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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 preface 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.†

1. 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. It is documented by various written sources and, in quasi-official form, by the repeatedly part-copied, part-modified Podesta Statute of Padua. The oldest preserved text version of the decree on the procession dates to Podesta Matteo Quirini’s time in office (1277–78; see the Appendix; test 1). A new formulation under Podesta Ongaro degli Oddi (1298–99) is preserved in a reworking

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† 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 1986; and studies on performatory action, such as E. Fischer-Lichte, Ästhetik des Performativen, Frankfurt 2006. On the two layers of the medical city see A. Haverkamp, "Heilige Städte" im bösen Mittelalter", in Mentalität im Mittelalter: Katholische und Inklinachte Probleme, ed. F. Gieras, Sigmaringen 1987, pp. 119–56.

2. Sources on the processions arranged by the Ecclesia Padana see G. Vocchi, Uffici assummati
of 1362 (Appendix, text 2). 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, and a passage in the Libellus de magnificiis ornamentos regis civitatis Padua of Michele Savonarola from the mid-fifteenth century. The last of these Annunciation Day processions seems to have taken place in 1600. According to the Podesta Statute, the event began for the Paduans—or, to be precise, ‘omnes honorables cives’—at the Palazzo della Ragione on the Piazzetta delle Erbe. This was where they were expected to assemble each year on the morning of 25 March.

Annunciation Day was particularly important in Venice, since it coincided with celebrations for the anniversary of the foundation of Venice. 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 community; 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 responsibility for their protection during times of war. In Padua, the cult of the Virgin was perhaps less populist but certainly no less intense. Thus 25 March was, for the Paduans, a communal and diocesan feast-day of the highest order. All citizens, according to the Podesta Statute, assembled either outside or inside the Palazzo della Ragione, among them the judges of the Podesta’s court, the civil court judges and other communal officials, the knights and duxes (probably the doctors of the jurist college and/or

3. The oft-cited statement in the so-called Codex Zabarella from 1318 or 1319, that the 'Textum S. Maris de Arena' only came into being in 1306, is thus clearly incorrect; Rerum italicarum scriptores, ed. L. A. Muratori, vii, Milan 1726, cols. 419-44 (427). The idea was spread through B. Brunetti, 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 V 1a storia e l’architettura della Cappella’, in La Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova, ed. D. Bazzalo, G. Bistale et al., 2 vols, Modena 2005, both, pp. 19-44 (29).

4. The entries in the expenditure book of the cathedral sacristy for 1305 (Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Diversa X41, fol. 17) were published by C. Bellantoni, Nuovi studi sulla Cappella di Gius en l’Arena di Padova (21 marzo 1305-2003), Padua 2003, p. 49. For the 1309 entries in the same volume (fol. 51v) see below, n. 16; for the will of Jacopina d’Este see below, n. 17.

5. Michele Savonarola, Libellus de magnificiis ornamentos regis civitatis Padua, ed. A. Segarini (Rerum italicarum scriptores, n.s. xiv.15), Città di Castello 1906, p. 30.


9. Whether the Virgin was supposed to be 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. Viso, Padua 2005).

In practice the assembly point was probably depending on the weather and also the social standing of the participants: the elite in the Palazzo before the chapel, the rest on the piazza.
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.
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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.10 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.11

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,


2. Padua, Porta Altinæ
Proudly associated with the Arena with his name; he is called 'nobilis miles dominus Henricus Scroegnus de Iarena' in a document of 1317; and, about the same time, 'Henricus Scroegnus miles de l'arena' in the inscription on the base of his portrait statue in the sacristy of the Arena Chapel. 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 Anunciation 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 Anunciation enactment—which was performed in the afternoon of the same day in the cathedral—has been preserved. In this case Mary was played by a cleric, the angel again being acted by a peer. 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. 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 clergymen 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 the liturgical Marian worship on Anunciation 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


13. K. Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (1933), ed. Oxford 1962, two vols, ii, pp. 248-50. L. Jacobus, Giorgio and the Arena Chapel: Art, Architecture and Devotion, London and Turnhout 2008, pp. 234-96 (with English translation). A date is only possible, as far as I can see, on the basis of the single known manuscript (Padua, Biblioteca Capitolaris M 5, fol. 35r-36v), which seems to date to the 15th century. See also Lomart (as in n. 2), pp. CNIV-VIII.

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—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. 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.17

15. 'Ecce domus gentis fœræst. quæ maxima dixæ / Divita constœtura per multos vendita mine'. For the fall (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.
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.\(^{18}\) 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.\(^{19}\) 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.\(^{20}\) 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 14th century and are visible in views from that time; see La Cappella degli Scrovegni (as in n. 3), Tetti, figs 6–8, 26.

19. A. Ruzzi, Scultura esterna a Venezia: corpus delle sculture erette 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.

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. Thus the portico can be seen as Ugolino's contribution to the Arena complex and at the same time his contribution to the reintegation of the Scrovegni family in Padua's commanal 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)—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. It is in certain respects unusual for a palace chapel—so large as to invite comparison

22. The earliest document to show the palace clearly is the bird's-eye plan by Giuseppe Vicis Zanini, which dates from 1599; see S. Ghirroni, Padua: pianetti e vedute (1490–1865), Padua 1988, no. 13. The palace was demolished in 1827; see Fabri Corbich and others (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. Debes and M. Sandona, The Unseen Heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni and the Arena Chapel, University Park, PA 2008; and C. Frugoni, L'affare meglio di Enrico Giotto e la cappella Scrovegni (with an edition of Enrico Scrovegni's will), ed. A. Baroli Langhi, and an essay by R. Lusini, 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. Zöllig).
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.24 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.25 Clearly the friars had hoped for support from the Scrovegni as well. In 1305 the Hermit 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 magnae ecclesiae 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.26

The view of the chapel in Francesco Scotto’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).27 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 Hermit was of little consequence.

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 1321, the year in which Ugolino’s daughter, Maddalena, ordered that she be buried ‘sub forma ecclesiae sub portico’; see A. Mulin, ‘Madalena degli Scrovegni e le discordanze tra i Carrarei e gli Scrovegni’, in Anni e memoria della R. Accademia di Scienze e Lettere in Padova, xi, 1995–96, pp. 243–72 (255 and 265). See also Fabbrini Colabiale et al. (as in n. 11), p. 32.


26. Padua, Archivio di Stato, Corporazione Soppressa, Fondo Monastero, Padovani, Eremitani, brasse 65, tavoletta 62 (Orto a Fabbrica della Fieserla nel Monastero dei R.P. Padri Eremitani di Padova, fol. 305v); Enrico Scrovegni ‘...edificarum novum campanile in Arena ecclesiae ibi posita ad jonendam campanam magna ac novae campanae...’; Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 174–76 (ed. M. Zöschg), Jacobus, Giotto and the
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. 356–59, 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 G. Berretti, 'La voce dell’angelo nella Cappella degli Scrovegni', in Lezioni di mistico: Studi in onore di Leonello Puppi, ed. L. Olivato and G. Barbieri, Vicenza 2002, pp. 159–63 (162).
church, and probably also helped in the acquisition of papal indulgences for his church in 1304.\textsuperscript{28} 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.\textsuperscript{29} 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.\textsuperscript{30} 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 rappresentaziones, features little more than marginally in art-historical interpretations.\textsuperscript{31} 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.\textsuperscript{32} 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\textsuperscript{33}—and art-historical research has lent support to this interpretation.\textsuperscript{34} Antonio Tolomei, the rescuer of the chapel in the eleventh century

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{29} Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 173–74 (ed. M. Zöschg); Jacobus, Giotto and the Arena Chapel (as in n. 13), pp. 55–57, with English translation.

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

\textsuperscript{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.


\textsuperscript{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 aliquarum civitatum orbis Padus, iuss nobilium quam insignium (Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario MS 11, fol. 43r–44r); 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 1380 with the formulation: 'Enrico warded off a terzina from Dante with a chapel from Giotto'. 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 and Reginaldo had been dead for ten years or more when Enrico bought the Arena and founded the chapel. Reginaldo had himself endowed a chapel for the cure of his soul in the cathedral, where he was buried. 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. 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),


36. 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. 35; and C. Bellinati, *Giotto: Padua felix: attualimento 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).


and how his business conduct was viewed by his son, cannot be ascertained from the sources.\textsuperscript{40}

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 Cavalleri Gaudenti on the foundation of the chapel.\textsuperscript{41} The Cavalleri (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).\textsuperscript{42} 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 Cavalleri, whereas his role was marginal at most.\textsuperscript{43} 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—\textsuperscript{44} 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.\textsuperscript{45} 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.\textsuperscript{46}

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 Prugoni, 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 focused 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 dicitur fraternitas gaudenti, cui circa fine non anni renunciatur.’ Schwarz (as in n. 11), p. 195 (ed. M. Zöschg); Jacobus, Giotto and the Arena Chapel (as in n. 13), pp. 377–78.


43. Domenico Maria Federici, Storia de’ Cavalleri Gaudenti, 2 vols, Venice 1797. His ‘Catalogo de’ Cavalleri Gaudenti’ (vol. i, pp. 370–84) was Federici’s own compilation. That Scrovegni figured there with the note ‘Fa 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 Paduæ et civitatis Florian, Bâle 1560, p. 233.

45. Federici (as in n. 43), i, pp. 61–86. 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 Cavalleri Gaudenti, and the Arena Chapel in Padua’, Art Bulletin, XLII, 1960, pp. 24–35. Most of the arguments brought forward by Rough in support of Federici’s idea of a connection between the chapel and the Cavalleri Gaudenti have since been rejected; see R. Simon, ‘Giotto and After: Aliens and Alterations at the Arena Chapel, Padua’, Apollo, CXLI, 1995, pp. 24–36 (35). To these may be added the tomb inscription cited by Rough, p. 24: ‘Sepulcrum Congregatiónis Fratum Sant. Mar. de Areu’. Neither did the inscription mark a tomb of the Cavalleri 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 crusade; and the plate was set into the floor of the Oratorio dell’Annunziata outside the Arena. See Giacopo Salomanion, Urbis Patavinae inscriptiones sacras et prophanas...quibus excussant vulgares anno MDCCCLXIV’
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. And it seems to fit the decorative programme too, in that the Annunciation scene is so prominent on the choir arch (Fig. 6). 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.

a Jacobo Philippo Imasino, Padua 1701, p. 238; G. Toaffin, Convento dei Padovani scoperte, Padua 1888, pp. 31–34.

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 at 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 on (among others) by Schwarcz (as in n. 11), pp. 172–73 and 176–77 (ed. M. Zösch). Of the authors who took closely at the source of 1305, only C. Gnudi, Giotto, Milan 1958, p. 166, equates the 16 March date with the ceremony.

48. The procession for 25 March was in pre-tridentine Padua (as it is today) Luke 1.26–38; see Missale Parvense cum additionalibus benedictissimorum et alium, Venice 1522, p. 233. 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 aures. See L. Jacobus, Giotto’s Annunciation in the Arena Chapel, Padua’, Art Bulletin, LXXXI, 1999, p. 93–107; and J. Tripps, Das handelnde Bildwerk in der Kunst, 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 gudende mis’, De Katholieke Godsdienst, geschied- en letterkundig maand- schrijf, CXVI, 1996, pp. 348–66, and CXVII, 1997, 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 aures. The first evidence for the addition of enactments to the Missa aures comes from the early 16th century; see M. D. Dörflinger, ‘Das barocke Reiterfest’, Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch (In Auftrag der Görres-Gesellschaft), 1, 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 aures. 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
6. 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). 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 Annunciata 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. 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.

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), Trento, p. 181.

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

As archpriest, Petro 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. 52 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). 53 Over his white surplice this second figure once wore a cowl (alminium, 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. 54 In representations of the early fourteenth century, Paduan cathedral canons wear either purple or grey-blue to blue almunix, probably according to rank. One such 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 patrneness appears here as the absolute refuge of those holding services at her altar (Fig. 10). 55 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

52. On Altegrado generally see the entry by F. Ciapparone in Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, XXII, 1979, pp. 112–13; and G. Mantovani, Il formulario Vicentino-Padovano di lattore vescovili (sec. XIV), Padua 1988, pp. 136–137. See also next footnote.

53. That he represents Altegrado di Cattanei was suggested by C. Bellinati, Giota: Padova felix: studio iconografico della Cappella di Giota (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. 30; and S. Romano, La O di Giota, Milan 2008, p. 155.

54. Cf. Simon (as in n. 46), p. 36: in rejecting the theses of Rough (as in n. 48), Simon wants to show that the cleric represented was not a member of the Cavaleri Gaudenzi, who are supposed to have worn grey habits, and more likely belonged to a different order. He assumed that Giota’s blue tones were meant to be black, so that the habit represented was black and white, as worn by the Eremitani and the Canonici Regulari di S 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. 176–177 and 186–187, ed. M. Zischg). This last circumstance is also an argument against the recently suggested identification of the kneeling figure with Fra Alberto Eremitato, the great scholar of the monastery (G. Pizzani, I volti segreti di Giota, Milan 2008, pp. 194–200). Furthermore the play of dark tones on the second foundress figure is highly differentiated: black hair, grey-violent brown, blue-oilblue. 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. 4r. This miniature is referred to by Bellinati, Nuovi studi (as in n. 4), p. 25 (ill. p. 22). Hucck (as in n. 17), p. 108 n. 15, refers to an earlier miniature, in the church consecration rite in the antiphonary of Padua Cathedral of 1306 (Biblioteca Capitolare MS B. 16, 66. 2007): there the cleric, who can only be Paduan cathedral canons, also wear almunix, some of which are blue-grey, some purple. On differences of rank within the Paduan cathedral chapter see A. Tiliaci, Canonicae Caesareae di S. Maria di Padova: tra aspirazione alla continuità e spinte di rinnovamento (secoli X–XIII), in Storia Ordinaria della chiesa padovano (as in n. 2), pp. XXVII–CVII.
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),56 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 *piscines* 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
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. 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 choir 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. 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 dedicated to St John the Evangelist (from 1523). See Carni Foscari sull’Arma di Padova (as in n. 11), pp. 58, 60, 65; and F. Sardi and E. P. Zanoni, ‘Censimenti dell’Archivio Gradeno di Rivo Mario’, 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 Annunciata (D. C. Short, ‘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. Oleari, ‘Scrovegni Bildnisse: Eine Anleitung zum Glücklichsein’, in Kulturen des Bildes, ed. B. Mersmann and M. Schula, 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).

57. 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 Cavallieri Gaudentii. Thus the upper Marian image in the Last Judgement, according to Jacobus, is part of a pictorial programme influenced by the piety of the Cavallieri Gaudentii, whilst the lower image was conceived after Scrovegni left the order.

58. Cf. Derbes and Sandoma, The Unseen Heart (as in n. 2), 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 exegeses 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.
interpréted 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.59

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.60 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 1317.61 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.62 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, visiting the outer districts of the town.63 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.64


60. That the ceremonial of communal processions could respond to political realities is shown by the participation of Obizzo Il 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 *Gliori, 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, foils 1r–3r. The text is printed by Tolomel (as in n. 11), pp. 33–39 and Schwartz (as in n. 11), pp. 188–92 (ed. M. Zösch.).

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, connect- ing the chapel with the palace. Secondly, according to both architectural and documentary evidence, a convent building was planned on the south side but never erected, see Humel (as in n. 17). Likewise, the small clinical community under Presbyter Thomasius, which preceded the canons in caring for the Arena Chapel, had probably lived in the Palace. (For these cleri 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, CXL–XLI, CL. That the original route of the
As their place of burial, Fina and her husband reached high and chose the twelfth-century baptistry 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 baptistries often had for inhabitants of Italian communes. Whilst cathedral churches were associated with the bishop, baptistries—although institutionally part of cathedrals and places of episcopal liturgy—through the act of baptism became part of an individual’s biography.\textsuperscript{64} 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.\textsuperscript{65} 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 Prosdocimus, 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.\textsuperscript{66} 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.\textsuperscript{66} 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.\textsuperscript{67} 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

\textsuperscript{64} The prayer ‘Deus qui de beatae Mariæ virginis utero’ is given in the Liber Breviarium Paderuense as one of the two texts spoken by the bishop in the chapel, the other being ‘Mentes nostras quiesunus Domine’; see Loreto (as in n. 3), p. CL.

\textsuperscript{65} See Thompson (as in n. 3), pp. 312–13.


\textsuperscript{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. Kreizers, Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century, Oxford 2004, pp. 35–56 and passim.

\textsuperscript{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 Fries, Jr., Princeton 1955, pp. 305–11; see esp. 310–11.

\textsuperscript{69} Schwarz (as in n. 11), pp. 494–96.
APPENDIX
(with Michaela Zischg)

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

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).72 The text appears among the statutes of Podesta Ongaro degli Oddi from 1528, but obviously does not copy the late 13th-century wording exactly; it gives an updated version.73

Several months after a first draft of the present article had been completed and sent to the editors, Laura Jacobas published excellent transcriptions of both versions of the statute (which differ only slightly from those given here), as well as English translations.74 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 E. Bussolati, 'La Fiera dell'Annunziazione all'Arena e un affresco di Giotto', Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova, n.s. 1 (1941), 1925, pp. 145-149 (151).
73. The possibility was overlooked by Dermen and Sandoni, The Univer'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 1258. That there was no chapel on the property before 1300 is proved by the contract of purchase from 1300 (see above, p. 17).
74. Jacobas, 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.  

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 Buzzaccarini’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, Buzzaccarini, and every single Paduan, as if there were nobody else in the world.

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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 Altarpieces, London 1973, p. 86, 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 own-gesture.
Text 1: Statuum Civitatis Paduae concerning the celebration of Annunciation Day (1278)

rub anno 1420, fol. 304v

[fol. 304v] Poteante domino Matheo Quirino MCCLXXVIII ... Ad honorem omnipotenti Dei et beatissimae virginis Marie et omnium sanctorum, ut civitas Padue perpetuo in pacifico, bene et quieto statu conservetur, statuimus et ordinamus, quod anco quolibet de reuss Marci in die festi annunciationis virginis Marie, vel in aliquo ait de uisi placitum domino episopo [fol. 304v] paduano, celebretur et fiat redemption salutationis angelicæ huc modo videlicet, quod in ecclesia palaci juris Padue hora medie terec vestiarius duuo puero videlicet unus in formam angeli cum alis et ilio, altac in formam feminaem virginalem habuim beacon beatissimae virginis Marie, in qua unus eum angelum Gamblem, alter Mariam virginem representet. Et debeat in ecclesia catedrali congregati dominus episcopus vel eius vicarius cum capite et clero paduano et cum omnibus et singulis fratribus religionis conventum de Padua cum crucibus suis et inde professionali venire ad palaciuni juris communis Padue. Et ibi debeat esse congregati dominus porsitas Padue cum omnibus judicibus et officiis communis Padue, et cum omnibus nobilibus, doctoribus et honorableibus civibus Padue. Et facta omnium congregationi, poni debeat dictus angulus super una catedra et Maria super una alia catedra honorabili ad hoc deputata. Et ne super dictis catedris secundum consuetudinem portari de dicto palacio usque ad Arenam, precedentibus tabulatoribus communis et clero paduano et sequentiis domino porsitate et omnibus civibus ac cum gastaldionibus arium, artificibus et mercatoribus processionaliter, Et ibi in certino Arene in locis preparatis et solitatis, angelus salutet Mariam angelica salutattione. Et cetera fiant quod ad representationem huiusmodi annunciationem introducunt sunt et fieri solent. Et debeat hoc festum in veerationem habere et fieri sine aliqua subsidibus comunis seu fratresarum expense, salve quod tabulatores communis et salariati de publico debeat in hoc festo sonare tubas et sonando asociare angelum et Marian de palacio ad Arenam sine aliquis solutione vel premio. Et dominus porsitas debeat ordinaire militibus suis, quod simul cum beroderis diligentiam habeant, quod ex concursu gentium nichil sinistri occurrat.

Text 2: Statuum Communis Paduae on the Annunciation Day festivities (1362)

Padua, Biblioteca Civica, Statuta Comunis Paduae, Statutus detto Carrarese, BP 1237, fol. 104v

[fol. 104v] Poteante nobili militi domine Hongaro de Odis de Persio millesimo deciescientes nonagessimo octavo, indicione undecima, die quae decimo mensis Maii. Statuimus et ordinamus, quod de omnibus denariis qui sunt vel repertori in canipis communis Padue pro cereis et dopleris emendis dominis porsiti antistis et officiis communis Padue pro processione beati Antonii [fol. 104v] confessoris et beati Danielli martiris ac levie faciendo quibulum atn de cetero ad festum translationis eiusdem et valeat ex nunc statuuo alicquo non obstante. Statuimus et ordinamus, quod ad honorem omnipotenti Dei et sanctissimae virginis Marie matris eius et sanctorom Prosdocimi, Justine et Antonii confessores et Danielli martiris et sancte romane ecclesis et ad honorem et statum pacificum et quietum communitate fratresarum et gastationum tocius populi pordaei, et ut libertas ecclesiis perpetuo conservetur per dominos porsitis et eius familiae, aniani et officiis communis Padue qui nunc sunt et pro tetrapore fuerint, singulis annis in die festi denominationis [sic] beate virginis gloriosa Marie vel illa dic, qua dictum festum per dominum episcopum Padue et cleron celebrati contingat, insimul debeat congregari in hora medie terec ad ecclesiis palaci communis Padue, et tabulatores salarizis per dictum commune secum idibus, qui in subscriptis feceris et processionibus eorum debeat officium exercere, et cum in dicta ecclesia fuerint una cum predicto domin no episopo vel suo vicario, capitulo et clero iam dictus, Mariam et angelam ab ipsa ecclesia ad capellan Arane, ubi fieri debet representatio salutationis angelice, processionaliter et devote delatos honorifice committentur per dominum porsitem Padue vel suum vicarii um una cum predictis dominis episopo vel eius vicario et capitulo prelibato regentur vel regni flant omnes et singuli religiosi civitatis Padue ad dicti domini episcopi porsitem exempti, quod amore communis Padue dictis die et hora cum crucibus et conventibus suis in ecclesia maior conveniant et de portatione predicta processionaliter committentur, ac quod gastaldiones omnes fatallae arcium communis Paduae et hora predicta ibidem cum omnibus et singulis de eorum frateris congressatis, festum ac processionem endem salutiter associant, devote facientes in eorum matricibus celebratatem feste predicti et illame de cetero modo predicto debeat revereri sine siquis communis et frateris populi paduaei expense. Et dominus porsitas Padue festum predictum per suam familiar custodiri faciat diligenter ne, quid abit, alicquid ex concursu gentium sinistrum eveniat.