ABSTRACTS

4th April Morning
Theme: *The Origins of the Fame of the Roman Veronica*

Zbigniew Izydorczyk, **The *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* according to Ernst von Dobschütz**

The *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* is generally assumed to be the earliest textual witness to the legend of Veronica's image of Christ. This work, attested in manuscripts since the eighth century (the Lucca codex), was critically edited by Ernst von Dobschütz in 1899 as part of his *Christusbilder*. Dobschütz based his edition on thirty---seven manuscripts and two old prints of the *Cura*, (plus thirty---two additional manuscripts of Pilate's letter). Impressive and magisterial, Dobschütz's text has been adopted as a point of reference by most modern scholarship on Veronica's legend. However, more than a century after its publication, there are several reasons to reassess its reliability and to confront it with the actual texts preserved in manuscripts. As Dobschütz himself admits in the introduction to his edition, he knew a number of his sources only second hand; the flaws of his immediate sources are thus reflected in his own edition. Moreover, his focus on the earliest form of the *Cura* resulted in near dismissal of a later but immensely influential form.

During the last three decades, over ninety new manuscripts of the *Cura* have come to light, more than twice the number used by Dobschütz, including one ninth---century and three tenth---century copies; one of the tenth---century manuscripts preserves a version very close to the Lucca text. The purpose of this presentation is to offer a critique of Dobschütz's edition, arising from an ongoing project of new collation of the *Cura* manuscripts, with a special emphasis on chap. 9 that concerns the origin of Veronica's image of Christ.

Barry Windeatt, 'True Image'? Versions of the Veronica in Medieval England

Taking its starting point from Julian of Norwich's knowledgeable reference to the nature of 'the holy Vernicle of Rome' when interpreting her enigmatic second revelation, this paper charts the development of the Veronica in English writing and visual culture from before the Norman Conquest to the later Middle Ages. The very multiplicity of the Veronica emerges as perhaps its true cultural significance, in which different versions and accounts of the Veronica coexist and interrelate: the Veronica legends in narrative form; reports of the Veronica relic in Rome; and English replications of the Veronica, from the earliest representations of the Veronica, found in English manuscripts, and especially the dark or black Veronica, as well as the implication of her story in the siege of Jerusalem and the history of Pilate.

Federico Gallo, De sacrosanto sudario Veronicae by Giacomo Grimaldi. First investigation.

Giacomo Grimaldi (Bologna 1568 - Rome 1623) spent his whole life as a cleric in the Basilica of St Peter's in the Vatican, to which he devoted all his work. An indefaticable researcher, without being notably erudite or innovative, he compiled numerous compilations of great worth from the archives, which were consulted by scholars who came after him.

There are three autograph copies of the *Liber de sacrosancto sudario Veronicae* - compiled in 1618 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.H.3), in 1620 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, II.III.173) and in 1621 (Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 168 inf.) – and seven other later manuscripts from the 17th century. The work contains a collection of all the information that Grimaldi could find in the Archive, the Chapter Library of St Peter's, the Vatican Apostolic Library and the Secret Archive regarding the relic of the Veronica, kept in the Basilica.

The text is organized in strict chronological order: events connected to the venerable relic are recounted with complete quotations from the authors and

documents that witness them, from 34 AD until the years in which the manuscript was compiled. Almost all the sources are post 11th century; the number of sources increases constantly after 1250.

This initial investigation presents the contents of Grimaldi's treatise until 1527, the year of the Sack of Rome. Apart from several documents from the pontifical archives and epigraphs of the Basilica of St Peter's, the sources cited by Grimaldi include the *Liber Pontificalis*, the *Liber politicus*, Peter Mallius, Marino of Eboli, Antonio di Pietro, Niccolò Signorili, Maffeo Vegio.

Nigel Morgan, 'Veronica' Images in England c. 1240-c. 1280

It has long been well-known that Matthew Paris, Benedictine monk of St Albans and chronicler, made two drawings of what he considered to be the image of the Veronica Head of Christ (*Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16 and 26*). One of these is accompanied by prayers. The earliest date for Matthew's images is c. 1240. Subsequent to his two drawings there were seven other 'Veronica' images made in England c. 1240-80 (+ another planned but never drawn), most with accompanying prayers, but compared with those by Matthew Paris they have been little discussed. The images by Matthew can only be seen properly in context against the evidence of these other versions of the image.

1. *London, BL Arundel 157* - an addition made c. 1240-50 to an early thirteenth-century English Psalter associated with the Augustinian canons of Oxford - this painted drawing has wrongly been attributed to Matthew Paris by several writers - both stylistically and in iconography it differs from the two drawings by him

2. *London, BL Royal 2.A.XXII* - part of a series of drawings added c. 1250 to a c. 1200 Psalter made for the Benedictines of Westminster - as the Psalter was still at the Abbey later in the Middle Ages it is to be assumed it was there when the 'Veronica Head' with its accompanying prayers was added c.1250 - also mistakenly attributed by some to Matthew

3. *London, BL Add. 44784* - on the verso of the miniature of the Crucifixion before the psalms, accompanied by prayers, in a Psalter made c. 1250-60 for the Benedictines of Evesham, but probably not at Evesham itself - perhaps made at

Worcester

4. *London, Lambeth Palace 209* - part of a set of devotional pictures at the end of an illustrated Apocalypse made for Eleanor de Quincy, Countess of Winchester c. 1260-70 is the Veronica image accompanied by prayers - there is no convincing evidence for its place of production, but London is possible

5. *Lisbon, Museu Gulbenkian L.A.139* in a narrative context in one of the commentary illustrations of an Apocalypse of c. 1270 - the Apocalypse illustrations are closely related to those of the Lambeth Apocalypse, but as for Lambeth where this book was made is uncertain, but London is possible

6. *Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 135* - a c. 1270-80 Sarum/London Missal has a drawing of the 'Veronica' head at the end of the Ordinary of the Mass - probably made in London

7. *London, Lambeth Palace 368* of c. 1270-80 - a Psalter made for the Benedictines of Norwich. The Holy Face is set before Psalm 109 - probably made in Norwich

There is also one additional example of c. 1280 intended by leaving a blank space before the accompanying prayers, but never drawn, in a Psalter for the Augustinian canons of Guisborough (*Oxford, Bodleian Laud lat. 5*).

The nine images made in England c. 1240-80 represent the 'Veronica' head in several slightly different ways, but with many features in common. None seem to be direct copies of Matthew Paris's c. 1240 images, although some are close in significant features. How these images originated in England and how they developed in these forty years is the subject of this paper, and also the variants in the accompanying prayers. It will be tentatively suggested that somehow knowledge of the appearance of some acheropoietic images of Christ in Rome was current in England, although not necessarily of the Veronica image itself. Other images like the Christ head of the Sancta Sanctorum image in the Lateran seem to have been influential.

4th April Afternoon
Theme: *The Devotion and Cult of the Veronica*

Christoph Egger, *Nunc per speculum et in enigmate, tunc facie ad faciem*. **The** **Veronica, the Eucharist and Facing Christ in Image and Reality**

In 1208, pope Innocent III inaugurated a procession from St Peter's to S. Maria in Sassia, to be held annually, which became the main stimulus for the cult of the veil of Veronica. Early accounts of the veneration of the „Veronica" show striking parallels to the worship of the Eucharist in the elevation of the host, emerging at about the same time. In my paper I will explore these parallels and will have a closer look at the liturgical settings of the representation of Christ's true image and of the Eucharist in the late twelfth and in the thirteenth century. Which theological concepts are behind the cult of Christ's image and the emerging late medieval eucharistic piety? Do these concepts overlap?

Aden Kumler, S*ignatis... vultus tui*: **(Re)-impressing the Veronica in the Middle** **Ages**

Originating as an impressed image, in the later Middle Ages the Veronica was itself disseminated in the form of "secondary" impressions realized by means of a range of incised forms: not only seal matrices, but also rings, moulds, coin dies, and the presses employed in the making of eucharistic wafers. Significantly, in many such impressed "second-order" Veronicas, we encounter an elision noted elsewhere in late medieval visual culture, namely the blurring of the Veronica with the iconographic type of the Holy Face: in such relief images, indexical and iconic modes of theophany suggestively converge. In this paper I explore how a range of low relief replications or re-enactments of the Veronica extended, and at times altered the sacred image's auratic presence in medieval culture, at once literalizing the language of Psalm 4:7 (employed in the indulgenced prayer that accompanied many Veronica images) and intervening in a dialectic of material contact and vision, of sealing and being sealed that was conceptually organized in relation to the Veronica and the

Holy Face in the late Middle Ages.

***Rebecca Rist*, Innocent III and Veronica's Veil: Papal PR or Eucharistic Icon?**

This paper will examine the cult of the sudarium known as Veronica's Veil which was created in 1208 by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), became an important focus of pilgrimage to Rome during the thirteenth century and for the Jubilee Year of 1300, and was to continue as an inspirational source of lay piety in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The long term impact of Innocent III's enthusiasm for Veronica's Veil was not only to propagate the idea of a true image of the Holy Face to an age peculiarly receptive to devotional images, but was to inspire the spread of the cult of Corpus Domini. The paper will examine recent historiography which has argued either that Innocent III's propagation of the cult was a public relations stunt aimed to enhance the status of Rome, the papacy and his pontificate, or part of a religious programme of reform and renewal to emphasise the Eucharist at the centre of Catholic life, as manifested in Constitution One of the Fourth Lateran Council which in 1215 formally proclaimed the Doctrine of Transubstantiation. This paper will argue that the cult of Veronica's Veil was not only an exercise in public relations to foster the growth of papal power, nor a mere symbol of the religious climate of an age which saw the formalisation of sacramental theology. Rather, it should also be understood in the light of Innocent III's particular and personal devotion to the Eucharist manifested through both his public preaching and private prayers and his complex character which saw no dichotomy between the political and the devotional. Hence the phenomenon of Veronica's Veil tells us not only much about the nature of medieval piety but gives us an iconic insight into one of the most formidable and complex popes of the High Middle Ages.

Guido Milanese Milan-Brescia, Quaesivi vultum tuum

The Introit *Tibi dixit*, unspectacularly placed during the second week of Lent, has been treated with much more consideration in the new liturgical calendars, where it has been moved to the preceding Sunday, and also to the Feast of the Transfiguration on the 6th of August. The text deals with man's desire of seeing God's face:

Tibi dixit cor meum, quaesivi vultum tuum,
My heart has said to Thee, I have sought Thy Face,
vultum tuum, Domine, requiram:
Thy Face, O Lord, will I seek,
ne avertas faciem tuam a me.
Turn not Thy Face from me.
V. Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea:
The Lord is my light and my salvation:
quem timebo?
whom shall I fear?

The text is taken from Ps. XXVI 8-9, not in the standard "Gallican" version but, asusual, in a more ancient Italian, Roman translation, thus witnessing the remote age of the composition of this piece.

The desire of seeing God *facie ad faciem* is a headstone of Hebrew and Christian spiritual life. From the book of *Exodus* onwards, seeing God's face has always been the deepest desire of man and his greatest fear. God talks to Moyses *facie ad faciem, sicut loqui solet homo ad amicum suum* (Ex. 33, 11), but – a few lines later – He says that seeing His face is impossible to human beings, who will die as a consequence of seeing him (*non poteris videre faciem meam; non enim videbit me homo et vivet*). This dialectic tension between desire and prohibition, between attraction and horror, makes up the cultural and anthropological environment of the devotion to Veronica and the various Holy Faces: if no man has ever seen God directly (*θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε*, Ioh. 1, 18), it is nevertheless possible to see Jesus's face: in the Incarnation God accepts to be seen.

The liturgical text is understandable only within the framework of the exegetical tradition of the Bible: from the Late Antiquity to Mediaeval schools one of the most powerful analytic weapons was the relation between ancient events and human experience. This relationship – for example, Abraham's sacrifice and Christ's sacrifice – was normally called *figura*, but was also known as imago: the "figural interpretation", particularly developed in Irish and Anglo–Saxon commentaries, establishes the intellectual foundation necessary to make sense of the veneration of images and particularly of the *vultus Christi*. The Incarnation is perpetuated thanks to the physical presence of Jesus's human face. While in a "standard" relation between *figura – imago* and reality we cannot see the figural

object (e.g. we cannot see Abraham) but only the situation anticipated by the *figura* (e.g. the sacrifice of the Mass) the image of Christ's face dissolves the temporal distance from imago to reality, and the ancient Jewish prayer (*Vultum tuum Domine requiram*) finds its Christian answer in a touchable object.

Jörg Bölling, Face to Face with Christ in Late Medieval Rome. The Veil of Veronica in Papal Liturgy and Ceremony

The Veil of Veronica ("sudarium") was one of the main relics preserved at the grave of Saint Peter, "prince of the apostles". Whereas the other most important contact relics, pieces of the Holy Cross and the Holy Lance of Longinus, had no image of their own, the Veil in the belief of the faithful showed the face of Jesus Christ and thereby that of God himself. So it was used for the "visio Dei" (Alexa Sand). Hence, people were able to receive indulgences by viewing it. This naturally drew crowds of pilgrims from throughout Europe, especially during the Holy Year.

In the light of its meaning for the Saviour's Passion the Veil was used during Lent, especially at the end of the so-called "Tenebrae" – when all candles were extinguished and only the Veil of Veronica could be seen and worshipped. As late as the mid-20th century, the German author Gertrud von le Fort describes its presentation in that way in her novel "Das Schweißtuch der Veronika".

The medieval forms of presentation, however, were considerably more complex. According to rather arcane sources, diaries and treatises of the papal masters of ceremony, the Veil had its special significance also with regard to Saint Peter and

the pope. So, for some occasions, it was rather a part of the papal ceremonial than of the Roman liturgy. Sometimes it was even used to keep people in safety when a large crowd needed to be prevented from walking the wrong way. Therefore, the Veil of Veronica in late medieval Rome requires new consideration – with regard to both liturgy and ceremony.

Uwe Michael Lang, **The Mass Proper of the Holy Face and of Saint Veronica in Medieval Liturgical Sources before the Tridentine Reform**

The liturgical veneration the Roman Veronica is first attested in a manuscript of the Capitular Archives of St Peter's in the Vatican, which contains material dating from the 13th to the 15th century and includes a set of Mass orations with a "*Collecta ad faciem Christi*". In the later Middle Ages, there are various Missals, mostly from the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, with a Mass Proper of the Holy Face or of Saint Veronica. This paper offers a synopsis of these liturgical texts and an analysis of their literary form, biblical motives and theological content.

5th April Morning
Theme*: The Promotion of the Veronica Cult*

Gisela Drossbach, **The Roman Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia and the Symbolic Communication of the Veronica**

Liber Regulae, fol. 15v

In my paper I will focus on the following aspects:

1. The genesis of the hospital and the Order of the Holy Ghost in the context of the papal letter of Innocent III concerning the Veronica (1208), as well as

2. the image of the Veronica in the "Liber Regulae", the splendid illuminated Rule of the Order (ca. 1340/50).

1. As a consequence of the papal decree "Ad commemorandas nuptias" of the 3th January 1208[1] the church of Santa Maria *in Saxia* became a liturgical station: on the first Sunday after the octave of the Epihany, the canons of the Cathedral of Saint Peter sang while carrying the icon of the Veronica in procession from the Cathedral of Saint Peter in the Vatican to the new hospital: «*effigies Christi... fidelibus populis, qui ad has nuptias celebrandas devote convenerint, desiderabilites ostendenda.*»[2] What kind of symbolic communication was the Veronica for the Hospital of Santa Maria in Sassia? What did this mean for the spread of the cult of the Veronica in the City of Rome?

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[1]   MIGNE PL 215, col. 1270A-1271B Nr. 179.

[2] Gesta Innocentii III, ed. GRESS-WRIGHT, S. 143.

2. On the basis of the historical facts, I'm able to determine that some motifs in the miniatures of the Liber Regulae do not match contemporary reality. I assume that the divergence of the image of the Veronica was not accidental, but that it is an intentional part of the illumination's program.

Also I will ask whether the symbolic communication of the Veronica is still alive in the 1400 square meters of painted wall space of the Corsia Sistina, the painted "Vita Sixti IV" of the Hospital of Santo Spirito nel Quattrocento.

Kathryn M. Rudy, **Philip the Good and the Face of Christ**

In the fifteenth century the Face of Christ found an enthusiastic devotee at the Burgundian court. Philip the Good (1396-1467) owned his grandfather's immense prayerbook, known as the Grandes Heures. His grandfather, Philip the Bold (1342-1404), had used the manuscript heavily. All of the inherited signs of wear may have encouraged the younger Philip to treat it as a living, physical, functional manuscript rather than as some showpiece. As Anne van Buren has shown, Philip the Good had the book dismantled and had texts and images added to it before having it rebound in two volumes (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum; and Brussels, Royal Library). Among the items he added to the book were at least 6 parchment sheets that each depicted the Face of Christ. Each of these has a different size, style and provenance. What's clear is that 1) Philip the Good added these images successively over time, which reveals his sustained interest in this theme; and 2) he venerated them in a particularly physical way by handling them and touching their surfaces to the point where the images are severely darkened with use.

This paper has a twofold aim. First, I will contextualise Philip's interest in this iconography by considering his other book commissions, including the large grisaille Prayerbook of Philip the Good (Hague, Royal Library). Secondly, I speculate on how and why he treated these images of the Face of Christi in such a physical manner. To do this, I will investigate Philip's broader patterns of devotional performance and consider his behaviour against cultural norms of the fifteenth century. Grounding my study in the ideas of Marcel Mauss ('Techniques of the body'), I aim to show how Philip set behavioural trends in the rugged handling of images of the Face of Christ.

Parchment paintings of the Veronica added by Philip the Good to the book he inherited (the Hours of Philip the Bold). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 11035-37, fol. 8v, 96r, and 98r

Etienne Doublier, *Sui pretiossisimi vultus Imago* Veronica and Grants of Indulgences in the 13th and early 14th Centuries

Both the "true icon" and "pardons" began to be extremely popoular especially during the thirteenth century. My paper questions the possible connection between the two phenomena and portrays the history of papal and episcopal indulgences connected with the veneration of Veronica in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Following topics will be adressed: When and how did the custom to impetrate and grant letters of indulgence to spread the cult of the precious relic start? Who first took the initiative, the canons of St. Peter's or the popes? What consequences did these pardons have with regard to the practice of indulgences in Rome? What role did Veronica-indulgences play for establishing the first Holy Year? In the final part of the paper it will be shown that even after the Jubilee of 1300 and the transfer of the Curia to Avignon the Veronica was still being associated with indulgences, as is evidenced by the illumination of numerous letters of indulgence collectively granted from curial prelates to petitioners throughout Europe.

***Marc Sureda i Jubany*, Veronicae of Christ and the Virgin in the Kingdom of Aragon in the Middle Ages. A Survey of their Diffusion and Liturgical Context**

As is well known, under the reign of Martin I of Aragon ("the Ecclesiastic" or "the Human", 1396-1410) icon-like images of the Virgin, in some cases accompanied by others of the Holy Face of Christ, came to be particularly venerated in several places of the Kingdom of Aragon, such as Valencia, Tobed, Barcelona and Vic. Gudiol i Cunill, first (1921), and more recently Crispí (1996, 2009), Kessler (2013) or Molina (2014), have explored the origins and diffusion of this kind of images and the public liturgy deployed around them. All these authors agree that the phenomenon, in its Aragonese form, finds its main promoter in the monarch himself, both in material and liturgical terms, and that its origins are to be found in the Roman devotion and liturgy linked to the *acheiropoietai* images preserved and venerated in the Eternal City. The royal promotion in Aragon would determinate a multiplication of such images according to a relatively restricted number of iconographical variants.

Nowadays, the catalog of these images is quite well established, as are their iconographical filiations. But since Gudiol a little less attention has been paid to the images of Christ which proliferated in the same context, and to their frequent association with others of the Virgin. Some of these double portraits -whether sets of two icons or double-sided images, preserved or only mentioned in the sources- are not only to be understood as images of devotion, but can be related to the ornament of the altar, as movable objects or directly incorporated in the iconography of the altarpiece. This presentation will focus on these last questions, mainly on the basis of examples from the regions of Vic and Girona.

***Chiara Di Fruscia*, *Datum Avenioni* Avignon Papacy and the Custody of the Veronica**

Starting with Pope Innocent III and throughout the 15th century, Catholic popes have enriched the symbolism related to the Holy Face of Christ by associating themselves to the expression *vicarius-Christi*. Such a conception clearly entails all

sorts of ideological and political implications, therefore, we cannot consider the Veronica as the image of Christ alone, but of the papal, religious and theocratic power altogether.

The way the Avignon popes used the veil with the Holy Face demonstrates the exact match between the figure of the pope and the veil itself. The presence of the image that best represents the pope compensates the absence of the Vicar of Christ from Rome.

Our sources consist mainly in letters and papal bulls authorizing, through the Vatican Chapter, several expositions of the Veronica in Rome. During the Avignon Papacy, the administration of this cult became a prerogative of the canons, who had already been in charge for over a century of keeping the Veronica's altar and of everything that concerned its cult and veneration. During the 14th century, however, their tasks were enriched with importance and meaning, giving the direct dialogue the pope had with them, addressing exclusively to them the documents ordering the exposition of the relic.

Private ostensions of the relic, a habit born in the 12th century and perhaps the most interesting phenomenon related to the Veronica, became more widespread.

Throughout the 14th century in fact, popes granted private ostensions to men and women who had distinguished themselves for their various support for the papacy. Therefore, the view of the veil with the Holy Face of Jesus was a kind of reward, and it remarked the extremely high value it held for the pope and for all of Christianity.

5th April Afternoon
Theme: *The spread of the Veronica Cult*

Hanneke Van Asperen, **Images of the Veronica in Religious Books of the Laity: Their Provenance and Meaning**

Manuscripts for lay devotion, often books of hours, sometimes contain small images of the Veronica that were added to the book after its production, probably by the book owner at the time. Attachment to the book did not always guarantee survival of the fragile pictures. Occasionally, the images are still in situ, but often they were removed after they had lost their meaning or after one of the following owner did not appreciate them anymore. When the Veronicas were removed, traces sometimes reveal their former presence. With threads, the small pictures were attached to the parchment in the same way pilgrims' badges were sometimes inserted. It is tempting then to regard all Veronicas, attached in books alongside pilgrims' souvenirs, as mementoes from Rome, but the images in manuscripts invite a discussion on their provenance: Which Veronicas came from Rome? There are differences between the Veronica images in different books, but some show striking resemblances. Some will be from Rome, but not all of them.

Related questions focus on the practice of inserting images in books: When did it start and is there a development? Can the people who inserted the 'Roman' images be identified as the pilgrims who had brought the badges home? Was the function of the 'Roman' Veronicas different from the ones that did not come from Rome? In other words, what was the relevance of a Roman provenance for those who inserted them in books? Do the books, which provide context, offer further insight into the meaning of the Veronicas? Where did people insert them? Did they look for empty spaces in the book, or did they look at the text or miniatures for a suitable location? After showing different examples of small images of the Veronica images in religious books of the laity, I offer a hypothesis on their provenance and discuss the role of these small images in the devotional experiences of the laity.

Marco Petoletti-Angelo Piacentini, The 'Veronica' of Boniface from Verona, 13th Century Poet

Bonifacio da Verona, attivo nella seconda metà del XIII secolo, dopo avere composto in onore della Vergine e di s. Anna un breve testo poetico, *l'Annayde* (conservato in un magnifico codice, Paris, Bibl. nationale de France, lat. 8114), dedicato al cardinale Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, scrisse per il cardinale francescano Guglielmo de Braye un più lungo poema, la *Veronica*, in due libri, che, fondandosi su narrazioni apocrife fortunate nel Medioevo, sviluppa in versi la leggenda di Abgaro, re di Edessa, gravemente malato e sanato grazie al miracoloso sudario ove era rimasto impresso il volto di Cristo. In Bonifacio Veronica è la moglie di Abgaro, costretta a fuggire con il prezioso lino da Edessa a Gerusalemme per l'apostasia del figlio. Nella città santa la pia donna attende la vendetta del Salvatore, che si realizzerà dopo le miracolose guarigioni di Tito e Vespasiano. La *Veronica* di Bonifacio, ancora inedita nella sua interezza, è salvata da un solo manoscritto Paris, Bibl. nationale de France, lat. 8229, sec. XV. Il contributo intende presentare distesamente questa testimonianza, preziosa e praticamente sconosciuta, del culto della Veronica all'ombra della corte dei papi nel sec. XIII.

Stefano Candiani, The Iconography of the Veronica in the Lombardy Region during the 14th Century

Il contributo vuole cercare di approfondire l'iconografia della Veronica nelle testimonianze figurative di area lombarda durante il XIV secolo, cercando di privilegiare le immagini miniate e le raffigurazioni provenienti dalla diocesi ambrosiana. Il punto di partenza per tale indagine sarà sicuramente costituito da una miniatura di un poco conosciuto Martirologio ambrosiano (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 C 16 e Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, P 165 sup., ff. 1r-21v; anni '30 del XIV secolo) che raffigura santa Veronica probabilmente in atto di consegnare la nota reliquia ai canonici della Basilica di San Pietro. Oltre ad indagare il rapporto fra testo e immagine, si cercherà di individuare gli antecedenti iconografici di tale raffigurazione. Successivamente si amplierà la ricerca ad altri testimoni della fortuna dell'immagine della Veronica, quali l'affresco della

controfacciata della Basilica di San Vincenzo a Galliano (Cantù) e l'affresco proveniente da San Giovanni in conca e ora conservato nella Pinacoteca del Castello Sforzesco, cronologicamente non molto distanti dal Martirologio ambrosiano.

Raffaele Savigni, The Roman Veronica and the Holy Face of Lucca: parallelisms and tangents in the formation of their respective traditions

The Roman Veronica and the Holy Face of Lucca: parallelisms and tangents in the formation of their respective traditions.

There are various points of contact between the cult of the Holy Face of Lucca (which is documented from the end of the 11th century but only becomes a consolidated tradition in the early 1200s) and that of the Veronica. Although the former is a wooden statue (despite being defined *vultus*), Gervase of Tilbury puts them on equal terms in his *Otia imperialia*.

Prior to the publicaton of a critical edition of the Leobinian legend, Michele C. Ferrari has formulated various hypotheses regarding its formation in two distinct editions from the 12th century, with the later addition of the Miracles. In this Appendix, the narration of the making of the Holy Face by Nicodemus is included, who supposedly sculpted the Face of Christ on the basis of an image left by his body on the veil (*velamen*) he had been covered with. On the strength of various clues, particularly a list of the altars in St Martin's Cathedral, which distinguishes between the altar *ante vultum* and that *ante crucem veterem*, Chiara Frugoni has hypothesized that in Lucca there was a painted image similar to the Veronica at the same time as a Crucifix.

Codex 490 from the Chapter Library in Lucca contains the text of *Cura sanitatis Tiberii*. Romano Silva has underlined the symmetry between the location of the Holy Face in Lucca Cathedral and that of the Veronica in St Peter's, both on the right of the entrance; and Emperor Charles IV from Bohemia, who freed citizens of Lucca from the domination of Pisa in 1369, appreciated both cults, and promoted their spread in Prague.

This paper presents an interpretation of these clues in an attempt to reconstruct the spread of apochryphal traditions regarding the civic value attributed to the two

cults, and analyzes, as far as possible, the traces documented of pilgrimages to Rome by citizens of Lucca.

Raffaella Zardoni, Emanuela Bossi, Amanda Murphy, **The Iconography of the Veronica: an Assessment of Chronologically and Geographically ordered Data**

Evidence for the presence of the veronica in Europe between the 13th and 16th centuries is quite exceptional. From the 14th century onwards, "wherever the Roman Church went, the Veronica would go with it" (MacGregor, 2000).

The existence of "innumerable copies" of the relic (Sturgis, 2000) has encouraged research, one of the ensuing results being an online catalogue which documents the spread of the veronica on the European continent. To date, about 2,500 artworks have been gathered, classified in chronological order and geographically placed, providing ground for a statistical comparison between the hypotheses of the most accredited past and present scholars (e.g., Pearson 1897, Dobschütz 1899, Chastel 1978, Wolf 2000 and Morello 2011, and the relevant bibliography) regarding what the Roman Veronica might have looked like.

On the basis of the evidence collected, this paper provides a chronological examination of the individual iconographic features of the Roman Veronica as they emerge through the 13th to the 16th century. As a means of supporting this examination and in search of mutual dependencies, the paper also examines the emergence of the veronica's typical features in descriptions of the relic found in all types of verbal texts.