

BIRTH OF A DEVOTION. THE CASE OF “SANTA MARIA DEI MIRACOLI” IN LONIGO

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1. Introduction

In the village of Lonigo (Vicenza), a small church dedicated to St. Peter in Lamentese (whose ancient origins are lost in history) once stood in the same place where the Sanctuary of the *Madonna dei Miracoli* is found today. The fortunes of the Church of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli* are connected to a murder, committed on May 1st, in 1486, by two shoemakers who went from Verona to the market in Lonigo. On the way back, the two men killed a third colleague and then sought refuge in the church, then known as *San Pietro Lamentese*, where they saw the Virgin Mary, painted on the wall, miraculously move her hand to her face, to then stay in that position. Following this first extraordinary event, it would appear that the Virgin of Lonigo then manifested miraculous healing powers. In a short time, the church became an important place of pilgrimage and people not only came from the neighboring areas but also from distant towns, as described in two seventeenth-century reports, by the monks Giandomenico Bertani and Francesco Barbarano de'Mironi¹, and written around the time of the miracle. Following these incidents the church took the name of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli*.

2. The Church of San Pietro in Lamentese

Although all documents relating to the church dedicated to Saint Peter in Lamentese have been lost, the legend places its founding in the year 452, in memory of a massacre carried out by the Huns. After this tragedy the population, who claimed to hear constant laments, erected the building with the aim of making them cease. The first official documentation of the church, however, dates to the tenth century, when it was mentioned in connection with the Benedictine monks of the monastery of *Santa Maria in Organo* in Verona, and with whom it had relations until 1762.

In 1486, inside the Church of San Pietro Lamentese it was possible to observe a mural fresco. It will probably never be known what was actually represented and how big it was, since after the miracle of 1486, with the beginning of the numerous pilgrimages, the monks felt the need to enlarge the building. This was accomplished thanks to the substantial donations guaranteed by the worshippers.

The architect asked to build the new, impressive nave of the church was Lorenzo da Bologna, active in those years in Vicenza. He was assisted by Alvise Lamberti da Montagnana, who worked on the lateral side and on the *Cappella del Miracolo* (Chapel

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of the Miracle). In addition to the central nave, the Chapels of St. Scolastica and St. Francesca Romana were built, while the Church of St. Peter (*San Pietro*), or at least a portion of it, was the foundation for the construction of the *Cappella del Miracolo*, located to the right of the portal.

The rebuilding and decoration of the Church of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli* raise questions for the study of the iconography of the *Madonna di Lonigo* (Figure 1). In the absence of any historical evidence, the oldest existing description of the image is that of Bertani Giandomenico dated 1605:

"molti, che quivi erano di passaggio, entravano in detta Chiesa [S. Pietro] à far riverenze, et oratione avanti una Imagine della Gloriosa Vergine dipinta nel muro, assai antica, et molto divota, in atto di essere assonta in Cielo, con le mani congiunte insieme, con gli occhi riguardanti in Cielo, con un libro in un braccio, et con un Christo in Croce dipinto sopra lei, la qual Croce fatta di un tronco, era circondata da dodici faccie, rappresentanti i dodici Apostoli, in altri piccioli cerchi di tronchi, et quivi stavano due Angeli inginocchiati."²ⁿ



Figure 1. Anonymous, *Madonna di Lonigo*, 14th century, Lonigo (VI), *Santa Maria dei Miracoli*

3. The fresco of the Madonna di Lonigo: an unusual representation

Today, this description cannot be fully verified, because of the poor condition of the pictorial film of the fresco. In the central part of the fresco, inside a painted frame, it is still possible to make out a figure wrapped in a cloak with traces of blue, the head surrounded by a halo, sitting in the foreground on what appears to be a bench, as wide as the edges of the frame. The features of the face, the clothes, the right hand and the book mentioned in the description have disappeared. On the left side of the slightly tilted face, there is an engraved protrusion that could correspond to the hand held in front of the eye. Above it are some tondos, containing what appear to be eleven male figures with halos, dressed in togas. There are eleven tondos arranged in a disorderly fashion around a central space which is empty, in irregular rows of four, positioned behind the bench; two are in the center and five are at the top. Next to the circle on the right of the central portion, one of the figures, whose tondo cannot be made out, is placed very near the neighboring one. At the top of the center is another circle which probably contained the twelfth figure, but is so badly deteriorated it appears empty, while in the circle on the far right only a halo is visible. The background, which, according to the description and reproductions, should contain the tree of life, does not show any trace of it. Only in the upper margin of the fresco a wavy green line can be seen. It must have reached the legs of the crucifix, truncated by the marble frame that encloses the picture in correspondence with the feet which are no longer distinct.

3.1. The symbolologies of the Madonna di Lonigo

The image, on the whole, has a great number of symbols, that frequently have no association with each other at all. Although the tree behind the *Madonna di Lonigo* is one of the elements which, unfortunately, are no longer visible, its presence is attested both by the text by Bertani³ and some successive reproductions of the fresco. What remains on the wall of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli*, is only part of a green branch, in the upper margin of the painting, near the legs of the crucifix truncated by the marble frame. The tree is a complex image, full of meanings and with multiple functions, adopted by Christianity from its origins. Its role was initially purely ornamental, but in Romanesque art it is used for iconographic reasons, with the aim of establishing formal relations of correspondence, reaching its richest iconographic expression at the beginning of the eleventh century. In particular, the tree serves a didactic and doctrinaire purpose, being an immediate and effective diagram, useful to facilitate memory and encourage meditation. Diagrams had been widely used in schools since the fifth century, as they helped students to remember and understand, thus facilitating their logical processes⁴. The main example of the use of the tree schema is found in the iconography of the *Lignum Vitae*. This was a mystical representation of the Crucifixion stemming from the identification of the Cross of Christ and the tree of life⁵, started by the Franciscans in the sixteenth century and modeled on the homonymous booklet by St. Bonaventure da Bagnoregio, Minister General of the Franciscan Order. The representation of the tree also has genealogical meanings, as in the case of the tree of Jesse, but this does not seem to be the case of the fresco of Lonigo since, among the painted branches are the Apostles, and not the descendants of Christ's ancestors.

The Virgin, the focal point of the miraculous image, occupied the centre of the portion of the fresco under examination, even before the extraordinary events of 1486. Covered by a cloak, sitting on what appears to be a bench, according to the legend, the Virgin Mary, before the miracle, had both hands on her lap, the right hand clasping a book. After the miracle, it seems she raised her left hand to her forehead⁶ (Figure 2). The raising of one's hands to one's face is generally associated with expressing pain. In the fresco of Lonigo however the Virgin does not seem to express this kind of suffering. The crucified Christ is positioned at a distance from his Mother and the Apostles stand between them, in the branches. The people in the image, moreover, do not seem to be part of a narrative scene, a particular episode involving the strong emotional behavior of the characters. The Virgin has her back to the tree with the Apostles and the Crucifixion in its branches and is sitting on the bench without looking towards her crucified Son. The hand resting on her forehead might therefore have a different meaning, connected to another element in the painting: a book. It is no longer visible, but among the subjects represented in the fresco, it is the one that regularly reappears in reproductions, including paintings and sculptures and in the majority of ex-votos, so there is no doubt about its actual presence⁷.



Figure 2. *La Vergine e l'Apostolo Pietro* (?), Anonymous, *Madonna di Lonigo*, fourteenth century, Lonigo (VI), *Santa Maria dei Miracoli*.

Mary caught in the act of reading is not a frequent subject in an era when women's education was neither common nor desired. In the Gospel, the Virgin is not described as being educated but only modest and of low social standing, so it is uncertain whether she was able to read. Theologians, however, did not conceive the idea of the Madonna who, as a descendant of King David, was illiterate. Consequently, and also thanks to the lack of reliable references in the Gospels, they imagined her to be a scholar and loved reading, just like a noble woman of the twelfth century, to such an extent that in representations of the Annunciation she is often represented in the act of reading the Psalter or the Bible. In Cesare Ripa's text, *Iconology*, which however came out later than the period of execution of the fresco and describes later traditions, the book appears in a number of allegorical figures symbolizing study and erudition, in particular "*Meditazione*", the iconography of meditation⁸.

The posture described in the text, the cheek supported by the hand, and the book in her

lap, is the same as that depicted in the fresco of the Virgin of Lonigo, probably a position for reflection. Mary's seating is equally particular: a bench (Figure 3). It is not unusual that the Virgin is seated on a bench, but it is generally chosen if there is someone sitting next to her, for example, Jesus, in the context of the Coronation.

Professor Alessandro Volpe has recognized an affinity between the use of the bench in this context, and in that of the "Allegory of Saint Augustine 'Master of the Order' " by Dalmasio, painted on glass⁹. The four philosophers Aristotle, Plato, Socrates and Seneca are sitting in pairs on benches next to the figure of St. Augustine and are an integral part of the allegory. In the fresco, the Virgin is alone, and the choice of the anonymous author to depict her on a bench seems strange, given that in successive reproductions, as in votive offerings, she is often seated on a throne. The particular seating arrangement combined with the posture of uncertain significance, places the Virgin Mary in an unusual context that does not seem to be that of a devotional icon, but rather, a symbolic representation. Consequently, an image to reflect upon, rather than to worship.

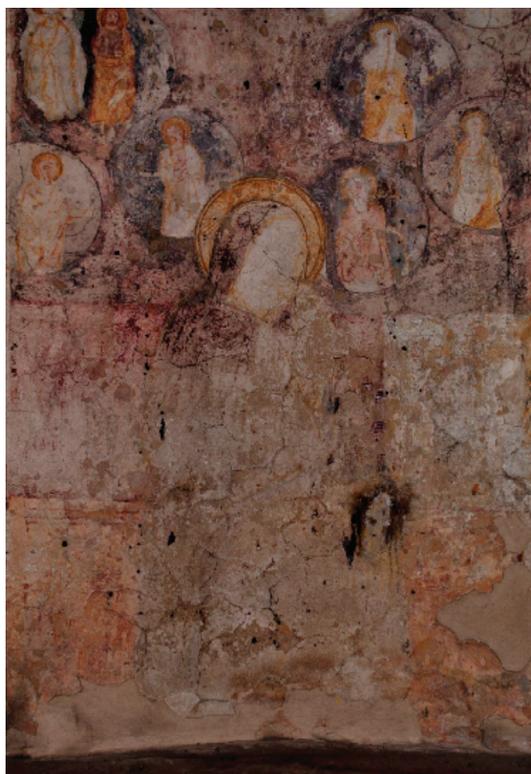


Figure 3. La Vergine e gli Apostoli. Anonymous, Madonna di Lonigo, fourteenth century, Lonigo (VI), Santa Maria dei Miracoli.

In the Lonigo fresco, between the figure of the Virgin and the legs of the crucifix, no longer visible, are some characters inside tondos arranged in three rows placed

at irregular heights. At the first count, the figures and tondos are eleven. However, it is evident that the figure on the far right of the central row lacks the respective tondo while, on the contrary, the tondo at the center of the upper row although damaged, probably contained a character. The total number of figures represented among what are assumed to be the branches of the tree of life, are twelve. The fact that they may be the Apostles is suggested not only by the number, but also by the classic robes (a trace of which remains in the preparatory yellow layer) associated with the followers of Christ from the tenth century. Finally, at the top of the composition, though no longer visible, there is a pelican in its nest, surrounded by its three babies. Despite the strong symbolism of resurrection it carries, it is a component that gradually disappears from the reproductions of the fresco after the miracle of 1486, along with the tree-like cross and the less significant angels. Although the elements of the fresco of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli* are clear in-meaning when considered individually, as a whole they are not as easy to decipher. In fact, an image can be interpreted in numerous ways, unless the title or the context in which it is realized help to clarify its meaning¹⁰.

4. Birth of a new devotion: a study of the iconography of the Madonna di Lonigo

After the miracle, the name of the Church of *San Pietro Lamentese* changed to *Santa Maria dei Miracoli* and the painting too, took on a new name, *Madonna dei Miracoli* or *Madonna di Lonigo*; the sole subject in both cases is the Virgin. Following the manifestation of the Virgin Mary, the value of the Lonigo fresco changed: from a unified image with a precise meaning that, whatever it may have been must have been symbolic, became for its devotees, an iconic representation of the Virgin.

The other elements, less important than the Virgin remain in the background. This change is accentuated by the two frames placed on top of the fresco (Figure 4). Designed with the aim to enhance the *Madonna dei Miracoli*, the frames succeed in their purpose perfectly.

The image of the *Madonna dei Miracoli* has been reproduced many times but never copied. In most cases, the various reproductions are limited to the single figure of the virgin or are decontextualized or perhaps the composition or the number of figures is altered. The reproductions can however, be useful in reconstructing, albeit imprecisely, some details that are no longer legible.



Figure 4. *Madonna di Lonigo*, wood frame, silver frame. Apse of the Cappella del Miracolo, Lonigo, Santa Maria dei Miracoli

In the frontispiece of the volume *Historia della gloriosa immagine della Madonna di Lonigo* by Giandomenico Bertani, preserved at the Bertoliana Library of Vicenza, the *Madonna di Lonigo* is represented twice, both before and after the miracle, though not faithful to the description given by the monk¹¹. Although the faces of the Twelve Apostles at the end of twelve branches, with Christ crucified at the center of the tree, and the two angels and the Virgin with the book are all present in the reproduction, some details do not match the description in the text (Figure 5). The cloud on which the full-length figure of Mary stands, may perhaps be linked to the act of being taken up into heaven and is found in the monk's description but, the crown on her head, the pelican and the four heads of the angels on the upper margin of the frame seem to be an invention of the engraver, or perhaps recall other reproductions. Nevertheless, although the same elements are found, they are arranged differently to the original image. In the first place, the more "orderly" position of the Apostles' faces, six on the right and the same number on the left of the central axis, represented by the Virgin, the tree and the crucifix with the pelican. Mary wears a crown and has no halo, contrary to what is observed in the original image, while her cloak is not closed at the neck but falls amply off her shoulders. Finally, the style itself does not coincide with that of the miraculous representation, which is certainly older.

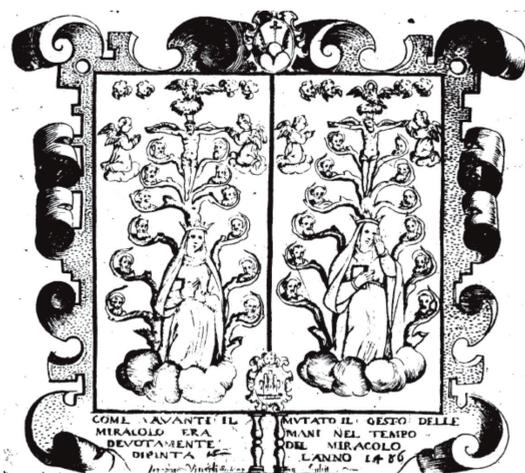


Figure 5. Madonna di Lonigo before and after the miracle, frontispiece of the volume *Historia della gloriosa immagine della Madonna di Lonigo* by Giandomenico Bertani, 1605, Verona.

Similar in appearance is the pair of paintings in the Church of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli*, on the right-hand wall of the chapel of Santa Francesca Romana. The two seventeenth-century paintings by an unknown artist, hanging side by side, represent the fresco before and after the miracle. Reproductions of the image of the *Madonna di Lonigo* can also be found outside the neighborhood of the town.

In the monastery of San Nicola, now a Museum of Iron Art, in Rodengo Saiano in the province of Brescia, there is a fresco depicting the Virgin of Lonigo, dated 1533¹². It shows the crowned Madonna, seated on a throne in front of the tree of life on which Jesus has been crucified, just above the head of his mother, while on the sides are the branches with the faces of the twelve Apostles. In addition to these canonical elements of the miraculous image the saints Sebastian and Roch appear, and unusually, portraits of the two malefactors.

In Milan, inside the Basilica of San Nazario Maggiore, in a family chapel, there is a canvas which is a reproduction of the Madonna di Lonigo, dated 1518, the year of death of the owner of the chapel, Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. He probably learnt of the healing powers of the Virgin of Lonigo during the military campaigns conducted against Venice and, when he returned to his city, decided to dedicate an altar to her in his family funeral chapel¹³. Housed in a wooden architectural structure, similar to that of the devotional fresco of Lonigo, the painting takes on what now seems to be the established iconography of the image of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli* after the miraculous event of 1486, in which the Virgin covers her eye, wears a crown and is seated on a throne with a book in her hand; the head and shoulders of the Apostles are inside the tondos which form the branches of the tree of life; Christ is crucified; there is a pelican's nest; the two angels are absent. The nineteenth-century mosaic on the Chapel altar of the Miracle, whose design is attributed to the painter Rocco Pittaco, appears to be a copy of the original fresco (Figure 6).



Figure 6. *Madonna di Lonigo, mosaic reproduction. Apse of the Cappella del Miracolo, Lonigo, Santa Maria dei Miracoli*

The mosaic faithfully reproduces the position of the various elements of the image; the head and shoulders of the Virgin with her left hand raised to her forehead and the book in her right hand; the full-length figures of the Apostles inside the tondos, arranged in three rows of four, three and five as in the fresco, around the small figure of Christ crucified; and, at the top of the tree of life, portrayed as an olive tree, perhaps in homage to the Olivetan monks who still ran the monastery, the nest with the pelican piercing its chest with its beak and two angels. It is located above the altar where, previously, there was a painting of the Birth of the Virgin, which is remembered by Arturo Pomello¹⁴. Although the style is very different from the medieval fresco, the nineteenth century mosaic fulfils its purpose, which is to reproduce the original damaged image for the faithful, covered by the frames in wood and silver and most of its surface practically illegible.

The *Madonna dei Miracoli* is also represented in numerous paintings or sculptures, the fruit of popular devotion, and can be found both in churches and in shrines scattered throughout the territory of Lonigo; they have been located and described by the local scholar Nicoletta Nicolin-Tonelato¹⁵. In particular, in the Church of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli*, in the chapel of Santa Scolastica there is a sculpture on top of a pedestal depicting the Virgin of Lonigo with a red robe and a blue mantle, standing with her left hand on her eye and her right hand holding a book. On the wall immediately to the left of the statue are exhibited some embroidered ex-votos, some crutches, a metal bust and the steering wheel of a car (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Madonna di Lonigo and showcase with ex voto, Lonigo, Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Cappella di santa Scolastica

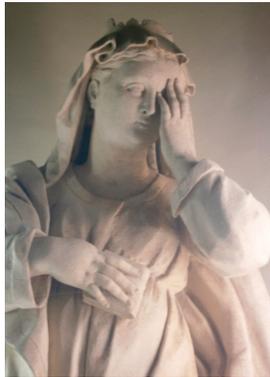


Figure 8. Madonna di Lonigo, Lonigo, Church of the saints Quirico and Giulitta (Chiesa Vecchia)

There is another sculpture in white stone, originally painted, dating back to 1627. It depicts the *Madonna di Lonigo* standing on a cloud, crowned and with a small book in her left hand. At present, the statue is kept in the Church of the Saints Cristoforo, Quirico and Giulitta (or, as it is better known, the *Chiesa Vecchia*), but has changed location several times (Figure 8)¹⁶.

Near the church of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli* is a shrine with a fresco inside, depicting the scene of the miracle. The figure of the Virgin seems to be modeled on the nineteenth-century mosaic of the Chapel of the Miracle but lacks the other elements that appear in it: the tree of life, the Apostles, the Crucifix, the pelican and the angels. On her right, the scared criminal Guglielmo, is depicted, while on his right, Giampietro is pictured clutching the knife with both hands, turned towards Mary's face.

Another shrine the Virgin shares with other saints, is located a few kilometers from the center of Lonigo. Within it a sculpture of the Virgin, recognizable thanks to the raised hand on the forehead and the book in the other hand, but without additional attributes, is flanked by those of the saints Antonio pictured with the Child in his arms, and Vittore, the dedicatee of the shrine.

The most significant manifestation of popular devotion representing the Virgin of Lonigo is found in the ex-voto paintings. The Museum of the Ex-votos of the sanctuary preserves, in an appropriate space, three hundred and fifty-eight paintings on wood (Figure 9). The virgin appears in her canonical form in two hundred and thirty tablets, while in others she is represented with the Child, as a Madonna of Loreto or of Mercy or accompanied by other saints, especially St. Anthony. Only rarely, together with the Virgin, are the other elements of the miraculous image represented (Figure 10).



Figure 9. Devotee gives thanks to Our Lady of Lonigo, tempera on wood, 17th century, Lonigo (VI), Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Museo degli Ex Voto.

The only frequently repeated element, is the book that the Virgin holds in her right hand. It is depicted one hundred and seventy-seven times, either open or closed, which allows us to say with confidence that even if it is now not visible in the fresco of the Chapel of the Miracle, it was present in the original composition.



Figure 10. Tortured devotee painted near the Madonna di Lonigo, with the tree of life and Christ crucified, tempera on board, 17th century, restoration 1921, Lonigo (VI), Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Museo degli Ex Voto.

After observing these numerous reproductions, it seems clear that over the centuries, the iconography of the fresco of the Blessed Virgin of Lonigo has changed, becoming more and more simple. The representative changes can be explained by the change in taste that led artists commissioned to reproduce the figure, to prefer a more ordered and symmetrical way to paint the Apostles. It is devotion then, which has prompted a crown to be added on the Virgin's head and to place her on a throne or on a cloud, rather than on a humble bench. What is more surprising, however, is that after the miracle, the various symbols that make the picture so complex and difficult to understand, lost so much of their value that they were completely omitted in later reproductions. The focus of devotion is still Mary, her hand raised to protect her injured eye while there is no longer interest in the tree of life, the Apostles, the angel and the pelicans. It is not surprising, therefore, that the value of this image has changed from being the mere decoration, however complex and interesting, of a small country church, to become the centerpiece of a devotion that is still alive, but at the same time has resulted in the original meaning of the image being forgotten.

5. Interpretation

An image out of context, especially if old, undoubtedly poses problems of interpretation. After the miracle of 1486, the fresco of the *Madonna di Lonigo* was removed from its original location. The Church of *San Pietro Lamentese* has lost its original form. It has been transformed into a chapel, part of the larger building of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli* and decorated with a riot of stucco work. The fresco is inserted in a small shrine and covered by two frames made of wood and silver, the latter placed there in the seventeenth century, which have rarely been removed, and frame only the face of the Virgin. These changes, combined with the poor state of preservation of the painting, today, result in only a faint shadow of the face from the original composition being visible.

The image of the *Madonna di Lonigo*, interpreted as an Assumption or a symbol of the Church, could have another meaning. Personally, I believe that the most unusual element in the representation is the Virgin, in her singular position, on a bench with a book in her hands, compared with Christ crucified to the tree of life and the Apostles. Such a particular posture does not seem to be a random choice. Mary, as previously stated, could have been depicted in a moment of reflection, caught in the act of meditating on what she is reading in the Scriptures, the Gospel message preached by Jesus and, after his death, by the Apostles, who are represented behind her. The fresco might represent, from this perspective, an allegory of meditation on sacred texts, an invitation to imitate the Virgin who, after reading the Gospel, reflects on its message and on its diffusion, while behind her appear the propagators of the message. However, assumptions about the meaning of the fresco of *San Pietro Lamentese* are destined to remain so. To trace the proper interpretation of an antique painting which is decontextualized and damaged to the point that its main characters are only shadows, is an almost impossible task, especially when there are no documents describing the church before the numerous architectural changes, made after the miracle of 1486. Such a considerable discrepancy between the documentary information prior to and subsequent to the miracle is a sign of the transformation in the perception of the image. Remarkably, it is this very event, due to the singularity of the causes and effects, that is responsible for the meaning of the medieval fresco falling into oblivion and no longer being perceived as a unit. The figure of the Virgin has acquired a strong predominance over the other components in the painting, that, over time, have been reduced to being simply background elements or substantially eliminated.

Of course, the miracle has brought many economic benefits to the town, thanks to the influx of pilgrims and the three fairs dedicated to the Virgin, of which one still takes place in the last week of March. It is clear that the population has more than an interest in confirming and spreading knowledge of these events¹⁷. It is essential to emphasize that during the centuries following the miraculous events of Lonigo, the perception of the fresco of St. Peter Lamentese underwent a major transformation. Regardless of what the image symbolized before the miracle, as of May 1, 1486, the fresco became an image of the Virgin to worship, and the Church of *Santa Maria dei Miracoli* where it is housed, a place of pilgrimage, even though not officially recognized as a sanctuary. From an allegorical image on which to reflect, by taking on a new value, it has turned into an icon to be venerated and honored, by virtue of the powers that were recognized almost immediately after the first miracle, to which to pay homage for favors received, as evidenced by the rich collection of votive offerings, paintings on wood, embroidery, metallic foils.

Notes

- 1 BERTANI G., 1605, *Historia della Gloriosa Imagine della Madonna di Lonigo*, Verona; Francesco Barabaran de' Mironi, capuchin Monk, declares at the end of the chapter on the history of the Madonna of Lonigo to have taken information from the public and authentic trial of 1401 and from the *Historia* by Giandomenico Bertani.
- 2 BRABARANO DE' MIRONI F., 1649, *Historia ecclesiastica della città, territorio è diocesi di Vicenza*, Vol. I, Vicenza.
- 3 BERTANI, *Historia*, pp. 17–18
- 4 BERTANI, *Historia*, pp. 17–18. "Many of the faithful passing by, entered the said Church [S. Pietro] to pay homage and to pray in front of the image of the Glorious Virgin Mary painted on the wall, which was very old and much revered, in the act of being taken up to Heaven, her hands clasped together, her eyes looking upwards to Heaven, holding a book in one arm, with Jesus crucified painted above her, the Cross made from a tree trunk, surrounded by twelve faces, representing the Apostles, in other small circles of logs, and two angels kneeling".
- 5 BOLZONI L., 2009, *La rete delle immagini*, Einaudi, Torino, p. 69.
- 6 SIMBENI, *Il Lignum Vitae Sancti Francisci in due dipinti di primo trecento a Padova e Verona*, da "Il Santo, Rivista Francescana di storia dottrina arte", XLVI, 2006, fasc. 1-2, pp. 185–214, p. 186.
- 7 SCHMITT, J.-CL., 1999, *Il gesto nel medioevo*, Laterza, Roma - Bari, pp. 4-5.
- 8 The case history is expressed in Lora A., Maccagnan G. et al, 2005, *Le tavolette votive della Madonna dei Miracoli di Lonigo. Catalogo e ricerche*, Vicenza, p. 3.
- 9 RIPA C., 1992, *Iconologia*, a cura di P. Buscaroli, Milano, pp. 267-268. "Aged woman with serious and modest look, sitting on a mountain of books, with her bent arm holds her cheek with her left hand, thoughtfully, and with the other hand has a book, kept half-closed by a few fingers between the pages, wondering about good and honorable topics".
- 10 VOLPE A., 2004, *Frammenti di un'allegoria agostiniana. Quattro 'filosofi' di Dalmasio*, Paragone/Arte, anno LV, Terza serie, n° 53 (647), pp. 3-19, p. 3
- 11 GOMBRICH E. H., 1985, *L'immagine e l'occhio. Altri studi sulla psicologia della rappresentazione pittorica*, Einaudi, Torino, p. 92.
- 12 BERTANI, *Historia*, p. 18.
- 13 TOZZO S., *Gli ex voto di Madonna di Lonigo: storia di una devozione*, in LORA A., MACCAGNAN G. et al, 2005, *Le tavolette votive della Madonna dei Miracoli di Lonigo. Catalogo e ricerche*, Vicenza, p. 20.
- 14 Ibid., p. 21; TASSELLO Q., 1942, *Storia del Santuario della Madonna dei Miracoli di Lonigo*, Albarelli, Verona, p. 133.
- 15 POMELLO A., 1886, *Storia di Lonigo con cenni storici sui comuni del distretto*, Officina tip. vicentina G. Stocchiero, Vicenza, p. 155; RIGONI C., La cappella del Miracolo, in LORAA., MACCAGNAN G. et al, 2005, *Le tavolette votive della Madonna dei Miracoli di Lonigo. Catalogo e ricerche*, Vicenza, p. 17.
- 16 NICOLIN-TONELATO N., 1995, *I "segni" della religiosità leonicena* in Reato E., *Lonigo e il suo Duomo (1895-1995)*, Giovani Editori, Sossano.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 GIAROLO D., 1982, *Memoria sulla Fiera della Madonna di Lonigo con Notizie storiche sulla Fiera di S. Giacomo e sui Mercati*, edizione rist. anast., Cartografia Veneta, Lonigo.

Acknowledgements

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