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The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages

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contents

The Literary Warp and Artistic Weft of Veronica's Cloth

Herbert L. Kessler

For Jeffrey Hamburger at sixty

In featuring Saint Veronica proffering the portrait impressed on a cloth she has just used to wipe Christ's face, Jacquemart de Hesdin's depiction of Christ on the Way to Calvary in Paris seems entirely natural (Musée du Louvre; [**Fig. 1**])[1]. Neither of the painting's principal visual models portrays a securely identifiable relic image or Saint Veronica, however, not Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco at Assisi, from which the nude thieves, soldier seen from the back, and hanging Judas derive[2], nor Simone Martini's panel, also in the Louvre, which provided the Jerusalem gate, the little boy, Mary and John[3]. Indeed, only a few scattered works vie for chronological precedence with Jacquemart's early fifteenth-century painting including Saint Veronica in the Passion narrative, most notably, an early fifteenth-century

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1   Jacquemart's painting has been much discussed largely in terms of attribution and original context see: Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, MA 1953, p. 82; Otto Pächt, "Un tableau du Jacquemart de Hesdin?", *Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII (1956), pp. 146–53; Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, London 1967, vol. 1, pp. 160–169; Herman T. Colenbrander, "'Scripta manent'. Jacquemart de Hodin, Painter from Mons?", in *Manuscripts in Transition. Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images*, Brigitte Dekeyzer, Jan van der Stock eds, Louvain 2005, pp. 225–233; Eberhard König, *Vom Psalter zum Stundenbuch. Zwei bedeutende Handschriften aus dem 14. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 2015, pp. 314–333; Herbert L. Kessler, "Veronica's *Text*ile", in *The Primacy of the Image in Northern European Art, 1400–1700: Essays in Honor of Larry Silver*, Leiden 2017, pp. 125–139. Although usually considered to be a folio detached from a manuscript, perhaps the *Grandes Heures* of the Duc de Berry, the seriously damaged depiction may qualify, instead, as an independent "parchment painting" of the genre Kathryn M. Rudy has studied in *Postcards on Parchment. The Social Lives of Medieval Books*, New Haven 2015.
2   Alessio Monciatti, "Il transetto meridionale della Basilica inferiore di San Francesco (entro il 1319?)", in *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Chiara Frugoni ed., Florence 1998, pp. 26–55.
3   Simone's panel was at the Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon from at least 1791, Hendrik W. van Os and Marjan Rinkleff-Reinders, "De reconstructie van Simone Martini's zgn. Polyptiek van de Passie", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XXIII (1972), pp. 13–26; Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Simone Martini*, Milan 2003, pp. 300–310, 362–363.

Netherlandish *Biblia Pauperum* in the British Library (King's, MS 5, fol. 16ʳ)[4]. The familiar feature is, in fact, the product of separate thirteenth- and fourteenth-century developments in literature and art that, for centuries, continued to be formed into diverse patterns. The conference held at Magdalene College Cambridge on 4–5 April 2016 sought to unravel individual threads that contributed to the history of Saint Veronica and the face of Christ imprinted on her veil; this volume of the papers presents the results.

Saint Veronica herself appeared in art relatively late; the earliest portraits are the fresco in Santa Veronica de Hoè that Stefano Candiani discusses here, a statue from 1313–1315 in Écouis (southeast of Rouen)[5], a marginal figure in the Parisian Book of Hours of Yolande of Flanders, dated 1353–1358 (British Library, Yates Thompson, MS 27, fol. 44ᵛ; [Fig. 2]), and the Lombard manuscripts Candiani introduces[6]. These seem to be composites made from conventional portraits; in the Book of Hours, for instance, Saint Veronica is the mirror-image of the saint opposite her (perhaps Agnes), distinguished by her wimple[7]. Saint Veronica displaying the *veronica* grew in favor during the fifteenth century; it is found, for instance, in the initial D that originally began the "*Deus in adjutorium meum intende*" for tierce of the Hours of the Cross in Jean Fouquet's now dismembered Hours of Etienne Chevalier of ca 1452–1460 (Chantilly, Musée Condé, [Fig. 3])[8] and among the additions made ca 1445–1450 to the Hours of Phillip the Bold (Brussels, *Bibliothèque royale*, MS 11035–37) that Kathryn Rudy analyzes here[9].

The *veronica* had a distinct history which Raffaella Zardoni, Emanuela Bossi, and Amanda Murphy examine[10]. Isolated depictions of it appeared on such thirteenth-century pilgrim badges as the one in the Musée Cluny labeled: SIGNET SANCTU SODARIO [Fig. 4][11]; like the earliest representations of the Saint holding it, the relic displays a disembodied

4   *Biblia Pauperum: King's MS 5, British Library, London*, Lucern 1993–1994. See: James Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative*, Kortrijk 1979, p. 151.

5   Dorothy Gillerman, *Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Écouis*, University Park, PA 1994, pp. 71–84, 168; Gerhard Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel. Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance*, Munich 2002, p. 116 ff.

6   Meiss, *French Painting* (n. 1), pp. 160–169; *Il volto di Cristo*, Giovanni Morello, Gerhard Wolf eds, Milan 2000, pp. 194–195; Wolf, *Schleier* (n. 5), pp. 141–142; Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self Representation in Late Medieval Art*, New York 2014, pp. 77–79. The cult of Saint Veronica is documented in the West from the eleventh century; see: *La Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur. The Old and Middle French Prose Versions. The Version of Japheth*, Alvin E. Ford ed., Toronto 1984, p. 13.

7   Both Ambrogio and Simone may have included Saint Veronica among Christ's companions; and she is, perhaps, the woman wearing a kerchief in Jacquemart's version of the Carrying the Cross in the "Brussels Hours" (*Bibliothèque Royale*, MS 1160/61, fol. 186r); Panofsky, *Netherlandish Painting* (n. 1), vol. 2, pl. 20, fig. 45; Meiss, *French Painting* (n. 1), Fig. 194.

8   *Jean Fouquet, peintre et enlumineur du XVe siècle*, catalogue of an exhibition (Paris, BNF, 25 March – 22 June 2003), François Avril ed., Paris 2003, pp. 30–35; Nicole Reynaud, *Les Heures d'Etienne Chevalier par Jean Fouquet*, Dijon 2006.

9   Rudy, *Postcards* (n. 1), pp. 183–185.

10 Scholarship on the *veronica* is vast. Ernst von Dobschütz's *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Leipzig 1899, remains a fundamental, albeit dangerously flawed, source. More recently: André Chastel, "La Véronique", *Revue de l'art*, XL–XLI (1978), pp. 71–78; *Roma 1300–1875. L'arte degli anni santi*, Marcello Fagiolo, Maria Luisa Madonna eds, Milan 1984, pp. 106–126; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, Edmund Jephcott trans., Chicago 1994, pp. 215–224; Jeffrey Hamburger, "Vision and the Veronica", in *The Visual and the Visionary*, New York 1998, pp. 316–382; Gerhard Wolf, "'Or fu sí fatta la sembianza vostra?' Sguardi all 'vera icona' e alle sue copie artistiche" in *Il volto* (n. 6), pp. 103–114; "*Alexifarmaka*. Aspetti del culto della teoria delle immagini a Roma tra Bizanzio e Terra Santa nell'Alto Medioevo", in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, Spoleto 2002, vol. 2, pp. 755–796; and *Schleier* (n. 5); Tiziana Di Blasio, *Veronica il mistero del Volto. Itinerari iconografici, memoria e rappresentazione*, Rome 2000; Christiane Kruse, *Wozu Menschen malen. Historische Begründungen eines Bildmediums*, Munich 2003, pp. 269–306; Rémi Gounelle, "Les origines littéraires de la légende de Véronique et de la Sainte Face: La Cura Sanitatis Tiberii et la Vindicta Salvatoris", in *Sacre impronte e oggetti 'non fatti da mano d'uomo' nelle religioni*, Atti del Convegno internazionale (Torino, 18–20 maggio 2010), Adele Monaci Castagno ed., Alessandria 2011, pp. 231–251; Jean-Marie Sansterre, "Variation d'une légende et genèse d'un culte entre la Jérusalem des origines, Rome et l'Occident: quelques jalons de l'histoire de Véronique et de la Veronica jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle", in *Passages. Déplacements des hommes, circulation des textes et identités dans l'Occident médiéval*, Actes du colloque (Bordeaux, 2–3 février 2007), Joëlle Ducos, Patrick Henriet eds, Toulouse 2013, pp. 217–231; Sand, *Vision* (n. 6), pp. 27–83; Julia Weitbrecht, "The Vera Icon (Veronica) in the Verse Legend Veronica II: Medializing Salvation in the Late Middle Ages", *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies*, LII (2016), pp. 173–192.

11 See: Denis Bruna, *Enseignes de pèlerinage et enseignes profanes*, Paris 1966, p. 50; *Anni Santi Roma* (n. 10), pp. 46–49; Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Vatican 1994, pp. 668–669; 748–749; *Romei & Giubilei. Il pellegrinaggio medievale a San Pietro (350–1350)*, Mario d'Onofrio ed., Milan 1999, pp. 342–347; "La Véronique", in *Voyager au Moyen Âge*, catalogue of the exhibition, Paris 2014, p. 55.

2 / "Christ on the Way to Calvary",
Parisian Book of Hours of Yolande of
Flanders, 1353–1358 / London, British
Library, Yates Thompson, MS 27, fol. 44v

3 / Jean Fouquet, "Christ on the Way to
Calvary", Hours of Étienne Chevalier,
ca 1452–1460 / Chantilly, Musée Condé

frontal face with short beard and long hair flowing symmetrically on either side, and rays of the cross, albeit no halo or cloth as such. The badges purport to reproduce the "*sudarium quod Veronica vocatur*" documented in St Peter's from the ninth century, which, like a *sudarium* in Oviedo, may not have had a clearly depicted face. Indeed, Joseph Wilpert's description of the *veronica* as a "square piece of light colored material, somewhat faded through age, two faint rust-brown stains, connected one to the other"[12] corresponds well to the Oviedo *sudario*; and the eleventh-century Old English translation of the *Vindicta Salvatoris* that Barry Windeatt discusses here reiterates the ambivalence.

A depiction of Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–1484) displaying the Veronica during the 1475 Jubilee in Ludovico Lazzerelli's *Fasti Christianae religionis* at Yale (Beinecke Library, MS 391, fol. 41ᵛ; [**Fig. 5**]) pictures a distinctly different kind of *veronica*[13]; it, too, sports long flowing hair and pointed beard, but it is a dark form without neck or shoulders, what Hannecke Van Asperen refers to as the "tadpole" type and Zardoni, Bossi, and Murphy as a cut-out, suggesting that the bearded visage was a *contrafactum* made directly from Christ's face. The same basic forms can be recognized in the Byzantine *Mandylion* and on some badges issued to pilgrims by the Vatican's *pictores Veronicarum* and *mercanti di Veronichi*[14]; and the flat shadowy form, mostly defined by a superimposed frame, appears in replicas of the Rome icon from Jaen to Prague to Vienna[15]. Ugo da Carpi reproduced it on a painting for Pope Celestine's ciborium (perhaps made for the 1525 Jubilee year) which he inscribed "*fata senza penello*" [**Fig. 6**][16].

The development of the artistic representations is, then, the reverse of the narrative Jacquemart depicted. Instead of Saint Veronica's receiving the image-bearing cloth from Christ on the way to Golgotha and then the *veronica*'s becoming a venerated *acheiropoieton*, representations of the *sudarium Christi* treasured in St Peter's in Rome engendered the Saint who, in turn, came to be inserted into the Passion story, but only around 1400.

Vera icona

A tenth-century text had already identified an image of Christ imprinted directly on Saint Veronica's garment (ἀχειροκμήτως ἐγγράψαι) and claimed that it was treasured in Rome[17]; the Old English translation of the *Vindicta Salvatoris* seems to confirm the claim. Nevertheless, until the end of the twelfth century, the cloth itself seems to have been more important than any image it may have presented and was associated with a Saint Veronica mostly in the popular imagination. Writing between 1159 and 1181, for example, Peter

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12 *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten von IV. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg 1916, vol. 2, pp. 1117–1121.

13 Hamburger, "Vision and Veronica" (n. 10), p. 317.

14 Belting, *Likeness and Presence* (n. 10), p. 221. The oldest written sources about the *veronica* also engage aspects of the Abgar legend; and the *Mandylion* and *veronica* were often interchanged. As Sureda points out, in 1414–1415, Lluís Borrassà let the *veronica* stand in for the Mandylion in the scene of Christ delivering the Holy Face to Abgar on his altarpiece now in the Museu Diocesan in Vic. See Van Asperen and, for a discussion of the *Mandylion/veronica* relationship Zardoni, Bossi, and Murphy.

15 Belting, *Likeness and Presence* (n. 10), pp. 215–224.

16 Nicole Blackwood has pointed out that Ugo da Carpi, who was a print maker, formed the shadowy face from a woodblock and then, in a play on "*acheiropoietos*," worked the paint with his own fingers. On the seventeenth-century continuation, see Louise Rice, "Bernini and the Frame of the Volto Santo", *Bolletino dei Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Ponteficie*, XXXII (2014), pp. 195–200; "The Pre-Mochi Projects for the Veronica Pier in Saint Peter's", in *The Eternal Baroque. Studies in Honour of Jenifer Montagu*, Carolyn H. Miner ed., Milan 2015, pp. 175–201; and "The Unveiling of Mochi's 'Veronica'", *Burlington Magazine*, CLVI (2014), pp. 735–40. See also: Tristan Weddigen, "Weaving the Face of Christ: On the Textile Origins of the Christian Image", in *Senses of Sight: Towards a Multisensorial Approach of the Image. Essays in Honor of Victor I. Stoichita*, Henri de Riedmatten et al. eds, Rome 2015, pp. 83–110.

17 "Ἡ ἑτοιμασία τῆς αἱμόρρου Βερονίκης τοῦ ῥάκκους, ἣν εικόνα ὁ ἀποδεχόμενος τὰς προθέσεις Κύριος ἀχειροκμήτως ἐγγράψαι εὐδόκησεν"; see: Alexander Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype*, Washington, DC 1996, p. 349; Wolf, "*Alexifarmaka*" (n. 10), pp. 775–778; Ann van Dijk, "The Veronica, the *Vultus Christi* and the Veneration of Icons in Medieval Rome", in *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, Rosamond McKitterick *et al.* eds, Cambridge 2013, pp. 229–256. Grimaldi reports that the *veronica* was brought to Rome after the Resurrection; see: Gallo's contribution here.

4 / Veronica, pilgrim token,
13th century / Paris, Musée Cluny

5 / Display of the Veronica in
Saint Peter's in Rome, "Fasti
Christianae religionis" by
Ludovico Lazzarelli, ca 1480 /
New Haven, Yale University,
Beinecke Library, MS 391, fol. 41v

6 / Ugo da Carpi, "Saint Veronica
Displaying Veronica, Flanked by
Saints Peter and Paul", ca 1525 /
Vatican, Fabbrica di San Pietro

7 / Veronica, Bonmont Psalter, Germany, 1260 / Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 54, fol. 18r

Mallius, a canon of St Peter's, described the "*Oratorium Sanctae Genetricis Virginis Mariae quod vocatur Veronica, ubi sine dubio est Sudarium Christi*"[18]; and his contemporary, Peter the Deacon (ca 1107 – ca 1153), referred simply to the "*sudarium vero, cum quo Christus faciem suam extersit, quod ab aliis Veronicae dicitur*"[19]. As a *vera icona*, the *veronica*'s real history started only after Pope Celestine III (1191–1198) and especially his successor Innocent III (1198–1216) began to promote the *sudarium* as an image-not-made-by-hand, a rival to the Lateran's "Acheropita", a history that Gisela Drossbach, Aden Kumler, Uwe Michael Lang, and Rebecca Rist all consider.

Not surprising, as Nigel Morgan argues in his contribution, the earliest representations of the *veronica* followed no set type. Matthew Paris' Holy Face in the *Chronica maiora* from the fifth decade of the thirteenth century (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 16, fol. 49ᵛ) is a conventional Christ identifiable as the *veronica* only by the accompanying words[20]. Suzanne Lewis rightly recognized that it may, in fact, have depended "on a textual rather than a pictorial source"[21]; indeed, the bust portrait may have been improvised from the description of the image-relics by Gervase of Tilbury (ca 1150–1228): "*est ergo Veronica pictura Domini vera secundum carnem repraesentans effigiem a pectore superius in basilica S. Petri*"[22]. From the start, it would seem, texts played as much of a role in the figuring

of the *veronica* as any hypothetical *Urbild*. The depiction on a bifolium inserted into an earlier Psalter (British Library, Arundel, MS 157, fols 1ᵛ–2ʳ) follows Paris' formula, as does the *veronica* a German illuminator introduced into the Bonmont Psalter two decades later (Besançon, *Bibliothèque municipale*, MS 54, fol. 18ʳ; [Fig. 7])[23]: the half-length depictions of the Savior, bearing a cross-nimbus and sporting ringlets that fall onto his shoulders and a close-cropped cleft beard, replicate a type that goes back to Late Antiquity[24].

Moreover, the *veronica*'s appearance remained fluid. In 1249, Jacques Pantaleon (ca 1195–1264) sent a painted portrait identified in the Cyrillic *titulus* as: "The Lord's image on a handkerchief", i.e. the Mandylion, to his sister Sibylle, the Abbess of Montreuil-les-Dames, who had asked for a "*sanctam Veronicam seu veram ipsius imaginem et similitudinem*"[25]. As Marco Petoletti and Angelo Piacentini note, a "veronica" was intended to serve as the frontispiece of Boniface of Verona's poem, *Veronica*, of 1272–1276, even though the text that follows recounts the Abgar story as well as the account in the *Vindicta Salvatoris*; and about the same time, the illuminator of the English Apocalypse in Lisbon (Gulbenkian Collection, MS L.A. 139, fol. 13ʳ; [Fig. 8]) portrayed Titus returning from Jerusalem with the Temple curtain which displays a *vera icona*, its flowing auburn hair, cross-nimbus, slightly askance eyes, and stub-neck, not very different from the earlier versions. Paolo Veneziano included a *veronica* in his Santa Chiara altarpiece of ca 1320 (Trieste, Museo Civico Sartorio; [Fig. 9]); with its fully disembodied face completely encompassed by a cruciform halo, forelock, cleft beard, and long ringlets, as well as the patterned fringed cloth [Fig. 10], it recalls such Byzantine *Mandylions* as the one Jacques Pantaleon sent his sister as a *veronica* and may well represent a translation to Italy of the eastern tradition[26]. Marc Sureda points out that, even within the confined image ecology of the Crown of Aragon and despite King Martin's privileged Barcelona "*veronica*", morphological diversity and the easy interchange of miraculous images remained characteristic.

The range of visual expression may be understood as a form of dissimulation. In his highly influential *De Trinitate*, Augustine had already embraced variety of portraiture as proof that God is unrepresentable and that all depictions of Jesus are mere human contrivance:

> "For even the countenance of our Lord Himself in the flesh is variously fancied by the diversity of countless imaginations, which yet was one, whatever it was. Nor in our faith which we have of our Lord Jesus Christ, is that wholesome which the mind imagines for itself, perhaps far other than the reality"[27].

18 Peter Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, Roberto Valentini, Giuseppe Zucchetti eds, Rome 1946, vol. 3, p. 210; van Dijk, "Veronica" (n. 17), p. 245.

19 *Liber de locis sanctis*; PL 173.1121.

20 Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the* Chronica Majora, Berkeley 1987, pp. 126–131; *Il volto* (n. 10), pp. 169–172; Herbert L. Kessler, "Christ's Dazzling Dark Face", in *Intorno al Sacro Volto. Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo (secoli XI–XIV)*, A. R. Calderoni Masetti, Colette Dufour Bozzo, Gerhard Wolf eds, Venice 2007, pp. 231–246; Paul Binski, "The Faces of Christ in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*", in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, Jeffrey Hamburger, Anne S. Korteweg eds, London 2006, pp. 85–92; Rudy, *Postcards* (n. 1), pp. 44–48.

21 Lewis, *Matthew Paris* (n. 20), p. 129.

22 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia. Recreation for an Emperor*, S. E. Banks, J. W. Binns eds and trans., Oxford 2002, pp. 604–607.

23 See: Ann-Barbara Franzen-Blumer, "Zisterziensermystik im 'Bonmont-Psalter': Ms. 54 der Bibliothèque Municipale von Besançon", *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz*, LI (2000), pp. 21–28; Sand, *Vision* (n. 6), pp. 52–59.

24 See: Martin Büchsel, *Die Entstehung des Christusporträts. Bildarchäologie stat Bildhypnose*, Mainz am Rhein 2003.

25 André Grabar, *La sainte face de Laon. Le Mandylion dans l'art orthodoxe*, Prague 1931; Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Images. Expressions of Faith and Power", in *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, Helen C. Evans ed., New York 2004, pp. 174–175. Jean-Michel Sansterre's careful reading of the letter accompanying the gift indicates that the reference is not to the *veronica* in Rome but rather to the face depicted in the Mandylion: "Deux témoignages sur la Sainte Face de Laon au XIIIe siècle?", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, LXXXVI (2008), pp. 273–285.

26 On the relationship to the *Mandylion*, see Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*, Chicago and London 2009, pp. 75–83 and Rist's contribution to this volume.

27 "*Nam et ipsius facies dominicae carnis innumerabilium cogitationum diuersitate uariatur et fingitur, quae tamen una erat quaecumque erat. Neque in fide nostra quam de domino iesu christo habemus illud salubre est quod sibi animus fingit longe fortasse aliter quam res habet*"; *De trinitate*, VIII.4, (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 50), p. 276; W. J. Mountain, F. Gloriae ed., Turnhout 1968; A. W. Haddan trans., Edinburgh 1873, p. 209.

Et cum aperuisset sigillum sextum. Sigilli sexti apertio: ad iudeorum deiec
tionem dicimus. ⁊ ad gentium uocacoem ptinet. Et quia xpc de iudeorum
perdicione ⁊ de gentium electione multa per parabolas est locutus. quedam etiam
gessit que hoc designauerunt. Sextum sigillum aperuit: quando doctoribz ecclesie ea
que per figuras dixit ⁊ fecit. ⁊ inspirationis sue gram patefecit. Aperuit etiam sextu
sigillum quando ea que predixit opere impleuit. Terre motus factus est magnus. Per ter
ram in hoc loco iudei designantur. Terre motus factus est magnus: quando a romanis hec
gens est deuastata.
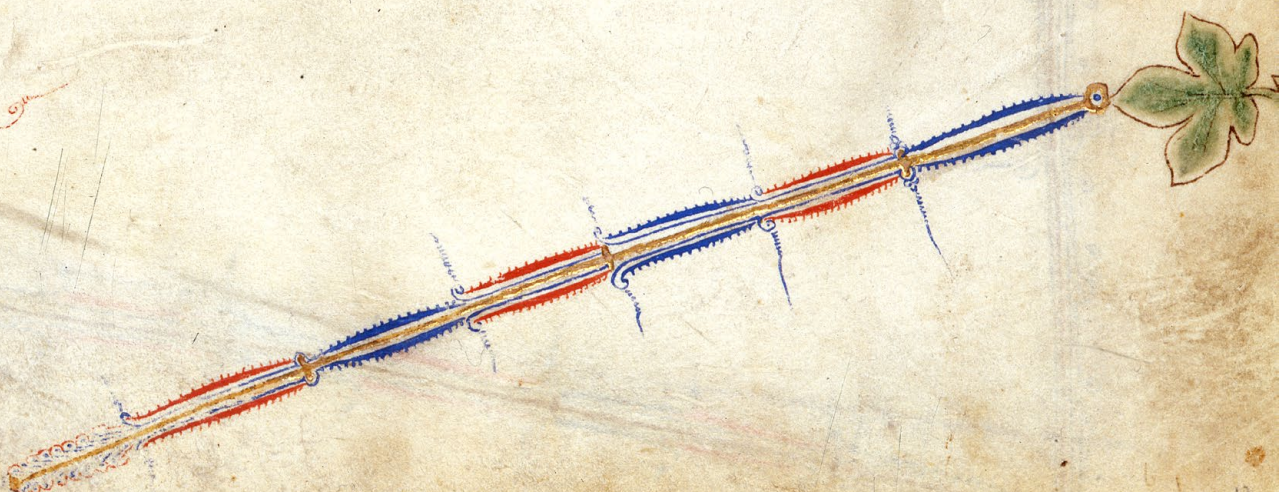
Eight centuries later, Gervase of Tilbury maintained that, despite apparent differences, the various *acheiropoieta* he knew in Rome were essentially identical to one another: "If you carefully examine [the Lateran 'acheropita'] you will find that it is not unlike the Veronica in St Peter's basilica, or the portrait which is inside the oratory of St Lawrence, or the Image of Lucca"[28]. The *grossi* issued in Lucca that Kumler introduces make this claim vivid and real; except for the inscription: s. vvlt de luca, the impressed face would be taken as Rome's *veronica*. As Windeatt and Raffaele Savigny demonstrate here, Gervase's differentiation and assimilation of the various types also reflected an agenda of recognizing Roman priority even while distinguishing a local cult.

The same malleability may explain the exceptional variation of the *veronica* itself. Parmigianino's sketch for the St Peter's altarpiece (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi; [Fig. 11]), for example, is distinctly different from Ugo da Carpi's final version (Vatican, Fabbrica di San Pietro; [Fig. 6]). The one captures the visage's emergence from the shadows and its dissolution into the bright light, a shift that Julian of Norwich noted in a text Windeatt introduces and that Zardoni, Bossi, and Murphy discuss in connection with actual light and dark faces. By contrast, Ugo da Carpi's official realization replicates the original's

8 / Vespasian Receiving the Veronica, Apocalypse, England, ca 1265–1270 / Lisbon, Gulbenkian Collection, ms l.a. 139, fol. 13r

9 / Paolo Veneziano, Veronica, detail of Santa Chiara triptych, ca 1320 / Trieste, Museo Civico Sartorio

10 / Paolo Veneziano, Life of Christ, Santa Chiara triptych, San Cipriano monastery, ca 1320 / Trieste, Museo Civico Sartorio

28 "*Quod si diligenter uultum dominicum […] attendas, non absimilem Veronice basilice sancti Petri, eiue picture que in ipso sancti Laurentii est oratorio, Vultuique Lucano reperies*"; *Otia Imperialia* (n. 22), pp. 606–607.