NIMBI IN THE LATE BYZANTINE ART: A REASSESSMENT

Nimbus (halo, aureole) is very well known and widely spread artistic tool, used in representing both sacredness and prominence of special figures, and due to being much used pictorial convention, it has long history.\(^1\) With the Christianization of ancient symbols in Late Antiquity nimbus becomes a constant companion of the figures of both saints and emperors.\(^2\) Apart from Christ, the Virgin and saints the nimbi are found on images of rulers, clerics or aristocrats throughout the Byzantine Commonwealth, with irregularities typical for medieval art. Not only that form or colour of a nimbus could be diverse,\(^3\) but often it is its presence or absence that matters.\(^4\) This text aims to show it is hard to overestimate attention payed to nimbi in medieval art since correct establishment of their forms makes difference between looking and seeing, which are


basic notions in art-historical methodology. That the nimbi would often have special form is obvious in their luxurious embellishment with jewels, pearls, filigree or the various techniques of painting, relief and metalwork. For instance, as in famous 13th Century mosaic of Deesis at St Sophia in Constantinople, image of Pantokrator as Supreme Judge has remarkable rendering of nimbus achieved by different ornamental design (fig. 1). While cruciform bars of the cross have parallel rows of tesserae, the spaces in between display whirling circular rows symbolizing energies of the Divine.

Although a Byzantine Emperor was almost always shown with a nimbus, there are instances when he was not, as in the ivory plaque with the portrait of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, or on the fragmented comb of Leo VI the

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Absence of nimbi on figures of these two emperors may be explained by physical proximity of Christ and the Virgin. In the Louvre manuscript of Works of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagitus (Ivoires A 53, fol. 2r) the nimbi emphasize the most important members of the ruling family, the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, the Empress Helena and John (VIII) as the heir apparent as well, unlike minor children in the center of the group. In the London Gospels of Ivan Alexander (Add. 39627, fol. 2v-3r) there is quite opposite usage of nimbi where members of extended ruling family of the Bulgarian Czar are all nimbate, including the Czar’s son-in-law. On the so-called sarcophagus of St Theodora in Arta the portraits of the basilissa Anna Palaiologina and of her minor son Thomas are shown without nimbi possibly due to their actual political status of a fragile regency. There was no real reason to omit nimbus from an imperial figure in normal situation, even in complicated schemes or with difficult techniques, as in the famous Genua embroidery. Artists would never have problem adjusting even spolia in order to accommodate material for the needs

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9 R. Cormack, Byzantine Art, Oxford 2000, 192-193, fig. 112.
12 C. J. Hilsdale, The Imperial Image at the End of Exile: The Byzantine Embroidered Silk in Genoa and the Treaty of Nymphaion (1261), DOP 64 (2010), 151-199, esp. 181, fig. 4.
of religious zeal, as can be seen at San Giusto cathedral in Trieste; one bust from a Roman stele had been reworked into the effigy of St Sergius by providing the antique head with a halo.13

Nimbus can be found on depictions of medieval Serbian rulers since its adoption in the first half of the 13th Century, but it sometimes occurs in portraits of the nobility.14 For instance, despot Oliver has no nimbus on his portrait in the Lesnovo nave, but in slightly younger narthex portraits he and his wife are both nimbate, which additionally emphasize prominence of despotic family and its rise in hierarchy of the newly established Empire of the Serbs and Greeks.15 On the other hand, huge corpus of royal imagery in Rumania may witness that the Wallachian and Moldavian rulers were never shown nimbate.16 The figures of nimbate rulers are rare in medieval Russia,17 while in Bulgaria and Georgia it is opposite; judging by the preserved examples Bulgarian imperial portraits

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14 С. Радојчић, Портрети српских владара у средњем веку, Скопље 1934.; И. М. Ворђенић Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића, Београд 1994. Also, see Д. Војоводић, Портрети првих ктитора у приземљу жичке куле. Порекло иконографије, Ниш и Византија Х (2012), 336-338.
are regularly haloed, unlike those of nobility.\textsuperscript{18} The well preserved monuments of Georgia display that the rulers were normally shown nimbate as in Vardzia, but this habit was not followed in Betania; according to Antony Eastmond, this case reflects many irregular features of the painted programme, connected to political issues of the time.\textsuperscript{19}

One rare example of usage of the nimbus can be found in the main foundation of Prince Lazar, the monastery Ravanica (fig. 2). Although at the time he ruled northern parts of Serbia as undisputed sovereign, the portraits in the nave originally had no nimbi. But after the Prince had become widely recognized as saint, the nimbus and the caption \textit{holy} have been subsequently painted over the old fresco layer around his head, thus leaving other members of the ruling family without haloes.\textsuperscript{20} Due to now heavily flaked frescoes both the nimbus and caption are not well discernible and much effort was needed by conservators to establish the actual forms.\textsuperscript{21} The Byzantines called the nimbi \textit{phengia}, from \textit{phengos}, radiance, and in the 15th Century we read in Symeon of Thessaloniki that the circle-like, silver-gilt \textit{phengia} on holy icons would have emphasized

\textsuperscript{18} Cf. Л. Н. Мавродинова, \textit{Стенната живопис в България до края на XIV век}, София 1995.

\textsuperscript{19} A. Eastmond, \textit{Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia}, University Park, PA 1998, 154-169.

\textsuperscript{20} М. Беловић, \textit{Раваница. Историја и сликарство}, Београд 1999, 53-56, T. I-VI (with bibliography).

grace, brilliance and energies of God. One appropriate example must have once existed on the figures of the Virgin and Christ Child carved in low relief on south facade of the monastery church in Kalenić, the remnants of which are visible holes of the original nail settings (fig. 3).

One important example of nuanced usage of nimbi can be seen on portraits of rulers despot Stefan and his brother, lord Vuk in the monastery church in Rudenice. Although the nimbi are intended to symbolize prominence of the two brothers acting as co-rulers, due to state of frescoes today it may seem to

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22 Symeonis thessalonicensis Archiepiscopi, Opera omnia, PG 155, ed. J-P. Migne, Parisii 1866, col. 869B.


onlookers that only despot is shown nimbate (fig. 4). Despite the fact that even new digital snapshots cannot capture traces of the halo around head of Vuk anymore it is however finely visible on black-and-white photographs taken a century ago, clearly showing a white circular line of the nimbus (fig. 5). This is one more proof of importance of documentation since a fresco copy, intended to stand for the accuracy of the original, does not display a single hint of the aureole (fig. 6). On the other hand, the 19th Century drawing confirms in its own right that lord Vuk had been haloed too, though not with the golden nimbus but with the blue one (fig. 7).

Careful analysis based on detailed visual perusal is the only way to establish actual state of an object under scrutiny. This approach has yielded new results in research of the miniatures in the manuscript with theological works of John VI Kantakouzenos (Par. gr. 1242). Modern scholarship unanimously states that none of the portraits of John Ioasaph Kantakouzenos is haloed which is why various theories have been proposed in order to explain this unusual omission. Firstly, Ioannis Spatharakis in 1976 stated that only the bishops have nimbi on the miniature with the Emperor presiding over a synod. Then, in


2000 in his long study on the codex, Petre Guran put forth a theory that the alleged omission of the nimbi as undispensable feature of the imperial image from all figures of Kantakouzenos reflects “transfer of political and ecclesiastical power from the Emperor to the representatives of the Church, namely monastics.” In recent study by Ivan Drpić, the same hypothesis is repeated with different construction in that the alleged omission of aureoles “on all the figures of Kantakouzenos is due to his being the Emperor usurper who therefore had no right to be represented with one.”

I would argue instead, based on research of the original of the manuscript, that Kantakouzenos is indeed depicted haloed which is obvious even on reproductions of the miniatures published in literature. What must be said in the first place is that the painters made use of several different methods in displaying nimbi which is why they are not discernible on most of known photographs. With the help of a magnifying glass it can be deduced that the Emperor’s figure on fol. 5v does have a nimbus. It was not incised by sharp tool but painted with brown ink which is why the paint partially fell off. Above the Emperor’s right shoulder there is still a 6 mm long curved line as the only preserved trace of beginning of a nimbus on this side of the figure, positioned 3 mm lower of the upper rim of the collar. Above the Emperor’s left shoulder there is a well discernible part of nimbus long some 2 cm, originally reaching to about half of the orphanos of the crown. Accordingly,


all of the nimbi around heads of the archbishops are painted in gold without any incising into the background. The well preserved caption above the Emperor is positioned far from his head, allowing space for the aureole.

The same disposition of inscriptions on another portrait of John Kantakouzenos is obvious on the colour photographs (fig. 8). Not only that the captions are written away from the head, but the circular segment of the nimbus is also well visible. On black-and-white photographs that have been shot by the late Dušan Tasić, and published by Vojislav Djurić and Miodrag Marković, even longer line is discernible.29 However, in front of the original one does not

need the magnifying glass at all, since the nimbi are well visible being perfectly preserved though it is hard to photograph subtle incisions. The miniature displaying double portrait of Kantakouzenos disguised as ruler and monk covers the fol. 123v. The nimbus on the imperial portrait is fully preserved, with the deep line incised into the golden background which goes behind the scepter on its left side, down the lower part of the orphanos and flanks letters on the right side. The incision channel is deeper and wider that the one forming the nimbus around the head of the monk Kantakouzenos which is also fully preserved. This circle is intentionaly thin and shallow if compared to the previous one, but both incised lines flank edges of the green ground with the angels of St Trinity. As for the aureoles of St Trinity one may note that only the nimbus of the central angel is in red ink, with the cross made up by double lines, while the lateral ones are in brown ink, the same as in the “synod” portrait. The fact Kantakouzenos is nimbate on all of his likenesses in the Par. gr. 1242, new appropriate interpretation of these portraits is much needed. Suffice it to say that the apparent lack of caption beside the monk’s figure also needs different explanation, and the most probable one rests on the fact that Kantakouzenos did style himself as Emperor not only in his historical work but in his letters and charters too, and was also addressed by others in that same way.30

The analytic perusal of the Par. gr. 1242 has yielded more though unexpected discoveries on the well-known miniatures on fol. 92v, with Transfiguration and Gregory of Nazianzus on fol. 93. The juxtaposed depictions are elaborate pictorial display of the lines quoting St Gregory’s thoughts of meaning of the light. Yet, no scholar to the best of my knowledge has thus far analyzed the haloes of the figures nor noted unusual form of Christ’s aureole. The nimbi around heads of the prophets Elijah and Moses are painted in gold but also incised thin, shallow and with doubled spheres due to painter’s mistake. The circular lines of the nimbus of Elijah are not regularly concentric in the upper part, but the ones of Moses are almost fully concentric. On the other hand, nimbus around head of St Gregory is made up of two brown concentric lines without errors. Lastly, the Christ’s nimbus is painted in red ink, with pointed rays inserted into each of the three bars of the cross, while four other rays in form of long thin parallel bars are drawn in between the cross. Though this type of nimbus has no complete analogies, notwithstanding a number of published examples both in older and more recent bibliography. However, the icon of Pantokrator from the National Museum in Sofia displays similarities with the Paris miniature in that it also has pointed rays inserted into the cross of the cruciform nimbus. What makes these two examples deeply connected is the Light symbolism, since the Pantokrator from the icon holds in his left hand the Gospels with quotation from John 8, 12: I am the Light of the world, he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness but shall have the light of life.31 The Transfiguration has eschatologic and soteriologic meaning as image of the Christ’s Second Coming in Glory.

30 On this, see Б. Цветковић, О проблему нимбова на минијатурама у рукопису Parisinus graeus 1242, Зборник Музеја примењене уметности 10 (2014), 7-12, сл. 1, 4.
The unusual structure of both the nimbi are obviously rooted in the same set of ideas. One more conspicuous analogy for the Paris miniature is the nimbus of Ancient of Days depicted on the west façade of the church of Sts Apostles in the Patriarchate of Peć.\textsuperscript{32} Here the trefoil rays are inserted into the bars of the cross. It is linked in meaning too with the hidden essence in the transfigured Christ since the vision seen by the apostles was also the vision of God the Father seen by the prophets.\textsuperscript{33}

The analysis of the miniatures in the Par. gr. 1242 clearly shows how crucial is way scholars deal with visual research not only of the portraits but also of form of aureoles of St Trinity where is only the central angel emphasized with the cruciform nimbus. One has to pay special attention since there were three variants in iconography of St Trinity with the angels without cruciform nimbi, the angels with cruciform nimbi and with only one central angels with the cruciform nimbus. This particular issue has recently proved to be of utmost significance in research of iconography of one highly enigmatic fresco from the narthex in Jošanica, which has long been unidentified due to lost captions and


\textsuperscript{33} Цветковић, \textit{О проблему нимбова}, 12-13, сл. 6, 7.
unusual iconography (fig. 9). In deciphering its meaning the crucial detail was noting that the angels actually have aureoles which are all cruciform despite being heavily damaged (fig. 10). The small parts of dark red traces prove that the angels stand for St Trinity, which has finally provided solution for iconographical source, the vision of the heavenly city based on the Isaiah’s prophecy (fig. 11).

The same direction of reasoning has led towards analysis of some other instances of representations of St Trinity, most notably the one in the monastery Resava, dedicated to St Trinity. Actual form of aureoles of the angels in this example has not been known due to their bad state of preservation (fig. 12). Despite the flaked areas of the paint, it can be now ascertained that Resava too belongs to category with all the angels being shown with cruciform nimbi. How serious flaking off the paint took place here is obvious if looked at the aureole of the right angel which is now completely transparent. That all the nimbi were originally cruciform is obvious in the aureole of the left angel, the only one which is still well preserved.

The analyzed examples point to the fact that even details as are nimbi do carry very important data that can facilitate precise and correct identification of both iconographical and historical constructs in miniature and monumental painting. It is always close looking as well as is close reading, that must be in heart of an inquiry due to its importance for the methodology of research.

Бранислав Цветковић

JOŠ ЈЕДНОМ О НИМБОВИМА У ПОЗНОВИЗАНТИЈСКОЈ УМЕТНОСТИ

У чланку је поклоњена пажња улоги нимба у позновизантијској уметности анализом више примера у минијатурном и монументалном сликарству споменика Византије као и балканске регије. Указујући на чињеницу да је нимб чест тема у историгорафији, аутор текста истиче да тачна идентификација појединих иконографских тема и историјских сцене битно зависи од исправног сагледавања таким детаља као што су облик нимба, тј. присуство или одсуство овог симбола. Размотрени су кратко примери у Раваници и Руденицама, указано је на постојање ореола на сва три портрета Јована Кантакузина у рукопису Par. gr. 1242 за које се раније сматрало да нису изведени, као и на значај крстоликих нимбова на једној композицији у припрати Јошанице што је омогућило њену идентификацију.

34 For the painted programme and iconography of the narthex, see Б. Цветковић, Необичне сцене у припрати храма манастира Јошанице, Саопштења XLV (2013), 111-132.

