



EDITED BY  
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# VENICE AND THE VENETO DURING THE RENAISSANCE

## THE LEGACY OF BENJAMIN KOHL



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**Venice and the Veneto during the  
Renaissance: the Legacy of Benjamin Kohl**

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# Competing Saints in late medieval Padua\*

by Benjamin G. Kohl  
edited by John E. Law

## 1. *Introduction*

In the autumn following the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, Armistice Day (as it was then still called) was observed distinctively in the small town where I grew up in Delaware. For the first time the entire student body of the local public school was mobilized to march the half mile up Broad Street to Cochran Square at the town's center. There we found arrayed in splendid uniforms members of the local American Legion post. Men who sold used cars or drove a school bus most days looked strangely impressive in their shining white helmets and sky-blue tunics. The mayor, who stood next to the town's only monument, a granite base topped by a soaring eagle and bearing the names of the four local men who had died in the First World War, spoke of the honoured dead and the need to defend the nation. But most impressive was the rifle salute fired by the Legion's Guard of Honor. We watched, tingling with excitement, as the Legionnaires fired round after round of blanks and heard the reports reverberate over the town's bank and post office. As we marched back to school, eager for lunch, we knew that we had been part of something special, but we never realized that with this observance of Armistice Day over half a century ago we were participating in a new "civic ritual", and one that was never to be repeated in precisely that form.

The purpose of this paper is to call into question, in the study of civic ritual in the later middle ages, the power of the omniscient historical anthropologist,

\* This is the last work that Benjamin Kohl completed. Only weeks before he died he sent it to a friend who was to find a way to publish it. Outside readers consulted by the editors of this volume agreed on its value, and the fact that it well represents his train of thought in his last phase of scholarly activity. John Law has edited the text: inserting section numbers, shortening the notes, making other formal adjustments. He has also lightened it of transcriptions from Padua's so-called Carrara statutes (1362), though maintaining short quotations and references to the text, since a critical edition will very soon be published by Ornella Pittarello, who was the recipient of Kohl's draught transcription of the Paduan manuscript. The names of saints are given in their English version, where known, but the Italian version is used for churches etc. bearing their names: e.g. St. Justina, Santa Giustina; Bl. Anthony the Pilgrim, Beato Antonio Pellegrino. The editors would like to thank Meredith Gill and Anne Derbes for advice and assistance.

whom post-modernist methodology has not – like the omniscient historian – relegated to some quaint substratum of outmoded positivism. I argue here for the importance of the participants as well as the planners of civic rituals and for the need to contextualize the creation and continuation of forms of ritual behaviour in any specific setting. My test case for the evolution of civic rituals is the changing calendar and celebration of feast days in the north Italian city of Padua in the late middle ages, between the early thirteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Most of all, the aim is to translate into some concrete reality of historical causation what the religious and civic leaders of Padua and their followers intended, hoped and even experienced. By analogy, I hope that the vivid, but fragmentary recollection of a twelve-year-old boy of the observance of Armistice Day 1950 in Middletown, Delaware, can help us understand the multiple contexts of the celebration of the universal figures and the local saints of medieval Christianity in the festivals, holidays, fairs, parishes, altars and art of Padua and its contado.

My approach is avowedly diachronic and contextual. I take seriously Sir Richard Southern's injunction that "the task of the next (generation of medievalists) will be to relate ... various bodies of theoretical knowledge ever more closely with the personalities, circumstances, historical events, and local environments of those who developed them"<sup>1</sup>. Fortunately, late medieval Padua provides superb material for mapping the changing nature of civic ritual and religious life over several centuries. The principal source for these changes are Padua's communal statutes, which, together with local records and chronicles, document the nature of festival and ritual under several regimes, beginning with the first commune that was destroyed by the Ghibelline tyrant Ezzelino da Romano, who ruled Padua from 1236 to 1256. Since the code of communal statutes enacted before Ezzelino's rule has been lost, those laws which survive in the statutory code of the second commune, dating from the late thirteenth century, are usually simply termed: "statutum vetus conditum ante millesimum ducentisimum trigesimum sextum".

No statutes were retained from the two-decade rule of the da Romano vicars, which contemporary chroniclers, such as Rolandino Patavino, and historians have viewed as a brutal and destructive Ghibelline *Sonderweg*, a horrific parenthesis in the political life of Guelph Padua. Thereafter, as provided by communal law, each Podestà was expected to introduce legislation for passage by the Maggior Consiglio during his term of office to reform abuses or define new procedures. Hence, each enactment that defined the ritual calendar or observance of individual feasts in communal Padua can be dated, in theory at least, to a particular year, and its enactment understood in a specific historical context. As we shall see, Padua's ritual year was largely defined in the *podestaria* of the Venetian noble Matteo di Niccolò Querini in 1278, but later modifications were made under the rule of the Carrara dynasty

<sup>1</sup> Southern, lxvi.

from 1318 to 1405, and further changes after the Venetian conquest in 1405<sup>2</sup>. Padua presents an excellent example of the evolution of ritual over time, with different emphases by three different regimes – communal, signorial, and Venetian – and new saints and rituals were introduced to represent new social and political needs.

## 2. Padua's Ritual Calendar

The earliest communal legislation on holidays (dating from before 1236) defined those solemn feast days when no servile labor was permitted and ordinary commerce was suspended.

On Good Friday, on the feasts of the Virgin Mary mother of God, and on all Sundays, and on the feast of the twelve apostles, and on the feast of Blessed Anthony the Confessor in June, no shop is to be open for any trade, nor in which anything is sold, except food and victuals for eating, and this in the city of Padua, under the penalty of twenty soldi for each and every violation. And concerning these matters, the Podestà is required to investigate by oath, except on half-holidays (*ferie*) and during the annual fairs. And that shoemakers and tailors can ply their trades until terce without penalty, provided that the doors of their shops are kept open. Another exception is that grocers can keep five of their shops open on any given day, and even in the time of the fairs<sup>3</sup>.

Thus, with the fifty-two Sundays and nearly twenty other solemn feasts for the Virgin Mary and the Apostles (about seventy per year), the Paduan commune defined those holidays during which shops were to be closed and work suspended for prayer and worship. To these solemn feasts were added a list of court holidays when no legal cases were to be heard, except for the sentencing of thieves and other criminals. The summer court recess of thirty-one days centered on the feast of St. Peter (14 June to 14 July), for the summer grain harvest, and autumn recess of seventeen days centered on Michaelmas (21 September to 7 October) for the grape harvest (the *vendemmia*). Less tied to the harvest seasons was the Christmas court recess of eighteen days from the vigil of St. Thomas to the third day after Epiphany (20 December to 8 January). Two other court vacations were moveable feasts defined by Easter: eighteen days from the Saturday before Palm Sunday to the end of the octave after Easter, and two days before and two days after Pentecost Sunday<sup>4</sup>. During the

<sup>2</sup> *Statuti del commune*, 1873 (hereafter *Stat. com.*, with citations by item number), codex completed in 1276, with additions to 1285. See also the recent Italian translation in *Statuti del comune*, 2000. Although almost all statutes are dated, they were often amended or assigned a different date for inclusion in the different codes without any noting of the fact. For the later codes: Padua, Biblioteca Civica, ms. B.P. 1237, *Statuta communis Padue* [1362] (hereafter *Stat. Car.*); Padua, Biblioteca Civica, ms. B.P. 1236. *Volumen statutorum magnifice civitatis Padue reformatorum* [1420] (hereafter *Stat. Ref.*). On the codices of the Paduan statutes, see Magliani.

<sup>3</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 556, included with minor changes in *Stat. Car.*, fol. 102v (the version translated here).

<sup>4</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 554-55.

communal period, Paduan courts were to suspend sessions for nearly ninety days during five recesses, in addition to nearly seventy solemn feasts for a total of nearly 160 days per annum. On all other days, Padua's Podestà and his judges of criminal cases and the twelve court justices of civil cases were required to attend court.

A few other statutes surviving from the pre-Ezzelinian period elaborated the "blue laws" that forbade work on Sundays and the solemn feasts, and defined the holding of fairs and markets. For example, no barber was permitted to shave customers on Sunday under a fine of sixty soldi, and no teamster was allowed to bring goods into the city by ox cart on Sundays, and the feasts of the Apostles and the Virgin Mary<sup>5</sup>. During the annual fairs and the markets held in honor of the city's original patron saints, Prosdocimus and Justina, the commune was obliged to appoint judges and notaries to conduct their offices of public order, justice and drawing up contracts of sale in the Prato della Valle, a broad meadow on the site of the Roman *Campus Martius* that functioned as Padua's fair ground<sup>6</sup>. In the walled town of Cittadella in the northern part of the contado, an annual fair was authorized on the feast of St. Luke (October 18), and a market permitted on every Sunday<sup>7</sup>. But, in general, the feasts and fairs honouring Padua's patron saints and a full elaboration of the ritual year were defined in the spate of legislation passed in the two decades after the fall of Ezzelino da Romano.

The key figure in the establishment of civic ritual in the newly-restored Guelph Padua was the thaumaturgic Franciscan friar, St. Anthony of Lisbon. Soon after his death on 20 June 1231, a burial place was established in the church of Santa Maria Mater Domini, and a Franciscan community founded there. The octave of St. Anthony's feast took on major political significance in the middle of the Duecento as the occasion for the perpetual commemoration of the recapture of Padua from the hated Ghibelline tyrant, Ezzelino da Romano, on 20 June 1256. According to local traditions, St. Anthony either interceded to ensure the victory of the crusading army over Ezzelino or appeared in a dream to predict the fall of the tyrant to his disciple and successor, Bl. Luca Belludi<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 562-63; included with changes in *Stat. Car.*, fol. 103r.

<sup>6</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 565; included with changes in *Stat. Car.*, fol. 103v.

<sup>7</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 567.

<sup>8</sup> Rolandinus Patavinus, 43-44, 118-19, credits St. Anthony as the special guardian of Padua, but does not mention his intercession in his description of the recapture of the city from Ezzelino on 20 June. His intervention is mentioned in Da Nono's account of around 1330: Da Nono, 145. The legend of St. Anthony prophesying to Beato Luca Belludi the fall of Ezzelino is depicted by Giusto de' Menabuoi (c. 1382) in the Conti chapel in the Santo, with a cityscape of Padua in the background, and the inscription below recording Luca praying to the saint. "Hic dum Beatus Lucas deprecaretur Deum sedula oracione pro conservatione paduane civitatis meruit a beato Antonio sibi aparente revelationem habere quod in proximum [diem] dicta civitas liberanda erat a dominio crudelissimi [Eccelini]": text published in Gamboso, 1988. The revelation of St. Anthony became a standard story by the mid-Quattrocento, as is revealed in Michele Savonarola, 16. Also, Webb, 97-98.

A year after the liberation of the city by a Guelph crusading army made up of exiles led by the Paduan bishop, Giovanni Forzatè, and aided by Venetian and Ferrarese soldiers under the command of Azzo VII d'Este, the current Podestà of Padua, the Venetian noble Marco Querini, introduced a statute that honoured the city's great patron saint with several events: an annual fair, a vesper procession on 19 June, a horse race and a public Mass on 20 June. The festivals and fairs held at the end of June in honor of St. Anthony brought all manner of folk into the city. The commune appointed twenty special police under their own captain to keep peace in the area around the Basilica and Prato della Valle. Special judges were appointed to try and punish any transgressors. Taverners were to keep closed their shops in the vicinity, and certain types of persons, especially gamblers, prostitutes, procurers and, generally, men and women of ill repute, were excluded from the area of the fair from the Piazza del Santo and Prato della Valle to the Pontecorvo city gate. To increase trade at the fair itself a monopoly was granted to merchants who set up booths in the Prato della Valle, since all shops in the center of town had to remain closed, with a number of notaries seconded to the fair to draw up contracts at a cheap rate. Foreign merchants were welcome to come and go at will for eight days before and eight following the feast of St. Anthony, even if under normal circumstance these men would have been subject to reprisals<sup>9</sup>.

To commemorate the capture of the Paduan suburbs from Ezzelino's forces, on the evening of 19 June, the Podestà with his staff of knights and judges and members of the guilds of Padua were to march in solemn procession from the town hall, the Palazzo della Ragione, at the city's center to the Basilica di Sant'Antonio, a kilometre to the south, for the honor of God, the Virgin Mary, and the city's patron saints, Prosdocimus, Justina and Anthony. The next morning, the bishop and all his clergy with the Podestà and his staff, giving the place of honor to the hero of the reconquest, the Marchese d'Este, if he were in town, followed by the knights of the city and their ladies and all guildsmen, were to process to the Basilica with candles, provided at communal expense, there to hear Mass. But before the Mass, the commune was to sponsor a horse race (*palio*) around the Prato della Valle. Racing destriers of high quality valued at least fifty *lire*, according to the appraisal of one of the Podestà's knights or judges, the riders competed for several prizes. The winner was awarded a scarlet cloth of twelve *braccia* (about eight meters). The second prize was a sparrow-hawk that cost no more than three lire, the third a pair of gloves, provided at the expense of the commune of Padua. The new festival of St. Anthony established to memorialize the liberation of Padua from the tyranny of Ezzelino was to be a solemn feast of the highest order, equivalent to "the feast of an Apostle"<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 558; included with changes in *Stat. Car.*, fol. 102v.

<sup>10</sup> *Stat. Com.* 559, included with minor changes in *Stat. Car.*, fol. 102v. The *palio* in honour of St. Anthony, with its prizes, has been described several times: Gloria, 1861, 1:22; Gloria, 1884, 1:41; Thompson, 174.

Except for the elaborate celebrations surrounding the feast of St. Anthony every June, the solemn feasts and court holidays established by communal legislation in Duecento Padua reflected the rules recently set forth in canon law. Early in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, following closely the canons in Gratian's *Decretum*, Pope Gregory IX defined those days which were to be dedicated to the honor of God and the saints when no legal proceedings could be conducted, except out of dire necessity, even with the consent of the parties involved. The passage from Title 9, "De feriis", of Book II of the Decretals is worth quoting *in extenso* for it provided much of the legal basis for the definition of religious holidays throughout Europe during the later middle Ages. The text from 1230 reads:

"Although it is proper to settle legal disputes and not postpone them, still judicial procedures ought to be laid to rest during religious holidays, which out of reverence for God have been established, namely: the feasts of Christmas, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, St. Silvester, Circumcision, Epiphany, Palm Sunday and Holy Week, Easter and the week after, Ascension, Pentecost, and two days after, the Nativity of John the Baptist, the feast of the Twelve Apostles, especially of Sts Peter and Paul, and of St. Lawrence, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Martin, All Saints and all Sundays, which with other solemn holidays that individual bishops with their clergy and people may establish in the dioceses are to be solemnly observed"<sup>11</sup>.

As we have seen, a similar list of solemn feasts and court holidays added to the communal statutes of Padua in the thirteenth century defined the days on which shops were closed and no court sessions held<sup>12</sup>. The major new definition of Padua's liturgical calendar, which enumerated saints' days for the first time, was made in the spring of 1278 during the *podestaria* of Matteo di Niccolò Querini, the younger brother of Marco, the Venetian noble who served as the first Podestà of Padua after the fall of Ezzelino's regime. Both were leading members of Venice's "popular" party, some of whose members, including Giovanni Badoer, Tomasino Giustinian, and the future doge Lorenzo Tiepolo, also served as Podestà of Padua during the two decades after Ezzelino's fall. One of Matteo Querini's first acts as Podestà was to push through the Maggior Consiglio legislation that banned three former Podestà, Roberto de' Roberti of Reggio, Bartolomeo da Soppo of Bergamo and Goffredo della Torre of Milan, with their kinsmen to the fourth degree of consanguinity, from any future service in Padua<sup>13</sup>. Perhaps Querini wanted to clear the way for the service of his fellow Venetians as Podestà of Padua, as happened with the election of Marino Valaresso in 1278 and Enrico Orio in 1281. In any case, the statute of 1278 was included in a revised form in the reformed code redacted

<sup>11</sup> Friedberg, 2:272-73.

<sup>12</sup> On the number of feast days in a year, Rogers, 9-10 and Brundage, 83. The latter calculates that no labour was allowed on 120 days a year, including fifty-two Sundays and forty universal feasts, and perhaps thirty local saints' days. Padua's solemn feasts were probably fewer.

<sup>13</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 2.1 and 3.1. For a list of Padua's Podestà in this period, Gloria, 1888, 1:29-47.

with Venice's supervision in 1420, and in later communal printed statutes into the early modern period. It combined the lengthy court holidays with saints' days and other solemn feasts to define the entire liturgical year<sup>14</sup>.

Incorporating, with minor changes, statutes passed before 1236 and in 1267, the statute begins with the Advent season to define court holidays, solemn feasts and major saints' days. "No one shall be called to judgement, nor enter pleas from the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle to Epiphany (21 December to 6 January), nor in the festivals of the blessed Virgin Mary, all Sundays, the feast days of the twelve apostles, of the four evangelists, of St. Agnes (22 January), the Conversion of St. Paul (25 January), St. Blaise (3 February), St. Agatha (5 February), the Chair of St. Peter (22 February)". Next were listed the moveable feasts, associated with Carnival, Easter, and Pentecost, and the saints' days from the spring months when courts sessions were to be suspended. "From the Sunday of Carnival to the First Sunday of Lent, and (the feasts) of St. Juliana (16 February), St. Gregory (12 March), St. Benedict (21 March), and from Palm Sunday to the octave of Easter, the Invention of the True Cross (3 May), Ascension of the Lord, and the day of Pentecost with two following, and Corpus Christi, and St. Barnabas (11 June)".

There followed the definition of the summer court recess, and the saints' days of the summer season: "(No one shall be called to judgement) from St. Barnabas to fifteen days after the feast of St. Peter (11 June to 14 July), (and on the feasts) of St. Margaret (20 July), of St. Mary Magdalene (22 July), of St. Peter in Chains (1 August), of St. Dominic the Confessor (4 August), of St. Lawrence martyr and levite (10 August), of St. Salvator (9 December), of St. Maximus (28 July), of St. Augustine (28 August), of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist (29 August), of St. Giles (1 September), and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September)". Then were observed two court recesses for the *vendemmia* and autumn harvest when the fairs of St. Justina and St. Prosdocius were also held: "from the feast of the Nativity of St. Mary to four days after the feast of St. Justina (8 September to 11 October), and from the feast of All Saints to the feast of St. Martin (1 to 12 November)". There follows a list of the solemn feasts observed, except for St. George, at the end of the church year: "the feast of St. Cecilia and of St. Clement (both 22 November), of St. Catherine (25 November), of St. Nicholas (6 December), of St. George, of St. Ambrose (7 December), of St. Lucy virgin (13 December)".

After this original list of holidays, from 1278, were added other feasts and observances that had become important in Padua in the late Duecento: "the (first) Thursday in May, the octave of St. Anthony (13 to 20 June), Eleven Thousand Virgins (21 October), St. Hermagoras (12 June), the Solemnities of the Dead (2 November), St. Barbara (4 December), St. Anthony of Vienne (17 January), Bl. Anthony the Pilgrim (1 February), St. Leonard (6 November) and

<sup>14</sup> See Table 1, which contains a list of solemn feasts and holidays as defined in the statute of 1278, checked against 1362, the year of the redaction of the code.

St. Dominic (named for a second time)”, as well as the week before the first Sunday in Lent. “These are to be understood to be solemn (feasts) except for the holidays of vintage and harvest (*exceptis feriis vindemiarum et messium*), which are not understood to be solemn”.

DATE	HOLIDAY	SPECIAL EVENT
1 Jan. 1362	Circumcision of Jesus Christ	
2 Jan.	Sunday	
6 Jan.	Epiphany	
9 Jan.	Sunday	
16 Jan.	Sunday	
17 Jan.	St. Anthony Abbot	procession (1354)
21 Jan.	St. Agnes	
22 Jan.	Sunday	
25 Jan.	Conversion of St. Paul	
29 Jan.	Sunday	
1 Feb.	St. Anthony Pilgrim	procession (1269, 1272)
2 Feb.	Purification of the Virgin	procession (1372)
3 Feb.	St. Blaise	
5 Feb.	St. Agatha	
6 Feb.	Sunday	
13 Feb.	Sunday	
16 Feb.	St. Juliana	
20 Feb.	Sunday	
22 Feb.	Chair of St. Peter	
24 Feb.	St. Matthias	
27 Feb.	Sunday before Lent	carnival, court holiday, 27 Feb-6 March (eight day recess)
1 March	Shrove Tuesday	
2 March	Ash Wednesday	
6 March	First Sunday in Lent	
7 March	St. Thomas Aquinas	
12 March	St. Gregory the Great	
13 March	Second Sunday in Lent	
20 March	Third Sunday in Lent	
21 March	St. Benedict	
25 March	The Annunciation	procession (1278, 1298)
27 March	Fourth Sunday in Lent	
3 April	Passion Sunday	
10 April	Palm Sunday	Easter, court holiday, 10-24 April (fourteen day recess)
14 April	Maundy Thursday	
15 April	Good Friday	
17 April	Easter	
23 April	St. George	
24 April	Sunday	
25 April	St. Mark	
29 April	St. Peter Martyr	procession(1323, 1331)
1 May	Sts Philip and James (Sunday)	
3 May	Invention of the Holy Cross	
8 May	Sunday	
15 May	Translation of St. Daniel (Sunday)	procession (1296)
22 May	Sunday	
24 May	St. Salvatore	
26 May	Ascension	
29 May	Sunday	
31 May	St. Canciano	
5 June	Pentecost	
6 June	Monday after Pentecost	
7 June	Tuesday after Pentecost	
11 June	St. Barnabas	harvest, court holiday, 11 June-14 July (thirtyfour day recess)

## Competing Saints in Late Medieval Padua

12 June	Trinity Sunday	
12 June	St. Hermagoras of Aquileia	
13 June	St. Anthony of Padua	fair of St. Anthony, 13-20 June (eight day recess), ante 1236
16 June	Corpus Christi	
19 June	Sunday, Vigil of Liberation	procession, basilica St. Anthony
20 June	Liberation of Padua	(1256), palio and mass (1257)
25 June	Sant'Allo [St. Eligius]	procession, added 1386
26 June	Sunday	
29 July	Sts Peter and Paul	
3 July	Sunday	
10 July	Sunday	
17 July	Sunday	
20 July	St. Margaret of Antioch	
22 July	St. Mary Magdalene	
25 July	St. James the Greater	palio for the election of Giacomo Da Carrara, lord of Padua (1318)
28 July	St. Maximus, bishop of Padua	
31 July	Sunday	
1 Aug.	St. Peter in Chains	
4 Aug.	St. Dominic	
7 Aug.	Sunday	
9 Aug.	St. Fermo of Verona	
10 Aug.	St. Lawrence	
14 Aug.	Sunday	
15 Aug.	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	
19 Aug.	St. Louis of Toulouse	procession, conquest of Monselice (1338)
21 Aug.	Sunday	
24 Aug.	St. Bartholomew	
28 Aug.	Sunday (St. Augustine)	
29 Aug.	Decollation of St. John the Baptist	
1 Sept.	St. Giles	
4 Sept.	Sunday	
8 Sept.	Nativity of the Virgin Mary	vintage, court holiday, 8 Sept.-11 Oct. (34 days)
11 Sept.	Sunday	
14 Sept.	Exaltation of the Holy Cross	
18 Sept.	Sunday	
21 Sept.	St. Matthew	
25 Sept.	Sunday	
2 Oct.	Sunday	
4 Oct.	St. Francis of Assisi	fair of St. Justina, 4-11 Oct. (9 days, ante 1236)
7 Oct.	St. Justina	
9 Oct.	Sunday	
16 Oct.	Sunday	
18 Oct.	St. Luke	
21 Oct.	St. Ursula and 11.000 virgins	
23 Oct.	Sunday	
28 Oct.	Sts Simon and Jude	
30 Oct.	Sunday	
1 Nov.	All Saints	autumn court holiday, 1-12 Nov. (12 days)
2 Nov.	All Souls	
6 Nov.	Sunday (St. Leonard)	fair of St. Prosdocimus, 3-11 Nov (9 days, ante 1236)
7 Nov.	St. Prosdocimus	
11 Nov.	St. Martin	
13 Nov.	Sunday	
20 Nov.	Sunday	
22 Nov.	St. Cecilia	
22 Nov.	St. Clement	
25 Nov.	St. Catherine of Alexandria	
27 Nov.	Sunday	
30 Nov.	St. Andrew	
4 Dec.	Sunday (St. Barbara)	

6 Dec.	St. Nicholas	
7 Dec.	St. Ambrose	
11 Dec.	Sunday	
13 Dec.	St. Lucy	
20 Dec.	Sunday	
21 Dec.	St. Thomas the Apostle	Christmas, court holiday, 21 Dec.1362-7 Jan. 1363 (17 days)
25 Dec.	Christmas (Sunday)	
26 Dec.	St. Stephen	
27 Dec.	St. John the Evangelist	
28 Dec.	Holy Innocents	

Tab. 1. *The Paduan Civic and Liturgical Year in 1362*<sup>15</sup>

On all other days, the courts were to be open, judges and notaries at their benches, and the Podestà was to exercise his office against thieves and criminals. Adapting a statute of 1269 (*Stat. Com.*, 555), holidays (*ferie*) were not to be introduced except by vote of the majority of the Greater Council, “except that the Podestà can introduce holidays for the muster of troops during threat of uprisings, and other instances where clear utility or urgent necessity or piety would be apparent to the Podestà, and except that he can and ought to render summary judgement concerning rents and revenues, payment for labour and salaries, every day, except on solemn festivals”. At its end, the statute was again retouched to add seven more saints – two Franciscans, three Dominicans and two local – who had had churches or altars consecrated in their honor or had become widely recognized in Padua’s liturgical calendar in the early Trecento. “And that the feast of St. Francis (4 october), St. Louis (of Toulouse) (19 August), St. Dominic (mentioned for a third time), St. Peter Martyr (29 April), St. Thomas Aquinas (7 March), St. Fermo (9 August), and St. Canziano (31 May) should be celebrated, as are other feasts included in the aforesaid statute”. The full panoply of Padua’s saints was now defined in the city’s civic calendar. But competition among them had already begun in a world of fairs and festivals, processions and *palii*, to create a distinctive religious, civic and commercial calendar. Here the needs of work, trade and agriculture competed with Padua’s ancient religious traditions, the Guelph character of its several political regimes, and the rivalries of bishop and commune, monks, friars and parish clergy, and ultimately the authority of the Carrara lords and then the Venetian government, to define a new “city of God” and a space for the local ritual experience.

<sup>15</sup> Source: Padua, Bibliotheca Civica, ms. B.P. 1237, *Statuta communis Padue* [1362], fols. 101v-05r, collated with Venice, Bibliotheca Nazionale Marciana, ms. Lat. V, 37 (=2306), *Statuta patavina*, fols. 100r-03v. To be linked to 1362, the year when the code was enacted, are the solemn feast days when shops were closed and work suspended as provided in pre-1236 statutes, *Stat. Com.*, 556, and those added in 1278 (and later), in *Stat. Car.*, fol. 101v. Given in parentheses in the column titled Special Event is the year when a procession or *pali* was first established by communal statutes, the time of a fair, or the duration of a court recess, when the sessions of communal courts were suspended. Minor modifications to 1386 are included.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, Padua enjoyed the protection of three great patron saints: the first-century disciple of St. Peter and the city's first bishop Prosdocimus, the fourth-century virgin martyr Justina, and the beloved Franciscan friar, the wonder-working Anthony of Padua. By early in the century, communal statutes had ratified earlier bishops' grants to permit the two original patron saints to 'host' the annual fair held in the large meadow in the south of the city, the Prato della Valle. Each saint enjoyed a week-long fair held near its principal feast day: St. Justina for nine days centered on her feast on 7 October, St. Prosdocimus for nine days around his feast of 7 November. In 1257, St. Anthony's fair was added during the octave following his feast on 13 June. The older fairs and markets held in honor of Sts Justina and Prosdocimus had for some time marked two major moments in the agricultural year. St. Justina's feast came at the end of the grape harvest and also served as the day of reckoning for *mezzadria* contracts and other agricultural dues, much as Michaelmas (September 29) did in contemporary England where the growing season was somewhat shorter. St. Prosdocimus' feast in early November coincided with the autumn cattle market and the slaughter of animals, mainly swine, for consumption during the coming winter. In 1275, fairs were also authorized in the towns of the southern Padovano, in the main square of the town of Este on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8) and in the Rocca of Monselice on All Saints (1 November), but these fairs did not survive long into the fourteenth century<sup>16</sup>. However, three major fairs, honouring the city's three patron saints, became an integral part of Padua's economy and lasted for centuries into the modern period.

### 3. *Two Bishop Saints: Daniel and Anthony the Pilgrim*

Since the high Middle Ages, various bishops of Padua had worked to provide the city with a fourth patron saint, directly under their control, and serving as a co-titular for the Duomo, along with the Virgin Mary. This new saint, St. Daniel, was introduced *ex nihilo* into the hagiography of medieval Padua in the middle of the eleventh century<sup>17</sup>. The saint's legend, which was written down in the decades following the discovery of his relics in December 1075, encompassed the four genres of medieval hagiography: *vita*, or life, *passio*, or suffering and death, that is, martyrdom, *inventio*, the discovery of the saint's body, and *translatio*, the transporting of the newly-discovered relics to a new tomb, or resting place. The bishop responsible for capitalizing on the

<sup>16</sup> The local fairs listed at the end of *Stat. Com.*, 565 (1275), are omitted from *Stat. Car.* fol. 103v. Thompson, 278-79, mentions these fairs but mistakenly makes the Nativity of the Virgin rather than the Annunciation "the Marian centre of the [Paduan] year".

<sup>17</sup> Standard surveys of the biography and cult are: Daniele, 1964; Corsato; for analysis of the earlier scholarship, Tilatti, 167-221, 292-301, 341-51.

discovery of St. Daniel's relics was Odelrico (1064-1080), usually viewed as an adherent of the imperial party in northern Italy at the time of the Investiture Controversy. He was following the policy of earlier bishops who had mined the burial grounds of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Giustina, which was built on Padua's ancient *Campus Martius* to recover the relics of Padua's holy men and women. In this *locus sanctorum* in 1052, near the tomb of St. Prosdocimus, were discovered the bones of the second bishop of Padua, St. Maximus, of the pious servant of God, St. Felicity, and of St. Julian, an early pilgrim who had brought back to Padua the relics of three of the Holy Innocents massacred on the orders of king Herod. The bishop, acting in cooperation with the Benedictine monks, had these newly-discovered relics transported and reburied in new altars in Santa Giustina.

During the Christmas season of 1076, just as bishop Odelrico was preparing to dedicate his newly-constructed Duomo to the Mother of God, in the center of the city, an even more astounding discovery took place. The two accounts written some years after the event, the shorter *Passio Sancti Danielis*, composed in ca. 1100, and the other, elaborate *Inventio*, probably written under the auspices of bishop Bellino in 1140, differ in detail, but convey the same basic story. Both accounts also include several of the commonplaces of the genre, *inventio*, in early medieval hagiography: a dream to inform the discovery, the symbolism of light, recognition of the saint's relics from an inscription of his tomb, and the importance of a bishop in honouring the new saint<sup>18</sup>.

The story of St. Daniel is this. A blind man in Tuscany has a dream of a young levite (deacon), who promises to restore his sight if he will journey to Padua and pray at the tomb of St. Prosdocimus in the Benedictine house of Santa Giustina. The blind man reaches Padua and while he is praying the young levite appears to him in a dream, and restores his sight. The Tuscan tells the abbot of Santa Giustina of this miracle, who in turn informs bishop Odelrico of the presence of the relics of St. Daniel in the monastery. The bishop searches for his tomb, which is found near the tomb of St. Prosdocimus and confirmed by the inscription: "Hic corpus Danielis martiris ac levitis quietescit". The body, clothed as a high priest (*antistes*) is then carried to the altar of Santa Giustina. The people of Padua flock to receive miraculous cures from the newly-discovered relics, the blind see, the lame walk, and the possessed have their demons cast out. Bishop Odelrico then announces that he intends to translate the relic to his newly constructed cathedral. Some lay people object, saying the body ought to be left where it was found. But with the support of other members of the laity, the monks of Santa Giustina, and the clergy of his chapter and the diocese, bishop Odelrico prevails. A throng transports the body into the city, but stops at a gate when the burden becomes too heavy. When the

<sup>18</sup> For editions and discussions on the sources of St. Daniel, Daniele, 1984-1985; Daniele, 1987-1988.

bishop promises to build an oratory to St. Daniel on that spot, the weight is miraculously reduced, and the body is carried to the Duomo. There the saint's relics are displayed in a place of honor while the consecration of the new cathedral takes place, and then buried in a new tomb in the apse. Both accounts affirm that the translation took place on December 26, 1075, the consecration of the new cathedral on December 29, and the deposition of the body on January 3, which became for a time the anniversary feast of Padua's new saint.

Bishop Odelrico would have understood well the truth of Peter Brown's wry observation: "Relics needed status"<sup>19</sup>. Indeed, in arguing for the translation of St. Daniel's body to the Duomo, Odelrico asserted: "Almighty God does not wish such a worthy patron absent from the home of his Genetrix"<sup>20</sup>. As Andrea Tilatti suggests, Odelrico's appropriation of the body of St. Daniel, along with his reform of the cathedral chapter and the construction of an imposing new edifice were evidence of his adherence to at least some of the tenets of the Gregorian reform movement<sup>21</sup>. From the narrative of the events, starting with his clerical clothing and the signs of his martyrdom at the invention, and confirmed by his subsequent cult, St. Daniel was always to be seen as the bishop's saint. Odelrico's aim was to provide for his cathedral what it had previously lacked, that is a holy relic, in order to make it more worthy of its titular, the Virgin Mary, and thus to bring needed honor and prestige to the bishop, the cathedral clergy, and the secular clergy of the diocese.

To venerate St. Daniel in the Duomo ensured a new recognition for the whole episcopal order, whose cult would elevate the status of the bishop and provide a new liturgical and ceremonial vehicle aiming to bring consensus and social peace. The revelation and translation of this hidden treasure under the guidance of bishop Odelrico was accomplished by striking a compromise with the Benedictines of Santa Giustina, providing them with new fairs and tolls, and the control of the newly-established oratory to St. Daniel near the south walls of Padua. During the next century, the bishops' leadership increased the parishes and property of the diocese, and a monastery dedicated to St. Daniel was built near Abano during Bellino's episcopate. In the bishop's circles at least, Daniel joined Prosdocimus and Justina as one of the patron saints of Padua<sup>22</sup>.

The crisis of Paduan society in the first decades of the thirteenth century brought the imposition of a regional Ghibelline state under the da Romano family, which, in effect, destroyed the first commune. Beginning as vicars for Frederick II, Ezzelino and Alberico da Romano soon came to rule in their own right as leaders of their own faction, who first fined and exiled and later executed the leaders of Guelph Padua. Even discounting the more sensational

<sup>19</sup> Brown, 236.

<sup>20</sup> Daniele, 1984-1985, 108.

<sup>21</sup> For what follows, Tilatti, 195-203.

<sup>22</sup> Bortolami, 1996, 94-106, and Tilatti, 293-95.

anecdotes of native chroniclers such as Rolandino of Padua, the last decade of Ezzelino's rule can best be described as a society gone berserk in its pervasive use of violence, that ended only with vengeful torture, mutilation and burning of Alberico, his wife and children. From these ashes rose the new Paduan commune under the leadership of new feudal families, and a series of bishops – most significantly of all, Giovanni Forzatè – who competed with the commune to impose authority on Padua in the late thirteenth century<sup>23</sup>.

Much of Giovanni Forzatè's episcopate was also marked by internal strife and violent struggles between the bishop and his cathedral clergy, and with the Mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans of Sant'Antonio. Forzatè's death in June 1283 led to a power struggle among the canons of the Duomo to elect the new bishop, with five voting for the noble Percevalle Conti, and the other five for a deacon, Giovanni dall'Abbate. The abbot of Santa Giustina broke the tie in favour of Conti, claiming that his predecessors had always had a voice in the election of the bishop. But the controversy continued, and both parties appealed for a decision from the patriarch of Aquileia, who decided in 1285 in favour of Conti and consecrated him as bishop of Padua. The next year Pope Honorius IV intervened, instructing the bishop of Castello – in Venice – to remove Conti from office, and on 4 March 1287 named to the see of Padua his own candidate, the curialist Bernard Platone of Agde (Languedoc), Auditor General of the *Camera Apostolica* and a canon lawyer. The pope's energetic intervention marked a turning point in the history of Padua's episcopate, with election now securely in papal hands and favouring the appointment of foreign clerics to the post. Bernard Platone worked to hammer out an agreement, in 1290, between the bishop and the commune that was ratified in a pact endorsed by Pope Nicholas IV. In general, the commune of Padua gained the upper hand, including the right to try criminous clergy as laymen, to prevent clerics from bearing arms, frequenting taverns, gambling, and in general to declare those who persisted in a dissolute life as "clerici fictiosi"<sup>24</sup>.

A forceful administrator, Bernard soon made peace with the Franciscan community and worked at improving the morals and behaviour of the Paduan clergy. The prestige of his office grew in the 1290s<sup>25</sup>. But in some circles Bernard became unpopular, perhaps as a zealous collector of papal tithes. In obscure circumstances, bishop Bernard Platone was assassinated near the Duomo in May 1295 (a contemporary list of Paduan bishops annotates his name with "mortuus gladio"). During the *sede vacante*, the function of his office was held by Giovanni dall'Abbate, who was now the archpriest of the cathedral chapter<sup>26</sup>. Late in May 1295, at the initiative of Giovanni dall'Abbate, St. Daniel's remains were translated

<sup>23</sup> On Ezzelino's tyranny, Rippe, 725-71; on the bishop's role, Pamato.

<sup>24</sup> For the agreement: Dondi dall'Orologio, 1815, 40-46, doc. 19. Botteghi remains the fullest account of the conflict, but now see Rigon, 1996, 134-35, 139-40.

<sup>25</sup> On these reforms see Gaffuri.

<sup>26</sup> On the election and brief term of Bernard Platone, see Rigon, 1977, 405-08. Simioni, 343, speculates that his zealous collection of papal revenues was the reason for his murder in May 1295.

to a new tomb prepared near of the High Altar of the Duomo. In May 1296, on the first anniversary of the translation of the relics of St. Daniel, the new bishop Giovanni Savelli granted an indulgence of forty days to penitents who attended Mass in the new chapel of San Daniele during the saint's octave<sup>27</sup>.

The commune and bishop of Padua soon decided to observe St. Daniel's translation in a major way<sup>28</sup>. A communal statute that was probably enacted in 1296 provided that the Podestà with his officials were to go "to the chapel of Blessed Daniel, martyr and levite, ... every year on the third Sunday in May, on the day of the translation of the said saint, for Mass, and at Vespers let there be a procession at the expense of the commune of Padua, and it ought to be done in the same manner and form as is the procession of St. Anthony the Confessor". The leaders (*gastaldiones*) of the guilds with all their brothers were to join the company that was to march to the oratory of San Daniele to the southeast of the Duomo. In May 1298, a statute was passed that the commune's expenditure for wax and candles carried in the procession was to equal that granted for the more famous procession at the feast of St. Anthony<sup>29</sup>. Hence, the bishop of Padua got his revenge, and, with the aid of the commune, attempted to create an observance that was intended to rival the Franciscans' feast for their beloved friar, and, in effect, made St. Daniel martyr and levite, the fourth patron saint of Padua.

The assertion of the cult of the bishop's saint so soon after Bernard's assassination was expected to be violent<sup>30</sup>. Fines were doubled for those found carrying arms and knives in the Duomo, on its *piazza*, and within sixty meters (*unam turnam*) of the church. The procession was to be guarded by the Podestà's knights and police, with the explicit prohibition against any private person hanging his family's coats-of-arms ("facere insignia") from the *campanile* of the Duomo. Anyone who was bold enough to commit murder near the Duomo on the feast of St. Daniel was to be punished by execution, without appeal. Anyone who helped keep public order by arresting and turning over to the Podestà or his jailors any assassin, purse snatcher, street fighter, or murderer was to receive double the usual reward. Finally, the feast of St. Daniel was to bring in additional income. Any alms and oblations contributed on the day of the feast were to be held by the Gastaldi of the confraternity of St. Daniel and two men appointed by the Podestà and the Anziani of the commune, and expended first for the decoration and maintenance of the chapel of St. Daniel in the Duomo, and the second as the Gastaldi would see fit.

The contemporary annals of the Podestà of Padua provide the fullest accounts of his murder: "1295... Hoc anno Çixana assassinus in platea domi de versus pallacium percussit et atrociter vulneravit venerabilem patrem dominum Bernardum Dei gratia episcopum Paduanum, de quo vulnere obiit". Bortolami, 1975, 106.

<sup>27</sup> Dondi dall'Orologio, 1815, 61-62, doc. 29.

<sup>28</sup> The statute for the feast of St. Daniel survives only in the *Stat. Car.*, fol. 104.

<sup>29</sup> *Stat. Car.*, fol. 104r.

<sup>30</sup> *Stat. Car.*, fol. 104r.

Over the next century, the cult of St. Daniel as a patron saint of Padua flourished. The confraternity of St. Daniel, mentioned in the statutes of 1296, met monthly in the Duomo and organized annual processions to mark the two translations of the saint's body – the third of January for the translation of 1076, and the third Sunday in May to commemorate the second translation in 1295<sup>31</sup>. In 1334, bishop Ildebrandino Conti decreed that pilgrims and penitents who visited the chapel and contributed to its upkeep during St. Daniel's octave would receive an indulgence of 40 days<sup>32</sup>. A synod held in 1360 under bishop Pileo da Prata decreed that the parish priests of the diocese had to observe St. Daniel's annual feast under pain of excommunication. But St. Daniel probably never gained full partnership in the tetrarchy of Padua's patron saints. When writing in 1373 to the lord of the city, Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, Francesco Petrarca mentions Padua is adorned with the "impressive shrines of the bishop Prosdocimus, the friar Anthony, and the virgin martyr Justina", but does not acknowledge St. Daniel<sup>33</sup>. Under Venetian rule, an act of 1445 provided for the union of the titular church of San Daniele with the smaller San Leonino, under the Benedictines of Santa Giustina, though the octave of St. Daniel remained one of the solemn feasts to be celebrated in the saint's titular church<sup>34</sup>. But in the long run, the establishment of the cult of St. Daniel as a patron saint of Padua was not successful, and by the end of the Cinquecento the veneration of St. Daniel in Padua had ceased altogether<sup>35</sup>.

An even more controversial holy man, who vied to be numbered among the bishop of Padua's saints during the second commune, was the local layman Antonio Manzi, called "il pellegrino", from his famed visits to the major shrines of Christendom, including Rome, Cologne and Santiago de Compostella. This Antonio returned to Padua toward the end of his journeys to stay with his sisters, who were nuns in the small Benedictine house of Santa Maria di Porciglia, where he died as an oblate on 30 January 1267. His tomb in the church of the monastery became an immediate object of veneration due to Bl. Anthony's reputed thaumaturgic powers of healing. Perhaps typical of lay saints of the late Duecento for his pilgrim status and healing power, Bl. Anthony soon attracted the support of the monks of the Benedictine house of Santa Giustina. The miracles of healing wrought by his relics were witnessed by the Benedictine nuns and monks, priests of nearby parishes, and in April 1270 by the bishop of Padua himself.

Local Franciscans, however, led the opposition to the canonization of this new St. Anthony, which, according to later writers, the pope rejected with the comment that "one (saint) Anthony is enough for you people"<sup>36</sup>. But the

<sup>31</sup> De Sandre Gasparini, 59, 270, 286.

<sup>32</sup> Dondi dall'Orologio, 1815, 123-24, doc. 74.

<sup>33</sup> For the three traditional patron saints, Petrarca, 19.

<sup>34</sup> Trolese.

<sup>35</sup> Corsato, 101.

<sup>36</sup> Rigon, 1981 (272-73: the quotation, from Savonarola, 17); Rigon, 2007; also Thompson, 206.

Paduan commune was not to be deterred, and with the support of the bishop established that the Podestà and the commune's board of elders – the Anziani – with their officials and the guildsmen of Padua should march in procession on his feast day, the first of February, to the tomb at Santa Maria di Porciglia, with candles provided at communal expense. Out of respect for the new saint, the shops in the city's central squares were to be closed on the feast day itself and during vigil the evening before<sup>37</sup>. The beatification of Anthony the Pilgrim marks the high point in Padua for local forces; here Bishop Giovanni Forzatè worked with the commune to create local *beati*, without further sanction from the Church<sup>38</sup>.

#### 4. Padua's Guelph Beati

As a result of the bitter struggles with Ezzelino III da Romano, a number of holy men and women came to be venerated in the late thirteenth century as *beati* in Padua, but were never officially canonized by the Church<sup>39</sup>. These included: two Franciscans, Luca Belludi, the *socius* of St. Anthony, and Bl. Elena Enselmini; two Benedictines, Arnaldo da Limena and Beatrice d'Este; two white monks, Giordano Forzatè and Compagno Ongarello, members of a new reforming branch of the Benedictines in Padua; and a parish priest, Crescenzo da Camposampiero. These new *beati* came from several sectors of Paduan society. Beatrice d'Este, Giordano Forzatè and Crescenzo da Camposampiero were members of the great feudal clans of the Trevisan March, while Arnaldo da Limena and Compagno Ongarello were from families of communal notables. Belludi and Enselmini came from families noted for their wealth from money-lending, commercial interests and land. Thus, the new communal saints who came to be venerated in late Duecento Padua came from several strata of local society and represented many interest groups in Padua and its contado<sup>40</sup>. Their cult was fostered by the bishop Giovanni Forzatè, and several of their feasts were recognized and annually celebrated by the cathedral chapter as the *Liber Ordinarius* from the 1260s records<sup>41</sup>.

A contextual, chronological consideration of the careers of each 'blessed' will reveal differences as well as similarities in the nature of their sanctity and their role in the political struggles of the thirteenth century. The Benedictine Giordano Forzatè (1158-1248) emerged as a monastic reformer, the prior of

<sup>37</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 557 (1272), repeated with the year changed to 1269 in *Stat. Car.*, fol. 102.

<sup>38</sup> For a summary of Pellegrino's life and the contemporary texts of his miracles, Vauchez, 2003.

<sup>39</sup> Vauchez, 1997, 85-88. Vauchez discusses the distinction that developed in the later thirteenth century between saints, canonized throughout western Christendom on the authority of the pope, and *beati* made so by popular devotion, or the support of the local bishop.

<sup>40</sup> Rigon was perhaps the first scholar to identify these new communal *beati*: Rigon, 1992, 406-07; on the anti-Ezzelino saints in a wider context, Webb, 149-52.

<sup>41</sup> *Il "Liber ordinarius"*, in particular the essays by Antonio Lovato and Andrea Tilatti.

the Paduan house of San Benedetto, who established the new *Ordo monachorum alborum Sancti Benedicti* in Padua<sup>42</sup>. His status as a member of one of the leading feudal families of the Trevisan March, his role as a local peacemaker, and as a reformer of the major local Benedictine houses of Santa Maria in Vanzo and Santa Maria di Porciglia soon earned him the title of “Pater Padue”, according to a contemporary anonymous chronicle<sup>43</sup>. But his close alliance with the local Guelph leaders of the *domus Estensis* and his defense of papal and monastic rights in Padua and its district soon brought him into conflict with Ezzelino da Romano, who had him arrested and imprisoned in 1237.

Released at the instance of Emperor Frederick II, who had earlier been his guest in Padua, Forzatè died in exile in Venice, forbidden to return to his native city. In addition, in Rolandino and the anonymous *Chronicon Marchiae Tarvisinae*, later records – such as the brief obituary written in San Benedetto about 1337 – depict Forzatè as an heroic opponent of the hated Ezzelino, termed “atrox tyrannus”<sup>44</sup>. In 1318, the family intermarried with the ruling Carrara lords, with the wedding of Lieta di Marco Forzatè with Giacomo II (lord of Padua, 1345-1350). In 1337 Alvisè Forzatè welcomed the Carrara as the new rulers of Padua, receiving back the next year as fiefs the tithes the da Romano had earlier taken from the family<sup>45</sup>. It is little wonder that Giordano Forzatè’s cult prospered in a Padua ruled by his Carrara kinsmen.

The career of Bl. Beatrice d’Este (ca.1190-1226) provides another instance of a self-sacrificing noble saint. Hers is the touching tale of the handsome, fun-loving girl of the Este court transformed into a devout nun, devoted to poverty and the service of others under the tutelage of our Benedictine reformer, Giordano Forzatè<sup>46</sup>. Beatrice early delighted in Provençal love poetry and the carefree life of the Este court at Baone in the Padovano. But the early death of her mother in 1202, and violence deaths of her father Azzo in 1212 and brother Aldobrandino in 1215 left the family deeply in debt, making the recovery of her mother’s dowry impossible and, as a result, her own marriage unlikely. Under the influence of two Benedictines, Giordano Forzatè, and Alberto, prior of San Giovanni di Montericco, in 1221 Beatrice secretly entered the nunnery of Santa Margherita in the Euganean hills south of Padua. There she rejected a marriage proposal from the Marchese Guglielmo Malaspina, and two years later founded a reformed Benedictine female community in the nearby abandoned house of San Giovanni Battista at Gemmola. Under the tutelage of another Benedictine, Alberto, prior of Santo Spirito of Verona, Beatrice attracted a number of young noble women, including her niece, Beatrice d’Este,

<sup>42</sup> On Giordano Forzatè’s career: Gaffuri, 267-70; Rigon, 1996, both based largely on Rigon 1992.

<sup>43</sup> *Chronicon Marchiae*, 12.

<sup>44</sup> Rigon, 1992, 409-10.

<sup>45</sup> Kohl, 1998, 55, 191.

<sup>46</sup> Her career is summarized in Paolini, 1993; a fuller account in Rigon, 1984, and Folena.

the widowed queen of Hungary, to her community's life of poverty, service, fasting and prayer<sup>47</sup>. After an early death caused by her many hardships, Beatrice's *vita* was composed by Alberto of Verona, sometime before 1245. Although Beatrice d'Este never suffered at the hands of the tyrant Ezzelino, her family opposed his rule in the Trevisan March. Her younger half-brother Azzo (VI) Novello gained the lordship of Ferrara as a champion of the Guelph cause, and, as we have seen, commanded the army that liberated Padua from Ezzelino's rule in 1259. The Este lord was to be rewarded with a place of honor in the procession held to mark the event during the octave of St. Anthony of Padua.

Another religious woman of aristocratic background was Elena Enselmini (1207-1231), who descended from a branch of the Transelgardino clan that included the Forzatè among its members<sup>48</sup>. But rather than earning her sanctity from a life of religious leadership and devotion, like her contemporary Beatrice d'Este, this early Clarissa's life was marked by visions and miracles as well as suffering, poverty and prayer. Her status was enhanced by the legend that as a thirteen year old virgin, she took the veil from St. Francis himself when in 1220 he founded the convent at Arcella in Padua returning from his mission to the East. At Arcella she promoted a common life of fasting, prayer, manual labor, and strict observance of the liturgy of the canonical hours, which soon caused an illness, characterized by violent fevers that eventually rendered her nearly blind. Adopting a life of silence like St. Anthony, her companion at Arcella in his final days, she was able to communicate her ecstatic visions and prophecies with gestures to letters of the alphabet held by the other Franciscan sisters. There she died at the age of twenty-three only a few months after her beloved friar, Anthony.

The power of her visions and the sanctity of her life, confirmed by her uncorrupted body, soon created a lively cult of followers. Several of her miracles were recorded by Bartholomew of Pisa, a student at the Paduan *studium*, in the 1370s, in his popular book of comparison between the lives of Jesus and Francis, written at the end of the Trecento, where her name was often linked with Francis and Clare as evidence of her *fama sanctitatis*. An account of her life and visions was composed in the 1440s by the Paduan notary and humanist Sicco Polenton, who had earlier been an official in the Carrara chancery. In 1443 Pope Eugenius IV confirmed the widespread belief in her sanctity by granting an indulgence of 100 days for a visit by the faithful to her tomb<sup>49</sup>. Although Elena Enselmini did not live long enough to oppose directly Ezzelino's Ghibelline rule over Padua, her status as a beloved Franciscan saint, and her leadership in the religious vocation of women, guaranteed her a place among the *beati* of late medieval Padua.

<sup>47</sup> Her role as a monastic reformer is described in *Chronicon Marchiae*, 51-52.

<sup>48</sup> On her life and family: Paolini, 1996; Gonzato Debiasi, 1994; Marangon.

<sup>49</sup> Polenton; on the sources for her cult, Gonzato Debiasi, 1994.

Another aristocratic reformer of a female religious community was Crescenzo da Camposampiero (d. *ante* 1265), scion of one of the great feudal families of the Trevisan March. Forsaking the easy life of a canon at the cathedral chapter, Crescenzo emerges in the historical record as a parish priest at San Luca, where in 1213 he leased property to house a small group of female penitents; this eventually formed the convent of Santa Cecilia<sup>50</sup>. Credited with the construction of San Luca and Santa Cecilia in the center of the city, Crescenzo – devoted to the *cura animarum* – is noted as building new churches with his own hands. These sources explain his depiction in simple clerical garb, wearing a *berettone*, building a wall, with brick and trowel in his hands, as in Giusto de' Menabuoi's altarpiece in the Baptistery. His sanctity is recorded in the Favafoschi chronicle of 1335, and his cult is documented at the end of the Trecento in the nearby church of Sant'Agnese.

Another monastic leader of the reformed Benedictines was the close friend of Bl. Giordano Forzatè, Compagno Ongarello (d. 1264), from a family of Padua notables<sup>51</sup>. Compagno emerges in the historical record in a document of 14 November 1219 as the founding prior of the Paduan monastery of Santa Maria di Porciglia, given lands on which he built a dual monastery that followed the Benedictine rule. A high point of his rule as prior was the synod held on 10 January 1239, to enforce uniformity of rule and customs among the monastic houses of Padua. During the persecution of the White Monks and the exile of Giordano Forzatè and Arnaldo da Limena under Ezzelino's rule, Compagno remained in Padua as the “eyes and ears” of the monastic community. After forty-four years of rule Compagno died and was buried at Santa Maria di Porciglia, soon joined by the thaumaturgic St. Anthony the Pilgrim. Overshadowed by his popular miracle-working neighbour, Compagno's cult never developed beyond generations of devoted Benedictine sisters.

The blessed Arnaldo da Limena (1185-1255, also called Limeniani), abbot of Santa Giustina and close associate of the monastic reformer, Giordano Forzatè, was probably the most conspicuous religious martyr from the tyranny of Ezzelino da Romano<sup>52</sup>. A member of a distinguished family of episcopal vassals from the eastern Padovano, and trained as a student of canon law, by 1207 Arnold had entered Santa Giustina as a monk, and was elected abbot only two years later. Much of his career was occupied with defending his monastery's property rights, which resulted in numerous lawsuits, and its traditional role in election of the bishop of Padua. These activities propelled Arnaldo into a position of civic leadership, so that he and the monks of Santa Giustina entertained the Emperor Fredrick II and his consort Isabella during

<sup>50</sup> On Crescenzo and his cult, Barzon, 1975, 43-227; Rigon, 1988, 177-222; Gios, 1999b.

<sup>51</sup> For his life, Daniele, 1999. Texts documenting his role in the founding of Santa Maria di Porciglia in 1219 and the synod promoting uniformity, in 1239: Dondi dall'Orologio, 1813, 18-19 and 100-01.

<sup>52</sup> On Arnaldo and his hagiography: Rigon, 1980, 27-32; Collodo, 3-34. His career is summarized in Gios, 1999a; Angiolini, 133-36.

their visit to Padua in the winter of 1239. Such proximity to imperial power forestalled, for a time, any persecution by the new Ghibelline rulers of Padua.

But with the see of Padua vacant after the death of his kinsman, bishop Giacomo di Corrado, in the 1240s, Santa Giustina became the center of opposition to Ezzelino's rule, resulting in Arnaldo's arrest and imprisonment at Asolo in November 1246. Charged with treason to the imperial authorities, Arnaldo was (according to near contemporary reports) kept chained on a diet of bread and water until his death after enormous suffering, eight years later, on 10 February 1255<sup>53</sup>. A cult soon developed at Asolo around the tomb, containing his uncorrupted, virginal body. A later anonymous work, *De transitu*, composed by a monk of the monastery for the translation of his body to a sumptuous new tomb at Santa Giustina, emphasized the satanic character of his persecutor Ezzelino and Arnaldo's own holy life. The pseudo-Favafoschi chronicle from the 1330s stressed his origins from the noble "capitanei de Limena", as well as his unjust imprisonment and suffering at the hands of the da Romano lords<sup>54</sup>. Along with Giordano Forzatè, he became in later traditions one of the two great martyrs of communal Padua.

Bl. Luca Belludi, O.F.M. (1200-1285) was, after St. Anthony, the most saintly of all the Franciscans of late-medieval Padua<sup>55</sup>. According to tradition, like Bl. Elena Enselmini, Fra Luca had been received into the Order in 1220 at the hands of St. Francis himself. Luca first met Anthony of Lisbon at Assisi in 1227, and accompanied him to Rome the next year. Thereafter he became his constant companion, earning him the unique title of "socius Sancti Antonii", in many documents, inscriptions, and writings of the period. Following the death of Anthony in 1231, Luca assumed the leadership of the Franciscan community in Padua, perhaps overseeing the construction of the Basilica and mediating disputes between the friars and citizens of Padua. According to legend, Fra Luca even confronted Ezzelino da Romano with his cruelties and crimes, as Albertino Mussato later depicted in his tragedy, *Ecerinis*, c. 1315. But most of his life was spent in contemplation and prayer devoted to the goal of poverty and renunciation of worldly goods. Pure of heart and mind, an ardent Franciscan leader during his long presence in Padua, Luca Belludi was probably not the great preacher and peacemaker depicted in the pseudo-Favafoschi chronicle of 1335 and Bartholomew of Pisa's celebration of St. Francis and his order written in the 1390s. His greatest miracle, his prophecy of the liberation of Padua from the tyranny of Ezzelino in 1259, was immortalized in the frescoes in his burial chapel, painted by Giusto de'

<sup>53</sup> On his imprisonment and death, Rolandinus Patavinus, 64-66; *Chronicon Marchiae*, 18, 24-25

<sup>54</sup> Collodo, 24-34: discussion of his early legend, and editions of the *De preciosi transitu beati Arnaldi confessoris atque abbatis monasterii Sancte Iustine de Padua* and the pseudo-Favafoschi chronicle from the 1330s.

<sup>55</sup> Gamboso, 1988, 127-41, 146-69: the standard life, with many extracts of documents and discussion of points of controversy. Useful summaries: Gamboso, 1999, Blasucci; Lazzari.

Menabuoi in 1382 under the patronage of Naimerio and Manfredino Conti, two major members of the Carrara affinity. To perfection of life and dedication to poverty, Luca Belludi added the gift of prophecy through the inspiration of Padua's most popular saint.

### 5. *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*

More than the cult of Padua's patron saints and its recent *beati*, the most popular holidays of the Paduan liturgical calendar were the observances of the Marian feasts. At the end of the thirteenth century, Egidio, patriarch of Grado and prelate of the provinces of Venetia and Dalmatia, bestowed on the bishop of Padua the right to grant indulgences of forty days to penitents who attended Mass in the Duomo and gave alms during the octaves of the four feasts of the Virgin Mary – Nativity, Purification, Annunciation and Assumption – and on the feast of St. Daniel<sup>56</sup>. While eventually all these Marian feasts would be celebrated throughout the city by the confraternity of Santa Maria dei Colombini, at the end of the thirteenth century, only the feast of the Annunciation was accorded a public procession. It seems that several decades before Enrico Scrovegni acquired the old Roman Arena from Manfredo Dalesmanini in 1300 and constructed his famous oratory there, there was already a tradition of communally sponsored procession from the town hall to the Arena on the feast of the Annunciation. A communal statute assigned to the spate of legislation in feast days enacted under the Venetian Podestà Matteo Querini, in 1278 but found incorporated only in the city code of 1420 describes such a procession in great detail<sup>57</sup>. Essentially, the communal statute enjoined the bishop of Padua to celebrate the feast of the Annunciation by staging the representation of the angelic salutation of Gabriel to the Virgin Mary in the Arena. At half past ten in the morning (*medie terciè*),

Two boys were to be dressed up, one in the form of an angel, with wings and a lily, the other in the manner of a female virgin dressed as the Virgin Mary. Thus, one of them should portray the angel Gabriel, the other the Virgin Mary, and the lord bishop or his vicar with the (cathedral) chapter and the Paduan clergy and with all the monks of the religious houses of Padua, with their crosses, ought to congregate at the Duomo, and thence to go in procession to the Palazzo della Ragione of the commune of Padua.

There the Podestà of Padua was to have gathered his judges and staff with all the judges and officials of the commune of Padua, and all the knights, doctors and citizens of Padua. Then the two boys, dressed as Gabriel and the Virgin Mary, were to be placed on two chairs and, following established custom, carried to the Arena, preceded by the trumpeters of the commune and the Paduan clergy and followed by the Podestà, the Paduan citizen body, with the Gastaldi of the city's merchant and artisan guilds.

<sup>56</sup> Dondi dall'Orologio, 1815, 73, doc. 37.

<sup>57</sup> The text of the 1278 statute is found only in *Stat. Ref.*, fol. 304v; recently published with English translation in Jacobus, 346-47.

There in the courtyard of the Arena, in the places made ready in the usual way, the Angel should greet Mary with an angelic salutation, and perform other gestures which have been established for the representation of this kind of Annunciation, as they are accustomed to do. And this feast ought to be carried out as an act of veneration without any expense to the commune or guilds, but in this feast, the trumpeters of the commune who are usually salaried by the public, ought to sound their trumpets, and accompany the Angel and Mary with music from the (communal) palace to the Arena, without any further salary or payment. And the lord Podestà ought to make certain that his knights together with the police take precaution that nothing untoward should result from the great throng of people.

If the date of 1278 usually assigned to this statute is correct, it seems clear that a procession of the communal officials and clergy from the Duomo to the Arena, where the Annunciation was paraliturgically re-enacted in pantomime, had already been a central feature of the ritual life in Padua for some decades in the second half of the thirteenth century. If the reference to the angelic greeting occurring in the places mentioned as “*loci preparati et soliti*” means “religious buildings, chapels”, there may have already been a small church in the Arena before Enrico Scrovegni built the oratory there at the beginning of the Trecento<sup>58</sup>. But it seems unlikely that a “golden Mass” was performed as part of the angelic salutation that was the central act of the ritual staged in the Arena<sup>59</sup>. Rather, a close reading of the Paduan *ordo* for the Annunciation shows that any spoken or sung drama with extensive speaking parts was performed at the Duomo in the late afternoon after dinner on 25 March. Hence, the procession with boys dressed as Gabriel and Mary to the Arena in mid-morning was a dumb-show, not a “golden Mass”<sup>60</sup>.

Two decades later, under the influence of the reforming bishop of Padua, Giovanni Savelli, and during the *podestaria* of the Perugian jurist, Ongaro degli Oddi, on 14 May 1298, another statute was passed for the celebration of the Feast of the Annunciation at the Arena<sup>61</sup>. The new statute changed the nature of the procession to the Arena in small but significant ways, bespeaking an attempt at reconciliation between church and commune and assigning more active roles both to the bishop and communal officials. To the three established patron saints of Padua whom the feast honors, the statute adds a fourth, St. Daniel martyr and levite. As we have seen, Bishop Savelli had achieved his translation into a new tomb in the Duomo just two years earlier. The feast of the Annunciation was also dedicated to the most important elements of the laity of Padua: “to the honor and peaceful and quiet state of the *comunanza* of the guilds and of the *gastaldiones* of the whole Paduan people”. To co-opt

<sup>58</sup> This speculation in Kohl, 2003, 182-83.

<sup>59</sup> Thus Jacobus, 1999, 93-107; Jacobus, 2008, 308-12.

<sup>60</sup> Young, 2:248-50, for the text of the Paduan *ordo* for the Annunciation, which explicitly directs that the drama, with speaking parts and chorus, be staged at the cathedral in the late afternoon, after dinner.

<sup>61</sup> *Stat. Car.*, fol. 104v; recently published with English translation in Jacobus, 348-49.

powerful members of the Paduan popolo in the service of the newly reformed diocese, two groups were singled out. The *comunanza* included the most powerful guild members of Padua, while the *gastaldiones* were a board of fifteen elected leaders of the guilds that served to defend the interests of the Paduan *popolo*. Together these two constituted the leaders of the commune acting through its *Maggior Consiglio*<sup>62</sup>.

The line of march of 1298 included the same groups as stipulated in the statute of 1278. But the purpose of the festival had changed “so that the freedom of the Church can be preserved in perpetuity by the lord Podestà and his staff, the Anziani and the officials of the commune of Padua, now and in the future”. Every year on what appears in both manuscripts as the “feast of the Denunciation [*Denunciationis*] of the Blessed Virgin Glorious Mary, the bishop and the clergy of Padua ought to congregate together at the church of the palace of the Commune of Padua”. When the clergy had gathered at half past ten in the morning (*in hora medie tercie*) in what was the great hall of the *Maggior Consiglio*, they were to be joined by the commune’s salaried trumpeters and the boys dressed as the Virgin Mary and the Archangel, who were to go in procession to the chapel of the Arena, where they were to perform “the representation of angelic salutation”. The bishop and Podestà were to invite the monks and friars of the city of Padua, who were not directly under episcopal jurisdiction (*exempti*), to participate.

That (the religious) for the love of the commune of Padua on the said day and hour were to gather, with their crosses and congregations at the Duomo, and attend the aforesaid carrying in procession, and that the Gastaldi of the guild of the *arx* of the commune of Padua at the aforesaid hour in that same place, with all and each of the guilds congregated, join willingly the same feast and procession, and devoutly enter on their (liturgical) calendar the celebration of the aforesaid feast, and in future they ought to observe the feast in this manner without any expense to the commune and guilds of the Paduan popolo.

The statute concluded by repeating the requirement (from 1278) that the Podestà deploy his knights and police for crowd control, so that nothing untoward would result from the great throng of people.

As stated, there were small but important differences between the two statutes that defined that celebration of the Annunciation in Padua. To be sure, common to both versions was a procession of the communal leaders and clergy of Padua, accompanying boys dressed as Gabriel and the Virgin Mary from the city center to the Arena, where the angelic salutation of the Annunciation was re-enacted. The procession in 1278 was to start with the bishop, clergy and monks at the Duomo and proceed to meet the lay and government officials at the town hall, while in 1298 it began on the commune’s territory in the church located in the great hall of the Salone, where the bishop and clergy were to

<sup>62</sup> These definitions are taken from the fundamental study by Kenneth Hyde, which discusses the complicated power alignments in late Duecento Padua: Hyde, 211-14, 244-46.

gather with the boy actors for the procession to the Arena. Gathered at the nearby Duomo were the monks and friars of Padua, who “out of love for the commune of Padua” were to join the bishop and secular clergy and carry Mary and Gabriel “to the Chapel of the Arena”. While guildsmen of Padua were to participate in the procession defined in 1298, it was mainly a clerical affair, which was to be carried out for the benefit of, but at no expense to, the commune.

In this later version, Mary and Gabriel were to be carried “to the Chapel of the Arena”, suggesting that an oratory already existed in 1298 on the site of the Scrovegni chapel, though the phrase could be a later interpolation which simply described what had become a standard procedure by the time of the redaction of the Carrara statutes in 1362. The statute of 1278, surviving in the Venetian code of 1420, returns to a simpler preamble, which dedicates that feast to the “honor of Almighty God, the saints and the Virgin”, and to the “peaceful, good and quiet status” of the city of Padua, and omits any mention of honouring the city’s four patron saints, the Holy Roman Church, and the guilds of Padua. Possibly it bespeaks a period of cooperation between church and commune, when civil authorities promoted the cult of the saints and religious observance in the cities of late medieval Italy<sup>63</sup>.

#### 6. *Confirmation of Sainthood in Bricks and Mortar*

In the two decades of cooperation between church and state in Padua following the fall of Ezzelino da Romano, the commune undertook a vigorous program of construction and repair of religious houses in the city, with special attention to the well-being of the smaller nunneries of the Benedictine order and the convents and friars of the Mendicant orders. Starting in 1265, the commune provided that the Podestà oversee an annual contribution of 100 lire each to the Franciscans, Dominicans and the Augustinian Hermits for winter clothing during the coming year, made in late October, shortly before All Saints. Another clothing allowance was made in June to the Conventual Franciscans housed in the Basilica of Sant’Antonio in time to acquire new habits for the celebration of the feast of their patron saint<sup>64</sup>. The communal clothing allowance to the Mendicants of Padua continued into the Carrara era, with a smaller grant of fifty lire to the Carmelites added at some time in the Trecento. But, in general, the heyday of communal support for church construction and renovation occurred during the second half of the Duecento.

The tyranny of Ezzelino da Romano had diminished the fortunes of the Benedictine nunneries of Padua. To aid their recovery, in 1275 the *Maggior Consiglio* voted to contribute to the repair, upkeep and expansion of the several

<sup>63</sup> Vauchez, 1993, 153-68, 294-99.

<sup>64</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 1151; repeated with changes in *Stat. Car.*, fol. 215v.

houses: a grant of 200 lire to the nuns of Santa Maria della Misericordia on the Prato della Valle for the repair of their dilapidated dormitory, final payment of a long promised grant of 200 lire to Santa Maria Maddalena for the repair of the convent and support of its nuns, 200 lire to the nuns of San Prodocimo for a dormitory to replace a structure destroyed in the recent defense of the city, and grants of 200 lire each to the nuns of Arcella and San Giacomo at Pontecorvo for repairs to their infirmaries so they could continue to care for the poor and infirm<sup>65</sup>. On 26 February 1276, the Commune made additional grants for the upkeep of five other convents: to Santa Maria di Saonara for the repair of the nuns' residence, to San Bernardo for its infirmary and refectory, to Santa Cecilia for the repair of its dormitory, to San Leonardo for the reconstruction of dilapidated buildings, and to Santa Maria Maddalena for the construction of a hospital<sup>66</sup>. But the civic authorities of Padua dedicated most of their resources for public works to the construction of the Mendicant churches that were being built on the periphery of the city in the late Duecento. As early as 1265, the commune of Padua was making, through local bankers, an annual contribution of 4,000 lire to the Franciscan basilica of Sant'Antonio for its construction. A decade later the Maggior Consiglio voted to have the commune contribute whatever was needed for the Eremitani to complete construction of a new dormitory for the friars, and 1500 lire to the Dominicans for the completion of the church of Sant'Agostino. In 1276, the commune agreed to pay whatever was required to enlarge the newly constructed church of Santi Filippo e Giacomo (called the Eremitani) so that it could accommodate the officials and laity of Padua at Mass<sup>67</sup>.

A later statute, drafted in July 1300, shows that the commune appropriated an additional 4,000 lire for the construction and enlargement of the great preaching churches of the local Mendicant orders: 1,000 lire to the Dominicans at Sant'Agostino, 2,000 lire to the Franciscans at Sant'Antonio, and 1,000 lire to the Augustinians for improvements in the Eremitani near the Arena<sup>68</sup>. That December the commune made a further grant of 4,000 lire to the Dominicans to be lent to the commune by a banker, as soon as full repayment was made to Enrico Scrovegni for money he had lent for the enlargement of Sant'Antonio. These sums were to be lent to the commune of Padua without usury ("pecuniam mutuare comuni Padue sine aliquibus usuris"), repaid from communal taxes (*dazii*) assigned directly to the lenders. Enrico Scrovegni's large loan to Sant'Antonio of 4,000 lire was symptomatic of how the commune of Padua marshalled the support of its wealthiest citizens in a building program for the grand new Mendicant churches of the city.

As we have seen, the commune promoted the civic pantheon in Padua in another way: through the statute of 1278, which created a system of solemn

<sup>65</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 1152, 1157, 1161, 1162, 1163.

<sup>66</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 1155.

<sup>67</sup> *Stat. Com.*, 1156, 1159, 1160, 1164.

<sup>68</sup> Ganguzza Billanovich.

feasts and court holidays that reflected both the requirements of canon law and a local calendar of religious observances honouring the city's patron saints and their relics, important local holidays, and, most of all, the titular saints of parishes and religious houses<sup>69</sup>. In the heyday of the Paduan commune, under the impulse of the bishop and the "guild of chaplains", or local clergy (*fratelia cappellanorum*), the urban parishes developed and matured so that by 1308 the entire system received definition<sup>70</sup>. The list of the saints' feasts mandated by communal statutes is a striking reflection of the saints commemorated in brick and mortar, in the city's parish churches, religious houses, and altars. Though the cult of saints reflected in feasts and places of Trecento Padua did not reach the 115 observed in late medieval Perugia, still nearly every major saint received his or her due recognition in both the liturgical calendar and parish structure<sup>71</sup>.

A. Universal saints: apostolic	
<i>Feasts in statutes</i> (20)	<i>Churches, convents, chapels, altars</i> (17)
Andrew ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	Sant'Andrea
Barnabas ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	
Bartholomew ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Bartolomeo
James the Greater ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Giacomo (chapel in Sant'Antonio)
John the Evangelist ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Giovanni Evangelista (oratory)
John the Baptist (1278)	San Giovanni Battista (oratory)
Luke ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Luca
Mark ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Marco
Mary ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	Santa Maria (Duomo)
Mary Magdalene (1278)	Santa Maria Maddalena (O.S.B.)
Matthew ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Matteo Evangelista
Matthias (1278)	San Mattia
Paul ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Polo
Peter ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Pietro (O.S.B.)
Peter and Paul ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	Santi Pietro e Paolo
Philip and James ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	Santi Filippo e Giacomo (the Eremitani, O.S.A.); also chapel in Sant'Antonio
Simon and Jude ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	
Stephen ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	Santo Stefano (O.S.B.)
Thomas the Apostle ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Tommaso Apostolo
B. Universal saints: early and medieval	
<i>Feasts in statutes</i> (26)	<i>Churches, convents, chapels, altars</i> (15)
Agatha (1278)	Sant'Agata
Agnes (1278)	Sant'Agnese
Ambrose (1278)	
Anthony Abbot (1278)	Sant'Antonio di Vienna
Augustine (1278)	Sant'Agostino (O.P.)
Barbara (1278)	Santa Barbara
Benedict of Nursia (1278)	San Benedetto (O.S.B.)
Bernard (1278)	San Bernardo di Porciglia (O.S.B.)
Blaise (1278)	San Biagio
Catherine of Alexandria (1278)	Santa Caterina

<sup>69</sup> Tramontin et al., 279.

<sup>70</sup> Rigon, 1988, 117-41; Sambin.

<sup>71</sup> Dickson. It is from this essay that I mainly derive my categories.

Cecilia (1278)	Santa Cecilia
Clement (1278)	San Clemente
George (1278)	San Giorgio (O.S.B.); oratory Sant'Antonio (O.F.M.)
Giles (1278)	Sant'Egidio
Gregory the Great (1278)	San Gregorio Magno
Juliana (1278)	Santa Giuliana
Lawrence (1278)	San Lorenzo
Leonard (1278)	San Leonardo (O.S.B.)
Lucy (1278)	Santa Lucia
Margaret of Antioch (1278)	Santa Margherita
Martin of Tours (1278)	San Martino
Nicholas (1278)	San Niccolò
Salvator (1278)	San Salvatore (hospital)
Thomas Martyr	San Tomio
Urban (1420)	Sant'Urbano (O.S.B.)
Ursula (1278)	San Francesco (altar)
C. Universal saints: Mendicants	
<i>Feasts in statutes (6)</i>	<i>Churches, convents, chapels, altars (6)</i>
Anthony of Padua, O.F.M.	
( <i>ante</i> 1236)	Sant'Antonio (O.F.M. Basilica)
Dominic, O.P. (1278)	San Domenico (altar Sant'Agostino O.P.)
Francis of Assisi O.F.M. (1278)	San Francesco Piccolo (O.F.M.)
Louis of Toulouse, O.F.M. (1278)	San Luigi (altar San Benedetto)
Peter Martyr, O.P. (1323)	San Pietro Martire (altar Sant'Agostino O.P.)
Thomas Aquinas, O.P. (1278)	San Tommaso Aquino (altar Sant'Agostino O.P.)
D. Local saints	
<i>Feasts in statutes (8)</i>	<i>Churches, convents, chapels, altars (7)</i>
Anthony the Pilgrim (1278)	Sant'Antonio Pellegrino (oratory)
Canziano (1278)	San Canziano
Daniel Martyr Levite ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Daniele (oratory); chapel in the Duomo
Hermagoras of Aquileia (1278)	
Fermo (1278)	San Fermo
Justina of Padua ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	Santa Giustina (O.S.B.)
Maximus (1278)	San Massimo
Prodocimus ( <i>ante</i> 1236)	San Prodocimo (altar Santa Giustina O.S.B.)

Tab. 2. *Saints Venerated in Padua and the Padovano, c. 1235-1420*<sup>72</sup>

Of the twenty universal saints of the Gospels inrepresented in the liturgical calendar – that is: the apostles and the evangelists; the friends of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, and Mary Magdalene – only three apostles, Barnabas, Jude and Simon, were not accorded a church or altar in Padua. Of the twenty-six saints of early Christianity (fathers of the Church and martyrs), only Ambrose, patron saint of Milan, was not honoured in bricks and mortar. In Padua, as in Perugia, the liturgical calendar corresponded closely with the naming of parishes, monasteries and altars for apostles, fathers of the Church

<sup>72</sup> Sources. For statutes: Table 1 above; *Stat. Com.*, 181-83; *Stat. Car.*, fols. 101v-105r. The year of communal recognition is given in parentheses. For churches, convents, monasteries, hospitals, chapels and altars: Gasparotto; Rigon, 1988; Sella and Vale, 181-204; Puppi and Toffanin. Name alone indicates a parish church in Padua; added in parentheses is the abbreviation of the order for religious houses, or the type of religious place – e.g. hospital or chapel, or for churches in the contado, the name of the town.



Fig. 1. Giusto de' Menabuoi, Paradise (ceiling fresco, Padua cathedral baptistery). Photo by Giuliano Ghiraldini, Comune di Padova, by permission of Curia vescovile di Padova, Ufficio beni culturali.

and early martyrs. Only St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Thomas a Becket were added from the twelfth century. Given the power of the Franciscans at the Basilica of Sant'Antonio and the aspirations of the Dominicans at Sant'Agostino, the feasts of major Mendicants were added early to the liturgical calendar, or, as we shall see in the case of St. Peter Martyr and St. Louis of Toulouse, widely commemorated in the fourteenth century. The relics of three patron saints, Prosdocimus, Justina, and Daniel, were housed in either the Duomo or the ancient Benedictine house of Santa Giustina, and attended by the appropriate monks, canons and confraternities. As we have seen, a fourth patron saint, the popular St. Anthony the Pilgrim, enjoyed an enthusiastic following at his tomb at Santa Maria di Porciglia. The other local saints, venerated at Padua, included Maximus, the second bishop of Padua, Hermagoras of Aquileia (d. 70), the colleague of St. Peter and the first bishop of Aquileia, and two early martyrs, Canziano and Fermo, whose cult was spread throughout northeast Italy.

7. *The Semiotics of Sanctity: Fina's Synthesis*

Almost all saints commemorated in Padua's churches, convents and altars, and in its liturgical calendar, came to be depicted in the frescoes and on the altarpiece of the Baptistery when it was redecorated and converted into a Carrara mausoleum in the 1370s. This celebration of Padua's saints was the work of Giusto de' Menabuoi under the patronage of the consort of the ruling lord, Fina da Carrara, née Buzzacarini (1325-1378). Working with her husband's new hand-picked bishop of Padua, the Benedictine Raimondo Ganimberti of Friuli, Fina renovated and enlarged the Baptistery when she converted it into a mausoleum for herself and her husband, starting in 1375<sup>73</sup>. The massive depiction of Paradise in the dome included the figure of 108 identifiable saints, inclusive of many of Padua's local saints. Among local saints depicted in a place of privilege, next to John the Baptist and the Virgin in the dome, are three patron saints of Padua, Prosdocimus, Justina, and Daniel, followed by two early bishops, Maximus and Fidenzio, while the fourth patron saint, Anthony, is seated with his fellow Franciscans, far from the chosen few. Monsignor Claudio Bellinati has suggested that the aged Petrarch had a role in devising the pictorial scheme, and indeed his hidden portrait is to be found as an onlooker in the scene of Christ before Pilate<sup>74</sup>. But Petrarch died in July 1374, before Giusto began to paint the walls of the Baptistery. Little is known of Bishop Raimondo's interests or career, but the iconography suggests that he cooperated with Fina to transform the walls and altar of the Baptistery into a celebration, indeed a synthesis, of the universal saints of Christendom with those peculiar to Padua<sup>75</sup>. The hidden depictions of Fina and her daughters in the birth of John the Baptist, her honoured place in the donor's portrait, the importance of bishops, women and Paduan saints in the paintings suggests that Fina and her bishop worked together to create the program.

Conceived and painted under the direct patronage of the Carrara family at the height of the dynasty's power, the frescoes of the Baptistery are a celebration of Padua's Guelph traditions, its faith in the universal saints of Christendom, its support of the Holy Mother Church and the papacy, its respect for the sacrifice of early martyrs, and its recognition of the more recent contributions of the saints of the Mendicant order. To these concerns, which would have been important to many Italian city-states, the Baptistery's bishop, patrons and artists added special interests. The most obvious is the desire to celebrate the feminine, as both mother and martyr. Fecundity is a central theme, with emphasis on the miracle of Joachim's fatherhood and Elizabeth's birthing and on nurture in the narratives of the life of John the Baptist, and on Mary's role of Genetrix of God in scenes from the life of Christ. The role of

<sup>73</sup> On Fina's patronage: Kohl, 1989; Kohl, 2001; Spiazzi, plates 17 and 18.

<sup>74</sup> Bellinati, 81-82.

<sup>75</sup> On bishop Raimondo, Gaffuri and Gallo, 951-54.

<i>Row 1, left of the Virgin Mary: the apostles, evangelists, fathers of the Church</i>
Peter; the apostle Paul; Andrew; James the Less; Philip; the apostle Thomas; Bartholomew; Matthew; Simon; Jude; Matthias; Barnabas; Mark; Luke; Jerome; Ambrose; Augustine; Gregory the Great.
<i>Row 2, right of the Virgin Mary: four saints from her life</i>
Joachim; Anne; Zachary; Elizabeth; [thirteen Old Testament matrons and prophets].
<i>Row 2, left of the Virgin Mary: fifteen early martyrs and popes; three local saints</i>
Stephen; Lawrence; Vincent of Saragossa; Sebastian; George; Maurice; Theodore; Martin, pope and martyr; John, martyr; Paul, martyr; Cosmas, martyr; Damian, martyr; Cornelius, pope; Cletus, pope; Clement, pope; Nicholas of Bari, bishop; Leonino, bishop of Padua; Bellino, bishop of Padua; Giordano Forzatè.
<i>Row 3, right of the Virgin Mary: John the Baptist presenting local, hermit, monastic and Mendicant saints</i>
John the Baptist; Prosdocimus; Justina; Daniel, martyr and levite; Maximus, bishop; Fidenzio, bishop; Paul, the First Hermit; Anthony Abbot, of Egypt; Macarius the Great; Benedict of Nursia, O.S.B.; Bernard of Clairvaux, O.Cist.; Dominic, O.P.; Francis of Assisi, O.F.M.; Thomas Aquinas, O.P.; Anthony of Padua, O.F.M.; Peter Martyr, O.P.; Louis of Toulouse, O.F.M.; Nicholas of Tolentino, O.S.A. Herm.; Sigismund, king of Burgundy (d. 524).
<i>Row 3, left of the Virgin Mary: John the Evangelist presenting sixteen female saints</i>
John the Evangelist; Martha, sister of Lazarus; Mary, sister of Lazarus; Mary Magdalene; Agnes; Catherine of Alexandria; Apollonia; Thecla; Barbara; Ursula; Lucy; Margaret; Agatha; Bridget; Gertrude, O.S.B.; Clare of Assisi, O.F.M.; Elizabeth of Hungary, O.F.M., Tertiary; Empress Helen, mother of Constantine (d. 330).

Tab. 3. *The Seventy-eight Saints Depicted in Paradise, in the Dome of Padua's Cathedral Baptistery*<sup>76</sup>

women in religious life is reinforced by the large number of female saints depicted in Paradise: nine prophets and four holy matrons from the Old Testament shared half of Row 2 with Anne and Elizabeth and their husbands, from the lives of Mary and John the Baptist. The third row, nearest the viewer, with John the Evangelist kneeling before the Virgin in her *mandorla*, depicts seventeen female saints, three Marys from the life of Christ, nine martyrs from the early Church, regal saints, the Empress Helen and Queen Elizabeth of Hungary, and recent founders of female communities, Bridget, Clare and Gertrude.

Part of the second row of saints emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom, starting with the Protomartyrs, Stephen and Lawrence, and continuing with depictions of the martyr saints from the Great Persecutions, Vincent, Sebastian, Theodore and George, two youthful pairs, John and Paul, Cosmos and Damian, and several martyred popes, Cornelius, Cletus and Clement. It

<sup>76</sup> Source: Bellinati, 44-49. Of the 108 figures in the Paradise in the dome, thirty are Old Testament figures and are not listed among the saints depicted there. These include seventeen to the right of the Virgin Mary, in Row 1: Adam, Eve, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Esau, Benjamin, Joseph son of Jacob, Moses, Joshua, David, Joseph, husband of Mary, Tobias, Judas Maccabee, and Job. To the right of Mary in Row 2 are four Old Testament matrons: Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah; and nine prophets, Simeon, Haggai, Amos, Isaiah, Jonah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Elias and Daniel.

concludes with three Paduans, two bishops, Leonino and Bellino, who were, according to local traditions, martyred in defense of their office, and Giordano Forzatè. Sharing the third row, nearest the viewer are saints dear to Padua, the monastic tradition, and the Mendicant orders. Presented to the Virgin by John the Baptist are three patron saints of Padua, with the attributes of their office: the aged, bearded Prosdocimus with mitre, pointing towards Justina, with martyr's palm, and followed by the youthful Daniel, with a pilgrim's staff and a model of Padua. Next come Maximus, with crosier and open book, by tradition the second bishop of Padua, and Fidenzio, the third.

Hermits and monks follow: Paul, the first hermit, then Anthony Abbot, who occupied a special place among Paduan saints, Macarius the Great, and Benedict, the founder of Bishop Raimondo's own order. Among the Mendicants, the founders, Dominic and Francis are represented, and the fourth patron saint of Padua, Anthony. From more recent Mendicants, favored by the Carrara family, are the Franciscan Louis (d. 1297), of the Angevins of Naples, who became bishop of Toulouse, Peter Martyr O.P., and Nicholas of Tolentino (d. 1305), who was not yet canonized. Next to Constantine's mother, the Empress Helen, holding the true cross, is the Vandal king of Burgundy, Sigismund (d. 524), with crown and scepter, who converted to Catholicism. Thus, the female and local Paduan saints were accorded a privileged place, each seated in the row at the bottom of the cupola, nearest the viewer. And every saint is identified not just by a well-known attribute, but also by their names inscribed on tables below their chairs. Thus, the lord of Padua and his consort, the bishop, and members of the Carrara circle informed the faithful of the most important saints of Padua and of Christendom.

The interests of the bishop of Padua in the artistic program were even more clearly stated in the donor's portrait. Here Fina Buzzaccarini appears kneeling in the place of honor, to the right of Virgin and Child, surrounded by Padua's sainted bishops, and their protector, St. Daniel. She is perhaps the first female donor in Italian art to be accorded such an honor. For example, in Altichiero's contemporary donor portrait in San Giacomo at the Santo, Caterina, wife of the donor, Bonifacio Lupi, is accorded a place of secondary importance on the Virgin's left. But here the two patrons of the Baptistery, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, present the donor, Fina, to the Virgin and Child, with Maximus, second bishop of Padua, in the background. On the Virgin's left, Sts. Prosdocimus and Fidenzio, the first and third bishops of Padua, stand behind the youthful Daniel martyr and levite, dressed in the sumptuous robes of a deacon, holding a palm and the model of the city of Padua that had become his symbol<sup>77</sup>. Thus, by the late fourteenth century, the patron saints had taken on recognized traits, the grave and fatherly Prosdocimus, contrasted with the beautiful, virginal Justina and the youthful, handsome Daniel. About this time Daniel also took on a historical identity: the son of Eliazar, a Jew whom St.

<sup>77</sup> On St. Daniel's iconography: Kaftal, 80-81.

Prosdocimus had converted to the Christian faith, Daniel became a deacon and missionary and his many conversions earned him the enmity of the pagans. They seized the young Daniel and martyred him by crucifixion<sup>78</sup>.

The polyptych on the altar in the Baptistery's sacristy represents another ambitious attempt to honor all Christendom's saints, at their several levels of importance. Since Fina provided explicitly for the completion of the decoration of the chapel and its altar from the sale of her silver and clothing after her death, it seems certain the altarpiece was the last of Giusto's commissions to be completed<sup>79</sup>. The result was an altarpiece remarkable for its complex hierarchies of sainthood, signed, in effect by its patrons since the coats-of-arms of the Carrara and Buzzacarini families appear at either end. The central figures were Jesus, the Virgin, and John the Baptist, with the largest central panel depicting the Virgin with Child enthroned, topped by the Baptism of Jesus by John, with the Pietà at the bottom. On either side are twelve scenes from the life of the Baptist: on the viewer's left, six from his birth and the lives of Zachary and Elizabeth, and on the right, scenes from John's ministry, betrayal, death and burial. Above this narrative are the large depictions of six saints, the four fathers of the Church, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Augustine and Jerome, each in his distinctive attitude and dress, and on the ends two major saints: Francis receiving the stigmata, and Sebastian with a sword in his left hand and a sheaf of arrows in his right.

In the smaller niches, the themes of death and martyrdom are continued with the depiction of five popes (all of whom had been accorded an altar in the Duomo) at each end: Urban, Clement, Sixtus, Silvester, and Fabian, and three famous martyr saints: Stephen, Lawrence, and the more recent Peter Martyr, a Dominican murdered by heretics in Lombardy, represented with palm and book. As we shall see, in the early years of signorial rule, the Paduan commune created for him a place of honor on Padua's liturgical calendar, marked by a solemn procession from the town hall to his chapel in the Dominican house of Sant'Agostino. A few years later, the Dominicans were further honored in the apse of their foundation by the tombs of two Carrara lords, Ubertino (d. 1345), and Giacomo II (d. 1350); the latter had been Fina's father-in-law. In eight still smaller tabernacles atop these saints are represented the authors of the New Testament: the four evangelists, depicted by their symbols, and four authors of letters: James, Peter, Paul and Jude.

In the *predella*, the patron selected and Giusto depicted another twelve holy men and women: the city's patron saints and two early bishops, also portrayed in the donor's fresco, include Anthony of Padua, Justina, Prosdocimus, Daniel martyr, and the later early bishops, Maximus and

<sup>78</sup> On the developed account of St. Daniel's background: Corsato, 100; Scardeone, col. 104.

<sup>79</sup> Kohl, 1989, 25, for the passage from the will of 22 September 1378, which reads: "reliquit Capelle predictae solum ad ornatum et pro ornamento ipsius Capelle et altaris in ea existentis totum suum argentum et vestimenta quod et que repertum fuerit dictam testatricem tempore obitus sui habere".

Fidenzio. Represented as well are six of the most significant of the anti-Ezzelino *beati*, who were still venerated in Padua, but rarely depicted in Trecento art. Reading from left to right these *beati* are: Crescenzo da Camposampiero, Compagno Ongarello, Giordano Forzatè, Arnaldo da Limena, Antonio Manzoni “il Pellegrino”, and Beatrice d’Este<sup>80</sup>.

The semiotics of Padua’s patron saints was also reflected in religious processions staged by the confraternities of Padua. From a statue of 1334, the lay brothers of the confraternity of the Arca di Sant’Antonio were to gather with candles every June on the first Sunday after St. Anthony’s Feast and process with the figures of St. Francis and St. Anthony (probably statues) from the Duomo to the Basilica, where the candles each member had purchased were presented to the friars. A similar procession continued in more elaborate form into the Quattrocento. And on 13 June, the feast of St. Anthony, the confraternity (now composed of both men and women) proceeded from the Duomo to the Basilica with four patron saints, each with the proper coat-of-arms (*sbarra*) and dressed in appropriate garb. Prosdocimus appeared with bishop’s mitre, Daniel in the clothing of a deacon, Anthony as a friar, and Justina, dressed in white and purple damask, carrying a knife and the palm of her martyrdom<sup>81</sup>. And in addition to the annual procession of Gabriel and the Virgin to the Scrovegni Chapel on the Annunciation, it is possible that the Duomo’s confraternity of the Servi di Dio e della Santa Madre used representations of the Holy Mother in its observances of the five Marian feasts<sup>82</sup>.

Starting with Giacomo II da Carrara, the lords of Padua memorialized the city’s patron saints on their coins. In the 1340s, Giacomo II had Prosdocimus depicted on a new two-*soldi* coin. This tradition continued with Francesco il Vecchio, who placed images of Sts Prosdocimus and Daniel on the reverse of his newly-minted *carrarino*. After his restoration in 1390, Francesco Novello honored the tradition by depicting three of the city’s patrons, Prosdocimus, Anthony and Justina, on coins issued during his rule<sup>83</sup>. Thus, the later Carrara lords in a sense legitimated their rule over Padua by issuing coins that bore the effigies of the holy protectors of the city.

## 8. *The Carrara Saints*

While Fina Buzzacarini and the religious leaders of Padua were creating frescoes to depict the major and minor saints of Padua, the Carrara lords instituted a number of public observances: *palli* and processions to commemorate turning points in the political life of Padua. The first such horse

<sup>80</sup> Bellinati, 79-81.

<sup>81</sup> *Statuti di confraternite*, xcli, 99, 131-32.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 10-23.

<sup>83</sup> Webb, 233, 245, citing *Corpus nummorum*, 188-206; Rizzoli and Perini, 111-21.

race was instituted in 1318, to be run annually on the Feast of St. James the Greater, 25 July, to commemorate the election of Giacomo il Grande da Carrara as the first lord of the city. The *palio* was to run from the city centre at the Piazza delle Biade through the gate at Pontecorvo to Volta Barozza some three kilometers to the south, with prizes of scarlet cloth, a young goose and an owl<sup>84</sup>. In the next decade, the Dominicans of Padua received due recognition when a solemn feast with procession was established on the saint's day of the early thirteenth century Dominican, Peter Martyr. Just as the Franciscan friar Anthony had interceded to aid the reconquest of Padua from Ezzelino da Romano in 1256, so the intercession of the Dominican missionary and martyr had helped to seal the peace between Paduan exiles and citizens on his feast day of 29 April 1323. On 4 May in the Palace of the Anziani, under the auspices of the German vicar of Padua (which had recently been placed under the protection of Heinrich, king of Bohemia and duke of Carinthia), local civic leaders, including Giovanni Camposampiero, Albertino Mussato, Rolando da Piazzola, and the nominal lord, Marsilio da Carrara, met to confirm that an annual procession was to be held on 29 April to celebrate peace among the warring factions of Padua<sup>85</sup>.

The Anziani of the commune and the fifteen Gastaldi of the guilds were to determine who should form the line of march, and the amount of the gift of candles and other oblations to be offered at the altar of St. Peter Martyr. And the Gastaldi were to add this feast to those which the guilds of Padua were to celebrate forever. A month later on 2 June in the great hall of the episcopal palace, in the presence of the bishop's vicar and the same communal leaders, the nature of the procession was spelled out in detail<sup>86</sup>. The Podestà with the Anziani and all his officials, and the Gastaldi of the guilds with all guild members were to march from the Palazzo della Ragione to the chapel of St. Peter Martyr in the church of Sant'Agostino, carrying wax and alms in the amount determined by the Anziani and the Gastaldi. Three years later, on 18 April 1326, the Anziani and Gastaldi, assembled in the communal palace, voted to spend 100 lire for oblations and expenses of the procession of the feast of St. Peter Martyr "all of which money is or will come of the treasury of the king [Frederick Habsburg] or from the coffers (*canipis*) of the commune of Padua"<sup>87</sup>. In May 1331, during the domination of Padua by the Scaliger dynasty of Verona, the annual procession in commemoration of the peace between Paduans made on the feast of St. Peter Martyr was confirmed<sup>88</sup>. As provided in an earlier statute, for this solemn feast, the Podestà, his judges and knights,

<sup>84</sup> On the election, Kohl, 1989, 39-42. For the statute: *Stat. Com.*, 1382, also in *Stat. Car.*, fol. 103r.

<sup>85</sup> Discussion of the feast and an edition of the 4 May 1323 statute in Meerseman, 2:805, 832-34; Gloria, 1888, 2:13-14

<sup>86</sup> Archivio Di Stato, Padova, *Archivio Diplomatico*, perg. 5933, 2 June 1323; an excerpt in Gloria, 1888, 2:14.

<sup>87</sup> Archivio Di Stato, Padova, *Archivio Diplomatico*, perg. 6127, 18 April 1326: "de omni pecunia que est vel erit in camera vel extra camera domini Regis vel in canipis communis Padue".

<sup>88</sup> *Stat. Car.*, fols. 101v-102r.

the Anziani and communal officials, and Gastaldi and guild members were to form the procession which carried gifts of candles (*doplerios*) and a *palium* valued at a hundred lire to the saint's altar. Thus the Dominican Peter Martyr joined Anthony and Daniel as one of Padua's major intercessory saints, and his solemn feast was to rival others in the extent of communal gifts to his order and the size of the procession.

The solemn feasts added during the rule of the Carrara family over Padua often celebrated victories over the arms of enemies, foreign and domestic, with the staging of a *palio* or a procession. Of course, the lords of Padua were not unique in such observances. During the fourteenth century, Venice instituted an annual votive procession on 15 June to the church of San Vito to celebrate the thwarting of the Tiepolo conspiracy in 1310; a procession on 22 July to the church of Santa Maria Maddalena to commemorate the peace concluded between Venice and Genoa in 1356; a feast for St. Isidore, on 1 April, instituted by the Council of Ten, in observance of the thwarting of Doge Marino Falier's plot to overthrow the government; and the Feast of St. Martial, on 1 June, in 1373, established to celebrate three recent victories – over Padua in the recent border war, over rebels at Zadar, and a third over Turks in Romania<sup>89</sup>. Similarly, to celebrate the reconquest of Padua from the Scaliger lords in 1338, Ubertino da Carrara ordered that a *palio* be held annually on 3 August<sup>90</sup>. Apparently this observance did not long survive, soon to be replaced by a procession to celebrate the fall of the last Scaliger stronghold at Monselice on 19 August 1338. That was the feast day of the Franciscan saint, Louis of Toulouse, and Ubertino da Carrara and the commune of Padua ordered an annual procession to the saint's altar in the Basilica of Sant'Antonio, sponsored by the guilds of Padua<sup>91</sup>. The adoption of a saint's day to celebrate a Carrara victory reached a low point when, in 1345, Giacomo II da Carrara ordered that a *palio* be run annually on the eighth of May<sup>92</sup>. This was the date on which Giacomo murdered his distant cousin Marsilietto Papafava da Carrara to seize the lordship of the city. But apparently this assassination was never celebrated among the religious holidays of late medieval Padua.

Three saints' days were added to the liturgical calendar as major feasts in the second half of the Trecento. A confraternity in honor of the desert father St. Anthony Abbot, also called of Vienne (from his principal shrine in the French Alps), was founded at Padua in the middle of the century<sup>93</sup>. Its membership,

<sup>89</sup> On the institution of saints' feasts in fourteenth century Venice to commemorate peace treaties and political events, Rigon, 2000, 408-11.

<sup>90</sup> Cortusi, 91.

<sup>91</sup> Cortusi, 93; Cessi 1:149-51, for an edition of the statute from documents of the notaries' guilds. That this observance was not recorded in the Carrara code suggests that its celebration was probably of short duration, though Louis of Toulouse's feast day was included among the solemn feasts of Padua in 1362, in the redaction of Marco Querini's statute of 1278.

<sup>92</sup> Cortusi, 115; Gloria, 1861, 4:229.

<sup>93</sup> See the introduction to the edition of the confraternity's statutes in De Sandre Gasparini, 155-58.

which included several minor officials at the Carrara court, was dedicated to maintaining a hospital for the poor and infirm on the outskirts of the city. Soon after its founding, a communal statute, passed in 1354 under the podestà Pietro Badoer of Venice, decreed a procession for the saint's feast on 17 January<sup>94</sup>. After the conventional honoring of God, the Virgin and all the saints, the statute mentions only the two oldest patron saints, Prosdocimus and Justina, as well as St. Anthony of Vienne. It ordered the Podestà with his officials and men of Padua and all the guilds to proceed to the church of Sant'Antonio di Vienne in borgo Savonarola with the usual gifts of candles and wax.

Perhaps founded from practice by a similar confraternity in Venice, the procession for this saint was retained in the liturgical calendar after the Venetian conquest, with the express command that the oblations collected on the feast day be used for the confraternity's hospital for the poor<sup>95</sup>. In 1372 was established a procession to the Carmelite Church of Santa Maria near Ponte Molino on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin. As with the confraternity of St. Anthony of Vienne, the Podestà with the Anziani, judges and his officials of the commune and all the guilds were to proceed to the church to hear Mass. While the throng was at the church, the Gastaldi of the brotherhood of Santa Maria were to collect offerings for its upkeep<sup>96</sup>.

To commemorate the great victory of Carrara arms on 25 June 1386 over a vastly larger Veronese force outside Padua on the Brentella canal, a celebration was established on the feast of the translation of the Frankish bishop, St. Eligius, or Sant'Allò in Italian<sup>97</sup>. On that day, the Podestà with his officials and staff, the Gastaldi of the guilds, the clergy and the people of Padua, bearing the banners of the guilds and wax candles as oblations, were to march to the church of San Clemente, where an altar to Sant'Allò had just been constructed. In the church, which was opposite the palace complex of the ruling family, the Carrara Reggia, the throng was to hear a solemn Mass dedicated to the "perpetual memory of victory, the good, peaceful, enduring and tranquil status of the magnificent lord, and of the city and people of Padua, and of all its inhabitants". This feast marked the high point of the Carrara dynasty's use of saints for its own glory and status.

### 9. Venice's Innovations

The celebration of the Brentella victory was observed for only two decades, for on 17 November 1405, Padua fell to the Venetian army and the ruling lord, Francesco Novello da Carrara, and his two sons were soon to be executed in a

<sup>94</sup> *Stat. Car.*, fol. 103v.

<sup>95</sup> *Stat. Ref.*, fol. 301v.

<sup>96</sup> *Stat. Car.*, fol. 321r (1372).

<sup>97</sup> *Stat. Car.* fol. 105r. For a contemporary account of the battle, Gatari, 248-54; for the importance of victory, Kohl, 1989, 235-36.

Venetian prison. The feasts, with *palii* and processions, that celebrated the election of the first Carrara lord, the conquest of Monselice and the Brentella victory, were promptly abolished. In their stead, the Venetian Podestà established that every year on the anniversary of the conquest of Padua a solemn Mass was to be heard in the Duomo, followed by a grand procession in which the Podestà led his officials and knights, the doctors and students of the university and the citizen body around the piazza. That afternoon (*post nonas*) the barbers of the city, selected by the Podestà, were to run a foot race from Bassanello in the southern suburbs, through the city's gate at Santa Croce to the church of San Martino at the city's centre. The first prize was a bolt of velvet cloth valued at fifty ducats, the second a chopping block, the third a hen, and the fourth a ham. The next day, jousts were held in piazza San Clemente, under Giovanni Dondi's famous clock tower, for a prize of silk cloth also worth fifty ducats. There, between the seat of the communal government and the palace of the Venetian rector and captain, the young worthies of Padua competed with the knights of the Venetian garrison<sup>98</sup>. The new Venetian masters impressed their Paduan subjects with a grand civic procession and sumptuous prizes. And for a time at least, a secular chivalric pastime supplanted the religious rituals of late medieval Padua.

But, in general, the new statutes that Venice promulgated for Padua in 1420, with the help of a board of some of the most distinguished local law professors, did not radically alter public ritual in the city. There remained the three fairs and festivals of medieval origin in honor of the three great patron saints of the city, Prosdocimus, Justina and Anthony<sup>99</sup>. For each of these fairs, the commercial and artisanal life of the city moved to the Prato della Valle. There the guildsmen of Padua were enlisted to construct a large pavilion for the temporary residence of the Podestà, his judges, knight and notaries. Wool merchants provided new timber for tables and frames. The carpenters' guild was charged with constructing the edifice and dismantling it at the end of each fair. The merchant's guild provided the canvas covering, while the used-clothes retailers (*strazzaroli*) had to stitch and sew the covering together. Carters brought in straw for each fair, while Jews and moneylenders had to provide free of charge decorated beds for the communal officials who resided on the fair grounds. All retailers and artisans had to display and sell their ware only at the fairs, while their shops in the rest of the city were to remain closed. And as usual, reprisals against foreign merchants were suspended while they attended and traded at the fair. In short, the new Venetian authorities mobilized the entire guild community to make the fair of each patron saint a commercial and civic success<sup>100</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> *Stat. Ref.*, fol. 327v; discussed and edited in Gloria, 1861, 1:228, 4:100.

<sup>99</sup> On Venetian policy of retention of observances for local patron saints in the Terraferma state, Viggiano, 14-15.

<sup>100</sup> *Stat. Ref.*, fol. 326r; discussion in Gloria, 1861, 1:143-44. On the use of resources of guilds in fairs and festivals in Venice, Mackenney, 133-50.

The ritual calendar of feasts and holidays remained virtually unchanged from the communal period. Matteo Querini's statute of 1278 was repeated in the reformed code of 1420 with only a few additions. To the four Marian feasts enumerated in the Carrara code of 1362 were added two new holidays: the feasts of the Visitation and the Immaculate Conception, which had begun to achieve recognition at the beginning of the Quattrocento. The Visitation of Mary and Elizabeth was appointed for 2 July. The second new feast, for the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, fell on 8 December. Also added was a feast honoring St. Urban, an early martyred pope associated with the cult of Santa Cecilia; he had come to figure prominently in Paduan hagiography.

But within two more decades, an official religious procession of a particularly Venetian complexion appeared in Padua: the feast of Corpus Christi. By 1441 the entire Paduan populace was arranged in strict order for a procession through the centre of the city. Beginning with grammar school pupils accompanied by their masters, there followed members of the thirty-two guilds, fifteen *scuole*, nine orders of monks and friars, the clergy of Padua, university students of law and medicine and members of the College of Jurists. At the centre of the procession was the sacred body of Christ followed by the bishop of Padua, now always a Venetian noble. Following him were the Venetian rectors and garrison, the members of the College of Physicians and, finally, the citizens, *popolani* and women<sup>101</sup>. The quintessential public festival of the Venetian Republic had now become the central act in the ritual life of subject Padua. While preserving the fairs and feasts honoring Padua's patron saints from the high middle ages, Venice had also put the stamp of its own civic rituals on its most valuable mainland possession. But in the larger liturgical life of Padua, the patron saints remained whose lives recorded great moments in church history: the missionary work of Prosdocimus spreading Christianity north of Rome at the behest of St. Peter, the martyrdom of a local maiden defending her faith during Diocletian's great persecution, and St. Anthony, the great Franciscan saint who brought the new order of Little Brothers north of the Apennines.

### 10. *A Brief Epilogue*

In June of 1995 I returned to Padua to make a final check of the archival citations for a study I had completed on the Carrara dynasty, staying in a *pensione* on the Prato della Valle, within easy bus ride of the State Archives that had moved to the suburbs at Brusegana. That Sunday morning, I walked to the Piazza del Santo to be greeted by hundreds of the faithful, in their holiday

<sup>101</sup> See Gloria, *Territorio*, 1:213-14, which details the line of march from an act of Padua's Council passed on 11 July 1441. On the importance of the Corpus Christi procession in Venice, Muir, 223-30; on its importance in fifteenth-century Europe, see Rubin, 245-71.

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best, coming out of the Basilica. I soon realized that this was the Sunday of the octave of the Feast of St. Anthony, and the local faithful were honoring their favorite patron saint, as they had done annually for nearly seven centuries since his death. I was for a moment part of a great throng of folk, a public display of love and respect that the Paduans had provided annually for centuries to demonstrate the esteem and affection for the holy man they honored as their city's greatest saint.

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#### *Abstract*

This article addresses the question of the evolution of civic ritual in late medieval Europe between the early thirteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Arguing for the importance of the participants as well as the planners of civic ritual, and for the need to contextualize the forms of ritual behaviour, it also offers a new case study: the changing civic calendar and the celebration of feast days in the northern Italian city of Padua. It publishes for the first time documentary evidence for the patronage and iconography of saints' days in Padua, drawing heavily on the city's statutes, and aims to interpret what it was that religious and civic officials – as well as Padua's citizens and inhabitants – intended and experienced. It not only throws light on the reverence for universal and local saints in the Paduan Christian calendar, but also focuses on the festivals, holidays, fairs, parish life and churches of late medieval Padua and its contado.

#### *Keywords*

Middle Ages; 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century; Padua; hagiography; devotion; art; iconography; patronage; statutes

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