VOTIVE PANELS AND POPULAR PIETY IN EARLY MODERN ITALY

In the late fifteenth century, votive panel paintings, or *tavolette votive*, began to accumulate around reliquary shrines and miracle-working images throughout Italy. Although often dismissed as popular art of little aesthetic consequence, more than fifteen hundred panels from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are extant, a testimony to their ubiquity and importance in religious practice. Humble in both their materiality and style, they represent donors in prayer and supplicants petitioning a saint at a dramatic moment of crisis. In this book, Fredrika H. Jacobs traces the origins and development of the use of votive panels in this period. She examines the form, context, and functional value of votive panels and considers how they created meaning for the person who dedicated them as well as how they accrued meaning in relationship to other images and objects within a sacred space activated by practices of cultic culture.

Fredrika H. Jacobs is professor emerita of art history, Virginia Commonwealth University. She is the author of *Defining the Renaissance "Virtuosa": Women Artists and the Language of Art History and Criticism* (Cambridge University Press, 1997) and *The Living Image in Renaissance Art* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). She has contributed essays to a variety of books dealing with gender, aesthetics, and popular culture in the Renaissance. Her work has appeared in numerous scholarly journals and anthologies, including *Renaissance Quarterly*, the *Art Bulletin*, and *Word & Image*.

VOTIVE PANELS AND POPULAR PIETY IN EARLY MODERN ITALY

FREDRIKA H. JACOBS

Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond





32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107023048

© Fredrika H. Jacobs 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data Jacobs, Fredrika Herman. Votive panels and popular piety in early modern Italy / Fredrika H. Jacobs, Virginia Commomwealth University, Richmond. pages cm Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-1-107-02304-8 (hardback) I. Votive offerings – Italy. 2. Panels painting, Italian – 15th century. 3. Panel painting, Italian – 16th century. 4. Christian art and symbolism – Italy – Modern period, 1500–5. Christianity and culture – Italy – History – 16th century. 6. Art and popular culture – Italy – History – 16th century. I. Title. NDI432.182J33 2013 755'.20945-dc23 2013019583

ISBN 978-1-107-02304-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLS for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For Paul, Jessica, Nick, & Peter

When we concentrate on a material object, whatever its situation, the very act of attention may lead to our involuntarily sinking into the history of that object.

Vladimir Nabokov, Transparent Things, 1972

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations 1		page ix
Acknowledgments		xiii
I.	DIALOGUES OF DEVOTION: AN INTRODUCTION	1
II.	TAVOLETTE VOTIVE: FORM, FUNCTION, CONTEXT	22
	Totaling the Evidence: Production, Preservation,	
	and Destruction	35
	An Object within a Complex	47
	The Checkered History of Acknowledging Miracles	59
	Chronological Parameters: Circa 1470, the terminus a quo	66
	Chronological Parameters: Circa 1610, a terminus ad quem	79
III.	DETERMINING FUNCTIONAL VALUE: ATTESTATIONS	
	OF FACT AND FAITH	85
	Humble "Gifts": Questioning Terminology and	
	Reflecting on Style	88
	Attesting Miracles: Advocating the <i>causa</i> of Nicholas	
	of Tolentino in Word and Image	98
	Miracles, Sanctity, and the Testimonial Power	
	of the vox populi	107
	The Special Case of Mary	115
	Documenting the Quotidian with Specificity	122
IV.	NARRATIVE MODES	126
	Structuring Narrative	128
	Narratives within the Frame	131
	Narratives beyond the Frame	149
V.	SIGNS OF FAITH, SIGNS OF SUPERSTITION	163
	Amplifying Trent	165
	Imaging Exorcism	170

viii Contents

Exorcism: A Contested Ritual	181
Signs	185
Burning the Devil's Image	189
AFTERWORD	195
Notes	201
Selected Bibliography	
Index	245

ILLUSTRATIONS

COLOR PLATES

Ι.	Lorenzo Monaco, Intercession of Christ and the Virgin,
	circa 1395–1400

- 2. Pilgrims at the Tomb of St. Margaret, detail, school of Turino Vanni, St. Margaret Altarpiece, circa 1400
- 3. Antonio Orsini (attrib.), votive panel of Suor Sara of Ferrara, 1432
- 4. Anonymous, votary with St. Sebastian, *tavoletta votiva* offered to the Madonna del Monte, Cesena, second half of the fifteenth century
- 5. Anonymous, child injured by scissors, *tavoletta votiva* offered to the Madonna dei Miracoli, Lonigo, late fifteenth century
- 6. Fresco cycle by Pietro da Rimini, Grand Chapel, Basilica of San Nicola, Tolentino, begun circa 1312, completed circa 1325/30
- 7. Anonymous, exorcism of Chiara da Camerino, *tavoletta votiva* offered to Nicholas of Tolentino, October 8, 1589
- 8. Anonymous, Giovan Zayra suffers rope hoist, *tavoletta votiva* offered to the Madonna dell'Arco, Sant'Anastasia (Naples), 1599 Color plates follow page xvi.

FIGURES

Ι.	Andrea Mantegna, Madonna della Vittoria, dedicated 1496	page 2
2.	Anonymous, votary in prayer, tavoletta votiva offered to the Madonna	
	dei Miracoli, Lonigo, 1499	4
3.	Giovanni Bellini, Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints and Doge	
	Agostino Barbarigo, 1488	8
4.	Giovanni Battista Moroni, A Gentleman in Adoration of the Madonna	
	and Child, circa 1560	10
5.	Anonymous, votary in prayer, tavoletta votiva offered to the Madonna	
	dei Miracoli, Lonigo, mid- to late sixteenth century	II
6.	Jacopo Sansovino, Madonna del Parto, 1516–21	23
7.	Anonymous, rescue at sea, tavoletta votiva offered to the Madonna dei	
	Miracoli, Lonigo, 1566	25
8.	Anonymous, fall from a roof, tavoletta votiva offered to the Madonna	
	della Quercia, Viterbo, sixteenth century	26
9.	Anonymous, Viadana family's survival during an earthquake, tavoletta	
	votiva offered to Nicholas of Tolentino, sixteenth century	27
10.	Andrea di Bonaiuti, Pilgrims at the Tomb of St. Peter Martyr, 1365–67	29

x ILLUSTRATIONS

II.	School of Turino Vanni, St. Margaret Altarpiece, circa 1400	30
12.	Anonymous, votary in prayer, tavoletta votiva offered to the Madonna	
	della Quercia,Viterbo, sixteenth century	32
13.	School of Raphael (?), tavoletta votiva offered by Tommaso Inghirami,	
	circa 1508	34
14.	Anonymous, Lorenzo, son of Bernardino Zavalune, struck by an	
	oxcart, tavoletta votiva offered to the Madonna del Monte, Cesena,	
	sixteenth century	34
15.	Anonymous, exorcism, tavoletta votiva offered to the Madonna of	
	Loreto, late sixteenth century	38
16.	Luca Ferrini, Corona di sessanta tre miracoli della Nunziata, 1593, 55v	43
17.	Anonymous, child in cradle (possibly an infant resuscitation), tavoletta	15
,	votiva offered to the Madonna del Monte, Cesena, sixteenth century	44
18.	Piero della Francesca, St. Anthony of Padua resuscitates a child,	
	predella panel, Perugia Polyptych, circa 1465	45
19.	Apparition of the Madonna of Tirano and Her Miracles, late sixteenth	тJ
	century	46
20.	Interior, Sanctuary of the Madonna dell'Arco, Sant'Anastasia	+0
20.	(Naples)	51
21.	Anonymous, assault scene, <i>tavoletta votiva</i> offered to the Madonna	51
21.	della Quercia, Viterbo, late sixteenth century	55
22.	Anonymous, assault scene, <i>tavoletta votiva</i> offered to the Madonna dei	55
22.	Miracoli, Lonigo, possibly by Matteo della Riva de Zari, sixteenth century	56
23.	Anonymous, votary in sickbed, <i>tavoletta votiva</i> offered to the	30
23.	Madonna dei Miracoli, Lonigo, sixteenth century	<i>.</i> –
24	Anonymous, Bastiano and Agostino da Baschi shackled, <i>tavoletta</i>	57
24.	<i>votiva</i> offered to the Madonna della Quercia,Viterbo, early sixteenth	
	· ·	60
	century Monogrammist DC. Setting of the Cetholic Church (605, dotail	63
25.	Monogramist DG, Satire of the Catholic Church, 1605, detail	64
26.	Votive model ships, seventeenth century	68
27.	Vittore Carpaccio, Apparition of the Ten Thousand Martyrs, circa 1512	68
28.	Francesco del Cossa, <i>Month of April</i> , detail, Sala dei Mesi, Palazzo	,
	Schifanoia, Ferrara, 1469–70	69
29.	Domenico Ghirlandaio, Sassetti Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence,	
	1483-86	73
30.	Detail of an inscription, <i>tavoletta votiva</i> offered to the Madonna del	
	Monte by Maria della Mirandola, late fifteenth to early	
	sixteenth century	75
31.	Anonymous, tavoletta votiva offered to the Madonna dei Miracoli,	
	Lonigo, by Felipo Campese and his wife, June 3, 1491	76
32.	Anonymous, votary with St. Sebastian, tavoletta votiva offered to the	
	Madonna del Monte, Cesena, late fifteenth century	78
33.	Hugo van der Goes, Portinari Altarpiece, central panel, circa 1475	95
34.	Pietro da Rimini, Nicholas of Tolentino rescuing seafarers and the	
	unjustly accused, Grand Chapel, Basilica of San Nicola da Tolentino,	
	begun circa 1312, completed circa 1325/30	100

ILLUSTRATIONS

35.	<i>St. Francis Vita Altarpiece</i> , exorcism at the Tomb of St. Francis, detail, mid-thirteenth century	101
36.	Pietro da Rimini, Nicholas of Tolentino with the Madonna and	
	Christ Child, Grand Chapel, Basilica of San Nicola da Tolentino,	
	circa early 1320s	102
37.	Anonymous, bedside scene, <i>tavoletta votiva</i> offered to Nicholas of Tolentino, dated on verso, August 1, 1582	104
38.	Anonymous, Francesco Magnano wounded by a gun misfiring,	104
30.	tavoletta votiva offered to Nicholas of Tolentino, 1537	105
39.	Anonymous, accident involving a skein winder, <i>tavoletta votiva</i> offered	103
39.	to Nicholas of Tolentino, early seventeenth century	106
40.	Circle of Titian, <i>St. Roch</i> , circa 1524	110
4I.	Anonymous, birth scene, <i>tavoletta votiva</i> offered to the Madonna	
	dell'Arco, Sant'Anastasia (Naples), circa 1595–1605	120
42.	Anonymous, breech birth scene, <i>tavoletta votiva</i> offered to the	
•	Madonna dell'Arco, Sant'Anastasia (Naples), circa 1595–1605	121
43.	Vittore Carpaccio, Birth of the Virgin, circa 1504	122
44.	Michele Savonarola, Pratica major, 1559, fol. 272	123
45.	Nicolo da Urbino (attrib.), birthing bowl, 1525–30	124
46.	Anonymous, breech birth scene, tavoletta votiva offered by Giovanna	
	Andrea Cingaro to the Madonna dell'Arco, Sant'Anastasia (Naples),	
	circa 1595–1605	125
47.	Anonymous, rescue at sea, tavoletta votiva offered to the Madonna	
	dell'Arco, Sant'Anastasia (Naples), second half of the sixteenth century	128
48.	Masaccio, Tribute Money, Brancacci Chapel, Sta. Maria del Carmine,	
	Florence, circa 1425	134
49.	Anonymous, Jacobus ab Aretino in prayer, tavoletta votiva offered to	
	the Madonna del Monte, Cesena, 1481 (?)	136
50.	Domenico Beccafumi, Interrogation by Rope Hoist, sixteenth century	138
51.	Anonymous, interrogation by rope hoist, tavoletta votiva offered to the	
	Madonna dei Miracoli, Lonigo, 1605	142
52.	Anonymous, votary on rope hoist, tavoletta votiva offered to the	
	Madonna dei Miracoli, Lonigo, early seventeenth century (?)	143
53.	Anonymous, interrogation by rope hoist, tavoletta votiva offered to the	
	Madonna dei Miracoli, Lonigo, late sixteenth to early	
	seventeenth century	144
54.	Anonymous, interrogation by rope hoist, tavoletta votiva offered to the	
	Madonna del Monte, Cesena, early sixteenth century	145
55.	Anonymous, votary enduring three forms of torture, tavoletta votiva	
	offered to the Madonna del Monte, Cesena, early sixteenth century	146
56.	Giovan Battista Figiovanni's votive painting offered to the Madonna	
	delle Carceri, Prato, 1517	147
57.	Anonymous, rescue from drowning, <i>tavoletta votiva</i> offered to the	
c	Madonna del Monte, Cesena, sixteenth century	149
58.	Anonymous, plague survivor in prayer, <i>tavoletta votiva</i> offered to the	
	Madonna of Loreto, late fifteenth century	150

xii Illustrations

59.	Gentile Bellini, Procession in the Piazza San Marco, detail, 1496	152
60.	Broadsheet, Madonna of Tirano, late seventeenth century	161
61.	Anonymous, successful exorcism of Zuane Milanese, tavoletta votiva	
	offered to the Madonna del Monte, Cesena, circa 1500–10	171
62.	Master of St. Severin, Exorcism of a Possessed Woman, circa 1470-80	174
63.	Pierre Boaistuau, Histoires prodigieuses extraictes de plusieurs fameux auteurs,	
	grecs & latins, sacrez & prophanes, second edition, 1575, sig. Aa recto	175
64.	Giovanni Angelo Lottini, Scelta d'alcuni miracoli e grazie della	
	Santissima Nunziata di Firenze, 1619, page 248	176
65.	Girolamo di Benvenuto, St. Catherine Exorcising a Possessed Woman,	
	circa 1505	177
66.	Anonymous, exorcism, tavoletta votiva offered to the Madonna of	
	Loreto, late sixteenth century	181

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The origin of this study lies in my further reflection upon a category of lifelikeness, or living images, not adequately discussed in my previous book, namely animate sacred images. Here the principal focus is not representations of the Madonna that reportedly cried, bled, bruised, shifted position, or otherwise displayed signs of life but rather ex-votos, specifically small painted panels visualizing an act of intercession at a moment of personal crisis or commemorating a miraculous cure or rescue. In researching these amazing paintings, I have received support, encouragement, and guidance from individuals and institutions. The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., generously supported this project both at its beginning and near its end.Villa I Tatti, the Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence, did so midway through. The richness of resources available at both of these institutions - in particular, the insights and assistance offered by the community of scholars at each - is remarkable, a true gift. I am grateful to Elizabeth Cropper and Joseph Connors for affording me the privilege of membership. I also thank Richard Toscan, Dean Emeritus of the School of the Arts, Virginia Commonwealth University, who supported my research in many ways. Heartfelt thanks for walking me through collections, assisting me with translations, sharing images of tavolette from sites I missed, and engaging me in stimulating and challenging discussions is due also to Lorenzo Pericolo, Giancarla Periti, Ann Mullavey, Anna Kim, Catherine Kovesi, Steven Ostrow, Sara Matthews-Grieco, John O'Malley, Loris Pasini, Giancarlo Turrotti, Angela Federico, Simona Tozzo, Klaus Pietschmann, Gianfranco Ciprini, Francesco Ciprini, Ittai Weinryb, others named in footnotes, and still others too numerous to mention. Above all, I thank Megan Holmes, whose knowledge of cultic culture is extensive and generosity unbounded. Gratitude is also and as always extended to Beatrice Rehl for her enduring encouragement. Finally and crucially, I thank my wonderful family: Paul, Nick, Peter, and most importantly Jessica, a scholar and a miracolata.

VOTIVE PANELS AND POPULAR PIETY IN EARLY MODERN ITALY