

PASSIONATE TRANSFORMATION IN VERNICLE IMAGES

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This thesis will examine the iconography of late-thirteenth- through fifteenth-century images of St. Veronica's veil, also known as vernicles. In the late Middle Ages, vernicle iconography changed from iconic representations of Christ's face toward graphic imagery of Christ's suffering during his Passion. These passionate transformations, as I have called them, were affected by the Roman Sudarium relic, popular devotion to Christ's suffering and humanity during his Passion, and the Catholic ritual of Mass. This thesis will consider how the function of vernicle images during Mass was reflected in their iconography throughout Europe between 1250 and 1500.

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RELIGIOUS ARTIFACTS USED IN RESEARCH

This list is intended to describe where reproductions of these artifacts can be located. The objects are listed alphabetically by their title as used in the text of this thesis.

1. *Arma Christi with the Virgin and Mary Magdalene*, Master of the Strauss Madonna, circa 1405, panel. In Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1991), 179.
2. *Book of Hours: Saint Veronica*, Master of Guillebert de Mets, circa 1450-60, manuscript illustration, 19.4 x 14 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Getty Center, Los Angeles.
3. *Chronica Majora: Sudarium*, Matthew Paris, mid-thirteenth century, manuscript illustration. In Flora Lewis "The Veronica: Image, Legend and Viewer" in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium* (Dover: The Boydell Press, 1986.), figure 1.
4. *Cistercian Missal: Bishop Displaying Vernicle*, Anonymous, Pomeranian, circa 1350-75, manuscript illumination. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 344.
5. *Cistercian Missal: Vernicle on Hooks*, Anonymous, Pomeranian, circa 1350-75, manuscript illumination. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 345.
6. *Corporal Case*, Anonymous, German, fifteenth century, linen embroidered with silk on wood, 19 x 19 cm. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 343.
7. *Crucifixion Triptych*, Rogier van der Weyden, 1440, oil on panel, 110 x 141 cm. In Barabara G. Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1984), 78.
8. *Fasti Christianae Religionis: Jubilee Display of Sudarium*, Ludovico Lazarelli, before 1494, manuscript illustration. In Herbert Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 14.
9. *Frame Reliquary* (for Sudarium), Anonymous, Venetian, circa 1350, crystal pane with gilded wood, 40 x 38 x 5 cm. In Lino Moretti, "Atre Veneziana della Meta del Trecento: Custodia della Veronica" in *Venezia e Bisanzio* (Venice: Electa Editrice, 1974), figure 81.

10. *Leather Vernicle Badge*, Anonymous, Westphalian, fourteenth century, painted leather, 8.4 x 4.2 cm. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 324.
11. *Mirabilia Romae: Display of Sudarium*, Anonymous, circa 1475, woodcut. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 334.
12. *Mirabilia urbis Romae: Display of the Sudarium*, Anonymous, circa 1481-9, woodcut. In Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public* (New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, 1990), 19.
13. *Mystic Mass of Saint Gregory, The*, Master of Heilige Sippe, fifteenth century, oil on panel. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 332, 336.
14. *Paten Medallion*, Anonymous, English, fourteenth-fifteenth century, pewter, 29 mm diameter. In Michael Mitchiner, *Medieval Pilgrim & Secular Badges* (London: Hawkins Publications, 1986), 194.
15. *Pax (Placid)*, Anonymous, Venetian, circa 1325, panel. In Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), figure 45.
16. *Pax (Suffering)*, Anonymous, Venetian, late fourteenth century, panel. In Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion 1300-1500* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994), 40.
17. *Peutinger Prayer Book: Vernicle Initial*, Circle of Martinus Opifex, mid-fifteenth century, manuscript illustration. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 335.
18. *Pilgrim Badge (brooch)*, Anonymous, French, fourteenth-fifteenth century, lead, 52 x 35 mm. In Musee National Du Moyen Age-Thermes De Cluny, *Enseignes de Pelerinage et Enseignes Profanes* (Paris: Editions de la Reunion des Musees Nationaux, 1996), 55.
19. *Pilgrim Badge (circular pendant)*, Anonymous, German, fifteenth century, ivory, mother-of-pearl and silver gilt, 2.5 cm diameter. In Linda Seidel, ed., *Pious Journeys: Christian Devotional Art and Practice in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 2001), 47.
20. *Pilgrim Badge (rectangular pendant)*, Anonymous, Roman, thirteenth-fourteenth century, lead, 32 x 37 mm. In Musee National Du Moyen Age-Thermes De Cluny, *Enseignes de Pelerinage et Enseignes Profanes* (Paris: Editions de la Reunion des Musees Nationaux, 1996), 50.
21. *Pilgrim*: detail from Spanish Chapel at S. Maria Novella, Andrea da Firenze, fourteenth century, fresco. In Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), figure 44.
22. *Portrait of a Young Man*, Petrus Christus, circa 1450-60, oil on panel, 35.5 x 26.3 cm. In Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion 1300-1500* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994), 42.

23. *Predella Vernicle*, Anonymous, German (Soflingen bei Ulm), circa 1490, panel. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 337.
24. *Psalter & Hours of Yolande of Soissons, Miniature of the Holy Face* (15r), Anonymous, French, circa 1280-1299, manuscript illustration, 182 x 134 mm. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 357.
25. *Psalter & Hours of Yolande of Soissons, Page with Office of the Holy Face* (14v), Anonymous, French, circa 1280-1299, manuscript illustration, 182 x 134 mm. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 356.
26. *Saint Veronica* (Placid), Master of the Veronica, circa 1420, oil on panel, 44.2 x 88.7 cm. In Neil MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) title page.
27. *Saint Veronica* (Suffering), Master of the Veronica, circa 1420, oil on panel, 77.2 x 47.9 cm. In James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art* (New York: Abrams, 1985), 80.
28. *Sainte Face of Laon*, Anonymous, Slavic, early thirteenth century, panel. In Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 217.
29. *Soest Passion Altarscreen*, Circle of Master of Liesborn, fifteenth century, panel. In Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 319.
30. *Tabernacle*, Giebel vom Sakramentshaus, circa 1450, carved & painted wood. In Bernard Decker, *Die Bildwerke des Mittelalters und der Freurennaissance, 1200-1565* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1994), 35.
31. *Temptation of Saint Anthony, The*, Hieronymus Bosch, late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century, oil on panel, 131.5 x 53 cm. In Walter S. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1973), 151

GLOSSARY

Altarscreen: Altarscreens were placed upon the altar to form a backdrop for the ceremony of Mass. They were often painted wood panels, although some were sculptural. Altarscreens were often composed of several panels: the main panel and several wings; smaller panels which could be folded shut to hide the main panel. Altarscreens composed of two panels, equal in size, were referred to as diptychs. Altarscreens composed of three or more panels were called polyptychs.

Ciborium: An architectural structure designed near an altar. Ciboriums were often balconies or canopies, and sometimes housed a relic.¹

Corporal case: A corporal was a creased white cloth upon which the Host was placed during Mass. The corporal case was a box that held the Host.²

Cult of saints: This phrase refers to the Catholic practice of revering saints. A saint's cult often encompassed its relics, legend, and image.

Devotional painting: A painting of a religious subject; usually a static scene of one or more figures with a solid-color background. This genre of images was used for private meditation and prayer.³

Furta sacra: The phrase literally means "sacred theft." This phrase refers to the medieval practice of stealing relics. The thefts were loosely sanctioned because of the contemporary theory that if a saint allowed his or her relics to be transferred, then he or she approved of the relocation.⁴

Grisaille: A monochromatic painting technique, usually in shades of grey to simulate sculpture.⁵

Hagiography: Hagiography is another term for a saint's legend, or the literature about a saint. A saint's hagiography consisted of the story about his or her life (the *vita*), death (the passion or *passio*), and the transportation of their relics (*translatio* or translation).

¹ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Ciborium."

² *Ibid.*, "Corporal."

³ Jonathan Brown, "The Devotional Paintings of Murillo," in *Bartolome Esteban Murillo (1617-1682): Paintings from American Collections*, ed. Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, 31-45 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2002), 32, 35.

⁴ Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 57.

⁵ Fred S. Kleiner, Christin J. Mamiya, and Richard G. Tansey, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages*, 11th ed. (Fort Worth: Harcourt College Publishers, 2001), 548.

Host: The bread used in the Mass ceremony which represents Christ's flesh.

Iconography: The content or subject of an artwork. It includes the study of symbolic and/or religious meaning of objects or persons depicted in an artwork.⁶

Indulgence: A pardon given by the Church to an individual, for a specified amount of time otherwise to be spent in Purgatory doing penance for earthly sins. An indulgence of ten days granted the holder reprieve from ten day's worth of his or her total time spent in Purgatory.⁷

Mandylion: First mentioned in the late fourth century, the Mandylion was an impression of Christ's face on a cloth that bore healing power. Christ sent this portrait as a gift to the King of Abgar, who was healed by looking at the image. Unlike the Rome-bound Sudarium, this cloth remained in the east and ultimately was kept in Constantinople.

Mass (or Eucharist): The Mass is the central ceremony of Catholicism. In the Mass, the Eucharist is the portion during which the Host (bread) is consecrated and becomes Christ's flesh.

Missal: A book containing all of the hymns, prayers, and other offices associated with the Mass. It was used by the officiating priest.

Paten: A shallow dish in which the Host was placed during Mass.⁸

Pax: A panel which the congregation kissed during the kiss of peace in the Mass ceremony. They were usually painted with the image of Christ or a saint.

Pilgrim: An individual who journeys to a place, usually a shrine or church, with the purpose of venerating a particular saint, to ask for supernatural aid, or to fulfill a religious obligation.⁹

Pilgrim badge: A brooch, pendant, or other token of a particular saint or shrine that visually marked a certain traveler as a pilgrim.

Predella: The narrow ledge on which an altarscreen rests, often painted.¹⁰

⁶ Ibid., 549.

⁷ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Indulgences."

⁸ Ibid., "Paten."

⁹ Ibid., "Pilgrimages."

¹⁰ Kleiner, *Gardner's*, 553.

Relics: Relics are the remains of a saint. There are three classes of relics: physical relics, secondary relics, and tertiary relics. Physical relics were body parts or excretory objects (such as blood), secondary relics were objects that touched the saint during their life, and tertiary relics were objects that had touched a saint's relics.¹¹

Reliquary: A container in which relics were placed for protection and/or display. Reliquaries were made in many different shapes and were often jeweled or otherwise decorated.

Rood screen: A screen or wall spanning the nave of a church, which separated the congregation from the choir, where the clerics celebrated Mass at the altar.¹²

Tabernacle: A cabinet that held the consecrated Host after transubstantiation. They were displayed on the altar, either as a free-standing structure or incorporated into the altarscreen.

Transubstantiation: The doctrine that the bread of the Host and the wine are literally converted into Christ's flesh and blood during the Eucharist.

¹¹ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Relics."

¹² *Ibid.*, "Rood."

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis will examine the iconography of late-thirteenth- through fifteenth-century images of St. Veronica's veil, also known as vernicles. In the late Middle Ages, vernicle iconography changed from iconic representations of Christ's face toward graphic imagery of Christ's suffering during his Passion. These passionate transformations, as I have called them, were affected by the Roman Sudarium relic, popular devotion to Christ's suffering and humanity during his Passion, and the Catholic ritual of Mass. This thesis will consider how the function of vernicle images during Mass was reflected in their iconography throughout Europe between 1250 and 1500.

St. Veronica was a first-century woman who gave Christ a cloth to wipe the sweat from his face as he carried the cross to Calvary. The cloth displayed a miraculous image of Christ's face after he used it. This likeness, one of the most popular images of Catholicism, is variously called the Holy Face, Veronica's veil, the veronica, vernicle, or Sudarium. The many names hint at the ambiguity associated with this holy relic. For instance, sources often refer to an image as "the veronica" without specifying whether the term refers to the specific relic now in Rome or to one of the many paintings that incorporate this symbol of Christ's Passion. For this reason, I prefer to call the Roman relic the Sudarium, and to call images of the veil bearing Christ's face vernicles.¹

This cloth has taken various forms in image and legend over the centuries. Today we are

¹ The term Sudarium comes from the Latin word for handkerchief, and refers to the napkin or sheet of cloth that Veronica carried when she met Christ. Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 5.

most familiar with a late version of the tale as described above. This version of the legend was codified in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the first sculptural and painted programs of the Stations of the Cross; the sixth station consisted of Veronica wiping blood and sweat from Christ's face with a cloth.² As the phrase "Stations of the Cross" implies, by this time the Veronica legend had become universally identified with Christ's Passion. However, this had not always been the case. The images discussed in this thesis also reflect earlier versions of the story, before its origins were associated with Christ's Passion. These earlier variations will be discussed in this thesis where appropriate.

Review of the Literature

The present thesis builds upon the rich bibliography associated with Veronica, the Sudarium, and vernicles. Many studies of Saint Veronica's veil focus on only one aspect of the cult, usually the literature or the images. Ewa Kuryluk's *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image* (1991) considers the legend. Kuryluk's work spans the Veronica cult's evolution from the eighth century to the present, considering images, legend, and history with equal weight. Kuryluk's primary subject is the Veronica/Hemorhissa character, viewed outside of time and social context.³ Her comprehensive introduction provides a solid foundation for research. Kuryluk uses images as evocative illustrations of the Veronica story, but pays little attention to their iconography. Therefore, the images reproduced range from a thirteenth-century icon to a nineteenth-century painting.

Interdisciplinary studies can be confusing due to ambiguous vernicle terminology. Hans Belting, for example, tends to conflate the relic with the image, treating them interchangeably.

² Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art. Volume II: The Passion of Jesus Christ*, trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1968, 1972), 82.

³ Hemorrhissa is a name for Veronica in the earliest manuscripts. Kuryluk, *True Image*, 5-6.

To assess his information, close attention must be paid to his sources to determine if the term veronica is used to describe the relic, image, legend, or saint in a particular instance. This is particularly true of Belting's *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages* (1990), in which he defines the Sudarium as an image, rather than concentrating on its status as a relic. In his work, the Sudarium's relevance is its identity as a miraculous image. Belting's studies illustrate the Western church's importation of icons from the East in 1204 and the subsequent status of religious images. Belting's footnotes are particularly valuable because he provides many excerpts from primary sources. This is advantageous in instances where the original word is vital, such as the distinction between Sudarium and veronica.

Like Belting, Karen Gould includes full text excerpts in her footnotes. In her short monograph on the *Book of Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (1978), Gould dedicates fourteen pages to just two folios in that manuscript. The first page depicts a vernicle and the facing page bears its accompanying office. Her work is unique because it focuses on just one example of a vernicle image, rather than a broad overview. Gould's presentation of the relic's history is concise and well-documented, making her work invaluable for further research.

Alvin E. Ford's work *La Vengeance de Notre-Seigneur: The Old and Middle French Prose Versions* (1993) examines a number of French Veronica texts by tracing their similarities and differences, and by reconstructing their probable literary evolution. This work is a solid foundation for analysis of the legend's development. It is a comprehensive study that includes original French texts, English summaries, and charts dividing specific manuscripts into thematic groups.

The most significant and influential text for the present thesis is Jeffrey Hamburger's extensive catalog of vernicles in *The Visual and the Visionary* (1997). Hamburger's study has

informed the content and format of this thesis because he examines vernicles in a number of different contexts (pilgrim badges, manuscript illustrations, altarscreens), and takes that context into account when interpreting the significance and function of each image. Hamburger pays particular attention to the response of nuns in Northern Europe, who viewed these images on a daily basis. Hamburger's work encompasses a broad survey of vernicles and their social function. Though inspired by Hamburger's model, the present thesis applies this model to discover the significance of vernicle iconography within the specific context of the Mass. The thesis's iconographic study is furthermore more specific, examining two shifts that occurred in the iconography during the fourteenth century. This thesis also considers additional types of vernicles, including those found on utilitarian objects used during the Mass such as paxes, tabernacles, and patens. Vernicle iconography reflects the significance and function of these objects during specific parts of the Mass ceremony.

The history of the Sudarium and its image is complex, with layers of significance that are difficult to tease apart. Though information on this topic at first appears simple and standardized when repeated in many secondary sources, an attentive study reveals subtle, yet significant, differences in the texts and images. Much of the difficulty stems from confusion surrounding terminology. This terminology problem is particularly clear in some interdisciplinary studies that address images, legends, and the relic interchangeably. These studies, for example, commonly refer to "a veronica" or "the veronica" without identifying that image as a painting or the relic itself. This kind of confusion can be resolved by examining the terms used by primary sources when referring to Veronica's cloth.

The primary sources for this study include church documents and the various Veronica legends. The Veronica legends were primarily gathered from Ford's study, since first-hand

examination of the documents was not possible. The church documents, which include inventories and chronicles, were found in appendices and footnotes in the works by Hans Belting, Karen Gould, and Jeffrey Hamburger.

Like terminology, iconographic trends in vernicle imagery remain an under-studied avenue of inquiry; the relationship between new iconography and the Sudarium relic in Rome is particularly unknown. The fourteenth-century transformation of vernicle iconography to include Passion imagery has been mentioned by several scholars, but never examined in depth. For example, in *Likeness and Presence*, Hans Belting suggested that in “about 1300, in the *Bible* of Roger of Argenteuil [the Holy Face is introduced] as a motif from the Passion. . . . From that time on, the replicas of the image adopt the motif of the crown of thorns.”⁴ Karen Gould also believes that, “From around 1300 . . . as related in Roger d’Argenteuil’s *Bible* in French, . . . the visual iconography also changed to show the face of the suffering Christ with the crown of thorns and blood running down his face.”⁵ While they acknowledge the role the new Passion narrative played in transforming vernicle iconography, neither scholar relates the transformation in the narrative to the history of the Roman Sudarium circa 1300. The present thesis consequently scrutinizes vernicles in relation to the contemporary history of the relic, its legends, and popular devotion to the Passion.

Methodology

This thesis is based on close examination of vernicles, Mass rituals, literary accounts of Saint Veronica, and historical records related to the Sudarium. The methodology of this thesis is

⁴ Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*, Translated by Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer (New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, 1990), 218, 220.

⁵ Karen Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1978), 83n36.

most similar to the approach utilized by Henk van Os in *The Art of Devotion: 1300-1500* (1994). Van Os considers a variety of images within the context of their function. He explores their function at its most basic level: how people held, touched, and prayed in front of these images. Although he emphasizes the everyday use of these images, he also recognizes their iconographic and iconological significance.

This thesis demands a similar methodology. Qualitative analysis was an appropriate primary method due to this thesis's iconographic emphasis. First, I gathered data in the form of vernicles. I then classified and assigned types to those images. I organized over fifty different images in a database and cataloged the iconographic details for each. These records appear in the appendix, and a list of the locations of all reproductions to which I have referred is included in the front matter as "Religious Artifacts Used in Research." I used this database to create queries that sorted the images according to iconographic details and date. Using this primary data, I was able to view iconographical changes in the images over time.

This thesis also considers how hagiographical texts, popular devotion to Christ's Passion, and Mass rituals were reflected in vernicle iconography. At the same time, the thesis does not look solely at textual explanations for symbolic elements. This would be a particularly difficult approach since the texts contradict each other and are often filled with the same confusion as modern writings on the topic. This thesis therefore introduces a sociological approach and looks for meaning within social function and reception.⁶ The thesis consequently examines how the iconography of vernicles, their materials, and their locations before a pious public affected their reception.

⁶ Brendan Cassidy, "Introduction: Iconography, Texts, and Audiences," in *Iconography at the Crossroads*, ed. Brendan Cassidy, 3-15 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Following the present introduction, Chapter II is dedicated to the history of Veronica and the Sudarium as a background for this study. It provides a brief overview of the cult of saints and the reverence of their relics in medieval Europe. This chapter traces the beginning of the Veronica legend in the fourth century to the appearance of the physical relic in Rome in the tenth century. It also considers that relic's role in promoting Rome as a major pilgrimage center in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Particular attention is paid to the years 1208 and 1300, when the relic was respectively identified as an image and as associated with the Passion. These two years were pivotal to the development of vernicle iconography.

The third chapter examines the iconography of the vernicle with its representation of Christ's face on cloth. The iconographic analysis of the vernicles begins in this chapter. This thesis divides vernicles into four iconographic groups, those representing the Passion narrative, the Arma Christi, Saint Veronica, and the Sudarium alone. The chapter then examines two iconographic shifts within those groups, when the placid face of Christ was transformed into a suffering face and into a dark face. This chapter contends that the suffering face vernicles, common after 1350, indicate that vernicle iconography reflects the merging of Veronica hagiography and the Roman Sudarium traditions in 1300, as discussed in Chapter II. This chapter further concludes that the dark face iconography was adopted from Mandylion images and later came to symbolize Christ's agony during the Passion. This chapter provides a deeper level of analysis and is related more specifically to Veronica literature than previous vernicle studies.

Chapter IV continues the analysis of vernicles, classifying with greater specificity in light of their various locations. Vernicles are examined in altarscreens, devotional paintings, liturgical books, prayer books, and pilgrim badges. Each class of objects is considered in light of its

function.⁷ This thesis studies a greater range of objects and examines their function in greater detail than previous studies. The chapter uses the iconographic types outlined in Chapter III and considers why particular iconographic types are found in certain locations. However, the full significance of iconography in terms of function will be discussed in the context of the Mass in Chapter V.

The fifth chapter is a case study in vernicles located on objects that played specific roles in the ceremony of Mass. Contextual information on the furniture, liturgy, and history of the Mass is briefly provided. The chapter considers how vernicles can best be interpreted within the context of the Mass, where these objects' iconography and function operated cooperatively.

⁷ In this thesis, some vernicles are referred to in places as image or as object. When speaking on an iconographic level, vernicles are called images. However, in medieval and early modern times, most religious images had a specific function. Therefore, when speaking of the use of images, particularly within the context of the Mass, I tend to describe them as objects to connote the sense that they were functional.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The present chapter presents the historical backgrounds of the Sudarium relic in Rome, the literary legend of Veronica's veil, and the vernicles. It begins with a brief background on the cult of saints, their relics, and hagiography in order to put this historical information into context. This chapter reveals that there were no vernicles prior to 1216 because the relic did not bear an image until circa 1208. It further reveals that vernicles began to display Passion imagery circa 1350 because the relic became associated with Christ's Passion around 1300. Consequently the chapter considers the integration of the Passion story with the Sudarium legend after 1300. The chapter concludes that the Passion entered the Sudarium literature and later the vernicles because the Church promoted the relationship of Christ's final hours with the Roman relic.

Veronica and the Cult of Relics

The cult of saints and relics developed out of late antique Roman attitudes toward death. Family members revered the bodies of the dead, particularly the clergy, because their souls were believed to inhabit their physical remains. Early Christians preserved the remains of the martyrs, believing that their intimacy with God allowed

them to intercede for living Christians.¹ The earliest surviving hagiographic literature, *The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp* circa AD 167, reports that the martyr's body was preserved as a relic for veneration, and a feast-day was established to celebrate the anniversary of his death.² When the AD 313 Edict of Milan's acceptance of Christianity reduced the supply of fresh martyrs, Christians turned to new intercessors. Saints were now revered for acts other than martyrdom. The church considered ascetics, bishops, and teachers to be saints and gave them titles such as "doctor" or "confessor." The qualification for sainthood became a life of holiness that was formally recognized by a Church community. A formalized canonization process did not appear until the twelfth century, so many saints were venerated on a local basis.³

Christians considered the tomb to be the locus of a saint's power.⁴ Most post-mortem miracles occurred there. The physical remains, called relics, were the doorway through which living Christians could communicate with the saintly dead, who would then intercede with Christ on their behalf. In Latin, relics were referred to as *pignora*, which translates as a pledge. A relic was therefore a pledge of a saint's intercessory authority.⁵

Relics were divided into pieces, such as fingers, the tongue, or the entire head, and distributed to churches. The faithful believed that the saints would be resurrected on the Day of Judgment and all the parts from separate locations would fuse together to become a body for the saint's soul. Thus, each separate piece of a saint's body was believed to house that saint's soul, presence, and power.⁶ The practice of dividing a saint's relics enabled different churches to own a portion of a particular saint's body and share in his/her power. Relic ownership was essential

¹ Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 5-7.

² *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Martyr."

³ *Ibid.*, "Beatification and Canonization of Saints."

⁴ Brown, *Cult of Saints*, 51, 75.

⁵ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Relics."

⁶ Brown, *Cult of Saints*, 78; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Relics."

because canon law decreed that relics be placed inside altars as part of the ceremony of their consecration.⁷

The Catholic Church recognizes three categories of relics. Physical relics are the physical remains of a saint.⁸ These are body parts, such as the lips, heart, or a finger described above; Mary Magdalene is one of a very few saints preserved intact. Ironically, the two most revered persons in Christendom left few physical remains; Christ and the Virgin Mary were each bodily taken into Heaven. Consequently, their physical remains are excretory objects, such as fingernail clippings, hair, foreskin, breast milk, and blood. The second class of relics is known as secondary relics. Secondary relics are objects that touched the saint during his or her life, and therefore retained that saint's power. Secondary relics are often garments like a cloak or girdle or other objects that the saint owned, such as a book.⁹ The last category is tertiary relics. These are objects that touched a saint's relics and were then transformed into relics themselves. These include *brandea*, cloths lowered by pilgrims onto a saint's tomb, and were believed to possess thaumaturgical powers.¹⁰

A relic shortage between 800 and 1100 spawned a brisk trade in the holy objects. Most of the early Christian martyrs' bones had been claimed by the ninth century, producing a shortage. To obtain the needed items, churches could receive relics as gifts from another church, new relics could be discovered, or they could be stolen.¹¹

Since few churches were willing to part with revered relics, communities needing the holy objects turned to invention and theft. The creation of new relics became so great that the

⁷ Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 25, 34-35; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Relics."

⁸ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Relics."

⁹ Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage c.700-c.1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 6.

¹⁰ These cloths were common at the tomb of St. Peter in Rome. Brown, *Cult of Saints*, 87-88; Webb, *Medieval*, 6.

¹¹ Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 57.

Fourth Lateran Council ruled in 1215 that no new relics were to be officially recognized. This law was formed in an effort to quell the sudden influx of new, invented saints, many of which were blatant counterfeits. Its effect, however, was to exacerbate the relic shortage.

Consequently *furta sacra*, holy theft, became a common occurrence. In fact, many instances of *furta sacra* were sanctioned by the Church—“revered as works of piety rather than of greed.”¹²

Medieval reasoning allowed that since the theft of a saint’s relics could only happen with the holy person’s approval, the theft was not a crime.¹³ Clerics offered as evidence accounts of saints that had foiled attempts to steal or move their remains. Conversely, accounts of relic theft or transportation, called *translatio*, became incorporated into the stories of some saints’ lives, the hagiographies that allowed the faithful to study the holy characters.¹⁴

The hagiographic legends provided the symbols medieval artists employed to identify the saints they painted and sculpted. The objects that accompany saints are called their attributes, and constitute symbolic representations of the saint’s life and *passio* or death. Saint Veronica’s attribute is called the vernicle, the Sudarium that bears the image of Christ. Legends from the eleventh and twelfth centuries tell that Veronica was healed by Christ shortly before his death. She owned a cloth upon which he left his image by rubbing it on his face. After his death, Veronica and the cloth were taken to Rome by servants of the Roman emperor.

Veronica's position as a saint is unique. The focus of her legend is the Sudarium itself, not her saintly life. There are few miracles in her legend, and all are attributed to the Sudarium, not Veronica. This distinctive relic is not her own physical or touch relic, but rather Christ’s. And while Veronica legends written after 1600 focus upon Veronica's life and actions, the

¹² Ibid., 57, 114-115.

¹³ Ibid., 104, 109, 113.

¹⁴ Ibid., 118-119.

earliest accounts do not emphasize her role.¹⁵ Veronica's peripheral position can be seen in many images of the late Middle Ages, which represent the miraculous portrait on the cloth, but not its owner. In these early accounts and images, Veronica's tale is brief. Her sole narrative purpose is to take the cloth to Christ to have it imprinted with his likeness and to transport that image to Rome. Veronica's legend and the history of the relic are therefore interwoven. A chronological survey of the Sudarium/Veronica cult illustrates its development and is necessary for understanding the images.

What began as a mundane piece of cloth became one of the most treasured relics in the Western Church. The Sudarium was a secondary relic of Christ himself, bearing traces of his bloody sweat, known as hematidrosis, from his agonizing meditation in the Garden of Gethsemane.¹⁶ Although the cloth was not an actual piece of Christ, it bore traces of his physical matter. This made it a significant relic because few bodily relics of Christ existed, since he ascended into heaven. Apart from its role as a physical relic, the Sudarium was associated with Christ's Passion and therefore with the core beliefs of Catholicism. The Sudarium's significance as a relic of Christ and a symbol of Christian redemption was similar to the significance of the

¹⁵ Alvin E. Ford, *La Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur: The Old and Middle French Prose Versions: The Cura Sanitatis Tierii (The Mission of Volusian), the Nathanis Judaei Legatio (Vindicta Slavatoria), and the Versions Found in the Bible en Francois of Roger d'Argenteuil or Influenced by the Works of Flavius Josephus, Robert de Boron and Jacobus de Voragine* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993), 6; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Saint Veronica." During the fifteenth century, it became increasingly common for Veronica to be depicted holding the veil, and to illustrate the entire narrative scene of Christ's Passion. This shift in focus will be described in greater detail in a later chapter. In a fashion similar to this visual shift, after the fifteenth century the literature of Veronica's veil began to focus on Veronica's personal life after her arrival in Rome, rather than the miraculous nature of the relic. French legends particularly explored Veronica's later life in detail.

¹⁶ Neil MacGregor and Erika Langmuir, *Seeing Salvation: Images of Christ in Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 90-92. It is necessary to emphasize that the Roman relic and the Veronica legends outside of Rome were different until 1300. The most significant difference is that while the legends stress that the cloth bore an image of Christ's face, the Roman relic was not said to bear an image. The origins of the cloth bear a smaller discrepancy. The Roman relic was identified as a relic of Christ from Gethsemane during the eleventh century. At this time, the Veronica legend described the cloth as originating either as a painting, or, increasingly toward the fourteenth century, as coming from Christ on Calvary. In 1300, the Argenteuil Bible was published and the legends thereafter always referred to the cloth's origins during the Passion, specifically on the road to Calvary. After this point, vernicles commonly referred to the Calvary location, and eventually this became absorbed into the story of the relic in Rome.

crown of thorns.

The Sudarium bridged a gap between physical and secondary relics. It was revered in Rome as a physical relic, bearing the blood and sweat of Christ from Gethsemane. Its presence was documented in the Holy City as of 1013. However, the hagiographic legends that developed outside of Rome did not mention traces of blood or sweat. Instead, they revered the Holy Face as both a miraculous portrait of Christ, and as a secondary relic that touched his face. The Sudarium was not merely a painted portrait, but an exact replica of his face. These two traditions were blended around 1300, producing a greater legacy for this object. It was now simultaneously seen as a physical relic, a secondary relic, and a miraculous image.

The oral Veronica legend and the written hagiography predate the earliest documentation of the physical existence of the relic. The legend of Veronica's encounter with Christ can be dated to 375, while the relic is not recorded in Rome until 1011.¹⁷ The first oral legends are referred to in literary sources as dating to the fourth and fifth centuries; the earliest surviving manuscript of the legend, the *Vindicta Salvatoris*, dates to the early eighth century.¹⁸ The Sudarium was identified with Veronica's legend by 1216, but only after 1300 did Christ's Passion definitively become the event that produced the miraculous image.

The Veronica hagiography does not follow a traditional model. The *vita* is brief and there is no *passio*. The *vita* includes up to three miracles, depending on the author. All are miracles of healing, but Veronica performs none of this healing herself; it is the image upon her

¹⁷ Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1991), 118; Ian Wilson, *The Blood and the Shroud: New Evidence that the World's Most Sacred Relic is Real* (New York: Free Press, 1998), 269-270.

¹⁸ Kuryluk, *True Image*, 120-121; Phyllis Moe, *The ME Prose Translation of Roger d'Argenteuil's Bible en Francois* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1977), 22; Ford, *Vengeance*, 5; Carroll Hilles, "The Sacred Image and the Healing Touch: The Veronica in Julian of Norwich's *Revelation of Love*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 3 (1998): 579n43. It is probable that the Veronica legend had changed substantially from its oral roots in the fourth century by the time it became written down. It no doubt evolved as it passed through various storytellers and languages through the centuries. These considerations are beyond the scope of the present thesis.

cloth that performs each miracle. In a few versions, Veronica is not even present for the miracle; the relic is the powerful agent.

The Relic in Rome

The earliest evidence of the relic's physical existence, not just its legendary presence, dates from the eleventh century, when the relic is documented as present in St. Peter's, Rome. In 1011, Pope Segius IV consecrated an altar in the chapel of John VII. A contemporary church register mentioned that the chapel was dedicated to the Sudarium.¹⁹ Not only was a chapel dedicated to the Sudarium, but the eleventh-century *Chronicle of Benedict of Soracte*, refers to it thus: "Johannes papa . . . fecit oratorium sancta Dei Genitricis opera pulcherrimo intra ecclesia Petri Apostoli ubi dicitur Veronica."²⁰ This signifies that the Sudarium was connected with Veronica's name almost as early as its first reference.²¹ Another document from the Vatican archives mentions "Johannes clericus et mansionarius S. Marie de Beronica." In this reference, Beronica is another form of the Latin name Veronica, similar to the Greek form Berenice.²²

Another early account dates from 1191, when Pope Celestine III exhibited the Sudarium to King Philip of France.²³ A third text describes how Celestine built a two-story ciborium, or

¹⁹ Wilson, *Blood and Shroud*, 269-270; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 541.

²⁰ Karen Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons*, (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1978), 84, 84n40); Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 541. These Latin fragments roughly translate as: "Father John . . . holy chapel of the Worthy and Beautiful Mother inside the church of the Apostle Peter where is mentioned Veronica," and "Clergyman John however abides in [the chapel of] S. Mary of Veronica."

²¹ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art. Volume II: The Passion of Jesus Christ*, trans. Janet Seligman, 2nd ed. (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1972), 78. This seems to indicate that although the Roman relic was described with different origins, its similarity to the Veronica legends (a cloth that had touched Christ) suggested to the Roman church that it was connected to that narrative. However, the legend and the relic were not fully connected at this point. Although the relic was connected with Veronica's name, it did not possess an image. The Veronica legend in the eleventh century mentions an image, but is not associated with the Passion or Christ's blood. See note 16 in this chapter for further clarification.

²² Kuryluk, *True Image*, 5; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 541.

²³ Gould, *Yolande of Soissons*, 84; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 541.

architectural reliquary, for the relic in 1197.²⁴ The ciborium was built on a balcony above the altar in the chapel of John VII. In the upper level, six columns were arranged around a central section made of bronze grillwork. The Sudarium was kept locked inside this cage. By the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century, the Sudarium was displayed from the balcony of the relic ciborium.

Two later woodcuts and a painting of the *Display of the Sudarium* give visual evidence of this kind of display.²⁵ These images depict the Sudarium held aloft in a frame, which, like most reliquaries, displays the holy object behind panes that were likely made of crystal.²⁶ The pane was fashioned of crystal for two reasons. It was a precious material suitable for protecting a sacred object.²⁷ Also, the use of a transparent material and a frame rather than a reliquary bust or free-standing chest enabled a fervent audience to easily view the image.²⁸ The reliquary's shape and function, that of a frame, further encouraged the audience to view the Sudarium as an image, rather than a mere piece of cloth. The frame-shape and the display from the balcony together produced a ritual crafted to denote the Sudarium's dual role as relic and image. Although the twelfth-century frame has disappeared, the Vatican owns another frame made for the Sudarium in Venice in 1350; the Venetian example retains the same form.²⁹ But what exactly was displayed in the frame? The answer is not as obvious as it appears.

²⁴ Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*, Translated by Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer, (New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, 1990), 267n47.

²⁵ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of these items (#8, 10, 11).

²⁶ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 221, 577n37; Belting, *Image and Public*, 214, 267n47, and 268n48; Lino Moretti, "Arte Veneziana della Meta del Trecento: Custodia della Veronica," *Venezia e Bisanzio*, eds. Italo Furlan et. al., 81 (Venezia: Electra Editrice, 1974), 81.

²⁷ Moretti, *Venezia*, 81.

²⁸ Belting, *Image and Public*, 212-214.

²⁹ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#9).

The Complicated Nature of the Relic

The origins of the image-bearing cloth described in the *Vindicta Salvatoris* manuscript began to change in the late twelfth century.³⁰ Although the Sudarium is today popularly understood to bear the likeness of Christ, miraculously transferred to Veronica's cloth upon touching his face, this was not always so. Competing versions of the Veronica legend offered contradictory descriptions of the cloth and differing accounts of its source. *The Mission of Volusian* (thirteenth century) relates that Veronica painted a portrait of Christ upon the cloth in thanks for her miraculous healing.³¹ In *The Golden Legend* (1260), Veronica tells Volusian that she had been taking cloth to a painter to obtain a portrait of Christ. Instead, Christ met her on her way and pressed his face to the cloth, leaving an image.³² D'Argenteuil's *Bible en Francois* (1300) and *Le Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal* (late twelfth century), relate that Christ wiped his face with Veronica's cloth on his way to Calvary.³³ In *The Version of Japeth* (fourteenth century), Veronica tells Gaius that she received the image-bearing cloth from Christ's mother at the foot of the cross.³⁴ This relationship between Veronica and Christ's Passion was, contrary to popular belief, a late addition to the legend.

The Veronica legend has periodically been associated with Christ's Passion since the late twelfth century. After the d'Argenteuil *Bible* (1300) the Passion was a permanent addition to the Veronica narrative. With the addition of Christ's Passion to the Veronica narrative, the cult of

³⁰ The manuscripts Ford describes date from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. The parent documents were composed earlier, many during the later twelfth and early thirteenth century. Ford, *Vengeance*, 1-4; Moe, *ME Prose*, 22-24.

³¹ Ford, *Vengeance*, 38, 66.

³² Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2-vol. ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 1:53.

³³ Ford, *Vengeance*, 82, 139, 140; Moe, *ME Prose*, 24. This is the earliest instance of the Passion in a Veronica narrative. However, it does not compare to the pivotal d'Argenteuil manuscript, because this was a lesser-known version and later versions were not influenced by it. The d'Argenteuil *Bible* was important because after it, all written Veronica legends mentioned the Passion.

³⁴ Ford, *Vengeance*, 2-6; Moe, *ME Prose*, 23.

the Sudarium gained new prominence in Rome. In 1208, Innocent III instituted an annual procession from St. Peter's to the Sancto Spirito hospital to be held every January on the first Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany.³⁵ While at the Sancto Spirito hospital, the pope preached about charity, distributed money to locals and pilgrims, and displayed the Sudarium for the benefit of the poor and sick. Hence the relic was now displayed annually, which also increased its popularity among the pilgrims to Rome. But there was another reason that the Sudarium grew in popularity at this time: it now bore an image of Christ's face.

Again, contrary to popular belief today, the Sudarium did not always bear the image of Christ. In fact, the relic appears to have gained the likeness over one thousand years after the death of Christ, despite the Veronica legends by Volusian, Voragine, and others discussed above. The precise date when the bloody sweat stains were transformed into a likeness is a subject of debate, but scholars on both sides take their evidence from first-hand accounts rather than the vitae and saintly legends. Hans Belting and Debra Birch believe that the Sudarium gained the image around 1200.³⁶ The relic must have been transformed after the visit of King Philip in 1191, when observers do not mention a face, but before the annual processions began in 1208, although Belting is not convinced that it possessed an image before the first processions.³⁷ The Sudarium definitely bore an image by 1210 when Gervase of Tilbury referred to it in his *Otia imperialia* as a likeness of Christ from the chest up.³⁸ Five years later, Gerald of Wales mentioned an impression of Christ's face on "Veronica's robe" that he viewed while in Rome in

³⁵ Gould, *Yolande of Soissons*, 84.

³⁶ Belting, *Image and Public*, 133, 219, 221. Belting states that the Sudarium "probably first became a painted relic at this moment, while before it had merely been a cloth relic. . . . its transformation into an image, was the Roman answer to the claim made for imported images such as the Mandylion, that they were authentic or had originated miraculously" (133). Debra Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 1998), 114-116. Birch cites J. Wilpert as stating that an image was painted on the cloth just before 1216.

³⁷ Belting, *Image and Public*, 133, 219, 221.

³⁸ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 541-542; Belting, *Image and Public*, 219; Gould, *Yolande of Soissons*, 86.

1204.³⁹ To confuse the matter further, the newly-visible face spawned legends, like Voragine's and Volusian's, that described the likeness dating back to the life and death of Christ.

This newly declared image-relic exhibited its miraculous power in 1216. Matthew Paris related in his *Chronica majora* of circa 1233-45 that during the annual procession to Sancto Spirito, the image of Christ's face on the Sudarium miraculously turned itself upside-down.⁴⁰ Innocent III took this as a sign that the Sudarium was not being properly venerated, and promptly wrote an office and prayer to be recited before the image. Anyone reciting the office and prayer was granted an indulgence of ten days. This reward, added to the forty days' indulgence given to anyone participating in the annual procession, undoubtedly added to the popularity of the Sudarium. This general popularity could now be channeled into a proper cult; the image-relic had proven its authenticity and furthered its cult by its miraculous act.⁴¹

The miracle's date is significant because it followed the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, an important congress for the Western Church. At that meeting, the word transubstantiation was accepted as a proper expression of the doctrine of the Eucharist, the conversion of the bread of the Host and wine into the body and blood of Christ.⁴² Contemporary interest in the Eucharist created a great desire for the public to witness Christ's presence in the consecrated Host.⁴³ This desire was sparked by the elevation of the Host, introduced in the twelfth century. The Host was

³⁹ Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 114-116; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 541-5442.

⁴⁰ Matthew Paris's account also included the earliest recorded image of the Roman Sudarium; more on this in following chapters. Gould, *Yolande of Soissons*, 86; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 220, 312; Belting, *Image and Public*, 14, 132-133; Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 142-143; Flora Lewis, "The Veronica: Image, Legend and Viewer," in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W. M. Ormrod, 100-106 (Dover: The Boydell Press, 1986), 100n4; Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: the Rise of Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Abo: Abo Akademi, 1965), 23.

⁴¹ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 312.

⁴² Hilles, *Sacred Image*, 553-580, 564.

⁴³ Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 1979), 88, 119, 122, 124.

lifted at the moment of its transformation for the congregation to witness.⁴⁴ Thus, the appearance of Christ's face in the Sudarium may have reflected this desire for visual verification. The Sudarium was, after all, by this point understood as a relic of Christ's Passion, and a very visual one at that. Hence it participated in the Redemption that contemporary witnesses of the transubstantiation enjoyed. Consequently the presence of Christ in the Host had a corollary in the image of his face on the Sudarium.⁴⁵ Chapter V will address this relationship in great detail.

New reliquary types of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also responded to this desire to see the source of holiness. Figural reliquaries, also known as talking reliquaries, were made in the shape of the relics they contained, commonly busts or limbs.⁴⁶ The emphasis on sight in the laity was reflected in the design of other reliquaries, which were built with crystal windows that made relics visible.⁴⁷ These reliquaries enabled the congregation to view relics on a daily basis, rather than on a few holy days. The Sudarium's frame reliquary is an example of such a window.⁴⁸ Window and figural reliquaries were sometimes the only way that the congregation viewed relics, due to the 1215 Lateran Council's stipulation that the display of relics outside their reliquaries was forbidden.⁴⁹ This principle was formed in response to the abuse common when relics were displayed. Such abuse was exemplified by a particularly fervent worshipper who bit off two pieces of Mary Magdalene's finger while viewing her relics.⁵⁰ However, this tenet was not strictly enforced. So many ecclesiasts ignored this ruling that it was repeated in 1255 and

⁴⁴ Oakley, *Western Church*, 88, 119, 122-124.

⁴⁵ Hilles, *Sacred Image*, 564.

⁴⁶ Belting, *Image and Public*, 82.

⁴⁷ Belting, *Image and Public*, 82.

⁴⁸ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 221, 577n37; Belting, *Image and Public*, 214, 267n47, 268n48; Moretti, *Venezia*, 81. See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#9).

⁴⁹ Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 110.

⁵⁰ David Sox, *Relics and Shrines* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), 44.

again in 1279.⁵¹

The last tenet of the Lateran Council declared that the authenticity of relics must be proven. This tenet had the most direct bearing on the 1216 miracle, when the Sudarium turned itself upside down.⁵² A miracle that declared a relic's sanctified power was the simplest way to prove its authenticity. It seems significant that the miracle occurred just one year after the Council declared that relics must be proven genuine.⁵³ I do not mean to imply that Innocent III necessarily staged a miracle for the purpose of authenticating the Sudarium and creating a new, popular cult to bring the masses to his church. It seems unlikely that St. Peter's, which held the father of Western Christendom, would have a need to gain higher status. Innocent probably realized that the Sudarium needed to be authenticated as a relic, particularly in light of the recent declaration that it bore an image. Perhaps when a gust of wind flipped the relic upside down, Innocent saw an opportunity.⁵⁴ Perhaps he truly believed that he saw a miracle. The fact remains that the church stated a relic must be verified and, whether by coincidence or design, the miracle of 1216 coincided with the Lateran Council's last tenet. The Sudarium was already an object of popular devotion between 1208 and 1216, but the miracle sanctioned the cult.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 110. Birch cites canon 9 of the Council of Bordeaux, 1255, and canon 27 of the Council of Budapest, 1279.

⁵² Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 110; Hilles, *Sacred Image*, 564; Brenda M. Bolton, "Advertise the Message: Images in Rome at the Turn of the Twelfth Century," in *The Church and the Arts: Papers read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood, 117-130 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 125.

⁵³ Belting, *Image and Public*, 133. Belting believes that it is further not coincidental that these events closely follow the 1204 Sack of Constantinople, when eastern icons began to enter western churches. "It is no accident that the miracle which privileged the veronica in Rome occurred at the moment when its fame was threatened by the competition of imported eastern 'originals.'" Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 312. Furthermore, he states, "the pope apparently first reacted to the new situation in St. Peter's by proclaiming the un-iconic cloth of Veronica to be an iconic relic of Christ's countenance. The Veronica was introduced by a spectacular miracle."

⁵⁴ Belting, *Image and Public*, 14. "The miracle was interpreted as a divine recommendation to use this particular image as an instrument for the supernatural transmission of grace." Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 142-143. Birch states that Innocent took the miracle "as a sign of great displeasure" and attempted to appease Christ by composing the Office of the Holy Face. Lewis, "Veronica," 100. Lewis states this in similar terms.

⁵⁵ Belting, *Image and Public*, 23, 132-133; Gould, 84.

The Relic Reproduced

After 1216, vernicles, usually of the Holy Face surrounded by a cruciform halo, began to appear in manuscripts and on pilgrim medals.⁵⁶ Vernicles had two purposes. First, they were used in personal devotion as images upon which to meditate.⁵⁷ Second, when in manuscript form, these images were usually reproduced with the text of Innocent's office and prayer. One could gain indulgences by reciting the text while viewing the image.⁵⁸ Two additional hymns written in honor of the Roman Sudarium were later included with manuscript vernicles. *Ave facies praeclara* was written during the pontificate of Innocent IV (1243-54), and *Salve sancta facies* was written during the pontificate of John XXII (1316-34).⁵⁹ With these new hymns came new indulgences. Innocent III's original indulgence granted ten days for the prayer recitation. *Ave facies praeclara* brought an indulgence of forty days, and *Salve sancta facies* granted 10,000 days.⁶⁰

Public dissemination of vernicles heightened interest in the Roman relic. Late in the twelfth century, the Sudarium had been displayed in Rome from the balcony of its reliquary ciborium.⁶¹ By the early thirteenth century, pilgrims traveled to Rome specifically to see it; up to one million pilgrims traveled to Rome for the annual display in the 1210s.⁶² In 1289, Pope Nicholas IV gave special indulgences to pilgrims visiting the Sudarium.⁶³ These visitors purchased vernicle pilgrim badges in large numbers. The faithful also collected paintings of the

⁵⁶ Gould, *Yolande of Soissons*, 85.

⁵⁷ Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 177, 194, 196; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 322-323.

⁵⁸ Gould, *Yolande of Soissons*, 82, 86.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 84-85.

⁶⁰ Ringbom, *Icon*, 23.

⁶¹ Belting, *Image and Public*, 82; Ford, *Vengeance*, 5.

⁶² Gould, *Yolande of Soissons*, 84; Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: J.B. Tauris, 1999), 117, 158; Ian Wilson, *Blood and Shroud*, 277; Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 1.

⁶³ Gould, *Yolande of Soissons*, 85.

relic. To control the competition from the badges, vernicle painters formed a guild called the *pictures Veronicarum* and soon vernicle merchants, known as the *mercanti di Veronichi*, had to be specially licensed by a Roman basilica.⁶⁴ The Sudarium held such significance for Rome that its pilgrim badge overshadowed production of the badges depicting Peter and Paul. Its popularity peaked in 1300, when Pope Boniface VIII declared the first Catholic Jubilee year due to the large number of pilgrims desiring to view the Sudarium.⁶⁵

The Sudarium's AD 1300 peak in popularity occurred while vernicles were undergoing an iconographic change. Such parallels necessitate a familiarity with the history of the Sudarium relic and Veronica legend in order to understand the meaning behind vernicles. The next chapter examines these images in light of this complicated history.

⁶⁴ Hilles, *Sacred Image*, 563; Webb, *Medieval*, 35; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 221; J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life In the Middle Ages* (Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers, 1974), 356; Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 191, 192.

⁶⁵ Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 197-198; Kessler, *Rome*, 1; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, 64-66.

CHAPTER III

VERNICLE IMAGE ICONOGRAPHY

The present chapter surveys the iconography of the vernicle, the representation of the Sudarium relic bearing Christ's image. This thesis casts new light on vernicle iconography by dividing the vernicles into four iconographic groups: those representing the Passion narrative, the Arma Christi, Saint Veronica, and the Sudarium alone. The chapter presents original interpretations of two iconographic shifts within those groups that affect the depiction of Christ's face, when vernicles changed from a placid face to a suffering or dark face. The thesis argues that the suffering face vernicles, which became common after 1350, are clear signs that vernicle iconography was affected by the 1300 connection of Veronica hagiography and the Roman Sudarium, as discussed in Chapter II.

Vernicles appear within Passion narrative imagery in two scenes: the Crucifixion and the Carrying of the Cross. Crucifixions began commonly including vernicles in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, while the cloth images appear in representations of the Road to Calvary (or Christ Carrying the Cross) after the mid-fifteenth century.¹ Crucifixion scenes bearing the vernicle depict Veronica in a stationary position. She stands away from the narrative action and raises her cloth before her so that it is clearly visible to the viewer. The Carrying of the Cross is, of course, the context of the cloth's origin. In these scenes, Veronica appears holding the cloth, often showing it to Christ. Christ bears the cross and the crown of thorns, and is surrounded by a

¹ This distinction between types of Passion-related vernicles has not been made previously.

crowd. Veronica blends into the narrative in Calvary scenes and appears kneeling, bowing, or standing, and holding the cloth in natural positions; this more narrative and less iconic treatment of Veronica sometimes makes the image on the cloth difficult to see. Let us consider several examples of this iconography.

The Passion scene by the circle of the Master of Liesborn in Soest is a fifteenth-century Crucifixion and exemplifies the iconography associated with this theme as described above.² This scene is a continuous narrative, showing Christ simultaneously on the road to Calvary, on the cross, deceased before mourners, being buried, and, subsequently, resurrected. Veronica appears in the upper left-hand corner wearing an elaborate turban. She is looking at the large cloth in her hands. Christ's face appears upon the cloth in an eight-rayed nimbus; he is bloodied and wears the crown of thorns with an impassive expression. Veronica is surrounded by three men and two women, all of whom look toward Christ's image. One of the men has his hands clasped in prayer. This group appears just to the left of the good thief and slightly above the scene of Christ carrying the cross. Although Veronica is present in a narrative scene here, she is set apart from the action and provides a contemplative pause.

The right exterior wing of Hieronymous Bosch's late-fifteenth century *Temptation of Saint Anthony* features the Carrying of the Cross and exemplifies the iconography associated with this theme as described above.³ It is a grisaille scene of Christ in the desert. He has fallen from the weight of the cross and turns to look back to the right. He gazes at Saint Veronica who kneels with her back to the viewer, holding up the cloth so that Christ can see it. The face on the cloth is not visible to the viewer. This thesis contends that Calvary scenes such as this one use the vernicle differently than do Crucifixion scenes. The vernicle's use as a devotional focus is

² See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#29).

³ Ibid., (#31).

limited here as in other similar paintings; in Bosch's panel the vernicle image is not even visible. Instead, the vernicles support the narrative of Christ's Passion and the creation of the relic, especially when the event became part of the Stations of the Cross, developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴

The popularity of the Stations of the Cross meant that images of the vernicle within the Road to Calvary narrative became more common than Crucifixion vernicles in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as the meeting of Veronica and Christ became a more appropriate location for vernicles. The fact that Renaissance artists sought naturalistic, not iconic, presentations of holy themes undoubtedly also played a role.

Vernicles also appear in medieval and Renaissance images known as the Arma Christi, an independent devotional subject that privileges the instruments of the Passion. This subject depicts Christ at the center of the image, depicted in half-length and wounded. He is often shown rising out of a sarcophagus among the instruments of the Passion. This is part of the iconography of the Mystic Mass of St. Gregory, the late sixth-century appearance of Christ to the pope that was also used independently of St. Gregory. Arma Christi were not necessarily associated with the miraculous appearance. The instruments of the Passion appear all around Christ and hang ambiguously in space. Sometimes images of this theme display actions of the Passion as well as the instruments. For example, Arma Christi images may include disembodied heads and hands, such as the head of Judas kissing Christ, hands holding the torturer's instruments, or the wounded feet and hands.⁵ The vernicle has a prominent position in the Arma

⁴ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art, Volume 2: The Passion of Jesus Christ* (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1968), 82.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 81, 192-193.

Christi, and usually hangs in the center of the image, often at the top.⁶ Since the Arma Christi appeared in devotional panels (small, iconic paintings created for pious meditation), prayer books, Passion manuscripts, and occasionally altarpieces, the instruments floating around the wounded Christ reminded the viewer to think on the totality of his suffering.⁷

The vernicle in an early fifteenth-century Arma Christi panel by the Master of the Strauss Madonna, Florence exemplifies the type.⁸ Christ appears in half-length rising out of a sarcophagus as he is beaten with several instruments held by disembodied hands. The Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene kiss his pierced hands. Various Arma Christi symbols appear suspended behind these three figures, many of the disembodied head and hand type. A vernicle hangs over the edge of the tomb in front of Christ and is centered between the Virgin and Mary Magdalene. The face upon it is slightly smaller than life-size—that is, the size of the Christ rising from the sarcophagus—and the eyes look up toward the figure of Christ. The image makes clear the source of the pictured Sudarium as one of a few touch relics of Christ.

Another type of vernicle image depicts Veronica holding the cloth but not within a Passion narrative context. This thesis refers to these images as vernicles with Veronica. They emphasize their devotional value by existing outside a narrative context; the viewer is forced to meditate on Veronica and her holy cloth rather than the larger story of Christ's last days. Roughly half of the images of this type reviewed for the present study display angels accompanying Veronica. They sometimes bear instruments of the Passion, again associating the Sudarium with those objects that touched Christ's body. Veronica usually wears a nun's habit or turban. The habit refers to French legends that she left Rome and became a nun in France; it appears in

⁶ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 221.

⁷ Schiller, *Iconography*, 192.

⁸ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#1).

fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century vernicles.⁹ In the qualitative analysis utilized for this thesis, the turban appears more frequently in late-fifteenth century images. The presence of the turban is not discussed in Veronica literature; it may indicate Veronica's travel to Rome from the East. The specific traits and function of these devotional paintings will be discussed at length in Chapter IV, but a sample image suffices to illustrate their iconography.

The circa 1420 devotional panel by the Master of the Veronica in Cologne exemplifies the Vernicle-with-Veronica type.¹⁰ Veronica appears clothed in a red and white nun's habit. She stands holding a large white cloth against a gold background. Christ's face appears on the cloth with a peaceful expression. His head is twice as large as Veronica's, and it is encircled by a large golden halo. As befits an image intended for devotional use, the image offers neither distracting details nor historical or contextualizing information.

The fourth category of vernicle iconography removes Veronica and shows only the holy Sudarium bearing Christ's face. These images cannot be confused with representations of Christ as the Man of Sorrows because they clearly show the edges of the Sudarium.¹¹ The cloth is distinguished from the flat background in panels by a pattern, a fringed border, or the inclusion of folds or wrinkles in the cloth. It is more difficult to distinguish this type of vernicle image from paintings of the Holy Face, which represent Christ's disembodied head bearing the crown of thorns. Stand alone vernicles, however, can occasionally be identified by the presence of angels, which are not found in Holy Faces.

⁹ Alvin E. Ford, *La Vengeance de Notre-Seigneur: The Old and Middle French Prose Versions: The Cura Sanitatis Tierii (The Mission of Volusian), the Nathanis Judaei Legatio (Vindicta Slavatoria), and the Versions Found in the Bible en Francois of Roger d'Argenteuil or Influenced by the Works of Flavius Josephus, Robert de Boron and Jacobus de Voragine* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993), 6; Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France, the Twelfth Century: a Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 6; George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), 1046.

¹⁰ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#26).

¹¹ Previous studies have not defined what distinguishes a vernicle from an image of the Man of Sorrows or a general Holy Face. This thesis defines a vernicle images as one that displays or implies the presence of a cloth.

Stand alone vernicles were common on pax panels, the images kissed during the Mass (see Chapter V). One circa 1325 example from Venice utilizes both a fold and a border to define the cloth.¹² A wide colored border appears at the top and bottom of the cloth; a fringed edge appears at the very bottom. A single, stylized fold in the center further suggests that the cloth stands out from the gold background. Christ's face appears in the center, surrounded by a circular gold halo. His face is unblemished and without expression. The emphatic representation of the cloth would seem to connect the painting to the Sudarium relic in Rome, which likewise was a piece of cloth hanging against a gilded backdrop.

These four image types underwent two distinct iconographic shifts related to the Sudarium's history. Each shift concerned the representation of Christ's face. First, Christ's calm or placid face was replaced by a face that bore signs of his suffering during the Passion. These commonly included the crown of thorns and large drops of blood; in some cases the painters gave the Savior bruises and swollen eyes. This suffering visage was often heightened by an expression of sorrow or pain, with parted lips, upturned eyes, and furrowed brow.

A Venetian pax from the late fourteenth century illustrates this iconographic shift.¹³ Like its counterpart, made less than a century earlier, this panel depicts Christ's face on a cloth that is clearly defined from its background by borders. This cloth is further described by a curve at the top and bottom, implying that it is held up by its top two corners and sags slightly in the middle. Christ's face is also encircled by a large halo. But unlike the previous example, a crown of thorns presses on Christ's head and blood runs down his face. Christ's pain and sorrow are communicated by his furrowed eyebrows and sharply down-turned mouth.

¹² See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#15).

¹³ Ibid., (#16).

This thesis suggests that the introduction of a sorrowful and pained Christ in fourteenth-century vernicles reflected the growing popularity of the d'Argenteuil *Bible*, the manuscript that linked the Roman Sudarium and the pan-European Veronica legends. As discussed in Chapter II, the relic in Rome became widely associated with Veronica and Christ's Passion soon after. Consequently, artists undoubtedly began to imagine what Christ's face would have looked like when the likeness was imprinted on the cloth on the Road to Calvary. Suffering iconography was not present in vernicles before the fourteenth century because there was no definite link between the Passion, the Sudarium, and the Veronica legends until 1300.¹⁴

As the first pax demonstrates, placid-faced vernicles did not disappear after the introduction of the suffering iconography. Placid vernicles continued to be made through the fifteenth century. I believe that the new suffering iconography entered the pictorial repertoire for use depending upon the image's intended meaning.¹⁵ Two examples illustrate this argument. The first, mentioned earlier in this chapter, is the devotional panel by the Master of Veronica. This vernicle is the placid type, painted circa 1420. A second panel by the same painter is also dated circa 1420, but features the suffering face.¹⁶ This painting is generally similar to the first, featuring Veronica in a red and white habit standing against a gold background and holding a cloth with an oversized face of Christ. The second panel, however, places the Savior under a four-ray nimbus instead of a circular halo; Christ wears the crown of thorns and his face appears dark in color. Since these images share the same date and painter, it would seem that the iconographic difference between the two images was intentional, as the painter sought to

¹⁴ Karen Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1978), 82-83n36; Schiller, *Iconography*, 78; Belting, *Likeness & Presence*, 218, 220.

¹⁵ Gould, Schiller, and Belting do not mention these cases of placid-face vernicles after 1300. Because of this, no theories have been proposed to explain the presence of placid and suffering face vernicles at the same time and place.

¹⁶ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#27).

represent different meanings. Although similar in function and size, the two devotional panels communicate different subjects for meditation. One presents a living, deific Christ to represent his triumph over death. The other portrays a suffering, human Christ about to die, an image that invited the viewer to contemplate his sacrifice.

The dark coloring of Christ's face in the later panel by the Master of Veronica represents the second variation in vernicle iconography. Most vernicles depict Christ's face very light in color. However, some depict his face so dark that it appears brown or black. These tonal differences do not appear related to an image's geography or function, as dark-faced vernicles appear on images made in different parts of Europe and objects from panels to pilgrim badges.¹⁷ The dark face does, however, seem limited to specific iconographic vernicle types. Based on my survey of European vernicles, it seems that the dark-face variation is common in stand-alone or Veronica vernicles, but does not appear in Passion scenes. Of course, it is often difficult to determine whether or not Christ's face is genuinely dark. Reproduction quality may affect the tone, as well as the age of the image. Vernicles that are well-preserved and feature other figures are the best examples, as the other figures serve as a baseline flesh-tone against which to compare Christ's face.¹⁸ These images demonstrate that Christ's face is intentionally painted darker than his companions.

A fourteenth-century vernicle from a Cistercian convent in Weinhausen exemplifies the type.¹⁹ This vernicle is painted on a small piece of leather. It features Veronica wearing a turban

¹⁷ Flora Lewis, "The Veronica: Image, Legend, and Viewer," in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W. M. Ormrod, 100-106 (Dover: The Boydell Press, 1986), 101.

¹⁸ Because of the difficulty in determining which vernicles were intentionally created dark, this thesis only considers vernicles which depict at least one figure with a light skin tone in contrast to Christ's face. As a result, I had to discard many images from my consideration during the process of qualitative analysis. Such images are labeled in the appendix as "undetermined" for the dark face factor. The only images that seem to routinely appear dark that do not depict other figures are images that are known to be connected to the Mandylyon tradition. For more information on this, see the following footnote.

¹⁹ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#10).

and holding a large cloth with Christ's likeness. Christ's head is much larger than Veronica's and is nearly as long as the length of her body. Veronica's face appears very light in color, while Christ's face is so dark that his features are difficult to distinguish.

I believe that dark vernicles blend two iconographic traditions: the vernicle and the Mandylyon. The Mandylyon is an image with a history similar to the vernicle's. First mentioned in the late fourth century, it was an impression of Christ's face on a cloth that bore healing power. Unlike the Rome-bound Sudarium, however, this cloth remained in the east and ultimately was kept in Constantinople. Mandylyon images depict Christ's face without expression and darkly colored. His face bears no signs of suffering, because the impression was made before the Passion.²⁰ The blending of these traditions was common because of the similarities in their legends and iconography. Several Mandylyon images produced in the east were in fact taken to the west where they were re-identified by the church as vernicles.²¹ One such image is the Sainte Face of Laon, a twelfth-century Slavic image.²² In 1249, Urban IV presented this image to the abbess of Montreuil-les-Dames in lieu of the Sudarium that she requested. He wrote, "receive it as the Holy Veronica or the true image or likeness of it."²³

Previous studies have looked to medieval and early Renaissance texts that describe a dark coloration as evidence of Christ's physical and emotional stress during the Passion. The mystic Julian of Norwich wrote in the late fourteenth century about Christ's face displaying various colors, "It made me to thyneke of the holie vernicle of Rome . . . when he was in his hard passion, willfully goyng to his death, and often chaungyng of coloure, of the brownhead and the

²⁰ For more information on the Mandylyon, see the following sources. Belting, *Likeness & Presence*, 208-215; Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1-29, 64-88.

²¹ Belting, *Likeness & Presence*, 218, 221.

²² The Sainte Face, although a Mandylyon image, has been identified in Western Europe as a vernicle since the thirteenth century. This letter is relevant because the pope and the abbess believed the image to be a vernicle and spoke of it in that context. See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#28).

²³ Lewis, "Veronica," 104.

blackhead.”²⁴ Urban IV promoted a similar theory in his 1249 letter to the convent of Montreuil-les-Dames regarding the Sainte Face of Laon. To reassure the abbess that the image was genuine despite its dark color, Urban wrote, “Do not heed that you find it discolored and withered.”²⁵ He explained that Christ’s face was darkened and changed by the torture he underwent during the Passion. Finally, the hymn “Ave facies praclara,” which often accompanied vernicle illustrations in medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, explained the dark color as Christ’s fear made visible on the Mount of Olives.²⁶

A third explanation, offered by Flora Lewis, is that the Sudarium relic itself was dark, leading some artists to paint dark vernicles. Lewis argues that because Mandylicon images are also dark, and they are not associated with the Passion, the darkness must not be associated with the Passion in vernicles.²⁷ She believes that contemporary documents that cited darkness as a quality of the Passion, such as Urban’s letter, were seeking to explain a confusing Sudarium characteristic.²⁸ She further postulates that the earliest vernicle image, Matthew Paris’s mid-thirteenth-century drawing, is light in color because it was never meant to be an accurate reproduction of the Sudarium.²⁹ It was rather meant to illustrate clearly Christ’s face *within* the relic, not the relic itself.³⁰ I disagree with Lewis’s explanation that the Sudarium itself was dark, because I do not believe that this theory provides adequate explanation for the prevalence of light images.

The Passion-darkened theory seems a reasonable explanation and easily agrees with the Mandylicon theory proposed by this thesis. The earliest dark face images, such as the Sainte Face

²⁴ Carroll Hilles, “The Sacred Image and the Healing Touch: The Veronica in Julian of Norwich’s *Revelation of Love*,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 562, 577n29; Lewis, “Veronica,” 105.

²⁵ Lewis, “Veronica,” 104.

²⁶ Belting, *Likeness & Presence*, 220, 543.

²⁷ Lewis, “Veronica,” 101.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 105.

²⁹ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#3)

³⁰ Lewis, “Veronica,” 101.

of Laon, seem to blend the Mandylion and vernicle traditions. It stands to reason that such dark images, identified as vernicles, were problematic for later clerics. When asked why these images were dark, the reply of Urban IV provided a new explanation: Christ's stress during the Passion. Thus, images created after the thirteenth century were likely created with this explanation in mind. Evidence for this theory is provided by the 1420 panel that features Christ's face as both suffering and dark.³¹ The blending of Passion imagery means that this panel was clearly not intended to recall the Mandylion, an image created before the Passion. Therefore, by the early fifteenth century, the dark face was a symbol of the Passion, although it was brought about by the initial conflation of the Mandylion and vernicle traditions. This blending of the two iconographic changes embodies the iconographic diversity and theological complexity of this seemingly simple theme.

This chapter has summarized vernicle iconography. Vernicles were divided into four groups according to their iconography: Passion narrative, Arma Christi, With Veronica, and Stand Alone on Cloth. Two iconographic shifts were examined, placid face to suffering face, and placid face to dark face. The post-1350 date of the suffering-type vernicles confirms that vernicle iconography was affected by the 1300 incorporation of the Passion into Veronica hagiography. The next chapter inventories the objects and media in which vernicles appear. It considers the location of the vernicle on each object, particularly in the case of complex objects such as altarscreens. These objects and images will be discussed in terms of their function.

³¹ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item. (#27)

CHAPTER IV

THE LOCATION OF VERNICLES

Having examined the iconography of vernicles in the previous chapter, this chapter continues the analysis by reviewing their location in the late medieval and early Renaissance eras. It considers where the works were found and in what media. The chapter addresses vernicles in altarscreens, devotional paintings, liturgical books, prayer books, and pilgrim badges. This thesis discusses the distinct function of each class of object in more detail than previous studies have provided. In order to connect the location with the iconography, the examples discussed here will be categorized according to iconographic type as discussed in Chapter III. While the present chapter offers reasons for the vernicles' location, Chapter V will examine their function in context.

Vernicles appeared frequently in altarscreens, the gilded wood constructions placed upon the back of the altar. The other instruments of Mass, such as the missal, were set in front of the altarscreen, upon the altar's table-like top.¹ The altarscreen was the backdrop of Mass. It was the focal point for the congregation because of its significant location within the apse. Though medieval altarscreens featured varying iconographic programs, they frequently featured scenes from Christ's Passion, usually the Crucifixion, because of the Passion's significance for the Mass. Many others depicted the chapel's or church's titular saint, or the patron saints of the

¹ James C. G. Conniff, *The Story of the Mass* (New York: Dauntless Books, 1954), N. pag.; Rev. W. G. Kessler, *Your Mass Visible* (Dubuque, Iowa: Allied Camera Centre, 1956), 3. These works were consulted for their catalogs of Mass furniture.

family who commissioned the altarscreen.² Both Passion scenes and saints' images variously featured narrative scenes and iconic representations.

Vernicles occupied several positions on altarscreens. They could be found on the interior main panel, an interior wing, an exterior wing, and the predella.³ An example of an interior main panel vernicle is the Passion scene by the Circle of the Master of Liesborn in Soest mentioned in Chapter III.⁴ Veronica stands at the side of the Crucifixion scene holding the cloth with the image of Christ's suffering face. In Rogier van der Weyden's 1440 *Crucifixion Triptych*, Veronica occupies the interior right wing.⁵ She appears full-length and holds a vernicle bearing Christ's placid likeness. The right exterior wing of Hieronymous Bosch's late fifteenth-century *Temptation of Saint Anthony* features Christ Carrying the Cross.⁶ Veronica displays the cloth to Christ, but her position hides the cloth's front from view. Many predella vernicles survive on the rear of altarscreens.⁷ The 1490 high altar of a Franciscan convent in Soflingen bei Ulm features a stand alone and suffering vernicle image on the back predella.⁸

When vernicles appear on altarscreens, their role must be understood in light of the screen's entire iconographic program. In addition to playing the iconographic roles discussed in Chapter III—as narrative affirmation of the Sudarium's miraculous creation or an iconic contemplative subject—the vernicles gain meaning by their location on the screen vis-à-vis the other images. In Rogier's *Crucifixion Altarscreen*, for example, Veronica mirrors the position of Mary Magdalene on the opposite outside panel. Any interpretation of this vernicle image must

² On altarscreens in medieval and early modern, see: Charles Hope, "Altarpieces and the Requirements of Patrons," in *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and the Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson, 535-571 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 536-537.

³ Jeffrey Hamburger has explored the meaning of vernicles on predellas, but otherwise no current scholarship addresses the significance of vernicle location within an altarscreen.

⁴ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#29).

⁵ *Ibid.*, (#7).

⁶ *Ibid.*, (#31).

⁷ Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 562n49.

⁸ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#23)

therefore take into account the iconographic parallel. Both of the women in the wings bear the objects with which they honored or comforted Christ. Mary Magdalene carries a jar of ointment which she used to anoint Christ's feet; Veronica bears the cloth with which she wiped blood and sweat from his face. Each woman was marked by compassion. Their gazes form a symmetrical frame, each looking down and toward the center of the panel. They appear to be contemplating the objects that they hold in their hands. This level of analysis is beyond the scope of the present thesis, although altarscreen imagery will be discussed on a general level here and in Chapter V. This general level of analysis describes the relationship of the altarscreen to the Mass, and does not delve into the specific meaning of each altarpiece's full iconographic program.

Bosch pairs Veronica and the vernicle with the narrative of Christ's arrest on the left exterior wing, subsuming the vernicle image into the greater chronicle of events of Christ's last days. The images parallel each other in several ways. The landscape is similar, and Christ is kneeling, surrounded by a crowd. Christ also occupies the same central position on each wing. The primary contrast between the two panels is that the arrest is a night scene while the Road to Calvary is a day scene. This temporal distinction supports the vernicle's narrative function in this case.

Vernicles also appeared on devotional paintings, a genre of religious imagery classified by a combination of traits including small size, no narrative context, and a solid-color background.⁹ The small size made the images less expensive, more portable, and more easily fit into most private homes. This suited their audience, wealthy patrons who intended the images for personal use. Portability was important because patrons often took devotional paintings with

⁹ Jonathan Brown, "The Devotional Paintings of Murillo," in *Bartolome Esteban Murillo (1617-1682): Paintings from American Collections*, ed. Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, 31-45 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2002), 32, 35. Brown's discussion of devotional paintings is valid for understanding the genre.

them when traveling.¹⁰ The solid-colored background, often dark or gold, focused the viewer's attention solely on the figures. This, in combination with the absence of a narrative context, created a static and iconic picture.¹¹

While narrative pictures were frequently used for didactic purposes, devotional images promoted devotion, prayer, and spiritual growth.¹² An apocryphal letter of Pope Gregory the Great explained that “when you see an image of Him [Christ] you are inflamed in your soul with love for Him.”¹³ During prayer, the viewer would look at the image. This viewing enabled the viewer to effectively picture that which was invisible: Christ and the saints. This viewing also concentrated the viewer's thoughts on a visual focus, preventing distraction during prayer or meditation.¹⁴ These images made visible particular qualities of holy figures or particular doctrines upon which to meditate.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that devotional paintings usually featured vernicles of the stand alone or with Saint Veronica type. Each of these iconographic types fit the purpose of devotional paintings: creating a moment of prayer or meditation outside of a narrative context. One such devotional panel is the circa 1420 *Saint Veronica* by the Master of the Veronica.¹⁵ This panel features Veronica clothed in a red and white habit, holding up the veil. On the cloth is Christ's dark and suffering face. Six small angels appear on the lower right and left corners, holding a scroll and a book.

This picture is divorced from any narrative context, making it ideal for meditation and prayer. The gold background makes the image static, otherworldly, and timeless. The painting's

¹⁰ Hans Nieuwdorp, “The Antwerp-Baltimore Polyptych: A Portable Altarpiece Belonging to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy,” in *The Art of Devotion: 1300-1500*, ed. Henk van Os, 137-156 (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994), 145.

¹¹ Brown, *Murillo*, 35.

¹² *Ibid.*, 31.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁴ Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion: 1300-1500* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994), 80-81; Brown, *Murillo*, 32.

¹⁵ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#27).

close study of Veronica's face and the cloth reveal that this image is not intended to illustrate the origins of the cloth, but rather to consider its sanctified nature. Veronica does not look out toward the viewer, as she does in other images. Instead, her head bows as she gazes upon Christ's likeness with a fond expression. This thesis interprets her act as an encouragement to the viewer to react to the image in a similar manner. The angels also act as behavioral models; four of them gaze reverently at the cloth. The remaining two angels look at the scroll and book that they hold. These two angels remind the viewer that this image is to be used in concert with devotional texts, as discussed below.

Vernicles were frequently found in liturgical and prayer books. In prayer books, vernicles often accompanied the Office of the Holy Face or hymns such as "Salve sancta facies" composed in honor of the Sudarium.¹⁶ These offices and hymns were meant to be recited while the audience looked upon the vernicle. In fact, the papal grants of indulgence discussed in Chapter II were dependent upon viewing the image during the recitation.¹⁷ Consequently, vernicles frequently accompanied such texts. Vernicles were particularly common in German missals.¹⁸ Whereas prayer books listed only recitations to be made individually or collectively, missals were liturgical books that contained all the text associated with the Mass ceremony, including prayers and hymns; the selection of readings varied with the liturgical calendar.¹⁹ Missals were kept open on the altar during Mass for the celebrant to read.

¹⁶ Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1997), 82; Karen Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1978), 82, 84-85; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 220.

¹⁷ Flora Lewis, "Rewarding Devotion: Indulgences and the Promotion of Images," in *The Church and the Arts: papers read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood, 179-94 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 179, 187-190, 192.

¹⁸ Hamburger, *Visual*, 330.

¹⁹ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Mass."

A Pomeranian vernicle in a Cistercian missal from the mid-fourteenth century illustrates the type.²⁰ This image features a bishop holding a vernicle.²¹ The face is the placid type, and the head is nearly the height of the bishop's body. Another vernicle within the same volume appears to be hanging from hooks and also bears the placid face type.²² This fascinating example will be discussed in further detail within the context of the Mass in the next chapter.

A circa 1450 vernicle is found in a prayer book illustrated by the Master of Guillebert de Mets.²³ This image features Veronica in a white turban standing in a room. She holds a large cloth with Christ's face, which is oversized and seems to float in front of the wrinkled cloth. The face is the placid type with gold rays emanating from it. Veronica and the cloth appear inside a border on the page surrounded by foliage. In this foliage below Veronica is a kneeling male figure, who looks toward the cloth with his hands folded in prayer. The text on the facing page is a hymn written in honor of the Sudarium, the "Salve sancta facies."

The context of the manuscript needs to be considered when interpreting vernicle illustrations. The text that appears beneath, beside, or facing a vernicle often relates directly to the use of that image. For instance, the hymn text facing the vernicle by the Master of Guillebert de Mets indicates that this image was contemplated during the singing of that text. Other vernicles that appear beside the Office of the Holy Face composed by Innocent III indicate that they were meant to be meditated upon while reciting the text in order to receive indulgences (see Chapter II). The sanctity of this relic is confirmed by the presence of its offices alongside those of Christ, the Virgin, and other holy figures. In the *Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons*, the Office of the Holy Face and a vernicle image appear as folios 14v and 15r, directly before the

²⁰ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#4).

²¹ Hamburger, *Visual*, 344. These vernicles' presence in a missal is significant because the missal contained the text for the Mass. Therefore, these vernicles were similarly associated with the Eucharist.

²² Hamburger, *Visual*, 344, 345. See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#5).

²³ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#2).

main text of the psalter begins on folio 16r.²⁴ This prominent position within the manuscript implies that this office was repeated on a frequent basis.

Manuscript vernicles, however, were not always viewed within the context of the book. This is illustrated in Petrus Christus's *Portrait of a Young Man* (1450-60), which shows a man with hands folded in prayer.²⁵ A manuscript page is tacked to the wall behind him. This image is definitely a page, not a panel, as evidenced by the torn lower-right corner lifting away from the wall. A placid-face vernicle appears on the page with the hymn "Salve sancta facies" below it. This indicates that some vernicles were taken from their original context and were used for different purposes. In this case, the page acts as a devotional image upon which to meditate.²⁶ It directs prayer not only by its devotional image, but by the text which clearly lays out the words to be recited. Like manuscript pages used out of context, pilgrim badges were also used as devotional images outside of their designated function.

Vernicle badges were made in Rome, the home of the Sudarium as of the eleventh century, and purchased by visiting pilgrims. The badges came in three varieties: the pendant type, the brooch type, and the flat type. The pendant type was worn around the neck. The common brooch type was fastened to a cloak or most often a hat.²⁷ Most of the badges of these two types were mass-produced from the cheap materials lead or tin; those created for wealthier clients were made of precious metals, jewels, or ivory and boasted custom designs.²⁸ The flat

²⁴ Gould, *Yolande of Soissons*, app. 117. See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of these items (#24, 25).

²⁵ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#22).

²⁶ Van Os, *Devotion*, 42.

²⁷ J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, trans. Lucy Toulmin Smith (Williamstown: Corner House Publishers, 1974), 356; Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 1998), 77. See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#21).

²⁸ A. M. Koldeweij, "Lifting the Veil on Pilgrim Badges," trans. Ruth Koenig, in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. J. Stopford, 161-188 (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 1999), 163; Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage c. 700-c. 1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 26, 35-36, 148-152.

type of badge was made from leather, cloth, or parchment. The leather and parchment badges were not worn, but were inserted in the margins of manuscripts, used as paxes, or hung as devotional pictures; cloth badges were sometimes sewn into hats.²⁹

Most pilgrim badges have been lost to history thanks to their ephemeral materials and a lack of scholarly interest. The survey of remaining pilgrim badges conducted for the present thesis nevertheless permits me to draw a few conclusions regarding their iconography. First, the badges are invariably iconic, not narrative, although some include orant figures. Second, the works rarely show the suffering Christ, presenting instead the placid face of the Savior. Third, while the differentiation between light and dark face is irrelevant in metallic badges, some flat badges feature the dark face. Finally, some of French badges are shaped like shrines, indicating that they originated from French pilgrimage centers. Let us now consider some of the surviving examples.

The material of a fifteenth-century German pendant-type vernicle badge indicates that its owner was wealthy.³⁰ This badge was fashioned from ivory, mother-of-pearl, and silver gilt.³¹ Although costly badges have traditionally been studied as jewelry unrelated to their provenance, these badges are best understood in light of their production and acquisition near pilgrimage centers.³² This badge displays Christ's face on the cloth, which features deep, realistic folds. The letters IHS, the monogram of Christ, appear carved above the cloth.³³ Christ's placid face and hair are depicted in intricate, naturalistic detail. His closed eyes and partially open mouth

²⁹ Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: J.B. Tauris, 1999), 128; Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, 163.

³⁰ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#19).

³¹ Koldeweij, "Lifting the Veil," 163.

³² *Ibid.*, 163, 164.

³³ Hamburger, *Visual*, 340; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Monogram of Christ;" *Ibid.*, "IHS."

are unusual among placid vernicles. However, no clear signs of suffering appear. These details may simply serve to enhance the image's naturalistic quality.

Another pendant-type vernicle badge was found in Paris and originates from the thirteenth or fourteenth century.³⁴ This lead pendant is rectangular and features Christ's placid face on a rectangular field surrounded by a border. The cloth is suggested by the border, but this thesis identifies this image as a vernicle because of the inscription in the border, which refers to the image as the "sancti sudarii" or holy Sudarium. Christ's face is carved in lower relief and is simpler than the naturalistic portrayal in the German pendant. The rings attached to the sides would have been used to string the pendant on a chain or leather thong. This badge is nearly identical to one found in a grave in Sweden, discovered with two other badges from Italy, including one with the images of Saints Peter and Paul. This gives further evidence that this badge came from Rome.³⁵

Although thirteenth- and fourteenth-century badges were almost invariably stand alone images, fifteenth-century badges varied between the cloth alone and the cloth with Veronica. A fifteenth-century lead brooch-type badge exemplifies the latter type.³⁶ Like other French Veronica badges, this one is shaped like a small house or shrine with a pointed roof. Veronica stands inside the shrine and is flanked by two figures, a male on the left and a female on the right, who kneel before the cloth she carries. These figures usually appear with hands clasped in prayer or raised in an orant position in fifteenth-century examples; the figures in this badge have raised hands. Christ's face is placid and simplistically depicted.

³⁴ D. Bruna, *Enseignes de Pelerinage et Enseignes Profanes*, (Paris: Musee National Du Moyen Age and Therme De Cluny, 1996), 50. See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#20).

³⁵ Bruna, *Enseignes*, 50.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 57. See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#18).

This badge appears to be French in origin. The shrine-shape is a trait of French badges featuring various saints from pilgrimage churches.³⁷ Also, two rings are present at the base of the badge, which could be used to help the pin fasten the brooch to clothing or could hold a badge of the pendant type. This ring design is common in French badges. Most significantly, the base bears an inscription reading “Sainte Venice.” Venice was a common French variant of the name Veronica.³⁸ I believe that this badge of Veronica carrying a vernicle was made in Soulac or Bordeaux, where shrines existed in honor of Veronica’s life in France.

A leather badge of the flat type found in Wienhausen dates from around the fourteenth century.³⁹ It features Veronica wearing a turban and holding a cloth that is taller than the length of her body. A large dark-face head of Christ appears on the cloth. This badge was found with a number of similar badges in the choir stall of a Cistercian convent. These vernicles appear to have been used daily by the nuns, and theories abound as to their use: paxes, substitutes for the Host, devotional images, gifts, or badges from a simulated pilgrimage within the convent walls.⁴⁰ In the same choir stall were found parchment vernicles of both the dark and light face types.

As with the other examples of vernicle locations, these and other pilgrim badge vernicles must be understood in light of their location, but this thesis contends that the badge is only part of the vernicle's location. The vernicle badge originally appeared on a body (or tipped into a manuscript), where it played different roles. Most importantly, a pilgrim badge identified a pilgrim on his or her journey.⁴¹ This helped the pilgrim to more easily find food and lodging,

³⁷ Bruna, *Enseignes*, 55.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Hamburger, *Visual*, 324. See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#10).

⁴⁰ Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 194, 196-197; Hamburger, *Visual*, 323, 326, 345.

⁴¹ Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, 125-126.

because pilgrims were welcomed with less suspicion than other strangers.⁴² The badges also discouraged thieves and other criminals because the penalties for accosting a pilgrim were greater than those attacking an ordinary citizen.⁴³ Apart from identification, pilgrim badges were also mementos of the journey and the proof of the goal reached, similar to a contemporary tourist's souvenir.⁴⁴ Pilgrim badges furthermore served as a devotional focus for prayer, particularly those made out of parchment or leather which could be inserted into a prayer book.⁴⁵ Some of these inserted vernicles were used as paxes to receive the kiss of peace during the Mass.⁴⁶ Lead badges that had been used for memento or meditative purposes were often buried with the pilgrim.⁴⁷ Finally, badges were believed to have thaumaturgical powers and the faithful used them to cure or prevent illness.⁴⁸ Therefore, any analysis of an individual pilgrim badge must take into account this "place."

Vernicles were created for different objects and a variety of media. This chapter has shown that vernicles appeared in objects for public and private use, and were painted, drawn, sewn, and cast in metal. When combined with the diverse iconographic types discussed in Chapter III, this variety of vernicles becomes a large group of images with specific functions, significance, and audiences. Vernicles were used in various ways depending on their context, and general statements should not be made about them. Therefore, the next chapter will focus upon image types used in one particular context: the Mass. Vernicles inscribed on different

⁴² Susan Signe Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England: Private Piety as Public Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 24.

⁴³ Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 78; Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, 164-165.

⁴⁴ Jusserand, *Wayfaring Life*, 357; Cynthia Hahn, "Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrim's Experience," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert Ousterhout, 87-96 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 85-87.

⁴⁵ Herbert L and Johanna Zacharias Kessler, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 216-217.

⁴⁶ Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, 194. Paxes and the kiss of peace will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

⁴⁷ Bruna, *Enseignes*, 50-51; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, 128.

⁴⁸ Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, 125; Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, 164; Hahn, "Souvenirs," 92-93.

objects in several media worked in harmony within the Mass to serve a single purpose: to equate visually and repeatedly the experience of the Mass with body of Christ.

CHAPTER V

THE VERNICLE AND THE MASS

The present chapter is a case study that examines the use of vernicles in support of the Catholic ritual of Mass. The Mass context provides one example of how vernicle iconography and function performed in concert. The chapter describes a vignette of a Mass, the furniture of the Mass, its liturgy, and a brief history of this ritual. It then discusses Mass-related vernicles grouped by type. The chapter considers the vernicles found in altarscreens, tabernacles, paxes, missal illustrations, and corporal cases in order to explore their iconography within the context of the Mass.

The medieval Mass was divided into two parts, the Synaxis and the Eucharist.¹ In its simplest form, the Synaxis consisted of the Inroitus psalm recited during the entrance of the celebrant, the Kyrie Elieson and several other songs, the bishop's sermon, songs interspersed with the lessons, Dismissal of the Catechumens, and the intercessory prayers of the faithful.² The Eucharist was performed after the Synaxis and consisted of the Kiss of Peace, the Offertory, the Lord's Prayer, various Eucharistic prayers, the Fraction (or breaking of the bread), Reception of the Communion, and the Dismissal.³ The celebrant performed the ceremony in Latin in front

¹ Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1945), 434. Dix's book covers the evolution of the Mass; several chapters are devoted to the medieval Mass. The following description of a Mass is based on the medieval section of this book. This description is not inclusive and is meant as a general context in which to view the vernicles described later in this chapter. It is based on a cathedral Mass, not a parish Mass, as practices varied between them.

² Dix, *Liturgy*, 434; William G. Kessler, *Your Mass Visible* (Dubuque, Iowa: Allied Camera Center, 1956, 1942), 1. Kessler's pamphlet is used to verify the order of the Mass.

³ Dix, *Liturgy*; Kessler, *Mass Visible*; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Mass."

of the altar, with his back to the congregation, unlike the earliest Masses, which were performed behind the altar facing the people.⁴ The increasing amount of furniture upon the altar, in particular altarscreens and reliquaries, required clergy to step to the other side as of the ninth century.⁵

To more fully convey an ordinary parishioner's limited experience of the Mass, I present a vignette.⁶ Giovanni entered the church and stood behind a tall rood screen that divided the nave from the chancel and blocked his view of the altar. He watched as the celebrant and choir arrived in a procession, singing in Latin and swinging censers. After the celebrant and the choir were in their places, shielded from view by the screen, they sang several more songs. One was the Kyrie Elieson, in which Giovanni and other congregants joined by repeated "kyrie elieson" after each line the leader sang. He listened as the choir sang other songs, always in Latin, according to the liturgy for that day. When the priest recited the sermon, a few lessons, and prayers in Latin, Giovanni caught a few recognizable words, like "Dei," but otherwise listened without comprehension.

During the Eucharist, Giovanni could see almost nothing of what went on through the latticework of the rood screen. Although he placed his face close to the openings, he could only glimpse the priest's back and a few saints painted on the wings of the altarscreen. As he listened to a familiar ceremony in a foreign language, he stared at the large gilded crucifix and several

⁴ Craig D. Atwood, *Always Reforming: A History of Christianity Since 1300* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2001), 9; Laurence Hull Stookey, *Eucharist, Christ's Feast with the Church* (Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1993), 74, 75. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, Zone Books, 1991), 127; F. Donald Logan, *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages* (New York, Routledge, 2002), 146, 348; Gary Macy, *Theologies in the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: 1080-1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 88. Macy's work is historical, and is confirmed by Stookey, Atwood, and Logan.

⁵ Atwood, *Reforming*, 9; Dix, *Liturgy*, 591.

⁶ This vignette is offered as a general example of a service. Mass practices varied not only according to the type of church, but according to the feast day or liturgical season, and the entire ceremony itself evolved over the course of the Middle Ages, particularly in different communities in different locations.

painted images of saints mounted on the rood screen. During the Kiss of Peace, he took a small panel that he had been holding and kissed the worn face of Christ painted on it. Then he listened as the choir sang the Offertory. He listened fervently for the bell signaling the consecration of the host, the part where he could sometimes see the host above the rood screen, if the priest raised it high enough. During communion, he would listen again, as it was rare for him to receive the communion. Then he was dismissed, having had a rather passive spiritual experience.

The Eucharist was the pivotal ritual of the Catholic Church, recreating the sacrifice of Christ's body. Because of its importance, the laity were expected to attend weekly if not daily Mass services.⁷ During the later Middle Ages, the Eucharist became a source of popular devotion and attracted a large audience.⁸ Innocent III made the popular doctrine of Transubstantiation official in 1215.⁹ The first confraternities devoted to the Eucharist were established in the twelfth century.¹⁰

The Church modified its view of the Eucharist's symbolism in the later Middle Ages. The Eucharist had been identified as a celebration of the Last Supper in late antiquity.¹¹ Matthew 26:26-28, for example, reads "When they were eating, Jesus took bread, gave thanks and broke it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take and eat; this is my body.' Then he took the cup, gave thanks and offered it to them, saying, 'Drink from it, all of you. This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins.'" By the eleventh century, however, the breaking of the Eucharistic bread became Christ's body broken at the

⁷ Dix, *Liturgy*, 1, 597-599; Logan, *History of the Church*, 348.

⁸ Atwood, *Reforming*, 12.

⁹ Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1980), 90.

¹⁰ Ozment, *Age of Reform*, 90.

¹¹ Luke 22:19b (New International Version).

Crucifixion.¹² At this time, the liturgy was altered so that the laity were spectators and no longer received the consecrated bread except on specific days in the liturgical calendar.¹³ Consequently the reception of the Host became less significant for the laity.

The laity's participation with the Host now shifted to two moments in the ritual of the Eucharist. The first was the sacring, when the priest spoke Christ's words "This is my body, and this is my blood" before the bread and wine.¹⁴ At the same moment, a bell rang to mark the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ, garnering the attention of a public who otherwise saw and heard little but the celebrant's back.¹⁵ The laity's attention was also focused on the elevation of the Host, when the celebrant raised the wafer over the altar and another bell was rung.¹⁶ Therefore, although the elimination of communion except on specific occasions distanced the laity from the Host, visual and auditory cues maintained indirect contact between the Host and the faithful. At the same time, vernicles were deployed throughout the sanctuary as a kind of substitute for the less available Host.

It is no exaggeration to say that vernicles surrounded the Mass; more than that, vernicles were actually part of the ritual. The remaining part of this thesis will consider the variety of vernicles that accompanied the Mass.¹⁷ While some of the images have already been addressed in other contexts, they appear again here as part of this contextual examination.

As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, vernicles appeared on altarscreens in the late

¹² Logan, *History of the Church*, 146; Marshall W. Baldwin, *The Medieval Church* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1953), 10.

¹³ Dix, *Liturgy*, 599; Atwood, *Reforming*, 9; G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), 284.

¹⁴ Baldwin, *Medieval Church*, 9; James Clifton, *The Body of Christ in the Art of Europe and New Spain: 1150-1800* (New York: Prestel, 1997), 110.

¹⁵ Macy, *Theologies*, 88; Stookey, *Christ's Feast*, 74, 75.

¹⁶ Atwood, *Reforming*, 9; Stookey, *Christ's Feast*, 74, 75; Bynum, *Fragmentation*, 127; Logan, *History of the Church*, 146, 348; Macy, *Theologies*, 88.

¹⁷ Apart from Jeffrey Hamburger's mention of a few Mass-related vernicles in *The Visual and The Visionary*, there has been no study of how vernicles functioned within the Mass. The present study includes more Mass-related vernicle types and is more specific to the Mass context than Hamburger's study.

Middle Ages. The altarscreen was the focal point for the congregation during Mass. Until Vatican II (1962-1965), the priest performed the Mass facing altarscreen with his back to the congregation.¹⁸ Thus the laity could not see the priest's face as he spoke. They gazed instead on the altarscreen, which frequently presented a visual summary of Christ's Passion. Hence the altarscreen visualized the ritual of the Eucharist that was largely beyond the laity's line of sight.¹⁹ The vernicles that accompanied the altarscreens must therefore be considered within this context.

Some altarscreens incorporate Veronica and the Sudarium into the narrative of Christ's life. One such altarscreen is a fifteenth-century Passion scene by the circle of the Master of Liesborn in Soest.²⁰ This single-panel scene is a continuous narrative, showing Christ simultaneously on the road to Calvary, on the cross, his body being mourned, his burial, and his resurrection. Veronica appears in the upper left-hand corner, looking at the large cloth that she holds. Christ's face appears upon it in an eight-rayed nimbus, bloodied and wearing the crown of thorns with an impassive expression. Veronica is surrounded by three men and two women, all of whom look toward Christ's image; one man clasps hands in prayer before the holy likeness.

Rogier van der Weyden's 1440 *Crucifixion Triptych* offers another example, featuring Veronica on the right wing.²¹ She is the only figure on this wing, appearing full-length. The cloth she holds bears Christ's impassive face, unmarked, with a tri-part nimbus. The center panel depicts Christ on the cross, surrounded by two seraphim. The Virgin Mary clings to the bottom of the cross, and John the Evangelist puts out an arm to steady her. Two patrons kneel to

¹⁸ *Columbia Encyclopedia*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Vatican Council, Second."

¹⁹ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Altarpiece." For more on the history of altarscreens and their function, see: Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp, *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Henk van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces 1215-1460: Form, Content, Function* (Groningen, The Netherlands: Egbert Forsten, 1988).

²⁰ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#29).

²¹ *Ibid.*, (#7).

the right. On the left wing, Mary Magdalene looks at the small ointment jar that she carries. Unlike the previous example, Rogier's Veronica image was not always on view; as the wing of an altarpiece, the panel was only visible when opened and in relation to the Mass.

In Hieronymus Bosch's fifteenth-century *Temptation of Saint Anthony* triptych, on the other hand, a vernicle appears in a grisaille scene on the outside of the altarpiece.²² While previous scholarship has noted the presence of the Veronica narrative, it seems prudent to consider its significance as a vernicle on an altarscreen. Its vernicle imagery deserves fuller attention in light of its location. The outer right wing features Christ carrying the cross followed by a crowd of figures. Christ looks to the right, where Veronica kneels before him, displaying the cloth. The front of the cloth is not visible to the viewer, who nevertheless understands its presence thanks to repeated exposure to paintings of the narrative. This image's exterior position made it visible to the congregation and clergy at all times *except* during religious holidays. In this image, the vernicle itself is not the focus of meditation, as its front is not visible. Rather, the subject of contemplation is the narrative of the vernicle's origins. The scene functions in harmony with the left-hand panel, which depicts the arrest of Christ. Together, these panels illustrate events leading up to his Crucifixion. They anticipate the Crucifixion and therefore the sacrifice and the Eucharist celebrated on the altar below.

Vernicles incorporated into the imagery of single-panel altarscreens and polyptychs were observed during Mass, either daily or on specific occasions. Their presence in the narratives of Christ's life confirmed their holiness, and that of the relic in Rome. For this reason, vernicles appearing on altarscreen panels are almost invariably narrative, rather than stand alone types. Moreover, the vernicles within the Passion imagery prompted viewers to meditate on Christ's physical body, which transferred itself through sweat and blood to Veronica's cloth, sacrificed

²² Ibid., (#31).

itself for humankind's salvation, resurrected itself into Heaven, and regenerated itself miraculously at Mass. The vernicles hence made Christ physical and real, which was, after all, a goal of the Mass itself.

A large number of predella vernicles survive, particularly those found on the back side of the altarscreen. One example is a 1490 predella vernicle on the high altar of a Franciscan convent in Soflingen bei Ulm.²³ The vernicle image here features the image-bearing cloth alone. This image is not incorporated into the larger narrative of the Sudarium's genesis or a Passion scene and Veronica is not present. This is common among predella vernicles.²⁴ The cloth is painted with a wrinkled appearance and red daubs at each of the corners simulate wax holding it in place. Thin red nimbus lines divide the cloth into quadrants. Christ's face is of the later suffering iconographic type, appearing bloodied, heavily bruised, and swollen. The large, dark bags under his eyes display the physical effects of his beating. An expression of sad shock is conveyed by his furrowed eyebrows and the parted lips reveal his continuing torment from the crown of thorns on his head.

This vernicle's predella position was a particular feature in German and Hungarian altarscreens.²⁵ Hamburger notes that the Soflingen vernicle was at eye level with the celebrant. Its rear position meant that it would have been visible only to the clergy. The celebrant and clerical assistants would have therefore viewed this vernicle before and after the Mass, when furnishing the altar. Although the Soflingen vernicle appeared on a publicly viewed object, its specific purpose was private, limited to the clergy. But, like its more public corollaries, this image would have nevertheless been a reminder of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, because it

²³ Ibid., (#23).

²⁴ Hamburger, *Visual*, 562n49.

²⁵ Hamburger, *Visual*, 562n49. Hungarian images often appear on the front, while German images tend to appear on the reverse.

would have been viewed within this specific period of time related to the Mass. In fact, a 1466 vernicle by Friedrich Herlin on a rear predella closely resembles a corporal, the unfolded cloth on which the chalice and Host are placed during Mass.²⁶ The painting's resemblance to the corporal supports this thesis's theory that viewers understood vernicles as metaphors for Christ's presence in the Host. Perhaps the translation of Veronica's Sudarium into a priest's corporal reflected its expected audience.

Tabernacles, on the other hand, were displayed on the altar, either as free-standing structures or incorporated into the altarscreen. Here, too, vernicles reminded viewers of Christ's body. The 1450 tabernacle found at Saint Urban in Schwabisch-Hall-Unterlimpurg is an example of the free-standing type.²⁷ The tabernacle image was carved from wood and then painted. Veronica holds the vernicle above the tabernacle doors, flanked by angels. Christ's face is of the placid iconographic type and is larger than Veronica's face. The cloth follows the entire width of the tabernacle door and overlaps it at the center. This position seems hardly coincidental. The consecrated Hosts were kept inside this and other tabernacles after transubstantiation.²⁸ Therefore, this vernicle position is clearly related to Christ in the Eucharist. This thesis presents the interpretation that the image above the tabernacle doors reminded viewers what was held inside. The vernicle acted both as a sign that the Host was present, and a sign that Christ was present in the Host.

Vernicle paxes were associated with the Eucharist both because of their function during Mass and because they appeared prominently on the altar itself. Paxes are painted panels used during the Eucharist to receive the kiss of peace, a ceremonial signal of peace and unity within

²⁶ Hamburger, *Visual*, 562n58.

²⁷ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#30).

²⁸ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Tabernacle."

both the immediate congregation of the church and the entire Christian community.²⁹ In early medieval Masses, men exchanged holy kisses with men, and women with women.³⁰ Paxes were developed as an alternative to the kissing congregants in the thirteenth century.³¹ The Church initiated the use of paxes for theological reasons too complicated to entertain here. Paxes were often decorated with images of the Virgin Mary and the saints; the most common theme was Christ, particularly during the Passion.³² The imagery's popularity is not surprising. Paxes bearing the image of Christ allowed the faithful and the clergy to kiss Christ during the service.

Vernicles, needless to say, were common subjects on paxes. This is indicated by surviving panels and by medieval illustrations that depict vernicle paxes.³³ One example is a fifteenth-century depiction of *The Mystic Mass of St. Gregory* in Cologne, which although referencing Gregory's sixth-century vision of Christ and the Arma Christi, nevertheless displays an array of late medieval altar instruments.³⁴ The small pax within the painting features an elaborate gilded frame. It bears either a painting on cloth affixed to the frame or a *trompe l'oeil* painting of an imaged cloth with vivid folds and shadows. The two Venetian paxes mentioned in Chapter III are further examples.³⁵ These vernicles also received the kiss of peace and illustrated Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The later panel's expressive imagery, with its thick crown of thorns, blood, and sorrowful expression, must have graphically conveyed the importance of Christ's sacrifice embodied in the Host as the faithful held it to their lips. These images allowed the laity and the clergy not only to see Christ up close, but also to touch Him. Furthermore, the

²⁹ Nicolas James Perella, *The Kiss: Sacred & Profane* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 13, 23-25, 278; Dix, *Liturgy*, 105-110, 434.

³⁰ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Pax."

³¹ Christopher Nyrop, *The Kiss and Its History* (London: Sands & Co., 1901), 104; Perella, *Sacred & Profane*, 278.

³² *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Pax."

³³ Hamburger, *Visual*, 336. Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), fig. 42, 43, 45, 46.

³⁴ Hamburger, *Visual*, 332, 333, 336, 337. See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#13).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, (#15, 16).

kiss of peace was even an acceptable substitute for the reception of the Host when this was not available.³⁶ Hence, kissing the vernicles constituted receiving the body of Christ.

The Venetian panels may be even more directly associated with the Eucharist. Henk van Os has suggested that these panels were not paxes but *pace*, trays used to serve the Host to those taking communion.³⁷ In this instance, I believe that the pace painted with the vernicle image—the body transferred through sweat and blood to Veronica’s cloth—gives visible form to Christ’s flesh carried on the tray in a way that perhaps was easier for a broad and largely illiterate populace to understand than the complicated theology of the doctrine of True Presence. The tray would also serve as a meditative or devotional image while the faithful partook of the Host, to gaze upon the wounds that made such salvation possible. Van Os states, “at the most personal moment in the celebration of the Mass, when the worshipper partook of the body of Christ, he was able to look his Saviour in the eye for a moment.”³⁸ Whether used as paxes or as pace, these panels were intimately tied to the Mass and to Christ’s Passion, once again making a visual connection between the living Christ and the Eucharistic Savior.

Another object used to hold the Host was a paten, a shallow dish of wood or metal. However, unlike the pace, which was used for serving, the paten was used at the altar. The Host was placed upon it and both were raised during the Offertory. After the Fraction, the broken Host was placed on it again. Medieval patens usually bore a central depression, which was decorated.³⁹ Often, metal medallions were inserted into this spot.⁴⁰ One such example is a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century vernicle paten found in London.⁴¹ This medallion features

³⁶ Macy, *Theologies*, 93.

³⁷ Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe: 1300-1500*, trans. Michael Hoyle (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994), 40.

³⁸ Os, *Art of Devotion*, 40.

³⁹ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. “Paten.”

⁴⁰ Michael Mitchiner, *Medieval Pilgrim & Secular Badges* (London: Hawkins Publications, 1986), 194.

⁴¹ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#14).

several concentric rings bordering Christ's face, which is of the placid type. A four-rayed nimbus extends from his head, and the cloth is implied by the closest border, a thin circle surrounded by dots.

Like the pax or pace, this vernicle paten made visible the doctrine of transubstantiation. However, as this image was created for use at the altar, its significance was not intended for a largely illiterate populace. Instead, the symbolism was fully appreciated by the celebrant, a priest who was aware of the intricacies of Eucharistic doctrine. This thesis asserts that for the priest, it was significant that the Host was not placed on the paten until it was consecrated, when its association with the Christolic symbol on the paten became fully realized. Of further significance was the paten's pivotal role in holding the crumbs at the Fraction. The paten was actually introduced to liturgical use for the very purpose that no crumb of the consecrated Host, therefore Christ's flesh, should be lost. This danger was considered quite seriously in the thirteenth-century Church.⁴² Therefore, the vernicle at the bottom of the paten gave visual meaning to the crumbs scattered on the plate, reminding the priest of the importance in guarding them.

A fifteenth-century German corporal case, the ornamented receptacle for an altar cloth, seems to reinforce all of the points made so far.⁴³ An embroidered image of the vernicle appears on the case's inside cover. The cloth is painted as if hanging from two hooks, and Christ's face, crowned by a thick crown of thorns, bleeds profusely. The Sudarium relic therefore appears to be hanging in the corporal case. Hosts were often placed in the center of such corporal cases after consecration and were displayed open on the altar during the Eucharist.⁴⁴

Illusionistic rendering was common in vernicles. The hooks from which the corporal

⁴² *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Paten."

⁴³ See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#6).

⁴⁴ Hamburger, *Visual*, 340, 562n56; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913 ed., s.v. "Corporal."

case vernicle seems to be suspended suggested that the vernicle was physically present in the case.⁴⁵ Other vernicles exhibit similar *trompe l'oeil* details. The predella vernicle described above utilized simulated wax and illusionistic cloth to appear real. A Cistercian missal contains a vernicle that is similarly painted to appear suspended by hooks on the pages that dictated the words and ritual of the Mass.⁴⁶ These works assert their physical presence through what Jeffery Hamburger has called duplication and realism.⁴⁷ The Sudarium in Rome was a true and realistic copy of Christ's face. Vernicles duplicated that relic and therefore Christ's face. Illusionistic details helped the viewer imagine the two-dimensional vernicle (painted or embroidered) as a miraculous unpainted image on cloth, as blood and sweat, and, ultimately, as Christ himself.

The corporal case vernicle also acted as a visual sign. The vernicle signified what was to be placed in the case. This function is underscored by the embroidery on the exterior of the case, which displays the monogram IHS.⁴⁸ The graphic suffering underscored the doctrine that the true flesh and blood of Christ was present in the Host.⁴⁹ The image was a wordless exposition of the Host's identity. This case relates the dual significance of vernicle and Host, each as true images of Christ. Jeffrey Hamburger refers to the vernicle as an analogy for the Host.⁵⁰ Though both vernicle and Host were believed to bear Christ's physical presence, each was in another sense a symbol for Christ himself. According to my interpretation, both the vernicle and the Host were devotional objects at the same time that they were physical parts of Christ.

At least one vernicle was directly associated with the elevation of the Host during the Eucharist. The mid-fifteenth-century *Peutinger Prayer Book* contains illustrated prayers recited

⁴⁵Hamburger, *Visual*, 342, 344.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 344, 345. See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item. (#5)

⁴⁷ Hamburger, *Visual*, 338, 344.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 340.

⁴⁹ Baldwin, *Medieval Church*, 10.

⁵⁰ Hamburger, *Visual*, 340.

during Mass.⁵¹ One historiated initial within the manuscript depicts a man kneeling, revering the Host in a monstrance. On the facing page is an initial illustrated with Veronica holding aloft her miraculous image of Christ.⁵² Christ's placid face is unnaturally large and takes up nearly half of Veronica's entire height. She looks down toward the image, as if meditating upon it.

In addition to confirming the equation of Host and vernicle, the painting models pious behaviors. Veronica's action reinforces the role of the viewer, encouraging the faithful to look upon Christ's image in meditative prayer. The subsequent prayer within the text is specifically designated for recitation during the elevation of the Host. The text of the prayer does not mention Veronica, the cloth, or the way to Calvary where the image was made. The images alone make the correlation of the vernicle and the elevated Host, but the message seems clear. Veronica's display of the imaged cloth parallels the motion of the priest holding the Host on high to be viewed and adored.⁵³ And considering the constant association of vernicles and the Eucharistic rituals, the viewer undoubtedly understood the relationship between the two actions.

This chapter has illustrated how some vernicles were intimately tied to the Mass. Vernicles that appeared on altarscreens, tabernacles, paxes, missal illustrations, and corporal cases had specific functions according to their location. In light of those functions, vernicle iconography can be explored to understand how these images combined image and form to become powerful symbols of Christ's presence and sacrifice, serving as a kind of visual bridge between the living Christ who wiped his battered face on Veronica's cloth and the resurrected Christ whose body the faithful consumed to attain Salvation.

⁵¹ Hamburger, *Visual*, 334, 335.

⁵² See the Religious Artifacts list in the front matter for the location of this item (#17).

⁵³ Hamburger, *Visual*, 334-336.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This thesis has determined that the significance of vernicles in late-medieval Europe can be understood only by examining their history, iconography, and function. The history of the Sudarium and Veronica legends illuminate not only the origins of the image, but also the shift toward suffering iconography after 1350. The vast variety of vernicles necessitates a division into four iconographic categories. Each of these vernicle types conveys a different aspect of the Sudarium, be it its origins, its liturgical function, its devotional qualities, or its illustration of Christ's sacrifice. A few of these iconographic types can be loosely tied to one object type. For instance, Passion narratives are most common in altarscreens, while With Veronica types are often devotional pictures. However, there are notable exceptions, and both Arma Christi and Stand Alone types can be found in several different object types.

From the mid thirteenth century to the mid fifteenth century, vernicles are evident in functional objects and in altarscreens. The few surviving panels are small in size, indicating their use as paxes or as devotional pictures. Sculpted vernicles are likewise utilitarian, usually pilgrim badges or patens.

It is in the Mass that vernicles can be explored wholly in both their iconography and function. Because vernicles appeared on objects that have specific functions within the Mass, the significance of their iconography can be assessed. Suffering vernicles appear in key places, such as corporal cases, depicted suffering iconography with graphic details, reminding the

celebrant and congregation of the significance of Mass. Vernicles at the altar also made visible Christ's presence in the Host. The passive congregation, unable to partake in communion with regularity, was able to commune by kissing a pax with this image. The vernicle's combination of Christ's presence and Passion made it a popular image in a variety of Mass instruments.

Vernicles exhibit a narrow focus. They are images of Christ, from his Passion, of his head only, appearing on cloth. While they can appear in a variety of iconographic types, this narrow focus ensures that their ultimate significance is the same. Vernicles are images that effectively recall Christ's Passion, power, and presence. His Passion is exhibited either by suffering iconography or is implied by the image's origins. His power is displayed by the image's presence on the cloth, a miraculous impression. His presence is evoked through the vernicle's legacy of making the invisible visible.

APPENDIX
QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS RECORDS

This appendix contains database records that were used for qualitative analysis.

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration
Function 1	illustrative
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Mirabilia Urbis Romae: Display of the Sudarium
Date	c. 1481-9
ID #	1
Source	Hans Belting, <i>The Image and its Public</i> , 19
Size	
Medium	woodcut
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylic Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	simplified Mandylic hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain, inserted into frame
Other Notes	One cleric displays the cloth from a balcony in St. Peter's. Two clerics stand on either side of him, and two torches stand on either side of the balcony. A large crowd is gathered below, looking up.

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration
Function 1	illustrative
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Mirabilia Urbis Romae: Display of the Sudarium (2)
Date	c. 1475
ID #	2
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 334
Size	
Medium	woodcut
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no; rays only
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandylicion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	simplified Mandylicion hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain, inserted into frame
Other Notes	One cleric displays the cloth from a balcony in St. Peter's. Two clerics stand on either side of him, each carrying a torch. A large crowd is gathered below, looking up.

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration
Function 1	illustrative
Function 2	
Artist	Ludovico Lazarelli
Title	Fasti Christianae Religionis: Jubilee Display of Sudarium
Date	before 1494, after 1475
ID #	3
Source	Herbert Kessler, Spiritual Seeing, 14
Size	
Medium	paint on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	yes
Suffering Face	undetermined
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	no
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	undetermined
Mandyion Hair	undetermined
Beard/Hair Description	undetermined
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	A cleric displays the cloth from a balcony or pulpit in St. Peter's. He holds the cloth apparently without a frame. A crowd below kneels.

Type `	panel
Type 2	altarscreen (main panel)
Function 1	overall: narrative
Function 2	vernicle section: iconic/devotional
Artist	Circle of Master of Liesborn
Title	Soest Passion Altarscreen
Date	fifteenth century
ID #	4
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 319
Size	
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	yes
Face Description	no suffering expression, but crown of thorns and blood are present
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	many; divided into eight groups
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylicion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	parted and naturalistic hair
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears an ornate headdress and looks down toward Christ's face on the cloth. She appears young.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; cloth is large and Christ's face is life-size
Other Notes	Veronica displays the cloth to five figures who gaze at it. The altarscreen consists of a continuous narrative of Christ's Passion; Veronica appears only once.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen (right exterior wing)
Function 1	narrative
Function 2	
Artist	Hieronymous Bosch
Title	Saint Anthony Exterior Wing: Carrying of the Cross/Road to Calvary
Date	late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
ID #	5
Source	Walter S. Gibson, Hieronymous Bosch, 151
Size	131.5 x 53 cm
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	undetermined (not visible)
Placid Face	undetermined
Dark Face	undetermined
Suffering Face	undetermined
Face Description	
Halo	undetermined
# of Halo Rays	undetermined
Alpha/Omega	undetermined
IC/XC	undetermined
Divided Beard	undetermined
Mandylicon Hair	undetermined
Beard/Hair Description	undetermined
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a hat or turban and kneels before Christ, holding the cloth up to him so that it is not visible to the viewer. She appears young.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	The context is the Carrying of the Cross/Road to Calvary. It is painted in grisaille.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Master of the Strauss Madonna
Title	Arma Christi with the Virgin and Mary Magdalene
Date	c. 1405
ID #	6
Source	Ewa Kuryluk, Veronica and Her Cloth, 179
Size	
Medium	panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	no
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	undetermined
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	curly hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; small cloth with life-size face of Christ
Other Notes	The vernicle appears at the bottom center, hanging over the edge of the sarcophagus from which a half-length wounded Christ rises.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	devotional painting
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Master of the Veronica
Title	Saint Veronica (Placid)
Date	c. 1420
ID #	7
Source	Neil MacGregor, Seeing Salvation, title page
Size	88.7 x 44.2 cm
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylicion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	beard is also curly; hair is parted and naturalistic
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	Veronica wears a red and white habit and appears young.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; it is large and Christ's face is larger than life-size
Other Notes	This image has a gold background.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	pax
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Pax (Placid)
Date	c. 1325
ID #	8
Source	Millard Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death, figure 45
Size	
Medium	panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylicion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	beard is only slightly divided; hair appears in stylized curls
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	The veil has a border on top and bottom and a fringe on the bottom. These edges are created by a stylized fold down the center, which implies that it is cloth.
Other Notes	

Type 1	panel
Type 2	pax
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Pax (Suffering)
Date	late fourteenth century
ID #	9
Source	Henk van Os, The Art of Devotion, 40
Size	
Medium	panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	yes
Face Description	suffering expression (down-turned mouth & creased brow), crown of thorns, drops of blood
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandylicion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	the beard is barely visible and the hair is naturalistic and curly
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	The veil is white and curved slightly on the top and bottom so as to be noticeable within the frame.
Other Notes	The halo is inscribed "vhs.xps."

Type 1	panel
Type 2	devotional painting
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Master of the Veronica
Title	Saint Veronica (Suffering/Dark)
Date	c. 1420
ID #	10
Source	James Snyder, Northern Renaissance Art, 80
Size	77.2 x 47.9 cm
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	yes
Suffering Face	yes
Face Description	Face appears extremely similar to the Placid Veronica by the same artist, except this version is dark in color and has a crown of thorns. The dark color makes drops of blood difficult to distinguish. There is no suffering expression.
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	4
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	beard is also curly; hair is parted and naturalistic
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a red and white habit, and gazes down at the cloth. She appears young.
Angels Present (#)	yes; 6
Angel Description	The group on the left holds a scroll, and the group on the right holds a book. Several of the angels gaze toward Christ's face.
Veil Description	plain; it is large and Christ's face is larger than life-size
Other Notes	This image has a gold background, and the bottom where the angels sit is checked with black and white tiles.

Type 1	pilgrim badge
Type 2	
Function 1	functional badge (see thesis text)
Function 2	iconic/devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Leather Vernicle Badge
Date	fourteenth century
ID #	11
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 324.
Size	8.4 x 4.2 cm
Medium	painted leather
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	yes
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandyion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	hair and beard are stylized points
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a white turban and appears young.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; it is large and Christ's face is larger than life-size
Other Notes	

Type 1	panel
Type 2	icon
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Sainte Face
Date	early thirteenth century
ID #	12
Source	Hans Belting, <i>Likeness and Presence</i> , 217
Size	
Medium	panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	yes
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	yes
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylicion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	beard is curled and slightly divided; hair is curly and naturalistic
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	patterned with fringe on bottom edge
Other Notes	This face was originally created as a Mandylicion image.

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	illustrative
Artist	Matthew Paris
Title	Chronica Majora: Sudarium
Date	mid-thirteenth century
ID #	13
Source	Flora Lewis, The Veronica: Image, Legend, and Viewer; figure 1
Size	
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	no; neck/shoulders
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	yes
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	curly beard and hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	dark and patterned
Other Notes	

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen (right interior wing)
Function 1	overall: static Passion scene (quasi-narrative)
Function 2	vernicle section: iconic/devotional
Artist	Rogier van der Weyden
Title	Crucifixion Triptych
Date	1440
ID #	14
Source	Barbara G. Lane, <i>The Altar and the Altarpiece</i> , 78
Size	110 cm x 141 cm
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylicion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	naturalistic hair
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a white, loose veil and appears young.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	Veronica gazes at the cloth. She is in the right wing. The center wing depicts the Crucifixion, and the left wing depicts Mary Magdalene as an old woman.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen (predella, rear)
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Predella Vernicle
Date	c. 1490
ID #	15
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 337
Size	
Medium	panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	yes
Face Description	His eyes appear bruised and swollen; his mouth is parted and brow is furrowed (suffering expression), the crown of thorns is present, there are many drops of blood
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	3-4; three look like rays and the fourth looks like a fold in the cloth
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	beard and hair are curly and naturalistic
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	white with some marks; painted in trompe l'oeil to look like it has been folded and attached to the predella with red wax.
Other Notes	This appeared on the rear of the altarscreen and was probably only viewed by the clergy.

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration (initial)
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Cistercian Missal: Bishop Displaying Vernicle
Date	c. 1350-75
ID #	16
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 344
Size	
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	undetermined; doubtful
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	undetermined
Mandyion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	hair is stylized into points
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; large and Christ's face is larger than life-size
Other Notes	The vernicle is displayed by a bishop, instead of by Veronica.

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Cistercian Missal: Vernicle on Hooks
Date	c. 1350-75
ID #	17
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 345
Size	
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandyion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	stylized hair and solid beard
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; Christ's face stands out in front of the cloth
Other Notes	The vernicle is suspended by hooks, similar to the corporal case.

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration
Function 1	devotional
Function 2	hymn/indulgence
Artist	Master of Guillebert de Mets
Title	Book of Hours: Saint Veronica
Date	1450-1460
ID #	18
Source	Ewa Kuryluk, Veronica and Her Cloth, figure 16
Size	19.4 x 14 cm
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	multiple; arranged in eight groups
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	His hair and beard are simplified.
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a white turban.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	white with border around bottom edge; large with larger than life-size face of Christ
Other Notes	Appears opposite <i>Salve sancta facies</i> ; in the lower right corner there is a kneeling figure gazing at Christ's face, hands clasped in prayer.

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration
Function 1	devotional
Function 2	hymn/indulgence
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Psalter & Hours of Yolande de Soissons: Miniature of the Holy Face
Date	c. 1280-99
ID #	19
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 356
Size	182 x 134 mm
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	4
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	curly hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	patterned and bordered by an architectural frame
Other Notes	Appears opposite the Office of the Holy Face.

Type 3	panel
Type 2	portrait
Function 1	vernicle section: iconic/devotional
Function 2	
Artist	Petrus Christus
Title	Portrait of a Young Man
Date	circa 1450-60
ID #	20
Source	Henk van Os, The Art of Devotion, 42
Size	35.5 x 26.3 cm
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	multiple; arranged in groups of four
Alpha/Omega	yes
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	naturalistic hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	dark
Other Notes	“Salve sancta facies” appears written on the manuscript page.

Type 1	fresco
Type 2	
Function 1	vernicle section: iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Andrea da Firenze
Title	Pilgrim: detail from Spanish Chapel at S. Maria Novella
Date	fourteenth century
ID #	21
Source	Millard Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death, figure 44
Size	
Medium	fresco
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	undetermined; probable
Dark Face	undetermined; doubtful
Suffering Face	undetermined; doubtful
Face Description	badly abraded
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandylicon Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	stylized hair and beard
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	white paper or cloth affixed to pilgrim's hat
Other Notes	

Type 1	pilgrim badge
Type 2	jewelry
Function 1	functional badge (see thesis text)
Function 2	iconic/devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Pilgrim Badge (circular pendant)
Date	fifteenth century
ID #	22
Source	Linda Seidel, Pious Journeys, 47
Size	2.5 cm diameter
Medium	ivory, mother-of-pearl, silver gilt
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no (not applicable)
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	eyes closed, mouth slightly open
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	curled and naturalistic hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; carved with wrinkles and folds
Other Notes	Other Inscription: "IHS" appears at the top.

Type 1	pilgrim badge
Type 2	jewelry
Function 1	functional badge (see thesis text)
Function 2	iconic/devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Pilgrim Badge (rectangular pendant)
Date	thirteenth-fourteenth century
ID #	23
Source	Musee National, Enseignes de Pelerinage et Enseignes Profanes, 50
Size	32 x 37 cm
Medium	lead
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no (not applicable)
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	2
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	undetermined; doubtful
Mandyion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	stylized hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	Other Inscription: "Sancti Sudarii"

Type 1	pilgrim badge
Type 2	jewelry
Function 1	functional badge (see thesis text)
Function 2	iconic/devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Pilgrim Badge (brooch)
Date	fourteenth-fifteenth century
ID #	24
Source	Musee National, Enseignes de Pelerinage et Enseignes Profanes, 55
Size	52 x 35 mm
Medium	lead
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no (not applicable)
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	hair in four strands
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a habit.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	Two orant figures present. Other Inscription: "Sainte Venice"

Type 1	sculpture
Type 2	tabernacle
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Giebel vom Sakramentshaus
Title	Tabernacle
Date	c. 1450
ID #	25
Source	Bernard Decker, Die Bildwerke des Mittelalters und der Freurenaissance, 35
Size	
Medium	carved/painted wood
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a white veil, perhaps a habit. Her age is difficult to judge by the reproduction.
Angels Present (#)	yes, 2
Angel Description	undetermined
Veil Description	plain; large cloth and Christ's face is larger than life-size
Other Notes	

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen (vernicle section: pax)
Function 1	vernicle section: iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Master of Heilige Sippe
Title	The Mystic Mass of Saint Gregory
Date	fifteenth century
ID #	26
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, The Visual and the Visionary, 332, 336
Size	
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	undetermined; doubtful
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	naturalistic
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; could be cloth or painted on panel
Other Notes	pax is surrounded by very ornate, gilded frame; is present on the altar.

Type 1	sculpted object
Type 2	paten medallion
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Paten Medallion
Date	fourteenth-fifteenth century
ID #	27
Source	Michael Mitchiner, Medieval Pilgrim & Secular Badges, 194
Size	29 mm diameter
Medium	pewter
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no (not applicable)
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	4
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	undetermined; doubtful
Mandyion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	round; described by concentric circles and dotted pattern at edge
Other Notes	Used at the bottom of a wooden paten dish.

Type 1	textile
Type 2	corporal case
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Corporal Case
Date	fifteenth century
ID #	28
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 343
Size	19 x 19 cm
Medium	linen embroidered with silk on wood
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	yes
Face Description	crown of thorns and drops of blood; looks like mouth may be parted and brow furrowed (undetermined due to quality of reproduction)
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	multiple; arranged in four groups
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	undetermined
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	naturalistic hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	The veil is suspended from hooks, like the Cistercian missal image, and appears on the inside of the lid. The image acts as a label for the corporal case. The top of the case is embroidered with "IHS."

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration
Function 1	illustrative
Function 2	
Artist	Circle of Martinus Opifex
Title	Peutinger Prayer Book: Vernicle Initial
Date	mid-fifteenth century
ID #	29
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 335
Size	
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	undetermined
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	naturalistic hair
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a white veil. Her head leans toward the image.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; large, with larger than life-size face of Christ
Other Notes	Appears with text to be read during the evaluation of the Host.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Master of Saint Ursula
Title	Saint Veronica
Date	c. 1480-1500
ID #	30
Source	Grove Dictionary of Art Online
Size	31 x 25 cm
Medium	oil on oak panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	parted; curled/natural appearance
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	Holds sudarium up similar to Master of Saint Veronica. She wears a headdress that has a white portion and a colored hat top. She appears young.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; large cloth gathered at the edges where it is held
Other Notes	

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen
Function 1	narrative
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Hersfeld Altar (Carrying of the Cross/Road to Calvary)
Date	late fifteenth century
ID #	31
Source	Ewa Kuryluk, Veronica and Her Cloth, figure 18
Size	
Medium	panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	naturalistic hair and beard
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She kneels and wears a white veil.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; Christ's head is life-size and seems to be three-dimensional in front of the cloth.
Other Notes	Context is Carrying of the Cross/Road to Calvary.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Holy Face; copy of a piece by Jan van Eyck
Date	c. 1390-1441
ID #	32
Source	Henk van Os: The Art of Devotion, 40
Size	
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	no; neck/shoulders
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	yes
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	parted/curly hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	dark/undetermined
Other Notes	

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Hans Memling
Title	Saint Veronica Displaying Sudarium
Date	c. 1470-75
ID #	33
Source	Henk van Os, The Art of Devotion, 45
Size	31.2 x 24.4 cm
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	naturalistic hair
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a white turban and appears young. She holds the cloth up to the viewer and appears to be kneeling or sitting.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; large
Other Notes	

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarpiece
Function 1	narrative
Function 2	
Artist	Geertgen tot Sint Jans
Title	Crucifixion with Passion Scenes (Carrying the Cross/Road to Calvary)
Date	c. 1480
ID #	34
Source	Henk van Os, The Art of Devotion, 152
Size	26.8 x 20.5 cm
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	undetermined; doubtful
Face Description	
Halo	undetermined; doubtful
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	undetermined; doubtful
IC/XC	undetermined; doubtful
Divided Beard	undetermined
Mandy Lion Hair	undetermined
Beard/Hair Description	undetermined
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a type of headdress or turban.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	Veronica shows the sudarium to Christ.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	pax
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Circle of the Cioni
Title	Vernicle Panel
Date	c. 1380
ID #	35
Source	Millard Meiss, <i>Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death</i> , figure 42
Size	
Medium	tempera on panel
Head Only	no; neck/shoulders
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	undetermined; doubtful
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	similar appearance to icons and older Italian art
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylic Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	curly hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	yes; 2
Angel Description	Angels appear at the top of the frame, holding up the veil
Veil Description	patterned; may be gilded
Other Notes	Other Inscription: "Pace." Indicates definitively that it was used as a pax.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	pax or devotional painting
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Vernicle Panel
Date	c. 1410
ID #	36
Source	Millard Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death, figure 43
Size	
Medium	tempera on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	curly hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	appears to have a thick, patterned edge
Other Notes	

Type 1	panel
Type 2	icon
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Mandyllion (from Novgorod)
Date	twelfth century
ID #	37
Source	Hans Belting, Likeness and Presence, 216
Size	
Medium	panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	undetermined; probable
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	yes
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyllion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	parted hair divided into four stylized curly sections
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	

Type 1	paper
Type 2	woodcut
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Arma Christi
Date	c. 1350
ID #	38
Source	R. N. Swanson, <i>Passion and Practice</i> ,
Size	
Medium	woodcut
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	Appears in border around the Man of Sorrows, below which there is an indulgence.

Type 1	fresco
Type 2	
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Circle of Tomaso da Modena
Title	Saint Veronica Displaying Sudarium
Date	1349-54
ID #	39
Source	George Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy, 1046; Grove Dictionary of Art Online
Size	
Medium	fresco
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	undetermined; probably 0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a habit.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; face of Christ is life-sized
Other Notes	

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration
Function 1	narrative
Function 2	illustrative
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Carrying of the Cross/Road to Calvary (Netherlandish)
Date	fifteenth century
ID #	40
Source	James Marrow, Passion Iconography in Northern European Art, figure 128
Size	
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	yes
Face Description	Crown of thorns; (other is undetermined)
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	multiple
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She is young and wears a white veil.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; Christ's head is slightly smaller than life-size
Other Notes	2 soldiers present; image in a prayer book, Veronica kneels before Christ, who touches the cloth

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illumination
Function 1	overall: narrative
Function 2	vernicle portion: iconic
Artist	Jean Fouquet
Title	Hours of Etienne Chevalier: Carrying of the Cross/Road to Calvary
Date	fifteenth century
ID #	41
Source	Emile Male, Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages, 58
Size	
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	(too light to describe)
Halo	undetermined; doubtful
# of Halo Rays	undetermined; probably 0
Alpha/Omega	undetermined; doubtful
IC/XC	undetermined; doubtful
Divided Beard	undetermined; probable
Mandy Lion Hair	undetermined
Beard/Hair Description	
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a white turban. She also appears within the narrative scene.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	Veronica appears in an initial at the center and in the scene at the right. Within the scene, she displays the cloth to Christ; this second cloth is not visible to the viewer.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Robert Campin
Title	Saint Veronica Displaying Sudarium
Date	15 th century
ID #	42
Source	Grove Encyclopedia of Art
Size	
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	yes
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	undetermined; looks like "yes"
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	curly and naturalistic
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She appears old and wears a white turban. She is richly dressed.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	transparent; it appears to have several folds, similar to a corporal
Other Notes	Veronica stands in front of a patterned backdrop.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	
Function 1	(neither iconic nor fully narrative; main figures are static)
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Hieronymous Bosch
Title	Carrying of the Cross/Road to Calvary (Ghent)
Date	late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
ID #	43
Source	Walter S. Gibson, Hieronymous Bosch, figure 113
Size	
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandy Lion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	parted; naturalistic
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a turban-like hat and looks to the left, her eyes closed. She appears in the corner of the panel and is holding the sudarium. She is young.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	Christ's eyes are closed in the "real" figure and open in the sudarium.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarpiece
Function 1	narrative
Function 2	
Artist	Hieronymous Bosch
Title	The Mystic Mass of Saint Gregory (passion scenes on altarscreen)
Date	late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
ID #	44
Source	Walter S. Gibson, Hieronymous Bosch, figure 108
Size	
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	undetermined
Dark Face	undetermined
Suffering Face	undetermined; doubtful
Face Description	
Halo	undetermined; doubtful
# of Halo Rays	undetermined
Alpha/Omega	undetermined; doubtful
IC/XC	undetermined; doubtful
Divided Beard	undetermined
Mandylicion Hair	undetermined
Beard/Hair Description	undetermined
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a white turban.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	Grisaille scene. This is a very small scene within the painting and its details are difficult to decipher. It depicts, in this portion, the Carrying of the Cross/Road to Calvary. Veronica displays the cloth to the viewer, rather than to Christ (who is behind her).

Type 1	panel
Type 2	
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Dieric Bouts
Title	Christus Salvador Mundi
Date	c. 1450
ID #	45
Source	Henk van Os, The Art of Devotion, 41
Size	36 x 27 cm
Medium	oil on panel
Head Only	no; neck/shoulders
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	dark; undetermined
Other Notes	similar to Jan van Eyck piece

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration (pasted in)
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Sheet of Four Vernicles (from a Psalter)
Date	1462 or after
ID #	46
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 327
Size	
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	undetermined
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	dark coloring against bright red and blue halos; eyes look left
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandylic Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	simplified Mandylic beard and hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	

Type 1	sculpture
Type 2	tomb memorial
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Bronnbach Memorial
Date	c. 1300-30
ID #	47
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 369
Size	244 cm high
Medium	sandstone relief
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no (not applicable)
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	4
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	yes; 1
Angel Description	An angel appears at the top of the relief, carrying the veil. Only its head and hands are visible.
Veil Description	plain; Christ's head is the same size as the angel's; they are both smaller than the heads of the patron figures.
Other Notes	A man and woman kneel before the vernicle. A rose, lamb, and another animal are between them.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	icon
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Mandylion (from S. Silvestro in Capite)
Date	late antique
ID #	48
Source	Hans Belting, The Image and its Public, 218
Size	
Medium	paint on panel or on cloth
Head Only	undetermined; highly likely
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	undetermined; likely
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	undetermined; doubtful
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	undetermined; doubtful
IC/XC	undetermined; doubtful
Divided Beard	no
Mandylion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	stylized Mandylion-type hair and beard
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	undetermined
Other Notes	This has been identified as both vernicle and Mandylion. It appears within a frame that is cut to the outline of the face and beard/hair.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Mandylion Reconstruction (from St. Catherine, Sinai)
Date	tenth century
ID #	49
Source	Hans Belting, Likeness and Presence, 212
Size	
Medium	panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	undetermined; doubtful
Dark Face	undetermined; probable
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	yes
Divided Beard	no
Mandylion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	In a side panel, the vernicle has 4 rays behind it.

Type 1	metalwork
Type 2	silver chasing
Function 1	narrative/iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Mandyllion and Legend (from Genoa)
Date	fourteenth century
ID #	50
Source	Hans Belting, Likeness and Presence, 212
Size	
Medium	silver chasing
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no (not applicable)
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	0
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandyllion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain
Other Notes	Image appears with the living Christ in one section; in another, the image sits on a pillar and a false god falls before it.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Roberto di Oderisi
Title	Arma Christi
Date	c. 1354-55
ID #	51
Source	James Clifton, The Body of Christ, title page
Size	62 x 38 cm
Medium	tempera & gold leaf on panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	yes
# of Halo Rays	no
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandyion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	parted hair; curly
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	none visible
Other Notes	General Passion imagery is present in the whole image, as it is an Arma Christi. The vernicle appears at the top center of the image, within the point of the panel.

Type 1	panel
Type 2	altarscreen
Function 1	overall: narrative
Function 2	vernicle section: iconic/devotional
Artist	Anonymous
Title	The Large Calvary Altarscreen (German)
Date	fifteenth century
ID #	52
Source	Michael Camille, <i>Mimetic Identification and Passion Devotion</i> , 199
Size	
Medium	panel
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	3
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandyion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	parted beard; curly
Veronica Present	yes
Veronica Description	She wears a turban or hat.
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	plain; life-sized face of Christ
Other Notes	Crucifixion scene; Veronica stands on the left side and displays the cloth frontally to the viewer. Several nearby figures gaze at her cloth.

Type 1	paper
Type 2	
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Sheet of Eight Vernicles
Date	
ID #	53
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 326
Size	
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	no
Dark Face	undetermined; probable
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	no
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandyion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	stylized beard and hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	marked by dividing lines
Other Notes	

Type 1	paper
Type 2	manuscript illustration
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Breviary of the Grand Master Leo: Vernicle
Date	1356
ID #	54
Source	Jeffrey Hamburger, <i>The Visual and the Visionary</i> , 376
Size	
Medium	painting on paper
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	4
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	no
Mandyion Hair	yes
Beard/Hair Description	stylized beard and hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	yes; 2
Angel Description	Two angels come fly out of the top of the frame, holding the veil.
Veil Description	white, patterned, with gold rays as if painted or woven into it; thin border on all edges
Other Notes	The frame contains says about God's face by six Scriptural figures (for example, Job).

Type 1	pilgrim badges
Type 2	jewelry (undetermined)
Function 1	iconic
Function 2	
Artist	Anonymous
Title	Pilgrim Badge (circular; undetermined use)
Date	fourteenth-fifteenth century
ID #	55
Source	Herbert Kessler, Rome 1300, 217
Size	
Medium	metal (probably lead)
Head Only	yes
Placid Face	yes
Dark Face	no (not applicable)
Suffering Face	no
Face Description	
Halo	no
# of Halo Rays	4
Alpha/Omega	no
IC/XC	no
Divided Beard	yes
Mandylion Hair	no
Beard/Hair Description	curly hair
Veronica Present	no
Veronica Description	
Angels Present (#)	no
Angel Description	
Veil Description	circular, bordered by edge
Other Notes	Identified by its provenance (Rome).

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