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## PADUA, ITS ARENA AND THE ARENA CHAPEL: A LITURGICAL ENSEMBLE\*

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European cities of the Middle Ages, particularly episcopal centres, possessed a sort of raised floor. Beneath the space used by inhabitants and visitors to earn a living protected by government, laws, and walls, there lay a spiritual network whose principle features—churches and holy places in the orbit of the cathedral—projected into the bustle of the secular settlement. The spiritual city became present and effective through non-mundane use of its profane counterpart, as for instance in public processions. In what follows, I will show how such performative figurations of the spiritual Padua can aid our understanding of particular buildings, especially the Arena Chapel with Giotto's celebrated frescoes; at the end of the article, I also consider the cathedral baptistery and the dome fresco by Giusto de' Menabuoi.<sup>1</sup>

### I. *The Annunciation Day procession*

Although many processions took place in medieval Padua, the leading participation of the commune probably made the procession on Annunciation Day among the most magnificent and popular.<sup>2</sup> It is documented by various written sources and, in quasi-official form, by the repeatedly part-copied, part-modified Podestà Statute of Padua. The oldest preserved text version of the decree on the procession dates to Podestà Matteo Quirini's time in office (1277–78; see the Appendix, text 1). A new formulation under Podestà Ongaro degli Oddi (1298–99) is preserved in a reworking

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1. Of particular methodological importance for this essay are studies on public rituals in pre-modern cities, such as R. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, New York 1980; and studies on performatory action, such as E. Fischer-Lichte, *Ästhetik des Performativen*, Frankfurt 2004. On the two layers of the medieval city see A. Haverkamp, "Heilige Städte" im hohen Mittelalter', in *Mentalitäten im Mittelalter: Methodische und inhaltliche Probleme*, ed. F. Graus, Sigmaringen 1987, pp. 119–56.

2. For sources on the processions arranged by the Ecclesia Paduana see G. Vecchi, *Uffici drammatici*

*padovani*, Florence 1954; and A. Lovato, 'Le processioni della cattedrale di Padova nei secoli XIII–XV', in *Il 'Liber ordinarius' della chiesa padovana (Padova, Biblioteca capitolare, ms. E 57, sec. XIII)*, ed. G. Cattin and A. Vildera, Padua 2002, pp. CIX–CLXXI. The procession discussed in the present article does not appear in these registers because it was organised by the commune, not the clergy. The same applies to the procession on 19 June, the feast day of St Anthony of Padua (Anthony the Confessor), which led to the church of S. Antonio (Il Santo) and is documented only by the communal statutes of 1276; on this see A. Gloria, *Statuti del Comune di Padova dal sec. XII all'anno 1285*, Padua 1872, pp. 181–82 (stat. 559). Again in this procession the bishop and 'omnes clerici de Padua' took part alongside the secular dignitaries. The high point was a mass in S. Antonio. Less well documented are two processions with communal participation which honoured the Blessed Antonio Pellegrino and St Daniel the Martyr. One was mentioned in the statute of 1276 (Gloria, p. 181), the other in the statute of 1362 (see below, Appendix 2).

of 1362 (Appendix, text 2).<sup>3</sup> Alongside these are various scattered references, such as the entries in the expenditure books of the cathedral sacristy from 1305 and 1309, the will of Jacopina d'Este of 1365,<sup>4</sup> and a passage in the *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue* of Michele Savonarola from the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The last of these Annunciation Day processions seems to have taken place in 1600.<sup>6</sup> According to the Podestà Statute, the event began for the Paduans—or, to be precise, 'omnes honorabiles cives'—at the Palazzo della Ragione on the Piazza delle Erbe. This was where they were expected to assemble each year on the morning of 25 March.

Annunciation Day was particularly important in the Veneto, since it coincided with celebrations for the anniversary of the foundation of Venice.<sup>7</sup> The feast was popular not least because it almost always (depending on the date of Easter) interrupted the sombre Lenten period. In Padua, it was all the more significant because the Virgin Mary was patroness of both cathedral and city. As such, for Paduans she was a trusted and benevolent figure, assigned the duty of preserving the well-being and unity of the commune; and the city attributed its continuing prosperity to her intervention. A comparable situation existed in Siena, where the citizens had formally declared the Virgin *defensatrix et gubernatrix* of the city, even making her responsible for their protection during times of war. In Padua, the cult of the Virgin was perhaps less populist but certainly no less intense.<sup>8</sup> Thus 25 March was, for the Paduans, a communal and diocesan feast-day of the highest order. All citizens, according to the Podestà Statute, assembled either outside or inside the Palazzo della Ragione,<sup>9</sup> among them the judges of the Podestà's court, the civil court judges and other communal officials, the knights and *doctores* (probably the doctors of the jurist college and/or

3. The oft-cited statement in the so-called Codex Zabarella from 1338 or later, that the 'festum S. Mariae de Arena' only came into being in 1306, is thus clearly incorrect; *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori, VIII, Milan 1726, cols 419–44 (427). The idea was spread through B. Brunelli, *I teatri di Padova dall'origine alla fine del XIX secolo*, Padua 1921, p. 15, and recurs in one of the most recent works on the Arena Chapel: V. Dal Piaz, 'La storia e l'architettura della Cappella', in *La Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova*, ed. D. Banzato, G. Basile et al., 2 vols, Modena 2005, *Testi*, pp. 19–44 (29).

4. The entries in the expenditure book of the cathedral sacristy for 1305 (Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Diversa XI/41, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>) were published by C. Bellinati, *Nuovi studi sulla Cappella di Giotto all'Arena di Padova (25 marzo 1303 - 2003)*, Padua 2003, p. 49. For the 1309 entries in the same volume (fol. 51<sup>r</sup>) see below, n. 16; for the will of Jacopina d'Este see below, n. 17.

5. Michele Savonarola, *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue*, ed. A. Segarizzi (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, n.s. XXIV.15), Città di Castello 1902, p. 50.

6. Brunelli (as in n. 3), p. 15.

7. C. Bernardi, 'Festa e teatro dell'Annunciazione nel dominio veneto secc. XIII–XV', *The Medieval and Renaissance Drama Society Newsletter: SITM Spring*

2004, available only online: <http://parnaseo.uv.es/Ars/webelx/Ponencies%20pdf/Bernardi.pdf> (consulted September 2007).

8. See H. C. Peyer, *Stadt und Stadtpatron im mittelalterlichen Italien*, Zürich 1955; D. Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City States*, London 1996; eadem, 'Queen and Patron', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. J. Duggan, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 202–21; D. Norman, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Medieval City State*, New Haven, CT and London 1999. For the Siena quotation see *Il Caleffo Vecchio del Comune di Siena*, ed. G. Cecchini, 3 vols, Siena 1931–40, II, p. 846. For the Virgin as a patron saint of Padua see A. Thompson, O.P., *Cities of God: The Religion of Italian Communes, 1125–1325*, University Park, PA 2005, pp. 278–79.

9. Whether one was supposed to wait in front of or inside the Palazzo is clear from neither the wording of the document nor the present-day structure of the building, which was substantially altered after the fire of 1420 and differs from its 13th- and 14th-century condition (see *Il Palazzo della Ragione di Padova: la storia, l'architettura, il restauro*, ed. E. Vio, Padua 2008). In practice the assembly point was probably dependent on the weather and also the social standing of the participants: the elite in the Palazzo before the chapel, the rest on the piazza.



1. Padua, Piazza del Duomo with Bishop's Palace, Cathedral, and Baptistery

the university). The Podestà himself, responsible for organising the entire event, was present as head of the executive. The celebrations also included the clergy—but that is a further chapter in itself.

For the festivities proper began not on the Piazza delle Erbe, in the political and economic centre of Padua, but at the cathedral, dwelling place of the city's patroness, where the relationship between the city and the Virgin was ritually and spiritually modelled by experienced specialists. Of the buildings of the medieval cathedral complex, the baptistery largely retains its original form, appearing as part of the cathedral façade (Fig. 1). In the old Duomo, the predecessor of the present Renaissance building with its unfinished brick front, the Paduan clergy assembled before processing to the Palazzo della Ragione, which can be seen as the secular counterpart of the cathedral. At the head of the group which departed towards the Piazza delle Erbe was the cathedral's processional cross. This was most likely followed by the cathedral chapter, then the bishop, then the members of the city's other religious institutions ('the [parish] clergy, and the monks and friars of the religious houses of Padua'), all proceeding behind their respective processional crosses.

After the arrival of the clergy, something curious took place at the Piazza delle Erbe. Two thrones or *cathedrae* were brought from inside the chapel of the Palazzo della Ragione; we may imagine them as portable and similar to sedan chairs. On one sat a boy dressed as an angel, on the other a second boy dressed as the Virgin Mary.



Gathered around these two, the city was now set in motion: clergy and laity. At the front were the communal heralds with their trumpets, followed by the cathedral chapter and bishop, leading the clergy, then came the two *cathedrae* with the boy actors, before the Podestà at the head of the citizen body. The latter was followed by heads of the city's guilds, the merchants and the artisans. And in this manner—one might say, formed up in reflection of the commune's religious and political structures—the column of Paduans left their city.

It is not known which gate the procession used, but the only real possibilities are the Porta di San Matteo and the Porta Altinate.<sup>10</sup> The latter is still there today—an imposing structure from around 1200 (Fig. 2). The photograph here was taken from inside the town walls looking out. In the thirteenth century, peering through the archway across a Roman bridge which still remained at that time, we would have seen gardens and fields; in the early fourteenth century, this area probably became a suburb. After the erection of an outer circle of walls in the mid-fourteenth century, the buildings outside the gate gradually began to resemble those inside.

Whilst the exact route of the procession is not known, its destination is beyond any doubt. This was the Roman amphitheatre, or what remained of it, situated 100 metres north-west of the city walls. Unlike other cities with a Roman past, in Padua the memory of the distinctly un-Christian function of the ancient *locus*—the site of gladiatorial spectacles and animal baiting—was preserved and reflected in its medieval name: the Arena.

It is conceivable that, in the earliest days of the procession, the Arena was still in the possession of the bishop, and that the citizens thus progressed from the cathedral to, one might say, an outpost of episcopal authority beyond the walls of the city. In the late thirteenth century, the Arena was held in fee from the bishop by a noble family, the Dalesmanini, who built a palace there. This property—the Arena with its palace and outhouses—was then acquired in February 1300 by the Scrovegni and retained for several generations. In 1443 the estate was confiscated by the republic of Venice and several years later sold to the then Patriarch of Aquileia, before coming into the hands of a Venetian noble family, the Foscari; it later passed to the Gradenigo, also Venetians, who sold the property in 1880 to the commune of Padua, which laid out a park on the site.<sup>11</sup>

So the Paduan citizens left behind the security of the walled city in order to reach, after a few hundred steps, another location with an aura of significance: a place with a pagan history, which was also the castle or *villa suburbana* of an influential Paduan family. And this family's members were among the citizens in the procession and so, as it were, visited their own home. Enrico Scrovegni, who had acquired the property,

10. See J. K. Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante*, New York 1966, plan on p. 36.

11. The bishop's title of possession is referred to by a decree of Emperor Henry IV from 1090; the text is printed in A. Tolomei, *La chiesa di Giotto nell'Arena di Padova*, Padua 1880, p. 28. The sale contract of 1300 is preserved in a copy of 1320 (Venice, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Privato Gradenigo di Rio Marin, busta 247, fasc. 'Documenti e carte A usque Y', A 1), now

fully published in M. V. Schwarz, *Giottus Pictor*, 11, *Giottus Werke*, Vienna 2008, pp. 167–71 (ed. M. Zöschg). For the later changes of ownership see *Carte Foscari sull'Arena di Padova: la 'Casa Grande' e la Capella degli Scrovegni*, ed. E. Bordignon Favero, Venice 1988, p. 32 and passim. For a summary see G. Fabbri Colabich, A. Prodocimi and G. Saccomani, *I recenti lavori di restauro alla Capella degli Scrovegni e le indagini esperite per la sua conservazione*, Padua 1964, pp. 29–32.



2. Padua, Porta Altinate

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proudly associated the Arena with his name: he is called 'nobilis miles dominus Henricus Scrovegnus de larena' in a document of 1317; and, about the same time, 'Henricus Scrovegnus miles de l'arena' in the inscription on the base of his portrait statue in the sacristy of the Arena Chapel.<sup>12</sup> We can be sure that the connection between the family and the site was not forgotten for a moment.

What then happened in the Arena? It seems that the participants grouped themselves according to an established order within this elliptical space, both along the preserved outer wall and around the former field. The original sitting-steps must have disappeared centuries before. As for the ensuing high-point of the morning, the Podestà Statute of 1278 informs us:

And there in the court of the Arena, on the prepared and customary places, the angel greets Mary with the angelic salutation. And Mary and the angel also do the other things which were introduced to such an enactment of the Annunciation and which they are accustomed to do.

One would like to know more about the performance. As described in the statute, it does not sound like a very sophisticated enactment, but this document's purpose was not to inform posterity about religious theatre in Padua. Thus the performance may have involved an extended exchange of words, and furthermore it was not necessarily a two-man piece. The text for a second Paduan Annunciation enactment—which was performed in the afternoon of the same day in the cathedral—has been preserved.<sup>13</sup> In this case Mary was played by a cleric, the angel again being acted by a *puer*. Just as the other boys were dressed in the chapel of the Palazzo della Ragione, so he was dressed in the baptistery; and from there—again sitting on a *cathedra*—carried in festive procession across the Piazza del Duomo and through the cathedral's main portal, which lay a few steps behind the present-day main portal.<sup>14</sup> In the choir, accompanied by precisely described gestures and movements, and in alternation with Mary and a narrator, he spoke the sentences of salutation, prophecy and consolation from the Gospel of St Luke. Further clerics took the roles of Joseph, Joachim and Elizabeth. If this text is indicative, one would have to reckon with a longer and more complex performance in the Arena. This sideways glance at the afternoon enactment is also rewarding because it makes clear, firstly, how closely bound the cathedral and Arena must have been as places of theatrical Marian worship on Annunciation Day. Secondly, it reveals how the events differed: in the morning, between the cathedral and Arena, the cathedral clergy acted almost in the service of the commune; in the

12. The document is in Padua, Archivio di Stato, Scuole Religiose di Padova, Annunziata dell'Arena, Libro primo della Scuola di Santa Maria Annunziata dell'Arena, fols 1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>; for the text see Tolomei (as in n. 11), pp. 33-39; and Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 188-92 (ed. M. Zöschg). For the statue see L. Jacobus, 'A Knight in the Arena: The "True Image" of Enrico Scrovegni in the Sacristy of the Arena Chapel in Padua', in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*, ed. M. Rogers, Aldershot 2000, pp. 17-32; and C. di Fabio, in *Giotto e il Trecento: il più Sovrano Maestro stato in dipintura*, exhib. cat., ed. A. Tomei, Milan 2009, cat. 110.

13. K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (1933), edn Oxford 1962, two vols, II, pp. 248-50; L. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel: Art, Architecture and Experience*, London and Turnhout 2008, pp. 374-76 (with English translation). A date is only possible, as far as I can see, on the basis of the single known manuscript (Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare MS C. 56, fols 35<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>), which seems to date to the 14th century. See also Lovato (as in n. 2), pp. CXVII-VIII.

14. G. Breciani Alvarez, 'La Cattedrale', in *Padova: basiliche e chiese*, ed. C. Bellinati and L. Puppi, 2 vols, Vicenza 1975, I, pp. 77-100, tav. I-II.

afternoon, between the baptistery and the choir of the cathedral, the clergy were sovereign and the burghers spectators.

## II. *The Arena*

A closely related object of enquiry is the significance imbued by procession and performance on the places used, and how far this significance was given decorative expression. I will look particularly at the family who owned the Arena and thus examine, to a certain extent, the emergence of a second, younger layer of meaning.

The older such layer might be described with formulations such as: Padua as a Marian shrine and the Arena (like the cathedral) as a sanctuary where the Incarnation was ritually brought into the present. Perhaps there was even a notion of exorcism in the events at the Arena: through a paraliturgical performance, the most sinful place in Padua—'a house of the dreadful pagans', as it was described in an inscription commissioned by Enrico Scrovegni<sup>15</sup>—was converted into the most holy. Yet for the landowning family, this performatory structure—recreated each year since the beginning of the processions in the distant past—was not simply a given fact as it was for the other Paduans. Rather it was an event in which they had to find a place. After all, a noble family could hardly let it wash over them when year after year the clergy and people of Padua came to the blood-soaked ground of their estate and enacted a symbolic transformation so that this same ground became the earth of the Holy Land. The question, then, is how did the family respond to the significance of the Arena? How did they register their presence at the site? Did they, as a family, attempt to emphasise or strengthen the role of the Arena in the sacral topography of Padua? This would have entailed, among other things, articulating their position within the political and spiritual life of the city. That is what I meant with the second layer of meaning.

Two written sources are of particular interest: the first, an entry in the expenditure book of the cathedral sacristy, tells us that in 1309 Enrico Scrovegni, who had bought the estate from the Dalesmanini, undertook to pay half of the cathedral chapter's costs for the Annunciation Day procession and performance.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that he did the same in other years, as perhaps the Dalesmanini had before him. The other source is the will of Enrico's wife, Jacopina d'Este, who came from the ruling house of Ferrara. From this document of 1365, we learn that she lent her *corona*—the showpiece of her jewellery casket—and other items for the costume of the Virgin.<sup>17</sup>

15. 'Ecce domus gentis fuerat, quae maxima dirae / Diruta construitur per multos vendita mire'. For the full (18-line) inscription, which in the 16th century was found in the choir of the Arena Chapel, see Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 172–73 (ed. M. Zöschg); later it was moved to the façade.

16. Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Diversa X/41, fol. 51r. Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 185–86 (ed. M. Zöschg).

17. Venice, Archivio di Stato, Archivi notarili, Notai di Venezia, Testamenti rogati da Giovanni De Carestinis 1358–79, busta 1023: 'Item volo et ordino quod corona mea cum lapidibus in ea fixis et omnibus suis

ornamentis et omnis vestis meis, et generaliter omnia alia mea ornamenta, que et quas dare et concedere solita sum pro festo Marie et Angeli de la Rena, quando dictum festum celebratur de mense marcii, pro representatione salutacionis verginis semper sint et eas et ea esse volo donec durare poterunt dicto reverendo consueti deputata.' A summary of this passage was published by I. Hueck, 'Enrico Scrovegni Veränderungen der Arenakapelle', *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, xvii, 1973, pp. 105–22 (110 n. 22).



3. Padua, Arena portico

In her will, Jacopina stipulated that the custom should be continued after her death. Both these pieces of information show that the Scrovegni (and perhaps previously the Dalesmanini) regarded the Annunciation feast as, to a certain extent, their feast; and that this was accepted, even if the celebration was important for the whole commune.

Architectural features also attest this close relationship between family and procession. Preserved to the present day are the remnants of a gate structure through which the procession entered the Arena: in effect, the counterpart of the gate by which the Paduans had left their city (Fig. 3). Even at first glance, it is clear that the Arena gate is more lavish than would befit the entrance to a private estate; and this is only the surviving fragment of a larger structure. Originally the gate presented itself to the field as a kind of baldachin above free-standing pillars crowned with capitals (Fig. 4)—

an architectural structure which manifestly strives to be more than a gate: a portico, a reception hall.<sup>18</sup> Of the original decoration with armorial devices, it can only be said that there was a clear reference to the commune above the inner façade, which featured the Paduan cross (as the seventeenth-century engraving shows).

There are few points of certainty regarding the construction period of the gate. The crenellated frames of the lost arms on the outer side are suggestive of Venetian masons, but also appear on Paduan monuments from the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>19</sup> The floral coffering, applied as a frieze above the arch, is found in a similar form on the lower parts of the façade of the Doge's Palace, and suggests a date towards the middle of the century.<sup>20</sup> After thirty years of exile in Venice the

18. There can be little doubt that the octagonal pillars, their bases showing Gothic profiles, were contemporary with the gate itself. They remained standing into the first decades of the 19th century and are visible in views from that time; see *La Cappella degli Scrovegni* (as in n. 3), *Testi*, figs 6–8, 26.

19. A. Ruzzi, *Scultura esterna a Venezia: corpus delle sculture erratiche all'aperto di Venezia e della Laguna*, Venice 1987, with hundreds of examples from the high and late Middle Ages. Examples in Padua are to be found in and around S. Antonio: *Cultura, arte e committenza nella Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova nel Trecento* (convegno, Padua 2001), ed. L. Baggio and M. Benetazzo, Padua 2003.

20. U. Franzoni, T. Pignatti and W. Wolters, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Treviso 1990, p. 119. The gate has usually been dated earlier—most often to the building campaign under Enrico Scrovegni; see A. Prosdocimi, 'Classicismo nell'architettura padovana del Trecento', in *Da Giotto a Mantegna*, exhib. cat., ed. L. Grossato, Milan 1974, pp. 31–35 (32); F. Zuliani, 'L'edilizia privata del duecento e trecento', in *Padova: case e palazzi*, ed. L. Puppi and F. Zuliani, Vicenza 1977, pp. 21–27 (25); and Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), p. 17. A possible predecessor building of the portico is named in the sale contract of 1300: a gate to the street with a superstructure; see Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 167–71 (168) (ed. M. Zöschg).



4. (above) Padua, Arena portico in the 17th century. (Lorenzo Pignoria, *Le origini di Padova*, Padua 1625, p. 115)



5. (right) Padua, Arena in the 17th century (Francesco Scoto, *Nuovo Itinerario d'Italia*, Padua 1669, between pp. 44 and 45)

Scrovegni, with Enrico's son Ugolino now head of the family, returned to Padua by 1352, hoping to resume their old role within the Paduan oligarchy—an ambition which would be partly frustrated by the rise of the Carrara.<sup>21</sup> Thus the portico can be seen as Ugolino's contribution to the Arena complex and at the same time his contribution to the reintegration of the Scrovegni family in Padua's communal and spiritual life.

Nothing of the palace is now preserved, hence it is impossible to say how far the imposing building seen in plans and views from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century—filling the northern curve of the Arena and providing a majestic setting for events in the field (see Fig. 5)<sup>22</sup>—represents the residence of the Dalesmanini and Scrovegni in the time of Giotto and Giusto. What does remain is the famous chapel (Fig. 7), built by Enrico Scrovegni in 1303–05 and painted by Giotto.<sup>23</sup> It is in certain respects unusual for a palace chapel—so large as to invite comparison

21. B. G. Kohl, 'The Scrovegni in Carrara Padua and Enrico's Will', *Apollo*, CXLII, 1995, pp. 1–12.

22. The earliest document to show the palace clearly is the bird's-eye plan by Giuseppe Viola Zanini, which dates from 1599; see S. Ghironi, *Padova: piante e vedute (1449–1865)*, Padua 1988, no. 13. The palace was demolished in 1827; see Fabbri Colabich et al. (as in n. 11), p. 32.

23. The literature on the Arena Chapel is boundless. The latest monographic studies of an academic character are *La Cappella degli Scrovegni* (as in n. 3); Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13); A.

Derbes and M. Sandona, *The User's Heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni and the Arena Chapel*, University Park, PA 2008; and C. Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico: Giotto e la cappella Scrovegni* (with an edition of Enrico Scrovegni's will, ed. A. Bartoli Langeli, and an essay by R. Luisi), Turin 2008. That there was no predecessor building has been certain since the full publication of the sale contract, which mentions even the smallest buildings and numerous characteristics of the property, but not a chapel; Schwarz (as n. 11), pp. 167–71 (ed. M. Zöschg).

with royal palatine chapels. More importantly, the building clearly responded less to the palace (whatever its precise appearance in the Scrovegni period) than to the Arena as a whole. With its large portal, the chapel opens towards the field, which was a public space: at least on 25 March and probably for the rest of the year as well. The loggia-like porch with its Gothic arcade, added perhaps under Ugolino and removed after partial collapse in 1817, underlined the public character of the chapel.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Giotto's donor portrait, which shows Enrico with a model of the chapel, seems to me to point in the same direction: the door of the model stands open; our attention is drawn to this by Enrico's thumb (Fig. 6).

The public character of his chapel brought Enrico not least of all trouble—with the Eremitani Monastery, which neighboured the Arena and had been supported by the Dalesmanini.<sup>25</sup> Clearly the friars had hoped for support from the Scrovegni as well. In 1305 the Hermits lodged a complaint with the bishop (not for the first time, as the document's wording makes clear), in which they compared Enrico's building proposal—presented to the episcopal chancellery and approved by the bishop—with what had actually been built on their doorstep in the Arena. The submission of 1302 proposed a family oratory for Enrico, his wife and mother, closed to the public ('ad quam concursus non fieret populi'); now in 1305 there stood in the Arena a *magna ecclesia* with several altars and, crowning it all, a *campanile*, described as 'new' and designed to accommodate 'big bells and new bells'. This suggests that the *campanile* was being constructed at that time.<sup>26</sup> The view of the chapel in Francesco Scoto's *Nuovo itinerario d'Italia*, of 1669, shows an open turret with two bells, which appears to rise above the juncture of nave and choir (Fig. 5).<sup>27</sup> This probably represents the structure erected to the neighbours' anguish (and at some point after 1669 replaced by the present belfry above the choir polygon). If so, the complaint of the Hermits was of little consequence.



6. Giotto, Last Judgement (detail): Enrico Scrovegni holding a model of the Arena Chapel (Padua, Arena Chapel, cf. Figs 11 and 12)

24. The Gothic arcade is clearly shown in a view from the beginning of the 19th century; see Dal Piaz (as in n. 3), fig. 13. The porch must have been erected before 1421, the year in which Ugolino's daughter, Maddalena, ordered that she should be buried 'ante fores ecclesiae sub porticu'; see A. Medin, 'Maddalena degli Scrovegni e la discordia tra i Carraresi e gli Scrovegni', in *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze e Lettere in Padova*, XII, 1895–96, pp. 243–72 (258 and 265). See also Fabbri Colabich et al. (as in n. 11), p. 31.

25. A gift of houses and land is documented for 1253; see P. Carpeggiani, 'Gli Eremitani', in *Padova: basiliche e chiese* (as in n. 14), I, pp. 217–34 (218).

26. Padua, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni Soppressive, Fondo Monasteri Padovani, Eremitani, busta 63, tom. 62 (*Orto, et Fabrica della Foresteria nel Monastero dei RR. Padri Eremitani di Padova*), fol. 305<sup>r-v</sup>: Enrico Scrovegni '...aedificaret novum campanile in Arena et ecclesia ibi posita ad ponendas campanas magnas ac novas campanas...'; Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 174–76 (ed. M. Zöschg); Jacobus, *Giotto and the*





7. Padua, Arena Chapel, exterior view

The friars' failure may also have been due to their inability to take the matter further, since this would have brought them into conflict with an authority higher than the bishop: Enrico Scrovegni was a favourite, if not a friend, of Pope Benedict XI (1303–04), alias Niccolò Boccasini of Treviso, who before becoming a cardinal in 1298 had lived for several years in Padua and remained bound to the city. His connections to the Curia enabled Enrico to pave the way for family members' careers in the

*Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 356–58, with English translation.

27. In the loft above the vault of the square choir bay, a trace of the *campanile* has been preserved: an arch which can only have been intended (along with

the east gable of the nave) as support for a small tower. See C. Bertelli, 'La voce dell'angelo nella Cappella degli Scrovegni', in *Lezioni di metodo: Studi in onore di Lionello Puppi*, ed. L. Olivato and G. Barbieri, Vicenza 2002, pp. 159–65 (162).



church, and probably also helped in the acquisition of papal indulgences for his church in 1304.<sup>28</sup> Those who visited the Arena Chapel devoutly on 25 March and on other important Marian feast days received an indulgence of a year and forty days. Additionally, in the weeks before and after the feasts, one could be absolved of temporal punishments for sins.<sup>29</sup> A small community of clergy, in the manner of a parish under a certain Presbyter Thomasius as provost, was ready to care for pious visitors.<sup>30</sup> Whoever in earlier times, moved by the Annunciation play, had gone to confession at midday on 25 March in the church of the Hermits before the Arena, was likelier now to remain *within* the Arena, receiving absolution in the church of the Scrovegni; and perhaps went there again on other days. The Hermits had taken vows of poverty and thus lived on the sins and sin-purging donations of their fellow Paduans. Accordingly, their jealous objection to the Scrovegni Chapel and its role had something of the character of a struggle for economic survival.

### III. *The chapel's programme and the procession*

Evidence suggesting that the Arena Chapel, with its distinctive character, owes much of its rationale to the Annunciation Day procession and *sacra rappresentazione*, features little more than marginally in art-historical interpretations.<sup>31</sup> Normally the chapel's *raison d'être* is seen rather differently, partly because Enrico is not the most famous Scrovegni. For the historian, he is a pale figure who was only brought to attention by art historians as Giotto's patron.<sup>32</sup> Famous—indeed decidedly infamous—is, however, his father Reginaldo (or 'Rainaldus'), who appears as a usurer in the seventh circle of hell in Dante's *Inferno* (XVII, 43–78). Dante himself was less concerned with the historical Reginaldo, whom he had never met, than with those living Paduan and Florentine bankers whose death and fall the verses spoken by the literary Reginaldo keenly anticipate. Nevertheless, thanks to this portrayal of the father, in Paduan history writing from the mid-fourteenth century on, Enrico's foundation was connected with Reginaldo's sins<sup>33</sup>—and art-historical research has lent support to this interpretation.<sup>34</sup> Antonio Tolomei, the rescuer of the chapel in the nineteenth century

28. E. Napione and D. Gallo, 'Benedetto XI e la cappella degli Scrovegni', in *Benedetto XI, frate predicatore e papa*, ed. M. Benedetti, Milan 2007, pp. 95–121.

29. Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 173–74 (ed. M. Zöschg); Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 354–55, with English translation.

30. I draw here on sources from 1307–09: Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 177–85 (ed. M. Zöschg).

31. Procession and performance are normally mentioned and conclusions made regarding the significance of the Arena in Padua's communal life, but a direct connection with the chapel's foundation has not been proposed. Cf., e.g., Derbes and Sandona (as in n. 23), p. 27. For Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 33–35, the procession is part of a broader context which provided the occasion and location for the church's foundation; but she sees the motivation for and development of the project as largely independent from the procession itself.

32. Cf., e.g., the portraits of Enrico which emerge from art-historical studies such as P. Hirschfeld, *Mäzene: Die Rolle des Auftraggebers in der Kunst*, Munich 1968, pp. 82–102; P. C. Claussen, 'Enrico Scrovegni, der exemplarische Fall: Zur Stiftung der Arenakapelle in Padua', in *Für irdischen Ruhm und himmlischen Lohn: Stifter und Auftraggeber in der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, ed. H.-R. Meier, C. Jäggi and P. Büttner, Berlin 1995, pp. 227–46; Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 3–12.

33. It is significant that no such connection was proposed in the oldest chronicle, that of Giovanni da Nono (c. 1320–25), although this both adopted the Dante passage and mentioned Enrico's chapel; see *De Generatione aliquorum civium urbis Padue, tam nobilium quam ignobilium* (Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario MS 11, fols 43<sup>v</sup>–44<sup>r</sup>); Schwarz (as in n. 11), p. 195 (ed. M. Zöschg); Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 377–78; and further below in this article (p.

and assembler of much important material relating to the building, brought the idea before the Paduan town council in 1880 with the formulation: 'Enrico warded off a *terzina* from Dante with a chapel from Giotto'.<sup>35</sup> The attractiveness of this thesis for an educated public is immediately apparent; but, as Tolomei and his contemporaries could not have known, the *terzina* was not yet written<sup>36</sup> and Reginaldo had been dead for ten years or more when Enrico bought the Arena and founded the chapel.<sup>37</sup> Reginaldo had himself endowed a chapel for the cure of his soul in the cathedral, where he was buried.<sup>38</sup> It would have been there—rather than in the Arena—that the family's expiatory donations were offered. In any case, Reginaldo's cunning would now be entirely unknown without Dante. We know for sure only that he was engaged in banking on a regional level (as were many other members of the leading Paduan families) and passed on to his son a fortune and social status—both of which he himself must have inherited to a considerable degree.<sup>39</sup> How many Paduans living around 1300 remembered the banker Reginaldo Scrovegni as successful, how many thought of him as too successful (associating his actions with the theological concept of usury),

52). The first text to introduce a link is a section from the chronicle of Pseudo-Favasochi, of c. 1335; the part in question was inserted between 1336 (the year of Enrico's death) and 1355 (Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, MS 56, fol. 19<sup>r</sup>). Here it is stated that Enrico founded the chapel 'pro salute suorum et maxime pro anima eius patris Raynaldi qui cum esset plebane condicionis fenoribus infintis est fructus.' Thereafter the focus is on Enrico's alleged misdeeds. For an edition with English translation see Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 379–81. On the dating of the passage see S. Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione: Padova tra XI e XV secolo*, Padua 1990, pp. 56–59.

34. Particularly influential was the article by U. Schlegel, 'Zum Bildprogramm der Arena Kapelle', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, xx, 1957, pp. 125–46 (English translations in *Giotto: The Arena Chapel Frescoes*, ed. J. Stubblebine, London and New York 1969, pp. 182–204; and in *Giotto and the World of Early Italian Art 2: The Arena Chapel and the Genius of Giotto*, ed. A. Ladis, London and New York 1998, pp. 42–64). A mirror-image variant of this position has recently been formulated by Frugoni (as in n. 23, *passim*), who sees Enrico's foundation as an attempt on his part to provide an example of the virtuous use of wealth (rather than to atone for Reginaldo's unjustly acquired wealth). To my knowledge, Benjamin Kohl alone did not adopt the established view or a variant of it, but instead postulated several possible motivations, presented as of equal importance for the foundation of the chapel: see his chapter 'Giotto and his Lay Patrons', in *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto*, ed. A. Derbes and M. Sandona, Cambridge 2004, pp. 176–96.

35. 'Enrico si schermiva da una *terzina* dell'Alighieri con una chiesa di Giotto.' Cited from P. Galletto, *Antonio Tolomei: Biografia a ricordo della sua opera a salvezza del Giotto degli Scrovegni*, Padua 1998, p. 225.

36. According to Boccaccio, Dante had begun the *Commedia* before he was expelled from Florence in 1302. Today, however, it is generally believed that Dante started work in 1307–08; see G. Petrocchi, *L'Inferno di Dante*, Milan 1978, pp. 61–62; A. Buck, 'Die *Commedia*', in *Die italienische Literatur im Zeitalter Dantes und am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Renaissance*, ed. idem, 2 vols, Heidelberg 1987–89, I, pp. 21–165 (29–31); and G. Mazotta, 'Life of Dante', in *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, ed. R. Jacoff, Cambridge 1999, pp. 1–13 (10).

37. For documents showing that Reginaldo must have died between 1287 and 1289 see A. Gloria, *Monumenti della Università di Padova (1222–1312)*, Venice 1884, I, pp. 282–83, and II, p. 39; and C. Bellinati, *Giotto: Padua felix: atlante iconografico della Cappella di Giotto (1300–1305)*, Treviso 1996, p. 155. The length of time between his death and the foundation of the Arena Chapel was recently addressed by Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 8 and 341–45, who attempted to fill the gap through reference to Enrico's foundation of the Cistercian monastery of St Ursula in 1294. Reginaldo's name, however, remains unmentioned in the episcopal grant (just as his name is absent from the sources relating to the Arena Chapel).

38. Bellinati, *Nuovi studi* (as in n. 4), p. 20.

39. C. Bellinati, 'La cappella di Giotto all'Arena e le miniature dell'Antifonario "Giottesco" della Cattedrale (1306)', in *Da Giotto a Mantegna* (as in n. 20), pp. 23–30 (23); Kohl, 'Giotto and his Lay Patrons' (as in n. 34), pp. 177–80; G. Rippe, *Padoue et son contado (X<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle): société et pouvoirs*, Rome 2003, p. 848 ('Usure ou pas, ce qui explique l'émergence des Scrovegni est aussi une longue fidélité à l'Eglise padouane et à la cause guelfe'); and most recently S. Collodo, 'Origini e fortuna della famiglia Scrovegni', in *Il secolo di Giotto nel Veneto*, ed. G. Valenzano and F. Toniolo, Venice 2007, pp. 47–80 (56–62).

and how his business conduct was viewed by his son, cannot be ascertained from the sources.<sup>40</sup>

At this point it is necessary to introduce another text, the usual interpretation of which is contaminated by the Dante passage. If scholars have correctly understood the chronicler Giovanni da Nono (writing shortly after 1320, after Enrico's somewhat hasty withdrawal from Padua), he implies that Enrico collaborated for a short time with the Cavalieri Gaudenti on the foundation of the chapel.<sup>41</sup> The Cavalieri (or 'Militia Beatae Mariae Virginis') were a religious order, established in the Franciscan spirit in Bologna in 1260–61 and particularly devoted to the veneration of the Virgin (their popular name of 'rejoicing knights' derived from the lauds sung in her honour).<sup>42</sup> The earliest history of this less than successful order (dissolved in 1589) was written in 1787 by Domenico Maria Federici, a Dominican from Treviso who, unfortunately, lacked both the written sources and the powers of judgement necessary for his undertaking. Drawing on Giovanni da Nono's chronicle and its reception in the literature on Paduan history, Federici represented Enrico Scrovegni as a central figure for the Cavalieri, whereas his role was marginal at most.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, drawing on the Dante passage on Reginaldo Scrovegni—connected directly in Bernardo Scardeone's authoritative book on the history of Padua (1560) with Enrico's foundation of the chapel<sup>44</sup>—he misrepresented the struggle against usury (Reginaldo's sin) as the central preoccupation of the knights, who in fact wanted only to serve the Virgin in poverty.<sup>45</sup> Thus, any attempt to explain Enrico's motivation as founder of the Arena Chapel on the basis of Federici will tend to go round in circles.<sup>46</sup>

40. In Enrico's will of 1336, for example, the portion of his estate inherited from his father is treated no differently to the portions inherited directly or indirectly from other relatives during the course of his life: grandfather, brother and nephew. For the text see Schwarz (as in n. 11), p. 204 (ed. M. Zöschg). Cf. Bartoli Langeli (in Frugoni, *L'affare*, as in n. 23), pp. 426–29; but while he concludes that Enrico must have regarded all of those named as usurers, what the will actually shows is that Enrico's view of the sins to be atoned was in no way focussed on Reginaldo.

41. Giovanni da Nono (as in n. 33), fol. 44r: 'Dedicavit enim Henricus se ordini fratrum sancte Marie a Caritate in loco Arene qui dicuntur fratres gaudentes, cui circa finem anni renunciavit.' Schwarz (as in n. 11), p. 195 (ed. M. Zöschg); Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 377–78.

42. For the Cavalieri Gaudenti see H. Hefele, *Die Bettelorden und das religiöse Volksleben Ober- und Mittelitaliens im XIII. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig and Berlin 1910, pp. 74–76; A. De Stefano, 'Le origini dei Frati Gaudenti', *Bilychnis: Rivista mensile illustrata di studi religiosi*, IV, 1915, pp. 374–97; G. G. Meersseman and G. P. Pacini, *Ordo fraternitatis: confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, 4 vols, Rome 1977, III, pp. 1262–67.

43. Domenico Maria Federici, *Istoria de' Cavalieri Gaudenti*, 2 vols, Venice 1787. His 'Catalogo de' Cavalieri Gaudenti' (vol. 1, pp. 370–84) was Federici's own compilation. That Scrovegni figured there with the note 'Fu Priore' (p. 379) reflects Federici's belief that

Enrico was an important figure in the history of the order. In fact there are no further documents showing that Scrovegni had joined the order.

44. Bernardo Scardeone, *De antiquitate urbis Patavii et clavis civibus Patavinis*, Basle 1560, p. 332.

45. Federici (as in n. 43), I, pp. 61–68. Some of the cited records are from the time before the order's foundation—a date unknown to Federici; others are misinterpreted against the background of the Dante passage concerning Reginaldo.

46. This is especially true for R. H. Rough, 'Enrico Scrovegni, the Cavalieri Gaudenti, and the Arena Chapel in Padua', *Art Bulletin*, XLII, 1980, pp. 24–35. Most of the arguments brought forward by Rough in order to support Federici's idea of a connection between the chapel and the Cavalieri Gaudenti have since been rejected; see R. Simon, 'Giotto and After: Altars and Alterations at the Arena Chapel, Padua', *Apollo*, CXLII, 1995, pp. 24–36 (36). To these may be added the tomb inscription cited by Rough, p. 24: 'Sepulcrum Congregationis Fratrum Sant. Mar. de Arena'. Neither did the inscription mark a tomb of the Cavalieri Gaudenti, nor was it situated in the Arena Chapel. In reality, the words were to commemorate the members of a brotherhood founded in 1325 and dedicated to the organisation of the Annunciation enactment; and the plate was set into the floor of the Oratorio dell'Annunziata outside the Arena. See Giacomo Salomoni, *Urbis Patavinae inscriptiones sacrae et prophanae... quibus accedunt vulgatae anno MDCXLIV*

As I see it, the foundation of the chapel is not related to Reginaldo's lost soul and Enrico's fate as heir to a mortal sinner. The Scrovegni souls were burdened by earthly wealth, no matter how it had been acquired, and they would also have borne the debt of other sins common among the great and powerful. All this demanded pious donations but not necessarily the erection of a public church in the Arena.

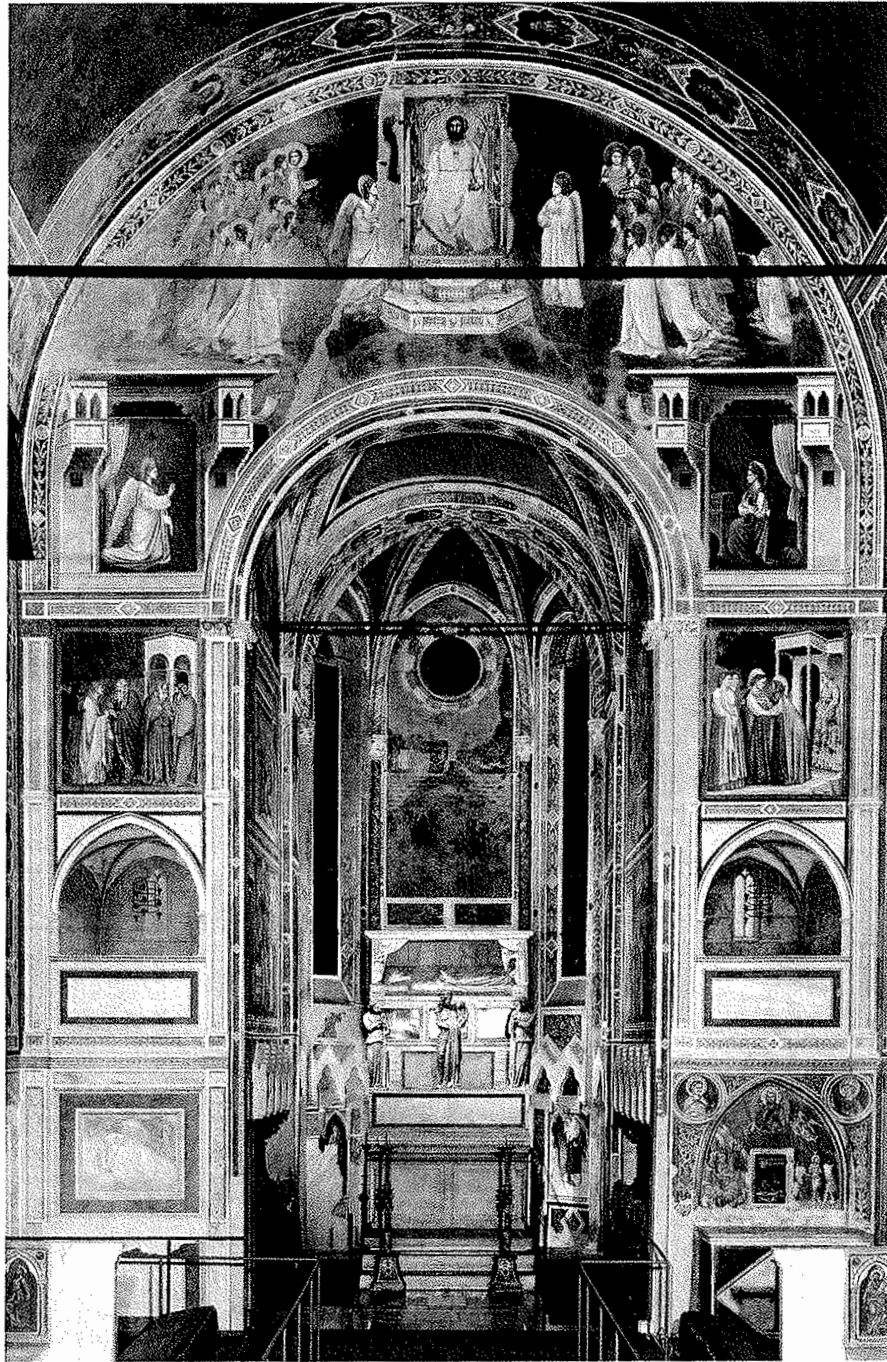
The unusual character of Enrico's vision for the Arena is surely better explained by reference to the procession. That is to say, the foundation of the Arena Chapel is about the participation of the Scrovegni family in Padua—and this means the ritually transformed town, which the annual procession made into a space consecrated to the Virgin, mediating salvation. To be sure, the family's display of participation fulfilled a duty. But, at the very least, their foundation of the chapel was a choice. This is evident not only in the lavish character of Enrico's project but also in his decision to set the chapel at the centre of his strategy for the after-life: it was to house his grave. Over the centuries, the Paduans have given the chapel the title of S. Maria Annunziata. This corresponds to the use of the Arena on 25 March and to the high probability that the consecration of the chapel's groundstone in 1303, and the final consecration in 1305, also took place on 25 March—both events were thus clearly connected with the procession and enactment.<sup>47</sup> And it seems to fit the decorative programme too, in that the Annunciation scene is so prominent on the choir arch (Fig. 8). Thus the representations of the Virgin and the angel not only illustrate the liturgical reading for 25 March; they also bring inside the chapel and make lasting, in the form of an image, what happened annually on the same day in front of the chapel as a performance.<sup>48</sup>

a Jacobo Philippo Tomasio, Padua 1701, p. 258; G. Toffanin, *Cento chiese Padovane scomparse*, Padua 1988, pp. 33–34.

47. For the ceremony of 1303, the date is certain (the document mentions the feast of the Virgin in March), while the occasion—the consecration of the foundation stone—can be determined from the course of events after the purchase of the property in 1300; for the ceremony of 1305, the occasion is certain—the consecration of the chapel or its high altar—while the date can be determined from the fact that preparations for the ceremony, which was soon to take place, are documented for 16 March (borrowing of carpets in S. Marco in Venice). The documents are given and commented by (among others) Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 172–73 and 176–77 (ed. M. Zöschg). Of the authors who look closely at the source of 1305, only C. Gnudi, *Giotto*, Milan 1958, p. 106, equates the 16 March date with the ceremony.

48. The pericope for 25 March was in pre-tridentine Padua (as it is today) Luke 1.26–38; see *Missale Pataviense cum additionibus benedictionum cereorum etc.*, Venice 1522, p. 222. Jacobus and Tripps, on the other hand, have connected the image with a special liturgy which, according to them, was regularly celebrated in the chapel: the *Missa aurea*. See L. Jacobus, 'Giotto's Annunciation in the Arena Chapel, Padua', *Art Bulletin*, LXXXI, 1999, pp. 93–107; eadem, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 305–30;

and J. Tripps, *Das handelnde Bildwerk in der Gotik*, Berlin 2000, p. 92. The term refers to a particularly elaborate form of the mass liturgy, sometimes enriched with musical and/or theatrical elements, which could be used on Ember Wednesday in Advent. Fundamental here is B. Kruitwagen, O.F.M., 'De gulden mis', *De Katholiek. Godsdienstig, geschied- en letterkundig maandschrift*, CXXX, 1906, pp. 438–66, and CXXXI, 1907, pp. 158–88, 394–420, 464–90. Where the celebration is documented in pre-tridentine times, it was usually made possible by a foundation, and nothing is known of such a foundation in Padua. Contrary to Jacobus's and Tripps's assumption, there is no hint that the Annunciation enactment in the cathedral was part of a *Missa aurea*. The first evidence for the addition of enactments to the *Missa aurea* comes from the early 16th century; see M. D. Dörflinger, 'Das barocke Roratespiel', *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch (Im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft)*, v, 1964, pp. 13–96 (15). Jacobus and Tripps also use the Annunciation image on the chapel's triumphal arch itself as an argument, claiming that it shows a theatrical interpretation of the *Missa aurea*. That a performance, whether in or in front of the chapel (and not the historical event of the Annunciation itself) may be represented here, is however a supposition impossible to prove. This would in fact require that Giotto's painting enabled viewers to distinguish between a pictorial narrative and the pictorial representation of a staged performance of



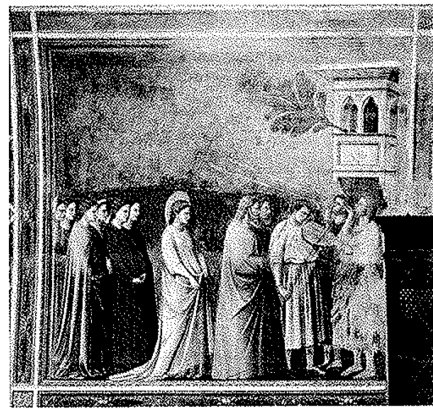
COMUNE DI PADOVA SETTORE MUSEI E BIBLIOTECHE

8. Padua, Arena Chapel, chancel arch with Giotto's frescoes

Finally, the fresco on the north wall preceding the Annunciation scene represents the Virgin's return to her paternal home as a procession (Fig. 9).<sup>49</sup> Headed by trumpet players and other musicians, Mary and her entourage arrive at the future site of the Annunciation, indicated by a Gothic oriel identical to those in the scene on the choir arch. While contemplating Giotto's frescoes, it must have been hard not to feel reminded of 25 March and its celebration in Padua. The title *S. Maria Annunziata* is certainly not against Enrico Scrovegni's intentions.

The actual dedication of the chapel, however, is to *S. Maria della Carità*: that is, the Virgin of Charity. 'Charity' in the Christian (Pauline) sense means selfless love—a disposition which, when adopted by the highest saints towards mortal men, is best described as *Mercy*, *Misericordia*.<sup>50</sup> The dedication does not double the role of the Arena in the liturgical life of Padua. Rather it interprets that role according to Enrico Scrovegni's needs as one of the future dead and resurrected. The charity or mercy of the Virgin Mary is in fact never so valuable as at the Last Judgement, and the Arena Chapel is where Scrovegni's body was to lie awaiting this day. It was also where his soul could be sure of the intercessory prayers of the Paduans—at least on 25 March and those other Marian feast days when, thanks to Enrico, there were indulgences to be won in the chapel. On these occasions, it was explicitly the patroness of cathedral and city for whose merciful intervention Scrovegni hoped.

Enrico had close personal connections within the cathedral chapter. His uncle or great-uncle, Pietro, a brother or uncle of Reginaldo, had belonged to the chapter, as had another Scrovegni in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>51</sup>



9. Giotto, *The Virgin returns to her paternal home* (Padua, Arena Chapel)

a narrative. Giotto's images, however, generally incorporate elements reminiscent of performance and theatre (stage-like spaces, emphatic gestures, clearly visible requisites), which helped Giotto's viewers to understand the narrative, and certified the represented as real. Finally, in *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, p. 306, Jacobus refers to architectural indications: a 'stirrup-shaped hole approximately 12 cm wide' in the vault in front of the triumphal arch and 'next to it a small, round hole just wide enough to run a cord through'. It is hardly necessary however to connect the holes with a (para-)liturgical performance. A possibility would be that they were to facilitate the hanging of a lamp—for instance, for the illumination of the triumphal cross.

49. A connection between the scene and the procession was proposed by E. M. Beck, 'Marchetto da Padova and Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel Frescoes',

*Early Music*, xxvii, 1999, pp. 7–23 (18). The scene is sometimes referred to as Mary's wedding procession, but the arguments for the representation of the return to the paternal home, according to the *Legenda aurea*, are fairly clear; see A. Verdi, in *La Cappella degli Scrovegni* (as in n. 3), *Testi*, p. 181.

50. Cf. Derbes and Sandona, *The User's Heart* (as in n. 23), pp. 70–72; and by the same authors, 'Ave caritate plena: Variations on the Theme of Charity in the Arena Chapel', *Speculum*, lxxvi, 2001, pp. 599–637 (605). To clarify the term *caritas* in medieval theology, Derbes and Sandona point to (among other works) the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, where Christ's motivation for his sacrifice was described as 'ex caritate' (John of Caulibus [Pseudo-Bonaventura], *Meditationes vitae Christi*, ed. M. Stallings-Taney, Turnholt 1997, p. 13).

51. F. S. Dondi dall'Orologio, *Serie cronologica-istorica dei canonici di Padova*, Padua 1805, pp. 192–94;

As archpriest, Pietro ranked second, after the bishop, in the Paduan church hierarchy. By 1294, Enrico was acquainted with the canon Altegrado di Cattanei, who was appointed archpriest in 1301, then bishop of Vicenza in 1303, only to be forced out in 1310, when he was offered shelter by Enrico.<sup>52</sup> And it was most probably a Paduan cathedral canon (whether Altegrado di Cattanei or someone else) who helped in planning the foundation—at least according to the evidence of the dedication scene in the Arena Chapel, which shows besides Enrico a second kneeling figure (Fig. 11).<sup>53</sup> Over his white surplice this second figure once wore a cowl (*almutium*, almuce), which has almost completely peeled away. The outline and remains of the *al secco* colouring, however—a combination of light blue and deep dark blue—are still recognisable.<sup>54</sup> In representations of the early fourteenth century, Paduan cathedral canons wear either purple or grey-blue to blue *almutia*, probably according to rank. One such



10. Chapter statutes of Padua Cathedral, Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare D. 66, fol. 1

image (painted ten or twenty years later than the fresco) is the opening miniature in a copy of the chapter statutes of the cathedral, which perhaps also shows the kind of ideas guiding the canon at Scrovegni's side: the cathedral patroness appears here as the absolute refuge of those holding services at her altar (Fig. 10).<sup>55</sup> It was the annual procession from the cathedral—organised by the commune but led by the cathedral clergy, the canons and the bishop—which connected

Bellinati, 'La cappella ... e le miniature' (as in n. 39), p. 23.

52. On Altegrado generally see the entry by F. Ciapparani in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XXII, 1979, pp. 412–13; and G. Mantovani, *Il formulario Vicentino-Padovano di lettere vescovili (sec. XIV)*, Padua 1988, pp. xix–xxv. See also next footnote.

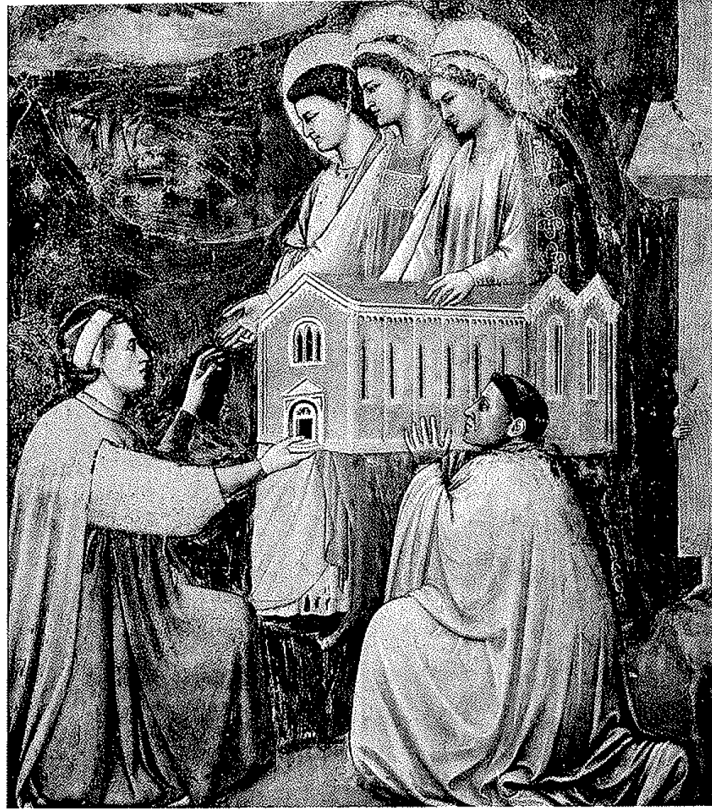
53. That he represents Altegrado di Cattanei was suggested by C. Bellinati, *Giotto: Padua felix: atlante iconografico della Cappella di Giotto (1300–1305)*, Treviso 1996, pp. 141, 158; see also more recently idem, *Nuovi studi* (as in n. 4), pp. 19–42. In fact the identification with Altegrado is rather implausible; see Schwarz (as in n. 11), p. 38; and S. Romano, *La O di Giotto*, Milan 2008, p. 159.

54. Cf. Simon (as in n. 46), p. 36: in rejecting the theses of Rough (as in n. 46), Simon wants to show that the cleric represented was not a member of the Cavalieri Gaudenti, who are supposed to have worn grey habits, and more likely belonged to a different order. He assumed that Giotto's blue tones were meant to be black, so that the habit represented was black and white, as worn by the Eremitani and the Canons Regular of St Augustine. The Augustinians, however, are not mentioned in connection with the chapel until 1317 (see below and n. 61); and Scrovegni

was involved in a dispute with the Paduan Eremitani from before 1305 until at least 1310 (Schwarz, as in n. 11, pp. 176–77 and 186–87, ed. M. Zöschg). This last circumstance is also an argument against the recently suggested identification of the kneeling figure with Fra Alberto Eremitano, the great scholar of the monastery (G. Pisani, *I volti segreti di Giotto*, Milan 2008, pp. 194–209). Furthermore the play of dark tones on the second founder figure is highly differentiated: black hair, grey-violet *biretta*, blue almuce. One thus has to assume that the blue colour perceptible today in the fresco indeed indicates blue.

55. Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare MS D. 66, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. This miniature is referred to by Bellinati, *Nuovi studi* (as in n. 4), p. 25 (ill. p. 22). Hueck (as in n. 17), p. 108 n. 15, refers to an earlier miniature, in the church consecration rite in the antiphony of Padua Cathedral of 1306 (Biblioteca Capitolare MS B. 16, fol. 206<sup>r</sup>): there the clergy, who can only be Paduan cathedral canons, also wear *almutia*, some of which are blue-grey, some purple. On differences of rank within the Paduan cathedral chapter see A. Tilatti, 'Canonici-Canonici di S. Maria di Padova: Tra aspirazione alla continuità e spinte di rinnovamento (secoli X–XIII)', in *Il Liber Ordinarius' della chiesa padovana* (as in n. 2), pp. XXVIII–CVII.





11. Giotto, *Last Judgement* (detail): dedication scene (Padua, Arena Chapel, cf. Fig. 12)

Enrico's burial chapel outside the city walls with the residence of this merciful protector in the city centre. And it was along this processional way and artery of meaning, as I would like to suggest in conclusion, that the Virgin returned to the cathedral square in the spiritual and medial form given to her in the Arena by Enrico, his most venerable friend the canon, and not least of all Giotto.

#### IV. *Regina Misericordiae*

The Virgin makes two appearances in the Arena Chapel *Last Judgement* (Fig. 12). In the dedication scene, together with John the Evangelist and St Catherine (the patrons of the side altars),<sup>56</sup> she receives the model of the chapel from Enrico and the canon

56. Bellinati and Puppi, eds (as in n. 14), I, p. 247. Cf. Simon (as in n. 46), pp. 24–36, who argues that the side altars, situated in the nave, form part of a post-tridentine scheme. I agree with Simon that the altars may have undergone modernisation in the late 16th century. The earlier existence and original position

(more or less) of the altars, however, is proven by two *piscinae* on the side walls which clearly date from the 14th century and, as I see it, fit well with Giotto's painted decoration. Moreover there are pre-tridentine written records of an altar or a chapel dedicated to St Catherine (from 1467, 1486 and 1531) and an altar





AUTHOR'S ARCHIVE

12. Padua, Arena Chapel, west wall with Giotto's Last Judgement

(Fig. 11). This is about making the act of foundation present and relevant, and correspondingly the scene is related more to the reality of the viewer—or, we might say, the liturgical reality in the chapel space—than to the imagined view towards the events of the Judgement. The Virgin's second appearance (Fig. 13), however, belongs entirely to this view into the future—and here she probably plays a more prominent and sovereign role than in any other representation of the Last Judgement.<sup>57</sup> Visitors to the chapel generally fail to notice this because those parts of the fresco are poorly preserved and have thus lost their compositional weight. But crowned, oversized and alone, the Virgin heads the choirs of saints and intercessors and is the second largest figure after Christ the Judge. She does not share the role of quintessential intercessor with John the Baptist, as would be usual in such images. Like Christ, she appears in a golden aureole, borne by angels. And it is the Virgin to whom Christ turns, inclining his head. In so doing, he clearly grants to both the Paduans and Enrico Scrovegni what the Virgin had requested in their name—*caritas*, mercy. It is thus that we should imagine Mary of Charity, the cathedral and city patroness, appearing in all her benevolence for Scrovegni and the Paduans.<sup>58</sup> This conception of the Virgin is close to the theological title of *Regina misericordiae*, which first appeared in the original text of the eleventh-century antiphonary *Salve Regina*, and was



13. Giotto, Last Judgement (detail): Madonna della Carità (Padua, Arena Chapel)

dedicated to St John the Evangelist (from 1523). See *Carte Foscari sull'Arena di Padova* (as in n. 11), pp. 58, 60, 65; and F. Sardi and E. P. Zanon, 'Censimenti dell'Archivio Gradenigo di Rio Marin', in *Il restauro della cappella degli Scrovegni: indagini, progetto, risultati*, ed. G. Basile, Geneva and Milan 2003, pp. 295–300 (299). The three figures have also been identified as Faith, Hope and Charity (A. Moschetti, *The Scrovegni Chapel*, Florence 1907, pp. 62–64), as Gabriel, the Madonna of Charity and the Virgin Annunciate (D. C. Shorr, 'The Role of the Virgin in Giotto's Last Judgement', *Art Bulletin*, xxxviii, 1956, pp. 207–14, at 209), as John the Baptist, the Virgin and St Justina (D. Olariu, 'Scrovegni's Bildnisse: Eine Anleitung zum Glückchsein', in *Kulturen des Bildes*, ed. B. Mersmann and M. Schulz, Munich 2006, pp. 223–44, at 239), and as John the Evangelist, the Madonna of Charity and St Ursula (Frugoni, as in n. 23, p. 81).

<sup>57</sup> Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 299–304, stresses the prominent role of this

Marian image, which, however, she interprets in terms of the Virgin as patroness of the Cavalieri Gaudenti. Thus the upper Marian image in the Last Judgement, according to Jacobus, is part of a pictorial programme influenced by the piety of the Cavalieri Gaudenti, whilst the lower image was conceived after Scrovegni left the order.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Derbes and Sandona, *The User's Heart* (as in n. 23), pp. 74–78: the authors refer to the garment worn by Christ the Judge and regard it as the same seamless tunic which the soldiers dispute over in the Crucifixion scene. They introduce a series of exegetes interpreting the seamless garment as a symbol of *caritas*. In this way, they argue, the Judge might be read as being lead by Charity in his actions. I make no use of this argument because, whilst the garments in the Crucifixion and Last Judgement are similar, the painter does also introduce differences.

interpreted in detail by Pseudo-Albertus Magnus in the *Mariale* (mid- to late thirteenth century), including the following arguments (*quaestio* 162): Queen, because Christ is king—*Misericordiae*, because this is unlike other qualities in embracing everything which belongs to the kingdom of Christ and the Virgin.<sup>59</sup>

In 1378, Fina Buzzacarini died. She was from a Paduan noble family and the wife of Francesco da Carrara, whose rule in Padua the Scrovegni were forced to accept, for better or worse, upon their return from exile (by 1352). If the ranked Paduans during the Annunciation procession reflected the commune's religious and political structures, then it is likely that the Scrovegni also had to tolerate the Carrara walking in front of them in the throng of honourable citizens behind the two *cathedrae* with the actors.<sup>60</sup> None the less, the destination of the procession was no longer considered to be the Roman Arena alone, but the Arena Chapel, built and maintained by the Scrovegni family. This latter fact is made clear by the 1362 version of the thirteenth-century statute on the Annunciation Day celebrations (Appendix, text 2). And, from the mid-century onwards, the crenellated portico marked the arrival of the processions on Scrovegni territory in a way which was not only festive but also recalled the family's title of tenure (Fig. 3). Moreover, among the clergy processing with the bishop were eight Augustinian canons—members of a convent founded by Enrico Scrovegni at the Arena Chapel in 1317.<sup>61</sup> The Augustinians' most important mission was to pray for the souls of Enrico and his family, and as such they probably lived in the Scrovegni Palace.<sup>62</sup> Finally, as shown by the *Liber Rogationum minorum* of Padua Cathedral, in the course of the fourteenth century the Arena and the chapel were added to the route of the second Rogation procession before Ascension Day, which likewise set off from the cathedral led by the chapter and bishop, before visiting the outer districts of the town.<sup>63</sup> Under the Carrara, then, Annunciation Day remained a festival in which the Scrovegni played a conspicuous role, whilst the Tuesday preceding Ascension—when, in the Arena Chapel, the bishop of Padua asked God to hear the Virgin's intercession—had also become a Scrovegni feast.<sup>64</sup>

59. S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1909, pp. 121–30, 220. Albertus Magnus, *Opera Omnia*, ed. A. and E. Borgnet, Paris 1890–99, xxxvii, pp. 1–362 (234–37): 'Item, Filius dicitur Rex regum, et Dominus dominantium: ergo ipsa dicitur regina reginarum, et domina dominarum. ... Item, Omnis qui est in regno Dei, est in misericordia: sed non omnis qui est in regno, est in gloria, vel in gratia vel in iustitia ...'. On the authorship of the *Mariale* see A. Fries, *Die unter dem Namen des Albertus Magnus überlieferten mariologischen Schriften: literarkritische Untersuchung*, Münster 1954.

60. That the ceremonial of communal processions could respond to political realities is shown by the participation of Obizzo II d'Este, ruler of Ferrara and important ally of the commune of Padua, in the procession in honour of St Anthony of Padua in 1275; his place was at the side of the Podestà, in front of the citizens. See Gloria, *Statuti del Comune di Padova* (as in n. 2), p. 181.

61. Padua, Archivio di Stato, Scuole Religiose di Padova, Annunziata dell'Arena, Libro primo della Scuola di Santa Maria Annunziata dell'Arena, fols 1<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>. The text is printed by Tolomei (as in n. 11), pp. 33–39; and Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 188–92 (ed. M. Zöschg).

62. There are two reasons for making this assumption. Firstly, in addition to the main entrance the chapel has only one door, which opens to the north, connecting the chapel with the palace. Secondly, according to both archaeological and documentary evidence, a convent building was planned on the south side but never erected; see Hueck (as in n. 17). Likewise, the small clerical community under Presbyter Thomasius, which preceded the canons in caring for the Arena Chapel, had probably lived in the Palace. (For these clerics see above, n. 30.)

63. Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare MS A. 49. The manuscript, the only known copy, can be dated between 1339 and 1407; see Lovato (as in n. 2), pp. CXIII, CXLV–VII, CL. That the original route of the

As their place of burial, Fina and her husband reached high and chose the twelfth-century baptistery of Padua Cathedral. To seek proximity to the cathedral and thus the patroness of the city was an established soul-saving strategy, which corresponds more closely to the tactics of Reginaldo Scrovegni than to those of Enrico and helps to make clear the originality of the Arena project. If the couple decided against the cathedral building itself, then this probably reflects the greater significance that baptisteries often had for inhabitants of Italian communes. Whilst cathedral churches were associated with the bishop, baptisteries—although institutionally part of cathedrals and places of episcopal liturgy—through the act of baptism became part of an individual's biography.<sup>65</sup> In order to convert the baptistery into a combined baptismal and burial space, the Florentine painter Giusto de' Menabuoi was engaged to provide a fresco cycle.<sup>66</sup> In the dome fresco—the chapel's principal image—he portrayed the Pantocrator surrounded by saints, headed by an oversized figure of the Virgin (Figs 14–15). Represented frontally in an emphatic *orans*-gesture, she calls to the Pantocrator, while before her kneel the interceding John the Baptist and St Prodocimus, first bishop of Padua—much as John the Baptist and Mary appear in a Deesis before Christ in conventional representations of the Last Judgement. As the central figure in this group of three, one could almost say that she assumes the guise of a Vice-Pantocrator.<sup>67</sup> To my knowledge, it has not yet been observed (but is nonetheless fairly clear) that this image is an adaption of the S. Maria della Carità, or *Regina Misericordiae*, from the Arena Chapel (Fig. 13). Alongside her narrative role, the decisive motif is the golden, body-encompassing aureole, which is as typical for images of Christ as it is rare for images of the Virgin.<sup>68</sup> If the accompanying angels in the baptistery make music as opposed to taking hold of the aureole, then this motif can be related to Giotto's Baroncelli altar in S. Croce, Florence, which in the 1330s introduced a synesthetic component into visual Marian worship and on which Giusto's musicians unmistakably depend.<sup>69</sup> Another distinction is that Mary's cloak in the Judgement image of the Arena Chapel was probably white from the beginning, whilst Giusto clothed his Mary in a resplendently light, *al fresco* blue, as also worn by his Pantocrator. Indeed the colour of Christ and Mary's clothing in Giusto's cycle—unlike in Giotto's—corresponds precisely. An important connecting element between the

procession did not include the Arena is known from Biblioteca Capitolare MS E. 57 (the *Liber Ordinarius*), fol. 112<sup>r-v</sup>; see *Il 'Liber Ordinarius' della chiesa padovana* (as in n. 2), pp. 144–46.

64. The prayer 'Deus qui de beatae Mariae virginis utero' is given in the *Liber Rogationum minorum* as one of the two texts spoken by the bishop in the chapel, the other being 'Mentes nostras quesumus Domine'; see Lovato (as in n. 2), p. CL.

65. See Thompson (as in n. 8), pp. 312–13.

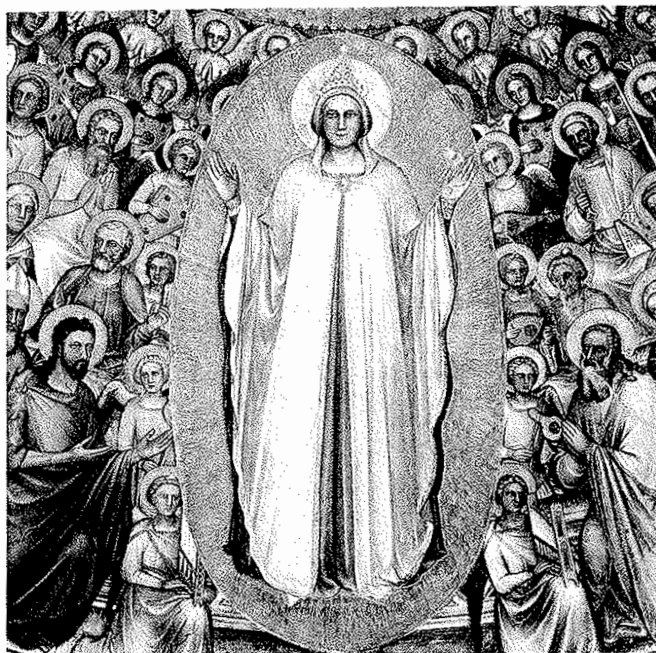
66. H. Saalman, 'Carrara Burials in the Baptistery of Padua', *Art Bulletin*, LXIX, 1987, pp. 376–94 (incl. an edition of Fina's will, pp. 390–94); C. Warr, 'Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua: The Patronage of Fina Buzzacarini', *Renaissance Studies*, x, 1996, pp. 139–55; G. B. Kohl, 'Fina da Carrara, née Buzzacarini: Consort, Mother and Patron of Art', in *Beyond*

*Isabella: Lay Women Patrons in Renaissance Italy*, ed. S. Reiss and D. G. Wilkins, Kirksville, MO 2001, pp. 19–35; J. Poeschke, *Wändmalerei der Giotteszeit in Italien 1280–1400*, Munich 2003, pp. 404–17.

67. It was just this sort of role which would later be invoked to support reformist allegations of excessive Marian worship, culminating in the idea that the Virgin had interfered in relations between Christ and man. See B. Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century*, Oxford 2004, pp. 35–36 and passim.

68. Exceptions are discussed instructively by A. Grabar, 'The Virgin in a Mandorla of Light', in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, Princeton 1955, pp. 305–11; see esp. 310–11.

69. Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 494–96.



15. Giusto de' Menabuoi, the Madonna heading the saints (Padua, Baptistery, dome fresco, cf. Fig. 14)

## APPENDIX

(with Michaela Zöschg)

NOTE: No early manuscript of the statute from 1278 is preserved. The wording was handed down in the statute book of 1420, along with other decrees from Podestà Matteo Quirini from 1278. This text was published several times in the 18th and 19th centuries, finally in a good edition by Antonio Tolomei.<sup>71</sup> The version given here as Text 1 follows the manuscript ('in curtino' instead of Tolomei's 'in curtivo').

The second document transcribed here (Text 2) is the decree for the Annunciation Day festivities as contained in the statute book of 1362 (the so called *Statuto Carrarese*).<sup>72</sup> The text appears among the statutes of Podestà Ongaro degli Oddi from 1298, but obviously does not copy the late 13th-century wording exactly: it gives an updated version.<sup>73</sup>

Several months after a first draft of the present article had been completed and sent to the editors, Laura Jacobus published excellent transcriptions of both versions of the statute (which differ only slightly from those given here), as well as English translations.<sup>74</sup> Despite this, the text is reproduced here for the convenience of the reader.

71. Tolomei (as in n. 11), pp. 41–42.

72. It was referred to by B. Brunelli, 'La Festa dell'Annunciazione all'Arena e un affresco di Giotto', *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, n.s. I (XVIII), 1925, pp. 100–09 (101).

73. This possibility was overlooked by Derbes and Sandona, *The Usurer's Heart* (as in n. 23), p. 27, where

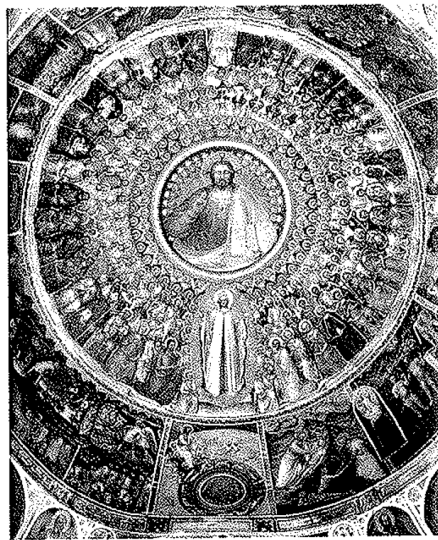
they conclude from the mention of a chapel that a such a space must already have existed by 1298. That there was no chapel on the property before 1300 is proved by the contract of purchase from 1300 (see above, n. 11).

74. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel* (as in n. 13), pp. 346–49.

two Marian images is the crown, which was only exceptionally worn by an interceding Virgin and would more usually stand in contradiction with the role of mediatrix.<sup>70</sup>

That the Carrara took up the unusual concept of a Christ-like, quasi-royal intercessor from the Arena Chapel and brought her to the cathedral baptistery certainly has much to do with Giotto's persuasive formulation. But a compelling factor must have been the annual processions led by the bishop on Annunciation Day and the Tuesday preceding Ascension Day, for these bestowed the Arena Chapel as a centre of Marian worship with ever new presence within Paduan sacral topography and the city's family of episcopal churches. One might say that the processions brought the Arena Chapel closer to the cathedral, making liturgical events in both spaces of profound mutual relevance.

In the baptistery, at the site of Fina Buzzacarini's tomb, it becomes apparent too that the Arena Chapel was not only a product of the meanings established by the procession on 25 March, but that through the building and visual decoration of the small church on Scrovegni property, new meanings were piled up, which in turn reacted back onto the spiritual message and function of the feast. Alongside the Paduans' certainty about the Virgin's responsibility for the well-being and security of their city, a consciousness grew that the feast brought them her merciful protection not only collectively as a community, but as individual sin-ridden souls. Seen in this way, the figure of the *Madonna della Carità*—created in the context of a *Last Judgement* through the combined efforts of Enrico Scrovegni, the anonymous cathedral canon and Giotto—is the city patroness modernised in the spirit of late medieval religiosity. She is a Maria of Padua, who now looks down on Scrovegni, Carrara, Buzzacarini, and every single Paduan, as if there were nobody else in the world.



14. Padua, Baptistery, view of the dome with Giusto de' Menabuoi's frescoes

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70. One exception is Mary in the so-called Deesis of the Ghent Altar. It is, however, questionable whether she is intended as an intercessor in this case. Crowned, enthroned and reading, it is only her position in relation to Christ and John the Baptist that binds her into the Deesis scheme. Nor does the accompanying inscription deal with intercession, leading E. Dhanens, *Van*

*Eyck: The Ghent Altarpiece*, London 1973, p. 80, to understand the figure 'not as the mediatrix who intercedes for mankind, but as the crowned bride of the Song of Solomon'. In the case of the Paduan baptistery, such a conclusion would be contradicted by the Virgin's *orans*-gesture.

Text 1: *Statutum Civitatis Paduae* concerning the celebration of Annunciation Day (1278)

Padua, Biblioteca Civica, Volumen Statutorum Mag. Civit. Pad. Reformatorem  
sub anno 1420, BP 1236, fol. 304<sup>r-v</sup>

[fol. 304<sup>r</sup>] Potestate domino Matheo Quirino MCCLXXVIII ... Ad honorem omnipotentis Dei et beatissime virginis Marie et omnium sanctorum, ut civitas Padue perpetuo in pacifico, bono et quieto statu conservetur, statuimus et ordinamus, quod anno quolibet de mense Marcii in die festi annunciationis virginis Marie, vel in aliquo alio die uti placebit domino episcopo [fol. 304<sup>v</sup>] paduano, celebretur et fiat representatio salutationis angelice hoc modo videlicet, quod in ecclesia palatii iuris Padue hora medie tercie vestiantur duo pueri videlicet unus in formam angeli cum alis et lilio, alter in formam femineam virginalem habitum beatissime virginis Marie, ita quod unus eorum angelum Gabrielem, alter Mariam virginem representet. Et debeant in ecclesia catredali congregari dominus episcopus vel eius vicarius cum capitulo et clero paduano et cum omnibus et singulis fratribus religiosi conventuum de Padua cum crucibus suis et inde processionaliter venire ad palacium iuris comunis Padue. Et ibi debeat esse congregatus dominus potestas Padue cum omnibus iudicibus de curia sua et cum omnibus iudicibus et officialibus comunis Padue, et cum omnibus militibus, doctoribus et honorabilibus civibus Padue. Et facta omnium congregatione, poni debeant dictus angelus super una catreda et Maria super una alia catreda honorabili ad hec deputata. Et sic super dictis catredis secundum consuetudinem portari de dicto palacio usque ad Arenam, precedentibus tubatoribus comunis et clero paduano et sequentibus domino potestate et omnibus civibus ac cum gastaldionibus artium, artificibus et mercatoribus processionaliter. Et ibi in curtino Arene in locis preparatis et solitis, angelus salutet Mariam angelica salutatione. Et cetera fiant que ad representandam huiusmodi annunciationem introducta sunt et fieri solent. Et debeat hoc festum in venerationem haberi et fieri sine aliquibus comunis seu fratalearum expensis, salvo quod tubatores comunis et salariati de publico debeant in hoc festo sonare tubas et sonando associare angelum et Mariam de palacio ad Arenam sine aliqua solutione vel premio. Et dominus potestas debeat ordinare militibus suis, quod simul cum beroderiis diligentiam habeant, quod ex concursu gentium nichil sinistri occurrat.

Text 2: *Statutum Comunis Paduae* on the Annunciation Day festivities (1362)

Padua, Biblioteca Civica, Statuta Comunis Paduae, Statuto detto Carrarese, BP 1237, 1362, fol. 104<sup>r-v</sup>

[fol. 104<sup>r</sup>] Potestate nobili milite domine Hongaro de Odis de Perusio millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo octavo, indictione undecima, die quartodecimo mensis Maii. Statuimus et ordinamus, quod de omnibus denariis qui sunt vel reperirentur in canipis comunis Padue pro cereis et doplereis emendis dominis potestati antianis et officialibus comunis Padue pro processione beati Anthonii [fol. 104<sup>v</sup>] confessoris et beati Danielis martiris ac levite faciente quolibet anno de cetero ad festum translationis eiusdem et valeat ex nunc statuto aliquo non obstante. Statuimus et ordinamus, quod ad honorem omnipotentis Dei et sanctissime virginis Marie matris eius et sanctorum Prosdocimi, Justine et Anthonii confessoris et Danielis martiris et sancte romane ecclesie et ad honorem et statum pacificum et quietum communantie fratalearum et gastaldionum tocius populi paduani, et ut libertas ecclesie perpetuo conservetur per dominos potestatem et eius familiam, anciani et officiales comunis Padue qui nunc sunt et pro tempore fuerint, singulis annis in die festi denuntiationis [sic] beate virginis gloriose Marie vel illa die, qua dictum festum per dominum episcopum Padue et clerum celebrari contingerit, insimul debeant congregari in hora medie tercie ad ecclesiam palatii comunis Padue, et tubatoribus salariatis per dictum comune secum aditis, qui in subscriptis festis et processionibus eorum debeant officium exercere, et cum in dicta ecclesia fuerint una cum predicto domino episcopo vel suo vicario, capitulo et clero iam dictis, Mariam et angelum ab ipsa ecclesia ad capellam Arene, ubi fieri debet representatio salutationis angelice, processionaliter et devote delatos honorifice committentur per dominum potestatem Padue vel suum vicarium una cum predictis dominis episcopo vel eius vicario et capitulo prelibato rogentur vel rogari fiant omnes et singuli religiosi civitatis Padue ad dicti domini episcopi potestatem exempti, quod amore comunis Padue dictis die et hora cum crucibus et conventibus suis in ecclesia maiori conveniant et de portatione predicta processionaliter committentur, ac quod gastaldiones omnes fratalee arcium comunis Paduae et hora predictis ibidem cum omnibus et singulis de eorum frataleis congregatis, festum et processionem eandem salubriter associant, devote facientes in eorum matriculis celebratam festi predicti et illam de cetero modo predicto debeant revereri sine aliquibus comunis et frataleis populi paduani expensis. Et dominus potestas Padue festum predictum per suam familiam custodiri faciat diligenter ne, quid absit, aliquid ex concursu gentium sinistrum eveniat.