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**Gerardo de Simone, Emanuele Pellegrini** - [predella@predella.it](mailto:predella@predella.it)

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## Trecento Receptions in Early Renaissance Paduan Art. The Ovetari Chapel and its Models. Revival or Persistence?

*This essay is devoted to a peculiar case of Trecento Receptions in Early Renaissance art: the Ovetari Chapel in the Church of the Eremitani in Padua. Its painted decoration was commissioned in 1448 to four artists (Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna, Nicolò Pizolo and Andrea Mantegna), two of them being asked to follow specific models that dated back to the Trecento.*

*Taking into account the documents and setting them in the backdrop of Quattrocento Padua, the author investigates the meaning of such a reception, arguing that it should be interpreted in the sense of the persistence of qualities that were still perceived to be valid rather than as a mere revival of an older style.*

### *Introduction*

The theme of the volume and my essay require some introductory considerations that can help to contextualize the issue of reception and to clarify the method I have adopted. In fact, we are dealing with historical categories (*Trecento*, *Early Renaissance*) that were created subsequently, and whose boundaries, both in respect to chronology and meaning, are hardly precise in their definition. The effectiveness of these categories is based on the verifiable existence of a definite distinction, or an evident gap between them. However, in the last few years scholars have tended to ascribe diminishing reliability to the existence of such a disparity. According to Jacques Le Goff, for instance, «when one confronts the deeper layers of history, continuities become apparent that make it impossible to arrive at a periodization»<sup>1</sup>.

Le Goff's idea provides a useful starting point for an interpretation of the frescoes of the Ovetari chapel in the church of the Eremitani in Padua. I will engage with the notion of *continuity* rather than *caesura*, and my interpretation of the term "reception" will be in the sense of *persistence* rather than *revival*. The frescoes were commissioned in 1448 from a team of four painters, and are considered to be amongst the first Renaissance works in the city. Yet they demonstrate an evident continuity with both the Trecento and many important paintings executed in that century. Such a continuity was explicitly pursued by the patrons, and also independently desired by the painters involved in the commission. Through an

examination of the documents related to the commission, and a new analysis of the paintings, I will discuss the particularities of this interesting case of reception against the backdrop of Quattrocento Padua, in order to understand its continuity in a wider sense.

### *The Ovetari Chapel*

The history of the Ovetari chapel can be reconstructed using archival documents and ancient sources. It is first mentioned in August 1371, when *dominus* Antonio, son of the late Jacopino da Casale, seriously ill but still sound of mind, dictated his will, asking to be buried «ad monasterium sanctorum Jacobi et Phylipi», in an unspecified location. He also required that the friars «feri debere unam capellam [ad] honorem laudem et gloriam sancti Jacobi et sancti Christophori». The friars were asked to celebrate a daily mass on the altar placed inside that chapel<sup>2</sup>. Antonio's requests failed to be carried out. Unfortunately, there is no documentary evidence that can provide information as to why this happened. What we do know is that the Ovetari family soon replaced the Da Casale for this project: on 11 November 1372 a testament was compiled «in loco fratrum Heremitarum in capella sanctorum Jacobi et Christophori olim nobilis viri Alberti Bono de Ovetariis de Cittadella»<sup>3</sup>, attesting, on the one hand, that the chapel had already been built, and on the other, that it already belonged to the Ovetari. Alberto Bono Ovetari's jurisdiction over the chapel is further confirmed by an inventory of the furnishings of the Eremitani church written at the end of the fourteenth century. This records «Item in altari capelle Alberti Boni unum palium de tela depicta cum armis illorum de Ovetariis»<sup>4</sup>. Alberto died sometime between the end of 1371 and the beginning of 1372, and was buried inside the chapel<sup>5</sup>.

The Ovetari were a prominent family in Padua. Natives of Cittadella, they moved to Padua in 1358, and bought a palace in the Contrada of San Fermo<sup>6</sup>. They soon bonded with the Carraresi. Both Alberto Bono and Biagio were *familiars* of Francesco il Vecchio, and they also were on good terms with many members of the cultural and political élite in Padua<sup>7</sup>. The family's prestige increased further in the following century, thanks to relationships established with the local aristocracy, as well as prestigious public offices and the acquisition of property. The family's ascent to success ended unexpectedly in 1447-1448, when Antonio di Biagio died without any male heirs, causing the extinction of his dynasty. The frescoed decoration of the family's funerary chapel, completed thanks to Antonio's rich endowment, appears to be the last and most blatant demonstration of their

prestige and prominence in public life<sup>8</sup>.

The business of the decoration of the chapel was entirely managed by the executors of Antonio's will. In reality, Antonio had only specified in his will the subject matter of the frescoes, which were to depict episodes of the lives of Saints James and Christopher, and that the chapel was to be closed with an iron grating<sup>9</sup>. Soon after his death, the executors, Imperatrice Forzaté (his widow), Francesco Capodilista and Francesco da San Lazzaro, began the work. On 16 May 1448 they met in the prestigious location of the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua, inside the *Officium Vulpis*, summoning four painters who were to be employed to decorate Antonio's private chapel<sup>10</sup>. The contract, compiled in the presence of four witnesses, is extremely detailed. It establishes the division of labour between the painters involved in the project, assigning to the Venetians, Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna, the task of painting the right wall, the vault, and the intrados of the chapel, and leaving the rest of the surface to Nicolò Pizolo and Andrea Mantegna. It also specifies the models which the painters were required to emulate. In particular, Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna are asked to use two different qualities of blue pigment «secundum quod factum fuit in capella battisterii civitatis Padue»<sup>11</sup>. Following the example of Giusto de' Menabuoi in the Baptistery of Padua (1375-1378), the painters were to use lapis lazuli for the clothing and azurite for the sky, to be filled with stars<sup>12</sup>. The intrados of the entrance to the chapel were to be painted with «pluribus figuris ad instar capelle marioris», that is to say with many figures of saints, using the work of Guariento in the main chapel of that same church as a model (c.1365)<sup>13</sup>.

### *Trecento Receptions: Revival or Persistence?*

What meaning should we therefore ascribe to such specific references to Trecento models? Is it an example of intentional revival or does it simply indicate the persistence of qualities that were still perceived to be valid? Several studies devoted to patronage and the relationship established between patrons and artists have clarified, on the basis of archival documents, what kind of processes regulated the management of commissions<sup>14</sup>. Of relevant importance is the fact that during the Quattrocento the documents demonstrate a peak of requests for artworks to be done *modo et forma*, following a precisely indicated model. According to Michelle O'Malley, more than thirty percent of surviving contracts from the fifteenth century make specific reference to a prototype that was to be copied more or less accurately<sup>15</sup>.

Far from corresponding to a «loss of aura experienced by the production of art in an age of mechanical reproduction»<sup>16</sup> that some critics tend to attribute to works produced on the basis of prior models, the copy is concerned with different kinds of intentions: the aesthetic taste of the patron and his/her ideals or inclinations; the social and devotional prestige of the model; the authority ascribed (for a variety of reasons) to the precedent. The possible scenario can vary further depending on the level of accuracy of the copy. It might be fairly free<sup>17</sup>, restricted to formal aspects (compositional and iconographical)<sup>18</sup>, or limited to technical aspects<sup>19</sup>.

It is a significant fact that this peak of *modo et forma* requests in contracts increased during the Quattrocento, during the period of humanism, and that it took place alongside a series of considerations on art that involved both artists as well as intellectuals from different backgrounds. In the context of humanist dialogues and arguments, authors discussed and questioned the values of artworks and artists, as well as the origins of artistic practice<sup>20</sup>. While Cennino Cennini, writing at the end of the Trecento, connected the trade of the artist to the artisanal practice of the workshop<sup>21</sup>, Leon Battista Alberti and Piero della Francesca insisted more on the intellectual and mathematical origins of art<sup>22</sup>. They shared these assumptions with Michele Savonarola, who understood the status of the artist as comparable to that of the Paduan intellectual élite due to the rationality of their art.

Michele Savonarola's *Libellus De magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue*, written in Ferrara between 1445 and 1447<sup>23</sup>, provides enlightening words on the Paduan school of painting, critical to my own argument. In his treatise, Michele, who was a medical doctor and a humanist, gave ample attention to the painters who worked in Padua. He admired and praised in particular their proficiency in using the rules of scientific perspective based on mathematics. The painters who received his attention, however, were those of the previous century. Not only Giotto, who he recognised as the forefather of the Paduan school of painting (a view widely shared by Quattrocento Paduan humanists, such as Sicco Polenton<sup>24</sup>), but also Guariento and Giusto de' Menabuoi, as well as Altichiero and Jacopo Avanzi. They were the *mechanicos gloriosos* whose artworks in Padua were of such fine quality that they made that city a *schola pictorum*<sup>25</sup>. Even during the Quattrocento, these achievements attracted multitudes of painters or aspiring painters, who hoped to learn to «pingere in recenti»<sup>26</sup>. Thus, in the fifteenth century artworks produced in the Trecento were thought to represent the most modern way of painting, and young painters were to look to them to learn the secrets of their profession.

That Savonarola's statement should not be interpreted as a prosaic expression

of patriotism is widely acknowledged by scholars. Writing in 1970, Sergio Bettini hoped that an innovative and radical critical approach would re-evaluate Paduan Trecento painting, identifying in it the origins of the Renaissance (as opposed to external influences), best personified in Padua by the work of Andrea Mantegna<sup>27</sup>. Lionello Puppi had similar thoughts when he invited scholars to prioritise the rich local tradition rather than relying on the *topos* of Tuscan influence when discussing the transformation from Medieval to Renaissance in the figurative culture of the Veneto<sup>28</sup>. This approach was supported by Roberto Longhi, who championed the local context for the sources of Venetian Renaissance art, in contrast to Giuseppe Fiocco, who followed the more traditional Tuscan trail<sup>29</sup>. More recently, scholars have clarified this hypothesis. In particular, Keith Christiansen observes the importance of Altichiero in the development of Gentile da Fabriano's style<sup>30</sup>, while Eliot Wooldridge Rowlands demonstrates the profound influence of Trecento Paduan painting on the work of Filippo Lippi after his Paduan sojourn (1433-1434)<sup>31</sup>. That these artists were aware of the high quality of Trecento Paduan painting is confirmed by Giorgio Vasari. In Carpaccio's *Vita* he mentions the high regard in which Mantegna held Altichiero's frescoes in the Reggia Scaligera in Verona, an admiration shared and expressed by Donatello<sup>32</sup>.

### *Trecento Receptions in the Ovetari frescoes*

The decoration of the Ovetari chapel can therefore be situated against a specific background of historical circumstances, one in which artworks executed in the previous century enjoyed prestige and meaning for contemporary production. It may have been the case that only the 'foreign' painters, Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna, were given precise instructions on the models they ought to copy<sup>33</sup>. Nicolò Pizolo and Andrea Mantegna were both trained in Padua under Francesco Squarcione, who taught his pupils by making them copy local models, and thus they would have been sufficiently aware of the older tradition<sup>34</sup>. By looking at the frescoes visible in photographs taken before World War II, we can see that the Paduans, Pizolo and Mantegna, adopted inventions that dated back to the Trecento, although they both re-elaborated them with Renaissance sensitivity. The frescoes painted by them in the apse, with *God the Father* in the central rib vault flanked by *Saints*, (fig. 1) and the *Doctors of the Church* in roundels painted by Pizolo alone, remind us of Guariento's art, as evidenced in the main chapel of the same church<sup>35</sup>. Indeed, Guariento had already used the architectural configuration and elements of the main chapel to subdivide into groups the protagonists

of the *Last Judgement* (fig. 2), placing at the centre the *Judging Christ* flanked by the *Apostles* shown in four groups of three. Pizolo's *Doctors of the Church* (fig. 3) recall Guariento's own *Doctors of the Church* (fig. 4) in the vault of the main chapel, where they were portrayed at their desks, deep in thought and surrounded by books and writing tools. The setting is similar in the two works, as is the idea of showing the *studiolo* as if it were seen through an oculus, or a similar round opening. In Guariento's case it is surrounded by a multi-coloured iris, in Pizolo's by a perspectival frame. Equally, the *Evangelists* with their attributes (fig. 5) painted by Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna in the vault of the chapel are shown in a great variety of poses that again recall Guariento's *Doctors of the Church*. Also the ornamental system used by the two Venetian painters to decorate the ribs of the vault, full of lush vegetal coils, reminds us of the fleshy leaves that Guariento painted in the main chapel of the church (figs. 6-7).

We do not know the precise colours used by the Vivarini and d'Alemagna (all the photos are in black and white) in order to verify whether there was indeed any similarity with the model they were asked to copy, namely Giusto de' Menabuoi's frescoes in the Baptistery. The saints of the intrados of the arch, commissioned from the Venetians to imitate those painted by Guariento in the main chapel, were never undertaken, perhaps because of Giovanni d'Alemagna's death and the consequent desertion of the work by his partner Antonio<sup>36</sup>. However, this requirement was promptly met by Nicolò Pizolo and Andrea Mantegna, who looked to Guariento for the creation of the frame that surrounds the *Seraphs* and *Cherubs* (portrayed in half-length) in the transverse arch of the chapel (fig. 8). This demonstrates a strict similarity that scholars have so far failed to notice. The angels are painted inside trimmed perspectival frames composed of an external band that runs along the outline of the intrados and a sequence of medallions inside, where the angels are shown. A frame precisely like this had previously been used by Guariento, not in the main chapel of the church, where they are polylobed, but in the chapel of St. Anthony Abbot, the second chapel on the right side of the nave (fig. 9)<sup>37</sup>. By comparing these two works (figs. 10-11) we can easily notice the similarities between them that presuppose a careful and accurate study of the model. This model is also copied in the floral decoration placed between the medallions. But this imitation is not restricted to formal characteristics. It is also extended to more subtle values that have to do with the ambiguity that characterizes every frame painted by Guariento, frames alternatively conceived to be either external from the pictorial space or an integral part of the spatial fiction<sup>38</sup>. Such an assumption becomes clear when one looks at the *Saints* painted in the intrados of the chapel of St. Anthony Abbot. Here some details, such as the cuff of the clothing

worn by Mary Magdalen for example, appears to be superimposed on the frame, thus absorbing it into the fictive space of the painting. Something similar happens in the frescoes of the main chapel, and in particular in the *Scenes of the Passion* painted on the dado, where the branch in the *Flagellation*, or the Cross in the *Road to the Calvary* are superimposed on the frame. It is precisely these perspectival devices, together with many others (that fall outside of the scope of this article) that attracted Michele Savonarola's attention when he praised Guariento's works so highly.

It can be argued that the admiration of Savonarola was shared by Nicolò Pizolo and Andrea Mantegna. They followed Guariento's example when they alternatively asserted and rejected the boundary value of the frame. It became part of pictorial fiction when the *Cherubs'* wings or the flames of the torches were superimposed. This is something that deserves to be taken into particular consideration, especially since Andrea Mantegna is a painter who is usually praised for his modernity in connection to antiquity, Donatello and naturalism. Joseph Manca, for instance, in the first chapter of his 2006 book, still proposed that «These two focal points of Renaissance culture – a fascination with the real world [...] and a powerful attraction to classical art and civilisation – formed the central focal points of Andrea Mantegna's art»<sup>39</sup>. On the contrary, looking at the frescoes Mantegna painted at the beginning of his career in the Ovetari chapel, it is clear that many different sources and models, including works from the previous century, contributed to the creation of his signature style.

This brings our attention back to the words of Erwin Panofsky, who saw in works like these the existence of «intuitively perceptive artists [who] began to recognize the basis of their own activities in the achievement of the early Trecento, and [...] approached the works of this period with a specifically "artistic" interest»<sup>40</sup>. With this in mind, we should also consider that Mantegna knew Michele Savonarola, and might have been influenced by his thoughts on the Paduan school of painting and on the importance of painters such as Guariento and Giusto de' Menabuoi. Indeed, by 1448 Mantegna rented a house in the contrada of Santa Lucia, whose owner was Michele Savonarola himself<sup>41</sup>.

The phenomenon of Trecento reception in the Ovetari chapel was thus characterized by a sense of continuity, of a persistence of specific values of form and style. It was stimulated by the specific requests of the patrons, but also by the sensitivity of the artists involved in the commissions, who independently reflected upon paintings executed during the previous century. While it is difficult to examine the mechanisms that informed the painters' personal choices, it is possible to confront the role played by the executors of Antonio Ovetari's last will, since they



directed the decorative programme in the chapel and identified specific models that the painters should imitate. After all, Antonio Ovetari gave them full autonomy in his will, when he disposed that «suis comissariis [...] dedit et contribuit licenciam autoritatem et plenissima potestatem faciendi exequendi disponendi vendendi et executione mandandi dictam eius voluntatem in omnibus et per omnia»<sup>42</sup>. I shall now take the line of enquiry in this specific direction.

Francesco Capodilista, in particular, may have played a crucial role in the choice of models for the chapel as he appears to have been the dominant protagonist in the execution of the will<sup>43</sup>. Born in Padua in 1405, he was not only a jurist, politician and diplomat, but also a poet. The important tasks he had been assigned in these roles made him the ideal candidate to supervise such an important work as the Ovetari chapel. His debut in politics dates to 7 March 1430, when he was appointed as judge and *gastaldo* of the guild of Torricelle. During the following twenty years he was charged with important ecclesiastical roles in the main churches of the city: he was assigned *ad ecclesiam heremitanorum* on 7 April 1432 and *ad utilia et ad ecclesias* several times starting from 1436. In 1443 he was appointed as *provisor ecclesiarum*, then *provisor arce Sancti Antonii* in 1444, and finally *officialis* of the Arca del Santo in 1450, at the Franciscan church of St. Anthony<sup>44</sup>. Thus, we can safely assume that he played an integral role in the administrative system of the most important churches in Padua, including the Eremitani. His impressive curriculum would have surely influenced Antonio Ovetari when choosing him as an executor of his will, with a considerable space left for his own personal initiatives, as the documents seem to suggest.

The likely leading role played by Francesco Capodilista in the commission is also supported by the choice of artists. He may have personally known Giovanni d'Alemagna and Antonio Vivarini, since in 1447 they worked for his brother-in-law, Checco Lion, painting the Nativity Altarpiece for the Church of San Francesco Grande in Padua<sup>45</sup>. Similarly, his involvement with another artist, not mentioned in the commission document but noted in later documents, indicates Capodilista's role in artistic decision making: «maistro Zovany da Pisa», Giovanni da Pisa, who received a payment on 8 July 1449 «per parte dela pala lui fa», i.e. for having executed a part of the terracotta altarpiece of the Ovetari chapel<sup>46</sup>. Giovanni is mentioned in a number of documents concerning the Arca del Santo, where he is listed among Donatello's pupils who worked with him on the Santo altarpiece<sup>47</sup>, in the same years when Capodilista was the superintendent of the Arca.

Francesco Capodilista may have been also acquainted with Michele Savonarola and his writings, a circumstance that may explain their mutual high regard of Trecento Paduan painting. Generally speaking, Francesco and Michele belonged

to the same cultural *milieu*, engaged in frequent exchanges concerning matters of taste and judgment. There were also familial and social networks. Francesco Capodilista was a close friend of Nicolò Savonarola, one of Michele's brothers<sup>48</sup>. They conducted business together, including the requisition of goods confiscated from Giacomo Scrovegni, amongst which included the family chapel<sup>49</sup>. Ludovico Savonarola, another brother of Michele, was an Augustinian friar who held important positions at the convent of the Eremitani. The convent was equipped with a rich library that Michele knew very well and described in details in his *Libellus*<sup>50</sup>. Considering the precise description of the placement of books and of the general arrangement of the library, scholars have suggested that Michele regularly visited that *locus gloriosus*<sup>51</sup>, and this would have been precisely when Francesco Capodilista was the *provisor ecclesiae heremitanorum*. Michele Savonarola was also a close friend of Ludovico Calza, one of Francesco Capodilista's brothers-in-law<sup>52</sup>. Antonio Cermisone, who in 1439 was one of the superintendents of the Carmine convent, was also a friend to Michele. Known as Fra Antonio di Sant'Arcangelo, he was the private chaplain of Erasmo da Narni, better known as Gattamelata, and he was constantly informed on Donatello's monument<sup>53</sup>. The commission of the Ovetari chapel took place when Francesco was the superintendent of the Arca del Santo, suggesting that the same people moved in similar circles in this period and would have very likely known each other.

Although this historical context does not offer secure evidence of the various individuals meeting, it does demonstrate that there were at least frequent opportunities where this might have happened. After all, Francesco Capodilista had excellent reasons to indicate the Trecento models he wanted to the painters involved in the decoration of the Ovetari chapel. Aside from the continuity of local pictorial tradition, he might also have thought that the reference to the Baptistry could have functioned as a visual reminder of the most prestigious funerary chapel in Padua, the burial place of the *Signori* Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara and his wife Fina Buzzacarin<sup>54</sup>. Furthermore, the similarities with the main chapel of the Eremitani would have established an immediate visual connection, demonstrating that the Ovetari chapel was the second most important location in the church. After all, a connection with the main chapel was already pursued when the Ovetari one was built. The architecture of the chapel was indeed modelled on the structure of the apse and likewise there is a mirroring in its dedication to Saints Christopher and James the Less with that of Saints Philip and James the Great.

The Augustinian Hermits, to whom the church belonged, may have also played an active role in the decision of which models were to be imitated, with specific

reference to paintings that already existed in their church. In particular, they might have appreciated the figurative parallel between the main chapel and the Ovetari one, especially in respect to their upper parts, the intrados and rib vaults, the only sections that could also be seen by the laity who were enclosed by the *Ecclesia Laicorum* and who would have seen the apse only partially, due to the presence of the rood screen<sup>55</sup>.

These similarities might have also worked to create a decorative coherence in the church interior, an aspect that the friars might have perceived as particularly important. Indeed, this could well be set in the context of the figurative strategies of the Augustinians, who were particularly keen on using the visual arts as promotional and propagandistic devices<sup>56</sup>. This was notably relevant in a city such as Padua, where the competition between the mendicant orders was particularly strong. The Franciscans and the Dominicans were particularly active in Paduan civic life, and the interior decoration of their churches became increasingly lavish between the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, attracting supporters and devotees<sup>57</sup>. Yet the Augustinian Hermits could not be slaves to their patrons and of course needed to defend the decorum of their church interiors. With this in mind, the friars might have suggested in the Trecento the identities of the saints to whom the Ovetari chapel was to be dedicated and later, in the 15th century, which episodes were to be painted inside the chapel and how, in order to promote specific aspects of the lives of the saints that were perceived as the most important ones in respect to the Augustinian piety. Indeed, considering the dedications and decorations of the other chapels in the church, we can note a remarkable desire to celebrate the most important saints of the order, to whom a number of fresco cycles were dedicated<sup>58</sup>. Christopher and James the Less, the titular saints of the Ovetari chapel, with their strong connection to Christ, could not but enhance this, making the church even more appealing for supporters and devotees, and improving its sacred character.

In conclusion, the *Trecento reception* that can be observed in the frescoes of the Ovetari chapel constitute a composite cultural phenomenon. Far from corresponding merely to the passive re-use of previous model as a revival, this reception evidences a deep consciousness of the quality of the local pictorial tradition. One that persisted and continued well into the Early Renaissance and formed the basis upon which the later Renaissance was generated. Such a continuity was not limited to art and painting. On the contrary, it was part of a wider cultural movement that extended to literature and history, and had a strong civic value.

The quest for an established civic tradition was an important phenomenon that was also desired by the first Paduan humanists. In 1274 Lovato Lovati declared

that remains found during excavations carried out in the city centre belonged to the Trojan Antenore, the legendary founder of Padua, and commissioned a funerary monument where the body was to be placed and displayed to the public, as a symbol of the prestigious origins of the city<sup>59</sup>. At the same time, other humanists re-discovered and studied local Roman writers, especially Tito Livio, celebrated as one of the cultural founders of the city. His historical treatises were important sources for local *volgarizzamenti*, and were used by authors such as Francesco Petrarca and Lombardo della Seta<sup>60</sup>. Some years later, Michele Savonarola traced back to the Trecento the origins of the Paduan school of painting, identifying a number of painters as the founders of that important *schola pictorum*. In this way, the cultural history of the city was thus completed.

*I am grateful to Joanne W. Aderson for having edited and corrected my English, and for all the useful suggestions she provided me with.*

- 1 The translation provided here is my own. The original sentence reads: «non appena si scende agli strati profondi della storia, quel che si vede sono delle continuità [che rendono] impossibile arrivare a una periodizzazione» (J. Le Goff, *Il meraviglioso e il quotidiano nell'Occidente medievale*, F. Maiello ed., Bari, 1990, p. 236). On Le Goff's ideas concerning the periodization of history, with particular regards to the Middle Ages, see also, J. Le Goff, *Un long Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2004; Idem, *Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches?*, Paris, 2014.
- 2 The document is held in the Archivio di Stato di Treviso (*Atti di Tolberto da Trevignano, agosto 1371*). It was transcribed and published in K.W. Shaw, *The Ovetari Chapel. Patronage, Attribution and Chronology*, PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1994, Ann Arbor, 1997 (UMI Dissertation Service), p. 203, doc. 1. See also, A. De Nicolò Salmazo, *I tempi e i modi dell'arredo della cappella Ovetari*, in *Andrea Mantegna e i maestri della Cappella Ovetari. La ricomposizione virtuale e il restauro*, A. De Nicolò Salmazo, A.M. Spiazzi, D. Toniolo eds., Milano, 2006, pp. 279-293: 280; R. Monetti, *Eremiti di Sant'Agostino nel Trecento veneto. Studia, vita religiosa, e società nei conventi di Treviso e Padova*, PhD Dissertation, Università degli Studi di Verona, 2012, pp. 296-297.
- 3 The document was published in G. Moschini, *Della origine e delle vicende della pittura in Padova*, Padova, 1826, pp. 36-37, doc. 1. See also, Shaw, *The Ovetari Chapel*, p. 203, doc. 2.
- 4 The inventory was partially transcribed and published in L. Gargan, *Libri di teologi agostiniani a Padova nel Trecento*, in «Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova», 6, 1973, pp. 1-23: 15. It has been fully transcribed in C. Pulisci, *Il complesso degli Eremitani a Padova: l'architettura di chiesa e convento dalle origini a oggi*, PhD Dissertation, Università degli studi di Padova, 2012, pp. 131-139.
- 5 Alberto Bono degli Ovetari dictated his will on 28 December 1371 and died shortly after (cfr. E. Martellozzo Forin, *Sui cittadellesi Ovetari e particolarmente su Antonio, per la cui volontà testamentaria fu affrescata la cappella di famiglia*, «Alta Padovana. Storia, cultura, società», 7, 2006, pp. 42-70). His name, followed by that of Biagio, appears in an epigraph now placed in the end wall of the Ovetari chapel. It is also possible that his wife Orsola da Ognis-

santi's remains were moved there. She died on 24 January 1365, and several sources mention her tomb in the Ovetari chapel during the 18th Century (J.F. Tomasini, *Territorii Patavini inscriptiones sacrae et prophanae*, Padova, 1654. p. 6 n. 27; J. Salomonio, *Urbis Patavinae Inscriptiones Sacrae et Prophanae*, Padova, 1701, p. 218, n. 42). However, she must have been buried elsewhere originally, as when she died the chapel was not yet in existence. On the gravestones of the Ovetari chapel see F. Benucci, *Catalogo-schedario delle epigrafi rilevate in città*, in *Corpus delle epigrafi medievali di Padova*, pp. 284-286, <<http://cem.dissgea.unipd.it/schedario%20riunito.pdf>> (19/01/2015).

- 6 Many documents mention their «casa habitatoris» as located there. See A. Gloria, *Monumenti della università di Padova: 1318-1405*, 2 vols., Padova, 1888, 2, p. 43, n. 1190.
- 7 Biagio is mentioned as Francesco il Vecchio's «portenaro ala camera»; he later became one of Francesco's main accusers after the downfall of the Signoria (cfr. G. and B. Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, A. Medin, G. Tomei eds, Città di Castello, 1931 (Rerum Italicorum Scriptores, 17.1.1), pp. 250, 275, 403; R. Cessi, *Il malgoverno di Francesco il Vecchio signore di Padova*, in «Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti», 66, 1906-1907, 2, pp. 743-744; Shaw, *The Ovetari Chapel*, p. 3). Giovanni di Alberto Bono bore the honour of being one of Francesco il Vecchio's tutees (Gloria, *Monumenti della università*, p. 93, n. 1335).
- 8 There is no pictorial or documentary evidence of a fourteenth-century decorative programme inside the chapel. Fragments of Trecento frescoes existed on its external front until WW2, and are still visible in some photographs. A *Saint Christopher* was painted on the semi-pilaster between the apse and the antechapel Ovetari; a pope saint in the act of blessing, likely *Saint Gregory the Great*, was painted on the left side of the external front of the chapel, together with a *Madonna enthroned with the Child* and a *Saint John the Baptist* (the latter was a homage to the titular saint of the altar, once placed in the antechapel) who were shown under the pope. Again, on the external right front of the chapel, there was a cosmatesque frame, which suggests the presence of fourteenth-century paintings that had already disappeared by the time the photographs were taken. These paintings have not been analysed by scholars, although the photographs allow some level of precision concerning their style and iconography. The photographic materials are now kept at the Archivio della Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e Paesaggistici per le province di Venezia, Belluno, Padova e Treviso. Some pictures have been published, for instance, in E. Pezzetta, C. Rebeschini, *Una possibile ricostruzione*, in *Andrea Mantegna e i Maestri della cappella Ovetari*, pp. 13-25: 17, fig. 7. The authors, however, do not discuss the paintings. Some brief observations can be found: G. Fiocco, *L'arte di Andrea Mantegna*, Bologna, 1927, p. 167 and De Nicolò Salmazo, *I tempi e i modi dell'arredo*, p. 280.
- 9 Antonio's first will dates to 19 March 1438 (Archivio di Stato di Padova [henceforth cited as ASPd], *Notarile*, 3992, cc. 85r-98r. For a transcription, see M. Martellozzo Forin, *Trascrizione del primo testamento di Antonio Ovetari*, in *Mantegna e Padova. 1445/1460*, exhibition catalogue [Padua 2006-2007], D. Banzato, A. De Nicolò Salmazo, A.M. Spiazzi eds, Milano, 2006, pp. 45-49). The instructions given there were refined on three later occasions, that correspond to the wills of 1442 (ASPd, *Notarile*, 3994, f. 4), 1443 (ASPd, *Corona. Coll. part. 324*) and 1446 (ASPd, *Corona. Eremitani*, vol. 28, n. 1093). A partial transcription of the documents is given in Shaw, *The Ovetari Chapel*, pp. 204-205, docs. 3-6.
- 10 The document was transcribed and published in V. Lazzarini, *Documenti relativi alla pittura padovana del secolo XV, con illustrazione e note di Andrea Moschetti*, Venezia, 1908, pp. 191-194, doc. XCVI. Cfr. also Shaw, *The Ovetari Chapel*, pp. 205-208, doc. 7; De Nicolò Salmazo, *I tempi e i modi dell'arredo*, p. 281. A new transcription is provided here in the Appendix.

- 11 *Ibidem*.
- 12 On the Baptistery of Padua and Giusto's frescoes, see *Giusto de' Menabuoi nel Battistero di Padova*, A.M. Spiazzi ed., Trieste, 1989.
- 13 For the main chapel of the Eremitani and Guariento's paintings there see Z. Murat, G. Valenzano, *Donne dimenticate. Esempi di committenza femminile nel Veneto medievale*, in *Medioevo: i committenti*, conference proceedings (Parma 2010), A.C. Quintavalle ed., Milano, 2011, pp. 187-200: 192-196. Z. Murat, *Guariento. Pittore di corte, maestro del naturale*, in press, pp. 42-43; 77-80; 184-203, cat. 19.
- 14 The bibliography on the topic is extensive and cannot be listed in its entirety here. Limiting the list to the topics of interest in respect to my argument, see H. Glasser, *Artists' Contracts of the Early Renaissance*, PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1965, Garland Publishing, New York, 1977; C. Hope, *Altarpieces and the Requirements of Patrons*, in *Christianity and the Renaissance: Images and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, T. Verdon, J. Henderson eds., New York, 1990, pp. 535-571; A. Ladis, *Sources and Resources: The Lost Sketchbooks of Giovanni di Paolo*, in *The Craft of Art: Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop*, A. Ladis, C. Wood eds., Georgia, 1995, pp. 48-86; M. Holmes, *Copying Practices and Marketing Strategies in a Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painter's Workshop*, in *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, S. J. Campbell, S. J. Milner eds., Cambridge, 2004, pp. 38-75; M. O'Malley, *Subject Matters: Contracts, Designs, and the Exchange of Ideas between Painters and Clients in Renaissance Italy*, *Ibidem*, pp. 17-37; M. O'Malley, *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy*, London, 2005; K.F. Kroepelien, *Sua mano and modo et forma Requirements. Balancing Individual Creativity and Collective Traditions in Contracts for Altarpieces in the Italian Renaissance*, PhD Dissertation, Universitetet i Oslo, 2008.
- 15 O'Malley, *The Business of Art*, p. 249.
- 16 This is a quote from Holmes, *Copying Practices*, p. 63, in reference to W. Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, in *Illumination*, H. Arendt ed., New York, 1969, pp. 211-244.
- 17 In the case of the *Misericordia Altarpiece* by Piero della Francesca, who ought to «facere et pingere et ornare et ponere latitudinem et altitudinem et foggia prout est illa [tabula] que nunc est ibi de ligno». The complete contract is published in G. Milanesi, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte toscana dal XII al XV secolo*, Firenze, 1901, p. 91. For a discussion of this document, see, Kroepelien, *Sua mano and modo et forma Requirements*, pp. 36-39.
- 18 This is the case of the painting commissioned on 31 May 1447 from Michele Giambono, who took up the task of completing an altarpiece that «forme esse et similitudinis ac fabrice et ornamentorum ita de lignamine quam de pictura palle qua est in ecclesia Sancti Pantaleonis» for the church of Sant'Agnese in Venice. This painting has been identified as the altarpiece now on display at the Gallerie dell'Accademia. It bears a close resemblance to the altarpiece painted by Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna for the church of San Pantalon. On Giambono's altarpiece see V. Poletto, in *Guariento e la Padova carrarese. Guariento*, exhibition catalogue (Padua 2011), D. Banzato, F. Flores D'Arcais, A.M. Spiazzi eds, Venezia, 2011, pp. 218-219, cat. 40. On the painting by Vivarini and d'Alemagna see L. Sabbadin, *Ibidem*, pp. 220-221, cat. 41. See also Kroepelien, *Sua mano and modo et forma Requirements*, pp. 39-41.
- 19 In 1494 the *opera* of the Church of San Leonardo in Pistoia charged Bernardino del Signoraccio with the task of painting an altarpiece following the model of that painted by Verrocchio

- and Lorenzo di Credi for the oratory of the Virgin in the cathedral of that same city. The «*tabula altaris*» should have the same dimensions of the model, as well as the same formal and technical characteristics, «*cum ordine picturarum verozurarum et prospectivarum ac bonorum colorum et deaurata prout est in dicta tabula oratorii predicti*». Cfr. *Letà di Savonarola: fra Paolino e la pittura a Pistoia nel primo '500*, C. D'Afflitto, F. Falletti, A. Muzzi eds., Venezia, 1996, p. 238; Kroepelien, *Sua mano and Modo et forma Requirements*, pp. 50-51.
- 20 For a general discussion on this topic, see the fundamental study by M. Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition 1350-1450*, Oxford, 1971.
  - 21 C. Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte o trattato della pittura*, F. Tempesti ed., Milano, 1975; M. Bacci, P. Stoppelli, *Cennini, Cennino*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 23, Roma, 1979, pp. 565-569.
  - 22 On Leon Battista Alberti see C. Grayson, *Alberti, Leon Battista*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1, Roma, 1960, pp. 702-709; L.B. Alberti, *De pictura*, C. Grayson ed., Bari, 1975; A. Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: master builder of The Italian Renaissance*, London, 2001. On Piero della Francesca see P. della Francesca, *De prospectiva pingendi*, G. Nicco-Fasola ed., notes by E. Battisti and F. Ghione, bibliography by E. Battisti and R. Pacciani, Firenze, 1984; J.R. Banker, *Documenti fondamentali per la conoscenza della vita e dell'arte di Piero della Francesca*, Selci-Lama, 2013; A. Angelini, *Piero della Francesca*, Milano, 2014; J.R. Banker, *Piero della Francesca: Artist & Man*, Oxford, 2014.
  - 23 M. Savonarola, *Libellus de Magnificis Ornamentis Regie Civitatis Padue*, A. Segarizzi ed., Città di Castello, 1902, (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 15). Scholars have frequently underlined the importance of this text in respect to Paduan art. See in particular L. Baggio, *Sperimentazioni prospettiche e ricerche scientifiche a Padova nel secondo Trecento*, «Il Santo», 34, 1995, pp. 173-232; M.M. Donato, "Pictorie studium": *appunti sugli usi e lo statuto della pittura nella Padova dei Carraresi (e una proposta per le "città liberate" di Altichiero e di Giusto al Santo)*, in «Il Santo», 39, 1999, pp. 467-504; R. Simonetti, *Cultura umanistica e cultura scientifica in Leon Battista Alberti e Michele Savonarola*, in *Filosofia naturale e scienze dell'esperienza fra Medioevo e Umanesimo. Studi su Marsilio da Padova, Leon Battista Alberti, Michele Savonarola*, S. Collodo, R. Simonetti eds., Padova, 2012, pp. 241-430: 395-430.
  - 24 Describing the fire of 1420 that destroyed the Salone della Ragione and the astrological cycle that Giotto painted there, Sicco said it was an irreparable loss of a fundamental *incunabulum* of Paduan painting. The letter written by Sicco to Giovanni da Verona, in which he spoke about the fire, is published in S. Polenton, *La Catinia, le orazioni e le epistole*, A. Segarizzi ed., Bergamo, 1899, pp. 110-114, Ep. XVI. Cfr. M.M. Donato, *Dal progetto del mausoleo di Livio agli Uomini illustri "ad fores renovati Iusticii": celebrazione civica a Padova all'inizio della dominazione veneta*, in *De lapidibus sententiae. Scritti di storia dell'arte per Giovanni Lorenzoni*, T. Franco, G. Valenzano eds., Padova, 2002, pp. 111-126.
  - 25 For a discussion on the concept of Padua as *schola pictorum*, see Baggio, *Sperimentazioni prospettiche e ricerche scientifiche*; Donato, "Pictorie studium": *appunti sugli usi e lo statuto della pittura*; Simonetti, *Cultura umanistica e cultura scientifica*, p. 399.
  - 26 Savonarola, *Libellus*, p. 55. For a discussion on the journeys of young painters to Padua and on the importance of Paduan models, see M. Lucco, *Padova*, in *La pittura nel Veneto. Il Quattrocento*, M. Lucco ed., 2 vols., Milano, 1989, 1, pp. 80-101: 89-90; Baggio, *Sperimentazioni prospettiche e ricerche scientifiche*; G. Baldissin Molli, *Erasmus da Narni, Gattamelata e Donatello: storia di una statua equestre*, Padova, 2011, p. 87.

- 27 S. Bettini, *Parte prima*, in S. Bettini, L. Puppi, *La chiesa degli Eremitani di Padova*, Vicenza, 1970, pp. 3-52: 42, 45, 49.
- 28 L. Puppi, *Parte seconda*, in S. Bettini, L. Puppi, *La chiesa degli Eremitani*, pp. 55-105: 58-59.
- 29 The dialogue between the two scholars took place in written form, as an unusual epistolary generated by the publication of Fiocco's *L'arte del Mantegna*. It deals with three letters published in the same issue. See R. Longhi, *Lettere pittoriche: Roberto Longhi a Giuseppe Fiocco*, «Vita artistica», 1, 1926, pp. 127-139; G. Fiocco, *Lettere pittoriche. Risposta di G. Fiocco a R. Longhi*, *Ibidem*, pp. 144-146; R. Longhi, *Replia e conclusione*, *Ibidem*, pp. 146-147.
- 30 K. Christiansen, *Gentile da Fabriano*, Ithaca, NY, 1982, pp. 34-36.
- 31 E.W. Rowlands, *Filippo Lippi and his Experience of Painting in the Veneto Region*, «Artibus et Historiae», 19, 1989, pp. 53-83.
- 32 G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori*, 9 vols., R. Bettarini ed., with a comment by P. Barocchi, Verona, 1971, 3, pp. 618, 620; cfr. Rowlands, *Filippo Lippi*, p. 55.
- 33 After an initial period of activity in Venice, the painters moved their workshop to Padua in 1446, as indicated in a document published in V. Buonocore, *Per l'attività padovana di Antonio Vivarini*, «Arte cristiana», 96, 2008, 848, pp. 331-340. In 1450, after Giovanni d'Alemagna's death, Antonio went back to Venice, putting an end to the Paduan stage of the workshop. For a good summary of the activity of these two painters see C. Cavalli, *La Madonna in trono con Gesù Bambino nella chiesa di San Tomaso Becket a Padova*, in *La Madonna in trono con Gesù Bambino di Antonio Vivarini e Giovanni d'Alemagna. Storia e restauro*, exhibition catalogue (Padua 2014-2015), C. Cavalli, A. Nante eds., Verona, 2014, pp. 21-52: 34-49.
- 34 On Francesco Squarcione, his workshop, and his teaching methods: *Francesco Squarcione pictorum gymnasiarcha singularis*, conference proceedings (Padua 1998), A. Salmazo ed., Padova, 1999.
- 35 The first critical observations on this are found in Lazzarini, *Documenti relativi alla pittura padovana*, p. 96. See also De Nicolò Salmazo, *I tempi e i modi dell'arredo*, p. 281.
- 36 *Ibidem*.
- 37 On this chapel see Z. Murat, *Sant'Antonio eremita e propaganda agostiniana: considerazioni sul ciclo dipinto da Guariento agli Eremitani di Padova*, in *Alberto da Padova e la cultura degli agostiniani*, F. Bottin ed., Padova, 2014, pp. 97-113.
- 38 On Guariento's use of perspective and on his unusual treatment of frames, see F. Flores D'Arcais, *La personalità del Guariento nella cultura figurativa del Trecento padovano*, in *Da Giotto al Mantegna*, exhibition catalogue (Padua 1974), L. Grossato ed., Milano, 1974, pp. 46-50; Baggio, *Sperimentazioni prospettive e ricerche scientifiche*; T. Franco, *Guariento: ricerche tra spazio reale e spazio dipinto*, in *Il secolo di Giotto nel Veneto*, G. Valenzano, F. Toniolo eds., Venezia, 2007, pp. 335-349.
- 39 J. Manca, *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance*, London, 2006, p. 12.
- 40 E. Panofsky, *The first page of Giorgio Vasari's Libro*, in *Idem, Meaning in the Visual Arts. Papers in and on Art History*, Garden City, NY, 1955, pp. 169-225: 172.
- 41 On Michele Savonarola's house and the presence of Andrea Mantegna there, see T. Pesenti Marangon, *Michele Savonarola a Padova: l'ambiente, le opere, la cultura medica*, «Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova», 9-10, 1976-1977, pp. 45-102: 87.
- 42 ASPd, *Corona*, *Coll. part. 324*; Shaw, *The Ovetari Chapel*, p. 24.
- 43 Cfr. Shaw, *The Ovetari Chapel*, pp. 23-28.



- 44 L. Trenti, *Capodilista, Francesco*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 18, Roma, 1975, pp. 633-635.
- 45 R. Callegari, *Opere e committenze d'arte rinascimentale a Padova*, «Arte Veneta», 49, 1997, pp. 7-29: 10.
- 46 On the Ovetari altarpiece, see G. Gentilini, *Intorno alla pala Ovetari: appunti sull'eredità donatelliana a Padova, fra Pizolo e Mantegna*, in *Francesco Squarcione*, pp. 195-206; R. Portieri, *Il restauro della pala Ovetari*, in *La Cappella Ovetari*, A.M. Spiazzi, V. Fassina, F. Magani eds., Milano, 2009, pp. 73-84; D. Banzato, *Note sulla scultura e la plastica a Padova fra Quattro e Cinquecento*, in *Donatello e la sua lezione. Sculture e oreficerie a Padova tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, exhibition catalogue (Padua 2015), D. Banzato, E. Gastaldi eds., Milano, 2015, pp. 15-24: 16-17.
- 47 The sculptor is mentioned as being involved at the Santo until 22 June 1447. The relevant documents are published in: A. Sartori, *Documenti riguardanti Donatello e il suo altare di Padova*, «Il Santo», 1, 1961, pp. 37-99: 54-61. See also A. De Nicolò Salmazo, *Padova, in La pittura nel Veneto. Il Quattrocento*, M. Lucco ed., 2 vols., Milano, 1990, 2, pp. 481-540: 494.
- 48 On 23 November 1433 Nicolò bought from Francesco grazing land at Limena. The contract is held by ASPd, *Notarile*, 2008, ff. 66r-v. Cfr. Pesenti Marangon, *Michele Savonarola a Padova*, p. 69.
- 49 ASPd, *Estimo* 1418, vol. 222, polizza 35; cfr. A. Segarizzi, *Francesco Capodilista rimatore padovano del sec. XV*, «Atti dell'Accademia scientifica veneto-tridentina-istriana», classe I, 1, 1904, pp. 53-61: 56 note 5; Pesenti Marangon, *Michele Savonarola a Padova*, p. 70.
- 50 On Ludovico Savonarola see Pesenti Marangon, *Michele Savonarola a Padova*, pp. 71-75; Baggio, *Sperimentazioni prospettiche e ricerche scientifiche*, p. 177.
- 51 Cfr. Pesenti Marangon, *Michele Savonarola a Padova*, p. 74.
- 52 Pesenti Marangon, *Michele Savonarola a Padova*, p. 83. On Michele's public life and on his relationships with eminent Paduan citizens: *Ibidem*, pp. 75-83.
- 53 Cfr. Pesenti Marangon, *Michele Savonarola a Padova*, p. 68; C. Gasparotto, *Guide e illustrazioni della basilica di Sant'Antonio in Padova: II - Le lodi di Padova di Michele Savonarola*, «Il Santo», 2, 1962, pp. 370-371; Baggio, *Sperimentazioni prospettiche e ricerche scientifiche*, p. 177.
- 54 For a discussion on the funerary function of the Baptistery in Padua, where the tombs of Fina Buzzacarini and Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara were placed: H. Saalman, *Carrara burials in the baptistery of Padua*, «The Art Bulletin», 69, 1987, pp. 376-394.
- 55 For a discussion on the location and structure of the rood-screen see G. Valenzano, *La suddivisione dello spazio nelle chiese mendicanti: sulle tracce dei tramezzi nelle Venezie*, in *Arredi liturgici e architettura*, A.C. Quintavalle ed., Milano, 2007, pp. 99-114: 111; Z. Murat, *Le arche di Ubertino e Jacopo II da Carrara nel percorso artistico di Andriolo de' Santi*, «Predella», 33, 2013, pp. 185-200: 193-195.
- 56 On the Augustinian Order's figurative propaganda, see L. Bourdua, *De origine et progressu ordinis fratrum heremitarum: Guariento and the Eremitani in Padua*, «Papers of the British School at Rome», 66, 1998, pp. 177-192; *Art and the Augustinian Order in early Renaissance Italy*, L. Bourdua, A. Dunlop eds., Ashgate 2007; *Iconografia Agostiniana, XLI/1, Dalle origini al XIV secolo*, A. Cosma, V. Da Gai, G. Pittiglio eds., Roma, 2010.
- 57 For the Franciscan Church of the Santo the bibliography is too vast to be summed up here. For a general reference on the artworks see G. Baldissin Molli, *Bibliografia delle opere d'arte*

della Basilica di Sant'Antonio in Padova (secoli XV-XXI), Padova, 2005. For some arguments on the relationship between the friars and the laity see *Padova 1310. Percorsi nei cantieri architettonici e pittorici della Basilica di Sant'Antonio*, conference proceedings (Padova 2010), L. Baggio, L. Bertazzo eds., Padova, 2012; *Cultura, arte e committenza nella basilica di S. Antonio di Padova nel Quattrocento*, conference proceedings (Padova 2009), L. Bertazzo, G. Baldissin Molli eds., Padova, 2010; *Cultura, arte e committenza nella Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova nel Trecento*, conference proceedings (Padova 2001), L. Baggio, M. Benetazzo eds., Padova, 2003. For the Dominican Church of Sant'Agostino, destroyed in the nineteenth century, see M. Merotto Ghedini, *La chiesa di Sant'Agostino in Padova. Storia e ricostruzione di un monumento scomparso*, Padova, 1995; Z. Murat, *Il Paradiso dei Carraresi. Propaganda politica e magnificenza dinastica nelle pitture di Guariento a Sant'Agostino*, in *Arte di corte in Italia del Nord. Programmi, modelli, artisti (1330-1402 ca.)*, conference proceedings (Lausanne 2012), S. Romano, D. Zaru eds., Roma, 2013, pp. 97-122.

- 58 For a complete list of the dedications of the chapel in the Trecento and early Quattrocento, see Murat, *Le arche di Ubertino e Jacopo II*, p. 194. See also P. di Simone, *Giusto e gli Eremitani, Ipotesi sul ciclo "agostiniano" della Cappella Cortellieri nella Chiesa degli Eremitani a Padova*, in *Contextos 1200 i 1400, Art de Catalunya i art de l'Europa en dos canvis de segle*, conference proceedings (Barcelona 2009), R. Alcoy ed., Barcelona, 2012, pp. 371-382; Z. Murat, *Sant'Antonio eremita e propaganda agostiniana*.
- 59 G. Valenzano, *Hic iacet Anthenor patavine conditor Urbis: immagine politica e identità civica nelle tombe mausoleo a Padova nel Duecento*, «Hortus Artium Medievalium», 10, 2004, pp. 196-174; T. Benton, *The three cities compared: urbanism*, in *Siena, Florence and Padua. Art, Society and Religion (1280-1400)*, D. Norman ed., 2 vols., New Haven, 1995, 2, pp. 7-27: 8-9.
- 60 C. Gasparotto, *Tito Livio, Francesco Petrarca e l'Umanesimo padovano*, «Patavium», 3-4, 1972, pp. 23-27; G. Billanovich, *La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell'Umanesimo*, 2 vols., Padova 1981; *Petrarca e l'umanesimo*, conference proceedings (Treviso 2004), G. Simionato ed., Treviso, 2006.

*Appendix*

Archivio di Stato di Padova, Uffici giudiziari, Volpe, vol. 36, fasc. 2, fol. 42.  
Published in: Lazzarini 1908, pp. 191-194, doc. XCVI; Shaw 1994, pp. 207, doc. 7.

1448, die jovis XVI mensis maii, ad officium Vulpis.  
Conventio.

Ibique excellentissimus utriusque juris doctor dominus Franciscus de Capitibusli-  
ste nomine spectabilis militis et excellentissimi utriusque iuris doctoris domini Jo-  
hannis Francisci eius patris, pro quo promisit de rato et rati habitatione et facere  
et curare cum effectu et cetera, et egregius vir ser Franciscus de Sancto Lazaro  
quondam magistri Petri de Sancto Lazaro infrascripto nomine ac vice et nomine  
spectabilis et generose domine Imperatricis relicte quondam domini Antonii de  
Ovetariis ac spectabilium virorum dominorum Francisci et Antonii fratrum For-  
zatè, pro quibus similiter dictus ser Franciscus promisit de rato ecc., omnes co-  
missarii et commissarie nomine prefati quondam domini Antonii de Ovetariis, qui  
omnes sunt maior pars commissariorum dicti domini Antonii et habere dicunt po-  
testatem ad infrascripta omnia facienda ut apparere dicitur in testamento prefati  
domini Antonii scriptum manu prudentis viri ser Comitris de Vallibus notarii, con-  
venerunt cum infrascriptis pictoribus conducere operas eorum ad pingendum  
et ornandum capellam prefati quondam domini Antonii de Ovetariis positam in  
ecclesia fratrum Heremitarum Padue pro pretio ducatorum septigentorum auri  
solvendorum cum modis et conditionibus infrascriptis ac dividendo dictam ca-  
pellam inter ipsos pictores modo et ordine infrascripto:

Primo magister Johannes de Alemana pictor quondam Johannes et magister An-  
tonius de Moriano quondam Michaelis similiter pictor promisserunt solemniter  
pingere et ornare omnibus suis sumptibus et expensis tam de collaribus quam  
auro, armaturis et generaliter omnibus ad dictum ornatum et picturam pertinen-  
tibus dimidiam partem dicte capelle, in qua dimidia computetur faties muri in-  
grediendo dictam capellam a manu dextra, que faties est versus plateam Heremi-  
tarum a latere versus sero. Item computetur croxaria magna dicte capelle, quam  
teneatur pingere optimo azuro thehotonico cum quatuor evangelistis in summi-  
tate dicte croxarie, ornando solemniter botacios dicte croxarie, qui sint de lapide  
vivo et alia fatiando pro ornatu et pictura dicte croxarie. Item in eadem parte,

de quo supra, intelligatur esse pars capella posita a latere versus capella sancti ... [left blank], que pars est super ingressum et pata dicte capelle, in qua parte suprascripti pictores promisserunt pingere unam solemnem istoriam passionis domini nostri Jesu Christi ac etiam promisserunt ornare dictum arcum, per quem ingreditur dicta capella pluribus figuris ad instar capelle maioris. Ac etiam a latere extra dictam capellam versus capella illi contiguam sancti ... [left blank] promisserunt facere unum frixum honorabilem ad arbitrium boni viri. Que suprascripta omnia dictus magistri Johannes et Antonius promisserunt pingere et ornare cum modis et capitulis infrascriptis et infra tempus de quo infra:

Primo quod croxaria dicte capelle pingatur optimo azuro thehotonico cum stellis aureis et frixis super botatiis ipsius croxarie, ita quod comuni extimatione et arbitrio boni viri intelligatur bene et diligenter picta et ornata.

Item quod in instoriis et figuris quibuscunque, in quibus continget sanctos aut alias imagines vestiri de lazuro, dicti magistri ponant azurum ultarmarinum optimum et non thehotonicum, secundum quod factum fuit in capella batisterii civitatis Padue, exceptis campis dicte capelle, qui debeant pingi de azuro thehotonico.

Item quod dicta capella pingatur bonis et laudatis coloribus cuiuscunque speciei, ita quod nullus color in dicto opere ponatur, qui non sit bonus et ydoneus ad dictum opus ad arbitrium boni viri, ut supra.

Item quod dicta capella seu pars dicte capelle pingatur ad friscum et non ad oleum.

Item quod dictum totum opus detur integrum et perfectum per totum mensem decembris de 1450.

Ita tamen quod dicti commissarii teneantur dare suprascriptis magistris capellam smaltatam ad grezum et non alio modo, cum fenestris perfectis de muro et ferris tam factis quam fiendis, ac eciam suis sumptibus teneantur dicti commissarii facere dividi dictum capellam cum una tramezaria de assidibus per medium ipsius capelle solum, a parte autem anteriori teneantur suprascripti magistri facere claudi dictam capellam et reliquas armaturas et pontes facere suis sumptibus, pro quibus fatiendis nichil habeant a dictis commissariis ultra precium ducatorum trecentorum quinquaginta, de quo supra.

Item quod plus et ante omnia dicti domini commissarii, antequam opus incipiatur, debeant solvere et numerare ex precio ducatorum trecentorum quinquaginta, de quo supra, dictis magistris Johanni et Antonio ducatos quinquaginta auri pro

ponendo se in ordine de necessariis pro dicto opere incipiendo. Reliqui autem ducati trecenti, qui restabunt, debeant solvi in sex paghis, secundum quod dicti magistri opus ipsum perficient, et consequentur dividatur solutio pro rata operis perfecti seu perficiendi.

Promittentes firma et rata habere in pena duc. XXV auri ecc., pro quibus omnibus ecc.

Testes: dominus Petrus de Zabarelis, dominus Frugerus de Lanzarotis, dominus Alvarotus de Alvarotis, dominus Jacobus de Flumine doctores egregii.

[In margin] 1448, die lune 15 mensis julii, ad Vulpem.

Ibique Antonius pictor suo nomine et pro nomine Johannis de Alemania eius cognato, pro quibus promisit de rato ecc., dixit habuisse pro parte laborerii ducatos quinquaginta in ducatis et monetis ibi hostensis, de quibus clamavit sibi soluto et fecit finem quam promisit a ser Francisco de Sancto Lazaro ibi presente nomine commissarie et commissariorum dictorum.

Eisdem millesimo, indicione, die, loco et testibus.

Pro alia vero dimidia dicte capelle pingenda, idest pro toto, eo quod superest pingendum ultra dimidiam, de qua supra, conduxerunt suprascripti commissarii operas magistri Nicolai, filii ser Petri de Villa Ganzerla, ac etiam magistri Andree pictoris, filii Blaxii, amborum civium Padue, pro quo magister Andrea absente magister Thomas sartor eius frater promisit de rato quod qui ratificabit et laudabit omnia in presenti instrumento contenta cum obligatione bonorum suorum, et hec pro pretio ducatorum trecentorum quinquaginta cum modis, capitulis, coloribus, solutionibus, tempore ad perficiendum et omnibus generaliter in suprascripto instrumentis contento referendo singula singulis.

Ac etiam promisserunt predicti pictores facere unam pallam seu anconam super altari de medio relievo sub forma coram me notario et testibus infrascriptis hostensa et per ambas partes aprobata, a cuius forme seu picture tergo ego notarius me subscripsi.



Fig. 1: A. MANTEGNA, N. PIZOLO, *God the Father flanked by Saints* (detail with *God the Father*). Padua, Eremitani Church, Ovetari chapel

Fig. 2: GUARIENTO, *Last Judgement* (detail with *God the Father*). Padua, Eremitani Church, Main chapel



Fig. 3: N. PIZOLO, *Doctors of the Church* (detail with *St. Gregory and St. Augustine*). Padua, Eremitani Church, Ovetari chapel

Fig. 4: GUARIENTO, *Doctor of the Church* (detail with *St. Augustine*). Padua, Eremitani Church, Main chapel

Fig. 5: A. VIVARINI, G. D'ALEMAGNA, *Evangelist* (detail with *St. Luke*), Padua, Eremitani Church, Ovetari chapel



Fig. 6: A. VIVARINI, G. D'ALEMAGNA, *Central vault* (detail with an angel and the decoration of the ribs). Padua, Eremitani Church, Ovetari chapel

Fig. 7: GUARIENTO, *Central vault* (detail with the decoration of the ribs). Padua, Eremitani Church, Main chapel



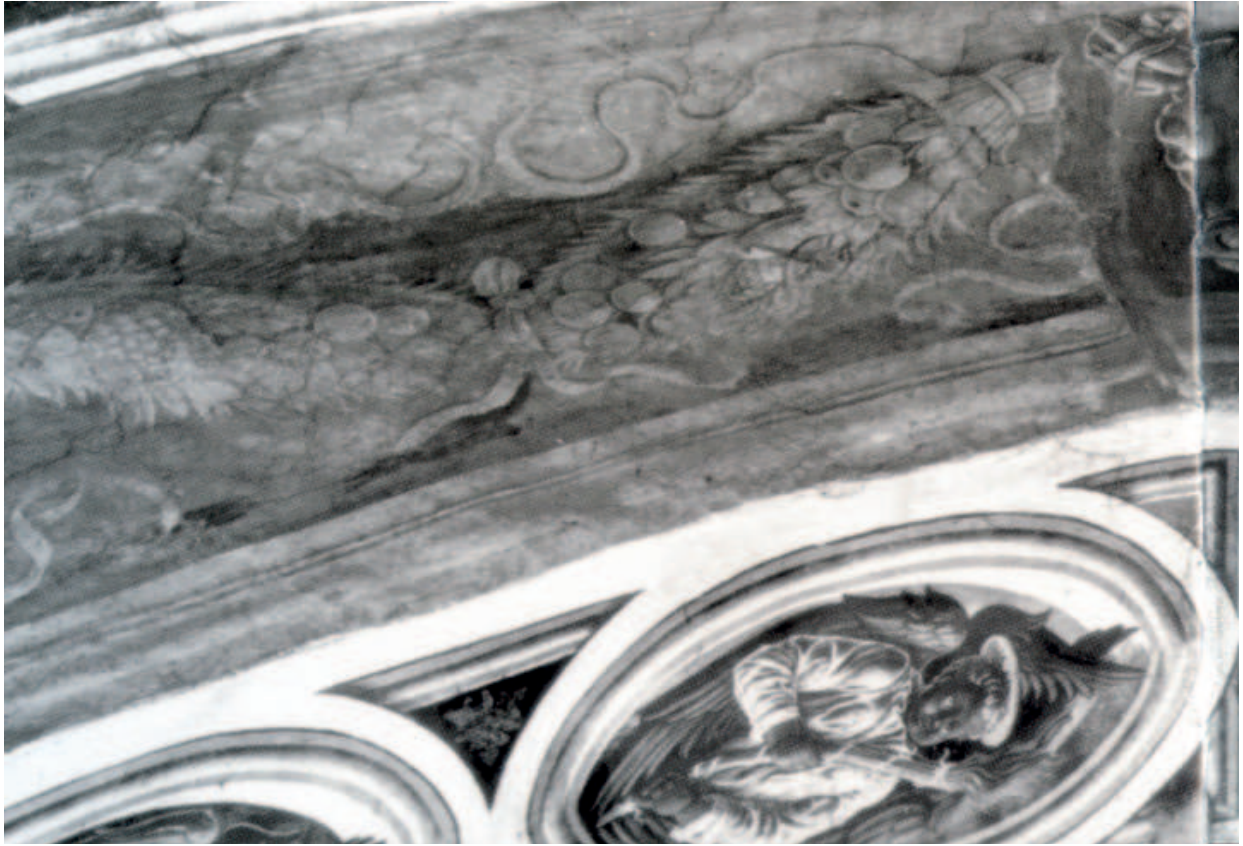


Fig. 8: A. MANTEGNA, N. PIZOLO, *Seraphs and Cherubs*. Padua, Eremitani Church, Ovetari chapel

Fig. 9: GUARIENTO, *Saints*. Padua, Eremitani Church, Chapel of St. Anthony Abbot



Fig. 10: A. MANTEGNA, N. PIZOLO, *Seraphs and Cherubs* (detail). Padua, Eremitani Church, Ovetari chapel

Fig. 11: GUARIENTO, *Saints* (detail with *St. Ursula*). Padua, Eremitani Church, Chapel of St. Anthony Abbot