

Chapter 8

The Religious Areas of the Salone Frescoes

Introduction

This chapter investigates the set of images placed along the south wall at columns 19-25, located between the Venus rules Taurus ‘chapter’ and the Mercury rules Gemini ‘chapter’ (Fig.1) and proposes that, due to images that appear to represent the veneration of the Eucharist, the chapter may represent the Feast of Corpus Christi. This chapter will firstly consider how other scholars have described these images. It will then consider the two saints depicted in this ‘chapter’ at 19BC and 23BC as a way of gaining further insight into the possible meaning of the images of this ‘chapter’. Finally it will look for the context within which these two saints’ images and the images in columns 19–25 inclusive may have been painted on the walls at this location in the fresco scheme.



Figure 1. Aerial view of the Palazzo della Ragione from Google Earth showing the fresco scheme of the first floor Salone and its division into ‘chapters’ by rulership and the placement of the Corpus Christi ‘chapter’.

The images in detail

Barzon referred to this group of images as a religious group, a class of subjects distinct from the others focused around ‘subjects regarding the Redemption of Jesus Christ in his

sacrifice and some figures from the Old Testament'.¹ He recognised that, whilst these images maintained a relationship with the overall design of the Salone paintings, they also carried a unique theme and did not appear in a predetermined order. Rigobello and Autizi described the images as 'a series of religious scenes that are placed there to balance the mainly secular character of representations of the months'.² They asserted that the nine scenes contained within columns 20, 21 and 22 all referred to the Apocalypse, and argued that the saint at image 19BC was St John the Baptist, since it was St John the Baptist's task, as the author of one of the Gospels and of the Apocalypse, to prepare the Jewish people for the Messianic advent of Christ.³ Fantelli and Pellegrini made no comment on the images in columns 20–24.

Other scholars who referred to the Salone fresco images in general but not in detail were unable to further the understanding of this set of images. Blume argued that this 'group of Christian pictures which appear in the month of April under the sign of Taurus' was a later addition, which originated when the images were repainted after the hurricane of 1756.⁴ Blume asserted that the image 17B of Venus, depicted as the Virgin and Child, was 'fundamentally unthinkable and completely unique',⁵ and he connected image 17B instead with the constellation Virgo, using as his evidence an astrological technique described by Abū Ma'shar (787–886), thus showing his lack of understanding of this technique. Blume then suggested that the eighteenth century restorers may have used the opportunity created by the hurricane of 1756 which destroyed part of the roof of the Salone, to add this group of religious images 'where there was already space without obviously disturbing anything that happened in the wrong star sign'. Blume did not offer a reason as to why there might have been space on the Salone walls to do this. He simply completed his argument with the qualification that it was all 'mere speculation that can be best clarified through a thorough technical investigation', and asserted that it was 'one of the many discrepancies that the complicated heritage of these frescoes left behind'.⁶

¹ Antonio Barzon, *Gli Affreschi del Salone in Padova* (Padova: Libreria Gregoriana, 1924), p.49.

² M. Beatrice Rigobello and Francesco Autizi, *Palazzo della Ragione di Padova. Simbologie degli astri e rappresentazioni del governo* (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2008), p.179.

³ Rigobello and Autizi, *Palazzo della Ragione di Padova.*, p.179.

⁴ Dieter Blume, *Regenten des Himmels: Astrologische Bilder in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, Studien aus dem Warburg-Haus (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2000), p.74.

⁵ Blume, *Regenten des Himmels*, p.74.

⁶ Blume, *Regenten des Himmels*, p.74.

The Corpus Christi ‘chapter’ of the South Wall of the Salone

A foldout of the images for this ‘chapter’ can be found on page 387.

Table 17: The 8 columns of the religious imagery along the south wall using Barzon numbering and collating image designations.			
Image	Barzon (1924)	Fantelli and Pellegrini (2000) C: constellation; Z: influence of zodiac sign; P: influence of planet; M: occupation of the month; NI: a figure they are unable to interpret; W: a winged figure; R: a religious scene.	Rigobello and Autizi (2008)
19A	Giovanni Gualberto?	Giovanni Gualberto? Forgiveness? (R)	A bird hunter.
19BC	St John the Apostle		St John the Baptist.
20A	Theology.	Theology. (R)	Theology.
20B	A cross sprinkled with blood.	The blood of Christ. (R)	The blood of Christ.
20C	A closed building	? (NI)	Crenellated building.
21A	Woman with dove?	Peace? (R)	Peace.
21B	Adoration of the lamb.	Adoration of the lamb.	Adoration of the lamb.
21C	People sprinkled with blood.	Sprinkling of the blood: Prefiguration of Christ. (R)	Sprinkling of the blood.
22A	Crucifix of Jesus Christ.	Crucifix. (R)	Crucifix.
22B	Priest who celebrates mass.	Mass. (R)	Mass.
22C	Hebrew sacrifice.	Hebrew sacrifice: Prefiguration of Christ. (R)	Hebrew sacrifice of the ram.
23A	<i>(In 1924 this image appeared to be damaged.)</i>	? (NI)	God the Father.
23BC	St Philip the Apostle?	St Philip.	St Philip.
24A	<i>(In 1924 this image appeared to be damaged.)</i>	? (NI)	Angel of Judgement.
24B	Cult/worship of light.	Cult/worship of light. Demons	Separation of light from demons.
24C	A well with flames.	The triumph of Satan?	A well in flames.
25A	<i>(In 1924 this image appeared to be damaged.)</i>	? (NI)	Horse.
25B	An act of Charity.	An act of Charity.	An act of Charity.
25C	Wind.	Wind? (W)	Angel.

The two saints in detail

The Saint at 19BC

Rigobello and Autizi suggested that the figure at 19BC (Fig.4) was St John the Baptist. Traditionally St John the Baptist was represented as a hermit dressed in animal skins (Figs.2 and 3). Such dress is not being represented in the Salone saint at 19BC (Fig.4) and thus suggests that this saint is not St John the Baptist. Image 19BC depicts a haloed man with a brown Van Dyke beard with a chin strap, wearing a green tunic under a grey mantle, holding an open book with visible writing, and facing away from the viewer to the viewer's left. Additionally the figure is facing away from the images in columns 20-25, signifying, as I suggested in chapter 2, the end of the Venus rules Taurus 'chapter'.



(Left) Figure 2. Goodhart Ducciesque Master, Italian (active c.1300-1325), *Madonna and Child with Four Saints*, 1310–15. John the Baptist is second from the left. Tempera on panel, 76.2 cm x 49.5 cm; 61.3 cm x 34.6 cm, Birmingham Museum of Art. Image: ARTstor.



(Right) Figure 3. Jacopo del Casentino (Jacopo Landini) and Assistant, Italian, active first half 14th century–1349), *St John the Baptist*, c.1330, tempera and gold on wood, 68 cm x 48.3 cm, El Paso Museum of Art, El Paso, Texas. Image: ARTstor.

Of image 19BC Barzon speculated that this figure represented St John the Evangelist holding his book of the Gospel. Barzon reasoned that he could make out the letters 'Alpha', 'Omega', and 'Mus' written on the right hand page of the book held by the saint (Fig.4 detail), letters which summarised the phrases 'Ego sum Alpha et Omega' and 'primus et ultimus' in Revelation 22:13. Rather than 'Alpha' and 'Omega', it is possible that the letters in the book may be 'IO', short for 'Johannes',⁷ supporting Barzon's claim for St John the Evangelist. It is more likely, however, that the words of the book he holds

⁷ Adriano Cappelli, *Dizionario Di Abbreviature Latine Ed Italiane* (Milano: Hoepli, 2006), p.184.

are *Iacomus* (IOCO along the top and MUS along the bottom), indicating St James the Greater, son of Zebedee, since image 41BC, in the Moon rules Cancer ‘chapter’, discussed in chapter 2, is the only other saint that has words contained within the image and these words are ‘James the Less’ (*Iacobus Minor*).



Figure 4. Image 19BC of a haloed man holding an open book (*left*) and a close up of the book (*right*), middle and lower registers, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The Saint at 23BC

Image 23BC (Fig.5) is of a young, beardless, haloed saint holding a red-covered book in his left hand and pointing to his face. He wears a gold round-necked tunic under a grey cloak with pink lining, and holds a red covered book with gold tooling. Suzanne Lewis observed that gestures of pointing to the eyes in medieval works would have been construed as representing the person’s perception of God and the holy through inner vision.⁸ Apocalyptic images of John of Patmos, such as those in Figures 6 and 7, exhibited this gesture. Cynthia Hahn recorded how, on the reliquary chasse depicting the life and death of the virgin saint Valerie, c.1170–72, Duke Stephen witnessed his own conversion by pointing to his eye in acknowledgement of the power of God that works through the saints.⁹

⁸ Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.194.

⁹ Cynthia Hahn, ‘Valerie’s Gift: A Narrative Enamel Chasse from Limoges’, in *Reading medieval images: the art historian and the object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears, Thelma K. Thomas, and Ilene H. Forsyth (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 187-200, p.194.



Figure 5. Image 23BC of a saint holding a red-covered book in his left hand and pointing to his face, middle and lower registers, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



(Left) Figure 6. Apocalypse showing St John pointing to his eye as he witnesses the opening of the Seventh Vial. London, British Library MS Add.35166, fol.19. *Image: The British Library.*



(Right) Figure 7. Apocalypse showing St John pointing to his eye as he witnesses the Ark of the Covenant, Malibu, J.Paul Getty Museum MS Ludwig III.I, fol.19. *Image: Collection of the J.Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.*

If these images in columns 20–22 are from the Book of Revelation, then this saint may well be the author of the Book of Revelation identified as ‘John’ who wrote that, when he was on Patmos, an island in the Aegean used by the Romans as a penal colony, he heard a voice ‘shouting like a trumpet’, telling him to write down the visions that he was about to

see (Rev.1:9–11).¹⁰ The opinion of scholars as to whether John of Patmos is also John the Evangelist is divided.¹¹ Perhaps all that can be stated with certainty is that, situated amongst these seemingly apocalyptic images, and with his body angled towards these columns so that he visually completes the chapter, it is possible to identify the haloed figure as St John of Patmos, the man who wrote the last of the canonical books of the New Testament envisioning the images of the Apocalypse and who, by pointing to his eye, demonstrated the words that are the glue of the Book of Revelation: ‘And I saw...’.

Taking all of the above into consideration, we can now examine the other images in this part of the scheme as to how they may be depicting Corpus Christi.

The Feast of Corpus Christi

The seed of the Feast of Corpus Christi began in c.1208 when Juliana of Cornillon (c.1193–1258), a beguine who served at the leper-hospital attached to Praemonstratensian house of Mont Cornillon in Liège, envisaged a full moon darkened by a blemish. This recurring dream and its symbolism only became clear twenty years later when, in another dream, Christ appeared to Juliana and explained that the moon signified the church and the blemish was the absence of a feast that celebrated the Eucharist in its own right.¹² Juliana lived at a time when dreams and visions were regarded as imprimaturs for human endeavours, and this vision buttressed her drive for the foundation of ‘a eucharistic feast as an apogee of eucharistic devotion’.¹³ It was also a fertile time for a religious woman’s voice to be heard on devotional matters¹⁴ and explained why Juliana’s vision was conveyed to the Franciscan Robert of Turotte, elected bishop of Liège in 1240, as well as to four Dominicans: Giles, John, and Gerard, all of Liège, and to Hugh of St Cher, then

¹⁰ Alexander Jones, ed. *The Jerusalem Bible, Reader's Edition*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1968, p.321.

¹¹ The position of William Wixom and Margaret Lawson who stated that ‘since the second century, this figure has traditionally been identified with the apostle of Christ and saint who wrote the Fourth Gospel’, is widespread, possibly due to the fact that the idea of John the Evangelist being exiled on Patmos was perpetuated in *The Golden Legend*. The contra opinion, also extensive, is that although The Book of Revelation is often ascribed to John the Evangelist, it is, according to James Hall, ‘so different in thought, style, and content from the genuine Johannine writings that John’s personal authorship of it in any normally accepted sense seems unlikely’. William D. Wixom and Margaret Lawson, ‘Picturing the Apocalypse: Illustrated Leaves from a Medieval Spanish Manuscript’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* Winter(2002), p.5. James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray Publishers, 1974), p.275.

¹² Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi, The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.169-170.

¹³ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.170.

¹⁴ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.172.

provincial of France but later Cardinal of Santa Sabina.¹⁵ With their support, the idea was taken to, and approved by, the chancellor of the University of Paris. Bishop Robert of Turotte then established the feast for his diocese in 1246 through his pastoral letter *Inter alia mira*. The feast was to be celebrated ‘feria quinta proxima post octavas Trinitatis’,¹⁶ on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, which was the second Thursday after Pentecost. Thursday was chosen to reflect the day that Christ instituted the Eucharist, and the second Thursday after Pentecost was the first free Thursday after the Easter season (since the Thursday after Pentecost was a part of the ancient octave of Pentecost). As Easter was a moveable festival, this meant that Corpus Christi could occur anytime between 21 May and 24 June. Based on this dating, columns 21–24 in the Salone scheme, placed between the Venus rules Taurus ‘chapter’ of late April–late May and the Mercury rules Gemini ‘chapter’ of late May–late June, are situated in their correct place within the solar calendar to reflect the timing of the feast of Corpus Christi.

Having just established the feast, Robert of Turotte died in 1246, and celebration of the Feast waned. When Jacques Pantaléon was ordained Pope Urban IV on 27 August 1261, however, having witnessed this local founding of Corpus Christi in Liège, he proclaimed Corpus Christi for the entire western church through his bull *Transiturus* in 1264. This was, as Miri Rubin pointed out, the first time that a pope had established a universal feast.¹⁷ Nevertheless, despite Urban IV’s commitment to make Corpus Christi universal, his death in 1264 meant that his bull was never widely circulated and there was no impetus from Rome to disseminate the information. The feast hung on the verge of invisibility. It was through trade and sermons that Corpus Christi made its way into Catholic Europe. Liège’s economic and cultural link with Cologne¹⁸ resulted in St Gereon’s Collegiate Church in Cologne embracing the feast on a local level in 1264, followed by its adoption in the diocese of Osnabrück and Münster in 1276.¹⁹ Cologne was also closely bound in trade with Venice through its prized exports of prime linen yarns (‘Cologne thread’) and the gold and silver threads, constructed from hammering the malleable metals and winding them around silk cores, used in the production of high-

¹⁵ William Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy 1215-1945*, 2nd ed. (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1945), p.239.

¹⁶ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.174.

¹⁷ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.176.

¹⁸ Margret Wensky, ‘Women’s Guilds in Cologne in the Later Middle Ages’, *Journal of European Economic History* 11(1982), 631-650, pp.632-638.

¹⁹ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.180.

quality brocade in Venetian and Genoese workshops of Venice and Genoa.²⁰ Two decades after Cologne began to celebrate Corpus Christi, the feast was established in Venice in 1295 by a decree from the Great Council.²¹ This is the earliest documented civic celebration of the feast in Italy and reflected, as Rubin pointed out, the extent to which ‘ritual could travel, even when it was not promoted by a central authority’.²² The close proximity of Venice to Padua suggests how the ritual and its influence may have travelled the even shorter distance to make its appearance in images on the Salone walls c.1309.

This provincial spread also occurred within the Cistercian order where observance of the feast was inaugurated in 1277 and then celebrated in 1278 in Heilbronn monastery at Württemberg, in Bernstein monastery at Brandenburg in 1290, and at Wesserleben monastery in Saxony in 1294.²³ Official recognition in the diocese of Liège came through the synodal statutes of Bishop John of Cambrai in 1287.²⁴ The feast was adopted universally in the Dominican Order in 1304.²⁵ Finally, in October 1317, having been raised by Clement V at the Council of Vienne, which met between October 1311 – May 1312, and discussed at length in the intervening years, Corpus Christi was incorporated into the last great medieval collection of canon law, *The Clementines*, in the section designated ‘On Relics and The Veneration of Saints’.²⁶ It was recorded in England in 1318 at St Peter’s abbey, Gloucester, and at Wells cathedral, at York in 1322, and in 1325 a Corpus Christi Guild, responsible for the street procession of the host following the mass, was founded at Ipswich.²⁷ Within the first quarter of the Trecento Corpus Christi had become the universal feast Urban IV had anticipated, celebrating the Eucharist in ‘a joyous affirmation of a central point of Christian doctrine’ and where the procession of

²⁰ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.181. See also Susan Mosher Stuard, *Gilding the market: luxury and fashion in fourteenth-century Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), p.156; Wensky, ‘Women's Guilds in Cologne in the Later Middle Ages’, p.636.

²¹ Edward Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), p.223.

²² Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.181.

²³ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.180.

²⁴ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.179.

²⁵ Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy 1215-1945*, p.239.

²⁶ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp.181-182.

²⁷ Ronald Hutton, *The stations of the sun: a history of the ritual year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.304.

the host could, as Hutton noted, be ‘performed in the open air and thus perfectly suited to a season of warmth, light and celebration’.²⁸

Whilst this set of images in columns 20–24 offers unique evidence about the social world of Padua at the moment of their production c.1309, and their reproduction after the fire of 1420, their appearance on the walls raises questions about observance of practice. When a concept is brought in as official doctrine, does it mark the beginning or the end of the period? Is an official doctrine codifying what the general populace has already been long undertaking or does the codification begin from this point and promulgate ideas forward? Were these images painted on the walls because the practice was now being observed in Padua or were they painted there to begin the incorporation of the feast in the Paduan civic calendar?²⁹ Perhaps it is safest to say, as Jaroslav Pelikan reminded us, that ‘as it had done with the doctrine of Mary throughout history, Christian art often anticipated the development of dogma, which eventually caught up with the iconography’.³⁰

The connection between Corpus Christi and St Thomas Aquinas

There is a further point to be made here. I have already proposed the possibility of the scheme employing Thomistic-derived theological thinking predicated on a suggested meaning for image 8A (Mars rules Aries ‘chapter’) of the mouse in the attic and the question of *Quid Sumit Mus?* The common understanding of the authorship of the office of Corpus Christi is that Pope Urban IV requested Thomas Aquinas to write the office,³¹ and that Thomas did so in the years 1261–1263 when he was resident at Orvieto.³² Scholars debate whether Thomas did in fact compose the office, and the extended argument regarding this question can be found in Appendix 3. The implication for the Salone fresco scheme and this ‘chapter’ in particular is that, if the understanding in Padua at the time the fresco scheme was being painted was that Thomas Aquinas *was* the author of the office of Corpus Christi, then this strengthens the argument that a Thomistic-derived theological thinking was being expressed along the walls.

²⁸ Hutton, *The stations of the sun*, p.304.

²⁹ I am grateful for the discussions and personal communication with John Munns in April 2012 regarding the nature of these images and the codification of Corpus Christi as an official doctrine or practice.

³⁰ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the centuries: her place in the history of culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p.194.

³¹ Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy 1215-1945*, p.240.

³² Barbara R. Walters, Vincent J. Corrigan, and Peter T. Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), p.34.

The images of the Corpus Christi ‘chapter’ in detail

Scholars in Table 17 considered image 20A (Fig.8), a woman with shoulder length brown hair, dressed in a high-waisted grey-white gown, holding three circular objects and riding on a single wheel pulled by doves or swans, to depict ‘Theology’. Yet Theology (*Divinitas Excelsa*), as sculpted by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano on the Fontana Maggiore in Perugia in 1278 (Fig.9) is presented as a woman peering upwards to the heavens and shielding her eyes from the bright intense light of God.



Figure 8. Image 20A of a woman standing on a wheel being pulled by four doves or swans, top register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Placed on a wheel pulled by swans or doves suggests the woman in image 20A is an expression of the planet Venus (Figs.10, 11, and 12). If this is so, then it is a different expression to either image 17B, The Virgin and Child in the Venus rules Taurus ‘chapter’, or image 65B, the naked Venus of the Venus rules Libra ‘chapter’, since image 20A does not contain rays to differentiate it as a planet. Additionally, as cited in the Introduction, the images of the figures depicting the two lights — the Sun at image 47BC (Fig.13) and the Moon at image 39BC (Fig.14) — are placed on mobile platforms with four wheels to distinguish their direct movement from the planets who appeared at times to move backwards (with retrograde motion). The woman in image 20A (Fig.8), however, is placed onto a single wheel, rather than on a four-wheeled chariot. If this is a

personification of the planet Venus, then a suggestion for why she is placed on a single wheel may be due to the fact that the planet Venus moves differently to the planets and the two lights.



Figure 9. Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, the sculpture of Theology (*Divinitas Excelsa*), 1278, middle basin, Fontana Maggiore, Perugia. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Left) Figure 10. Crowned Venus in her carriage pulled by doves, *Romance of the Rose*, MS. Douce 332, fol. 147, late 14th–early 15th century, Bodleian Library. Image: ARTstor.



(Right) Figure 11. Pietro Perugino, *Venus standing on her carriage pulled by swans*, fresco, 1497-1500, Collegio Del Cambio, Perugia. Image: Web Gallery of Art.



Figure 12. Raphael, Venus on a chariot pulled by doves, spandrel fresco, 1517-18, Loggia di Psiche, Villa Farnesina Rome. *Image:* Web Gallery of Art.



(Left) Figure 13. Image 47BC of the Sun with golden aureole, rays and seated on a four wheeled chariot, middle and lower register, east wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo:* D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 14. Image 39BC of the Moon with rays and seated on a four wheeled chariot, middle and lower register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo:* D.Gunzburg.

The movement of Venus

Like Mercury, Venus is physically located between the sun and the earth, hence visually tied to the sun. Mercury can only ever be seen in the sky at sunrise (ahead of the sun) or at sunset (behind the sun), and then only as a brief flash, since it can never be separated by more than 28° from the sun. Venus, on the other hand, can move up to 46° away from the sun, hence at its longest elongation (furthest distance from the sun), it is perceived as a bright and spectacular planet, the third-brightest object in the sky, whether ahead of the sun before dawn or behind the sun after the sun has set. Yet as Jeffrey L. Cooley

remarked, since it is tied to the sun and only ever visible after sunset or before sunrise, Venus can never break free of the horizon.³³ Visually in the sky Venus is seen to rise higher and higher each night after sunset until it reaches a point where, 46° behind the sun, it appears to be stationery and then over the following nights, Venus begins to descend visually back down to the horizon. The planet then disappears for a time as it moves closer and closer to the sun and becomes caught up in the sun's light and hence invisible. Venus then appears rising before the sun at dawn and again is visible higher and higher in the sky each morning prior to sunrise until it reaches a point 46° ahead of the sun where it seems to be stationery and then over the following pre-dawn mornings, it creates the impression visually of falling back to earth again. This see-saw motion of Venus is in vivid contrast to the motions of the stars and all the planets as, apart from Mercury, they can move from the eastern horizon to the western horizon across the dome of the sky. Consequently neither Venus nor Mercury can ever 'split the sky', the term used for when a planet reaches culmination, the halfway point between sunrise and sunset that divides the sky in two. In Ugaritic mythology, the planet Venus (called Athtar) was seen as masculine and said to be 'the failed usurper of Baal's throne'.³⁴ Baal was not the sun per se, but a powerful ruler. Nevertheless what the writer of the text was telling us was that they recognised that Venus was not able to reach that point where Baal ruled:

He [Athtar] sat on the throne of Mighty Baal.

His feet could not reach the footstool!

His head could not reach its (the throne's) top!

Athtar the furious answered,

'I cannot rule on the heights of Zaphon'.³⁵

In an age when the dominant cosmology was earth-centred, this see-saw motion of Venus, swinging above and below the horizon in the east (at dawn) and in the west (at sunset) and at times becoming invisible, can be explained visually by the four swans/doves placed close to the horizon in image 20A (Fig.8). Furthermore, these three movements of Venus — rising in the east before the sun has risen as the Morning Star, setting in the

³³ Jeffrey L. Cooley, *Poetic Astronomy in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013), pp.195-196.

³⁴ Cooley, *Poetic Astronomy in the Ancient Near East*, p.181. Ugarit was an ancient port city on the eastern Mediterranean in northern Syria whose organised community was at its peak.c.1450–1200 BCE.

³⁵ Cooley, *Poetic Astronomy in the Ancient Near East*, p.195.

west after the sun as has set as the Evening Star, and invisible, close to the sun and caught in its light — may also account for why the woman in this image at 20A is carrying three circular objects.

A final point to be made with regard to this image at 20A (Fig.8) concerns the Epilogue of the Book of Revelation (22:16): ‘I, Jesus, have sent my angel to make these revelations to you for the sake of the churches. I am of David’s line, the root of David and the bright star of the morning’. Although there are many bright stars amongst the fixed stars and constellations, such as Spica in the constellation Virgo, and Sirius in the constellation Canis Major, Venus was considered to be the other light in the sky and the equal to the sun and the moon. Hence the ‘bright star of the morning’ implies Venus rising before the sun at its greatest elongation, symbolising perhaps, as the visible and bright herald of the dawn, Christ’s Resurrection after the long dark of real and symbolic night.

The next set of images

Scholars in Table 17 described image 21A (Figs.15 and16), a woman dressed in a white caul and grey gown, in an orant posture and bearing objects in her hands, as ‘woman with a dove’ and ‘peace’. Rigobello and Autizi thought she held fruit in her right hand and a dove in her left hand.



Figure 15. Image 21A of a woman holding objects in her hands, top register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



Figure 16. Detail of objects held in the right hand (*left*) and left hand (*right*) of the woman in image 21A top register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo*: D.Gunzburg.



Figure 17. Islamic quadrant with Kufic inscription. Brass. Length of side with sighting vanes: 13.5 cm. Length of straight side: 14.5 cm. Thickness: 2.2 mm. Weight: 255 gm. *Image*: British Museum.

Given the placement of this image in the top constellation register, I suggest that, rather than fruit, the woman holds a red rose in her right hand, and a quadrant hangs from her fingers — an example of an Islamic quadrant is shown in Figure 17 — and in her upturned left hand she holds an armillary sphere, and hanging from her fingers is an astrolabe. An example in this time period of the personification of Astrology holding up an astrolabe in order to view the sky can be seen along the lower basin of the Fontana Maggiore (Fig.18). An astrolabe dated slightly earlier than the Salone image can be seen in Figure 20. Another example of an astrolabe dated in this same time period can be seen in *The Allegory of Obedience* (Fig.19) in the Vela, Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi, where the Janus-faced figure of Prudence, holding a compass and a mirror, also has an astrolabe hanging on a stand on the desk in front of her, as was the practice with such instruments. An example in this same time period of Astrology holding an armillary sphere and raising her right hand upwards towards the heavens can be seen in the Spanish

Chapel of Santa Maria Novella (Fig. 21). A medieval armillary sphere and an armillary sphere, dated from a slightly later time period, can be seen in Figures 22 and 23. Few armillary spheres prior to the sixteenth century have survived and it has been suggested that this may have been due to their construction of delicate rings made of brass.³⁶ At a slightly later time period all three instruments can be seen in the intarsia work that prevailed in Italy in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries (Figs.24 and 25). I contend that the top register that contains constellations is thus an appropriate location to place instruments that were used in the medieval period to measure the sky — an astrolabe, a quadrant,³⁷ and an armillary sphere³⁸ — and hence time.



(Left) Figure 18. Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, the sculpture of Astrology holding an astrolabe, lower basin, Fontana Maggiore, Perugia, 1278. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

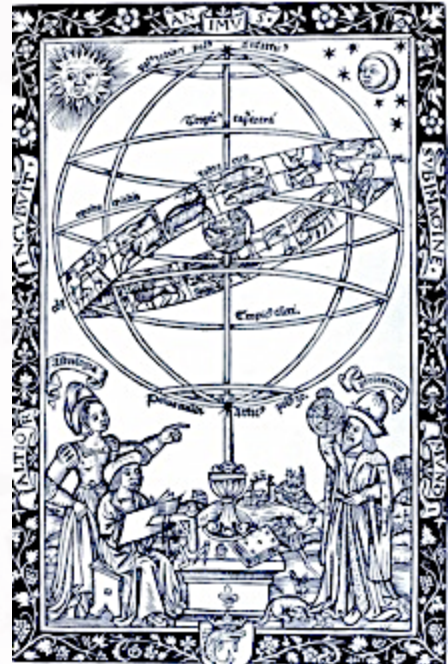
(Middle) Figure 19. Giotto di Bondone (assisted), Janus-faced Prudence holds a compass in her right hand and a mirror in her left hand. An astrolabe hangs on a stand on the desk in front of her. *The Allegory of Obedience* (detail), Assisi, San Francesco, Lower Church, fresco, before September 1319. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

(Right) Figure 20. Rasulid, Astrolabe, brass, pierced and engraved, 1291, maximum width: $7\frac{5}{8}$ in. (19.4 cm), diameter: $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. (15.6 cm), thickness: $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.6 cm), The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image: ARTstor.

³⁶ Adam Mosley, 'Armillary spheres and teaching astronomy', in *Explore Whipple Collections* (Whipple Museum of the History of Science, University of Cambridge, 2006).
<http://www.hps.cam.ac.uk/whipple/explore/astronomy/armillarspheres/> - accessed 6 September 2013.

³⁷ A quadrant is an early instrument for measuring the altitude of celestial bodies, and consists of a 90° graduated arc with a movable radius for measuring angles.

³⁸ An armillary sphere consists of a number of graduated brass rings representing the main celestial circles, arranged so as to model the basic principles of astronomical motion. Some armillary spheres were used to make astronomical observations and calculations. Others were used as demonstration models only. The word *armillary* is derived from the Greek *armilla* meaning bracelets or rings.



(Left) Figure 21. Andrea da Firenze, *Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, detail, the personification of Astrology, holding an armillary sphere and raising her hand to the heavens, fresco, 1365–c.1367, Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Italy. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

(Middle) Figure 22. Armillary sphere (Wh.0336), maker and origin unknown, possibly mid-fourteenth century. Image: © The Whipple Museum.

(Right) Figure 23. Joannes de Sacro Bosco, *Sphaera mundi*, frontispiece showing armillary sphere. In the front right the image depicts Ptolemy holding an astrolabe, 1519. Image: ARTstor.



(Left) Figure 24. Giuliano da Maiano, *Armillary Sphere, Quadrant and Books*, Studiolo from the Ducal Palace in Gubbio, Montefeltro, intarsia: walnut, beech, rosewood, oak, and fruitwoods on walnut base, c.1479–82. Image: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

(Right) Figure 25. Giovanni da Verona (Fra Giovanni Giocondo), *Armillary Sphere, Astrolabe and quadrant*, choir stall intarsia, 1519–25, Abbey of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Italy. Image: ARTstor.

The rose in the right hand of the woman in image 21A (Figs.15 and 16) requires a different line of thinking. The rose, according to Gertud Schiller, was a symbol of life and light in Early Christian art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³⁹ A red rose also symbolised martyrdom, prefiguring the blood of Christ.⁴⁰ In Florence, one of the marble sculptures in the external niches of Orsanmichele, Florence, Italy, is of the *Madonna della Rosa* (c.1339) by Piero di Giovanni Tedesco (active 1386–1402), the Virgin holding a bunch of wild roses with which the Christ Child plays (Fig.26). Thus I suggest that image 21A combines symbols of the blood of Christ (the rose) with instruments that measured time (the astrolabe, quadrant and armillary sphere).

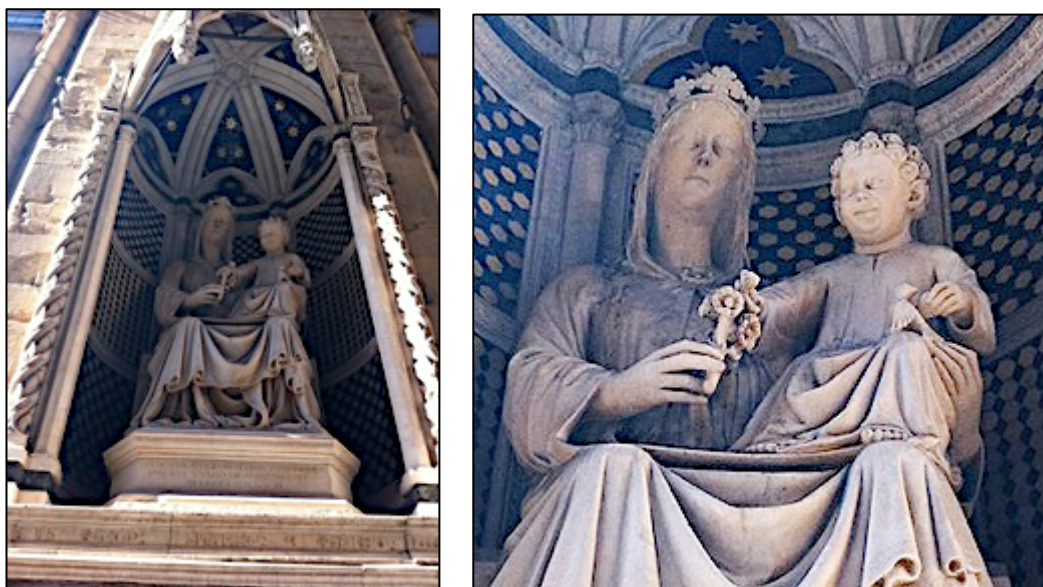


Figure 26. Piero di Giovanni Tedesco, *Madonna della Rosa*, marble, c.1399, 220cm, Orsanmichele, Florence, Italy, showing the Madonna holding a bunch of wild roses (*left*) and detail (*right*). Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Image 20B (Fig.27) is of a gold budded cross.⁴¹ The cross stands on a twisted base that, in turn, stands on a white cloth on a red altar. The cross is bleeding or has been spattered with blood. The suggestion in this image is that the twisted, blood-spattered cross on the altar is symbolic of the twisted, blood-spattered body of Christ contorted in pain and sacrificed on the altar of the cross at Calvary. Julian Gardner, drawing on the work of Lotario Conti (c.1160–1216) and his book *De Missarum misteriis* written prior to Conti's

³⁹ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian art*, trans. Janet Seligman, vol. 1 (London: Lund Humphries, 1972), p.51.

⁴⁰ Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, p.268.

⁴¹ Also known as the Apostles' Cross, the Treflée, Botonée or Cathedral Cross.

rise in rank as Pope Innocent III, reiterated the current Roman practice that all that was required for an altar was a cross and two candles so the text could be read clearly.⁴² The style of cross was not prescribed, yet this simple cross in image 20B, covered with blood but without a body, contrasts with the cross containing a body but without blood in image 22A (Fig.39).



(Left) Figure 27. Image 20B of a gold budded cross on a twisted base, standing on a cloth on a red altar, The cross is bleeding or has been spattered with blood, middle register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



(Right) Figure 28. Image 20C of a crenellated building with fire inside, bottom register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Image 20C (Fig.28) depicts a four-sided building with a red-tiled roof and front and rear façade crenellations. The door of the building is open or non-existent and a fire burns inside. A disembodied blue hand held palm side up in a dark sky is on the viewer's right. Barzon proposed that this image of a closed building that was a cross between a church and a castle referred allegorically to the virginity and purity of Mary and literally to Paradise that was closed to all who were guilty.⁴³ I suggest, however, that image 20C depicts the moveable Tabernacle Tent in the desert that housed the Golden Altar, as detailed in Exodus 40: 'the cloud covered the Tent of Meeting and the glory of Yahweh filled the tabernacle' (Exodus 40:34–34). Moses was unable to enter the Tent of Meeting due to God's presence in the tabernacle signified by the fire that 'shone within the cloud by night, for all the House of Israel to see' (Exodus 40:38). It is entirely plausible that a

⁴² Julian Gardner, 'Altars, altarpieces, and art history, legislation and usage', in *Italian Altarpieces 1250-1550: Function and Design*, ed. E. Borsook and F. Superbi Gioffredi (Oxford: Oxford, 1994), 5-39.

⁴³ Barzon, *Gli Affreschi del Salone in Padova*, p.54.

Trecento artist wanting to depict the Old Testament portable sanctuary may have conceived it as a building that was a cross between a church and a castle. A life-sized replica of the biblical tabernacle (Fig.29) built in Timna Park in southern Israel, 20 miles north of Eilat, and faithful to the biblical description, offers a visual comparator to the image the artist depicted at 20C.



Figure 29. Life-sized model of the tabernacle described in Exodus 25–27 and 35–40, Timna Park, Eilat, Israel. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

With regard to the disembodied hand, Giotto depicted God's hand appearing in the sky in *The Sacrifice of Joachim* (Fig.30) in the Arena Chapel, a motif that Barasch acknowledged was common in medieval art. Barasch argued that in *The Sacrifice of Joachim* Giotto turned this motif into the 'announcing hand' of the angel — the hand held in an 'almost perfectly vertical position, the palm slightly turned towards the beholder, all the fingers are seen, though some are covered by shadows' and that, through the angel it signified God's presence and God's word.⁴⁴ Thus it is possible to read the disembodied blue hand in image 20C (Fig.28), as the commanding voice of the God of the Old Testament in Exodus.

⁴⁴ Moshe Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* Cambridge studies in the history of art (Cambridge University, 1987), p.25.



Figure 30. Giotto, (c.1267–1337), *The Sacrifice of Joachim* with the ‘announcing hand’ of God at the top of the image depicted in profile, c.1305, fresco, Arena Chapel. Image: ARTstor.



Figure 31. Image 21B of nine men on their knees in adoration of a bleeding lamb, bottom register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Moving on to image 21B (Fig.31), nine men kneel in adoration of a bloodied lamb — the Agnus Dei — which stands on a white altar cloth with a border of nonaxial red, blue, green, and white squares of colours. The lamb is spattered with blood and the blood running from its neck forms rope-like rivulets that flow towards the kneeling men. The man kneeling in front of the lamb on the left wears a white coif, a blue gown and a yellow mantle. The man kneeling next to him wears a red skullcap, a pink cassock, which may originally have been red to symbolise the shedding of Christ’s blood, and what appears to be an amice embroidered with an image of Christ. The other figures wear

various configurations of chaperons, coifs, and gowns. The suggestion in this image is that the lamb on the altar represents the bleeding sacrificed Lamb of Revelation 5:6 who approaches the One sitting on the throne to take the scroll, and the surrounding men in image 21B are the men in Revelation 5:14 who prostrate themselves to worship the Lamb.



Figure 32. Image 21C of a priest sprinkling twelve kneeling men with blood, bottom register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Image 21C (Fig.32) is of a priest dressed in a white alb under a black cassock, a gold chasuble with a cross, white gloves, and a brown skullcap. He stands in front of a red altar covered with a white cloth and holds an aspergillum in his right hand and an aspersorium in his left hand. Twelve men kneel on either side of the altar. The priest appears to be in the act of asperges. Instead of holding holy water, however, the aspersorium holds blood. Barzon suggested that this image was reminiscent of the blood covenant made by the twelve tribes of Israel with the God in the Old Testament, recounted in Exodus 24:4-8.⁴⁵ Although there are twelve men who kneel in this image at 21C, suggestive of the twelve tribes of Israel or the twelve apostles, such a ceremony as

⁴⁵ 'To create this covenant, young bulls were sacrificed as peace offerings to God. Moses then took half of the bulls' blood and sprinkled it on the altar. He read aloud the words of the covenant with God and, with an agreement to abide by the covenant in place, Moses then sprinkled the other half of the bulls' blood over the people of the twelve tribes. The blood covenant was recapitulated in the New Testament by Jesus at The Last Supper when he drank the wine and uttered the words: 'Drink all of you from this, for this is my blood, the blood of the covenant, which is to be poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins.' (Matthew 26:28); 'This is my blood, the blood of the covenant, which is to be poured out for many.' (Mark 14:24); 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood which will be poured out for you' (Luke 22:20); and 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Whenever you drink it, do this as a memorial of me.' (1 Corinthians 11:25).

is proposed in this image was never enacted in the liturgy; asperges is the ceremony of sprinkling the altar, clergy, and congregation with holy water, not holy blood. Therefore I suggest that this image conflates an old Jewish rite (the blood covenant of the Old Testament) with a contemporary Christian ceremony (asperges) as a way of using the Old Testament covenant as an imprimatur for New Testament rituals.



Figure 33. Image 22C of an animal sacrificed on an altar, bottom register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Image 22C (Fig.33) depicts a long-horned animal on an altar. The altar is covered with a white cloth with an alternating yellow, green, and white fringe (Fig.34). The altar frontal is decorated with what appears to be a green pomegranate and floral design, the pomegranate being a symbol of the Resurrection⁴⁶ (Figs.35 and 36 offer comparators from contemporary altar frontal designs). Blood pours from the animal's neck. In front of the altar is a grey goat leaping towards a small clump of reeds or saplings.

⁴⁶ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian art*, trans. Janet Seligman, vol. 2 (London: Lund Humphries, 1972), p.84.



(Left) Figure 34. Enlargement of altar frontal in image 22C, detailing what may be a pomegranate and floral design, bottom register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

(Centre) Figure 35. Silk velvet altar frontal, Italy, possibly Florence, late 15th - early 16th century. The symmetrical pattern, in green and gold, is composed of undulating stems, leaves and stylized blossoms. Velvet with green silk pile, pattern wefts of gold thread bound 1/2 twill, and looped gold thread. *From: European Textiles in the Keir Collection 400BC to 1800AD, Monique King and Donald King, Faber and Faber, London, 1990.*

(Right) Figure 36. Altar frontal showing large floral motifs and pomegranates, early 16th century, Florence, Museo Civico, Spoleto. *Image: Anabella Wake.*



Figure 37. Leviticus 1:14. Moses watches Aaron and his sons make oblations of a dove and turtledove, unleavened bread and a he-goat. Bible Moralisée, Vol.1. fol. 058r, c.1235-45, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. *Image: ARTStor.*

Barzon considered that image 22C represented ‘a Hebrew sacrifice’ of a ram on the altar and that the animal in front of the altar was a goat. The sacrifice of two rams, one on the altar and the other slaughtered, occurs at Exodus 29:15-21 and deals with the sacrifice and ceremonies connected with consecrating the Jewish priests and the altar. Ram horns,

however, tend to curl and spiral, whereas goat horns grow straight out or up.⁴⁷ A scene from Leviticus 1:14 in the Bible Moralisée c.1235–40 (Fig.37) portrays the sacrifice of a goat whose long horns are readily visible.

A more feasible suggestion for image 22C (Fig.33) is that both animals are goats and that rather than ceremonies connected with consecrating Jewish priests and the altar, as described in Exodus 29, this image is concerned with the rules around the Day of Atonement, chronicled in Leviticus 16, a day which was ‘the most important in the Mosaic system, because on that day the removal of sin was given its highest expression’.⁴⁸ In Leviticus 16:5–10 Aaron was instructed to take two goats. One was to be killed as the sin offering for Yahweh; the other, the scapegoat, or ‘escape goat’, was to have a rite of atonement performed over it: ‘Aaron must lay his hands on its head and confess all the faults of the sons of Israel, all their transgressions and all their sins, and lay them to its charge’ (Leviticus 16:21–22). The goat was then sent out into the wilderness for Azazel, bearing all of the unwitting sins of the people.⁴⁹ The two goats together constituted reparation as one sin offering.⁵⁰ In Psalm 51:16, as Charles L. Feinberg pointed out, there was no sacrifice possible for wilful sin⁵¹ and he distinguished how

both goats were a sin offering to the Lord; one was sacrificed, whereas the other was sent off into the wilderness to convey visibly and strikingly the truth of complete removal and dismissal. The escape goat does not represent Christ any more than it stands for Satan. That which was symbolized by both goats pointed to the finished work of Christ on Calvary.⁵²

As an amulet, the *corno*, the long, gently twisted ‘horn of the male goat’ amulet was extensively worn in Italy to counteract the widespread belief in *mal’occhio* ‘evil eye’ in Trecento and Quattrocento Italy.⁵³ An example of a *corno* can be seen around the neck of

⁴⁷ Susan Schoenian, ‘Sheep 101’, Western Maryland Research & Education Center, University of Maryland, <http://www.sheep101.info/index.html>. Accessed: 11 August 2013.

⁴⁸ Charles L. Feinberg, ‘The Scapegoat of Leviticus Sixteen’, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 115(1958), 320–333, p.320.

⁴⁹ Jones, ed. *The Jerusalem Bible, Reader's Edition*, p.124.

⁵⁰ Feinberg, ‘The Scapegoat of Leviticus Sixteen’, p.324.

⁵¹ Feinberg, ‘The Scapegoat of Leviticus Sixteen’, p.320.

⁵² Feinberg, ‘The Scapegoat of Leviticus Sixteen’, pp.332–333.

⁵³ S. A. Callisen, ‘The Evil Eye in Italian Art’, *The Art Bulletin* 19, no. 3 (1937), 450–462, p.450.

Lucina Brembati (Fig.38) whose portrait was painted by Lorenzo Lotto (1480–1556) in 1518. The *cornu* as an amulet is still worn in Italy today.⁵⁴ The suggestion in this image at 22C is that the ceremony of atoning for sins in the Old Testament will be realised by Christ on the Cross in the New Testament situated two images vertically above this one at 22A (Fig.39).



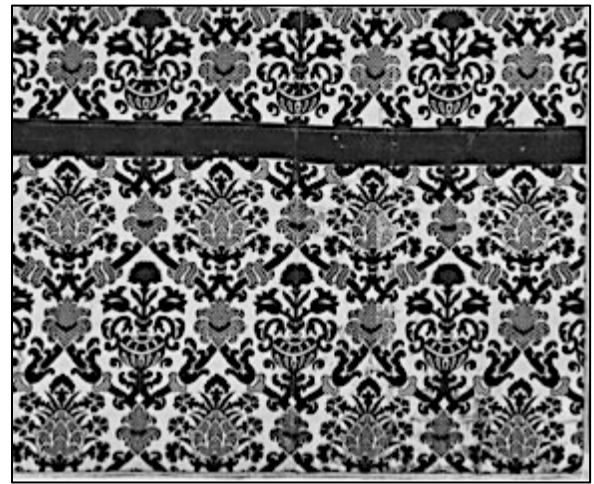
Figure 38. Lorenzo Lotto (1480–1556), portrait of Lucina Brembati wearing a *cornu* around her neck, oil on panel, 52.6 x 44.8 cm, 1518, Academia Carrara, Bergamo. *Image*: ARTstor.

In between the two images of 22C and 22A is image 22B (Fig.40) of a tonsured priest with his back towards the viewer, dressed in a white alb under a red chasuble with a blue cross down the centre back. The edge of a gold stole is visible under the chasuble. The priest kneels in front of an altar holding a golden chalice above his head. The altar is covered with a white cloth with a blue scalloped edge trimmed with red. The altar frontal is formed from a white background decorated with a pattern of red pomegranates, a symbol of the Resurrection, as mentioned earlier. A similar design is seen in an Italian altar frontal of 1500–1600 (Fig.41).

⁵⁴ Leonard W. Moss and Stephen C. Cappannari, 'Folklore and Medicine in an Italian Village', *The Journal of American Folklore* 73, no. 288 (1960), 95-102, p.97.



Figure 39. Image 22A of Christ hanging on a wooden cross in a bleak wilderness setting, top register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



(Left) Figure 40. Image 22B is of a tonsured priest with his back towards the viewer in front of an altar holding a golden chalice above his head. The altar frontal has a pomegranate design in red on a white background, middle register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

(Right) Figure 41. Altar frontal. Red cut and uncut velvet and, although forming a large diaper pattern of floral and scroll framework, enclosing vases with flowers and conventional pomegranates on a ground of silver tissue. The same pomegranate motif can clearly be seen on the frontal of Figure 41. Artist unknown, Italy, 1500–1600. *Image: Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

That it is a chalice and not a ciborium in image 22B is born out on two counts: physically a ciborium has a lid and a chalice does not; and functionally the ciborium contains the hosts for and after the Eucharist, whilst only the chalice of wine or the host were elevated during the liturgy. By painting the priest holding the chalice above his head in image 22B, the viewer's eyes are directed upwards to image 22A (Fig.39) along the top register of Christ on the Cross, reminding the viewer reading the images vertically that it is Christ

who will be resurrected. A viewer might also read this as priest holding the chalice of the Eucharist under the crucified Christ as though catching the blood.

The nine images as an ‘altarpiece’

In many ways this section of nine images works like an altarpiece, with the images able to be read horizontally (Fig.42), as well as vertically (Fig.43).



Figure 42. The three columns of the Corpus Christi 'chapter' read horizontally, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Horizontally (Fig.42) the images can be considered as a predella (20C, 21C and 22C), a main central section (20B, 21B and 22B), and pinnacles (20A, 21A and 22A). Thus images within the blue boundary, the proposed predella, suggest the past and link Jewish rites from the Old Testament as a prefigurement of what is to come in the New Testament. From left to right these are the light of God within the Tabernacle in the dark desert wilderness (20C), the covenant of blood enacted by Moses (21C), and the ceremony of the sacrificial goat and the scapegoat (22C). Horizontally images within the yellow boundary, the proposed main central section, suggest the present and link sites of sacrifice. From left to right these are Christ symbolised as the bloodied Cross (20B), Christ symbolised as the bloodied Lamb (21B), and Christ's blood held in the chalice of the Eucharist (22B). Horizontally images within the red boundary, the proposed pinnacles,

suggest the future, the signs given in the heavenly world, evoking the world to come. From left to right these are Christ as the Morning Star of Rev.22:16 symbolised by a Morning Star Venus (20A), the figure of Astrology holding symbols of the blood of Christ (the rose) with instruments that measured time (the astrolabe, quadrant and armillary sphere), suggesting Christ will be resurrected in time to come (21A), and Christ on the Cross as the sign symbolising Resurrection (22A).



Figure 43. The three columns of the Corpus Christi 'chapter' read vertically, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Vertically (Fig.43) the images can be considered from left to right as guiding signs (20C, 20B and 20A), covenants (21C, 21B and 21A), and expressions of sacrifice (22C, 22B and 22A). Thus images within the red boundary from lower register to top register suggest guiding signs: the guiding sign of the light of God within the Tabernacle in the dark desert wilderness (20C), the guiding sign of Christ symbolised as the bloodied Cross as the way through the dark to the light (20B), and the guiding sign of Christ as the 'bright star of the morning' (Rev.22:16) symbolised by a Morning Star Venus (20A). The images within the yellow boundary from lower register to top register suggest covenants: the blood covenant of the Old Testament conflated with asperges practices in the New Testament (21C), the covenant expressed as the worship of the bleeding lamb on the altar, an aspect of Christ, as described in the Book of Revelation (21B), and the covenant of

time and its measurement and thus the understanding of God's order in the heavens providing order on earth (21A). Images within the blue boundary from lower register to top register suggest expressions of sacrifice: the sacrificial goat and the scapegoat from the Old Testament (22C), the sacrifice of the blood of Christ and its transfiguration into wine in the Christian liturgy (22B), and the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross (22A).



Figure 44. Duccio di Buoninsegna (1225–1319) and assistants, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, c.1308–1311, tempera and gold on panel, 217 x 425 cm, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, formerly on the back face of the *Maestà*, high altarpiece of the Duomo, Siena. Image: ARTstor.

A comparator, created in a similar time frame as these Salone images, 1308–1311, is Duccio's (1225–1319) great architectonic work, the *Maestà*. The rear panel, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, depicts a Christological cycle of twenty-six images. Both John White and Florens Deuchler pointed out how the narrative of the panel, read from left-right, offers itself to multidirectional readings in a boustrophedonic pattern that combines the sequences both vertically and horizontally, all set around a eucharistic central column: the *Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane*, *The Betrayal of Judas*, and *The Crucifixion* (Fig.44).⁵⁵

Whilst it is heavily speculative to suggest these nine images in columns 20, 21, and 22 of the Salone fresco scheme may contain a pattern of past, present, and future in this way, it is worth citing Michael Alpatoff who saw a parallelism in Giotto's narratives in the Arena Chapel. Alpatoff observed that whilst 'the aim of medieval typology was to show

⁵⁵ John White, *Duccio: Tuscan art and the medieval workshop* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), pp.124-131. Florens Deuchler, 'Duccio Doctus: New Readings for the Maestà', *The Art Bulletin* 61, no. 4 (1979), 541-549, pp.541-554.

the mysterious relation between prophecy in the Old Testament, and its fulfilment in the New Testament,⁵⁶ and that Giotto followed this traditional method of parallel correspondence or dittochaeum, Giotto also proceeded,

not as an illustrator of common dogma, but as an innovator, emphasising in his program the internal similarity of two periods of Christ's life. Having no forerunners for such an iconography, Giotto independently groped for a solution.⁵⁷

Perhaps what we are seeing here on the walls of the Salone in this section is that independence of mind groping for a solution.

Adding to this argument, we can turn to another early example of eucharistic theology in altar imagery found in the decoration of the Cologne high altar, of which the agreed date of sculpture is the second decade of the fourteenth century.⁵⁸ Joan Holladay described it as

more than an attempt to complete an elaborately decorative scheme by spreading episodes of a favorite narrative onto an unexpected surface. The series of carefully detailed reliefs exposes a finely tuned statement about the nature of Christ's presence in the Host... In essence then, the altar scenes describe the reality of the liturgy that takes place at the altar itself.⁵⁹

Holladay further observed that the Cologne altar was 'one of a number of experiments at this time that attempted to manifest these ideas in visible form' and that what was being expressed at Cologne and at a number of other centres, was the early fourteenth century need for 'visual versions of theological truths'.⁶⁰ In light of the suggested intent of this set of images in columns 20, 21 and 22, Padua could also be considered to be one of these places of early experimentation in visible theological imagery. Anecdotes written by Giotto's contemporaries, such as Sacchetti and Boccaccio, described Giotto as a free-

⁵⁶ Michael Alpatoff, 'The Parallelism of Giotto's Paduan Frescoes', *The Art Bulletin* 29, no. 3 (1947), 149-154, p.153.

⁵⁷ Alpatoff, 'The Parallelism of Giotto's Paduan Frescoes', p.153.

⁵⁸ Joan A. Holladay, 'The Iconography of the High Altar in Cologne Cathedral', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52, no. 4 (1989), 472-498, p.472.

⁵⁹ Holladay, 'The Iconography of the High Altar in Cologne Cathedral', p.494.

⁶⁰ Holladay, 'The Iconography of the High Altar in Cologne Cathedral', p.498.

thinker. Alpatoff pointed out that such anecdotes actually understood a particular truth about Giotto's working method, that it derived from

his intimacy with the forward thinkers of his time who tried to understand the 'spiritual meaning' veiled behind the 'textual meaning' of the holy legend'.⁶¹

The noticeable exception in this set of images is what is not depicted — images of the Elevation of the Host. As noted earlier in this chapter, in image 22B (Fig.40) the priest is elevating a chalice. The focus in these images is on the blood of the Eucharist which may be a purely Paduan emphasis and which further research on my part at a later time may answer.

The other images in this section

Scholars in Table 17 differ on the suggested meaning of image 23A (Fig.45) of an older man with an uncovered head and a flowing white beard, wearing a red tunic under a yellow mantle, and seated on a throne-like chair holding a red-covered book in his left hand. For Barzon, writing in 1924, the image was damaged and hence unreadable. Fantelli and Pellegrini in 2000 were not able to interpret it, and Rigobello and Autizi in 2008 considered that it represented 'God the Father'.



Figure 45. Image 23A of top register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

⁶¹ Alpatoff, 'The Parallelism of Giotto's Paduan Frescoes', p.154.

When Nardo di Cione painted God the Father in the centre panel of his triptych *Holy Trinity with Saint Romuald and Saint John the Evangelist* (Fig.46) in 1365, he included a punched halo around the head of God, the dove of the Holy Spirit on God's breast, and God raising his right hand in the *benedictio latina* gesture.⁶² When Giusto de' Menabuoi painted God the Father in *The Creation of the World* (Fig.47) in the Baptistery in Padua in the late 1370s, he depicted God the Father as a nimbed figure with right hand raised in a benedictory gesture and left hand indicating the world he was creating. In the Bible Historiale image of *God creating the world* (Fig.48), MS. Royal 19D. III, fol.1, 1411, God is depicted with rays emanating from his head, standing on top of the world looking upwards, holding a compass in his left hand and raising his right arm palm open. Although there is damage around the area of the right hand of the man in image 23A (Fig.45), nevertheless he is not raising his hand, nor is he nimbed, nor emanating rays.



(Left) Figure 46. Nardo di Cione (fl.c.1343–1365), *Holy Trinity with Saint Romuald and Saint John the Evangelist*, triptych, 1365, tempera on panel, Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, Italy. Image: ARTstor.

(Right) Figure 47. Giusto de' Menabuoi, *The Creation of the World*, late 1370s, fresco, drum, Baptistery, Padua. Image: Luminarium Encyclopaedia Project.

⁶² Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* p.19.



Figure 48. Bible Historiale, MS. Royal 19 D. III, fol. 1: *God creating the world*, 1411, illuminated manuscript, 445 x 340 mm (overall), British Library. Image: ARTstor.

I am suggesting therefore that, rather than God the Father, the figure in image 23A (Fig.45) is Moses, the pre-eminent Old Testament figure foreshadowing Christ. Moses was generally portrayed with a white beard and flowing hair in the patriarchal style, often holding a tablet of the Law or a scroll, as well as wearing horns. The horns were said to be due to an incorrect rendition of a word in the Hebrew Masoretic text when Jerome translated the Old Testament into the Latin Vulgate between 382 CE and 404 CE. The Hebrew Masoretic text of Exodus 34:29 described Moses' face as he descended from Mt Sinai with the tablets of the Law as 'keren' קֶרֶן ('horns' or 'rays of light'). Jerome translated this word as the Latin 'cornuta' ('horned'):

Cumque descenderet Moyses de monte Sinai,
tenebat duas tabulas testimonii, et
Ignorabat quod cornuta esset facies sua
ex consortio sermonis Domini.⁶³

Ruth Mellinkoff argued that Jerome made this choice consciously, and understood that horns were a universal symbol of divinity, honour, and power; accorded thus to Moses,

⁶³ 'And when Moses came down from mount Sinai, he held two tablets of the tesitmony, and he knew not that his face was horned from the conversation of the Lord'. (trans.Mellinkoff). Ruth Delores Mellinkoff, *The horned Moses in medieval art and thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p.1.

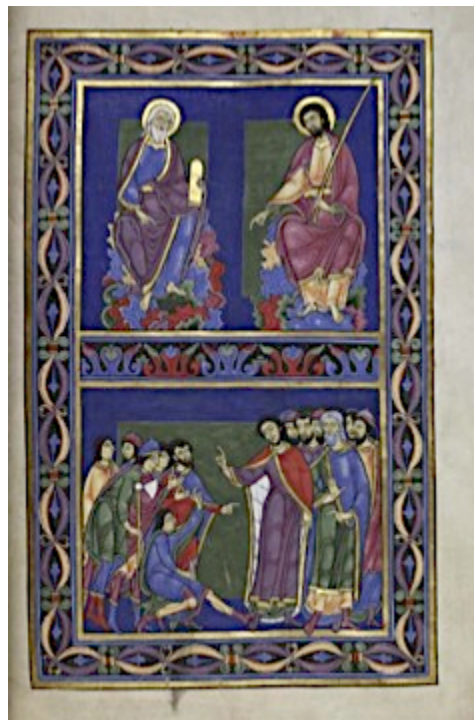
they posed no dilemma, nor needed any explanation.⁶⁴ By the eight or ninth centuries the Vulgate became the accepted version of the Bible of the Latin Church in the Middle Ages, and by the eleventh century images of the horned Moses began appearing in medieval art, interpreted by scholar-theologians of the Church as ‘horns of light’ or ‘light emanating in the manner of a horn’, an interpretation first mooted by the eleventh-century Jewish biblical commentator Rashi. These horns of Moses, Mellinkoff observed, ‘became increasingly popular in the art of the Western Church. They were retained in England throughout the Middle Ages, spread through northern Europe during the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, and seem to have reached Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries’.⁶⁵ Nevertheless Moses is depicted without horns in a number of earlier images, such as the continuous narrative image of Moses receiving the law in the leaf from the psalter Walters MS. W.530.B, Vatopedi monastery, Mt. Athos (Fig.49), and the image of the seated Moses in the frontispiece to The Book of Numbers in the Bury Bible, c.1135 (Fig.50), as well as a number of contemporary Italian images: the sculpture of Moses by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano on the Fontana Maggiore (Fig.51); Duccio di Buoninsegna’s workshop image of Moses with David in the central column of the *Polyptych: Virgin and Child with Angels, Old Testament Figures, and Saints*, 1312-19, in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (Fig.52); and Ugolino di Nerio’s image of Moses from the high altarpiece of S. Croce, Florence (Fig.53). Although in image 23A the figure is holding a book and not a tablet of the Law, his placement in the constellation register, the heavens, is emblematic of the place Moses held as intermediary, the one who received the Ten Commandments directly from God.

⁶⁴ Mellinkoff, *The horned Moses in medieval art and thought*, pp.5, 138.

⁶⁵ Mellinkoff, *The horned Moses in medieval art and thought*, p.139.



Figure 49. *Moses Receiving the Law*, leaf from a psalter, parchment, 1087–1088, written surface: 5.3 cm x 6.2 cm, Walters MS. W.530.B, Vatopedi monastery, Mt. Athos. *Image*: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.



(Left) Figure 50. *Moses*, top left image, Bury Bible, CCCC MS. 21, fol.70r, frontispiece to the Book of Numbers, c.1135, Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge. *Image*: The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College.



(Right) Figure 51. Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, *Moses*, middle basin, Fontana Maggiore, Perugia, 1278. *Photo*: D.Gunzburg.



Figure 52. Duccio di Buoninsegna workshop: Ugolino di Nerio?, Moses (*left*) with David (*right*) central column from the *Polyptych: Virgin and Child with Angels, Old Testament Figures, and Saints*, 1312-19, tempera and gold on wood, 170 x 237 cm, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. Photo: G. Kornbluth.



Figure 53. Ugolino di Nerio (documented 1317-27–c.1329) *Moses*, c.1325–8, egg tempera on wood, 55 cm x 31.4 cm. The Old Testament prophet Moses, looking to the right, displays a scroll inscribed with an extract from the story of the burning bush (Exodus 3:2). This panel is a pinnacle (third from the right) from the high altarpiece of S. Croce, Florence. It was situated above Saint James the Major and Saint Philip. Image: ARTstor.

Image 24A (Fig.54) depicts a bareheaded flying angel with red wings, wearing a short-sleeved gold top over a light blue petalled skirt and playing a straight trumpet. I contend that the instrument is an apocalyptic trumpet seen in apocalypse manuscripts such as the Berry Apocalypse (Fig.55), the manuscript of the Apocalypse in the Cloisters Collection

(Fig.56), and BL Add.17333, ff.10v-11r (Fig.57).⁶⁶ Positioned in the constellation or heavenly register, I suggest this may represent one of the seven angels who blew trumpets in The Book of Revelation 8–11, since the angel's body and his left forefinger point toward the scenes that have preceded him in columns 20–23, grammatically 'closing' the narrative.



Figure 54. Image 24A of a bareheaded angel with red wings plays an apocalyptic trumpet, top register, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. Photo: D.Gunzburg.



Figure 55. Seven angels stand in sky on clouds blowing trumpets looking down on rocky landscape with tree (Rev. 8:6). Berry Apocalypse. MS.M.133 fol. 20v, Paris, France, c.1415, grisaille and pen drawing with colour wash, on vellum. Image: The Pierpont Morgan Library.



Figure 56. *First Trumpet* (left) fol. 13r and *Second Trumpet* (right) Manuscript of the Apocalypse, fol.13v. c.1330, Paint, gold, silver and brown ink on parchment, France. Image: The Cloisters Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁶⁶ My thanks to Ali Pemble who in personal communication 15 August 2013, suggested that 'if it is a metal trumpet, then the bell is very flared, but could be in line with other medieval instruments such as the apocalyptic trumpets in BL Add.17333 ff.10v-11r (14th C)'.



Figure 57. *The First Trumpet, the Rain of Fire on the Earth, and The Second Trumpet, the Fire cast on the Sea* (Rev.8:6-9). Add.17333, ff.10v-11r. beginning of 14th century. Image: British Library.

Image 24B (Fig.58) is of five black winged and horned devils either reading or singing from red-covered books. Above them five black winged and horned devils carry a mandorla with concentric coloured rings, from outside inwards, of pink, green, brown and white. This image may be an interpretation by the artist of Revelation 4:1–4:

I saw a throne standing in heaven, and the One who was sitting on the throne, and the Person sitting there looked like a diamond and a ruby.⁶⁷ There was a rainbow encircling the throne, and this looked like an emerald.

It may also be the case that painting the image so close to the window enabled the artist to contrast the natural light and vision with the devils and darkness contained within the imagery.

⁶⁷ Jones, ed. *The Jerusalem Bible, Reader's Edition*, p.324. In some editions this is translated as 'jasper and carnelian'.

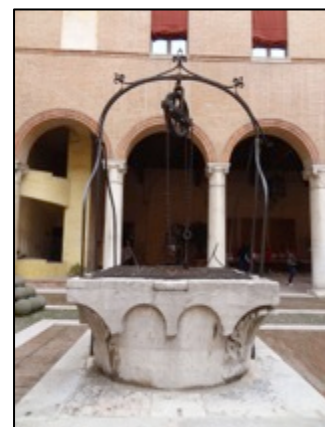


Figure 58. Image 24B of five black winged and horned devils either reading or singing from red-covered books whilst above them five black winged and horned devils carry a mandorla, south wall, middle register, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Scholars in Table 17 described image 24C (Fig.59), a medieval quatrefoil-shaped well filled with fire, as ‘a well in flames’ and ‘the triumph of Satan’. Medieval wells such as those found in the Castello Estense in the centre of Ferrara, northern Italy (Fig.60), along with fountains, as noted in chapter 2, were an essential source of water supply. A well in flames, however, is a contradiction. Additionally the quatrefoil shape was most commonly found as tracery in Gothic architecture, rather than in wells.

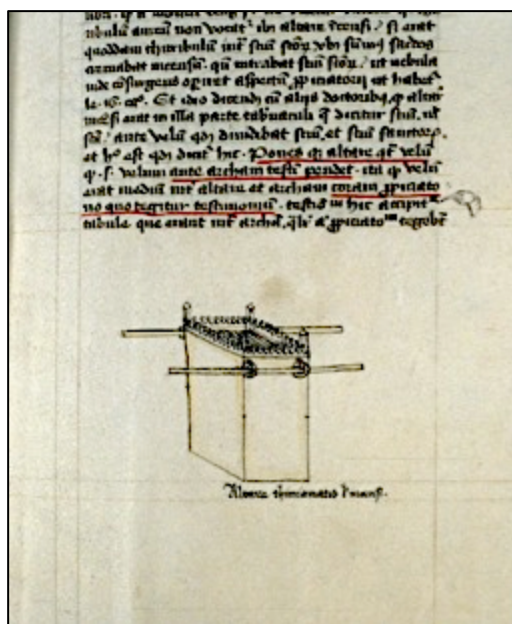


(Left) Figure 59. Image 24C of a quatrefoil shaped well with flames of fire, bottom register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



(Right) Figure 60. Medieval well in the Castello Estense in the centre of Ferrara, northern Italy. *Photo: Leslie Styles.*

If image 24C (Fig.59) is portraying a representation from the Book of Revelation, however, then a possible contender comes from Exodus 30:1–10, Exodus 39:38, and Numbers 4:11, all of which mention a ‘golden altar’ filled with fire where incense was burned daily for the morning and evening sacrifices.⁶⁸ Although image 24C is a quatrefoil and white, whereas visual depictions of this altar show it to be square and gold (Figs.61 and 62), it is possible that it represents the more Christianised version of the golden altar, employing the shape of the quatrefoil seen in the ends of the Cross on the Altar at 20B (Fig.27). It also connects the trumpet-blowing angel at 24A (Fig.54), vertically two images above, with this image of the altar with flames through Revelation 8:3–4 where an angel with a golden censer stands by the altar whilst the angels with trumpets look on.



(Left) Figure 61. Nicholas de Lyra (1270–1349), *Commentary on the Old Testament and drawing of the Altar of incense and vessel for the Tabernacle*, MS. Laud Misc. 154, fol.052r, c.1463, parchment, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Image: ARTstor.



(Right) Figure 62. A full size replica of The Golden Altar of the Israelite Tabernacle (Mishkan) in Timna valley, Israel. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

Finally, the images of column 25, described in chapter 4, also belong to this Corpus Christi ‘chapter’: image 25A (Fig. 63), a wild donkey suggesting the Festum Asinorum;

⁶⁸ The golden altar is described in Exodus 37:25–26 as follows: ‘He made the incense altar of acacia wood. It was one cubit long, and one cubit wide — that is to say, square — and two cubits high; its horns were of one piece with it. The top of it, its surrounding sides, and its horns, he plated with pure gold; and decorated it all round with gold molding.’ Jones, ed. *The Jerusalem Bible, Reader's Edition*, p.102.

image 25B (Fig.64), a man on his knees asking for forgiveness from a man who is pointing towards the Corpus Christ 'chapter', visually suggesting that forgiveness can be found through upholding that feast and the pathway it invited; image 25C (Fig.65) of a chapter-changing angel, signifying a move to new image content.



Figure 63. Image at 25A of an ass, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua, top register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



Figure 64. Image 25B, south wall, middle register, with one man seeking forgiveness from another, middle register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*



Figure 65. The image of 25C of a 'chapter changing' angel with both arms raised and facing the viewer's right, lower register, south wall, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

Visual summary

Visually, then, if these suggested meanings are accurate, it is possible to see a connection of the images as follows: images within a blue boundary contain the veneration of the blood of Christ celebrated through the feast of Corpus Christi; the two images within the yellow boundary bookend an Old Testament prophet (Moses) with a New Testament prophecy of St John of Patmos and the visions of what is to come in the Book of Revelation; images within a green boundary links together images connected with triumph, the triumph of the Golden Altar of incense from which the angel in the Book of Revelation 8 filled the censer and threw the fire down to earth, devils reading or singing and those who are drawn to the central white light of Christ within a rainbow mandorla, and the triumphant angel sounding the apocalyptic trumpet and pointing in endorsement of all that had proceeded in the columns 20–22; the images in the orange boundary have been considered in the Mercury rules Gemini 'chapter' and appear to belong to this 'chapter' of images.



Figure 66. Visual summary of the Corpus Christi 'chapter', south wall, Salone. *Photo: D. Gunzburg.*

Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on an examination of the set of images placed along the south wall between the Venus rules Taurus 'chapter' and the Mercury rules Gemini 'chapter'. It began with an iconographical investigation of the saint at image at 19BC and found this to be St James the Greater, son of Zebedee. It then considered the iconography of the saint at 23BC and concluded that this was St John of Patmos, the man who wrote the last of the canonical books of the New Testament. The chapter then considered the background to the Feast of Corpus Christi and the Feast's connection with St Thomas Aquinas who wrote the office of the Feast in 1261–1263. In making this link, the argument that a Thomistic-derived theological thinking was being expressed along the walls, as has been noted in the Venus rules Taurus 'chapter' as well as the Sun rules Leo 'chapter', is further strengthened. The chapter then considered the nine images across the three registers of columns 20-22 and how these images conveyed the symbolism of the Feast of Corpus Christi. This chapter also argued that these images could be read as an altarpiece, horizontally as well as vertically. Finally this chapter considered the images in columns 23 and 24 as connected with the Book of Revelations. The investigation of these images in such detail has revealed coherence and intent.

The next chapter draws the thesis to a conclusion.

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