



EDITED BY
MICHAEL KNAPTON, JOHN E. LAW, ALISON A. SMITH

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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“The monument constructed for me.”

Evidence for the first tomb monument of Enrico Scrovegni in the Arena Chapel, Padua

by Robin Simon

1. Introduction

Amid the continuing research into the Arena (Scrovegni) Chapel in Padua¹, there is relatively little said about one of its greatest works of art: the sculptural group by Giovanni Pisano (c. 1250-c. 1315). Its existence is, however, significant testimony to the extraordinary nature of Enrico Scrovegni's patronage. In the first few years of the fourteenth century, Enrico (d. 1336) commissioned a full-scale narrative fresco decoration of a brand-new chapel from Giotto (1266/1267-1337) the greatest painter of the day – one of the greatest of all time – whose immediately preceding work was at St. Peter's in Rome for the Jubilee year of 1300. There, Giotto had provided the mosaic in the apse, the high altarpiece in front of it, and the Navicella mosaic on the reverse façade of the portico². Now Giotto took on a commission in Padua by one of its richest citizens. This private individual managed to have featured in his chapel – either through his own efforts or that of his heirs – no fewer than three portraits of himself (fig. 1), a number paralleled at this time only by Pope Boniface VIII (c. 1235-1303) in a tomb he had had constructed in St. Peter's by 1299³. Enrico appeared in the Arena Chapel in the form of a donor fresco in the Last Judgement on the west wall; as a standing statue from the life, now in the adjoining Museo Civico; and in a recumbent tomb sculpture in the east end of the apse. In addition, Enrico commissioned the greatest sculptor of the day, Giovanni Pisano, to produce... well, what?

This crucial question has not often been clearly addressed. Yet the answer would seem to be that Giovanni was commissioned to create some at least of the elements of a funerary monument – probably the most important – and that they survive in the form of Giovanni's marble Madonna and Child with two

¹ The most challenging recent monographs are Jacobus, 2008; Frugoni.

² Gardner, 1974.

³ Gardner, 1983.

flanking angels (fig. 2) that now sit on the high altar, which they have done only since the long restoration of the chapel in the late nineteenth century and first years of the twentieth. Another element of this lost monument survives, I would suggest, in the form of the standing statue of Enrico “from the life” now in the nearby Museo Civico (fig. 3) which by 1560 had been moved to the sacristy, where it was recorded by Scardeone⁴. It is not by Giovanni but it is carefully attested to in an inscription on its base as a correct likeness – and very possibly, it would seem, on the scale of life – of Enrico: “Propria figura domini Enrici Scrovegni militis de larena”. It also clearly shows Enrico as a young man, as does Giotto’s portrait, in marked contrast with the effigy with heavily furrowed brow on the present tomb (see fig. 1) of some decades later, which looks as though it could well have been modelled from a death mask. There are just a few wrinkles upon the standing effigy and none in Giotto’s portrait, which suggests the relative dates of the portraits: the fresco was the first; the standing statue next; and finally the recumbent tomb figure.

2. *The monument*

We know that Enrico had a monument built for himself inside his chapel: he tells us so in his will. The will (of 12 March 1336) makes clear that the Arena Chapel was specifically intended as a mausoleum for himself, for it housed his funerary monument:

Eligo mei corporis sepulturam apud ecclesiam et in ecclesia Sancte Marie de Caritate de l’Arena de Padua, scilicet in monumento in ipsa constructo [pro] me, quam ecclesiam et quod monumentum ego per Dei gratiam feci de bonis propriis construi...” (“I [Enrico Scrovegni] choose that my body be buried in church and in the church of St. Mary of Charity in the Arena in Padua, that is to say in the monument constructed for me in it, which church and monument I, by the grace of God, had built out of my own assets...”)⁵.

This monument cannot, however, have been the wall monument that currently occupies the central part of the apse (fig. 4). That has been attributed to Andriolo de Santi (before 1320?–c. 1376), or to the “Master of the Scrovegni tomb”. Its recumbent figure of Enrico is of rather higher quality than most of Andriolo’s effigies – compare the figures of Ubertino and Jacopo II da Carrara on the tombs discussed below, of 1345 and 1351 respectively – and it is dateable to the mid-century⁶. When Enrico died in 1336, in enforced exile in Venice, he

⁴ Scardeone. There was a silver coin underneath it of “about 1360” which suggests its having been moved to the sacristy at about that time. See Simon, 1995, 32–33.

⁵ Kohl, 45. The will was published by Hueck. It has now been fully transcribed and edited, with an Italian translation, in Bartoli Langeli, 397–539 (480–481 for the passage quoted here). There is a subsequent reference (ibidem, 482–483) to the “decoration of the tomb in the Arena”, but that is clearly related to the cost of its being properly ornamented at the time of the actual burial service.

⁶ Uncertainty still surrounds much of Andriolo’s career and the identification of his hand. Wolters,

was initially unable to be buried in own chapel and in his carefully constructed monument. Instead, as his will instructed – revealing as it does that Enrico was well aware of the fact that he had little control over the situation – his body was first interred in San Mattia di Murano, and was subsequently brought to the Arena by his son Ugolino and widow Giacopina, after which they eventually had a new tomb monument constructed in the central bay of the apse. They were in no position to create such a monument until, realistically, any time before 1350, and it was more probably around 1352, the year in which Giacopina and Ugolino are actually recorded back in residence at the Scrovegni palace in the Arena⁷.

3. *Comparable monuments*

From 1320 until his death in 1336 – following his initial flight in 1318 – with only one hasty interlude in 1328, Enrico had lost control of his chapel and indeed of his properties in Padua, to his great enemy, Marsilio da Carrara, all of it plaintively set out in his will: “Since Lord Marsilio...by violence and his power took over all my possessions... which by right belonged to me in Padua and in the Padovano”⁸. Marsilio’s ally Cangrande della Scala briefly occupied

1974; Wolters, 1976, 32-39, 116ff, 168-69; Moskowitz, 238ff. Andriolo did sign the contract for the tomb of Jacopo II da Carrara in 1351, but it was with two collaborators, and even the recumbent effigy may not, in fact, be by his hand. Again, when he signed the contract for the Chapel of San Felice in the Santo in 1372, although the design is surely his, the execution of the various parts of the ensemble is less certainly so, and we find him being paid for the tombs in the chapel, for example, along with his son Giovanni on 20 March 1376. See Richards, 144ff., 231. The initial contract with Andriolo was published by Sartori, 311-14. Further complexity is added by the identification of an unknown master (the ‘Master of the Scrovegni tomb’) as the hand, rather than that of Andriolo, responsible for the tomb of Enrico with its recumbent figure and also that of Bishop Castellano Salomone (d. 1322) in the Duomo at Treviso. See, for example, Moskowitz, 240-43. The gulf in quality between the effigy of Jacopo II da Carrara and the effigy of Enrico in the Arena is considerable (the latter is conspicuously higher) and suggestive, although not conclusive, in the light of Andriolo’s frequent use of collaborators noted above.

⁷ Kohl, 43. Enrico died on 20 August 1336. On 23 November 1336 his body was moved from Murano to Padua: Jacobus, 2012, 404. The new tomb (which we see today) cannot have been created in that short space of time, especially since Marsilio da Carrara (see below) was still so firmly in possession of the palace and, during this interval, access to the chapel was hard won by Enrico’s widow (Jacobus, 2012, 404). Jacobus argues that the recumbent statue had already been created, probably before c. 1320, but that seems impossible to accept, in view of the aged and deeply wrinkled appearance of Enrico’s face noted above in comparison with the two other likenesses, themselves separated by a number of years. Nor do I find convincing the arguments for the incorporation of the Giovanni Pisano angels into an ensemble that would have included the present framework of the recumbent statue. Louise Bourdua has given a paper (Renaissance Society of America, 28 March 2014) contradicting Jacobus’ suggestions, and putting forward her own reconstruction of the tomb, publication of which is planned (the summary details known to the present writer indicate that her conclusions differ from those put forward here).

⁸ Kohl, 45.

Enrico's palace adjoining the chapel after taking over the city in 1328. Cangrande died in 1329 and Marsilio, who had effectively remained in control of the city through swearing allegiance to Cangrande, thereafter took possession of Enrico's palace and controlled access to the chapel. He would have been unable to use it, however, since Enrico retained the advowson – *jus patronatus* – a point on which church law was unbending⁹. But these Carrara and della Scala connections may be indirectly significant. Two Carrara tombs that are now adventitiously to be found in the neighbouring church of the Eremitani provide suggestive evidence for the hypothesis offered here that the Pisano figures in the Arena Chapel originally formed part of a tomb monument; and the well-known della Scala tombs in Verona may also reflect features of the same monument.

Marsilio himself (d. 1338) is buried in a wall tomb in the church of Santo Stefano in what used to be the separate village of Carrara Santo Stefano, but which is now part of Due Carrare, a town made up of a marriage with Carrara San Giorgio, in the Colli Euganei. Although Marsilio's tomb is a handsome object, with a carved central Madonna and Child flanked by two saints and a smaller, kneeling figure of the deceased, with the Virgin Annunciate to the left and the annunciating angel to the right, none of it reflects the Giovanni Pisano sculptures in the Arena Chapel in any way. But the tombs of Marsilio's successors, on the other hand, conspicuously do so. These are the tombs of Ubertino (d. 1345) and Jacopo II (d. 1350), both by Andriolo dei Santi (fig. 5, fig. 6). Both tombs are adorned by sculptures of the Madonna and Child flanked by angels carrying candles that clearly reflect Giovanni's sculptures in the Arena Chapel¹⁰. One of the most striking features of the marble angels on the Carrara tombs is that they have bronze wings attached to them (see fig. 5), of the kind that we know were originally attached to Giovanni Pisano's angels in the Arena Chapel, where the slots in the shoulders of the angels for their attachment are still visible. And it is a fact that the use of bronze wings as attachments to sculptures became, after the construction of the Arena Chapel, a recurring feature of tomb monuments in the area surrounding Padua for much of the century: the famous Scaliger tombs in Verona are a case in point.

⁹ Simon, 1995, 25 and esp. n. 7.

¹⁰ These two tombs were moved to the Eremitani from their original location in the choir of the Carrara family church of Sant'Agostino, just outside the walls of Padua, following its demolition in 1819. They are now both on the south wall of the Eremitani, which means that only one of the deceased is facing the right way, Ubertino, who still has his feet facing east. Jacopo would originally have been on the north wall of the choir and therefore also with his feet facing east. The resemblance between the figures on the Carrara tombs now in Sant'Agostino and the Pisano Arena Chapel sculptures was briefly noted (and without details) by Roberto Paolo Novello in Banzato et al., I, 169; and see *ibid.*, 268 ff., for a summary of much of the published thinking about the Giovanni Pisano sculptures, including the common presumption that they were on an altar (although it is not usually clear which, since, as noted above, the present altar is a much later construct, while the original altar was only just beyond the chancel step), and noting that the present author (Simon, 1995, 33) proposed that they were specifically funerary.

The Carrara tomb sculptures in the Eremitani are also flanked by twisted columns, which may indicate that such a feature was originally to have been seen on the Enrico monument: certainly, such columns are often to be found on tombs¹¹. And, among many other re-used stone fragments that can be identified in the Arena Chapel, there are several twisted columns: for example, those at the north-west and south-west horns of what I have previously identified as the pastiche high altar (palimpsest might be another word for it)¹². Re-used elements may include those twisted columns now on either side of the standing statue of Enrico referred to above, the rather distinctive bases of which have a pattern that is similar to, although not identical with, those at floor level of the pilasters in the apse. The carving of the capitals on these flanking columns similarly resembles, but does not match, those of the pilasters; while the canopy over this statue of Enrico is markedly different in all respects from those over the stalls in the apse.

4. *The Pisano sculptures*

The character of the two flanking angels in the Arena Chapel (fig. 2) has been the subject of much speculation. But we can identify them probably as sub-deacons and certainly as acolytes, wearing cinctured and apparelled albs. The role of sub-deacons, and that of acolytes separately, whose functions were often fulfilled by sub-deacons¹³, was then, as it still is, specifically to assist at the altar,

¹¹ Twisted columns are a feature of, e.g., the tomb of Cardinal de Bray in San Domenico, Orvieto, 1282, and the reliquary tomb of St. Luke the Evangelist in Santa Giustina, Padua, of c. 1316.

¹² Simon, 1995, 27. Cf. Jacobus, 2008, 49 and n. 17.

¹³ They are not tonsured, as deacons would usually be, and certainly not priests and so could not be holding chalice and ciborium, as a pair, respectively. Deacons would wear dalmatics and not just albs (which would be underneath the dalmatic) and also a stole over the left shoulder (as opposed to the stole of a priest, worn over both shoulders), worn directly over the alb. The Pisano angels are also conspicuously young, especially that to the right of the Virgin, no doubt reflecting the fact that acolytes took their minor orders in adolescence. Apparelled albs were particularly in use during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and there are storiated apparels for an alb (as distinct from a dalmatic) in the Victoria & Albert Museum, 8128 to B-1863, *opus anglicanum* dating to 1320-1340: cf. James. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, now accessible on line (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>), has ample information about the topics discussed here: see especially "Ordines Romani", "Acolytes", "Subdeacons", "Deacons". A clear account of apparelled albs is in Macalister, 66-67: "The more usual ornamentation, however, and that which became universal in later years, consisted in ornamental patches of embroidery, technically called apparels, sewn on to various parts of the vestment. There were two such rectangular patches just above the lower hem, one in front, one behind; two similar patches, one on the back, the other on the breast; two small patches, one on each cuff; a narrow strip encircling the aperture for the head, more for use (as a binding to prevent tearing) than for ornament; and, in earlier examples, two narrow strips running down in front and behind like the clavi of the Roman tunic". The bands around neck and cuffs, and narrow bands running down the arms and sides, in addition to the more obvious panels, are still visible on the albs worn by the Pisano angels. Jacobus has posited

chiefly at Mass, as would be most appropriate here, where posthumous Masses for the soul of Enrico would be offered up. Acolytes have to hold the candles next to the person or object to be illuminated, and they are clearly designed to do so this in this instance. The way they hold the candlesticks indicates as much, and also which relative positions they occupied, because acolytes ought to grasp their candlesticks with minute attention to detail, as is the case with all aspects of the liturgy. In this case, the rule is that the inside hand should be lower than the outer, the outer hand itself grasping the candlestick at the top¹⁴. It is noticeable that none of the acolytes in the two Carrara tombs observes the correct positioning of the hands, and it is possible that when the tombs were moved to the Eremitani they were wrongly repositioned: but, at the same time, nor are they vested either as sub-deacons or acolytes, or even in albs, but wear classicizing drapes. They shelter beneath adapted acroteria at the tomb-chest angles – and they are not assisting at an altar¹⁵.

None the less, the implication of the similarities between these sculptures on the Carrara tombs and those in the Arena Chapel is that the Giovanni Pisano originals likewise formed part of a tomb. As hinted above, another element of such a monument might have been the standing statue of Enrico Scrovegni (fig. 3)¹⁶, a figure that, once the recumbent statue in the new mid-century monument appeared, would either no longer be required, or for which there would be no room (see below). The introduction of this later tomb would also have made the Pisano sculptures redundant in their original position (again, see below).

5. *Changes in the Arena Chapel*

Without revisiting the complicated business of the relationship of the present apse and its contents to the rest of the chapel, it is enough to say that

the ample use of candles within the Arena Chapel: Jacobus, 1999a. She also mentions a record of the angel at the Sepulchre in twelfth- and thirteenth-century dramas “vested in an alb with gold trimmings”. There are several good examples of apparelled albs worn by angels in St. Francis in Glory on the crossing vault of the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi.

¹⁴ The hands therefore have to be changed over if, say, the act of turning clockwise (invariably, and usually for a procession) reverses the position of the acolyte relative to the priest between two acolytes: something that can still be witnessed today in a well-regulated Mass (though more often, not).

¹⁵ Oddly, the candle-bearing angels on the Jacopo tomb wear stoles crossed over the chest and passed under the girdle (even though they are not wearing proper albs) in the manner only proper to a vested priest. Acroteria are ornaments placed at the apex of a pediment or, as here, at the outer angles (when they are, strictly speaking, acroteria angularia). There were, and still are, examples of this ornamentation on classical structures surviving in Padua, notably the Tomba di Antenore, and they are deployed in the fourteenth century in the adapted form seen on the Carrara tombs illustrated here.

¹⁶ Moschetti stated as much: Moschetti, 37. Ursula Schlegel argued against this, although the thinking is rather difficult to follow (there is, for example, a confusion about the shape of the apse – “choir” – rather than the central niche itself), and her measurements demonstrate that there was ample room for Enrico’s statue in this position. Schlegel, 200.

its construction represented a major alteration to the initial plan of the whole chapel, which had a rectangular east end¹⁷. A polygonal apse was, however, envisaged at least by the time that the votive fresco by Giotto beneath the Last Judgement on the west wall of the chapel was painted, which was surely no later than 25 March 1305. The east end that we see in that fresco, even though it never came to pass in that form (no transept was ever built), must have been dreamed up for more than one reason. The first might be that it was simply more up to date, with an eye to such closely contemporary developments as the east end of Santa Croce, Florence, which itself, as I have noted elsewhere, looks like a coherent gothic revision of the purely ad hoc addition of successive chantry chapels to the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi¹⁸.

The fact that these were specifically chantry chapels may be significant, since the second, associated, reason for the addition of a polygonal gothic apse at the Arena Chapel, in place of the flat-ended and shallow east end originally planned, may well have been the commissioning of a tomb monument by Giovanni Pisano, for which more space would, naturally, have been required: the date for these Giovanni Pisano sculptures is generally agreed to be around 1310. The oratory Enrico had initially commissioned – this is the term used in the early documents, a particular type of building that the initial layout embodied¹⁹ – was therefore now taking on also the form of a chantry chapel with a tomb monument as its focus. The chantry was an obsessively fashionable phenomenon of fourteenth-century Europe, and nowhere more so than in Padua, as the later Oratorio di San Giorgio and Cappella di San Giacomo at the Santo testify. The frescoed decorations of both, by Altichiero²⁰, were influenced by Giotto, and the architecture of the Oratorio, inside and out, by that of the Arena Chapel.

It looks as though the Arena Chapel apse as finally built was designed from the first with a monument in mind; but it cannot have been, of course, the present tomb of Enrico. It must have been, rather, the monument that Enrico refers to in his will. One of the most extraordinary features of the apse is that its central bay is blind, save for an oculus high up above the springing of the vault (fig. 7), which is quite exceptional²¹. The implication is that from its inception, since the exterior surface is undisturbed, this wall must have been designed to carry a monument, and there is indeed a box-like ledge above, and of an earlier date than, Enrico Scrovegni's present tomb, a ledge which, unlike the present tomb, is an integral part of the original elevation²².

The illustrations of Benvenuti and Grasselli's survey made in 1871 during the lengthy process of acquisition by the Comune of the chapel show that the

¹⁷ Simon, 1995, esp. 32-33, fig. 16; Jacobus, 2008, 42-46.

¹⁸ Simon, 1989, 435-36; Simon 1976.

¹⁹ Simon, 1995, 30.

²⁰ Simon, 1977.

²¹ Simon, 1995, 32-33.

²² Simon, 1995, 30.

oculus in the east end was at that time covered over by plaster that, despite some damage, appears to have featured stars on a blue background of the kind especially associated with the Madonna²³. On the ledge above the tomb of Enrico were the three statues by Giovanni Pisano, set beneath a shallow cusped canopy. There subsequently followed a restoration of this part of the chapel when much of this arrangement was dismantled. The oculus was re-opened, and the Pisano sculptures were now placed on the high altar²⁴.

As can be seen (fig. 7) an earlier plaster layer, frescoed with a familiar fourteenth-century drapery pattern, emerged from beneath the baroque design. In fact, this layer of (later) fourteenth-century plaster had itself probably also covered the oculus, and so cannot in that case have been original – although further examination and analysis would be needed finally to determine this point – and it reached down to a point just above a horizontal line stretching from a slot cut into the edges of the bay within the pilasters on either side: it has a clearly delineated swagged lower edge. These slots carried a flat stone slab over the shallow cusped canopy that housed the Pisano statues when they were in this location. The shallow, V-shaped outline of the cusped canopy can in turn be seen on the brickwork below this frescoed drapery, stretching from an angled slot at either side similarly cutting into the sides of the bay. This shallow V-shape can be seen as marking the top of a clearly defined area of frescoed plaster which itself is painted with angels' wings at either side, evidently replacing the bronze wings that must have been removed in order to fit the Pisano angels into this shallow space, for which they were never intended.

There are, however, clear traces of another, earlier, feature, marked by a right-angled area outlined (as none of the other elements is) on the bare brick of the original niche. The frescoed drapery referred to above is on plaster that fractionally but distinctly overlaps the apex of this right-angled feature, which itself may have been a canopy intended to shelter a statue. It would seem that this frescoed drapery should therefore be associated with the shallower canopy, an interpretation that is confirmed by the fact that it was painted, quite coherently – even its careful sinopia is visible – in such a way as to stop just short of the horizontal slab that surmounted the shallow canopy. The right-angled canopy – if that is what it was – must antedate all this. The frescoed pattern – which was itself subsequently painted over, as the Benvenuti and Grasselli illustration shows – of fourteenth-century date could therefore be interpreted as having formed part of the changes that took place when the new (Andriolo de Santi/"Master of the Scrovegni tomb") monument to Enrico Scrovegni was installed. At the same time, Giovanni Pisano's Madonna and Child and two acolyte angels, which, it is suggested here, had formed part of an original monument, would now have been placed directly over the new

²³ Jacobus, 2008, 157, fig. 17; Banzati et al., 52, fig. 31.

²⁴ Moschetti.

tomb monument with its recumbent figure of Enrico. We may also infer that the standing figure of Enrico “from the life” was moved to the sacristy at this time (where it was often recorded) where underneath its base was subsequently found a silver coin of “about 1360”²⁵. The nature of the inscription on the base of this sculpture (quoted above) indicates that it was added when the sculpture was moved from a previous location: at the time of its removal a record would have been required, confirming its accuracy as a portrait of Enrico. The present canopy enclosing the figure would not fit either of the canopy traces in the central niche and does not appear to be original, but was presumably constructed to shelter the statue when it was moved.

If the area indicated by the right-angled area against the original brickwork of this central bay points to the original location of the standing statue of Enrico, it was there for the purpose of playing a part within the original monument that Enrico had had constructed – as he puts it – which itself would therefore have taken the form of a complex ensemble of the kind that Giovanni Pisano was developing in the latter part of his career. It would also fit in with the particular circumstances of the interior decoration of the chapel, with its Last Judgement on the west wall (see below). Moreover, if the standing statue was in this niche in the central bay of the apse, it would have been placed upon what is a curious original feature: a ledge that forms the upper surface of a kind of rectangular box which is now seen – with signs of some damage on its frescoed surface – directly above the top of the tomb containing the recumbent Enrico. We may be sure that there was a proper tomb container within the earlier monument hypothesized here, but the function of this rectangular box might have been to represent a tomb underneath the standing statue which it supported: it has a fictive porphyry panelled front of the kind associated with tombs, and indeed the new monument to Enrico has actual porphyry panels on its front surface, beneath the figure.

The original high altar of the chapel was positioned just inside the chancel step, in accordance with the arrangements stipulated for the lay-out of an oratory, and the burial monument would therefore have been behind the altar, as is the case with comparable if not identical arrangements in near-contemporary chapels. An important example is that of the St. Nicholas (Orsini) Chapel in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi, a chapel which was in fact frescoed by a close assistant of Giotto who had worked with him immediately beforehand in the Arena Chapel, where his hand can quite easily be identified – and this connection with Assisi may, of course, be a significant point in this context.

The fact that the standing figure of Enrico is by a hand other than that of Giovanni Pisano does not invalidate the suggestion that they both formed part of the one monument. It would not have been necessary for Giovanni actually to visit Padua in order to create his monument for Enrico, and a sculptor nearer

²⁵ Moschetti, 35; Tolomei.

to hand could have been commissioned to take the likeness from the life. It should be noted, in the context of this hypothesized funerary monument, that this standing figure shows Enrico with his hands clasped in prayer and with his eyes open²⁶. In this respect too, therefore, there is a different iconography and purpose in play from that of the present tomb, which shows Enrico recumbent with closed eyes – and dead. In contrast, and it is a crucial point, the standing statue shows Enrico at the Day of Judgement: a bodily resurrected Enrico. The deceased in the St. Nicholas Chapel at Assisi referred to above is also shown bodily resurrected – although opposite his tomb, in fresco over the reverse entrance arch. The same phenomenon is to be seen in the resurrection fresco above the tomb in the Bardi di Vernio chapel of Santa Croce, Florence²⁷, and so is a feature of tomb monuments of the time. Like these frescoed figures, Enrico would also have appeared in full colour, for ample traces of the original polychromy survive upon the surface of his statue.

²⁶ These facts make it improbable that he could have appeared in this guise on the outside of the chapel in an exterior niche on the north side as suggested by Jacobus, 1999b, 29, a suggestion accepted by Frugoni, 54–57. There are problems with Jacobus’ reading of the brickwork and stone cill in this area of the north wall. The “seams” in the brickwork referred to on the right-hand side of the “niche” do not align vertically with those that can be discerned above it (see measured drawing, Banzato et al., I, 65; Frugoni, 57, fig. 17). More significantly, the stone cill that we see at the bottom is asymmetrical: it extends clumsily to the right-hand side of the filled-in rectangle of brick and so its shape cannot have defined the truncated niche that Jacobus suggests contained the statue. It is hard to accept the notion that the statue could have been positioned on what would have been a fragmentary and asymmetrical cill, but in addition the niche itself is not centred over the entrance to the crypt below it: it is well to the right (west) side of the crypt entrance. Nor does the stone of the cill appear to match any other in the chapel fabric, with the possible exception of that used for the adapted Venetian window on the east side of the sacristy. In addition, this presumed niche is also some way to the right (west) of the original north door, too far to have made sense to the family visitors who are imagined as having accessed the church through this door. These visitors, it is implied, would have included Enrico himself (Jacobus, 1999b, 21; and see fig. 2.3 for a photograph of the asymmetrical cill discussed here), but it is odd that either he or his family could have needed an inscription on the base of the statue to remind him/them that this was a true likeness. In this location, within the palace precincts, it is also hard to understand how it fulfilled the public role that is asserted for it, “commissioned as part of a broader strategy to construct a public persona for its subject, Enrico Scrovegni” (Jacobus, 1999b, 24). As noted above, the identifying inscription seems much more likely to have been added at the time when the statue was moved to the later sacristy from its original location. In any event, I would suggest that the north door was the original sacristy entrance into the church, remembering that the layout was initially that of an oratory, and indeed this door gives immediately onto the space before the original altar. Moreover, sacristy and crypt are very often contiguous, as would have been the case here, while the disturbance of the wall surface in this area, and the presence of pilasters that are truncated at the same level either side of the north door, hints at a lost structure enclosing both north door and crypt entrance (a building along these lines is shown by Jacobus, 2008, 90–91, figs. 4, 5). No contemporary instances have been adduced in which a secular patron, in the form of a standing statue in a niche, can be seen commanding a side entrance to that patron’s chapel (nor indeed, a main entrance).

²⁷ Herzner also notes this fresco, but suggests that Enrico was buried by the side altar at the right of the arch.

In his resurrected body, Enrico will have wanted to open his eyes, as it were, on someone who could ensure that there were no slip-ups in getting him to heaven, either Christ Himself or a saint through intercession. Here, in the Arena Chapel, with a dedication to the Virgin, the best thing would be for Enrico to find himself closely associated with the Madonna, in the form of a sculpture in which she is holding her Son. In all the funerary monuments in chapels around this time that include effigies and altars there is a Madonna and Child in close association, present either as sculpture or fresco, and usually with patron saints: other saints appear with the Virgin in the votive fresco on the west wall.

If, as may have been the case, there was a chest tomb set on the floor behind, and perpendicular east-west to, the altar²⁸, Enrico would have been placed in it with his feet facing east – a famous instance where the recumbent effigy and body are also situated at the extreme east end of a chapel, with the feet, as was desirable, pointing east, is the tomb of Henry V in Westminster Abbey. Enrico would in this arrangement have been lying interred facing the Madonna and Child, if that central sculpture was positioned within, but not right against the wall of, the central bay of the east end. In this position the Madonna and Child could have been flanked by the acolyte angels, at either side of the tomb, and perhaps they were even on either side of Enrico's chest tomb: all these sculptures are carved in the round, and there must have been room for those original bronze wings to play their part in the ensemble. Above this tomb, in the centre of the east wall, the standing resurrected Enrico would have been facing Christ Himself, in His role on the Day of Judgement on the west wall at the opposite end of the chapel: where the Madonna, of course, also accepts the church of the Arena from Enrico. Such an interplay between liturgical east and west walls is, as noted above, still to be seen – and it was very close in date to the Arena Chapel – in the St. Nicholas (Orsini) Chapel in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi.

The halo of Christ in Judgement on the reverse (west) wall of the Scrovegni Chapel was reflective: it still contains mirrors that were originally silvered²⁹. The point is perhaps that the halo could have cast sunlight back upon the east end of the Chapel, where Enrico was buried, an effect that may have been visible on a certain day (or days) of the year. It has been observed that on 25 March a sunbeam strikes the doorway of the Chapel depicted in the donor part of the fresco on the west wall³⁰. That works because the chapel is orientated slightly north of east and south of west. It takes into account the fact that the spring equinox, on or about 20 March, is one of only two days in the year when the sun rises exactly in the east (the other is the Autumn equinox, on or about

²⁸ The later monument which we now see has him lying north-south, as is the case in, for example, the tombs in the Orsini chapel at Assisi.

²⁹ Basile, 33.

³⁰ Jacobus, 2008, 326-27; fig. VIII.

22 September). In fact, in the Julian calendar then in use, the spring equinox was fixed at 25 March, the feast of dedication of the chapel and, shortly after the sun was up on that day, its light could fall through the relevant window on the south wall in such a way as to allow this to effect to occur. Whatever the role of Christ's halo (which remains very speculative), the composition of Enrico's monument suggested here would have formed part of a powerful relationship between the east and west ends of the chapel. At the west end, especially on the feast of the dedication, the sunlight might strike the doorway of the chapel that Enrico was presenting to the Virgin; the statue of a resurrected Enrico at the east end faced directly towards this scene and the Last Judgement; while the contiguity of the altar to Enrico *resurrectus* would itself have been hugely significant, where the Real Presence was ensured by a daily Mass.

The tableau envisaged here would certainly have been both elaborate and dramatic, but similarly dramatic tombs, and tombs stressing the resurrection in particular, are a feature of Italian sculpture in the years either side of 1300 – an aspect of the rage for chantries – and taken to a degree of great sophistication by Giovanni Pisano himself at this time. Giovanni Pisano produced something highly dramatic in his figure of Margaret of Brabant being hauled up and out of her tomb on the way to heaven, a tomb conceived close in time to his sculptures for the Arena³¹. The physically energetic manner in which Margaret emerges on the Last Day is an important point, since the very corporeality of the action stresses that it marks the moment of the resurrection of the body. As with the standing figure of Enrico, this is not the flight of the soul.

We do not have to rely only upon materials inside the Chapel for evidence to support the hypothesis put forward here: that the standing figure of Enrico and the Giovanni Pisano sculptures were part of an elaborate funerary monument. In addition to the points made above about the similarity between the Pisano group and the sculptures on the Carrara tombs, with the use of bronze wings in common, in addition to the marked similarity in the poses of the figures, there is other evidence in Padua to suggest the existence of a major funerary prototype featuring freestanding figures, as the Giovanni Pisano sculptures evidently were. Tomb designs in Padua and Verona in the later fourteenth century feature free-standing figures carved in the round, and include both standing and active figures of the deceased³². In one of the key

³¹ Von Einem. Compare in the Duomo, Pisa, and originally centred in the apse behind the High Altar, the tomb of Henry VII of Luxembourg with his counsellors by Tino da Camaino c. 1315; and, rather later, that of Cino da Pistoia (Duomo, Pistoia, c. 1337). A complex ensemble, much of which survives, although there is no separate image of the deceased, is the tomb of St. Peter Martyr, San Eustorgio, Milan, by Giovanni di Balduccio, 1339. Relevant examples of tomb monuments with effigies are Arnolfo di Cambio's tomb of Cardinal de Bray (San Domenico, Orvieto) and the tomb of the bishop Tommaso d'Andrea (after 1303, Duomo, Casale d'Elsa). The tomb of a member of the del Porrina family (Duomo, Casale d'Elsa, datable perhaps to c. 1313) actually shows the deceased standing, with open eyes: Norman, 2:118 (fig. 141).

³² Examples include the della Scala tombs in Verona already mentioned and that of Vettor Pisano, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

chapels to reflect the influence of the Arena Chapel, both in its architecture and in its frescoes, the Oratorio di San Giorgio outside the west end of the Santo, the function of the building was not only identical to that of the Arena as an oratory but it also included a grandiose free-standing tomb monument, fragments of which survive, although its reconstruction must remain almost as speculative as the hypothesis offered here³³.

³³ For illustrations of these fragments and a reconstruction, see Mellini. The Oratorio di San Giorgio was apparently built by 3 May 1378, and frescoed by Altichiero 1379-1384: Simon 1977, 258ff.



Fig. 1. Three portraits of Enrico Scrovegni in the Arena Chapel, Padua. From left to right: by Giotto (1266/1267-1337), c. 1304; by an anonymous ?Paduan sculptor, c. 1310 (detail, now in Museo Civico, Padua); attributed to Andriolo de Santi (before 1320 - c. 1376), c. 1350 (detail). Private photo collection.

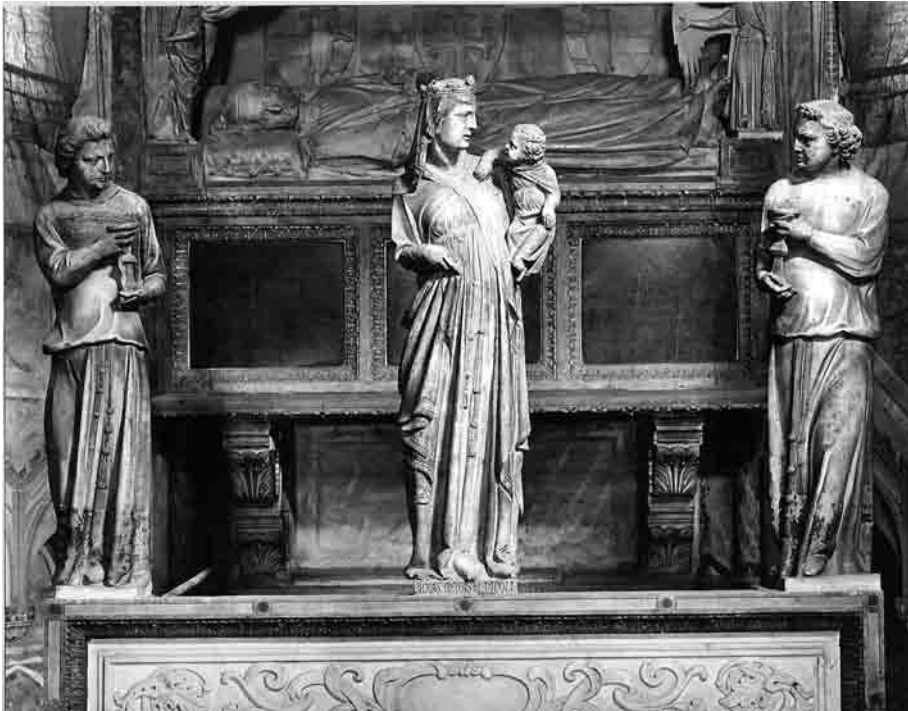


Fig. 2. Madonna and Child and two acolyte angels, by Giovanni Pisano (c. 1250 - c. 1315), marble, c. 1310. Private photo collection.



Fig. 3. Enrico Scrovegni, "from the life". Anonymous ?Paduan sculptor, marble, c. 1310. Museo Civico, Padua. Private photo collection.



Fig. 4. Tomb of Enrico Scrovegni by Andriolo de Santi (before 1320 - c. 1376), c. 1350. Arena Chapel Padua. Private photo collection.



Fig. 5. Tomb of Ubertino da Carrara, d. 1345, by Andriolo de Santi. Church of the Eremitani, Padua (formerly S. Agostino, Padua). Private photo collection.



Fig. 6. Tomb of Jacopo II da Carrara, d. 1350, by Andriolo de Santi. 1351. Church of the Eremitani, Padua (formerly S. Agostino, Padua). Private photo collection.



Fig. 7. Central bay of apse, east end of Arena Chapel, Padua, detail of blind bay with oculus, traces of canopies, frescoed drapery, and box-shaped ledge directly above later tomb shown in fig. 4. Private photo collection.

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Abstract

The wall monument to Enrico Scrovegni in the Arena Chapel in Padua was realized by Scrovegni's heirs about fifteen years after his death. This paper focuses on a marble Madonna and Child with two flanking angels by Giovanni Pisano, currently on the high altar of the chapel, and on a standing statue of Enrico "from the life", by a different sculptor and now in the nearby Museo Civico. It suggests that they were originally intended as key elements of a tomb monument for Enrico, whose plan was superseded and modified by the later monument. Among the evidence produced: inferences from the tomb monuments of Ubertino and Jacopo II da Carrara; iconographical characteristics of the Pisano group; the complicated history of the building and decoration of the chapel, whose apse seems the intended site of the original monument; and suggestions as to the different positions in the chapel occupied over time by the Pisano group.

Keywords

Middle Ages; 14th century; Padua; art; sculpture; iconography; patronage; Enrico Scrovegni; Giovanni Pisano

Robin Simon
University College, London, United Kingdom
editor@britishartjournal.co.uk