

Ex Voto: Votive Giving Across Cultures

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THREE

Italian Ex-Votos and “Pro-Anima” Images in the Late Middle Ages

Michele Bacci

Iconic vs. Narrative Ex-Votos in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance

With the notable exceptions of Julius von Schlosser and Aby Warburg,¹ ex-votos have long been disregarded by art historians, who have tended to view them as cultural by-products deprived of aesthetic qualities. In Italy and Germany, they were mostly investigated by folklorists, cultural anthropologists, and local history scholars, who focused primarily on a special typology widespread in the modern era, that of the *tavolette dipinte*, or *tavolette votive*, which are still widespread in Marian shrines all over the Italian peninsula and far beyond (see, for example, fig. 1). Many of the images have appeared in detailed and well-illustrated books,² especially in the 1960s and 1970s, but it was not until 2013 that the first detailed art historical study of such objects was published by the American scholar Fredrika H. Jacobs.³

Most typically, such works play a distinctive role in the experience of modern holy sites. Accumulated and exhibited in the vicinity of a cult image, they bear immediate witness to its miracle-working power. They are most frequently marked with the inscription *per gratia ricevuta* (for an obtained grace), indicating their general function. They are intended to visually acknowledge a material advantage granted by God to specific individuals, mostly on the occasion of dangerous situations, such as serious diseases or accidents. Quadrangular in shape, they use standard compositional schemes to show a miraculous episode involving a single



Fig. 1. *Tavoletta dipinta*, Südtirol (South Tyrol / Alto Adige), 1766. Val Venosta / Vinschgau, Marian Shrine of Unsere Frau der Drei Brunnen. Photograph by author.

person. They look like the narrative scenes illustrating the hagiographic cycles of saints, in which a dangerous situation is associated with the apparition of a holy person in an upper register, usually within a cloud, which itself demarcates the earthly and the supernatural dimensions.⁴ In other words, the ex-voto image is deliberately formulaic and visually efficacious, pointing out that holy intercessors benefit ordinary people exactly as they are supposed to do in their most famous miracles, celebrated by standard religious iconography. This kind of composition is indeed not specific to Christianity; even in such contexts as Japanese Buddhism, one can find images displaying an analogous compositional structure (fig. 2). It would therefore be tempting to assume that “narrative votives” are panhuman expressions of devotion, unconnected to specific cultural contexts.

Nonetheless, the material evidence we can rely on indicates that the *tavoletta dipinta* first became widespread in the second half of the fifteenth century, that is, in the same period during which Catholic devotional life



Fig. 2. Japanese ex-voto panel, nineteenth century. Kodatsu-do, Todai-ji, Nara. Photograph by author.

was more and more committed to the worship of an increasing number of new Marian shrines. Establishing cultic phenomena associated with miraculous images and sites deemed to be holy encouraged the development of a specialized production of painted ex-votos meant to suit the needs of pious customers who aimed to visualize their specific worship by framing their favorite cultic icon within an almost endless number of narrative images documenting the icon's pedigree as miracle-worker.⁵ Their narrative character distinguished them from the figurative ex-votos most widespread in previous centuries, which were usually made out of wax, or less frequently, wood. The wax and wooden ex-votos consisted of generic reproductions of either anatomical parts or entire bodies and were intended not so much as marks of a miracle but rather as physical surrogates of the individual making a vow.⁶

In the Middle Ages, the vow was essentially intended as an act of self-dedication to God. In its most radical form, it implied the offering of oneself to the service of the Lord, for example, in a monastery or another religious institution. Any alternative form of donation to the Lord (or to his saints) was considered, more or less explicitly, as a surrogate for a self-offering; through its material value, shape, or symbolical mean-

ing, any alternative gift was meant to embody and replace the person making a vow. In this respect, it proved important to emphasize the association with particular donors in any possible way, either analogical or mimetic—for example, by offering goods (such as wheat, wine, or wax) in measures corresponding to the votary's weight, height, or age or by shaping wax objects as either whole bodies or body parts, meant to synecdochically evoke the illnesses from which votaries wanted to be saved.

Whole bodies such as those still found today in Cyprus (fig. 3) worked as a visual parallel to a state of general disease or ill health and, more metaphorically, spiritual or existential trouble. Animals and objects such as houses, ships, chariots, and barrels could be reproduced in wax as well. They were meant as surrogates for the goods that would enable an individual's personal wellness and therefore worked as metonymic symbols of their donors. Unlike the *tavolette dipinte*, wax ex-votos were meant to be offered to a church by people hoping to obtain a grace and, less frequently, as visual acknowledgments of a received benefit, working as

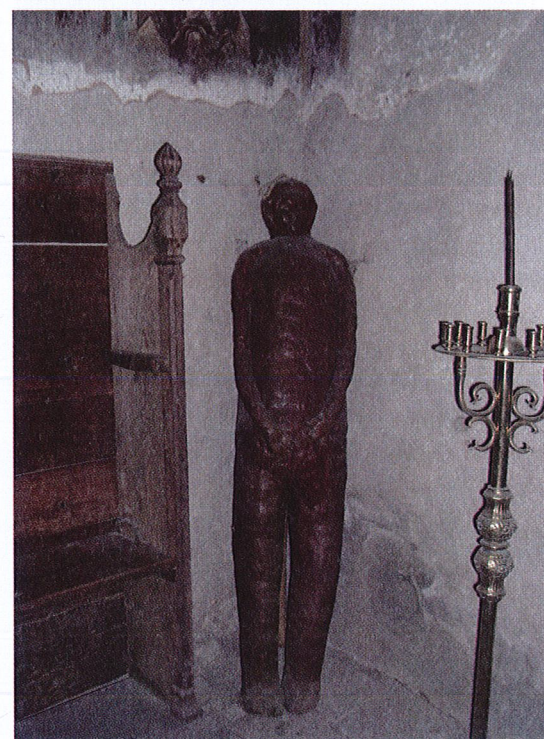


Fig. 3. Contemporary wax ex-votos. Cyprus. Photograph by author.

material messages addressed to God. As doppelgängers of their votaries, they crystallized their pleas and acts of self-offering and interacted with the images of holy figures exhibited in the sacred space. Many of them were shaped as kneeling figures with joined hands, manifesting their submission to their supernatural protectors. The relationship between human beings and saints in votive dynamics was imagined as a sort of bilateral agreement: acts of self-offering, even if only through a symbolic ersatz, engaged the holy addressee of a gift to intervene on behalf of its donors, either by granting them a spiritual benefit or by working as their spiritual advocate in the celestial court.⁷

Given that expressing a vow was originally deemed to be much more important than giving an account of an obtained grace, narrative images were rarely shaped in wax. A notable exception, however, is described in the *Vita* of the Franciscan friar, the Blessed Gerardo of Valenza, dating from 1347. This rather odd text, written by the Father Guardian of the friary at Pisa, Bartolomeo degli Albizi, tells how a Pisan citizen, falsely accused of murder and condemned to death, was unexpectedly saved by the celestial intercession of Gerardo as soon as he was invoked by that poor innocent. He recovered his freedom and immediately brought a complex wax ex-voto to the blessed friar's church: "As soon as he was free, he prepared the ex-voto and presented himself in front of the image of Saint Gerardo: there he offered a wax image of himself sitting on a table and tied with iron chains, his head lying on the block and the sword going to cut it. In this way he wanted to suggest that Saint Gerardo had unbound his chains and saved him from death."⁸ Notwithstanding its narrative character, the unusual wax object made for this Pisan prisoner did not correspond to the compositional features found in the later *tavolette dipinte*, where the representation of unlucky people falling from balconies or being run over by chariots is always associated with the image of the saint appearing high in the sky and putting an end to any dangerous situation. This offering, however, does not display a miracle but rather the peculiar circumstances under which the vow had been given. The emphasis is more on an individual's self-engagement in a special relationship with a holy intercessor than on the miraculous physical intervention in the terrestrial world.

Actually, many of the earliest votive panels, made at the end of the fifteenth century, exhibit a similar emphasis. Examples such as the panels preserved in the famous shrines of San Nicola in Tolentino, of the Santo in Padua, and of the Madonna del Monte in Cesena are character-



Fig. 4. Painted ex-voto panel of Pira del Zenoese, 1493. Santuario di San Nicola, Tolentino. Photograph by author.

ized by a variety of visual strategies and compositional formulas. Many of them are vertical panels that display iconic images, such as supplicants kneeling in front of a holy person, rather than narrative themes. A small painting dating from 1493 in Tolentino (fig. 4) includes an inscription accurately explaining the circumstances and motivations of the vow fulfilled by the image: "I, lady Pira, wife of the Genoese in Senigallia, I made a vow to this glorious saint on the event of my little son's malady: the vow was made and the grace was received. Here she has shown the child to master Anthony in the year 1493, August 11th, in Senigallia."⁹ Although one would expect that the image would represent the healed baby, instead a mother kneels near a baby's cradle, offering a prayer to Saint Nicholas of Tolentino, who appears in a cloud. "The vow was made and the grace was received." In other words, the actual import of the image is that whoever recommends himself or herself to the Augustinian saint will be immediately saved. In an almost contemporary work from the same collection, the visual connection to grace is even more evident: instead of kneeling, the ailing supplicant is shown praying in

his bed as his heavenly protectors appear in a cloud (fig. 5).¹⁰ Thirty or forty years later, another ex-voto, offered to the Madonna del Monte in Cesena, corresponds to the compositional structure of an altarpiece and echoes contemporary representations that placed emphasis on the interaction and physical relationship of pious individuals with major holy personages (fig. 6).¹¹ Maria from Mirandola is shown kneeling before the Mother of God, who is enthroned and flanked by Saint Francis and Saint Bernardino of Siena. According to the inscription, she has recommended herself to the Virgin because of her infirmity and has consequently been healed.

The only element shared by these two images is their imitation of conventional iconographic and compositional formulas, which are used to suit individual devotional needs. They stand out more for their diminutive size than for their visual qualities, inspired by the religious imagery used to embellish altars and chapels within the sacred space. During the sixteenth century, such "iconic" panels were almost universally replaced by narrative images, displaying the intervention of a saint in especially dangerous circumstances. The question I would like to explore is the ex-



Fig. 5. Painted ex-voto panel, late fifteenth century. Santuario di San Nicola, Tolentino. Photograph by author.



Fig. 6. Painted ex-voto panel, late fifteenth century. Madonna del Monte, Cesena. Photograph by author.

tent to which the painted ex-voto of the early Renaissance was indebted to functional and visual patterns already established in the Middle Ages. Were wax objects the only specifically figurative "genre" of votive gifts in the pre-Renaissance period, or can we assume that a specific form of votive painting had already been worked out before the fifteenth century? First, we have to take into account the medieval practice of offering as gifts images originally intended for other purposes.

Vowing a Sacred Image

In the late Middle Ages, religious iconography was perceived as a venerable Christian tradition, rooted in the apostolic era. It played a key role in devotional life as its increasingly intensive use in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries "delocalized" the cultic manifestations of holy

figures, which had been previously associated with geographically and historically determined places and objects.¹² The devotional success of the “new saints” promoted by the mendicant orders was enhanced by the spread of their images and by the elaborate presentation of their miracle-working qualities. Lay donors were chronologically and culturally closer to these new saints. They lived in the same society, spoke the same vernacular language, and shared the same views about the world. In other words, the new saints had a much stronger appeal than the more famous yet more distant saints of Christian antiquity. In turn, these new saints needed their worshippers. Believers promoted their public veneration and put pressure on ecclesiastic authorities for canonization, which slowly culminated in the making of a new, shared cult phenomenon.

Painted images of a pious friar emanating the odor of sanctity in death proved to be a very effective means to assert or rapidly enhance his renown. In the convent of Sant’Agostino in Norcia, Umbria, an effigy of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino was covered with votive offerings well before the Church officially authorized his veneration as a saint. This fact was quoted to assert the legitimacy of the friar’s cult during his canonization process in 1325.¹³ A frescoed image of the Blessed Gerardo (mentioned earlier) was displayed in the convent of San Francesco in Pisa in the same years that Friar Bartolomeo degli Albizi preached about his miracles. The wall painting focused the cultic phenomenon, which enjoyed success in Pisa, Tuscany, and in other areas of the northwestern Mediterranean. Friar Bartolomeo’s *Vita* and the *Treatise on Blessed Gerardo’s Miracles* attest to the key role played by images in the saint’s cultic success. Many replicas of the Pisan fresco were made on the initiative of individual devotees who benefited from his intercession (fig. 7). We can reconstruct the birth and spread of this image-focused cult phenomenon almost daily during 1346–1347 and learn that individual patrons engaged themselves in reproducing the archetypal image, first in Pisa and its *contado* (surrounding countryside), and next in the Franciscan convents of Pistoia, Lucca, Montepulciano, Genoa, and Majorca in the Balearic Islands. Friar Bartolomeo himself writes that two of his fellow friars obtained a grace by means of Gerardo’s intercession, promising to “preach him everywhere in the Marches, by promoting the making of his images.” He describes their returning “to the convent very joyfully. . . . While thanking God and his new saint Gerardo, they asked me to let somebody paint the saint’s image on a paper and to write down



Fig. 7. Saint Gerardo of Valenza and scene from a miracle in Pisa, 1350–1360. Mural painting. San Francesco, Lucignano d’Arbia (Siena). Photograph by author.

something about his life and his miracles, so that they could have it and bring it with them, given that they wanted to preach and make known what they had heard, seen and experienced about the new saint of Christ.” Even if Gerardo was never canonized, the friars had no doubts as to his status as a “new saint,” and the spread of his images strongly contributed to reinforce this belief.¹⁴

To diffuse knowledge of a celestial benefactor still seeking official approbation was an effective way of thanking him or her properly. The prospective saint’s identity as a miracle worker needed to be revealed and published by constructing and disseminating an image made according to the visual conventions of religious iconography: haloed, in frontal pose, and with a severe countenance. The *Vita* of the Blessed Agnes of Assisi mentions a painter named Palmerio, who, in exchange for his

brother's health and survival, promised to represent the Clarissan nun with a "golden crown," that is, with a round halo, whenever he painted her.¹⁵ In making this vow, the artist was aware that he undertook a professional risk: a member of the clergy or some zealous layman could point out that such an attribute was reserved for canonized saints, whereas the blessed ought to be represented with just a rayed aureole. Did the "iconographic" consecration of new saints risk transforming public devotion into a fashionable phenomenon? The late fourteenth-century writer Franco Sacchetti posed this question, observing that the devotees, being more and more fond of "new" saints, tended to ignore and dismiss the traditional holy figures (including Christ). The devotees were also quickly coming to think that a consecration through images had always preceded the official acknowledgment of sanctity by Church authorities. In this way, they were encouraged to believe that the cult of all saints "started in this form—that the blessed was initially represented with rays at the feet [of a saint] and that the rays were quickly transformed into crowns, and the blessed into a saint."¹⁶

Both murals and panels could conveniently honor the celestial benefactor in the votive dialogue. One of the testimonies in the canonization process for Friar Nicholas mentions a vow to paint the saint's image near his sepulcher in Tolentino, hinting at a wall painting.¹⁷ Not less worship-worthy must have been the gift a Venetian merchant presented before the tomb of the Franciscan nun, Blessed Michelina in Pesaro, which is described in her *Vita* as "unam tabbulam dippintam in maginam beate sancte Michiline" (a painted panel after the image of Blessed Michelina).¹⁸ Such paintings were both large and small: the "tabbulam magnam sue picture" (the big panel of his painting) offered by a citizen of Monticiano (Siena) to the Augustinian Blessed Anthony of Siena short after 1311 was very likely an altarpiece,¹⁹ whereas the "tabulam parvulam cum hostiolis" (the little panel with small doors) placed before the frescoed icon of Blessed Gerardo in Pisa on May 29, 1346 (as scrupulously reported by Bartolomeo degli Albizi), was a small devotional triptych, or better, a painted panel provided with doors.²⁰ In my view, there is no need to consider this work as a forerunner of the *tavolette dipinte*; it is more likely that it was just a piece of domestic furnishing that had been part of the devotee's devotional practice and may next have been given to the church in fulfillment of a vow.²¹

A vow might, however, be part of a wider decoration campaign. Witness the Franciscan pilgrim Antonio de' Reboldi's travelogue, written in 1331, in which he explains that the cycle of mural paintings (*ystoria*) in

his convent in Cremona, displaying the life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, was made in fulfillment of a vow made during a pilgrimage to the Mount Sinai monastery:

On that same Friday, i.e., on February 15th [1331] we were almost dead of thirst, given that we did not dare drink our water which was no more drinkable [as it had been contaminated by camel's dung]. . . . After prayers, sighs, tears, and sobs, thanks to Saint Catherine's intercession in favor of her pilgrims, the divine mercy provided us unexpectedly with some good water: this roused everybody's admiration and wonder. Because of this miracle the story of Saint Catherine is painted in our church, in fulfillment of the vow made then by a merchant from Piacenza, who was with us and was named Giovanni di Rosal.²²

Representing the Act of Self-Vowing

Although the sources mentioned so far describe images offered to a church in fulfillment of a vow, they fail to indicate whether such images were characterized by standardized features. We can suppose that many such paintings included the image of the kneeling donor with joined hands but usually lacked explicit visual hints at either the obtained benefit or the event underlying the making of the image. Donors' portraits served to represent the individual's submission to his or her spiritual protector. Inscriptions that record the circumstances of votive offering are also rare. In the cave-church of Lecceto near Siena, a politician, the *magnificus senator* of the Sienese republic Antonio di Pietro da San Raimondo, ordered that he would be represented as kneeling before Pope Urban V and that it be clearly written that the new saint had healed him during the pestilence of 1374.²³ Another inscription, on the now lost panel of the Blessed Gregorio Celli in Rimini Cathedral, stated that it had been made *ex voto Antonii Ambrosii de Verucolo anno Domini 1380*.²⁴ This is the first clear witness of the Latin formula for an ex-voto, which is repeated (*Gaspar de San Steph[ano] ex voto*) in the subsequent century in a painting displaying the Blessed Gerardo in the Church of Santa Maria de Abbatissis near Ancona.²⁵

Late medieval iconography rarely emphasizes the votive associations of a religious image. The Franciscan church at Asciano, Siena, is dotted



Fig. 8. Saint Louis of Toulouse and a woman recovering her baby, ca. 1350. Mural painting. San Francesco, Asciano (Siena). Photograph by author.



Fig. 9. Virgin and Child and Saint Leonhard with one possessed, ca. 1400. Mural painting. San Pietro all'Orto, Massa Marittima. Photograph by author.

with a chaotic sequence of fourteenth-century wall paintings, many of which include isolated figures of children, indicating that they were made on the initiative of parents who wished to honor those spiritual intercessors who had answered their requests for help. This impression is corroborated by the unusual and emotionally charged scene included at the bottom of a fresco representing Saint Louis of Toulouse, where a modestly dressed woman is stretching out her arms in the direction of a little boy (fig. 8),²⁶ a gesture that probably indicates the unexpected recovery of a missing child. Similarly, a passage in the *Vita* of Michelina da Pesaro mentions a sailor's wife who, in exchange for the healing of her young son Venturuccio, promised to the blessed nun to "have an image made, representing Saint Michelina in company of the child himself."²⁷

Images of demoniacs ejecting devils from their mouth, as shown in a fresco at the Massa Marittima at San Pietro all'Orto, also clearly hint at a miraculous healing (fig. 9). An ex-voto that takes up the subject of a vow is evident when kneeling figures are represented in the act of holding instruments of torture, such as fetters and handcuffs, which serve as pictorial tokens of the material offering of ex-votos to the saint supposed to have mediated (both in actuality and symbolically) an individual's release. In an early fourteenth-century mural in the Church of San Bartolomeo degli Armeni in Perugia (originally owned by a community of the Armenian diaspora in Italy), we encounter the members of an entire family, including a monk, as they present wax handcuffs to the holy horseman Sergius (fig. 10).²⁸ Even more impressive is a fresco of Saint Romualdus, painted by Tomaso da Modena around 1350 in the Church of San Nicolò in Treviso.²⁹ Two figures—a woman with a pair



Fig. 10. Saint Sergius and supplicants, ca. 1330. Mural painting. San Bartolomeo degli Armeni, Perugia. Photograph by author.



Fig. 11. Tomaso da Modena, Saint Romualdus and two supplicants, ca. 1350. Mural painting. San Nicolò, Treviso. Photograph by author.



Fig. 12. Saint Donnino and a man attacked by a dog, ca. 1420. Mural painting. Abbey church, Montepiano (Prato). Photograph by author.

of handcuffs hanging from her dress and a man with his clothes unbuttoned as a sign of humility and penance—kneel at the feet of the Camaldolite saint (fig. 11).

Further ex-voto compositions represent prayers for healing. A late fourteenth-century panel now in the Bishopric of Koper (Capodistria) represents the entreaties of a nude man, whose emaciated and suffering body is deliberately emphasized, to a locally worshipped saint, Bishop Absalon (1220). This seems to indicate that the image was made to thank that saint for obtaining the recovery of a sick person.³⁰ Another ex-voto image is an early fifteenth-century mural in the Abbey of Montepiano in the Apennines of Prato, in which a dog and a young man with a bleeding cheek are represented at the feet of Saint Donnino, who specialized in healing victims of rabid dog bites (fig. 12).³¹

It was not rare for images to emphasize self-recommendation, instead of illustrating, as one could expect, the miraculous event itself. The display of narrative scenes seems to have been the exception rather than the rule, and it is hardly corroborated by extant textual sources. At the end of the thirteenth century Friar Recuperus of Arezzo spoke of "images of the manifested miracles" (*imagines patratorum miraculorum*) to hint at some of the votive offerings being regularly brought to the tomb of the Sienese Dominican Ambrogio Sansedoni, yet the expression is vague and does not necessarily imply that they were painted narratives. Rather, it indicates only that those objects—because of their quantity and quality—revealed that the friar did perform many miracles and was therefore to be considered a saint.³² A lady named Iacopuzza bore witness on the occasion of the canonization process of Nicholas of Tolentino to his healing powers: "When asked about [the saint's] further miracles, she answered that many people come uninterruptedly and every year, especially on his feast day, to thank the Blessed Nicholas, with various votive images of resurrected dead, of illuminated blind, and of people healed from different and multifarious illnesses."³³ Some scholars have interpreted this passage as a reference to the early spread of the *tavolette dipinte*.³⁴ Even in this case, however, the passage, written in notarial language, does not clearly indicate that the ex-votos Iacopuzza saw were narrative compositions illustrating miraculous events. It just states that the people bringing gifts (probably just wax objects) to Saint Nicholas included individuals healed from various kinds of disease.

Occasionally, narrative compositions were used to convey allegorical meanings. A sculpted relief in the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples represents the personification of Death residing over a multitude of corpses, including a man with a sack filled with gold coins. "I want to give you all this," says the man in the inscription reported on a scroll, "if you let me survive." The crowned skeleton replies: "If you could give as much as one can ask, you could not be saved from death, if this is your destiny." The central tablet insists on the principle that death is inescapable, whereas an inscription explains why Franceschino da Brigale commissioned this work in the year 1361: he decided to celebrate the fact that he had survived two pestilences, when "all others were drowned."³⁵ This object, which Franceschino calls a *memoria*, is unique in medieval art. It is more than a simple ex-voto: the material employed simulates the appearance of a tomb slab—that same tomb slab under which he would have been interred had he died of pestilence.

Objects that look like the *tavolette dipinte* appear in the first half of the fifteenth century. A case in point is a medium-size panel, 17 × 30 inches (43 × 76.5 cm), now in the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris. An inscription reveals that this image was made in fulfillment of a vow made on October 14, 1432, by a Sister Sara who had prayed that two duelists would resolve to make peace. Even if such features as the horizontal shape of the panel and the focus on the vow fulfilled are typical of the later *tavolette*, the lack of narrative in this work is striking. It appears to be composed of two juxtaposed schemes: the donor kneeling before his or her celestial intercessor and two knights embracing each other as reconciled enemies making peace.³⁶

The Parisian panel is a forerunner but not yet a representative of the standardized votive panels of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Nevertheless, in 1470 Andrea Giontini, rescued from a shipwreck, chose to celebrate the grace obtained by Saint Nicholas of Bari's intercession by commissioning a panel that replaced the predella of a polyptych painted fifty years earlier for the parish church of Santa Maria dell'Arzilla in his native village, Candelara, in the Marches.³⁷ The predella for the earlier work was retained for the painting Giontini commissioned of a vessel at the mercy of the waves and the saint himself, kneeling on the coastline and offering his intercession prayers. In this way, the votive image embellished an existing altarpiece that was viewed by priests celebrating Mass and contributed to the spiritual health of their lay benefactors.

Indeed, one must await the fifteenth century to find monumental narrative images of miraculous events. A rather extraordinary example is a hitherto neglected mural painting, dating from the early fifteenth century, in the Church of San Francesco in Lucignano d'Arbia, Siena, in which the Blessed Michelina of Pesaro's engagement in the rescue of some sea travelers from a shipwreck off Venice is represented in a very animated way (fig. 13).³⁸ The view of "la Serenissima" shows the ducal palace and the column of Saint Theodore, while the ship in the foreground is caught by a storm somewhere in the Adriatic.³⁹ The wind's fury is personified by the devil, who tries to destroy the mainmast and tear the sails. But the archangel Michael waits, ready to strike with his sword. The agitated scene on deck makes evident what has caused the archangel to intervene: although most of sailors and travelers are panic-stricken, a Franciscan friar is quick to ask for the intercession of the Blessed Michelina; to make this even more evident, he exposes a cloth decorated with the image of the new and powerful saint. It is implied



Fig. 13. Rescue from a shipwreck in the Adriatic. Sienese, early fifteenth century. Mural painting. San Francesco, Lucignano d'Arbia. Photograph by author.

that Michelina heard her devotee's call for help and that her prayers proved to be effective enough to cause Michael to arrive and defeat Satan.

Onshore, two kneeling friars who thank their supernatural defender for her powerful intercession make explicit the circumstances which led to the making of this votive image—the rescue of two Franciscans, associated with the convent at Lucignano, from a shipwreck in the Adriatic. The time was ripe for the spread of figurative ex-votos, even if they did not yet constitute a specific genre of painting. As we have seen, medieval

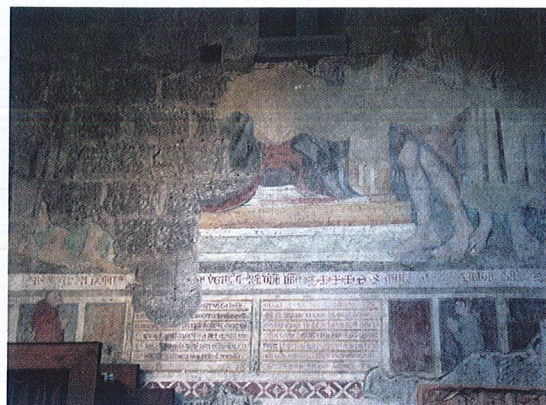
votive images were not characterized by any distinctive hallmarks as to their form, typology, or iconography. On the contrary, the visual repertoire of contemporary religious imagery could be invested with votive meanings, even if they were only rarely made explicit. As we will see in the following section, most of these images were not made in fulfillment of a vow or with the aim of obtaining a material benefit. For the most part, they aimed at visualizing different devotional perspectives and were more concerned with the hereafter than with the material world.

“Votive” Murals and “Pro-Anima” Images

In art historical discourse, the expression “votive frescoes” is conventionally used to describe those murals that are not part of a wider decorative program and are displayed as isolated, self-contained images on a church wall. Such images were almost unknown in Byzantine and early medieval art, but they constituted a distinctive pattern of Western church decoration from the thirteenth century onward. Especially within mendicant churches, the west end of the nave—which was reserved for the laity and dotted with tomb slabs and side altars—was frequently characterized by a chaotic array of stylistically and chronologically multifarious frescoed images, mostly displaying saints' portraits, but not infrequently consisting of isolated Gospel narratives and allegorical themes. In such contexts the combination of different themes suited the specific devotional orientations of particular donors. As Fabio Bisogni has remarked, such “iconographic agglomerates” are meant to give expression to the personality and religious feelings of the individuals who made use of them in their quest for salvation.⁴⁰ Their aim was not so much to thank one's special intercessors for a received grace, as to supplicate them to plead with Christ on behalf of an individual's soul, according to a rather restrictive and utilitarian interpretation of the communion of saints.

The request for the soul's sake expressed by this kind of image is not associated with a specific episode of an individual's life, as is the case with images made in fulfillment of a vow. Rather, the image implies the larger perspective of an individual's destiny in the hereafter, something that was considered in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to be imminent. The act of self-dedication is frequently represented within specifically funerary contexts, and contemporary sources bear witness to

Fig. 14. Extract of the wills of Lucio of messer Pietro and the archpriest Rainerio del Cardinale, accompanied by their portraits as supplicants, ca. 1330. Mural painting. Santa Maria Nuova, Viterbo. Photograph by author.



the custom of burial close to holy images or to the association of murals and panels with sepulchers.⁴¹ It can thus be supposed that placement of individual tombs would lead to the decoration of the lower portion of an adjacent church wall with murals displaying themes of devotion and salvation, such as the *imago pietatis* (man of sorrows). Images also appeared in side altars intended for the performance of masses for the souls of the dead. Such altars were erected on the initiative of individuals and associated with a chaplaincy (a land rent that was to be used to maintain the chaplain, the priest entrusted to celebrate the offices). Before the Counter-Reformation, such side altars multiplied unimpeded and dotted interior spaces, even in such odd locations as against pillars and columns, as well as along the nave walls.

The chaplain would have faced portraits and other distinctive marks of individual devotees during the performance of the commemorative rites of those persons who had commissioned them. We can better understand this “secular intrusion” into the sacred space by looking at a mural painting made in the 1310s or 1320s to decorate a niche chapel in the nave of the Church of Santa Maria Nuova in Viterbo (fig. 14). Below the main composition—a Virgin and Child enthroned and flanked by saints—are two kneeling figures, a priest and a layman, whose identities are revealed by an inscription. They are Lucio of messer Pietro and the archpriest Rainerio del Cardinale, who both bequeathed a great sum of money and wished to be rewarded with the performance of an adequate number of masses and anniversaries as well as the yearly and spiritually advantageous distribution of food to the poor.⁴²

Postmortem charity was considered to be a very effective way to make amends for an individual’s sins and to earn a sort of guarantee for the hereafter. The well-to-do, not to speak of merchants and usurers, were persuaded the sins could be “bought back” by disposing a good percentage of one’s property for the performance of charitable acts for both the have-nots and ecclesiastical institutions, which were consequently bound to offer prayers and masses as counter gifts. In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, wills for the performance of charitable acts were more and more frequently flanked by dispositions concerning ornaments and figurative embellishments (including murals, painted panels, and statues), especially within mendicant churches.⁴³ In most cases, the wills gave no precise indication as to compositional and iconographic details; thus, either the clergy or the testamentary executors were expected to select effective artistic designs. Some extant texts, however, bear witness to the testators’ wish to use the work itself as a visual strategy to clearly express their desire to obtain a specific saint’s privileged intercession. This was to be done by selecting the holy figures to be displayed and by giving portraits distinctive attributes. A highly significant passage from the testament dictated by a merchant from Lucca in 1373 makes the point:

Item, for Christ’s sake and for his soul’s health and the remission of his sins, he judged, disposed and ordered that an honorable panel be made under the supervision of his undermentioned fideicommissaries and heirs. This should include the painted image of the most blessed Virgin Mary with the figure of Our Lord Jesus Christ as a Child in Her arms, in a nice and adorned way, as well as the images of Saint Zita, the Volto Santo, Saint Urban the Pope and John the Baptist, and the image or figure of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle and the image of Saint Concordius. They should be represented so that their face and eyes be oriented in such a way, take such a posture and show such an appearance as to create the impression that their faces and eyes be turned to one side and one direction, in such a posture and such a look as to suggest that the abovementioned saints pray the Lord Jesus Christ and the most blessed Virgin Mary for the sake of the testator’s soul and for the remission of his sins. Below the images of all those saints should be painted the image of the testator himself, kneeling and with joined hands, in the way of a person being in the act of supplicating [God] with utmost humility and of presenting a petition in favor of himself.⁴⁴

We can hardly find a more explicit indication of the importance attributed to iconographic invention as a strategy to express individual devotion and one's own desire of salvation in the afterlife. Such feelings as terror and hope, awareness of sinfulness and trust in the saints' intercessory power, are projected onto the image. The composition should assert clearly that individual supplication, if sustained by the humility of a sincerely contrite heart, will be favorably accepted by the celestial inhabitants so that the supplicant's soul might be rewarded with a discount of penance during its stay in purgatory.

The Portrait as a Means of Devotional Expression

The devotional portrait, as the merchant's testament makes clear, is a compositional formula meant to exhibit an individual commitment to a holy person. It would make no sense to have a self-contained image, because its *raison d'être* lies in the relationship it maintains with the saint's figure: donors are interested in emphasizing their association, in both this and the forthcoming life, with the protagonists of Christian religion. This purpose is fulfilled effectively by a self-representation more than by inscriptions and/or coats-of-arms. A great number of compositional, iconographic, and stylistic formulas were worked out to evoke the meeting of two different spheres of reality: the individual's earthly and finite dimension and the saints' supernatural and metahistorical world.

The supplicant's position is particularly important in religious compositions. A widespread formula in the mural painting of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy is the juxtaposition of a saint's mural icon with a diminutive square space that includes a kneeling donor's representation. An early fourteenth-century example can be found in Santa Maria Maggiore in Tuscania, in which a layman addresses his prayer to Saint Bartholomew.⁴⁵ In such cases the separation of the divine and human dimensions is clear-cut: the supplicant and his intercessor live in separate spaces. In other instances, kneeling figures are represented on the frame, which gives expression to the individual's wish to pass from this world to celestial heights. All things considered, the inclusion of supplicants within the composition proves to be the most widespread compositional formula. In the course of the fourteenth century, portraits of individuals were not only displayed at the feet of their supernatural protectors but also inserted into narrative images. They appear on the Golgotha

hill close to Mary Magdalene in the Crucifixion image and between the figures of Gabriel and Mary in the Annunciation scene; they watch such events as the *Mystical Marriage of Saint Catherine* and the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis*; and they even slip into the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter the Martyr* and the *Communion of Mary of Egypt*.⁴⁶

The second important compositional element is dimension. The oldest representations of lay penitents emphasize a strong asymmetry between the penitents and their holy counterparts, to such an extent that in the thirteenth century the diminutive size was used to symbolize the insignificant and miserable nature of humans. This is even the case for representations of popes, such as the kneeling figure of Honorius III in the apse mosaic of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome.⁴⁷ Although still present in fourteenth-century Italian art, dimensional hierarchy is combined with a tendency to increase the donors' height to give expression to their wish to be physically involved in the holy narrative. An extraordinary example is the celebrated *Lamentation* by Giotto (ca. 1365) preserved in the Florence Uffizi, in which the size of the two donors is only slightly reduced, which allows them to be seen as active participants in the holy figures' sorrow for Christ's sacrifice.⁴⁸

If a composition includes both terrestrial and celestial figures, how can the painter manage to render different levels of reality? Although the most obvious and more diffused strategies emphasize position and dimensions, if the holy figures are rendered according to conventional schemes, the supplicant's image can be more effectively distinguished by a more realistic rendering of his or her physiognomic traits. Mimetic characterization, rather than an analogical evocation, could eventually work as a way to accentuate the association of a supplicant's image with a concrete individual, as was sometimes the case even in the context of full-body wax statues.⁴⁹ If we consider, however, that most such images were made after the testator's death and not infrequently also many years later, there is good reason to doubt that the reproduction of his or her facial features could be very accurate. Could mimetic forms be automatically and unequivocally perceived as indexes of individual appearance? It is indeed possible that "realistic" portraits could work as formulaic strategies to emphasize the supplicant's terrestrial nature in relation to his or her otherworldly counterparts.

Last but not least, a number of compositions emphasize the physical interaction of donors with their celestial defenders. Supplicants could exhibit their own self-dedication by various means, for instance, by wear-



Fig. 15. A couple asking for the intercession of Saint Peter and the Virgin Mary, ca. 1330. Mural painting. San Giovenale, Orvieto. Photograph by author.

ing humble clothing (such as the sackcloth of the kneeling couple in Treviso, shown in figure 11, or the habit of mendicant friars, which was frequently used for corpses on the funeral day⁵⁰) or by holding devotional objects, such as rosaries, yet the language of gesture constitutes the most obvious means to render a dialogue between saints and individuals. In the Church of San Giovenale in Orvieto, which contains one of the richest and best-preserved groups of “votive” murals, a rather *sui generis* mural panel dating from the 1330s displays the intercession of Saint Peter and the Virgin Mary in favor of a lay couple (fig. 15). The Madonna lays her left hand on the woman’s head, who looks at her with her hands joined in a gesture of prayer, whereas the Virgin’s right hand is raised upward and manifests her engagement in defending her supplicant’s quest for salvation. The woman’s husband reaches out toward the prince of apostles with his arms and even manages to touch his fingertips. This awkward image represents a borderline case of iconographical alteration meant to suit an individual desire that cannot really be

gratified, that of establishing a direct, even physical contact with one’s supernatural advocates.

In sum, even if a number of late medieval images include visual hints of their being made in fulfillment of a vow, as visual strategies to thank saints for an obtained grace, much more widespread was the depiction of an individual’s or a group’s desire for salvation in the hereafter. Such practices were strictly connected with the use of testamentary bequests to improve the sumptuous appearance of churches: in return for their support, testators could appropriate segments of the sacred space and associate them with their strategies for the soul’s sake. Coats-of-arms, inscriptions, and portraits included within the religious images sponsored by individuals contributed to visualize this connection. In some cases, however, lay donors went so far as to give shape to thoroughly unprecedented images, whose compositional and iconographic features were no longer meant to give expression to universal religious meanings but rather to visualize a dead person’s special expectations for good luck in his or her otherworldly life.

NOTES

1. Aby Warburg, *Bildniskunst und florentinisches Bürgertum* (Leipzig, 1902); Julius von Schlosser, “Geschichte der Porträtbildnerei in Wachs: Ein Versuch,” *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 29, no. 3 (1911): 171–258, reprinted as *Tote Blicke: Geschichte der Porträtbildnerei in Wachs; Ein Versuch*, ed. Thomas Medicus (Berlin: Akademie, 1993).
2. For a bibliographical companion to such studies in the Italian context, see Paolo Toschi, *Bibliografia degli ex voto italiani* (Florence: Olschki, 1970); Anna Maria Tripputi, *Bibliografia degli ex voto* (Bari: Malagrino, 1995).
3. Fredrika H. Jacobs, *Votive Panels and Popular Piety in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).
4. On the compositional and functional relationship between painted ex-votos and hagiographic cycles, see Élisabeth Antoine, “L’ex-voto, don symbolique: Recherches sur la naissance des tablettes votives en Italie centrale,” in *Recherches sur l’économie ecclésiastique à la fin du Moyen Âge: Autour des collégiales de Savoie* (Annecy: Académie Salésienne, 1991), 169–179, and “L’image d’un saint thaumaturge: Les ex-voto de Saint-Nicolas de Tolentino (XVe–milieu XVIe siècle),” *Revue Mabillon* 68 (1996): 183–208.
5. In relation to Marian shrines of the Counter-Reformation period, Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser speculate about the “transformative” power of gifts in shaping the holiness of a cultic image. See Jane Garnett and Gervase Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles: Transforming Images in Italy from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Reaktion, 2013), 142–156.

6. Wolfgang Brückner, "Volkstümliche Denkstrukturen und hoschichtliches Weltbild im Votivwesen," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 59 (1963): 186–203; Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex voto: Zeichen, Bild und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauch* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1972); Giovan Battista Bronzini, "Ex voto' e cultura religiosa popolare: Problemi d'interpretazione," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 15 (1979): 3–27; Emilia De Simoni, ed., *Ex voto tra storia e antropologia: Atti del convegno promossa dal Museo nazionale delle arti e tradizioni popolari e dall'Associazione italiana di studi storico-antropologici*, Roma 15–16 aprile 1983 (Rome: De Luca, 1986); Adolf Reinle, *Das stellvertretende Bildnis: Plastiken und Gemälde von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Artemis, 1990); Georges Didi-Huberman, *Ex-voto: Image, organe, temps* (Paris: Bayard, 2006).
7. On medieval ex-votos in general, see Susanne Waldmann, *Die lebensgroße Wachsfigur: Eine Studie zu Funktion und Bedeutung der keroplastischen Porträtsfigur vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Tuduv, 1990); Pierre-Jean Trombetta, "L'ex-voto au Moyen Âge: Un phénomène sous-estimé," in *Medieval Europe Brugge 1997: Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference, Religion and Belief in Medieval Europe"* (Zellik: Instituut voor Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997), 4:255–264; Élizabéth Antoine, "Ex voto," in *Encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. André Vauchez, Richard Barrie Dobson, and Michael Lapidge (Chicago: Routledge, 2000), 1:512–513; Michele Bacci, "Votive Offerings," in *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopaedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*, ed. Carl Lindahl, John McNamara, and John Lindow (Santa Barbara, CA: Garland, 2000), 1021–1025; Michele Bacci, "Pro remedio animae": Immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale (secoli XIII e XIV) (Pisa: GISEM-ETS, 2000); Fabio Bisogni, "La scultura in cera nel Medioevo," *Iconographica* 1 (2002): 1–15; Michele Bacci, "L'individu en tant que prototype dans les ex-voto médiévaux," *Degrés* 145–146 (Spring–Summer 2011): 1–14. On ex-votos in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, see Megan Holmes, "Ex-Votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult," in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael W. Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 159–181; Robert Maniura, "Ex Votos, Art and Pious Performance," *Oxford Art Journal* 32 (2009): 409–442; Christopher S. Wood, "The Votive Scenario," *Res* 59/60 (2011): 206–227. Important case studies include Anne-Marie Bautier, "Typologie des ex-voto mentionnés dans les textes antérieurs à 1200," in *Actes du 99e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Besançon 1974: Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610*, vol. 1: *La piété populaire au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1977), 231–282; Pierre-André Sigal, "L'ex-voto au Moyen Âge dans les régions du nord-ouest de la Méditerranée (XIIe–XIVe siècles)," *Provence historique* 33 (1983): 13–31; Christine Edith Janotta, "Objektstiftung und Wallfahrt im Mittelalter," in *Materielle Kultur und religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 109–122; Barbara Schuh, "Willtu gesund werden, so bring ain waxen pildt in mein capellen . . .": Votivgaben in Mirakelberichten," in *Symbole des Alltags—Alltag der Symbole: Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Gertrud Blaschitz and Helmut Hundsbichler (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1992), 747–763.
8. Bartolomeo degli Albizi, "Miracula sancti Gerardi [c. 1347]," ed. F. Rotolo, "Il trattato dei miracoli del b. Gerardo Cagnoli, O. Min. (1267–1342) di fra Bartolomeo Albizi, O. Min. († 1351)," *Miscellanea francescana* 66 (1966): 140.
9. "Io dona Pira, mulir del Zenoese in Senegala, siando amalato el so' mamulo e' feci votu a questo glorioso santo: fato 'l votu, riciuta la gratia per miraculi, qui ha mostrato a mastro Antonio il bambino MCCCC e noantatrè a' di XI de agustu in Senegala." M. Giannatiempo López, *Per grazia ricevuta: Gli ex voto del Museo di San Nicola a Tolentino* (Tolentino: Biblioteca Egidiana, Convento San Nicola, 2005), 373, fig. 3.
10. Ibid., 374, fig. 11.
11. L. Novelli-M. Massacesi, *Ex voto del santuario della Madonna del Monte di Cesena* (Forlì: Società Tipografica Forlivese, 1961), 31–35. See also F. Faranda, "Fides tua te salvum fecit": I dipinti votivi nel santuario di Santa Maria del Monte a Cesena (Modena: Artioli, 1997); and Loretta Vandi, "Connessioni tra miniatura e pittura votiva: I casi della basilica del Monte di Cesena," *Studi romagnoli* 47 (1996): 527–543.
12. A. Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École Française, 1988), 524–529.
13. "Processus canonizationis Sancti Nicolai a Tolentino," in *Il processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, ed. N. Occhioni (Rome: Padri Agostiniani di Tolentino, 1984), 455.
14. Bartolomeo Albizi, "Miracula beati Gerardi," chap. 8, par. 7, ed. Rotolo, *Il trattato*, 180.
15. *Chronica XXIV generalium ministrorum*, in *Analecta franciscana* (Quaracchi, 1897), 3:179.
16. Franco Sacchetti, letter to Jacopo di Conte, in *I sermoni evangelici, le lettere ed altri scritti di Franco Sacchetti*, ed. O. Gigli (Florence: Le Monnier, 1857), 214. See also Fabio Bisogni, "Raggi e aureole ossia la distinzione della santità," in *Con l'occhio e col lume: Atti del corso seminariale di studi su S. Caterina da Siena (25 settembre–7 ottobre 1995)*, ed. Luigi Trenti and Bente Klange Addabbo (Siena: Cantagalli, 1999), 349–351.
17. *Processus canonizationis Sancti Nicolai a Tolentino*, 420–421.
18. "Ista sunt miracula que Deus fecit per sanctam Michilinam de Pensaro," in J. Dalarn, *La sainte et la cité: Micheline de Pesaro († 1356) tertiaire franciscaine* (Rome: École Française, 1992), 191.
19. *Vita brevis aliorum fratrum Heremitarum*, par. 10, ed. R. Arbesmann, "A Legendary of Early Augustinian Saints," *Analecta augustiniana* 29 (1966): 42–43.
20. Bartolomeo Albizi, *Legenda beati Gerardi*, par. 36, ed. Rotolo, *Il trattato*, 407.
21. See the alternative view of Victor M. Schmidt, "Tipologie e funzioni della pittura senese su tavola," in *Duccio: Siena fra tradizione bizantina e mondo gotico*, ed. Alessandro Bagnoli, Roberto Bartolini, Luciano Bellosi, and Michel Lacotte (Siena: Monte dei Paschi, 2003), 564–565.

22. Fra' Antonio de' Reboldi da Cremona, *Itinerarium ad sepulchrum Domini*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht, "Das Itinerarium ad sepulchrum Domini des Antonius de Reboldi de Cremona," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 13 (1890): 169–170.
23. N. Fagnoli, "Lecceto: La chiesa di San Salvatore nel Trecento," in *Lecceto e gli eremi agostiniani in terra di Siena* (Siena, 1990), 189–194.
24. O. Delucca, "Ex voto del Riminese tra la fine del XIV e l'inizio del XVI secolo," *Studi romagnoli* 46 (1995): 269.
25. A. Vastano, "Quattordici schede di restauro," in *Quaderni della Galleria nazionale delle Marche* (Urbino, 1980): 23–24.
26. Bacci, "Pro remedio animae," 214–215.
27. "Ista sunt miracula," in *La sainte et la cité*, 196.
28. Giusto Traina, "Materiali sulla presenza armena nella Perugia medievale," in *Ad limina Italiae / Ar Druns Italioy: In viaggio per l'Italia con mercanti e monaci armeni*, ed. B. L. Zekiyan (Venice: Editoriale Programma, 1996), 102–107.
29. Robert Gibbs, *Tomaso da Modena: Painting in Emilia and the March of Treviso, 1340–80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 267–268, fig. 49.
30. G. Pavanello and M. Walcher, eds., *Istria città maggiori: Capodistria, Parenzo, Pirano, Pola; Opere d'arte dal Medioevo all'Ottocento* (Trieste: Università degli Studi di Trieste, 1999), 41.
31. Bacci, "Pro remedio animae," 126.
32. Recupero of Arezzo, "Summarium virtutum et miracula b. Ambrosii Senensis," in *Acta sanctorum Martii*, ed. Gottfried Henschen and Daniel Papebroch (Antwerp: Bollandistes, 1668), 3:220.
33. "Item interrogata de aliis miraculis dixit quod continue et omni anno, maxime in festo, multi et multi veniunt de diversis partibus referendo gratias dicto beato Nicolao portando ymagines diversas et aliqui de resuscitatione mortuorum et aliqui de illuminatione cecorum et aliqui de diversis et multis infermitatibus liberati," *Processus canonizationis sancti Nicolai a Tholentino*, 234.
34. Antoine, "L'ex voto, don symbolique."
35. N. De Blasi, "Iscrizioni in volgare nell'Italia meridionale: Prime esplorazioni," in "Visibile parlare": *Le scritture esposte nei volgari italiani dal Medioevo al Rinascimento*, proceedings of a conference at Cassino-Montecassino, October 26–28, 1992, ed. Claudio Ciociola (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1997), 265–269.
36. E. Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350–1500* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 161–162; Bacci, "Pro remedio animae," 220–221.
37. G. Vitalini Sacconi, "Pittura veneta nelle Marche: Due dipinti," *Notizie da Palazzo Albani* 3, no. 1 (1974): 10–16.
38. Bacci, "Pro remedio animae," 215–216, 477–483.
39. The image is much in keeping with the late medieval representations of the Piazzetta, including the famous view in the approximately contemporary illustrated manuscript of Marco Polo's *Milione* in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Ms. 264, fol. 218r). See Guido Tigler, "Ai primordi del vedutismo veneziano: Una schematica illustrazione della Piazzetta del quarto lustro del Trecento," in *Hadriatica: Attorno a Venezia e al Medioevo tra arti, storia e geografia; Scritti in onore di Wladimiro Dorigo*, ed. Ennio Concina, Giordana Trovabene, and Michela Agazzi (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2002), 175–179.
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41. Bacci, "Pro remedio animae," 260–270.
42. Serena Romano, *Eclissi di Roma: Pittura murale a Roma e nel Lazio da Bonifacio VIII a Martino V (1295–1431)* (Rome: Argos, 1992), 312.
43. On testamentary bequests for the making of religious artworks and furnishings, see Samuel K. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Andrew Martindale, "Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Church and the Arts*, ed. D. Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 143–178; Bacci, "Pro remedio animae," 227–429; Michele Bacci, *Investimenti per l'aldilà: Arte e raccomandazione dell'anima nel Medioevo* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2003), and "Les frères, les legs et l'art: Les investissements pour l'augmentation du culte divin," in *Économie et religion: L'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIIIe–XVe siècle)*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Jacques Chiffolleau (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2009), 563–590; Joanna Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches: Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 225–359.
44. Last will of Giovanni del fu Iacopo di Giacco Fatinelli (July 31, 1373). E. Lazzareschi, "Angelo Puccinelli e gli altri pittori lucchesi del Trecento," *Bollettino storico lucchese* 10 (1938): 162.
45. F. Ricci, *Chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore, Tuscania* (Viterbo: Betagamma, 1996), 41–42.
46. See Bacci, "Pro remedio animae," 419–424.
47. Francesco Gandolfo, "Il ritratto di committenza," in *Arte e iconografia a Roma da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*, ed. Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano (Milan: Jaca, 2000), 175–192, esp. 186–188.
48. Luciano Bellosi, "Giotto e la pittura di filiazione giottesca intorno alla metà del Trecento," *Prospettiva* 101 (2001): 19–40.
49. On the analogical and mimetic reproduction of individuals in wax ex-votos, see Michele Bacci, "L'individu en tant que prototype," 1–14.
50. Bacci, "Pro remedio animae," 417–419.