

Appendix 5 — The Saints of the Top Three Registers of the Salone Fresco Scheme

Introduction

The aim of this research is to examine the saints presented in the middle and lower registers of the Salone fresco scheme in order to gain an understanding of the nature of their placement within the scheme. The research considers whether the saints are local Paduan saints or the twelve apostles. It also takes into account how previous scholars have identified each of the apostles and whether there is a correlation between their apostolic nomenclature, their feast days, and their seasonal placement within the scheme. Finally taking a new approach of using as a comparator the saints painted by Giotto in the Arena Chapel, the research attempts to find the intention of the order of placement of the apostles in the Salone.

The Saints contained within the top three registers of the Salone scheme

Twelve saints are represented along the middle and lower registers of the Salone fresco scheme. I have already considered two of them — the saint at 19BC in the Venus rules Taurus ‘chapter’ and identified in the words of the book he holds as *Iacomus*, St James the Greater, son of Zebedee, and the saint at 23BC, St John of Patmos in the Corpus Christi ‘chapter’. In order to investigate all of the images, however, I listed how other scholars had identified them (Table 20) and laid out a schematic of the walls with the saints they had identified (Fig.2). The scholars in Table 20 all appeared to follow Barzon’s lead in naming them as apostles. At the same time I considered whether the placement of the apostles within the scheme, defined by these scholars in Table 20, formed a correspondence between seasonal calendrical placement and feast days of the apostles. In Table 20, only two of the apostolic feast days (St John the Evangelist and St Simon Zealot) correlated with their calendrical placement within the scheme.

My next approach was to consider whether, rather than being the twelve apostles of the New Testament, they were instead local Paduan saints. For this I turned to the two works

by Giusto de' Menabuoi (1320–1391) and his assistants commissioned by Fina Buzzacarini da Carrara (died 1378) for the Paduan Baptistery that depicted the local Paduan saints: the dome of the ceiling (Fig.1); and the base of the *Polyptych with Madonna Enthroned, Scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist and Saints*, 1376–78 (Figs.3 and 4). Benjamin Kohl had verified that the twelve saints occupying the base of the polyptych (Fig.3) were ‘the city’s patrons (Anthony, Justina, Prosdocimo, and Daniel), early bishops (Massimo and Fidenzio), and more recent local *beati* (Anthony the Pilgrim, Compagno of Porciglia, Giordano Forzatè, Crescenzo da Camposampiero, Arnaldo, abbot of San Giustina, and Beatrice d’Este).’¹ This celebration of Padua’s liturgical calendar along the base of the *Polyptych* eliminates the possibility that the saints depicted on the Salone walls may be local Paduan saints, as within the Salone scheme there are no women depicted as saints, and the *beati* depicted on the polyptych come from mendicant orders and the specific clothing worn by members of the mendicant orders are not represented in the clothing of the Salone saints. Given this information, I now agree that the saints depicted on the fresco scheme of the Salone are, as suggested by the scholars in Table 20, the twelve apostles.



Figure 1. Attributed to Giusto de' Menabuoi, *Paradise, the Dome of Heaven*, fresco with tempera additions, c.1375, cupola, Baptistery, Padua. Image: ARTstor.

¹ Benjamin G. Kohl, ‘Fina da Carrara, née Buzzacarini: Consort, Mother, and Patron of Art in Trecento Padua’, in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sheryl E. Reiss and David G. Wilkins. Vol. LIV (Kirkville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2001), 19-36, p.29.

Table 20: Names of the twelve apostles identified by Barzon (1924), Fantelli and Pellegrini (2000), and Rigobello and Autizi (2008) along the middle and lower registers of the Salone correlated with the time of year within the scheme and the apostles' celebrated feast days.

Where situated on wall – time of year	Barzon numbering system	Barzon (1924), Fantelli and Pellegrini (2000), Rigobello and Autizi (2008)	Feast days
Beginning of south wall – March/Pisces	1BC	St Andrew.	30 November. Translation 9 May.
South wall – April/Aries.	10BC	St James the Greater.	25 July.
South wall – May/Gemini.	19BC	St John the Evangelist. Rigobello and Autizi say this is John the Baptist but see 'Corpus Christi' chapter'.	27 December and 6 May.
South wall – 'Corpus Christi'.	23BC	St Philip.	1 May.
South wall – June/the Moon	32BC	St Bartholomew.	24 August.
South wall - July/Leo	41BC	St Matthew?	21 September.
West wall – August/Virgo.	50BC	St Thomas.	21 December. Translation 3 July.
North wall – September/Libra.	59BC	St James the Less.	1 May.
North wall – October/Scorpio.	68BC	St Simon Zealot.	28 October (with Jude).
North wall – November/Sagittarius.	77BC	St Jude Thaddaeus.	28 October (with Simon).
North wall – December/Capricorn.	86BC	Barzon says this may be St Matthias.	24 (25) February.
		St Matthew.	21 September.
North wall – January/Aquarius.	95BC	St Peter.	29 June (with St Paul). Subsidiary feast on 1 August of St Peter's Chains.

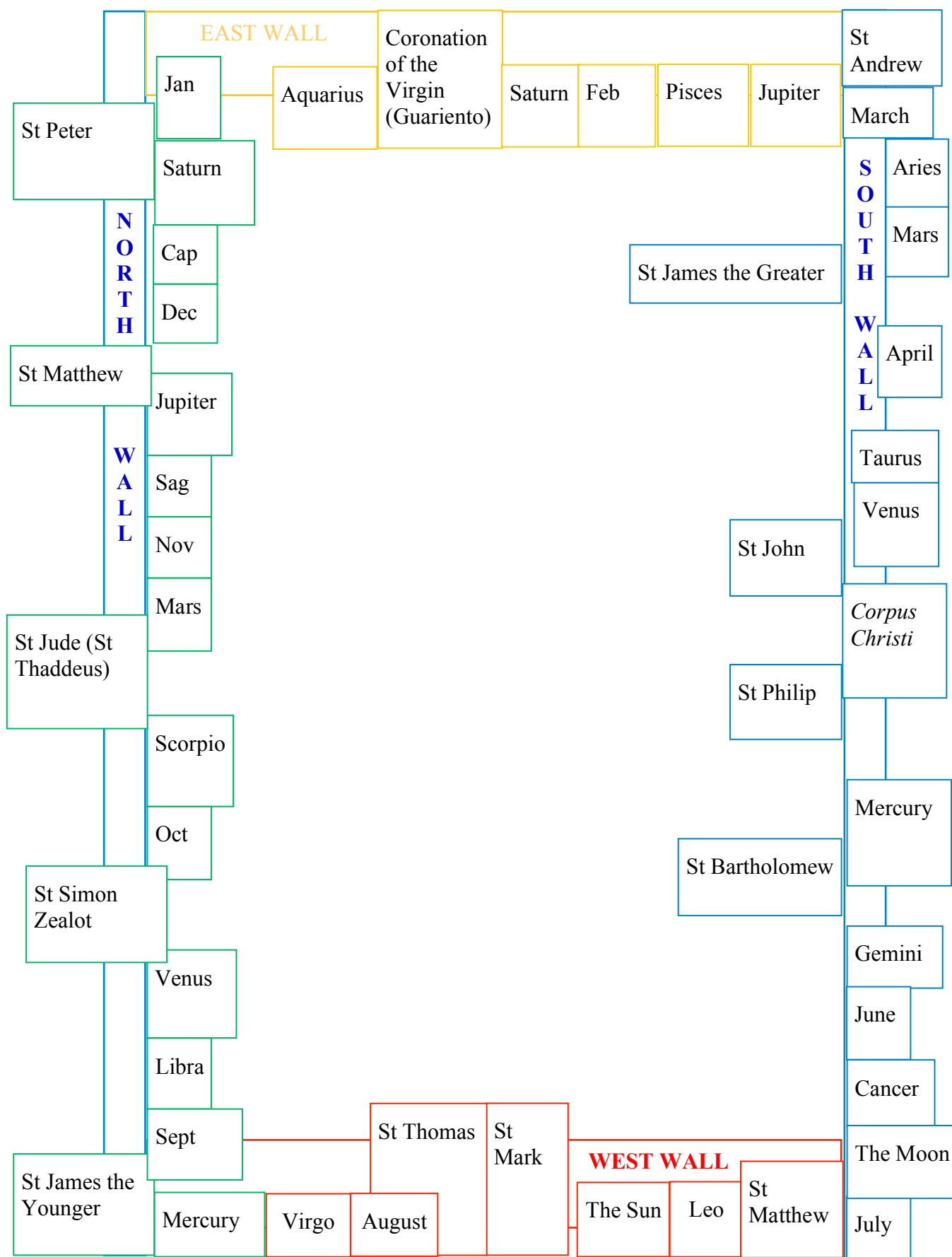


Figure 2. Visual schematic showing the placement of the month, zodiac sign, planet and the twelve apostles identified by Barzon (1924), Fantelli and Pellegrini (2000), and Rigobello and Autizi (2008).



Figure 3. Giusto de' Menabuoi (1320–1391) and assistants, *Polyptych with Madonna Enthroned, Scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist and Saints*, 1376-78, tempera on panel, 209 cm x 282 cm, with the twelve saints occupying the base of the polyptych. Baptistery, Padua. Image: Musei Civici Padova.



Figure 4. Giusto de' Menabuoi (1320–1391) and assistants, left side predella detail showing six saints, *Polyptych with Madonna Enthroned, Scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist and Saints*, 1376-78, tempera on panel, 209 cm x 282 cm, Baptistery, Padua. Image: Italian Renaissance Learning resources in collaboration with the National Gallery of Art.

A different approach – using the Arena Chapel as a comparator/template

In examining the fresco scheme in the Salone, I noticed that the easily identified image of Peter holding the keys (Fig. 21) had been painted with the same facial characteristics as the image of Peter in the narratives in the Arena Chapel frescoes (Fig.G, Table 21). Given that this was the same artist (Giotto) working in the same city (Padua) and within a consecutive time frame (1302–1309), my methodology was then to use one set of images to identify the other.

There are four narratives in the Arena Chapel where it is possible to identify the apostles as a group: *The Last Supper* (Fig.5), south wall; *The Washing of the Feet* (Fig.6), south wall; *Pentecost* (Fig.7), north wall; and *The Last Judgement* (Fig.6), west wall. I visually correlated each of the twelve apostles in each of these four narratives and then created a visual correspondence with what I considered to be the counterpart of that apostle depicted in the Salone frescoes (Table 21), matching each one firstly by facial characteristics, then seeking a correspondence by mantle and tunic colour and/or attributes.



(Left) Figure 5. Giotto di Bondone, *The Last Supper*, 1303–05, fresco, south wall, Arena Chapel, Padua. Image: ARTstor.



(Right) Figure 6. Giotto di Bondone, *The Washing of the Feet*, 1303–05, fresco, south wall, Arena Chapel, Padua. Image: ARTstor.



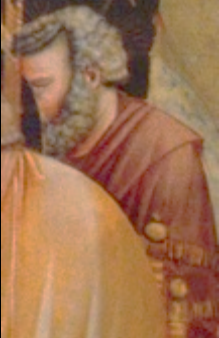
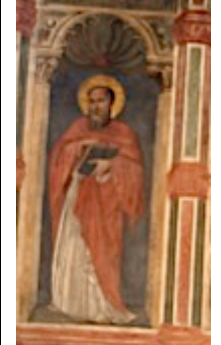
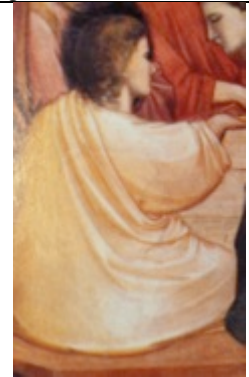
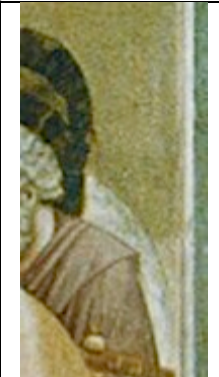
Figure 7. Giotto di Bondone, *Pentecost*, 1303–05, fresco, north wall, Arena Chapel, Padua. Image: WGA.



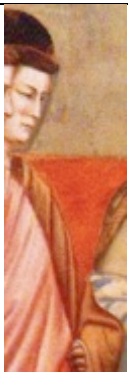
Figure 8. Giotto di Bondone, *Last Judgement*, details of apostles on the left and right sides of Christ who is not shown, 1303–05, fresco, west wall, Arena Chapel, Padua. Image: ARTstor.

Table 21: Visual correlation the images of the apostle in four Arena Chapel narratives with the apostles in the frescoes of the Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua.					
	Arena Chapel Apostle: <i>The Last Supper</i>	Arena Chapel Apostle: <i>Washing of the Feet</i>	Arena Chapel Apostle: <i>Pentecost</i>	Arena Chapel Apostle: <i>Last Judgment</i>	Salone Apostle
A					
					10BC
	Green mantle over red tunic. Copious grey hair and long shaggy grey beard. Derbes and Sandona identify this apostle in the Arena Chapel as St Andrew. ²				

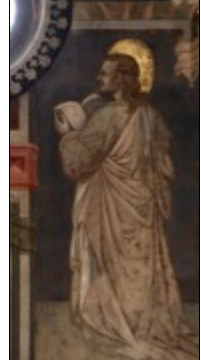
² Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, *The Usurer's heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in Padua* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), p.203.

B					 68BC
Pink mantle over pink tunic. Grey curly hair, grey curly beard. This may be St Simon.					
C					 32BC
Rose tunic and mantle. Balding head. Grey curly hair, grey curly beard. Derbes and Sandona identify this apostle in the Arena Chapel as St Matthew. ³					
D		 White tunic only visible.			 50BC
Yellow mantle over yellow tunic. Close-cropped short brown hair, close cropped full beard and moustache. This may be St Jude.					

³ Derbes and Sandona, *The Usurer's heart*, p.134.

E					
					59BC
White mantle with gold edging over a light green or white tunic. Young beardless, curling red-brown hair. This may be St Thomas.					
F					
					41BC
Red-green mantle over a red-green tunic. In <i>Last Judgement</i> , green mantle over green tunic. He is beardless and has a square face, short brown hair. In Salone image the words 'James the Less' (<i>Iacobus Minor</i>) are written behind him.					
G					
					95BC
Golden orange mantle over a blue tunic. Close curling grey hair framing face and grey grandfather beard and moustache. Derbes and Sandona identify this apostle in the Arena Chapel as St Peter. ⁴ In the Salone image he holds a golden key.					

⁴ Derbes and Sandona, *The Usurer's heart*, p.133, 149.

H					
		?			19BC
Wild long black hair and a long black beard and moustache. Dark blue mantle over a light blue tunic. Rosa Giorgio noted that Jesus called him 'son of thunder' which leads one to think he had a fiery character'. ⁵ The book in the Salone image has 'Iacomus' (James) written in it. ⁷					
I					
					1BC
Close curly dark brown hair, full dark brown beard and moustache. Black and white patterned mantle over a white tunic with gold embroidery. Derbes and Sandona identify this figure in the Arena Chapel as St Bartholomew by way of his mantle. ⁶ In the Salone image he carries his emblem of a flaying knife.					
J					
					23BC
Red mantle over blue tunic. In <i>Last Judgement</i> dark blue mantle over dark blue tunic. Beardless, close dark brown hair. Derbes and Sandona identify this figure in the Arena Chapel as John: 'man carrying water in an amphora' (Luke 22:10). ⁷					

⁵ Rosa Giorgi, *Saints in Art*, ed. Stefano Zuffi, trans. Thomas Michael Hartmann (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), p.172.

⁶ Derbes and Sandona, *The Usurer's heart*, p.203.

⁷ Derbes and Sandona, *The Usurer's heart*, p.135.

K		?		?	
	Blue mantle. Beardless, round face, short dark brown hair. This may be St Philip.				
L					
	Pale blue mantle over a red tunic. Oval face, almond eyes, straight brown hair falling to shoulders, full brown beard and moustache. This may be St Matthias who replaced Judas Iscariot.				

Arena Chapel apostle images that don't appear to fit in with this sequencing:				
				
	Washing of Feet		Last Judgement	

The apostles of the Salone frescos in detail

All twelve apostles depicted in the middle-lower registers of the Salone frescoes carry books, a widely used symbol of learning and authorship. Some of the Salone apostles, however, can be distinguished by their attributes.

The apostle at 1BC – St Bartholomew

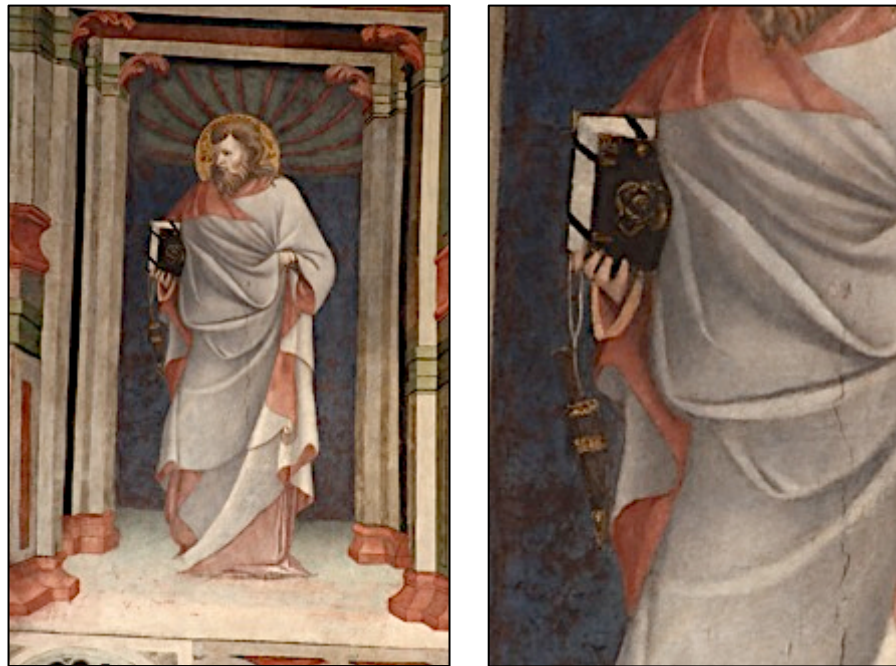


Figure 9. The image at 1BC depicting (left) the saint at the beginning the south wall completing the Jupiter rules Pisces ‘chapter’ and (right) a close up detail of the knife in his right hand, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The apostle in the image at 1BC (Fig.9) has curling brown shoulder length hair and a brown beard. The facial characteristics of this apostle in the Salone fresco scheme are consistent with that of St Bartholomew (Fig.I, Table 21) in the Arena Chapel frescoes. In the Salone image at 1BC he carries a book with a black cover with gold embossing in his right hand. From his right forefinger dangles a black-handled knife in a black scabbard embossed with gold. The only apostle to hold a knife as an attribute is St Bartholomew who is described in *The Golden Legend* as having hair that was ‘black and curly, his complexion fair, his eyes are large, his nose even and straight, his beard is long with a

few grey hairs,⁸ a description that could apply to this image at 1BC. The knife was emblematic of the fact that St Bartholomew was flayed alive, and he is often portrayed as holding his flayed skin over his arm or in his hand.⁹ That is not the case in this image at 1BC, and yet the tunic that he wears in this Salone image is depicted differently from each of the other Salone apostles, who all wear a mantle over a tunic. In the image at 1BC St Bartholomew wears a white mantle with red lining thrown loosely around his body with no visible tunic. I am suggesting that this can be read as loose white skin (the white exterior of the mantle) over red blood (the red inner lining), and that this very looseness of the mantle's folds may have been understood by a medieval viewer as Bartholomew's flayed skin.

The apostle at 10BC – St Andrew



Figure 10. The image at 10BC of (left) the saint on the south wall completing the Mars rules Aries 'chapter', (middle) detail of the head and the area of the face sustaining damage, and (right) the damaged area removed, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The apostle in the image at 10BC (Fig.10) wears a blue-green mantle over a red tunic with loose-fitting long sleeves and gold embroidery on the chest and on the sleeve. He carries a book with a dark blue cover in his left hand and a pilgrims' rod in his right hand. The mantle colour and tunic is consistent with that of St Andrew in the Arena Chapel frescoes (Fig.A, Table 21). Damage to the Salone image at 10BC around the face (Fig.9 left and middle) makes it somewhat difficult to access the facial characteristics, although it is possible to see that the apostle in this image has a long curling grey beard and moustache. Removing the damaged area (Fig.10 right) removes the distraction of the

⁸ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Selections*, trans. Christopher Stace (London: Penguin, 1998), p.221.

⁹ James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray Publishers, 1974), p.41.

damaged area and allows the distinctive long shaggy grey beard connected with St Andrew in the Arena Chapel frescoes to be more readily recognizable in this Salone image at 10BC.

The apostle at 19BC – St James the Greater

This apostle has been considered in detail in the Corpus Christi ‘chapter’ where the letters ‘Iacomus’ written on the book held by this apostle (Fig.11) denote him as James the Greater. The facial characteristics of this image in the Salone fresco scheme are consistent with that of St James the Greater in the Arena Chapel frescoes (Fig.H, Table 21).



Figure 11. The image at 19BC depicting (*left*) the saint along the south wall completing the Venus rules Taurus ‘chapter’ and (*right*) a close up detail of the book he holds, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo*: D.Gunzburg.

The apostle at 23BC – St John, the writer of the Book of Revelation



Figure 12. The image at 23BC depicting the saint along the south wall in the Corpus Christi ‘chapter’, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo*: D.Gunzburg.

This apostle at Salone image 23BC has been considered in detail in the Corpus Christi ‘chapter’. The placement of this apostle amongst images that depict Old Testament blood covenants connected with New Testament eucharistic rituals, as well as the gesture this apostle makes by pointing his finger towards the his eye, signifying the words of the Book of Revelation, ‘And I saw...’, suggest this is the author of that book, St John of Patmos. The facial characteristics of this image in the Salone fresco scheme are consistent with that of St John in the Arena Chapel frescoes (Fig. J, Table 21).

The apostle at 32BC – St Matthew



Figure 13. The image at 32BC depicting (*left*) the saint along the south wall completing the Mercury rules Gemini ‘chapter’ and (*right*) a close up detail of the implement in is left hand, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo*: D.Gunzburg.

The apostle at 32BC (Fig.13) has a balding head, full brown beard flecked with grey and a grey moustache. He wears a white belted tunic under a red mantle. Derbes and Sandona identify Matthew in the Arena chapel as the figure with a balding head, grey curly hair and a grey curly beard, dressed in a rose tunic and mantle.¹⁰ The mantle colour and facial characteristics of this image in the Salone fresco scheme are consistent with that of St Matthew in the Arena Chapel frescoes (Fig.C, Table 21). Furthermore in this image at 32BC the apostle carries an open book with a black binding in his left hand, with an item hanging from his belt. As the book, pen, and inkhorn were St Matthew’s attributes, I am suggesting that this item is an inkhorn, further substantiating this apostle as St Matthew.

¹⁰ Derbes and Sandona, *The Usurer's heart*, p.134.

The apostle at 41BC – St James the Less



Figure 14. The image at 41BC of (left) the saint along the south wall completing the Moon rules Cancer 'chapter' and (right) a close up detail of the words written on the wall behind him, *Iacobus Minor*, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The apostle at 41BC (Fig.14) is depicted as a young beardless man with short blond hair wearing a green round-necked tunic edged in gold under an orange mantle. The words 'Iacobus Minor' are written behind him. *The Golden Legend* noted that James the Less was called 'brother of the Lord' because he was said to look so much like Christ that he was often mistaken for him.¹¹ This image at 41BC does not offer a visual coherence with the image of Christ on the Cross in the Salone fresco image at 22A (Fig.15). *The Golden Legend* offers other explanations for the term 'brother', however, such as the Jewish tradition of calling two males related by blood 'brother', or the fact that James the Less, also known as James the Just, possessed extraordinary righteousness, which resulted in him being ordained bishop of Jerusalem above all the other apostles.¹² The image at 41BC is consistent with that of St James the Less in the Arena Chapel frescoes, the young beardless apostle with a square face with short gold-brown hair, wearing a red-green mantle over a red-green tunic (Fig.F, Table 21).

¹¹ de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Selections*, p.125.

¹² de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Selections*, pp.125-126.



Figure 15. The image at 22A of Christ on the Cross, south wall, ‘Corpus Christi chapter, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

The apostle at 50BC – St Jude Thaddeus



Figure 16. The image at 50BC of (*left*) the saint along the west wall completing the Sun rules Leo ‘chapter’, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

The image at 50BC (Fig.16) is of a man with short curly brown hair and close cropped beard and moustache wearing a green mantle with red lining over a long loose-sleeved gold tunic edged at the neck with gold trim and tab. This image at 50BC is consistent with that of St Jude in the Arena Chapel frescoes (Fig.D, Table 21). In the Salone image at 50BC the apostle he carries a thick book with a brown leather cover affixed with two

grey metal clasps in his right hand. His left hand rests across his chest in the folds of his cape, suggesting that he holds or carries something precious close to his chest. This valued item may be intended to be understood as the letter written by Jesus and carried by St Jude to Abgar the leper which, when it was rubbed over his face, instantly cured him of leprosy.¹³

The apostle at 59BC – St Thomas



Figure 17. The image at 59BC of the saint along the north wall completing the Mercury rules Virgo ‘chapter’, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

The apostle at image 59BC (Fig.17) is depicted as a young man with short light brown hair and wearing a yellow mantle over a white tunic with wide loose sleeves and embroidered with gold around the neck. The mantle and tunic are consistent with that of the young beardless apostle with curling red-brown hair in the Arena Chapel frescoes (Fig.E, Table 21). The apostle in the Salone image at 59BC holds a book covered with green binding. Around his waist he wears a belt or a girdle. Since amongst the Salone apostles there is only one other apostle with a visible belt and this was St Matthew, the reason for which, I contend, was in order to detail the pen and inkhorn hanging from it, then I suggest that allowing the belt to be visible on St Thomas was because the girdle is

¹³ de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Selections*, p.286.

one of the attributes of St Thomas. Although one might reason that St Thomas received the girdle from the Virgin, rather than wore it, Émile Mâle recorded how the only saints whose attributes were invariable throughout the Middle Ages were those of St Peter, St Paul, St Andrew and St Bartholomew, and some apostles' attributes were never fixed as their lives and legends were less clear-cut.¹⁴ In the light of this I suggest that the attributes in the Salone images of the apostles are being depicted in unique ways.

The apostle at 68BC – St Simon



Figure 18. The image at 68BC of the saint along the north wall completing the Venus rules Libra 'chapter', Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

The apostle at 68BC (Fig.18) is depicted as a balding man with a thick curly grey beard and moustache. He wears a red mantle with a golden lining over a round-necked, loose-fitting long-sleeved green tunic. He wears sandals on his feet. The facial characteristics are consistent with those of St Simon in the Arena Chapel frescoes, the apostle with grey curling hair and beard (Fig.B, Table 21).

¹⁴ Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2000), p.310.

The apostle at 77BC - St Philip



Figure 19. The image at 68BC of the saint along the north wall completing the Mars rules Scorpio 'chapter', Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. *Photo: D.Gunzburg.*

The apostle at 77BC (Fig.19) is depicted as a young man with short brown hair and downcast eyes. He wears a blue mantle over a round necked, long sleeved red tunic, the folds of which are gathered in his crossed arms in which he holds a book. The facial features are consistent with the image of the apostle with a beardless round face, and short dark brown hair in the Arena Chapel frescoes (Fig. K, Table 21). This may be St Philip.

The apostle at 86BC – St Matthias

The apostle at 86BC (Fig.20) has brown hair parted in the centre, and a soul patch or mouche, a patch of beard grown under the lower lip. He wears a red round-necked tunic under an orange mantle with green lining, and sandals. He holds a staff. The attribute of the staff defines him as a pilgrim and he is only one of two apostles in the Salone scheme to be depicted with a staff, the other being the image at 10BC who, by correlation with the apostles in the Arena Chapel, is St Andrew. This apostle at 86BC, however, is the only one to be depicted standing in an ogee arch. Apart from St Peter at 95BC (Fig.21) who is placed under a Romanesque arch, all other apostles are placed within a square

lintel, or a scallop shell. The ogee arch was amongst the cornucopia of visual ideas and knowledge that Venetian merchants brought back to Venice from their encounter with the Islamic world where the ogee arch was found on both secular and religious buildings.¹⁵ The ogee arch was incorporated into the window arches of San Marco, Venice, around 1250. It was distinctly different from its Roman predecessor, the rounded arch, yet was used as a decorative element only, as geometrically and formally it was unable to bear a load.¹⁶ The ogee arch emerged in England in the 1280s and 1290s, also as an enhancing motif around door and window openings, and eventually came to characterize the Decorated style and influenced the rest of Europe.¹⁷ As a new style of architecture, this difference, I suggest, is indicative of the fact that St Matthias was the ‘new’ apostle who was selected to replace Judas Iscariot. Although the facial features are not entirely consistent with the image of the apostle with the full brown beard and moustache of the Arena Chapel frescoes (Fig.L, Table 21), the oval face, brown hair parted in the centre, and red tunic offer a link.



Figure 20. The image at 86BC of the saint along north wall completing the Jupiter rules Sagittarius ‘chapter’, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

¹⁵ Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: the impact of the Islamic world on Venetian architecture 1100-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p.142.

¹⁶ D. H. Gye, ‘Arches and Domes in Iranian Islamic Buildings: An Engineer's Perspective’, *Iran* 26(1988), 129-144, p.136.

¹⁷ Nicola Coldstream, *Medieval Architecture*, Oxford History of Art (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.43-44.

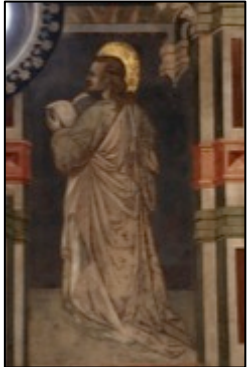
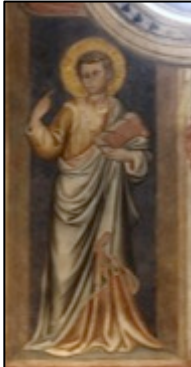
The apostle at 95BC – St Peter

The apostle at 95BC (Fig.21) has grey thinning hair and a full grey and white beard. He wears a white tunic with gold embroidery at the neck with long funnel sleeves, a yellow mantle, and sandals on his feet. He holds a golden key in his left hand and a brown leather-covered book in his left hand. This attribute of the golden key immediately identifies this apostle as St Peter, the saint to whom Jesus gave the *Traditio clavum*, the keys of Heaven, and it corresponds with the images of St Peter in the Arena Chapel (Fig. G, Table 21). St Peter is the apostle who completes the Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter’, and thus he completes the Salone cycle seasonally, in winter, and symbolically, with the birth of Christ at the Capricorn ingress/the winter solstice. At this corner of the Salone the two zodiac signs ruled by Saturn — Capricorn and Aquarius — follow each other consecutively and St Peter is the one apostle who serves both zodiac signs.



Figure 21. The image at 95BC of (*left*) the saint at the end of the north wall completing the Saturn rules Capricorn ‘chapter’ and (*right*) a close up detail of the key in his right hand, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. Photo: D.Gunzburg.

Table 22: The twelve apostles of the middle and lower registers of the Salone
with suggested identification by Gunzburg.

			
1BC: South wall, Jupiter rules Pisces — St Bartholomew. Lintel and scallop shell niche.	10BC: South wall, Mars rules Aries — St Andrew. Lintel niche.	19BC: South wall, Venus rules Taurus — James the Greater. Lintel niche.	23BC: South wall, 'Corpus Christi' — St John the Evangelist. Lintel niche.
			
32BC: South wall, Mercury rules Gemini — St Matthew. Scallop shell niche.	41BC: South wall, The Moon rules Cancer — James the Less. Scallop shell niche.	50BCBC: West wall, The Sun rules Leo — St Jude Thaddaeus. Scallop shell niche.	59BC: North wall, Mercury rules Virgo — St Thomas. Scallop shell niche.
			
68BC: North wall, Venus rules Libra — St Simon Zealot. Scallop shell niche.	77BC: North wall, Mars rules Scorpio — St Philip. Scallop shell niche.	86BC: North wall, Jupiter rules Sagittarius — St Matthias. Ogee arch niche.	95BC: Saturn rules Capricorn and Aquarius — St Peter. Romanesque arch niche.

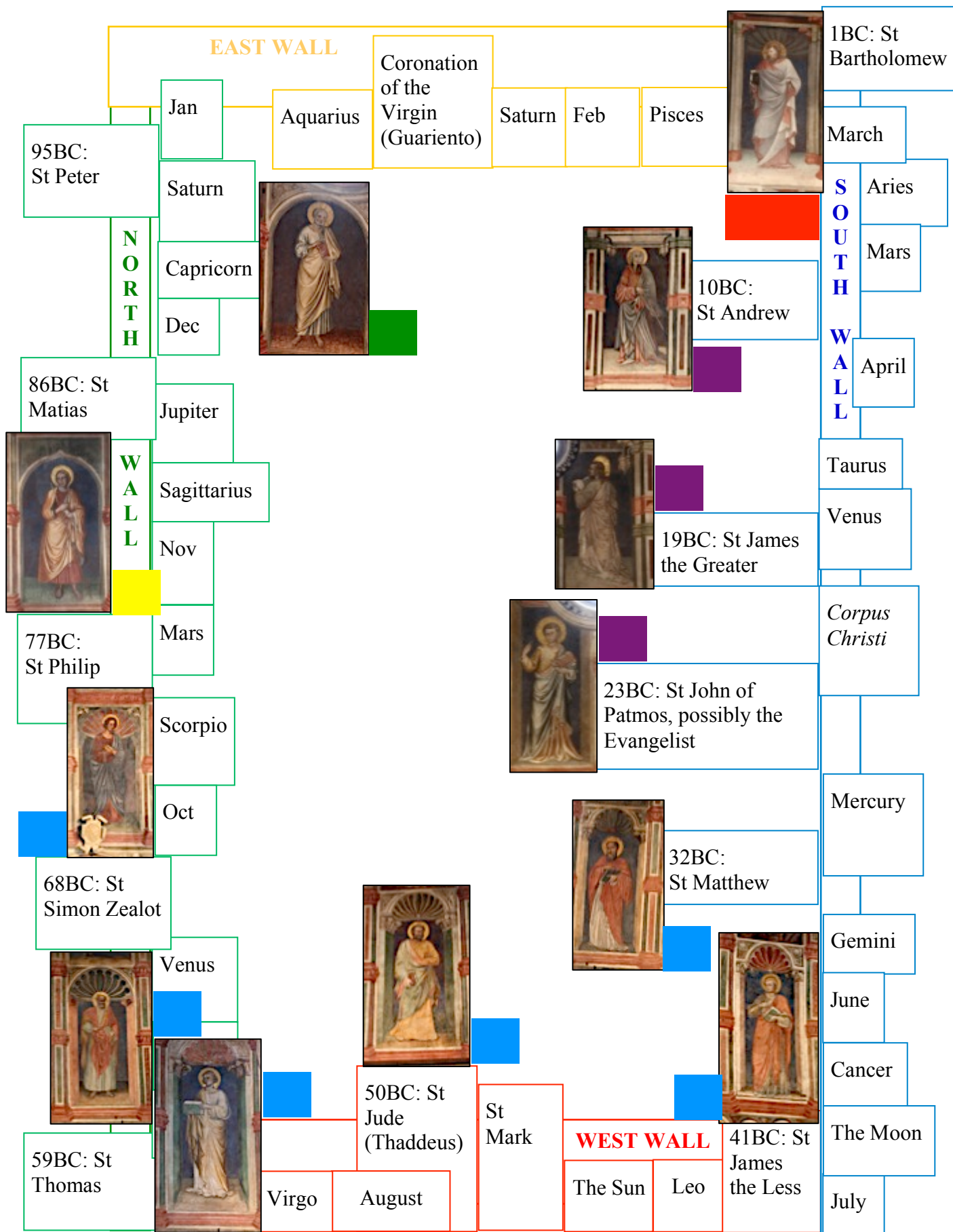


Figure 22. Visual schematic showing the placement of the month, zodiac sign, planet and the identification of the twelve apostles suggested by Gunzburg, as well as the indication of the types of niche in which each is placed: lintel (purple), scallop shell (blue), lintel and scallop shell (red), ogee (yellow) or Romanesque (green).

Order of the apostles

Having suggested a different reason for the identification of each the twelve apostles from the scholars in Table 20, and having eliminated the idea that the order of placement within the Salone scheme may cohere with the apostolic feast days, this then raises the question as to why Giotto placed the apostles in this order. The New Testament makes no reference to the seating arrangement of the twelve apostles at *The Last Supper*: ‘When evening came, Jesus was reclining at the table with the Twelve’ (Matthew 26:20); ‘When evening came, Jesus arrived with the Twelve. While they were reclining at the table eating, he said, “Truly I tell you, one of you will betray me—one who is eating with me.”’ (Mark 14:17-180; ‘When the hour came, Jesus and his apostles reclined at the table.’ (Luke 22:14); ‘The evening meal was in progress’ (John 13:2). Nor is there a direct correlation between seating order in Giotto’s Arena Chapel *Last Supper* fresco (Fig.5) and the order of the apostles in the Salone that I have suggested (Table 22 and Fig.22). Since I contend earlier in this thesis that the scheme has a profound cosmological underpinning, and that Giotto would not have placed the apostles where he did without an informed and carefully calculated reason for doing so, this apostolic order bears further research to which I will return at a future time.

In depicting the twelve Apostles, it is possible to suggest that the Commune wanted to make a statement that was bigger than local Paduan saints, perhaps wanting to give Padua a broader standing in a wider community. Stephen G. Nichols Jr. describes the purpose of a saint’s narrative as ‘not to inform people more accurately about their world and neighbours, but to show how the world mirrored God’s immanence, and therefore the subordination of the human to the divine.’¹⁸ Situating the twelve apostles on the middle and lower registers of the Salone frescoes, the level of the planets and the seasonal labours and crafts of working of life, offered the medieval, and later, viewers a visual reminder of the apostle’s ability to intercede between life on earth and the heavenly realm. In his work on understanding happiness, creativity, and human fulfilment, psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi observed that biblical parables endeavoured ‘to encode the hard-won experience of many individuals over unknown eons of time.’¹⁹ He continued

¹⁸ Stephen G. Nichols Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

¹⁹ Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, *Flow* (New York: HarperPerennial Modern Classics, 1990), p.29.

that ‘at its best, literature contains ordered information about behaviour, models of purpose, and examples of lives successfully patterned around meaningful goals.’²⁰ This ‘hard-won experience’ may have been placed in the law-courts in Padua through the images of the apostles as a visual guide to those in positions of passing judgment.

One final pattern has emerged whilst considering these apostles and that is the nature of the niche in which each apostle is placed. There are four distinct types of niche visible within these images: lintel, scallop shell, ogee arch, and Romanesque arch which I have colour coded in Figure 22. From late-February (start of Lent) to late-May (Corpus Christi) the apostles are portrayed standing under niches with lintels (purple markers), with the exception of the apostle from late-February to late-March (Lent) which also contains a scallop shell (red marker). From late-May to late-November the apostles are portrayed standing under scallop shells (blue markers), suggesting that this warm part of the year is the season for pilgrimage. From late-November to late-December (Advent) the apostle is portrayed standing under an ogee arch (orange marker). From late-December until late-February (Ordinary time and the cold part of the year) the apostle is portrayed under a Romanesque arch (green marker). These visual markers placed above the heads of the apostles, a form equivalent of liturgical colours, offer a further insight into the way the year was understood liturgically in Padua.

Conclusion

In this research I have sought to identify the saints who are depicted in the middle and lower registers of the Salone scheme as a way of understanding the nature of their placement within the scheme. The methodology that I used was first, to consider whether the saints were local Paduan saints or the twelve apostles by correlating the saints within the scheme with local Paduan saints depicted by Giusto de’Menabuoi in the Paduan Baptistery. This process determined that the Salone saints were the twelve apostles. I then considered how previous scholars had identified each of the apostles and whether there was a correlation between their apostolic nomenclature, their feast days, and their seasonal placement within the scheme. When this did not yield a direct correlation, then having observed a correlation between the image of St Peter in the Salone apostles and St Peter in the Arena Chapel frescoes, I used the Arena Chapel apostles in four of the

²⁰ Csikszentmihalyi, *Flow*, p.236.

narratives — *The Last Supper*, *Washing of the Feet*, *Pentecost* and *The Last Judgement* — as a template to examine the Salone apostles, looking at facial features and behavioural characteristics, mantle and tunic colour, and attribute. The examination provided a positive correspondence. I considered whether the order in which the apostles were placed in the Salone revealed meaning, such as reflecting the sequence of the apostles in the *Last Supper* in the New Testament or in the Arena Chapel fresco. I was unable to find any substantial evidence for the order of placement of the apostles in the Salone. This may require further research to which I will return at a future date. Finally I was able to gain information regarding the liturgical year by examining the four distinct niche types under which the apostles stood: lintel, scallop shell, ogee arch, and Romanesque arch.

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