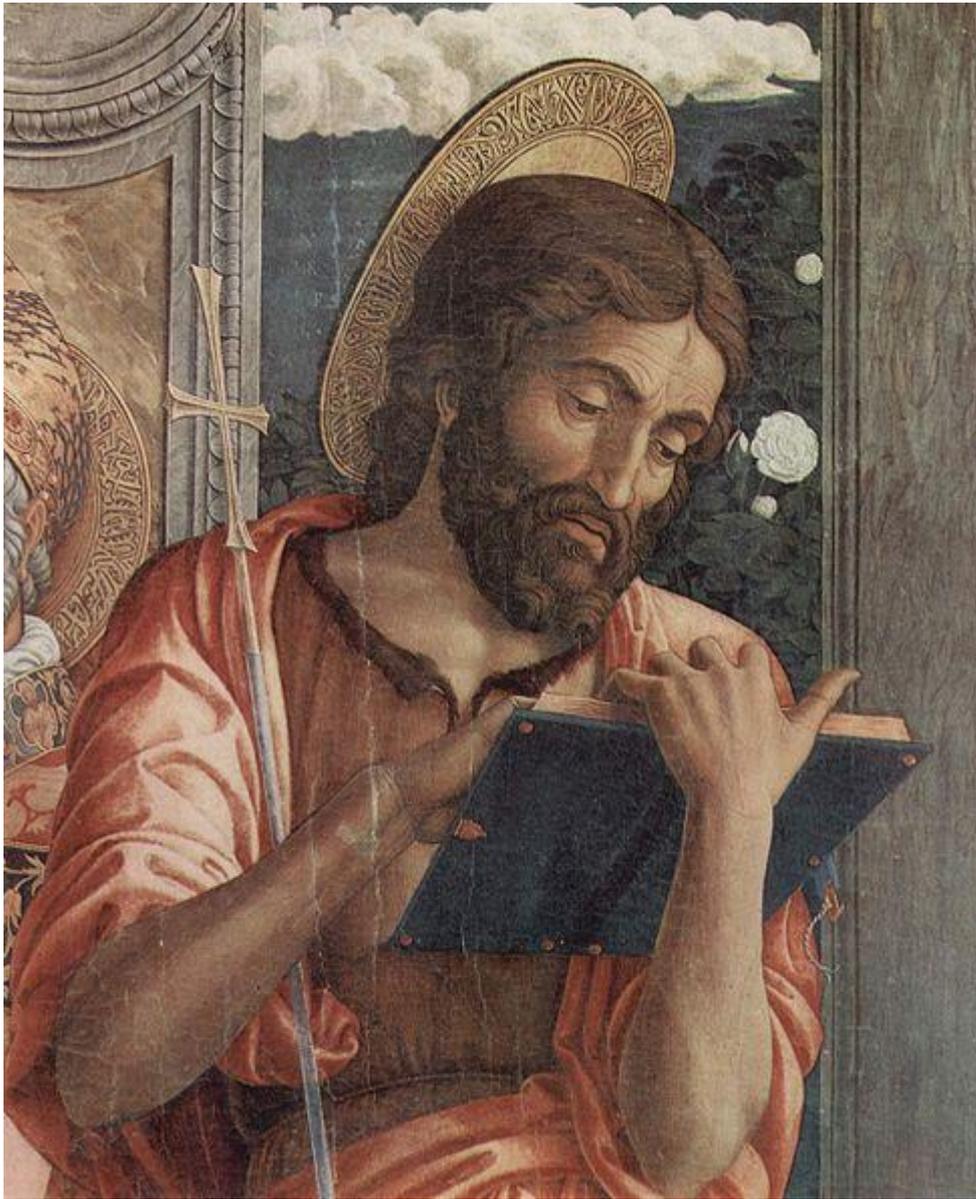


Fig. 135b. Detail of St John the Evangelist's halo, showing foreshortened pseudo-Arabic script



Fig. 135c. Detail of angels' haloes



Fig. 135d. Detail of central panel, showing swags, *rossone*, Virgin's halo and veil, and Christ Child's cruciferous halo



Fig. 136. *St. Peter's Throne*, c. 1000-1100 Marble and sandstone. Chiesa di San Pietro, Venice . Martin, S. (2007), *St. Peter's Throne*, [Photograph]. In possession of author. Venice



Fig. 136a. Enlargement of Islamic script on *St. Peter's Throne*



Fig. 137. Unknown, *Thuluth* script on *Mamluk ware*, 1400-1500. Engraved tin, 13.25 ins. ©Trustees of the British Museum, London



Fig. 138. Detail of pseudo-Arabic script in halo of St Louis by Antonio Vivarini, from Fig. 39



Fig. 139. Detail of pseudo-Arabic script in halo of Christ from Giovanni Bellini's *Pietà*, Fig. 139a



Fig. 139a. Giovanni Bellini, *Pietà*, c. 1453-55. Tempera and oil on panel. Museo Correr, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2010), *Dead Christ Supported by Two Angels (Pietà)*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiovanni_bellini%2C_piet%C3%A0_del_museo_correr_01.jpg. (Accessed 5 January 2011)



Fig. 140. Giovanni Bellini, *Dead Christ between St Mark and St Nicholas of Bari*, c. 1472. Tempera and oil on canvas. Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given) *Pietà*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/b/bellini/giovanni/1470-79/. (Accessed 5 January 2011)



Fig. 140a. Detail of Virgin's hand between Christ's head and His halo

Fig. 141. Benozzo Gozzoli, *The Virgin and Child Enthroned Amongst Saints and Angels*, or *Altarpiece of the Society of Purification*, 1461-62. Tempera on panel, 161.9 x 170.2 cm. National Gallery, London. This has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 142. Vincenzo Foppa, *Madonna of the Book*, 1460-68. Tempera on wood, 61 x 38 cm. Castello Sforzesco, Milan. Vincenzo Foppa. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2011), *Madonna of the Book*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AVincenzo_Foppa_-_Madonna_of_the_Book_-_WGA08007.jpg. (Accessed 25 September 2011)



Fig. 143. Vincenzo Foppa, *Virgin and Child*, c. 1480. Tempera on canvas, 61 x 38 cm. Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (no publication date given), *Virgin and Child*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/f/foppa/ . (Accessed 20 September 2011)



Fig. 143a. Detail of letters in “silk halo”



Fig. 144. Bernardino Butinone and Bernardo Zenale, *Polittico di San Martino*, Chiesa di San Martino, Treviglio. (No photographer, but source provided as: book: Pierluigi De Vecchi ed Elda Cerchiari, *I tempi dell'arte*, volume 2, Bompiani, Milano 1999). *Pala di San Martino*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AButinone_e_zenale%2C_pala_di_san_martino%2C_1481-85.jpg. (Accessed 20 September 2011)

Fig. 145. Maestro di Castelsardo, *St Michael the Archangel* from the *Retablo di Tuili*, 1489-1500. Chiesa di San Pietro, Tuili, Sardinia. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 146. Benedetto Montagna, *St. Benedict with Sts. Scholastica, Giustina, Maurus and Placid*, c. 1500-1520. Engraving, 280 x 229 mm. Registration no. 1842,0806.31. British Museum, London. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by ©Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 147. Anonymous, *St. Francis and his Three Orders*, c. 1510-20. Engraving, 294 x 223 mm. Registration no. 18457,0411.4. British Museum, London. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by ©Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 148. Anonymous, *Virgin Orant*, late 1300s. Apse Mosaic. Duomo di Santa Maria e Donato, Murano, Venice. Svetlana Tomekovic Database of Byzantine Art, Index of Christian Art, Princeton University. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted © Svetlana Tomeković



Fig. 148a. Detail of Virgin's halo and appellation. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted © Svetlana Tomeković



Fig. 149. Anonymous, *Virgin and Child*. Mosaic, apse. Duomo di Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello, Venice. Image from Svetlana Tomekovic Database of Byzantine Art, Index of Christian Art, Princeton University. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted © Svetlana Tomeković



Fig. 149a. Detail of Virgin and Child. . Permission to reproduce this image has been granted © Svetlana Tomeković



Fig. 149b. Detail of Apostles and St. Eliodorus. . Permission to reproduce this image has been granted © Svetlana Tomeković



Fig. 150. Anonymous. *Last Judgement*. Mosaic, Duomo di Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello. . Permission to reproduce this image has been granted © Svetlana Tomeković



Fig. 150a. Detail of *Last Judgement* mosaic. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted © Svetlana Tomeković



Fig. 151. Anonymous, *The Blessing Christ between Two Angels*, mid-800 AD. Apse Mosaic. Oratorio di San Veneziano, Baptistery of San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome. Image from Svetlana Tomekovic Database of Byzantine Art, Index of Christian Art, Princeton University. . Permission to reproduce this image has been granted © Svetlana Tomeković



Fig. 152. Anonymous, *Maurus, Septimus, Antiochianus and Caianus of Salona*, mid-800 AD. Mosaic, right side of arch, Oratorio di San Veneziano, Baptistery of San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome. Image from Svetlana Tomekovic Database of Byzantine Art, Index of Christian Art, Princeton University. . Permission to reproduce this image has been granted © Svetlana Tomeković

Fig. 153. Anonymous, *Lavanda del Bambino*, 705-706 AD. Mosaic, 60 x 54 cm.
(Originally in the Old Basilica of St. Peter's). Galleria di Clemente VIII, Grotte Vaticane,
St. Peter's, Rome. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 154. Anonymous, *Virgin of the Nativity*, 705-706 AD. Mosaic, 58 x 48 cm.
(Originally in the Old Basilica of St. Peter's). Orte Collection, Museo Diocesano, Rome.
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Fig. 155. Different cross designs illustrated by Ellwood-Post, W., *Saints, Signs and Symbols: A concise dictionary*, Manchester: Morehouse-Barlow Co. [1962], 1974. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions



Fig. 156. Martin, S., (2007), *Base of Pillar of Acris, Piazza San Marco, Venice, showing three cross pattée arms*, [photograph], In possession of author, Venice.



Fig. 157. Martin, S., (2007), *Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista*, [photograph]. In possession of author, Venice

Fig. 158. Antonio Vivarini, *Christ Rising from the Tomb*, c. 1450. Oil on panel. Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 159. *Temptation of Christ*, Mosaic, Central Vault, Basilica di San Marco, Venice. Image from Svetlana Tomekovic Database of Byzantine Art, Index of Christian Art, Princeton University. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted © Svetlana Tomeković.

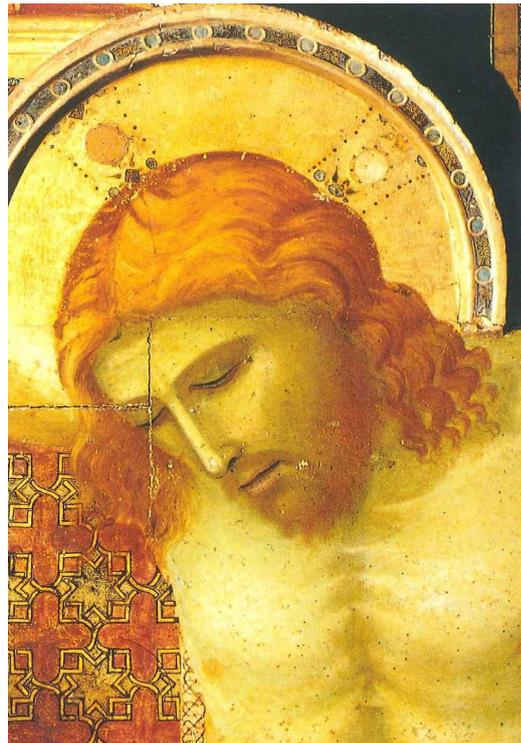


Fig. 160. Anonymous, *The Blessing Christ*. Mosaic, north wall of eastern Basilica di San Marco, Venice. This Image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Fig. 161. Giotto, *Crucifixion*, 1290-1300. Tempera on wood. Chiesa di Santa Maria, Novella, Florence. Detail of Fig. 105

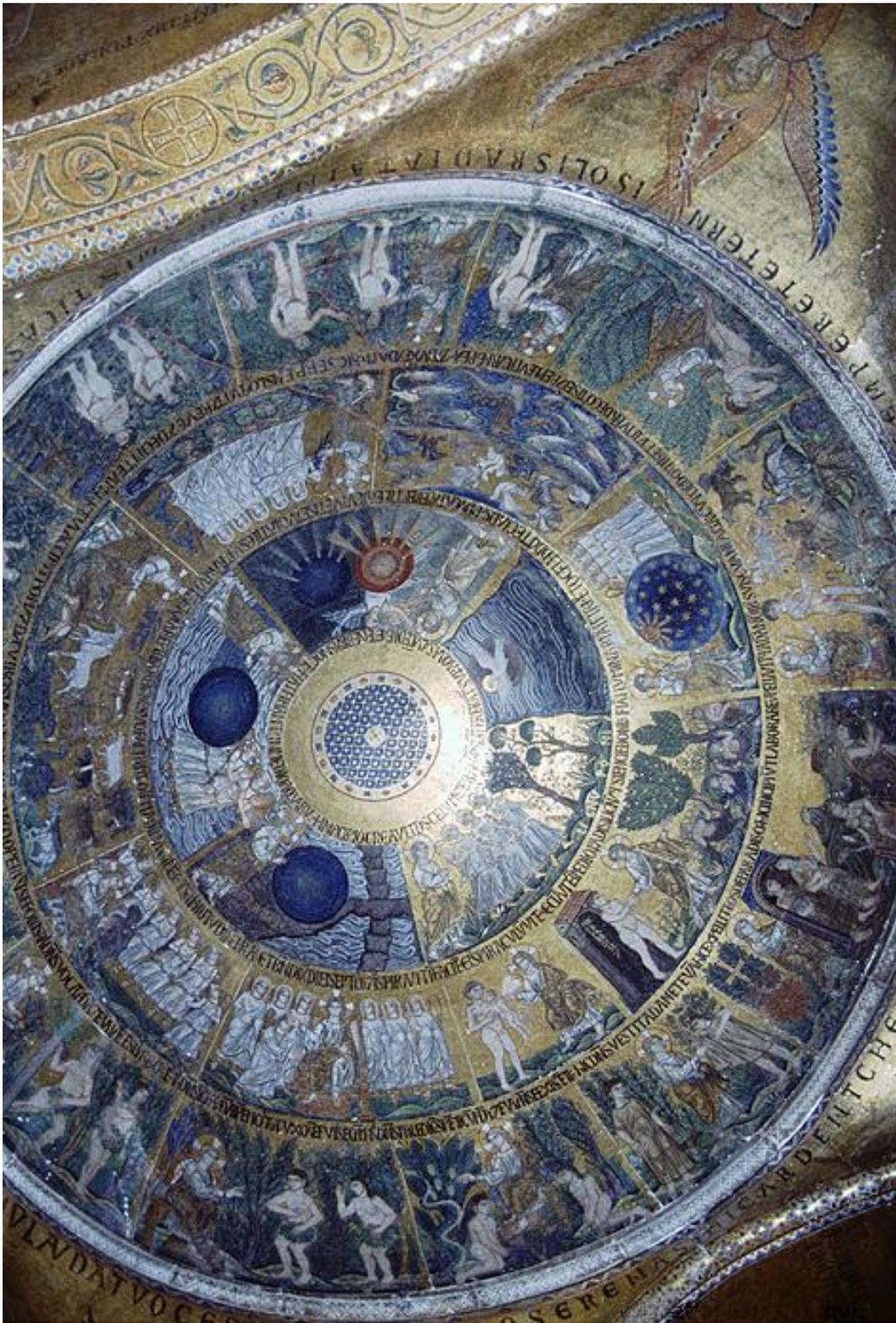


Fig. 162. Anonymous. *The Story of Genesis*, 1240-70. Mosaic, narthex, south dome. Basilica di San Marco, Venice. Image from Svetlana Tomekovic Database of Byzantine Art, Index of Christian Art, Princeton University. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by © Svetlana Tomeković.



Fig. 163. Jacopo Torriti, *The Nativity*, 1291-96. Mosaic, Chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2011), *Nativity*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJacopo_Torriti_-_Nativity_-_WGA23026.jpg. (Accessed 29 December 2011)



Fig.164. Anonymous, *The Annunciation*, 1250. Fresco, Chiesa di San Zan Degolà, Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Cameraphoto Arte, Venezia



Fig. 165. Giotto di Bondone, *Homage of a Simple Man*, 1300. Fresco, from *The Legend of St. Francis* cycle, Upper Church, Assisi. No photographer/source provided, (2005), *Legend of St Francis*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto_-_Legend_of_St_Francis_-_01_-_Homage_of_a_Simple_Man.jpg. (Accessed 29 December 2011)



Fig. 165a. Detail of the halo of St. Francis

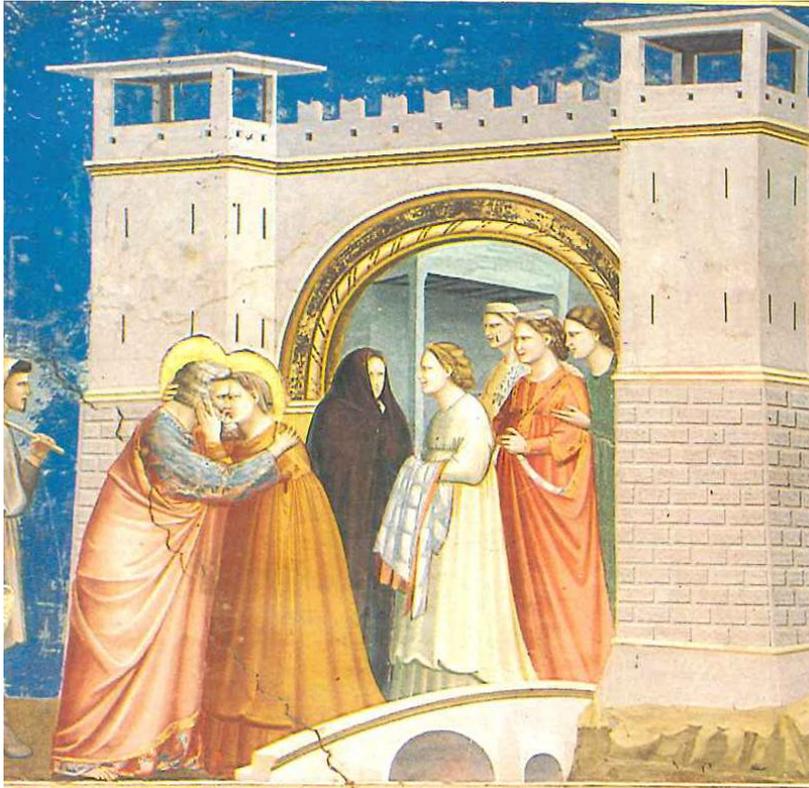


Fig. 166. Giotto di Bondone, *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, 1304-06. Fresco, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. No photographer/source supplied, (2005), *Meeting at the Golden Gate*. Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto - Scrovegni - -06- - Meeting at the Golden Gate.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto_-_Scrovegni_-_06_-_Meeting_at_the_Golden_Gate.jpg) (Accessed 29 December 2011)

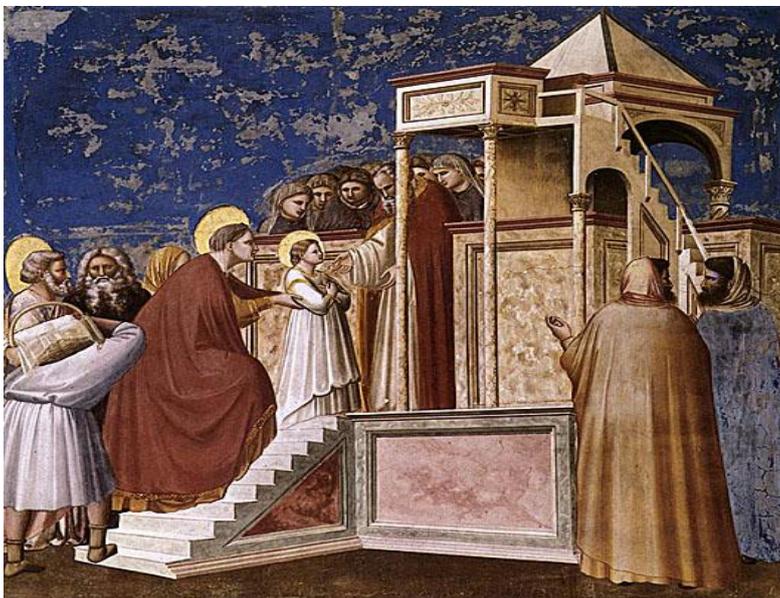


Fig.167. Giotto di Bondone, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, 1304-06. Fresco, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. No photographer/source provided, (2005), *Presentation at the Temple*. Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto - Scrovegni - -08- - Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto_-_Scrovegni_-_08_-_Presentation_of_the_Virgin_in_the_Temple.jpg). (Accessed 29 December 2011)

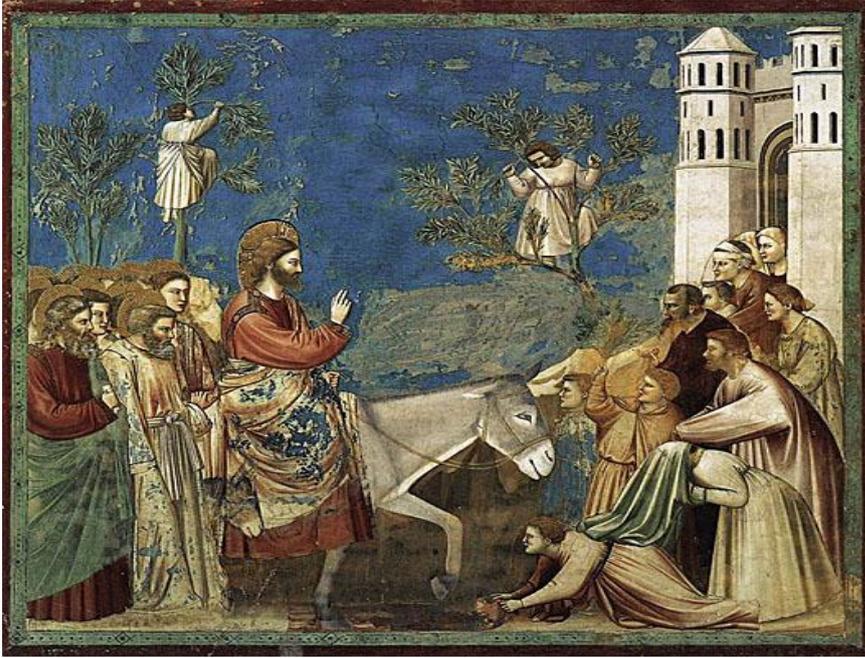


Fig. 168. Giotto di Bondone, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1304-06. Fresco, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. No photographer/source provided, (2007), *Entry into Jerusalem*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto_-_Scrovegni_-_26_-_Entry_into_Jerusalem2.jpg. (Accessed 29 December 2011)

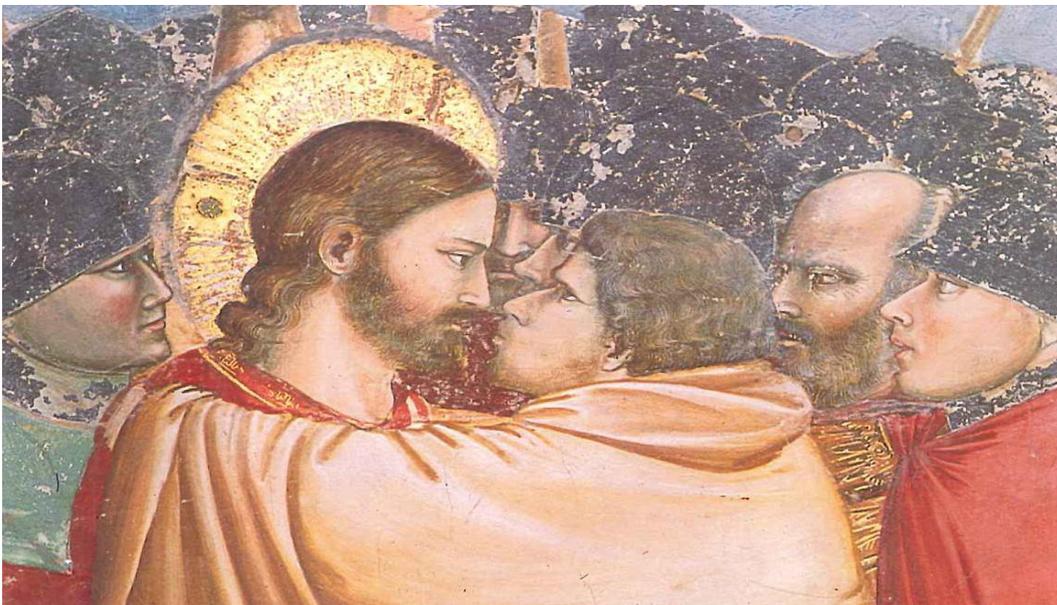


Fig. 169. Giotto di Bondone, *The Kiss of Judas*, 1304-06. Fresco, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. http://geoffwren.blogs.com/photos/museum/kiss_of_judas.html, (2005), *The Arrest of Christ (Kiss of Judas)*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto_-_Scrovegni_-_31_-_Kiss_of_Judas.jpg. (Accessed 29 December 2011)



Fig. 170. Giotto di Bondone, *The Annunciation*, 1304-06. Fresco, right side of arch, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (2011), No. 15 *Annunciation: The Virgin Receiving the Message*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto_di_Bondone_-_No.15_Annunciation_-_The_Virgin_Receiving_the_Message_-_WGA09191.jpg. (Accessed 29 December 2011)



Fig. 171. Giotto di Bondone, *The Last Supper*, 1304-06. Fresco, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. Web Gallery of Art



Fig. 171a. Detail of halo

<http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given), No. 29 *Scenes from the Life of Christ: 13. Last Supper (before restoration)*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/g/giotto/padova/old/chris13.html (Accessed 29 December 2011)



Fig. 172. Giotto di Bondone, *The Lamentation*, 1304-06. Fresco, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. Web Gallery of Art



Fig. 172a. Detail of angel

<http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given) No. 36 *Scenes from the Life of Christ: 20. Lamentation (before restoration)*. Available at: <http://www.wga.hu/index1.html>

(Accessed 29 December 2011)

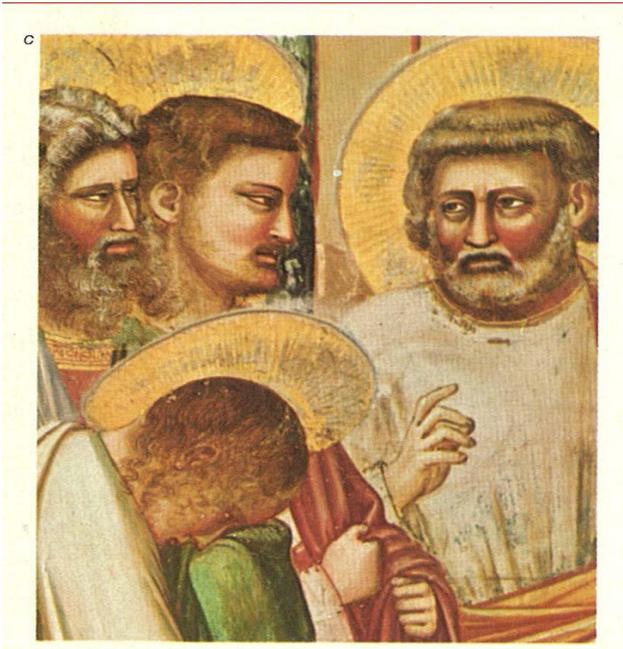


Fig 172 (i) Giotto Bondone, *The Cleansing of the Temple*, (No source provided), (2005), *Expulsion of the Money-changers from the Temple*. Available at:

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto - Scrovegni - -27- -](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto_-_Scrovegni_-_27_-_Expulsion_of_the_Money-changers_from_the_Temple.jpg)

[Expulsion of the Money-changers from the Temple.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiotto_-_Scrovegni_-_27_-_Expulsion_of_the_Money-changers_from_the_Temple.jpg). (Accessed 15 September 2007)

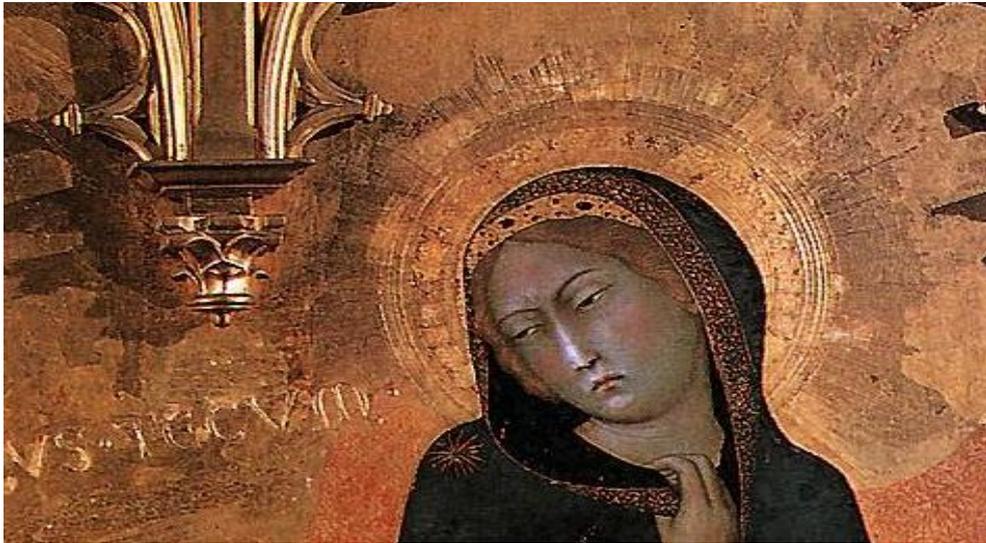


Fig. 173. Simone Martini. Detail of halo of *Annunciate Virgin*, (see Fig. 33)



Fig. 174. Simone Martini, *Annunciate Virgin* from the *Polittico Orsini*, c. 1333. Tempera on wood, 23.5 x 14.5 cm. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (2011), *The Virgin of The Annunciation*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASimone_Martini_-_The_Virgin_of_the_Annunciation_-_WGA21449.jpg. (Accessed 29 December 2011)



Fig. 175. Fra Angelico, *Coronation of the Virgin*, c. 1432. Gold leaf and tempera on panel. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence Fra Angelico (circa 1395–1455) The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH. (2005), *Marienkronung*, Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AFra_Angelico_081.jpg. (Accessed 6 February 2008)

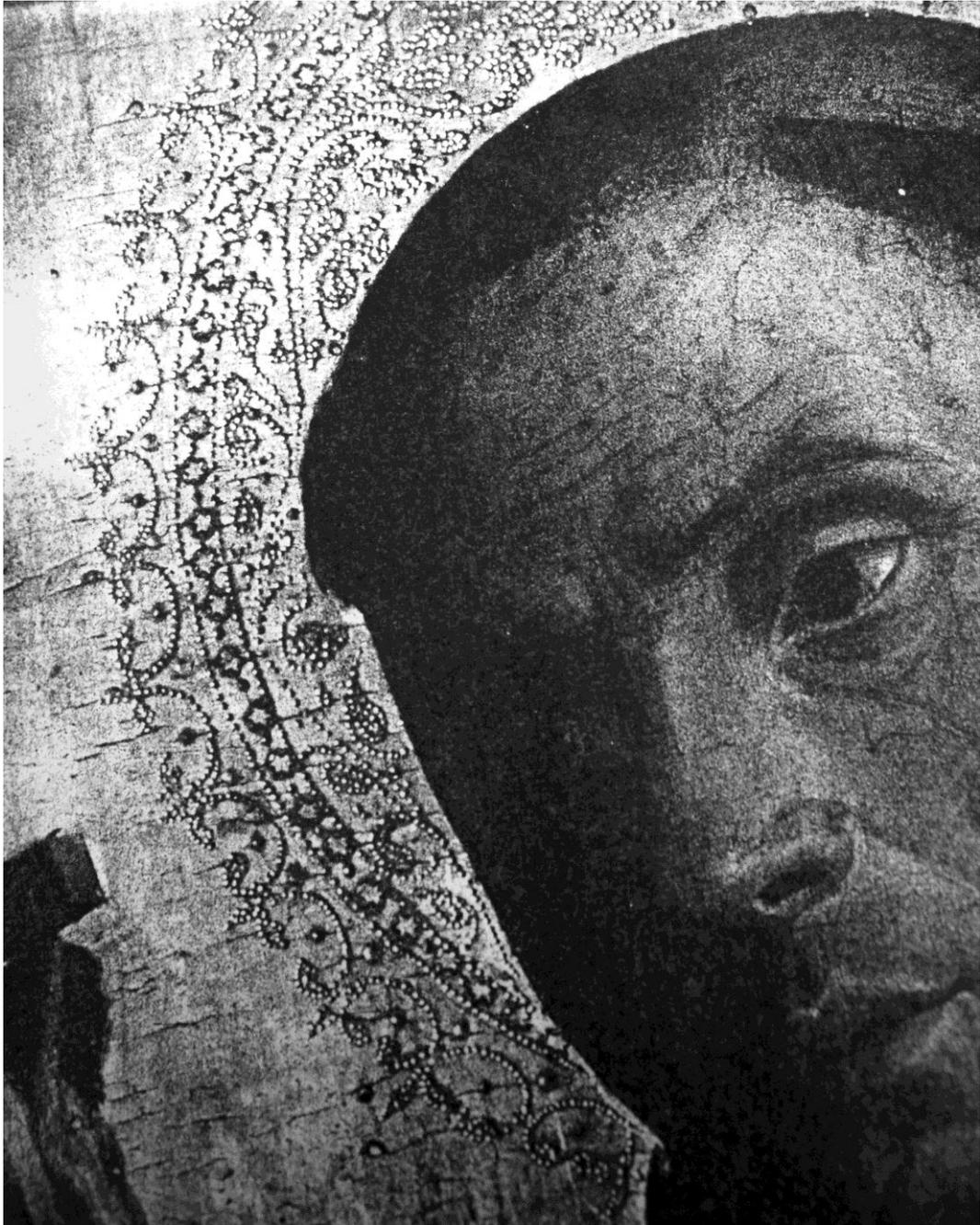


Fig. 176. Cima da Conegliano, *St Francis from Polittico di Olera*, c. 1517-18. Tempera and oil on panel in abete, 136 x 46.5 cm. Chiesa di San Bartolomeo, Olera. Crestani, Michele (2003), *San Francesco*. In possession of author. Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Michele Crestani



Fig. 177. Cima da Conegliano, *The Virgin and Child between St. Girolamo and St. Louis of Toulouse*, also known as *Madonna of the Orange Tree*, c. 1495. Oil on panel, 212 x 139 cm. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. [Motty](#) (2011), *Madonna Dell'Arancio tra i santi Ludovico di Tolosa e Girolamo*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AConegliano_-_Madonna_Dell'Arancio_tra_i_santi_Ludovico_da_Tolosa_e_Girolamo.jpg. (Accessed 31 May 2011)

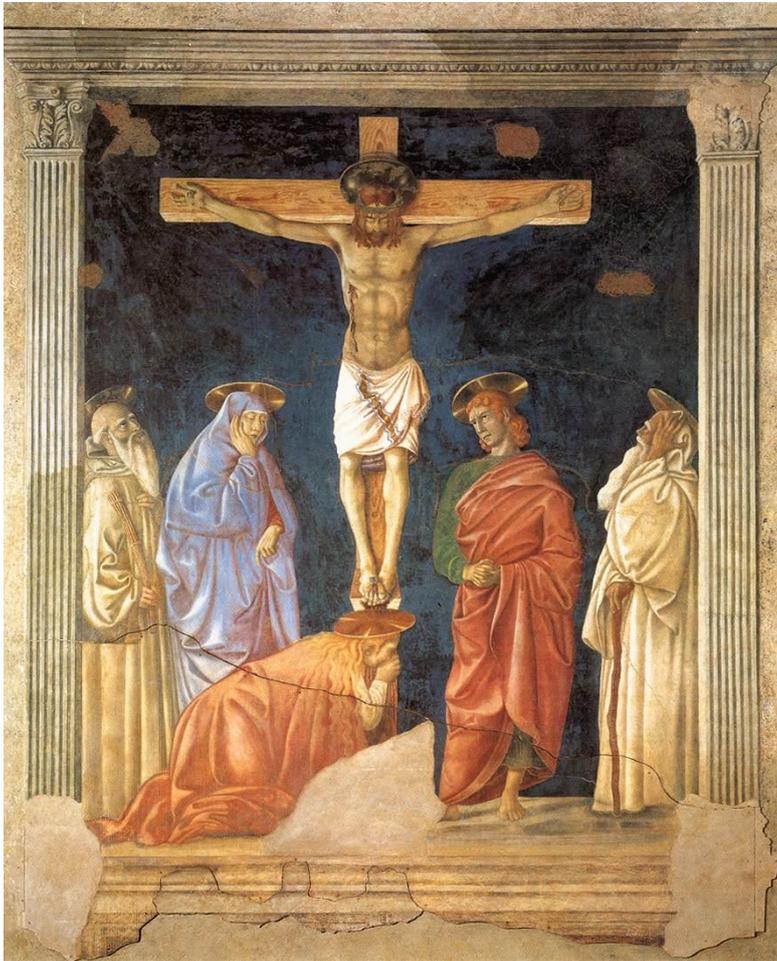


Fig. 178. Andrea del Castagno, *The Crucifixion between the Virgin and Sts. John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene, Benedict and Romualdo*, c.1430s. Detached fresco. Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova, Florence. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2011), *Crucifixion and Saint*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAndrea_del_Castagno_-_Crucifixion_and_Saints_-_WGA00316.jpg. (Accessed 30 September 2011)



Fig. 179. Andrea del Castagno, *Assumption of the Virgin between Sts. Julian and Miniato*, 1449-50. Tempera on panel, 150 x 158 cm. Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Staatliche Museen, Berlin.



Fig. 180. Andrea Mantegna, *Dormition of the Virgin*, c. 1462. Tempera and oil on panel, 54.5 x 42 cm. Prado Museum, Madrid. Andrea Mantegna. The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH. (2005), *Der Tod Mariä, Fragment, Detail*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAndrea_Mantegna_048.jpg. (Accessed 28 February 2008)



Fig. 181. Carlo Crivelli, *The Annunciation, with St. Emidius*, 1486. Tempera and oil on canvas, 207 x 146.7 cm. National Gallery, London. Carlo Crivelli (circa 1435–circa 1495). Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given), *Annunciation with St Emidius*. Available at: <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/c/crivelli/carlo/index.html> (Accessed 10 July 2010)



Fig. 182. Fra Angelico, *Bosco ai Frati Altarpiece*, 1450-52. Tempera on panel, 174 x 174 cm. Museo di San Marco, Florence Fra Angelico (circa 1395–1455). Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2009), *Bosco ai Frati Altarpiece*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAngelico%2C_bosco_ai_fрати_altarpiece.jpg.

(Accessed 28 February 2010)



Fig. 182a. Detail of Virgin's and Christ Child's haloes, and those of Cosmas and Damian



Fig. 183. Zanobi Strozzi, *Annunciation*, c. 1453. Tempera and gold on panel, 36.8 x 29.8 cm. John G Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia. Web Gallery, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2011), *The Annunciation*, Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AZanobi_Strozzi_-_The_Annunciation_-_WGA21944.jpg (Accessed 25 September 2011)



Fig. 183a. Detail of halo of Annunciate Angel



Fig. 183b. Detail of Holy Spirit



Fig. 183c. Detail of Virgin's halo



Fig. 184. Andrea Mantegna, *St George*, c. 1460. Tempera on panel, 66 x 32 cm. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2011) *St George*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAndrea_Mantegna_-_St_George_-_WGA13965.jpg. (Accessed 29 September 2011)



Fig. 184a. Detail of St. George's halo



Fig. 185. Jacopo da Montagnana, *Annunciation*, c. 1494-97. Tempera on panel, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2011), *The Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJacopo_Da_Montagnana_-_The_Archangel_Gabriel_and_the_Virgin_Annunciate_-_WGA11904.jpg. (Accessed 29 September 2011)



Fig. 185a. Detail of Virgin's halo



Fig. 186. Giovanni Bellini, *Cristo morto sorretto dagli angeli*, detail of Fig. 139, showing shadow of the halo

Fig. 187. Bartolomeo Montagna, *Virgin and Child between Sts. Monica and Mary Magdalene*, c. 1483. Tempera on panel, 184 x 169 cm. Museo Civici, Vicenza. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 188. Filippino Lippi, *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1496. Tempera on panel. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2006), *The Adoration of the Magi*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAdorazione_dei_magi%2C_filippino_lippi.JPG. (Accessed 9 February 2009)



Fig. 188a. Details of haloes of Holy Family

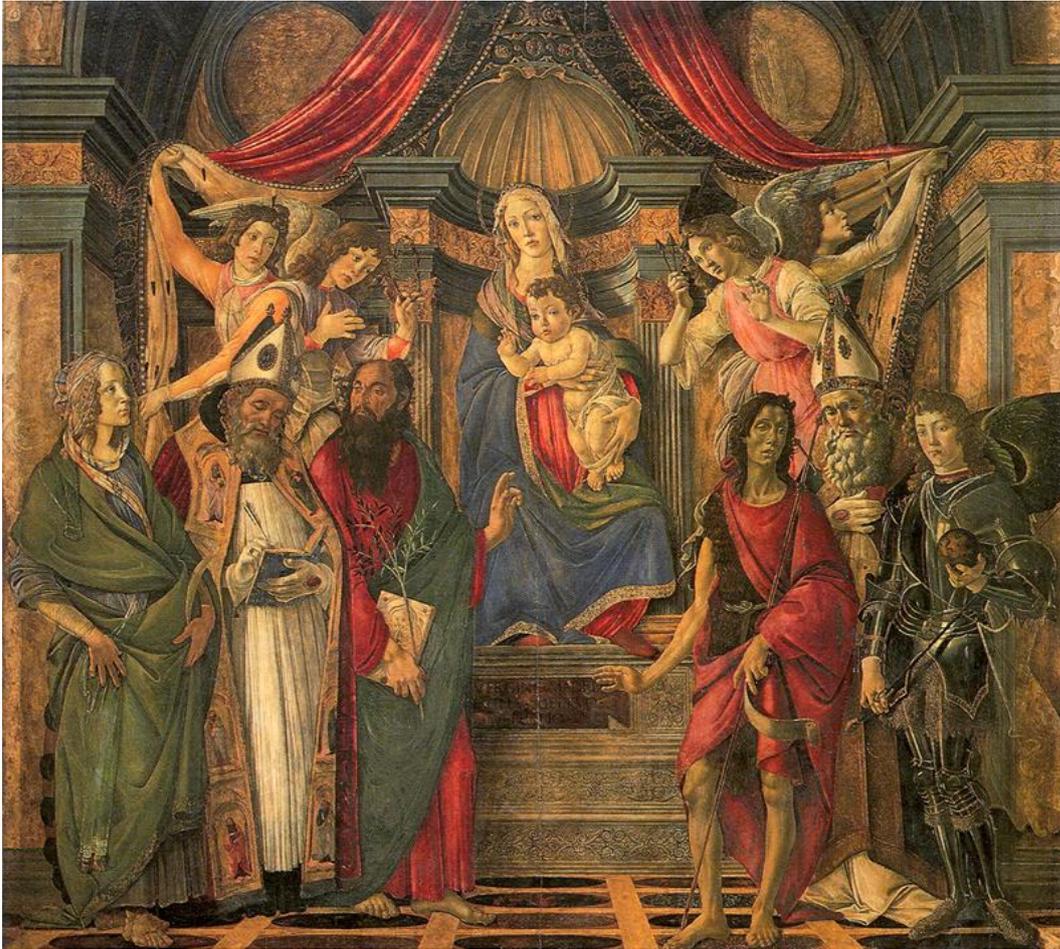


Fig. 189. Sandro Botticelli, *San Barnaba Altarpiece*, 1485. Tempera on panel, 280 x 268 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given), *The Virgin and Child with Four Angels and Six Saints (Pala di San Barnaba)*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/b/botticel/3barnaba/. (Accessed 29 September 2011)



Fig. 189a. Detail of Virgin's halo



Fig. 190. Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna and Child with Pomegranate*, Tondo, tempera on panel, 143.5 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2010), *Madonna of the Pomegranate (Madonna della Melagrana)*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABotticelli%2C_madonna_della_melagrana_01.jpg. (Accessed 20 September 2011)



Fig. 190a. Detail of Virgin's halo showing Divine Light behind



Fig. 190b. Detail of Christ Child's halo, showing *linee serpentine* within halo area



Fig. 191. Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna of the Loggia*, 1467. Tempera on panel, 72 x 50 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2006), *Madonna and Child (Madonna della Loggia*. Available at: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AMadonnaLoggiaBotticelli.jpg/> (Accessed 4 November 2008)



Fig. 191a. Detail of Christ Child and Virgin's haloes, showing *linee serpentine*



Fig. 192. Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna of the Magnificat*, c. 1487. Tondo, tempera on panel, 118 cm. diameter. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
http://muvtor.btk.ppke.hu/reneszansz/Botticelli_1483-85%20Magnificat%20Madonna.JPG, (2005). *Magnificat Madonna*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABotticelli_Uffizi_37.jpg. (Accessed 10 February 2007)



Fig. 192a. Detail of Virgin's "ray" halo



Fig. 192b. Detail of Christ Child's lozenge-shaped halo of rays



Fig. 193. Giovanni Bellini, *Pesaro Altarpiece*, 1471-74. Oil on panel, 260 x 235 cm. Museo Civici, Pesaro. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (no publication date given), *Pesaro Altarpiece*. Available at: <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html/?html/b/bellini/giovanni/1470-79/pesaro/index.html>. (Accessed 11 March 2008)



Fig. 193a. Details of haloes of Saints' haloes Fig. 193b. Detail of Virgin's halo



Fig. 193c. Detail of Christ's halo



Fig. 194. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Trittico di San Marco*, 1474. Chiesa Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2010), *Virgin Enthroned with Child and Saints*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABartolomeo_Vivarini%2C_trittico_dei_Frari_02.jpg. (Accessed 7 January 2011)



Fig. 194a. Detail of St. Mark's halo with angels' haloes



Fig. 194b. Detail of halo of angel musician

Fig. 195. Dosso Dossi, *Rest during the flight into Egypt*. Oil on panel, 0.52cm x 0.43 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. This image has been removed for Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 196. *Adoration of the Shepherds*, tavola centrale di *Retablo del Presepio*, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Cagliari (Sardinia), and Fig. 196a, detail of heavier “spun gold” haloes. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Soprintendenza Bapsae di Cagliari e Oristano

Fig. 197. Filippino Lippi, *Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Baptist, Victor, Bernard and Zenobius*, 1486. Tempera on panel. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 198. Lorenzo Lotto, *St Nicholas in Glory with Sts. John the Baptist, Lucy and George who kills the dragon*, 1527-29. Chiesa dei Carmine, Venice. Crestani, Michele, (2005), *San Nicolo in gloria*. [photograph] . In possession of author. Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Michele Crestani



Fig. 199. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *The Miracle of St. Mark freeing the Slave*, 1548. Oil on canvas, 415 x 541 cm. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given), *The Miracle of St Mark Freeing the Slave*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/t/tintoret/3a/1mark.html (Accessed 17 September 2009)

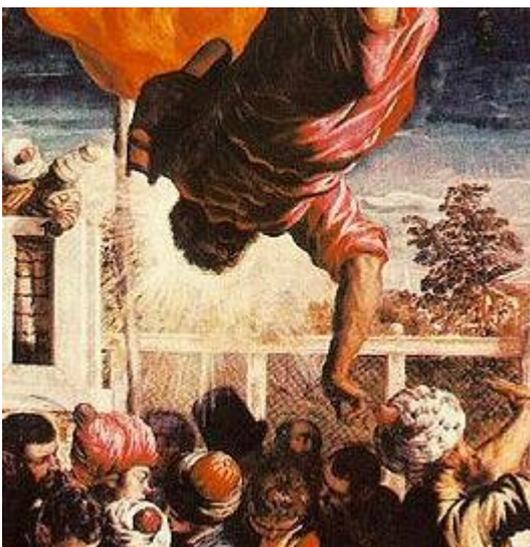


Fig. 199a. Detail of “dramatic” evanescent halo



Fig. 200. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *Christ before Pilate*, 1565-67. Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2011), *Christ before Pilate*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJacopo_Tintoretto_-_Christ_before_Pilate_-_WGA22514.jpg. (Accessed 10 October 2011)



Fig. 201. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *The Crucifixion*, Sala dell'Albergo, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (no publication date given), *Crucifixion*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/t/tintoret/3b/1albergo/2/4cruci.html. (Accessed 10 October 2011)



Fig. 201a. Detail of Christ on the cross



Fig. 202. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *The Annunciation*, 1583-87. Sala Inferiore, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (no publication date given), *The Annunciation*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/t/tintoret/3b/3ground/1annunc.html. (Accessed 10 October 2011)

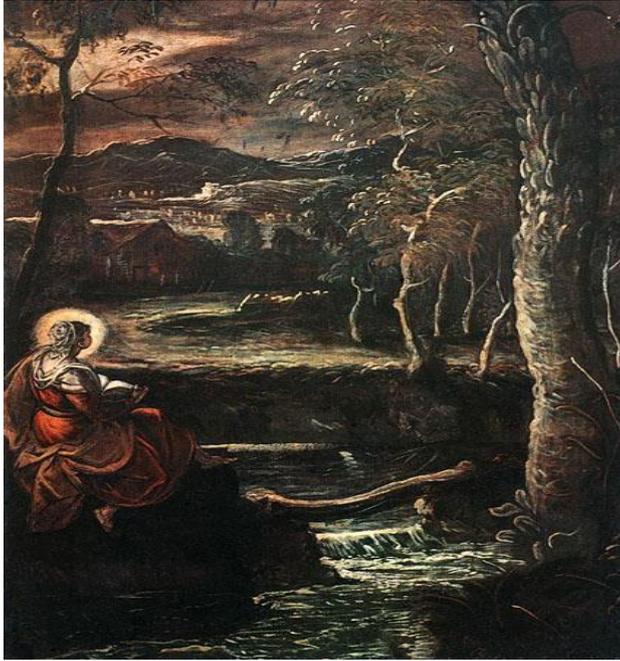


Fig. 203. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *St Mary of Egypt Meditating*, c. 1583-87. Sala Inferiore, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2011), *St Mary of Egypt (detail)*. Available at: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJacopo_Tintoretto_-_St_Mary_of_Egypt_\(detail\)_-_WGA22598.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJacopo_Tintoretto_-_St_Mary_of_Egypt_(detail)_-_WGA22598.jpg). (Accessed 10 October 2011)



Fig. 204. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *The Resurrection*, Sala Grande, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (no publication date given)*The Resurrection of Christ*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/t/tintoret/3_1560s/6cassia1.html. (Accessed 10 October 2011)



Fig. 205. Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto, *The Last Supper*, Chiesa di San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2011), *The Last Supper*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJacopo_Tintoretto_-_The_Last_Supper_-_WGA22649.jpg. (Accessed 10 October 2011)



Fig. 206. Pietro Lombardo, *St Mark healing Aniano*, 1478. Plaque on façade of the *Scuola dei Calegheri*, Campo San Tomà, Venice. Martin, S., (2007), *Scuola dei Calegheri*, [Photograph]. In possession of author. Venice.

Fig. 207. Detail of Fig. 133 showing “reverse whirling rosette” design. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

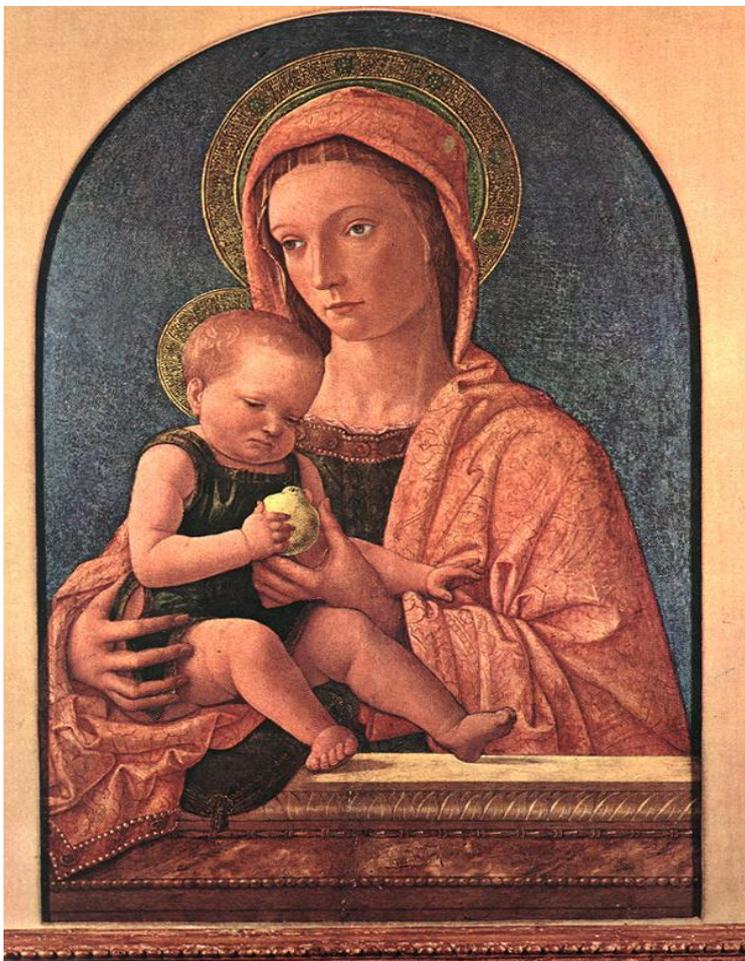


Fig. 208. Giovanni Bellini, *Trivulzio Madonna*, 1460-64. Tempera on panel, 78 x 54 cm. Civica Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Milan. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2011), *Madonna and Child*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiovanni_Bellini_-_Madonna_and_Child_-_WGA01636.jpg. (Accessed 12 October 2011)



Fig. 208a. Halo details

Fig. 209. Giovanni Bellini, *Madonna and Child*, c. 1465. Oil on panel, 69.7 x 47 cm. The Ahmason Foundation, Los Angeles County Museum of Art. (Previously attributed to Jacopo Bellini). This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Fig. 209a. Halo details of Virgin and Child. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.



Fig. 210. Jacopo Bellini, *The Crucifixion*, c. 1460. Tempera on panel. Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to reproduce this has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia



Fig. 210a. Christ's halo detail, showing faint red arm crosses



Fig. 210b. St. John the Evangelist's halo

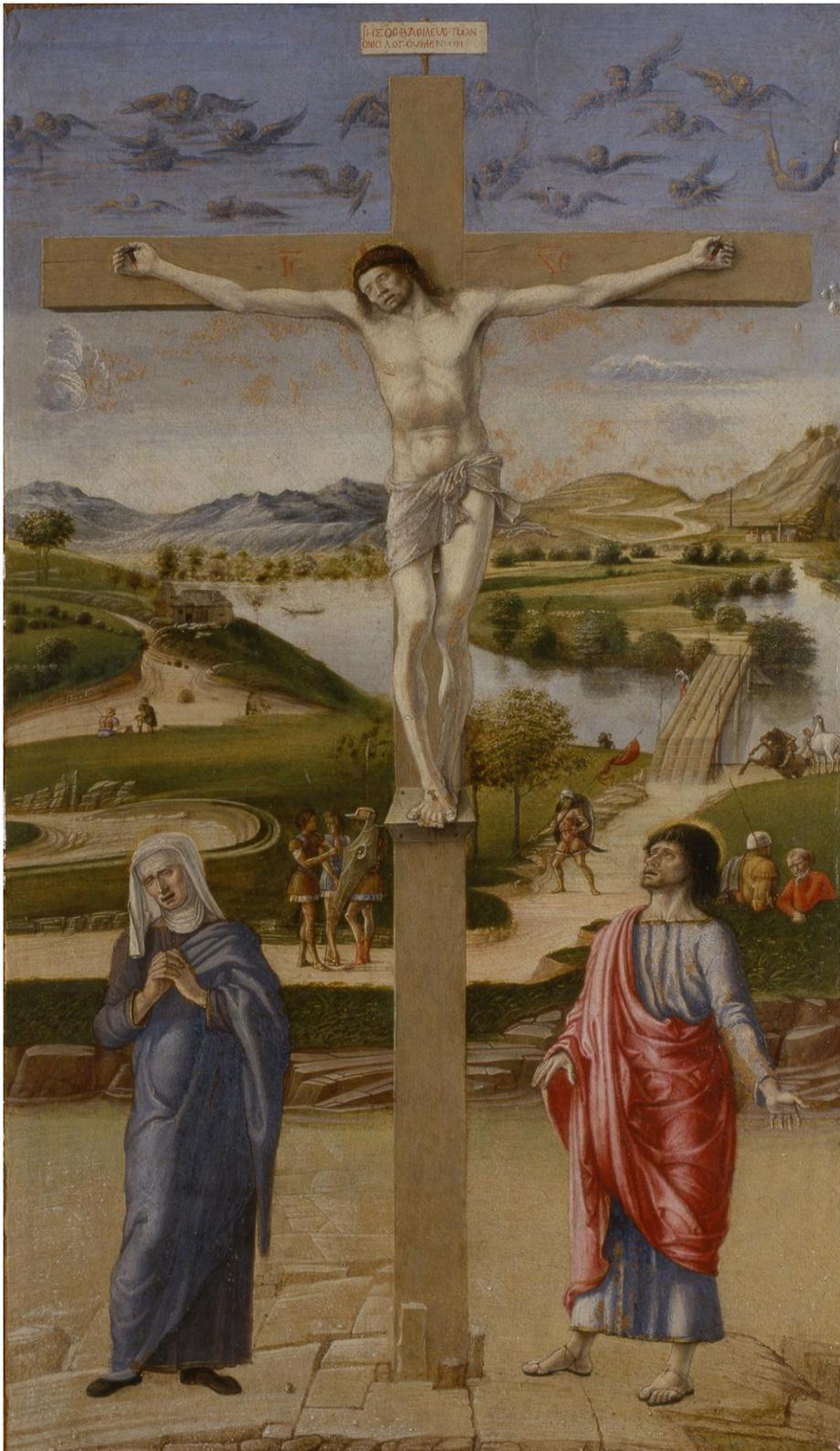


Fig. 211. Giovanni Bellini, *The Crucifixion*, c. 1453-55. Tempera on panel, 55 x 30 cm. Museo Correr, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>. (2010), *Crucifix*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiovanni_bellini%2C_crocifissione_del_museo_correr.jpg. (Accessed 6 June 2011)



Fig. 211a. Christ's halo



Fig. 211b. The Virgin's halo



Fig. 211c. St. John's halo



Fig. 212. Michele Giambono, *Madonna col Bambino*, c. 1450. Tempera on panel, 56 x 46 cm. Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to reproduce this has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia



Fig. 212a. Detail of Christ Child's halo



Fig. 213. Giovanni Bellini, *Madonna col Bambino*, (also known as *Madonna Greca*), 1460-64. Tempera on panel, 82 x 62 cm. Pinacoteca di Brera. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2010), *BELLINI, Giovanni Madonna with the Child (Greek Madonna)*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiovannei_bellini%2C_madonna_greca%2C_brera.jpg. (Accessed 29 October 2011)



Fig. 213a. Detail of Christ Child's halo, showing voided internal cross with blunt ends



Fig. 214. Detail of Fig. 140, Giovanni Bellini's Palazzo Ducale *Pietà* in Venice



Fig. 214a. Detail of Christ's wound



Fig. 215. Giovanni Bellini, *Pietà*. C. 1460. Tempera on panel, 48 x 38 cm. Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan. Giovanni Bellini. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (2011), *Dead Christ in the Sepulchre (Pietà*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiovanni_bellini%2C_piet%C3%A0_del_museo_poldi_pezzoli.jpg. Accessed 6 August 2011)



Fig. 215a. Details of Christ's cruciferous halo



Fig. 215b. Detail of Christ's wound



Fig. 216. Giovanni Bellini, *The Blood of the Redeemer*, c. 1460-65. Tempera on panel. The National Gallery, London. The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH. (2010), *The Blood of the Redeemer*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiovanni_Bellini_003.jpg. (Accessed 7 September 2011)



Fig. 217. Quirizio da Murano, *Christ showing his Wounds and the Host to a Clarissan Nun*, c. 1461-78. Tempera on panel, 87 x 114 cm. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Magus, (2007) (no title supplied). Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASavior_-_Quirizio_da_Murano.jpg (Accessed 6 June 2012)

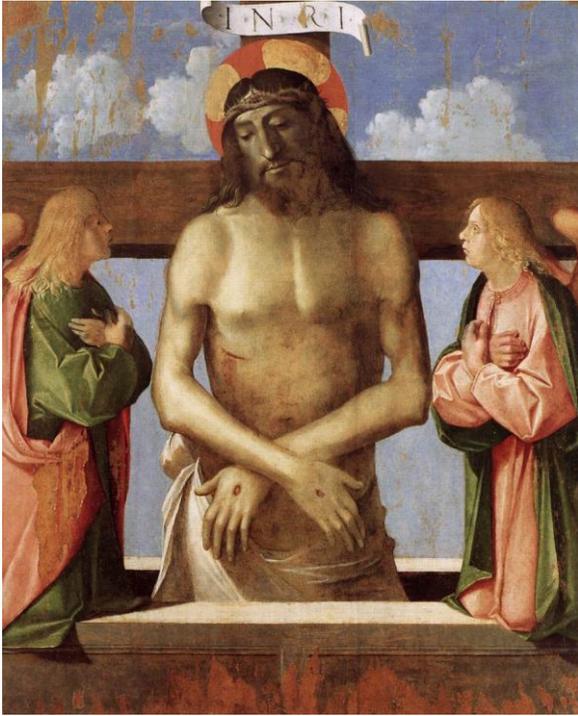


Fig. 218. Benedetto Diana, *Pietà*. (No date given by Correr). Oil on canvas. Museo Correr, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>,(2010), *Pietà*. Available a http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABenedetto_Diana_Piet%C3%A0_Museo_Corror_Venecia.jpg: (Accessed 6August 2011)



Fig. 219. Marco Palmezzano, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, no date supplied. Museo Correr, Venice. Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Fondazione Musei Civici Venezia

Fig. 220. Petrus Christus, *Christ as Man of Sorrows*, c. 1450. Oil on panel, 11.2 x 8.5.cm. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, U.K.

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Fig. 221. Giovanni Bellini, *St. Vincent Ferrer Altarpiece*, c. 1464-68. Tempera on panel, Chiesa di San Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Web Gallery of Art , <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2010), *Polyptych of San Vincenzo Ferreri*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APolittico_di_san_vincenzo_ferrer_01.jpg. (Accessed 17 August 2011)



Fig. 221a. Central panel of *St. Vincent Ferrer Altarpiece*, Tempera on panel, 167 x 67 cm.

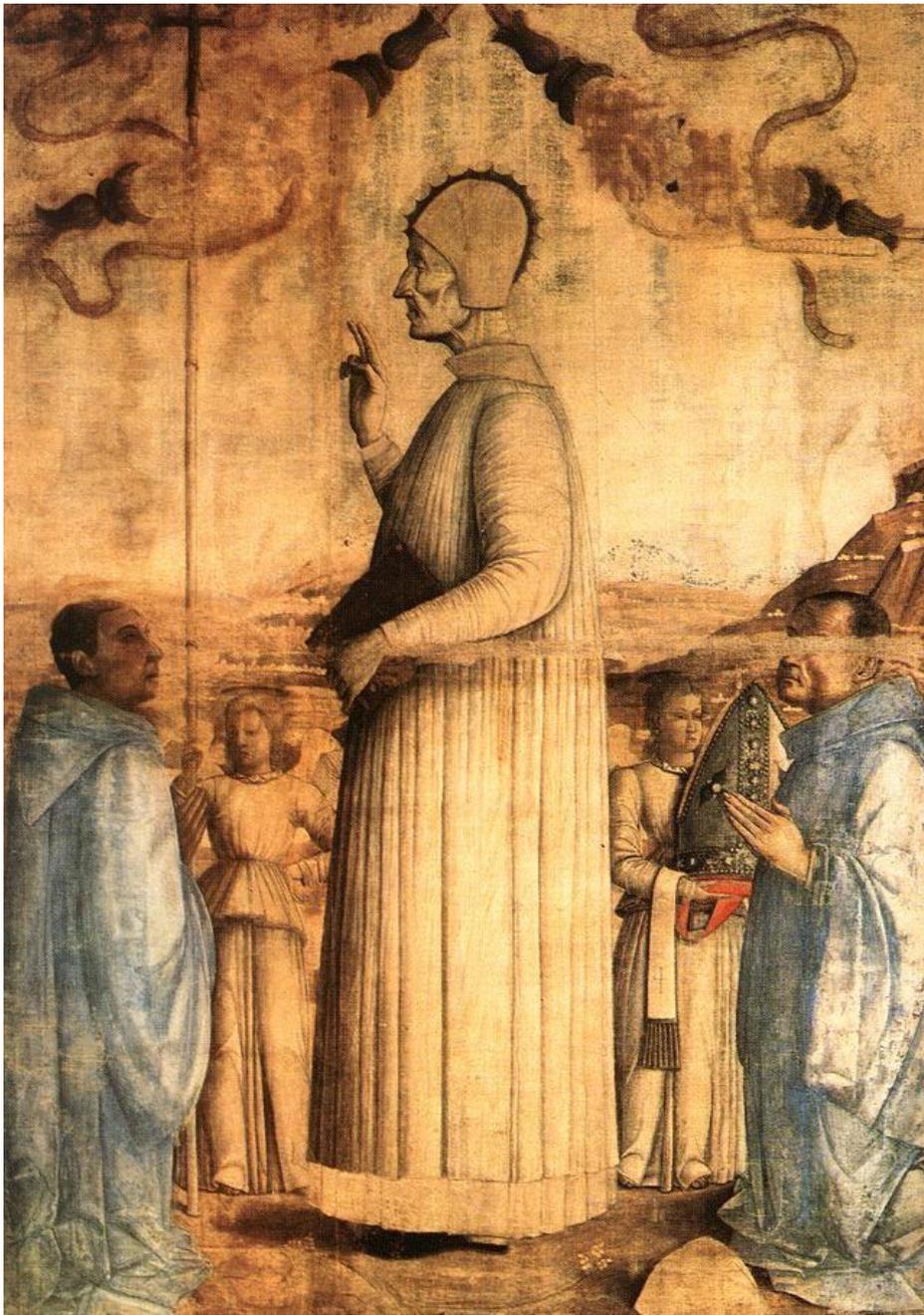


Fig. 222. Gentile Bellini, *The Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani*, 1465. *Gonfalone* (processional banner). Tempera on canvas, 221 x 155 cm. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (no publication date given), *The Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/b/bellini/gentile/giustini.html. (Accessed 4 January 2012)



Fig. 223. Giovanni Bellini, *San Giobbe Altarpiece*, c. 1487. Oil on panel, 471 x 258 cm. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2010), *San Giobbe Altarpiece*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APala_di_san_giobbe_01.jpg. (Accessed 14 September 2011)



Fig. 223a. Detail of Virgin's throne



Fig. 223b. Detail of Sts. Dominic and Sebastian



Fig. 224. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna and Child with Sts. John the Baptist and Andrew*, 1478. Tempera and gold ground on panel, (center panel 138 x 48 cm., two side panels each 130 x 72 cm). Chiesa di S. Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (2010), *Virgin and Child with Sts John the Baptist and Andrew*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABartolomeo_Vivarini%2C_trittico_di_San_Giovanni_in_Bragora.jpg. (Accessed 2 February 2011)

Fig. 225. Alvise Vivarini, *Madonna col Bambino*, c. 1485-90. Chiesa di San Giovanni Battista in Bragora, Venice. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions



Fig. 226. Giovanni Bellini, *Presentation at the Temple*, c. 1465-69. Tavola, 81 x 105.5 cm. Fondazione Querini Stampalia Museum, Venice. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (no publication date given), *Presentation at the Temple*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/b/bellini/giovanni/1460-69/037prese.html. (Accessed 2 February 2009)



Fig. 227. Andrea Mantegna, *Presentation at the Temple*, c. 1460. Tempera on panel, 67 x 86 cm. Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/>, (no publication date given), *Presentation at the Temple*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAndrea_Mantegna_-_Presentation_in_the_Temple_-_WGA13963.jpg. (Accessed 17 August 2011)



Fig. 228. Giovanni Bellini, *Presentation in the Temple*, c. 1490-1500. Tempera and oil on panel. 63.5 x 81.5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museen, Vienna. (Source repro from art book), (2010), *The Presentation of Jesus in the Temple*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiovanni_Bellini_-_Die_Darbringung_Jesu_im_Tempel_-_1499-1500.jpeg. (Accessed 6 February 2011)



Fig. 229. Giovanni Bellini, *The Barbarigo Altarpiece*, or *Enthroned Madonna with the Baby Jesus, Two Angel Musicians, St. Augustine and St. Mark, who present Doge Agostino Barbarigo*, 1488. Oil on canvas, 200 x 320 cm. Chiesa di San Pietro Martire, Murano. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given), *Barbarigo Altarpiece*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABarbarigo_Altarpiece.jpg. (Accessed 6 February 2011)



Fig. 230. Giovanni Bellini, *San Zaccaria Altarpiece*, 1505. Oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 402 x 273 cm. Chiesa di San Zaccaria, Venice. Web Galley of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given), *San Zaccaria Altarpiece*, Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/b/bellini/giovanni/1500-09/zaccaria/183madon.html. (Accessed 24 April 2009)



Fig. 230a. Detail of Virgin and Child, without haloes



Fig. 231. Giovanni Bellini, *The Frari Triptych*, c. 1488-1505. Oil on panel, no dimensions available. Chiesa di Santa Maria Gloriosa, Venice. Web Galley of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given), *Frari Triptych*. Available at: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/b/bellini/giovanni/1480-89/2frari/134frar0.html. (Accessed 6 February 2011)



Fig. 232. Giovanni Bellini, *Pietà Donà delle Rose*, 1505. Oil on panel, 65 x 90 cm. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Web Galley of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (no publication date given), *Pietà*. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiovanni_bellini%2C_piet%C3%A0_martinenngo_01.jpg. (Accessed 6 February 2011)

Fig. 233. Giovanni Bellini, *Annunciation*, c. 1490. Oil on wood, 224 x 210 cm. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions



Fig 234. Giotto, *Ognissanti Madonna*, c. 1310, Tempera on panel, 325 cm x 204 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu/> (2006), *Ognissanti Madonna (Madonna in Maestà*. Available at: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AGiottoMadonna.jpg> (Accessed 28 February 2012)

Fig 235 Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *Enthroned Madonna with Four Angels*, c. 1391, Fresco. This image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig 236. Giovanni Mansueti, *The Baptism of Anianus*, c. 1580. Pinacoteca di Brera.
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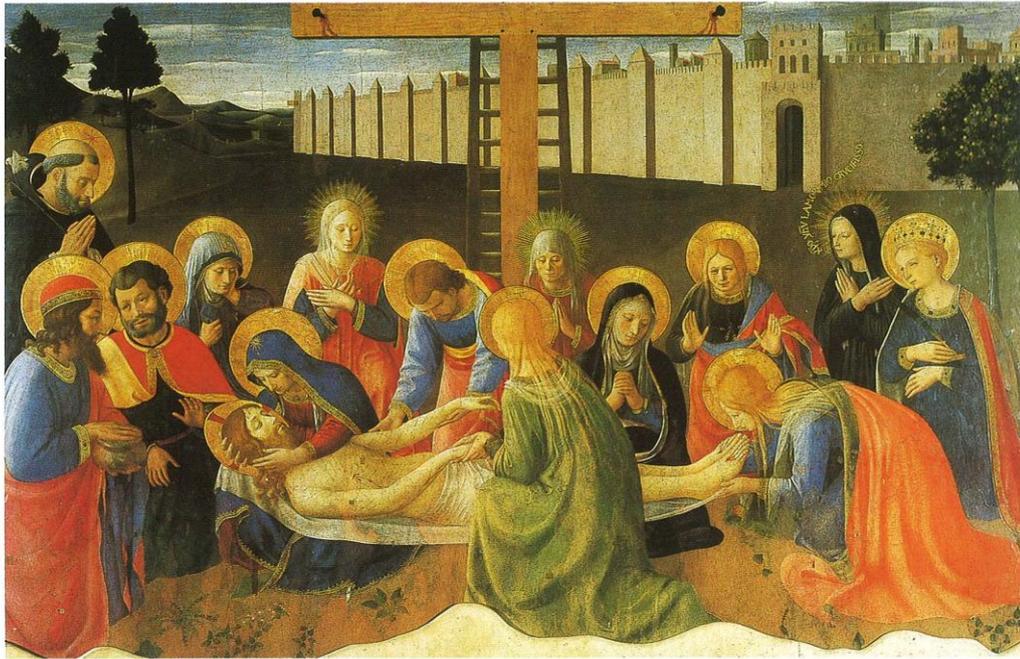


Fig. 237 *The Lamentation*, Fra Angelico, 1441. Museo di San Marco, Florence. Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu> (no publication date given), *Lamentation over Christ*. Available at: <http://www.wga.hu/index1.html> (Accessed 28 February 2012)

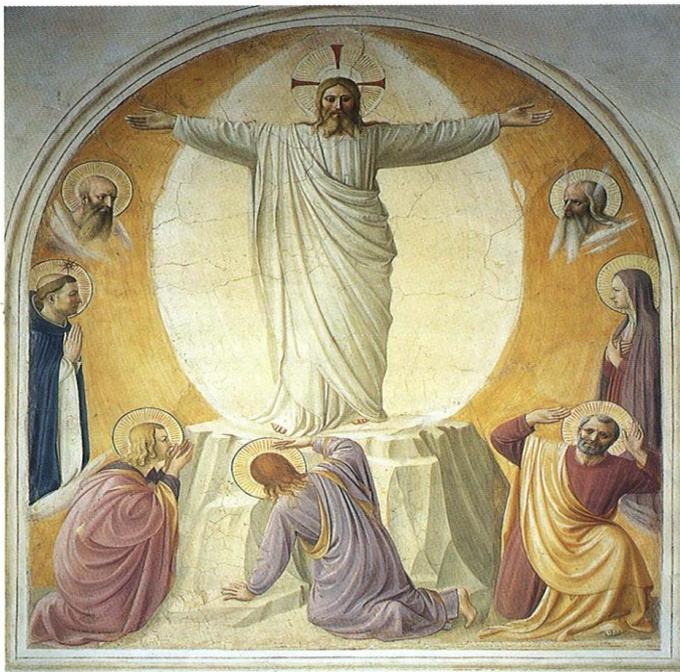


Fig. 238 Fra Angelico, *Transfiguration*, Fresco, Museo di San Marco, Florence. Fra Angelico (circa 1395–1455). Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu> (no publication date given, *Transfiguration (Cell 6)*. Available at: <http://www.wga.hu/index1.html>. Accessed 28 February 2012)



Fig. 239. *Boscai Altarpiece*, Fra Angelico, Detail of Fig. 182



Fig. 240, Fra Angelico *The Coronation*, c. 1435, tempera on panel. Musée du Louvre. Fra Angelico (circa 1395–1455) . Web Gallery of Art, <http://www.wga.hu> (no publication date given, *Coronation of the Virgin*. Available at: <http://www.wga.hu/index1.html>. (Accessed 28 February 2012)