The Legend of Veronica in Early Modern Art

In *The Legend of Veronica in Early Modern Art*, Katherine T. Brown explores the lore of the apocryphal character of Veronica and the history of the “true image” relic as factors in the Franciscans’ placement of her character into the *Via Crucis* (Way of the Cross) as the Sixth Station, in both Jerusalem and Western Europe, around the turn of the fifteenth century. The author examines how the Franciscans adopted and adapted the legend of Veronica to meet their own evangelical goals by intervening in the fabric of Jerusalem to incorporate her narrative – which is not found in the Gospels – into an urban path constructed for pilgrims, as well as in similar participatory installations in churchyards and naves across Western Europe. This book proposes plausible reasons for the subsequent proliferation of works of art depicting Veronica, both within and independent of the Stations of the Cross, from the early fifteenth through the mid-seventeenth centuries. This book will be of interest to scholars in art history, theology, and medieval and Renaissance studies.

Katherine T. Brown is Director of the Honors Program, Director of Museum Studies, and Associate Professor of Art History at Walsh University in North Canton, Ohio.

Routledge Research in Art and Religion

Routledge Research in Art and Religion is a new series focusing on religion and spirituality as examined by scholars working in the fields of art history and visual studies. Proposals for monographs and edited collections on this topic are welcomed.

Tradition and Transformation in Christian Art

The Transcultural Icon

C.A. Tsakiridou

Tree of Jesse Iconography in Northern Europe in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Susan L. Green

Aesthetic Theology in the Franciscan Tradition

The Senses and the Experience of God in Art

Edited by Xavier Seubert and Oleg Bychkov

The Legend of Veronica in Early Modern Art

Katherine T. Brown

The Legend of Veronica in Early Modern Art

Katherine T. Brown

First published 2020
by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2020 Taylor & Francis

The right of Katherine T. Brown to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Brown, Katherine T., author.

Title: The legend of Veronica in early modern art / Katherine T. Brown.

Description: New York : Routledge, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019049306 (print) | LCCN 2019049307 (ebook) |

ISBN 9780367197315 (hardback) | ISBN 9780429242922 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Veronica, Saint, active 1st century–Art. | Stations of the Cross. | Franciscan art–Jerusalem. | Franciscan art–Europe, Western.

Classification: LCC N8080 .B76 2020 (print) | LCC N8080 (ebook) | DDC 704.9/4863–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019049306>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019049307>

ISBN: 978-0-367-19731-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-24292-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by Swales & Willis, Exeter, Devon, UK

Front cover: Master of Saint Veronica (Cologne, fl. 1400–1420), *Saint Veronica with the Holy Kerchief*, c. 1420. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Image credit: © Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Photo: Sibylle Forster

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	vi
<i>List of Plates</i>	viii
<i>List of Figures</i>	x
Introduction	1
1 Veronica in Legend and Literature	4
2 The <i>Sudarium</i> Relic as Material Object in the West	28
3 <i>Via Crucis</i>	45
4 Jerusalem Abroad and Theological Rationales	75
5 Viewing Veronica through the Lens of Gender	91
6 The Iconography of Veronica in Western European Art	105
Epilogue	142
<i>Bibliography</i>	144
<i>Index</i>	157

Acknowledgments

My dear friend Dr. Julien Chapuis walked with me through the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin to look for Veronicas, carefully edited multiple drafts, offered wise counsel at critical points, and generously assisted with providing photographs in Berlin. For additional images in Munich, Frankfurt, and Berlin, I am grateful for the instrumental help of Martin Schawe, Stephan Kemperdick, Babette Buller, Marie-Theres Steinke, and Antje Voigt. I extend thanks to Dr. James C. Anderson, jr., Professor Emeritus at the University of Georgia, mentor and friend, for Latin translations and invaluable comments on several early drafts. I also wish to thank Dr. Nancy T. de Grummond, my primary professor as an undergraduate at Florida State University, for her help with a translation and a long-time mentorship. My thanks are also due to Dr. John Skillen, Gordon College in Orvieto, for a scholar-residency during June 2018 and to the American Academy in Rome for an opportunity to research and write as a Visiting Scholar in June 2019. I extend gratitude to Walsh University for a sabbatical during spring 2018 and for a Faculty Scholar award for summer 2018. At Walsh, I have enjoyed working with many supportive colleagues: Dr. Michael Dunphy, Dr. Britt Cooper, Dr. Jennifer D'Agostino, Dr. Brad and Liz Beach, Dr. Mark Rogers, Lisa Madaffer, Diane Belfiglio, and Rachel Hosler. Alyssa Mitchell and Zoe Fete in the Walsh Library helped to secure numerous interlibrary loans, and I have benefited from conversations with all of my current and past students. Jean-Baptiste LeProux spent time talking with me about Veronica in Souillac-sur-Mer in June 2019 and kindly assisted me by locating church inventories. At Routledge/Taylor & Francis, I remain indebted to Isabella Vitti, Editor; Katie Armstrong, Editorial Assistant; Megan Symons at Swales & Willis; and to the four anonymous readers whom they secured for insightful suggestions at an early stage.

I am grateful for two opportunities to speak about this topic at conferences that generated a productive exchange of ideas. My first presentation on Veronica was held at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI in May 2018 in a session sponsored by Women in the Franciscan Intellectual Tradition and chaired by Sr. Diane V. Tomkinson, O. S. F. My second presentation, based on Chapter 5 about gender, was delivered at the Renaissance Society of America conference in March 2019 in Toronto in a session sponsored by the Hagiography Society and chaired by Barbara Zimbalist. I would also like to thank Jon-Paul Della Pia (B.A. in Art History at Walsh University 2018; M.A. in Art History, University of Toronto, 2019), my former student, who helped me with graphic design on one of the maps. My initial ideas about images of Veronica in art

germinated during a seminar that was hosted by the Council of Independent Colleges, sponsored by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, and held at the High Museum of Art in Atlanta during the summer of 2016. Dr. Libby Bailey has also offered me multiple opportunities to speak and teach at Wesleyan College in Macon, GA.

My friends keep my spirits high, even across long distances, as is most often the case. For their company in real and virtual time, I am grateful to Dr. Liz Carroll, Dr. Michelle Erhardt, Dr. Amanda Gradisek and Greg Leehan, Kate Haw, Steve and Marilyn Kapaun, J. D., Douglas Kline, Nancy and Todd Michel, Danilo Mori, Dr. Amber McAlister, Dr. Amy Morris, Dr. Sheri Shaneyfelt, Dr. Katherine Smith, Dr. Nancy Thompson, Dr. Jeanne Tift, and Enza Valente. I especially thank my parents, Dorothy Ogden Brown and S. Phillip Brown; my daughter, Suzana Brown; my aunt, Sue O. Ballard; and brothers Phillip O. Brown and Stephen W. Brown, J. D., and their families for interest and encouragement.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Bruce M. Cole (1938–2018), Distinguished Professor of Art History at Indiana University, Bloomington, and Chair, National Endowment for the Humanities (2001–2009). Bruce served as my major professor and chair of my dissertation committee during my graduate school years (1990–1998) at Indiana University. With shared interests in the iconography of Italian painting, the nature and scope of our many conversations are reflected in these pages. I remain in his debt for a host of early opportunities to teach and study the culturally rich and layered meanings of Early Modern art.

This book has been supported by The Renaissance Society of America and The Samuel H. Kress Foundation with a Publication Subvention for Art History, as well as the Faculty Development Fund of Walsh University.

Plates

- 1 Master of Saint Veronica (Cologne, fl. 1400–1420), *Saint Veronica with the Sudarium*, c. 1420. Oil on walnut; 44.2 x 33.7 cm. The National Gallery, London (NG687). Image credit: © The National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY
- 2 Early Christian, *The Healing of a Bleeding Woman*, 4th century. Fresco. Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter, Rome. Image credit: The Picture Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo
- 3 Artist unknown, Icon depicting the *Legend of King Abgar receiving the Image of Edessa from Thaddeus*, after 944. Encaustic on panel. Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt. Image credit: © DeA Picture Library/Art Resource, NY
- 4 *The Procession of Pope Innocent III carrying the veronica in 1208*, from *Liber Regulae Sancti Spiritus in Saxia*, MS 9193., c. 1350. Archivio di Stato di Roma. Image credit: Archivio di Stato di Roma
- 5 Adam Kraft (German, c. 1455/60–1509), *Veronica, Station Four of the Seven Falls*, 1487–1490. Relief carving; 130 x 167 x 30 cm. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Pl.O. 2927). Image credit: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Photo: M. Runge
- 6 *Ierusalem, et suburbia eius, sicut tempore Christi floruit, cu locis, in quib 'Christ pass'* (Jerusalem, and its outskirts, at the time when Christ flourished, in the place where Christ suffered), 1588. Georg Braun (1541–1622) and Frans Hogenberg (1535–1590). *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 6 vols. (Cologne, 1572–1617). Tinted engraving, 72.7 x 47.7 cm. Image credit: © Luisa Ricciarini/Bridgeman Images
- 7a Hans Memling (Netherlandish, c. 1433–1494), *Veronica*, 1470–1475. Oil on panel; 31.2 x 24.4 cm. Right panel of the Bembo diptych (obverse). National Gallery of Art, Washington. Samuel H. Kress Collection (1952.5.46.a). Image credit: National Gallery of Art, Washington
- 7b Hans Memling (Netherlandish, c. 1433–1494), *Chalice of Saint John the Evangelist*, 1470–1475. Oil on panel; 31.2 x 24.4 cm. Right panel of the Bembo diptych (reverse). National Gallery of Art, Washington. Samuel H. Kress Collection (1952.5.46.b). Image credit: National Gallery of Art, Washington

- 8 Netherlandish (Ghent), *Adoration of the Magi* from *Da Costa Hours*, MS M.399, vol. 1, fol. 162v., c. 1515. The Morgan Library & Museum, New York. Purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913), 1910. Image credit: The Morgan Library & Museum
- 9 German, *Veil of Veronica Held by Two Angels* (part of a *predella*?), c. 1500. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst (Inv. 8758). Image credit: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Photo: A. Voigt, Berlin
- 10 *Triptych of Francesco del Pugliese*. Center: Master of Saint Ursula Legend (Flemish, 1436–1505), *Veil of Veronica*. Wings: Filippino Lippi (Florence, 1457–1504), *Christ with the Samaritan Woman* (left) and *Noli Me Tangere* (right). End of the 15th century–beginning of the 16th century. Oil on panel; 61 x 83.5 cm. Seminario Patriarcale, Venice. Image credit: Ufficio Beni Culturali, Patriarcato di Venezia
- 11 Spanish, perhaps Burgos or Segovia, *Mass of Saint Gregory* from a *Book of Hours* (Hours of Infante Don Alfonso of Castile), MS M. 854, fol. 225v., 1465–1480. The Morgan Library & Museum, New York. Purchased with the assistance of the Fellows, 1951. Image credit: The Morgan Library & Museum
- 12 Lorch in the Rhine Valley, *Veronica*, detail of *Christ bearing the Cross*, c. 1425. Terra-cotta with remnants of polychromy. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst (Inv. 8499). For the complete work, see Fig. 6.19. Image credit: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Photos: A. Voigt, Berlin
- 13 Pieter Brueghel the Younger (Flemish, 1564–1838), *Carrying of the Cross*, 1606. Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, (Inv. Nr. 721). Image credit: © Foto Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photo: Jörg P. Anders
- 14 Domenico Fetti (Rome, c. 1589–1623), *The Veil of Veronica*, c. 1618–22. Oil on panel; 80.6 x 66.3 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington. Samuel H. Kress Collection (1952.5.7). Image credit: National Gallery of Art, Washington

Color plates are placed between Chapters 3 and 4.

Figures

- 1.1 Artist unknown, *Volto Santo* of Lucca, early thirteenth century copy of a twelfth century original. Wood. Cathedral of Lucca. Image credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY 10
- 1.2 *Acheiropoieton* of Christ in a silver frame. Chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, Palace of San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome. The original probably dates from the fifth or sixth centuries, but the work has been overpainted and heavily restored. Image credit: VPC Photo/Alamy Stock Photo 11
- 1.3 Matthew Paris O.S.B. (English, c. 1200–1259), *The Veronica* from the *Chronica Majora*, MS 16II, fol. 53v., c. 1240–1250. Tinted drawing on vellum, pasted to the page; 80 x 85 mm. Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge. Image credit: The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 13
- 1.4 Italian (Rome), *Pilgrim Badge with Veronica holding the Vernicle*, fifteenth century. Brass, with design embossed; 33.5 mm diameter. Found Amiens, France. Inscription: o mater:dei:mementon:mey (O Mother of God, remember me). The British Museum, London (1855,0625.16). Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum, London 16
- 1.5 Church of Nôtre-Dame-de-la-fin-des-Terres, façade. Soulac-sur-Mer, France. Image credit: Author 18
- 1.6 Church of Nôtre-Dame-de-la-fin-des-Terres, interior. Soulac-sur-Mer, France. The remains of the retable of the oratory are the rough-hewn stones on the bottom. The sculpture of Veronica above it is a later commemoration. Image credit: Author 19
- 1.7 *Reliquary containing relics of the Virgin brought to France by Veronica*. Chapel in the northeast transept, Church of Nôtre-Dame-de-la-fin-des-Terres, Soulac-sur-Mer, France. Image credit: Author 20
- 1.8 *Tomb of Veronica*, Crypt of the Church of Saint Seurin, Bordeaux, France. Image credit: Author 21
- 2.1 Flemish (Brussels), *Emperor Vespasian Cured by Veronica's Veil*, c. 1510. Woven tapestry made of wool, silk, and gilt metal threads. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1975.1.1914). Robert Lehman Collection, 1975. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31

- 2.2a–d Pope Innocent III’s procession route of the veronica in Rome in the early thirteenth century. (a) The beginning of the route from Saint Peter’s basilica down Borgo Santo Spirito. (b) Midpoint at the Church of Santa Maria in Sassia. (c) Santa Maria in Sassia to the *Ospedale di Santo Spirito*. (d) *Ospedale di Santo Spirito* in Sassia. Image credit: Author 33
- 2.3a–c Shrine to Veronica, first half of the sixteenth century. Marble. Saint Peter’s basilica, Rome. (a) Francesco Mochi, *Veronica*, 1629–1640. Marble. (b) Inscription below Francesco Mochi’s *Veronica*. Saint Peter’s basilica, Rome. (c) Inscription above Francesco Mochi’s *Veronica*. Saint Peter’s basilica, Rome. Image credit: Author 35
- 2.4 Holy Face of Manoppello. Basilica del Volto Santo, Manoppello, Italy. Image credit: The Picture Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo 37
- 2.5 *Volto Santo* from the convent of San Silvestro in Capite, Rome. Panel; 40 x 29 cm. Matilda Chapel, Vatican. Image credit: L’Ufficio delle Celebrazioni Liturgiche del Sommo Pontefice 38
- 3.1 *Map of Old City Jerusalem*. Image credit: David Bjorgen. Modification (translation of main points of interest into English) by The Curious Game. Wikimedia Commons. Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported 55
- 3.2 Aerial view of Jerusalem with indications of the route of the *Via Crucis*. Image credit: © Google Earth with graphic annotation by Jon-Paul Della Pia 56
- 3.3 *Veronica’s House, Sixth Station of the Cross*, Jerusalem. Image credit: © Dr. Thomas Liptak, Flickr 60
- 3.4 *Marker outside of Veronica’s House*, Jerusalem. Inscription: 6ST/PIA VERONICA FACIEM CHRISTI LINTEO DETERCI (6th Station, Pious Veronica wiped the face of Christ with a cloth). Image credit: Album/Alamy Stock Photo 61
- 3.5 Master of Saint Veronica (Cologne, fl. 1400–1420), *The Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, 1400–1420. The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. Image credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY 66
- 3.6 Lieven van Lathem (Flemish, c. 1430–1493), *Saint Veronica*, MS 37 (89.ML.35), fol. 2., c. 1471. Tempera colors, gold leaf, gold paint, silver paint, and ink on parchment; 12.4 cm x 9.2 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Image credit: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles/Open Content Program 67
- 3.7 Baccio della Porta, called Fra Bartolommeo (Florence, 1472–1517), *Way of the Cross: Veronica showing the Holy Face*, c. 1490–1500. Pen and sepia ink with red chalk and white highlights on beige paper; 14 x 19.6 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF471r). Collection of Aimé-Charles-Horace His de La Salle; donated 1878. Image credit: Musée du Louvre, Paris. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Photo: Michèle Bellot 68
- 4.1 Flemish, *The Visitation; St. Veronica, St. Louis, St. Denis and another male saint* in the margins; *Christ before Pilate with the Betrayal of St. Peter*, in the lower margin (*Lauds*) from *The Hours of*

- Yolande of Flanders*, MS 27, fol. 44v., 1353–1363. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Image credit: Album/Alamy Stock Photo 78
- 4.2 *Veronica with a Nativity*, fourteenth century. Fresco. Church Saint-Étienne, Moudon, Switzerland. Image credit: Public Domain. Photo: Julien Chapuis 79
- 4.3 a–b German (Munich?), *Winged altarpiece with Adoration of the Magi* (with detail of the veronica painted on the *predella*), c. 1519. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Image credit: Author 80
- 4.4 a–b German, Reverse of a retable (with detail of the veronica on the *predella*), fifteenth century. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Image credit: Author 82
- 4.5 Flemish, *Saint Veronica with the Veil of Christ*, fifteenth century. Oil on wood; 30.5 x 17.5 cm. Musée de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse, France. Image credit: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Photo: Christian Jean 83
- 4.6 Master of Flémalle (Workshop of Robert Campin, Netherlandish, c. 1375–1444), *Veronica displaying the Sudarium*, 1430. Mixed technique on oak; 151.8 x 61 cm. Städel Museum, Frankfurt. Image credit: © Weilheim, Artothek. Photo: Ursula Edelmann 84
- 4.7 Circle of Hans Multscher (Ulm 1427–1466/67), *Three Angels with the Christ Child*, c. 1430–1440. Limewood. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Image credit: Author 86
- 4.8 Bartholomäus Zeitblom (German 1455/60–1518/22), *Veronica's Veil Held by Two Angels*, 1496. Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Inv. Nr. 606A). Image credit: © Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz 86
- 4.9 Master of The Legend of Saint Ursula (Flemish, 1436–c. 1504/05), *Saint Veronica with the Sudarium*, c. 1480–1500. Oil on oak panel; 31 x 25 cm. Private Collection. Image credit: Public Domain. Photo: Web Gallery of Art 87
- 5.1 French, *Fourteen Stations of the Cross*, sixteenth century. Limoges enamel. From the Church of Nôtre-Dame-des-Champs d'Avranches, Manche, Normandy, France. Image credit: Public Domain. Wikimedia Commons. Photo: Tango 7174. Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International, 3.0 Unported, 2.5 Generic, 2.0 Generic, and 1.0 Generic 93
- 5.2 Folio with historiated initial and painted pilgrims' badges as marginalia. *Horae Secundum Usum Romanum*. MS 77, fol. 30r. Fifteenth century. Parchment, 18 x 12.5 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly, France. Image credit: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. Photo: René-Gabriel Ojéda 98
- 6.1 Matthew Paris, O.S.B. (English, c. 1200–1259), *The Veronica*, MS Arundel 157, fol. 2r., c. 1240. 145 x 130 mm. The British Library, London. Image credit: © The British Library Board 106

- 6.2 Matthew Paris, O.S.B. (English, c. 1200–1259), *Madonna and Child, Man of Sorrows, and the Veronica*, from the *Chronica Majora* I, MS 26, fol. viir, c. 1240–1250. Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge. Image credit: The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 107
- 6.3 Italian, *Ostension of the Veronica for Pilgrims in Rome*. Page from *Mirabilia Romae, Historia et Descriptio Urbis Romae* by Pseudo-Aegidius Romanus. Published by Andreas Freitag, Rome. Datable not before 1485 and not after 1489. Woodcut on paper. Image credit: Bridgeman Images, New York 109
- 6.4 South Netherlandish, *Arma Christi*, 1475–1550. Woven tapestry made of wool, silk, gilt and silver threads. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (53.34). The Cloisters Collection, 1952. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 109
- 6.5 Master of Saint Veronica (Cologne, fl. 1400–1420), *Saint Veronica with the Holy Kerchief*, c. 1420. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Image credit: © Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Photo: Sibylle Forster [Front cover] 110
- 6.6 German, *Impression of a veronica with holes for the attachment of thorns*, fifteenth century. Terra-cotta. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Image credit: Author 111
- 6.7 Workshop of Jacques Dubroeucq (South Netherlandish, c. 1500/10–c. 1584), *Christ Carrying the Cross with Saints Simon and Veronica*, c. 1545. Alabaster; overall 61.6 x 54 x 11.5 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1971.5. Image credit: Courtesy of The Cleveland Museum of Art 112
- 6.8 Serbian, *Holy Face*, late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. Panel. From the Cathedral of Laon, Aisne, France. Image credit: Art Resource, NY. Photo: Manuel Cohen 113
- 6.9 Italian, *Francis Instituting the Crib at Greccio*, 1297–1300. Fresco; 270 x 230 cm. Upper Church, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi. Image credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY 117
- 6.10 French (Normandy or Ile-de-France), *Sainte Véronique*, c. 1311–1313. Stone with traces of polychromy. Church of Nôtre-Dame, Écouis (Eure), France. Image credit: Bridgeman Images 119
- 6.11 Master of Guillebert de Mets (Flemish, fl. 1410–1450), *Saint Veronica Displaying the Sudarium*, MS 2 (84.ML.67), fol. 13v., c. 1450–1455. Tempera colors, gold leaf, and ink on parchment; 19.4 x 14 cm (leaf). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Image credit: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles/Open Content Program 120
- 6.12 Martin Schongauer (Colmar, c. 1450/53–1491), *Saint Veronica with the Veil*, c. 1480. Engraving; 8.7 x 6.1 cm (sheet). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (32.64.3). Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 121
- 6.13 Netherlandish, possibly after a design by Bernard van Orley (Brussels, c. 1492–1541/42), *Saint Veronica*, c. 1525. Woven tapestry made of

- wool, silk, and gilded silver threads. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (41.190.80). Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 121
- 6.14 Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528), *Saint Veronica between Saints Peter and Paul* from *The Small Passion*, 1510. Woodcut; 12.8 x 9.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (19.73.192). Gift of Junius Spencer Morgan 1919. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 122
- 6.15 Ugo da Carpi (Bologna, c. 1480–1532), *Veronica with Saints Peter and Paul*, 1524–1527. Tempera on panel. Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro, Vatican. Image credit: World Archive/Alamy Stock Photo 123
- 6.16 Giovanni Battista Pittoni (Venice, 1687–1767), *Saints Presenting a Devout Woman to the Virgin and Child*, c. 1720s. Oil on canvas; framed: 185 x 149 x 6.5 cm; unframed 172 x 135.5 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund, 1982.36. Image credit: Courtesy of The Cleveland Museum of Art 124
- 6.17 Jacopo del Sellaio (Florence, c. 1441–1493), *Lamentation over the Dead Christ with Saints Francis and Jerome*, fifteenth century. Tempera on panel. The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. Image credit: Prisma Archivio/Alamy Stock Photo 125
- 6.18 Anonymous Flemish, *The Mass of Saint Gregory*, fifteenth century. Tempera and gold leaf on wood. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours. Image credit: © Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours 128
- 6.19 Lorch in the Rhine Valley, *Christ bearing the Cross*, c. 1425. Terracotta with remnants of polychromy. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst (Inv. 8499). For a detail of Veronica, see Plate 12. Image credit: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Photos: A. Voigt, Berlin 129
- 6.20 Rogier Van der Weyden (Netherlandish, c. 1399/1400–1464), *Crucifixion Triptych with Mary Magdalene, Veronica, and donors*, 1440–1445. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Image credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY 130
- 6.21 Bavarian, *Veronica (left) in a fragment from an altarpiece of the Crucifixion*, c. 1480. Lindenwood. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Image credit: Author 130
- 6.22 Martin Schongauer (Colmar, c. 1450/53–1491), *The Bearing of the Cross with Saint Veronica*, late fifteenth century. Engraving; 16.3 x 11.5 cm (sheet). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 131
- 6.23 Netherlandish, *Baluster Column with Veronica meeting Christ during the Carrying of the Cross*, c. 1500. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Image credit: Author 132
- 6.24 Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528), *Christ Carrying the Cross* from *The Passion*, 1512. Engraving; 11.6 x 7.4 cm (sheet). The

- Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (59.534.49). Bequest of Alexandrine Sinsheimer, 1959. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 133
- 6.25 South Netherlandish (Brussels), *The Way to Calvary with Saint Veronica Receiving the Veil Imprinted with the Face of Christ*, c. 1510. Walnut, paint, and gilding; 49.5 x 26.4 x 20 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (15.12). Rogers Fund, 1915. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 134
- 6.26 Claude Mellan (French, 1598–1688), *The Sudarium of Saint Veronica*, 1649. Engraving. National Gallery of Art, Washington (1943.3.6144). Rosenwald Collection. Image credit: National Gallery of Art, Washington 135
- 6.27 Albrecht Dürer, *Sudarium displayed by two Angels*, 1513. Engraving; 9.8 x 13.8 cm (plate). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (19.73.31), Fletcher Fund, 1919. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 136

Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Introduction

The Legend of Veronica in Early Modern Art explores the origins of the character Veronica – an apocryphal figure in medieval hagiography – as well as *the* veronica, also called the *Vultus Christi* (Latin for Face of Christ) or *Volto Santo* (Italian for Holy Face), which was a swathe of cloth that allegedly bore a miraculous imprint of Christ's features. As Veronica's hallmark attribute, the *sudarium* (Latin for sweat cloth), as it was called since the twelfth century, was one of the most revered relics in Western Christendom and, as such, a prime focal point for millions of pilgrims who sought to glimpse it in Rome during the Early Modern period. The cloth was initially considered a secondary or contact relic because Christ had touched it to his brow during his walk to execution; early accounts make no mention of an image. Circa 1200, the *sudarium* assumed additional significance as a "true image" when its legend expanded to claim that an imprint of Jesus's features made of his sweat and blood had been miraculously transferred (that is, not through the intervention of human hands) onto the cloth. I examine both the legends about the woman and the history of the relic as factors in the Franciscans' choice to insert the character of Veronica into the *Via Crucis* as the Sixth Station by the turn of the fifteenth century. I argue that the Franciscans adopted and then adapted the apocryphal story of this originally anonymous, first-century woman to achieve their own evangelical goals in meeting the spiritual and physical needs of pilgrims to the Holy Land, who were under their aegis in Jerusalem, as well as those whom they sought to evangelize in urban centers across Western Europe.

This monograph acknowledges and builds upon the foundational research on images of Veronica and her relic by Karl Pearson (1887),¹ Jos Palme (1892),² and Ernst von Dobschütz (1899),³ as well as a second generation of publications, including: André Chastel's article "La Véronique" in *Revue de l'art* (1978);⁴ Ewa Kuryluk's book *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image* (1991);⁵ Hans Belting's *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image in the Age before Art* (1994);⁶ Jeffrey Hamburger's *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (1998);⁷ the series of essays in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Presentation*, edited by Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf (1998);⁸ Tiziana Maria Di Blasio's *Veronica: il mistero del volto; itinerari iconografici, memoria e rappresentazione* (2000);⁹ the beautifully illustrated catalogue *Il Volto di Cristo*, edited by Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf (2000);¹⁰ and the first chapter of Alexa Sand's broader work, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (2014).¹¹ The present study also complements recent scholarship in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages*, *Convivium*

2 Introduction

Supplementum (2017), a collection of 21 essays edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese.¹² This important and impressive collection of essays focuses on the relic and legends as origins of the fame of Veronica, the formation of the early cult to her in Rome, the promotion of reverence to Veronica in liturgy, and the spread of the cult primarily in Italy and France through the fourteenth century. Because the present study begins with requisite synopses of the legends, the history of the relic, as well as theological and sacramental connotations, there is some necessary overlap with the 2017 volume in the initial chapters. However, this book is distinct from and serves as a complement to the former titles in terms of methodology in three essential ways.

Principally, this research examines the Franciscans' role and aims in incorporating Veronica into the Stations of the Cross, which led to an increased production of her image from the early fifteenth through the mid-seventeenth centuries. I consider reasons why the Franciscan friars, as custodians of sacred places in Jerusalem since 1342, may have added a new female character not mentioned by name in the Gospels to serve as an eyewitness to Jesus's life, thereby underscoring his historical authenticity. I evaluate the placement of Veronica as the Sixth Station in the traditional sequence of fourteen stops in the constructed pilgrimage path, both within the irregular topography of Jerusalem and around the grounds and naves of churches in Western Europe. In addition, I draw iconographic parallels among Veronica and other female characters Christ encountered on his Way to Calvary (the Virgin Mary, the Women of Jerusalem, and Mary Magdalene), women who *were* mentioned in the synoptic Gospels. Moreover, I assert that the Franciscans' insertion of Veronica and her image-bearing veil functioned as a foreshadowing of the Resurrection within the narrative frame of the Stations of the Cross, thereby offering pilgrims a glimpse of an eternal, ideal portrait of the divine. Likewise, Veronica's palliative gesture may have played a role in the syncopation of suffering and salve that Christ experienced on his way to crucifixion. By extension, the Franciscan friars may have planned for pilgrims to participate physically and emotionally in a similar alternation of struggle and respite in order to draw them spiritually closer to Christ and their order's founder, Francis of Assisi, with the intention of guiding pilgrims toward personal, purgative repentance.

Second, the present study approaches the character of Veronica through the lens of gender and therefore addresses women's patronage, viewership, and reverence, especially by religious women living in communities. Veronica may have been part of a conscious revival to bring women from the Church's early history forward during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a period when their roles in liturgy and lay activities were being redefined. I also explore possible links to the Second and Third Franciscan Orders, communities that largely comprised women, for whom Veronica may have served as a focal point of devotion and/or role model.

Third, and finally, this monograph expands upon previous studies by focusing on works of art from the Early Modern period. Earlier research has exhaustively studied and reproduced copies of the veronica relic from the fourth to the end of the fourteenth centuries. This study will essentially commence where prior scholarship tapers in terms of chronology. Although I make references to early renditions of Veronica, this book will concentrate on the development of the iconography of Veronica in works of art produced from the early fifteenth through the mid-seventeenth centuries. Selected works from North and South of the Alps in the final chapter are organized

into five primary iconographic roles: (1) Veronica as a protagonist who displays the cloth, her identity extending to the *vera icon*; (2) the veronica within the context of related devotional imagery, such as the Man of Sorrows, the *Arma Christi*, or the Mass of Saint Gregory; (3) Veronica as a corollary, subordinate character within a selected scene from the Passion cycle; (4) Veronica actively wiping Christ's brow as the Sixth Station of the Cross; and (5) the relic isolated with the Holy Face as a focal point of devotion. In the image-rich cultural traditions of the Christian West, artistic renditions of Veronica satisfied social and spiritual needs to witness Christ's visage in a direct, forthright manner. Works of art featuring Veronica prominently presenting Christ's countenance on the *sudarium* functioned largely to induce responses of affective piety among pilgrims, reactions that were intensified when placed in tandem with scenes from Christ's Passion. The purpose of this study is to examine the nature of images of Veronica and the ways in which Early Modern artists adopted her character and cloth relic as subject matter toward these ends.

Notes

- 1 Karl Pearson, *Die Fronica, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes in Mittelalter* (Strasbourg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1887).
- 2 Jos Palme, *Die Deutschen Veroniclegenden des XII Jahr* (Prague: Verlag des K. K. Deutschen obergymnasiums der Kleinseite, 1892).
- 3 Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder; Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig: L. C. Hinrichs, 1899).
- 4 André Chastel, "La Véronique," *Revue de l'art* 40–41 (1978).
- 5 Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1991).
- 6 Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image in the Age before Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
- 7 Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).
- 8 Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998).
- 9 Tiziana Maria Di Blasio, *Veronica: il mistero del volto; itinerari iconografici, memoria e rappresentazione* (Rome: Città Nuova Ed., 2000).
- 10 Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *Il Volto di Cristo*, (Milan: Electa, 2000).
- 11 Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- 12 Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, eds., *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).

Notes

Introuction

- 1 Karl Pearson, *Die Fronica, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes in Mittelalter* (Strasbourg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1887).
- 2 Jos Palme, *Die Deutschen Veronicalegenden des XII Jahr* (Prague: Verlag des K. K. Deutschen obergymnasiums der Kleinseite, 1892).
- 3 Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder; Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig: L. C. Hinrichs, 1899).
- 4 André Chastel, "La Véronique," *Revue de l'art* 40–41 (1978).
- 5 Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1991).
- 6 Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image in the Age before Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
- 7 Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).
- 8 Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998).
- 9 Tiziana Maria Di Blasio, *Veronica: il mistero del volto; itinerari iconografici, memoria e rappresentazione* (Rome: Città Nuova Ed., 2000).
- 10 Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *Il Volto di Cristo*, (Milan: Electa, 2000).
- 11 Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- 12 Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, eds., *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).

Chapter 1

- 1 The inscription on the saint's halo is in Latin: *Sancta Veronica*. The inscription on Christ's halo is a Greek abbreviation of his name: *ih̄s.xp̄.ih̄.x*. The National Gallery, London, accessed August 31, 2019, www.nationalgallery.org.uk.
- 2 Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). Brown describes the social and ecclesiastical milieu of the first through fourth centuries, a period during which funerary rites and burial customs expanded to accommodate popular concepts of guardian angels and patron saints. These protective, invisible guides were often identified with early Christian martyrs. Bishops encouraged families to communicate with spiritual avatars that existed

in a realm between human and divine experiences and to adorn burial sites with altars and chapels to them.

- 3 Joh. Bapt. De Rossi, and Ludov. Duchesne, eds., *Martyrologium Hieronymianum: Ad Fidem Codicum, Adiectis Prolegomenis* (Brussels: Typis Polleunis et Ceuterick, 1894).
- 4 Antoine Degert, “Saint Veronica,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann, et al. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), 362–363. For purposes of disambiguation, Degert notes that the Roman Martyrology also records at Milan a Saint Veronica de Binasco of the Order of Saint Augustine on 13 January and a Saint Veronica Giuliani on 9 July.
- 5 Robert Godding, ed., *De Rosweyde aux Acta Sanctorum: La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles: actes du Colloque international, Brussels, 5 October 2007* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2009).
- 6 Heribert Rosweyde and Jean Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp and Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–1940), accessed April 24, 2018, ProQuest, <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk>. In the *Commentarius Historicus* section of the *Acta Sanctorum*, under the date July 12, Veronica is listed as: “Hæmorrhøissa nomine, ut volunt, Veronica, Cæsareæ Philippi in Phœnicia (S.).” See also Jan Machielsen, “Heretical Saints and Textual Discernment: The Polemical Origins of the *Acta Sanctorum* (1643–1940),” in *Angels of Light? Sanctity and the Discernment of Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Clare Copeland and Jan Machielsen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 103–141.
- 7 For a synopsis of the evolution of the story, see Andrea Lorenzo Molinari, “Saint Veronica: Evolution of a Sacred Legend,” *Priscilla Papers* 28 (2014): 9–15.
- 8 Eusebius Pamphili, *Ecclesiastical History, Books 1–5*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari, in *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, vol. 19 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005). The text was originally written in Greek, although there were contemporary translations in Latin, Syriac, and Armenian. Eusebius’s book chronicles Church history from the first through the fourth centuries from a distinctly Christian perspective.
- 9 The idea that the woman originated from Tyre comes from the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, an eighth-century variation of the *Acts of Pilate*, datable to the mid-fourth century. “Then Volosianus said to that young man, ‘can you tell me the name of that woman?’ He said, ‘She is called Veronica, dwelling in Tyre.’” Tuomas Levänen, trans., *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, Section 9, www.academia.edu/15436621/Cura_Sanitatis_Tiberii_English_Translation.
- 10 Michael D. Coogan, Marc Z. Brettler, and Carol Newsom, eds., with contributions by PHEME PERKINS, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Edition*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1759.
- 11 “And a large crowd followed him and pressed in on him. Now there was a woman who had been suffering from hemorrhages for twelve years. She had endured much under many physicians, and had spent all that she had; and she was no better, but rather grew worse. She had heard about Jesus, and came up behind him in the crowd and touched his cloak, for she said, ‘If I but touch his clothes, I will be made well.’ Immediately her hemorrhage stopped; and she felt in her body that she was healed of her disease. Immediately aware that power had gone forth from him, Jesus turned about in the crowd and said, ‘Who touched my clothes?’ And his disciples said to him, ‘You see the crowd pressing in on you; how can you say, “Who touched me?”’ He looked all around to see who had done it. But the woman, knowing what had happened to her, came in fear and trembling, fell down

- before him, and told him the whole truth. He said to her, ‘Daughter, your faith has made you well; go in peace, and be healed of your disease.’” Ibid., 1801.
- 12 “Now there was a woman who had been suffering from hemorrhages for twelve years; and though she had spent all she had on physicians, no one could cure her. She came up behind him and touched the fringe of his clothes, and immediately her hemorrhage stopped. Then Jesus asked, ‘Who touched me?’ When all denied it, Peter said, ‘Master, the crowds surround you and press in on you.’ But Jesus said, ‘Someone touched me; for I noticed that power had gone out from me.’ When the woman saw that she could not remain hidden, she came trembling; and falling down before him, she declared in the presence of all the people why she had touched him, and how she had been immediately healed. He said to her, ‘Daughter, your faith has made you well; go in peace.’” Ibid., 1846.
 - 13 For further discussion about the story of the *Haemorrhissa*, see Barbara Baert (with the collaboration of Emma Sidgwick), “Touching the Hem: The Thread between Garment and Blood in the Story of the Woman with the Haemorrhage (Mark 5:24b–34parr),” *Textile* 9 (2011): 308–352; and Emma Sidgwick, “At once limit and threshold: How the early Christian touch of a hem (Luke 8:44; Matthew 9:20) constituted the medieval Veronica,” *Viator* 45 (2014): 1–24.
 - 14 Eusebius Pamphili, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1.13.5–1.13.22. For the Greek text of the two letters with a translation into English and commentary, see Bart D. Ehrman and Zlatko Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 413–417.
 - 15 Ehrman and Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 417.
 - 16 Ibid., 413, 417.
 - 17 Ibid., 413.
 - 18 Herbert L. Kessler, “Il *mandylion*,” in *Il Volto di Cristo*, eds. G. Morello and G. Wolf (Milan: Electa, 2000), 64–99.
 - 19 For the complete text in Greek with an English translation and commentary, see Ehrman and Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 419–489.
 - 20 The date of the middle of the fourth century is accepted by Ehrman and Pleše. However, the authors also consider a proposal of Izydorczyk (1997) that the texts of the mid-fourth century were based on traditions and stories from the previous two centuries. Ehrman and Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 420. See also Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997).
 - 21 Ehrman and Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 419.
 - 22 M. R. James, trans., *The Gospel of Nicodemus, or Acts of Pilate* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 7. In Greek, she is called Βεργίχη or Βερονίχη. See Charles Wycliff Goodwin, trans. and ed. for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, *The Anglo-Saxon Legends of St. Andrew and St. Veronica* (Cambridge: Deighton, MacMillan and Co., 1851), vii.
 - 23 Molinari, “Saint Veronica: Evolution of a Sacred Legend,” 9.
 - 24 M. R. James, trans., *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, 15.
 - 25 Ibid., 8.
 - 26 Gerhard Wolf, “‘Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?’ Sguardi alla ‘vera icona’ e alle sue copie artistiche,” in *Il Volto di Cristo*, eds. G. Morello and G. Wolf (Milan: Electa, 2000), 103–211, especially 105–106.
 - 27 Ibid., 105.

- 28 The full version of the legend in Latin, called *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii Cesaris Augusti et Damnatio Pilati*, comes from a Vatican manuscript of the eighth century, printed by J. D. Manso in the *Supplement to the Miscellanea Stephani Baluzii*, vol. iv, 55. See Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Legends*, vi. For an English translation, see Tuomas Levänen, trans., *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, www.academia.edu/15436621/Cura_Sanitatis_Tiberii_English_Translation. The nature of Tiberius's illness is unclear, but the Anglo-Saxon legend recounts that the emperor was so "unsound by reason of various wounds that he became a leper." Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Legends*, 27. Some versions, including the German adaption of the legend, suggest that his illness is moral and related to the destruction of Jerusalem. See Judith Lange, *Die Verslegende <Veronica II>: Hybridedition und Studien zur Überlieferung* (PhD. diss., Aachen University, Germany, 2013); and 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* 52 (2016): 173–192. The foundational, critical edition of the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* text is Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 163–190. The most recent re-examination of and challenge to this scholarship is Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "The *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* a Century after Ernst von Dobschütz," in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 32–49 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
- 29 "[...] mulierem nomine Vironicam qui Latine vocatur Vasilie." The word *vasille*, which may be related to *vexillum* (Latin for military banner), may have been used to refer to the *sudarium* with an image of Christ's face. Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Legends*, viii.
- 30 Levänen, *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, Sections 12 and 13. For the Latin and Middle English versions, with extensive source notes regarding original manuscripts, see E. M. Thompson, "Apocryphal Legends," in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* XXXVII (London: British Archaeological Association, 1881): 239–253.
- 31 Bede, *The Complete Works of Venerable Bede, in the original Latin, collated with the Manuscripts and various printed editions, and accompanied by a new English translation of the Historical Works, and a Life of the Author*, 8 vols., ed. Rev. J. A. Giles (London: Whittaker and Co., 1843).
- 32 Peter Darby and Daniel Reynolds, "Reassessing the 'Jerusalem Pilgrims': the Case of Bede's *De locis sanctis*," *Bulletin for the Council for British Research in the Levant* 9 (2014): 27–31.
- 33 Ibid., 29.
- 34 For the complete text in Latin with an English translation and introduction, see Ehrman and Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 537–557. For the Old English text with translation, see J. E. Cross, ed., with contributions by Denis Brearley, Julia Crick, Thomas N. Hall, and Andy Orchard, *Two Old English apocrypha and their manuscript source: "The Gospel of Nicodemus" and "The Avenging of the Savior"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 248–293. For a recent critical analysis, see Rémi Gounelle and Céline Urlacher-Becht, "Veronica in the *Vindicta Salvatoris*," in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 50–57 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017). The authors of the latter essay distinguish between and compare two states of the Latin text, one without Volusianus and one that includes this character. Furthermore, the authors assert that the writers who transcribed the text over time did not know about the character of Veronica and instead focused on the image of Christ on the relic.
- 35 Ehrman and Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 537.

- 36 Mary Swan, "Remembering Veronica in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Writing Gender and Genre in Medieval Literature: Approaches to Old and Middle English Texts*, ed. Elaine Treharne (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), 23–27. See also J. E. Cross, ed., et al., *Two Old English apocrypha*.
- 37 Ehrman and Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 543, 549.
- 38 Ibid., 551–553.
- 39 Ibid., 553.
- 40 Molinari, "Saint Veronica: Evolution of a Sacred Legend," 11.
- 41 Ehrman and Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 553.
- 42 Coogan, et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1874.
- 43 Ehrman and Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 557.
- 44 Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Legends*, vii.
- 45 Ibid., ix–xi.
- 46 Ibid., 29.
- 47 For a basic introduction to this sculpture's history and iconographic complexities, see Michele Bacci, "The *Volto Santo*'s Legendary and Physical Image," in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, ed. Juliet Mullins, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, and Richard Hawtree (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2013), 214–233.
- 48 Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 121.
- 49 Raffaele Savigni, "The Roman Veronica and the Holy Face of Lucca: Parallelism and Tangents in the Formation of their Respective Traditions," in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 274–285 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017). Savigni mentions several points of overlap between the sculpture in Lucca and the veronica in Rome, each of which was purported to be a "true image" of Christ.
- 50 Chiara Frugoni, "Una proposta per il *Volto Santo*," in *Il Volto Santo. Storia e culto*, eds. Clara Baracchini and Maria Teresa Filieri, 15–48 (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 1982).
- 51 Gerhard Wolf, "From Mandylion to Veronica: Picturing the 'Disembodied' Face and Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Presentation*, eds. Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf, 153–179, 169 (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998). See Robert de Boron, *Joseph d'Arimathie*, ed. Richard O'Gorman, *Studies and Texts* 120 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995), 164–180. The edition by O'Gorman offers both the verse and prose versions with critical notes.
- 52 Pearson, *Die Fronica*, 76.
- 53 Behind the Name, "Berenice," accessed June 21, 2019, www.behindthename.com.
- 54 For more on the etymology of the name Veronica, see Alfred Maury, "Lettres sur l'étymologie du nom de Véronique donné a la femme qui porte la sante face et sur l'origine de son culte," *Revue Archéologique* 2 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1851): 484–495.
- 55 Variant spellings include Veronika in German, Hungarian, and Scandinavian languages; Véronique in French; Verónica in Spanish; Weronika in Polish; and Nika in Russian. See Behind the Name, "Berenice," accessed June 21, 2019, www.behindthename.com.
- 56 Translation by James C. Anderson, jr., electronic correspondence with the author, July 9, 2018. The original Latin can be found in Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera: Speculum*

Ecclesiae, ed. J. S. Brewer, M.A. (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1873; reprinted by Kraus Reprint, Ltd., 1964): 278–279, as follows:

“Hæc autem imago dicitur *Uronica*, quasi essentialis. Alia autem imago Romæ habetur, quæ dicitur *Veronica*, a Veronica matrona quæ tamdiu desideraverat et orationibus Dominum impetraverat videre; quæ semel exiens a templo Dominum obvium habuit dicentem: ‘Verona, ecce quem desiderasti.’ Quem cum intuita fuisset, ipse peplum ejus accipiens impressit vultu suo, et reliquit in eo expressam imaginem suam. Hæc in magna similiter reverentia, et a nemine, nisi per velorum quæ ante dependent interpositionem inspicitur; et hæc est apud Sanctum Petrum. Hæc autem illa, ut legitur, mulier fuit, quæ tangens fimbriam vestimenti Jesu a sanguinis profluvio curata fuit. Legitur etiam quod eadem mulier post Christi passionem Romam de Hierosolimis venire coacta, eamque secum portare quam relinquere voluit compulsa, statim ut Tiberio Cæsari allata fuit curatus est a morbo incurabili quo laboraverat. Dicunt autem quidam vocabulo alludentes, Veronicam dici, quasi *veram iconiam*, id est, imaginem veram.”

- 57 Matthew Paris (Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani), *Chronica Majora*, vol. 3, ed. Henry Richards Luard, M.A. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1872; reprinted Weisbaden: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964), 7–8, <http://archive.org>.
- 58 Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 371. For a refutation of the theory that Matthew Paris instigated the spread of the cult and associated imagery of Veronica in England, see Nigel Morgan, “‘Veronica’ Images and the Office of the Holy Face in Thirteenth-Century England,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 84–99 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017). Morgan proposes that Matthew Paris derived his version of the veronica and its associated text of the Office from the Lateran icon by means of a copy held at Westminster Abbey or Palace in London.
- 59 Translation by James C. Anderson, jr., electronic correspondence with the author, May 28 and June 10, 2018. The original Latin inclusive of the prayers is as follows: “*De Veronica et ejusdem authenticatione*. A.D. 1216 “Dum vero fortunalis alea statum regni Angliæ talibus turbinibus exagitaret, dominus Papa Innocentius, quem vacillantis ecclesiæ cura sollicitabat, effigiem vultus Dominici, quæ Veronica dicitur, ut moris est, de ecclesia Sancti Petri usque ad hospitale Sancti Spiritus reverenter cum processione bajulabat. Qua peracta, ipsa effigies, dum in loco suo aptaretur, se per se girabat, ut verso staret ordine; ita scilicet, ut frons inferius, barba superius locaretur. Quod nimis abhorrens dominus Papa, credidit illud in triste sibi præsagium evenisse, et ut plenius Deo reconciliaretur, consilio fratrum, in honore ipsius effigiei, quæ Veronica dicitur, quondam orationem composuit elegantem; cui adjecit quondam Psalmum, cum quibusdam versiculis, et eadem dicentibus decem dierum concessit indulgentiam, ita scilicet, ut quotienscunque repetatur, totiens dicenti tantumdem indulgentiæ concedatur. Multi igitur eandem orationem cum pertinentiis memoriæ commendarunt, et ut eos major accenderet devotion, picturis effigiarunt hoc modo. “Sortitur autem Veronica tale nomen a quadam muliere sic dicta, ad cujus petitionem ipsam fecit Christus impressionem. Signans igitur se homo dicat, “Signatum est super nos lu[men] v[ultus] t[ui], D[omine]. Ded[isti]. Ps. Deus miseretur nostri, etc. Gloria. Kyrieleyson, Christeleyson, Kyrieleyson. Pater noster. Et ne. Vers. Fac mecum signum in bo[num] ut vid[eant]. Vers. Tibi dixit cor meum [exquisivit te] fa[cies] m[ea], fac[iem] t[uam] D[omine] r[equiram]. Vers. Quærite Dominum et confirmamini, q[uærite] f[aciem] e[ius] s[emper]. Vers. Ora pro nobis, beata Veronica. U[t] d[igni]. Vers. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos, et ostende. Oremus. Deus qui nobis

signatis lumine vultus Tui memorial tuum ad instantiam Veronicæ sudario impressam imaginem relinquere volusti, per passionem et crucem Tuam tribue nobis quæsumus, ut ita nunc in terris per speculum et in enigmate ipsam adorare et venerari valeamus, ut facie ad faciem venientem iudicem Te secure videamus, Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre.” Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 3, 7–8.

- 60 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan with introduction by Eamon Duffy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 212.

- 61 William Granger Ryan, Introduction to *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 1, by Jacobus de Voragine (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), xiii.

- 62 Swan, “Remembering Veronica in Anglo-Saxon England,” 24.

- 63 Marco Petoletti, and Angelo Piacentini, “The *Veronica* of Boniface of Verona,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 250–259 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).

- 64 Ibid.

- 65 See Dante Alighieri and Mark Musa, *Dante’s Vita Nuova, New Edition: A Translation and an Essay* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1973), section XL.

- 66 Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. C. H. Sisson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 728.

- 67 Ibid., 489, lines 103–108.

- 68 “Movesi il vecchierel canuto et bianco
del dolce loco ov’ à sua età fornita
et da la famigliuola sbigottita
che vede il caro padre venir manco;

indi traendo poi l’antico fianco
per l’estreme giornate di sua vita,
quanto più po col huon voler s’aita,
rotto dagli anni, et dal camino stanco;

et viene a Roma, seguendo ‘l desio,
per mirar la sembianza di colui
ch’ ancor lassù nel ciel vedere spera.

Così, lasso, talor vo cercand’ io,
Donna, quanto e possibile in altrui
la disiata vostra forma vera.”

Francesco Petrarca and Mark Musa, *The Canzoniere, or Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999), 16–17. Petrarch’s poem is in the public domain. The translation by Mark Musa is reproduced here by permission from Indiana University Press.

- 69 On Chaucer’s use of the word *veronica*, see James F. Rhodes, “The Pardoner’s ‘Vernycle’ and His ‘Vera Icon,’” *Modern Language Studies* 13 (1983): 34–40.

- 70 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, trans. David Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), eBook Collection (EBSCOhost).

- 71 Rhodes, "The Pardoner's 'Vernycle,'" 34. See also Paul Perdrizet, "De La Véronique et De Sainte Véronique," in *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (Prague: Institute: Kondakov, 1932): 1.
- 72 Rhodes, "The Pardoner's 'Vernycle,'" 37–38.
- 73 Susanna Fein, "Mary to Veronica: John Audelay's Sequence of Salutations to God-Bearing Women," *Speculum* 86 (2011): 964–1009.
- 74 Ibid., 965.
- 75 Ibid., 1001.
- 76 Ibid., 966.
- 77 Ibid., 1001–1002, lines 1–6.
- 78 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* 52 (2016): 173–192.
- 79 See Judith Lange, "Die Verslegende 'Veronica II': Hybridedition und Studien zur Überlieferung" (PhD. diss., Aachen University, Zugl, 2013).
- 80 Weitbrecht, "The Vera Icon," 174.
- 81 Ibid., 184.
- 82 "Da Fronica vor des keyzers bette stünd,
daz duch leit sie um uber daz antlitz und den mont.
Da stunt der krancke keyser uff und wart gesunt."
Lange, 202, lines 12–14. Translation to English by Julien Chapuis, in electronic correspondence with the author, July 18, 2019.
- 83 Michel Bourrières, *Saint Amadour and Sainte Véronique* (Paris: Tolra, 1895); and Jean Rocacher, *Rocamadour et son pèlerinage: étude historique et archéologique*, 2 vols. (Toulouse: Association les Amis de Rocamadour, 1979).
- 84 The gilded wooden reliquary that dates from 1860 contains a small collection of relics of the Virgin Mary brought to Soulac by Veronica, as well as relics from Saints Fort and Francis de Sales. A church inventory of 1628 lists the Marian relic as "Lac beatae Virginis Mariae." In a later inventory of 1676, the same relic is listed as: "Plus une Nostre Dame où il y a du lait de la Vierge pesant un marc et demi et en argent doré." See *Inventaire des Reliques de L'Eglise de Soulac*, 9 Juillet 1628, *Archives départementales de la Gironde*, H 507, II, and *Inventaire de L'Eglise de Soulac en L'Année 1676*, in Association des Amis de la Basilique Nôtre Dame de la Fin des Terres de Soulac-sur-Mer, *Nôtre Dame de la Fin des Terres* (Soulac, n.p., 1993), 79–82. I wish to thank Jean-Baptiste Leproux at the Church of Nôtre-Dame-de-la-fin-des-Terres in Soulac-sur-Mer for kindly providing access for me to these inventories in June 2019.
- 85 On Veronica at Soulac and Bordeaux, see M. Mezuret, *Notre-Dame de Soulac ou de la fin-des-terres: L'Apostolat de Sainte-Véronique en Aquitaine: le tombeau et le culte de Saine-Véronique a Soulac* (Lesparre: J. Rivet Imprimeur-Libraire, 1865); Aurélien des Célestins de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît, *Sainte Véronique, apôtre de l'Aquitaine: son tombeau et son culte à Soulac, ou, Notre-Dame de Fin-des-Terres*, Archidiocèse de Bordeaux (Toulouse: L. Hébraïlle, 1877); Grégoire Marie Thomas, *Soulac et Notre-Dame de la Fin-des-Terres* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie de l'oeuvre de Saint-Paul, 1882); and Bernard-Marie Maréchaux, *Notre Dame de la Fin des Terres de Soulac* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie Nouvelle A. Bellier, 1893).
- 86 Alvin E. Ford, ed., *La Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur: The Old and Middle French Prose Versions: The Cura Sanitatis Tiberii (The Mission of Volusian), the Nathanis Judaei Legatio (Vindicta Salvatoris), and the Versions found in the Bible en français 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, 1984).

Chapter 2

- 1 Coogan, et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1915.
- 2 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 208–209.
- 3 Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 317.
- 4 Steven Runciman, “Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa,” *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1931): 238–252.
- 5 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 218–220.
- 6 On bodily relics in general, and contact and effluvial relics in particular, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Zone Books, 2011), Chapter 2, especially 136–139. Other types of contact relics may include earth, dust, water, plants, or any ephemera that touched a saint or a saint’s tomb, including *brandea*, which were self-made cloth relics that touched saints’ tombs and that could be obtained on pilgrimage, 136. Other kinds of effluvial relics may include vials of blood, tears, or breast milk from a saint or holy figure. On parallels between the veronica and relics of heads and faces, see Annemarie Weyl Carr, “The Face Relics of John the Baptist in Byzantium and the West,” *Gesta* 46 (2007): 159–177.
- 7 For more on *acheiropoieta*, see Sylvie Barnay, “Il Volto non fatto da mano d’uomo,” in *Gesù: Il Corpo, Il Volto dell’Arte*, ed. T. Verdon, 96–103 (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010); and Joseph Koerner, *The Moment of Self-portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 84–85.
- 8 The literature on the Shroud of Turin is extensive. See John Beldon Scott, “Seeing the Shroud: Guarini’s Reliquary Chapel in Turin and the Ostension of a Dynastic Relic,” *The Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 609–637; Giuseppe Ghiberti, “Il Corpo della Sindone,” in *Gesù: Il Corpo, Il Volto dell’Arte*, ed. T. Verdon, 116–123 (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010); and Ferdinando Molteni, “Storia e devozione della Sindone,” in *Il Volto di Cristo*, eds. G. Morello and G. Wolf, 276–282 (Milan: Electa, 2000), with accompanying colorplates. As the shroud relates to the veronica, see Andrew R. Casper, “Display and Devotion: Exhibiting Icons and Their Copies in Counter-Reformation Italy,” in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler, 43–62 (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2013); Michele Bacci, “Alla Ricerca del Volto di Cristo,” in *Gesù: Il Corpo, Il Volto dell’Arte*, ed. T. Verdon, 90–95 (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010); and Frank K. Lord, “Image, vision, and faith: Viewers’ responses to the Mandylion, Veronica’s Veil, and the Shroud of Turin” (PhD. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003). The shroud has been studied technically twice (1989 and 2018), with both studies concluding that the cloth is medieval rather than datable to the first century. See P. E. Damon, D. J. Donahue, et al., “Radiocarbon dating of the Shroud of Turin,” *Nature* 337 (1989): 611–615; and Matteo Borrini and Luigi Garlaschelli, “A BPA Approach to the Shroud of Turin,” *Journal of Forensic Sciences* (July 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1111/1556-4029.13867>.
- 9 Koerner, *The Moment of Self-portraiture*, 86; and Tristan Weddigen, “Weaving the face of Christ: on the textile origins of the Christian Image” (University of Zurich: Open Repository Archive, 2015), 84, www.zora.uzh.ch/113276/1/Weddigen.pdf.
- 10 Coogan, et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 2029.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 2069.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 2104.

- 13 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 208.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 104–105.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., 106. For further discussion of relic fragments as representatives of wholeness, see 308–317.
- 18 On the Flavian emperors, see Andrew Zissos, ed., *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome* (West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016).
- 19 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 537–541.
- 20 Ann Van Dijk, “The Veronica, the *Vultus Christi* and the veneration of icons in medieval Rome,” in *Old Saint Peter’s, Rome*, eds. Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story, 229–256 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 233–234, 237.
- 21 Wolf, “‘Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?’,” 103.
- 22 Antonella Ballardini and Paola Pogliani, “A reconstruction of the oratory of John VII (–705–7),” in *Old Saint Peter’s, Rome*, eds. Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story, 190–213, 191 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). The article features several three-dimensional, reconstructed models of the oratory.
- 23 See Federico Gallo, “*De sacrosanto sudario Veronicæ* by Giacomo Grimaldi. Preliminary Investigations,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 72–83 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
- 24 Ballardini and Pogliani, “A reconstruction of the oratory of John VII (705–7),” 191–192. The drawings survive in the Vatican Archives, with several reproduced in Ballardini and Pogliani’s article.
- 25 Ibid., 199. In addition, the oratory was decorated with mosaics, including three scenes of Peter preaching that likely date from the papacy of Innocent III. Ibid., 208, Figure 10.10.
- 26 L. Schiaparelli, “Le carte antiche dell’Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro in Vaticano,” *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria* 24 (1901): 393–496, cited in Ann Van Dijk, “The Veronica, the *Vultus Christi* and the veneration of icons in medieval Rome,” 243, n. 32.
- 27 Benedictus Canonicus, *Liber Censuum Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, vol. II, ed. P. Fabre and L. Duchesne (Paris: Fontemoing, 1910), 141–164, 143.
- 28 Wolf, “‘Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?’,” 103.
- 29 Ann Van Dijk, “The Veronica, the *Vultus Christi* and the veneration of icons in medieval Rome,” 237–239. The reliquary, illustrated 238, Figure 12.6, is the subject of a drawing in Grimaldi, *Instrumenta Authentica*, 1620, Vatican BAV, Barb. lat. 2733, fol. 92r.
- 30 On the role of Pope Innocent III in propagating the cult to Veronica, see Rebecca Rist, “Innocent III and the Roman Veronica: Papal PR or Eucharistic Icon?,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 114–125 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017). The author examines the Pope’s intentions and asks whether his attention to Veronica was motivated by a desire to put the Eucharist at the center of Catholic life or rather if he were trying to augment the pontificate.
- 31 Van Dijk, S. J. P. and J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1960): 102–103. For more on the link between the hospital

- and the cult of Veronica, see also Gisela Drossbach, “The Roman Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia and the Cult of the Vera Icon,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 158–167 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
- 32 Wolf, “‘Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?’”, 104. The procession took place on the Second Sunday after Epiphany. See also Ballardini and Pogliani, “A reconstruction of the oratory of John VII (705–7),” 208.
 - 33 Ann Van Dijk, “The Veronica, the *Vultus Christi* and the veneration of icons in medieval Rome,” 239.
 - 34 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 3, 7–8. In this text, see Chapter 1, 25–26, n. 59.
 - 35 The *Ospedale di Santo Spirito* is still in operation. The modern building, located at Lungotevere in Sassia, 1, is adjacent to the historic complex that dates to the twelfth century.
 - 36 Carla Keyvanian, *Hospitals and Urbanism in Rome, 1200–1500* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 83–84.
 - 37 Ibid.
 - 38 S. J. P. Van Dijk and Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, 460–461: “Notandum quod isto die dominus papa Innocentius instituit quod sudarium Christi deferretur ab ecclesia principis apostolorum usque ad hospitale sancti spiritus, quod est ad sanctam Mariam in saxia. Et ibi ostenditur a domino papa omni populo a loco eminenti qui propter hoc aptatus et paratus est. Et ipse dominus papa vadi processionaliter, precedentibus cunctis ordinibus curie et clericis sancti Petri accensis faculis, subsequentibus eundem papam capellanis suis dicentibus psalmos cum eo. Et dominus papa predicat ibi de evangelio, scilicet *Nuptie facte sunt*, sicut ipse exposuit. Et ibi cantat missam, scola cantante ad introitum *Omnis terra adoret te*. Hiis peractis et finito evangelio, aliquis cardinalis recipit sudarium et reportat unde venit, comitantibus eum canonicis predictae ecclesie sancti Petri. Se quando extrahitur de loco ubi est repositum, tunc cantatur *Te deum laudamus*. In eundo et redeundo dicuntur ps. *Beatus vir qui non abiit* cum sequentibus eum.”
 - 39 Jörg Bölling, “Face to Face with Christ in Late Medieval Rome. The Veil of Veronica in Papal Liturgy and Ceremony,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 136–143, 141 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
 - 40 Ibid.
 - 41 A set of Mass orations in the Vatican Archives called *Collecta ad faciem Christi*, datable to the fifteenth century, is analyzed at length by Uwe Michael Lang, “Origins of the Liturgical Veneration of the Roman Veronica,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 144–155 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
 - 42 For an in-depth analysis of indulgences associated with the veronica, as evidenced by letters of indulgence issued forth from prelates across Europe, see Étienne Doublier, “*Sui pretiosissimi vultus Imago*: Veronica e prassi indulgenziale nel XIII e all’inizio del XIV secolo,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 180–193 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
 - 43 John Oliver Hand, *Hans Memling’s Saint John the Baptist and Saint Veronica* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1994), n.p.
 - 44 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. and trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 604–607. This edition includes the side-by-side Latin text

- with English translation. Gervase, however, does identify the bleeding woman from the Gospels with Martha, sister of Mary and Lazarus, a variant Western tradition with origins in a sermon by Saint Ambrose or a Pseudo-Ambrose. *Ibid.*, 604, n. 1.
- 45 Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera: Speculum Ecclesiae*, 278.
 - 46 Wolf, “‘Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?’”, 104.
 - 47 Hand, “*Salve sancta facies*,” 14.
 - 48 Chiara Di Fruscia, “*Datum Avenioni*. The Avignon Papacy and the Custody of the Veronica,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 218–230 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
 - 49 Wolf, “‘Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?’”, 104.
 - 50 Hand, “*Salve sancta facies*,” 14.
 - 51 William Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, ed. and trans. Francis Davey (Oxford: The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2010), 193.
 - 52 Alice E. Sanger, “Sensuality, Sacred Remains and Devotion in Baroque Rome,” in *Sense and the Senses in Early Modern Art and Cultural Practice*, eds. Alice E. Sanger and Siv Tove Kulbrandstad Walker (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), 203.
 - 53 Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land*, 115.
 - 54 On the Mochi sculpture, see Jennifer Montagu, “A Model by Francesco Mochi for the ‘Saint Veronica,’” *The Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982): 430–437. Montagu points out that one of the most salient iconographic features of this sculpture is the *sudarium*, which Mochi depicts as the end of Veronica’s veil rather than as a separate piece of cloth, 435. On the Baroque style of the sculpture, see Estelle Lingo, “Mochi’s Edge,” *Oxford Art Journal* 32 (2009): 3–16.
 - 55 Translation by Nancy T. de Grummond, in electronic correspondence with the author, July 17, 2018.
 - 56 On September 1, 2006, Pope Benedict XVI (papacy 2005–2013) visited the object in Manoppello, which for some Catholics lent authority to this interpretation. Benedict’s speech on that occasion can be found on the Vatican’s website. Benedict XVI, “Pilgrimage to the Shrine of the Holy Face of Manoppello,” September 1, 2006, accessed March 25, 2018, http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060901_manoppello.html.
 - 57 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 220.
 - 58 Wolf, “From Mandylion to Veronica,” 172.
 - 59 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 210.
 - 60 The exhibition catalogue *Il Volto di Cristo*, eds. G. Morello and G. Wolf (Milan: Electa, 2000), presents many of these copies as colorplates alongside a host of other images of the Holy Face, each with accompanying catalogue entries.
 - 61 Martin Luther, *Luther’s Works: Church and Ministry III*, vol. 41, ed. Eric W. Gritsch and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 322–323.
 - 62 Sanger, “Sensuality, Sacred Remains and Devotion,” 199.
 - 63 Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius based on studies in the language of the autograph*, trans. Louis J. Puhl (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 125.
 - 64 H. J. Schroeder, trans., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (Charlotte, N.C.: Tan Books, 1978), 218–219.
 - 65 Barbier de Montault, “Iconographie du chemin de la croix,” *Annales Archéologiques*, xxiii (1867): 232, cited in 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, 105 (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1985).
- 66 Josef Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert: unter den Auspizien und mit allerhöchster Förderung Seiner Majestät Kaiser Wilhelms II*, vol. 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1917), 1117–1125.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 1123.
- 68 Gregory Di Pippo, “Passion Sunday: The Veil of St. Veronica and the Stational Liturgy at St. Peter’s,” *New Liturgical Movement* (March 26, 2012), accessed June 20, 2018, www.newliturgicalmovement.org. The site includes a video of the exposition taken by Lucas Viar in 2008.

Chapter 3

- 1 Although the visual form and participatory concept of the Stations of the Cross have spread to Africa, the Americas, and Asia, where there are a host of creative examples made especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for purposes of this study, the focus will be on European series that date during the Early Modern period, considered in relationship to the *Via Crucis* (or *Via Dolorosa*) in Jerusalem.
- 2 F. E. Peters, “The Procession That Never Was: The Painful Way in Jerusalem,” *The Drama Review* 29 (1985): 31–41.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 34.
- 4 See Jean Zuallart, *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme* (Rome: F. Zanetti & Gia Ruffinelli, 1587), www.archive.org.
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 Peters, “The Procession That Never Was,” 35.
- 7 “The Friars ... with the blessing of the Superior go forth from St. Saviour’s Convent and with very great devotion, barefooted, make the Way of the Cross, which also the faithful of Jerusalem do frequently, especially on Fridays and during Lent; by saying only an Our Father and Hail Mary at each station, they make a great gain of indulgences for themselves and the souls in Purgatory. They exhort pilgrims coming here to do the same, so that, while they go along that Way, outwardly offering due reverence to the Holy Places of the Passion which they meet there, and in body and soul sympathising with the Redeemer suffering in soul and body, they are taught by the same. At the time of Fr. Basil of Caprarola, at one time Guardian of the Convent of Holy Mount Sion, the custom was still in vogue that the Friars with their Superior in procession, but without the cross at the head, on every Friday afternoon after Compline went along the dolorous Way to the House of Pilate and on returning went from the Gate of Judgment to the vestibule of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and there kneeling said the customary prayers with arms outstretched; but this devotion was abrogated on Jan. 22, 1621, on account of a petulance committed by a young Turk, which so effected the Pasha, the Cadi and the Ministers that the Guardian against justice had to pay 900 pieces of silver [...]” Elzear Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae, 1724–1744*, ed. and trans. Eugene Hoade and Bellarmino Bagatti (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1962), 160.
- 8 Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: from the beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 360.
- 9 Annabel J. Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), Chapters 1–2, especially 3 and 50.
- 10 Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, “Alternate Routes: Variation in Early Modern Stational Devotions,” *Viator* 40 (2009): 249–270, 250.

- 11 Examples include: Fabrizio Tola, "Parole e immagini nella devozione alla Passione di Cristo in Sardegna nel XVII e XVIII secolo: *Via Crucis* e processione dei Misteri," *Theologica & Historica* 25 (2016): 535–561; and Galit Noga-Banai, "Places of Remembrance: A Via Dolorosa in Berlin's Bavarian Quarter," in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, eds. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt, 173–196 (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2015).
- 12 Herbert Thurston, S. J., *The Stations of the Cross: An Account of Their History and Devotional Purpose* (London: Burns & Oates, 1914).
- 13 Albert Storme, *The Way of the Cross: An Historical Sketch (The Holy Places of Palestine)*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1984).
- 14 Amédée (Teetaert) Da Zedelgem, *Saggio Storico sulla Devozione alla Via Crucis: Evocazione e rappresentazione degli episodi e dei luoghi della Passione di Cristo*, trans. from French by Paolo Pellizzari (Bergamo: Atlas, 2004). Da Zedelgem's original version of this text, *Aperçu historique sur la dévotion au chemin de la croix*, was published posthumously in *Collectanea Franciscana* 19 (1949): 45–142.
- 15 Da Zedelgem, *Saggio Storico sulla Devozione alla Via Crucis*, 65.
- 16 Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 359.
- 17 Sarah Lenzi, *The Stations of the Cross: The Placelessness of Medieval Christian Piety* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2016), 3, 198.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 198.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 199.
- 20 Jim Nisbet, *An Illustrated Stations of the Cross: The Devotion and its History* (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1982).
- 21 Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 359–360.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 318.
- 23 Robert Ousterhout, "Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art. Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, 393–404 (Jerusalem: *Jewish Art* 23/24, 1997–1998).
- 24 Diane Cole Ahl, "Camposanto, *Terra Santa*: Picturing the Holy Land in Pisa," *Artibus Et Historiae* 24 (2003): 95–122.
- 25 See Daniel K. Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 598–622; Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World* (London: British Library, 1999): 118–125; and Melanie Holcomb, "Matthew Paris's Map of the Holy Land" (catalogue entry), in *Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People Under Heaven*, eds. Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).
- 26 Da Zedelgem, *Saggio Storico sulla Devozione alla Via Crucis*, 71.
- 27 Kirkland-Ives, "Alternate Routes," 252, with additional bibliography. See also Kathryn M. Rudy, "Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages," *Disciplina Monastica* 8 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2011): 28–29; and Kathryn M. Rudy, "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliothèque De L'Arsenal Ms. 212," *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 63 (2000): 494–515. The latter study examines a manuscript in Paris that not only functioned as a personal, devotional aid but also as a guide for earning indulgences through prayer accompanied by images. Rudy concluded that it probably belonged to a Franciscan friar who used it in the context of a convent rather than as an actual guidebook. The manuscript contains a half-page illumination of

- a standing Veronica, who holds an oversized *sudarium* held up by two angels, under which is the prayer *Salve sancta facies*, 509, Figure 14.
- 28 Ibid., 494–515, especially 494–496.
- 29 Ibid., 496.
- 30 George Cyprian Alston, “Way of the Cross,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), accessed May 21, 2019, www.newadvent.org.
- 31 See Agnes Smith Lewis, trans. and ed., *Apocrypha Syriaca: the Protoevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902, reprinted 2012).
- 32 Da Zedelgem, *Saggio Storico sulla Devozione alla Via Crucis*, 69. A Latin adaptation of this text describes Mary stopping to visit each place associated with the life of her son, starting from her house, continuing to Mount Zion, and including places outside of the Passion cycle, such as the sites of Jesus’s baptism and ascension.
- 33 Dorothea R. French, “Felix Fabri,” in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2012), accessed July 23, 2019, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163>.
- 34 Fratrīs Felicis Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terræ Sanctæ, Arabiæ et Egypti Peregrinationem*, vol. 1, 1494, ed. Konrad Dietrich Hassler (Stuttgart: Societatis Litterariæ Stuttgartiensis, 1843), www.gutenberg.org, cited in Peters, “The Procession That Never Was,” 37.
- 35 Ibid., 37.
- 36 Ibid., 33.
- 37 John Wilkinson, trans. and ed., *Egeria’s Travels*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1999), 1. Egeria’s full name, place of origin, and any title of her writings remain unknown, as only the middle section of her manuscript was found in the late nineteenth century.
- 38 Ibid., 154.
- 39 Ibid., 86.
- 40 Ibid., 154–155.
- 41 Da Zedelgem, *Saggio Storico sulla Devozione alla Via Crucis*, 70.
- 42 On the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, see W. Eugene Kleinbauer, “The Anastasis Rotunda and Christian Architectural Invention,” in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art. Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, 140 – 146 (Jerusalem: *Jewish Art* 23/24, 1997–1998).
- 43 Denys Pringle, “The Planning of Some Pilgrimage Churches in Crusader Palestine,” *World Archaeology* 18 (1987): 341–362, 343, www.jstor.org/stable/124590.
- 44 Da Zedelgem, *Saggio Storico sulla Devozione alla Via Crucis*, 72. See Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, *Life and Works of Saint Bernard*, ed. Dom. John Mabillon; trans. and ed. Samuel J. Eales, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (London: Burns & Oats, Ltd., 1889). As an example of Bernard’s description of the “supreme love” that could be inspired the Passion of Christ, see Letter CXC, vol. 2, 590–591.
- 45 Da Zedelgem, *Saggio Storico sulla Devozione alla Via Crucis*, 73. On Saint Bonaventure, see Bonaventure, *The Life of Saint Francis*, trans. Ewert Cousins, with introduction by Donna Tartt (New York: HarperCollins, 2005); and Jay M. Hammond, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, and Jared Goff, *A Companion to Bonaventure* (Boston: Brill, 2013); and Christopher M. Cullen, *Bonaventure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- 46 See Ernoul, *Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le Tresorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris: Société de l’histoire de France, 1871); and Paul Wilhelm von Keppeler, *Die XIV stationen des heiligen kreuzwegs eine geschichtliche und kunstgeschichtliche studie zugleich eine erklärung der kreuzweg-vilder der malerschule von veuron* (Freiburg: Herder, 1904).

- 47 Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 135–164.
- 48 Ibid., 321–360.
- 49 Jaroslav Folda, “Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre through the Eyes of Crusader Pilgrims,” in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art. Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, 158–164 (Jerusalem: *Jewish Art* 23/24, 1997–1998).
- 50 Xavier John Seubert, “Franciscans in Jerusalem: The Early History,” in *Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People Under Heaven*, eds. Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb, 240–241 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).
- 51 Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*, 57–62, 109.
- 52 For current information on this group’s activities, see Custodia Terræ Sanctæ: Franciscan Missionaries Serving the Holy Land, accessed January 15, 2018, <http://custodia.org>; David D’Arcy, “Custodians of the Holy Land: the Franciscans to Open New Museum in Jerusalem,” *The Art Newspaper* (Jan. 6, 2017), <https://theartnewspaper.com>; and Terra Sancta Museum, accessed April 11, 2018, <https://terrasanctamuseum.org>.
- 53 Fra Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on The Holy Land*, trans. Fr. Theophilus Bellorini, and Fr. Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1949), 3.
- 54 Kathryn Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 122–123.
- 55 Lenzi, *The Stations of the Cross*, 23; and Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land*, 123.
- 56 The friars maintained their protective role for Christian sanctuaries and pilgrims in Jerusalem through the Mamluk and Ottoman sultanates. Although there have been sporadic interruptions, the friars maintain a custodial role today.
- 57 Sarah McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: The Short Italian Text* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018), 173–175.
- 58 Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d’Oltremare, pubblicato da Alberto Bacchi della Lega* (Bologna: Presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1881), www.archive.org.
- 59 Kathryn Blair Moore, “The Disappearance of an Author and the Emergence of a Genre: Niccolò Da Poggibonsi and Pilgrimage Guidebooks between Manuscript and Print,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 66 (2013): 357–411.
- 60 Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land*, 134–135.
- 61 Blair Moore, “The Disappearance of an Author,” 357.
- 62 Ibid., 365.
- 63 Ibid., 358.
- 64 The only extant copy of the manuscript, which is considered the original, is in the Bodleian Library (MS Bodl. 565). Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, 17. Wey also travelled to Santiago de Campostela in 1456. In 1458, his journey featured sojourns in Rome, Venice, Jaffa, and Jerusalem. In 1462, he revisited Venice, Jaffa, and Jerusalem. Ibid., with a map of his itineraries, 20–21. See also Francis Davey, “William Wey: An English Pilgrim’s Journey to Jerusalem,” in *Pilgrimage: The Sacred Journey*, eds. Ruth Barnes and Crispin Branfoot (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2006): 80–95, with Wey’s map of the Holy Land, 88–89.

- 65 Wey describes the Warden of the Franciscan Brothers granting him permission to visit the Holy Land, 72. Periodically throughout his description of the pilgrimage of 1458 to Jerusalem, Wey mentions the Franciscan Brothers escorting his group of pilgrims, 74.
- 66 Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, 46–47.
- 67 Prima Arad, “Pilgrimage, Cartography, and Devotion: William Wey’s Map of the Holy Land,” *Viator* 43 (2012): 301–322.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 302.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 302, 304, with a complete inventory of objects in the chapel, 317.
- 70 Kirkland-Ives, “Alternate Routes,” 250.
- 71 Peters, “The Procession That Never Was,” 36.
- 72 John Rufus, “‘A Pilgrimage in Jerusalem,’ in *The Life of Peter the Iberian*, c. 500,” in *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, trans. and ed. John Wilkinson (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 2002): 101.
- 73 The first section, “The Beginning of the Jerusalem Circuit,” references places associated with the *Via Crucis*, such as the Tomb of the Lord, Golgotha, and the Praetorium of Pilate. However, the second section, “The Rest of the Jerusalem Circuit,” describes sites that fall within a wider geographic radius than stops associated with the Passion cycle. For example, Theodosius names the Pool of Siloam and the Church of Lady Mary. Theodosius the Cenobiarch, “*The Topography of the Holy Land*, c. 518,” in *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, trans. and ed. John Wilkinson (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 2002), 107–109.
- 74 Kirkland-Ives, “Alternate Routes,” 256.
- 75 Luke 23:7–31. Coogan, et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1874.
- 76 Da Zedelgem, *Saggio Storico sulla Devozione alla Via Crucis*, 85–88. There were also versions of Five Falls.
- 77 Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 7–8.
- 78 *Ibid.*
- 79 A copy of the original manuscript, MS 61823, is preserved in the British Library, London, www.bl.uk/manuscripts. Kempe, who claimed to be illiterate, dictated her account to a scribe. See Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe: A New Translation, Contexts, Criticism*, trans. and ed. Lynn Staley (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001). In the context of pilgrimage, see also Terence N. Bowers, “Margery Kempe as Traveler,” *Studies in Philology* 97 (2000): 1–28.
- 80 Kempe’s journey to the Holy Land included stops in Venice, Ramlah, Jaffe, Assisi, and Rome. She also traveled widely in England and made a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.
- 81 “And then the Gray Friars who had led her from place to place received her into them and set her with them at meals so that she should not eat alone.” Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe* 54.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 50.
- 83 *Ibid.*, 50–51.
- 84 Kempe describes the tomb as “the grave where our Lord was buried.” *Ibid.*, 52.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 *Ibid.*, 53.
- 87 *Ibid.*
- 88 Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, 75–76.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 75.

- 90 Ibid., 128–129.
- 91 Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae, 1724–1744*, 157.
- 92 Suriano, *Treatise on The Holy Land*, 3.
- 93 Ibid., 105. The caption in Figure 7 mentions this diagram and list as being “after the design of Zuallard, reproduced from Sandys Travels.”
- 94 Georg Braun, ed. with engravings by Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cities of the World), 6 vols (Cologne, 1572–1617). A complete set of zoomable images from all volumes can be viewed online at the Library of Congress, accessed May 31, 2019, www.loc.gov/resource.
- 95 The interior of the house, which currently is run by the Little Sisters of Jesus, features the Chapel of the Holy Face, located in a basement with vaulted ceiling.
- 96 Sir Richard Guylforde, *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to The Holy Land, A. D. 1506*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (London: Camden Society, 1851; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1968), 24–25.
- 97 Ibid., 28. The original manuscript is preserved in The British Museum, London.
- 98 This passage from Quaresmi’s treatise, *Historical, Theological, and Moral Study of the Holy Land* of 1626, is excerpted from the translation in F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985b), 502. The original text in Latin was published by P. Donatus Baldi, *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1955, reprinted 1982), 607, as follows: “Quare via dolorosa in duas partes dividi potest: in eam quae est intra sanctam civitatem, incipiendo a palatio Pilati, et continue proseguendo usque ad portam iudiciariam; et in eam quae est a porta iudiciaria usque ad montem Calvariae. Ita illam distinxi quoniam, cum porta iudiciaria muro clausa sit, non conceditur per illam exire, et ab ea Christum usque ad Calvarium comitari.”
- 99 Elzear Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae, 1724–1744*, ed. and trans. Eugene Hoade and Bellarmino Bagatti (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1962), 160. In this text, the passage is reproduced on p. 69, n. 7, cited in Peters, “The Procession That Never Was,” 503.
- 100 Nine Miedema, “Following in the Footsteps of Christ: Pilgrimage and Passion Devotion,” in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, eds. A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann, 73–92, 79–80 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998).
- 101 F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985b), 501–502.
- 102 Peters, “The Procession That Never Was,” 38.
- 103 Ibid., 39.
- 104 Suriano, *Treatise on The Holy Land*, Chapter 39, 102–103.
- 105 Ibid., 103.
- 106 Many archaeological fragments from the *Via Crucis* datable from the reigns of Herod to Hadrian, along with a three-dimensional topographical map of Jerusalem, are in the collection of (and on display at) the Terra Sancta Museum, housed in the Monastery of the Flagellation in Jerusalem, accessed April 11, 2018, <https://terrasanc tamuseum.org>. About the discovery of the location of Jesus’s Trial in 2014, see Ruth Eglash, “Archaeologists find possible site of Jesus’s trial in Jerusalem,” *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), January 4, 2015, accessed July 11, 2018, www.washingtonpost.com.

- 107 Baldi, *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum*, 593–616. A woodcut on page 614 from Elzeir Horn’s journal of 1725 perhaps best illustrates how Veronica’s House as the Sixth Station physically joined the two segments. See Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae*, 1724–1744.
- 108 Peters, “The Procession That Never Was,” 39.
- 109 Kirkland-Ives, “Alternate Routes,” 250.
- 110 See Adela Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984), Chapters 3 and 5.
- 111 Bonaventure, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 138–150. For an analysis of Francis’s reception of the *stigmata* and his role as an *alter Christus* as subjects for Franciscan artistic programs in Florence in the fourteenth century, see Nancy M. Thompson, “The Franciscans and the True Cross: The Decoration of the Cappella Maggiore of Santa Croce in Florence,” *Gesta* 43 (2004): 61–79.
- 112 Coogan, et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1822, n. 21.
- 113 Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, 114, 128.
- 114 Ibid., 121.
- 115 For example, Pope John Paul II (papacy 1978–2005)’s celebration on Good Friday in 1991 and Pope Benedict XVI (papacy 2005–2013)’s procession in 2008 in the Roman Colosseum omitted the apocryphal Veronica stop and added new “Scripture-based” stations, such as the Crowning of Thorns. These twentieth- and twenty-first-century modifications demonstrate a sustained fluidity of the Stations of the Cross.
- 116 Wolf, “‘Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?’”, 108.
- 117 For a second example, see the Master of the Madonna Strauss, *Man of Sorrows with Mary Magdalene*, c. 1400, reproduced in color in *Il Volto di Cristo*, eds. G. Morello and G. Wolf (Milan: Electa, 2000), 134–135.
- 118 Nino Zchomelidse, “Liminal Phenomena: Framing Medieval Cult Images with Relics and Words,” *Viator* 47 (2016): 260–261.
- 119 Hand, *Hans Memling’s Saint John the Baptist and Saint Veronica*.
- 120 Kirkland-Ives, “Alternate Routes,” 252.
- 121 The Rt. Rev. Michael Beckett, O. P., “Blessed Alvarez of Cordova,” *The Order of Preachers Independent* (February 19, 2015), accessed May 30, 2019, www.theorderofpreachersindependent.org.

Chapter 4

- 1 J. R. Hulbert, “Some Medieval Advertisements of Rome,” *Modern Philology* 20 (1923): 403–424, especially 404–405, <http://jstor.org/stable/433697>.
- 2 Nita Scudder Baugh, ed., *A Worcestershire Miscellany Compiled by John Northwood, c. 1400, edited from British Museum MS Add. 37.787* (Philadelphia, n. p.: 1956), 40–42. The “Stacyons of Rome” is Section VII.
- 3 Miedema, “Following in the Footsteps of Christ,” 84–85.
- 4 Ibid. See also on saints’ relics in Rome, Alan Thacker, “Rome of the Martyrs: Saints, Cults and Relics, Fourth to Seventh Centuries,” in *Roma Felix – Formation and Reflection of Medieval Rome*, edited by Éamonn Ó Carragain and Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 13–50.
- 5 Miedema, “Following in the Footsteps of Christ,” 84–85.
- 6 The original (since 1300 and before 2000) Seven Pilgrim Churches in Rome were the basilicas of Saint Peter (*San Pietro*), Saint Paul outside the Walls (*San Paolo fuori le Mura*), Saint John Lateran (*San Giovanni in Laterano*), Saint Mary Major (*Santa Maria*

- Maggiore), Saint Lawrence outside the Walls (*San Lorenzo fuori le Mura*), Holy Cross in Jerusalem (*Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*), and Saint Sebastian outside the Walls (*San Sebastiano fuori le Mura*).
- 7 Kirkland-Ives, "Alternate Routes," 259.
 - 8 Ibid., 264–265.
 - 9 Stephen Brockmann, *Nuremberg: The Imaginary Capital* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006), 25.
 - 10 Ibid., 14, 296.
 - 11 Rudolf Wittkower, "'Sacri Monti' in the Italian Alps," in *Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 175–183 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978); Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*, 97–101; Allie Terry-Fritsch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind: Somaesthetic Style and Devotional Practice at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," *Open Arts Journal* 4 (Winter 2014–2015): 111–132.
 - 12 Terry-Fritsch, "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind."
 - 13 Wittkower, "'Sacri Monti' in the Italian Alps."
 - 14 Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 362; and Tsafra Siew, "Translations of the Jerusalem Pilgrimage Route at the Holy Mountains of Varallo and San Vivaldo," in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, eds. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt, 113–132 (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2015).
 - 15 Wittkower, "'Sacri Monti' in the Italian Alps," 180.
 - 16 Ibid., 180–181.
 - 17 For a complete set of photos and description, see Il Sacro Monte di Orta, accessed April 21, 2019, www.orta.net/sacromonte/index.html.
 - 18 Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 322–323.
 - 19 Ibid., 323.
 - 20 Zchomelidse, "Liminal Phenomena," 260; Wolf, "From Mandylyon to Veronica," 168; and Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 322–323.
 - 21 Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 322–323.
 - 22 Ibid., 333–337.
 - 23 Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land*, 114.
 - 24 The gouged eyes are the result of later vandalism.
 - 25 Louis Réau, *Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien*, vol. 3 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959; Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, 1983), 1316.
 - 26 Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 336.
 - 27 See Rev. John Evans, M. A., *The Statutes of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, recognized and established by subsequent councils and synods down to the Council of Trent* (London: L. and G. Seeley, 1843).
 - 28 Holly Flora and Arianna Pecorini Cignoni, "Requirements of Devout Contemplation: Text and Image for the Poor Clares in Trecento Pisa," *Gesta* 45 (2006): 61–76, 72.
 - 29 Nirit Debby Ben-Aryeh, *The Cult of St Clare of Assisi in Early Modern Italy* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 106–107.
 - 30 Weddigen, "Weaving the face of Christ," 96.
 - 31 The precise attribution of the works is a matter of scholarly debate. See the Städel Museum, Frankfurt, Digital Collection, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/the-flemalle-panels-st-veronica-with-the-veil>.
 - 32 Barbara Baert, "Weaving," in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert, 39–40 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2007).

- 33 Bart D. Ehrman, *Lost Scriptures: Books that Did Not Make It into the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 67.
- 34 Matthew 27:51. Coogan, et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1788.
- 35 See Katherine T. Brown, *Mary of Mercy in Medieval and Renaissance Italian Art: Devotional Image and Civic Emblem* (New York: Routledge, 2017).
- 36 Hand, *Hans Memling's Saint John the Baptist and Saint Veronica*, n. p.
- 37 Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land*, 95.
- 38 The placement of the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet on either side of Christ's face may also have suggested that Matthew Paris, who would have had no knowledge of what the relic looked like, may have modelled his image of the veronica on apocalyptic imagery of Christ. Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 129.
- 39 Miedema, "Following in the Footsteps of Christ," 73.
- 40 Ibid., 74.

Chapter 5

- 1 Sherry C. M. Lindquist, "The Iconography of Gender," in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. Colum Hourihane, 412–424 (New York: Routledge, 2017). The earlier foundational reference on the topic is Margaret Schaus, ed., *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
- 2 Martha Easton, "Feminist Art History and Medieval Iconography," in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. Colum Hourihane, 425–436 (New York: Routledge, 2017). For an introduction to a feminist approach to looking at works of art made by women during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, see Whitney Chadwick, "Women Artists and the Politics of Representation," in *Feminist Art Criticism: An Anthology*, eds. Arlene Raven, Cassandra L. Langer, and Joanna Frueh, 167–185 (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1988).
- 3 Wolf, "From Mandylyon to Veronica," 174.
- 4 Coogan, et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1759.
- 5 Ibid., 165.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 For additional feminist interpretations of both the Leviticus passage and the Gospel story of the woman with the hemorrhage, see Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1983), 124.
- 8 On the iconography of Mary Magdalene, see the collection of essays in *Mary Magdalene, Iconographic Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, eds. Michelle A. Erhardt and Amy M. Morris (Boston: Brill, 2012).
- 9 Coogan, et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1789.
- 10 See Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*.
- 11 Rudy, "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage," 495–496.
- 12 Peters, "The Procession That Never Was," 35–36.
- 13 John W. Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).
- 14 Ibid., 213.
- 15 Ibid., 226–227.
- 16 On Clare, see Jerydene Wood, *Women, Art, and Spirituality: The Poor Clares of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Joan Mueller, *The Privilege*

- of Poverty: *Clare of Assisi, Agnes of Prague, and the Struggle for a Franciscan Rule for Women* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); Lezlie S. Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi: Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Joan Mueller, *A Companion to Clare of Assisi: Life, Writings, and Spirituality* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Debby Ben-Aryeh, *The Cult of St Clare of Assisi in Early Modern Italy*; and most recently, Catherine M. Mooney, *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church: Religious Women, Rules, and Resistance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).
- 17 Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, 167–168.
 - 18 Clarissa W. Atkinson, “Female Sanctity in the Late Middle Ages,” in *The Book of Margery Kempe: A New Translation, Contexts, and Criticism*, trans. and ed. Lynn Staley, 225–236 (New York: Norton & Company, 2001).
 - 19 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 210.
 - 20 Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, 160.
 - 21 Alston, “Way of the Cross.”
 - 22 Also called the Tertiary Order or Secular Order, the Third Order of Saint Francis was comprised of men and women who, due to marriage or other secular responsibilities, could not enter monastic life.
 - 23 Although Fra Giunta Bevegnati and Saint Margaret were contemporaries, his biography of Margaret, written c. 1305–1308, post-dates her death.
 - 24 For literary and hagiographical analyses of Fra Giunta Bevegnati’s *Legenda Margaritae*, see Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power*, 130–148. See also Thomas Renna, introduction to *The Life and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Cortona (1247–1297)* by Fra Giunta Bevegnati (Saint Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2012), 9–42.
 - 25 Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, 293; and Renna, introduction to *The Life and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Cortona*, 24.
 - 26 Fra Giunta Bevegnati, *The Life and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Cortona (1247–1297)*, transl. Thomas Renna, ed. Shannon Larson (Saint Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2012), 114; and Fra Giunta Bevegnati, *Leggenda della vita e dei miracoli di Santa Margherita da Cortona*, trans. and ed. Eliodoro Mariani (Vicenza: L.I.E.F., 1978), 84.
 - 27 Fra Giunta Bevegnati, *The Life and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Cortona (1247–1297)*, 26–27.
 - 28 For further discussion on the date of the manuscript, see Flora and Cignoni, “Requirements of Devout Contemplation,” 61–76. See also Holly Flora, *The Devout Belief of the Imagination: The Paris Meditationes Vitae Christi and Female Franciscan Spirituality in Trecento Italy* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 30.
 - 29 The basic bibliography on the *Meditationes vitae Christi* includes: Isa Ragusa, trans., and Rosalie B. Green, ed., *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977); John of Caulibus, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, trans. and ed. F. Taney, A. Miller, and C. M. Stallings-Taney (Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 2000); Flora, *The Devout Belief*; Sarah McNamer, “The Origins of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*,” *Speculum* 84 (2009): 905–955, www.jstor.org/stable/40593681; and most recently, McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: The Short Italian Text*, 2018.
 - 30 See Holly Flora, “Gender, Image, and Devotion in Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*,” in *Beyond the Text: Franciscan Art and the Construction of*

- Religion*, eds. Xavier Seubert and Oleg Bychov, 160–176 (Saint Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2013).
- 31 Flora and Pecorini Cignoni, “Requirements of Devout Contemplation,” 61. Specific characteristics about the text indicate female patronage, such as female-gendered commands.
 - 32 McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, 2018. This recent scholarship provides a critical edition of the text and an English translation with commentary.
 - 33 Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 322.
 - 34 *Ibid.*, 350–370. Hamburger examines writings that mention the veronica by two additional Early Modern female writers: Gertrude of Helfta (1256–1301/2) and Mechthild of Hackeborn (1241/42–1299).
 - 35 *Ibid.*
 - 36 *Ibid.*
 - 37 *Ibid.*
 - 38 For more on the provenance and materiality of *veronicae* as pilgrims’ badges, see Hanneke Van Asperen, “‘Où il y a une Veronique attachée dedens’. Images of the Veronica in Religious Manuscripts, with Special Attention for the Dukes of Burgundy and their Family,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 232–249 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
 - 39 See Hanneke van Asperen, “Praying, Threading, and Adorning: Sewn-in Prints in a Rosary Prayer Book (London, British Library, Add. MS 14042),” in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert, 81–120, 82 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2007).
 - 40 See Megan H. Foster-Campbell, “Pilgrimage through the Pages: Pilgrims’ Badges in Late Medieval Devotion,” in *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interactions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, edited by Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2011) https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004215139_008.
 - 41 Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 333, 345. Kathryn M. Rudy has even proposed a possibility that the top paint layers on some veronicas were scraped and ingested for medicinal purposes, tying the purpose of the copies to the curative qualities of the original. See Rudy, “Eating the Face of Christ. Philip the Good and his Physical Relationship with Veronicas,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 168–179 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
 - 42 Both illuminated manuscripts are in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris: MS fr. 12420, fol. 92v and MS fr. 598, fol. 92. See Stephen Perkinson, “Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture,” *Gesta* 46 (2008): 135–157, especially 142–145 and Figures 6–7.
 - 43 Da Zedelgem, *Saggio Storico sulla Devozione alla Via Crucis*, 69. See Titus Tobler, *Itinera hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum* (Geneva: J. G. Fick, 1877), 27–40.
 - 44 Miedema, “Following in the Footsteps of Christ,” 85.
 - 45 *Ibid.*, 86.
 - 46 *Ibid.*, 91.
 - 47 Anne L. Clark, “Venerating the Veronica: Varieties of Passion Piety in the later Middle Ages,” *Material Religion* 3 (2007): 164–189, doi: 10.2752/175183407X219732.
 - 48 Bibliography on the role of the senses in artists’ depictions of the *Noli Me Tangere* includes: Erin E. Benay and Lisa M. Rafanelli, *Faith, Gender and the Senses in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art: Interpreting the Noli me tangere and Doubting Thomas* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015); Lisa M. Rafanelli,

- “Thematizing Vision in the Renaissance: The *Noli Me Tangere* as a Metaphor for Art Making,” in *Sense and the Senses in Early Modern Art and Cultural Practice*, eds. Alice E. Sanger and Siv Tove Kulbrandstad Walker, 149–168 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012); and Barbara Baert, “The Gaze in the Garden: Mary Magdalene in *Noli Me Tangere*,” in *Mary Magdalene, Iconographic Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, eds. Michelle A. Erhardt and Amy M. Morris, 189–221 (Boston: Brill, 2012).
- 49 John 20:18. Coogan, et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1915. The *Noli Me Tangere* does not appear in the synoptic Gospels.
- 50 On the *paragone*, see Geraldine A. Johnson, “The Art of Touch in Early Modern Italy,” in *Art and the Senses*, eds. Francesca Bacci and David Melcher, 59–84 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- 51 Georgia Frank, “The Pilgrim’s gaze in the age before icons,” in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson, 98–115 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- 52 Rafanelli, “Thematizing Vision in the Renaissance,” 149.

Chapter 6

- 1 On types of self-portraiture in the Renaissance, see Katherine T. Brown, *The Painter’s Reflection: Self-portraiture in Renaissance Venice, 1458–1625* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Press, 2000). On paintings within paintings, see Ian Verstegen, “Between Presence and Perspective: The Portrait-in-a-Picture in Early Modern Painting,” in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 71 (2008): 513–526.
- 2 On images of saints and their purposes, see Teodoro De Giorgio, “Le Icone archetipiche dei santi nell’alto Medioevo: origine, funzione e percezione di una specifica tipologia di ritratto ‘dal vero’ e ‘a somiglianza’ dell’effigiato,” in *Intorno al ritratto: origini, sviluppi e trasformazioni*, eds. Fabrizio Crivello and Laura Zamparo in collaboration with Federica Boràgina, 93–98 (Torino: Accademia University Press, 2019).
- 3 For a condensed history of Veronica and the veronica in English art and the writings of English pilgrims to Rome, see Barry Windeatt, “‘Vera Icon’? The Variable Veronica of Medieval England,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 58–71 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
- 4 Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, 127.
- 5 Ibid., 126.
- 6 Ibid., 128. See also Connolly, “Imagined Pilgrimage,” 598–622.
- 7 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, 604–607. Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, 129.
- 8 Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, 126–127, 130.
- 9 For more on the legacy of Matthew Paris’s rendition of the Holy Face, see Edgar Breitenbach, “The Tree of Bigamy and the Veronica Image of St. Peter’s,” *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 9 (1978): 30–38, Figures 1, 3, and 6.
- 10 Otto Pächt, “The ‘Avignon Diptych’ and Its Eastern Ancestry,” in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, vol. I, edited by Millard Meiss, 402–421 (New York: New York University Press, 1961).
- 11 Ibid., 406.
- 12 Ibid., 407–409.
- 13 Ibid., 409.

- 14 Nigel Morgan, "'Veronica' Images and the Office of the Holy Face in Thirteenth-Century England," in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 84–99 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
- 15 Ann Van Dijk, "The Veronica, the *Vultus Christi* and the veneration of icons in medieval Rome," 250.
- 16 For an in-depth presentation of the use of relief and impressions to disseminate images of the veronica, see Aden Kumler, "*Signatis ... vultus tui*: (Re) impressing the Holy Face before and after the European Cult of the Veronica," in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 102–113 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
- 17 Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Legends*, viii.
- 18 Hand, *Hans Memling's Saint John the Baptist and Saint Veronica*. About Veronica on pilgrims' badges, see also André Chastel, "La Véronique," *Revue de l'art*, 40–41 (1978).
- 19 The gold ducat features the papal arms on the obverse and Veronica with cloth on the reverse. A photograph of both sides is published in Arthur L. Friedberg and Ira S. Friedberg, *Gold Coins of the World from Ancient Times to the Present*, 9th ed. (Williston, VT: Coin and Currency Institute, 2017), 773, Figure 20. I wish to thank Robert D. Leonard, Jr. for sharing with me his knowledge of numismatics and of this ducat in particular.
- 20 The *Mirabilia urbis Romae* was written c. 1143 by Master Benedict, a canon at Saint Peter's basilica. For the Latin with English translation, see Master Benedict, *The Marvels of Rome: Mirabilia urbis Romae*, 2nd ed., trans. and ed. Francis Morgan Nichols with introduction by Eileen Gardiner (New York: Italica Press, Inc., 1986). See also Dale Kinney, "Fact and Fiction in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*," in *Roma Felix—Formation and Reflection of Medieval Rome*, eds. Éamonn Ó Carragain and Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar, 235–252 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007). For a later version, *The Ostension of the Sudarium*, a woodcut from the 1511 edition, see Scott, "Seeing the Shroud," 628, Figure 23.
- 21 Pearson, *Die Fronica*, 74.
- 22 Herbert L. Kessler, "Introduction: The Literary Warp and Artistic Weft of Veronica's Cloth," in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 12–30, 22 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
- 23 For a comprehensive online database of images of Veronica searchable by iconographic feature, location with map, and century, see Il Volto Ritrovato (association), *Veronica Route*, accessed July 18, 2018, www.veronicaroute.com.
- 24 Pearson, *Die Fronica*.
- 25 Raffaella Zardoni, Emanuela Bossi, and Amanda Murphy, "The Iconography of the Roman Veronica. From the Repertoires of Karl Pearson to Veronica Route," in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 286–301 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
- 26 Katherine T. Brown, *Mary of Mercy in Medieval and Renaissance Italian Art*, 21–47 (Chapter 1 on pose and gesture).
- 27 Kamal Boullata, "To Measure Jerusalem: Explorations of the Square," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28 (1999): 83–91, 87.
- 28 Flora Lewis, "The Veronica: Image, Legend and Viewer," 100.
- 29 Ibid., 101.

- 30 Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 36–38. Sand expounds upon this narrative at length.
- 31 Flora Lewis, “The Veronica: Image, Legend and Viewer,” 104.
- 32 Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, trans. Barry Windeatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 53–54.
- 33 Zardoni, Bossi, and Murphy, “The Iconography of the Roman Veronica,” 288–289.
- 34 Ibid., 299.
- 35 N. H. J. Zwijnenburg, *Die Veronicagestalt in den deutschen Passionsspielen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988).
- 36 Réau, *Iconographie*, vol. 1, 258–259. Réau clarifies that the word *mysteries* used in reference to religious drama does not derive from the Latin *mysterium*, meaning mystery, but rather from a confusion with the word *ministerium*, meaning ministry or ceremony.
- 37 Ibid., 259.
- 38 Ibid., 261.
- 39 Ibid., 261, 264.
- 40 Ibid., 264.
- 41 Émile Mâle, *L’Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1925), <http://archive.org>. See Chapter 2: “L’Art et le Theatre Religieux,” especially 64. Other scenes in the life of Christ depicted in works of art that were inspired or influenced by liturgical theater, according to Mâle, include the Nativity, Adoration of the Shepherds, Passion, Last Supper, Resurrection, among others, 509.
- 42 Réau, vol. 3, 1314. Réau offers this opinion in his rebuttal to Mâle.
- 43 Laura Weigert, *French Visual Culture and the Making of Medieval Theater* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 161–164.
- 44 Ibid., 161.
- 45 Ibid., 163.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid., 131–132.
- 48 Ford, ed., *La Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur*.
- 49 Weigert, *French Visual Culture and the Making of Medieval Theater*, 133–135, and Figures 91–92.
- 50 Bonaventure, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 110–111. See also Hammond, Hellmann, and Goff, *A Companion to Bonaventure*; and Cullen, *Bonaventure*.
- 51 This fresco, one of the earliest representations of Veronica holding the cloth, is a key example from the region of Lombardy, which is particularly rich in Veronica iconography. See Stefano Candiani, “The Iconography of the Veronica in the Region of Lombardy: Thirteenth–fourteenth Centuries,” in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, eds. A. Murphy, H. L. Kessler, M. Petoletti, E. Duffy, and G. Milanese, 260–273 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).
- 52 Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, *L’Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285–1328* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1998), 104–107, Cat. 53.
- 53 Nicole Blackwood, “Printmaker as Painter: Looking Closely at Ugo da Carpi’s *Saint Veronica Altarpiece*,” *Oxford Art Journal* 36 (2013): 167–184.
- 54 Vasari’s description of the painting and its inscription is as follows: “Now since, as I have said, he [Ugo da Carpi] was a painter, I must not omit to tell that he painted in oils, without using a brush, but with his fingers, and partly, also, with other bizarre instruments of his own, an altar-piece which is on the altar of the Volto Santo in Rome. Upon this altar-piece, being one morning with Michelangelo at that altar to hear Mass, I saw an inscription

- saying that Ugo da Carpi had painted it without a brush; and I laughed and showed the inscription to Michelangelo, who answered, also with a laugh, that it would have been better if he had used a brush, for then he might have done it in a better manner.” Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, vol. 2, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 89.
- 55 Cleveland Museum of Art, wall text, visited May 5, 2019.
 - 56 Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2, trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971–1972), 184–230.
 - 57 Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, 121.
 - 58 Ibid.
 - 59 Richard G. Newhauser and Arthur J. Russell, “Mapping Virtual Pilgrimage in an Early Fifteenth-Century *Arma Christi* Roll,” in *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: with a critical edition of “O Vernicle,”* eds. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown, 83–112 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 86.
 - 60 Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2, 190–191; Lisa H. Cooper, and Andrea Denny-Brown, introduction to *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: with a critical edition of “O Vernicle,”* eds. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 6; and Newhauser and Russell, “Mapping Virtual Pilgrimage,” 84.
 - 61 On the addition and significance of the ladder and rope to the *Arma Christi*, see Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, Chapter 5 on “The Way to Calvary,” especially 123.
 - 62 INRI is an acronym for the Latin phrase: *Iesus Nazarenus, Rex Iudaeorum* (Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews). According to John 19:20–21, Pilate had put this inscription, written in Hebrew, Latin and Greek, on Jesus’s cross during his execution.
 - 63 Rudolf Berliner, “Arma Christi,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 6 (1955): 35–116.
 - 64 Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2, 184–230.
 - 65 Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown, eds., *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: with a critical edition of “O Vernicle”* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), with additional bibliography.
 - 66 Ibid., 4. Newhauser and Russell, “Mapping Virtual Pilgrimage,” 87; and Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 1, 184.
 - 67 Cooper and Denny-Brown, introduction to *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, 2.
 - 68 See Ann Eljenholm Nichols, “O Vernicle: A Critical Edition,” in *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: with a critical edition of “O Vernicle,”* eds. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014): 354–355.
 - 69 Cooper and Denny Brown, introduction to *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, 13; and Newhauser and Russell, “Mapping Virtual Pilgrimage,” 83–112, especially 99–101.
 - 70 Newhauser and Russell, “Mapping Virtual Pilgrimage,” 88–90. The authors parallel the sequence of the text of the roll with the Stations of the Cross, the liturgical Hours of the Cross, and a Middle English poem, “The Stations of Jerusalem,” 107.
 - 71 Caroline Walker Bynum, “Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the fifteenth Century,” in *The Mind’s Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, 208–240 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

- 72 Ibid., 208.
- 73 Ibid., 208–209.
- 74 Ibid., 231.
- 75 Ibid., Fig 1.
- 76 Ibid., Fig. 6.
- 77 Ibid., Fig. 7.
- 78 Ibid., Fig. 11.
- 79 Kessler, “Introduction: The Literary Warp and Artistic Weft of Veronica’s Cloth,” 16. The author discusses and reproduces the earliest known works that show Veronica in the context of the Passion, including Jacquemart de Hesdin’s *Christ of the Way to Calvary*, c. 1400–1410 in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, 13, Fig. 1.
- 80 Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, Chapter 5 on “The Way to Calvary.”
- 81 Ibid., 113.
- 82 Ibid., 117, 126.
- 83 Ibid., 118, 128–129.
- 84 Ibid., 129.
- 85 See Catherine Innes-Parker, “Bonaventure’s *Lignum vitae*: The Evolution of a Text,” in *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition*, eds. Ian Johnson and Allan F. Westphall, 425–456 (Turnout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013).
- 86 Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, 129.
- 87 Ibid., 129, 136–137.
- 88 Coogan, et al., eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1771.
- 89 Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, 122, 130.
- 90 Hand, “*Salve sancta facies*,” 14, 16.
- 91 Livia Stoenescu, “Ancient Prototypes Reinstantiated: Zuccari’s *Encounter of Christ and Veronica* of 1594,” *The Art Bulletin* 93 (2011): 423–448.
- 92 National Gallery of Art, Washington, accessed July 3, 2019, www.nga.gov.
- 93 On this Baroque painting, see Louis Marin and Marie Maclean, “The Figurability of the Visual: The Veronica or the Question of the Portrait at Port-Royal,” *New Literary History* 22 (1991): 261–296.
- 94 The work by Petrus Christus is a tempera and oil on parchment, mounted on wood, measuring 14.9 x 10.8 cm. See Hand, “*Salve sancta facies*,” 7–18, Figure 1.
- 95 The painting is in The National Gallery, London. Ibid., Figures 4–5.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Association des Amis de la Basilique Nôtre Dame de la Fin des Terres de Soulac-sur-Mer. *Nôtre Dame de la Fin des Terres*. Soulac, n.p., 1993.
- Baugh, Nita Scudder, ed. *A Worcestershire Miscellany Compiled by John Northwood, c. 1400, edited from British Museum MS Add. 37.787*. Philadelphia, PA, n.p., 1956.
- Bede. *The Complete Works of Venerable Bede, in the original Latin, collated with the Manuscripts and various printed editions, and accompanied by a new English translation of the Historical Works, and a Life of the Author*. 8 vols. Edited by Rev. J. A. Giles. London: Whitaker and Co., 1843.
- Benedict (Master). *The Marvels of Rome: Mirabilia urbis Romae*. English and Latin edition. 2nd ed. Translated and edited by Francis Morgan Nichols. Introduction by Eileen Gardiner. New York: Italica Press, Inc., 1986.
- Benedict XVI. "Pilgrimage to the Shrine of the Holy Face of Manoppello." September 1, 2006. Accessed March 25, 2018. http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060901_manoppello.html.
- Benedictus Canonicus. *Liber Censuum Romanae Ecclesiae*. Vol. II. Edited by P. Fabre and L. Duchesne. Paris: Fontemoing, 1910.
- Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. *Life and Works of Saint Bernard*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Edited by Dom. John Mabillon. Translated and edited by Samuel J. Eales. London: Burns & Oats, Ltd., 1889.
- Bevegnati, Fra Giunta. *Leggenda della vita e dei miracoli di Santa Margherita da Cortona*. Translated and edited by Eliodoro Mariani. Vicenza: L.I.E.F., 1978.
- . *The Life and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Cortona (1247–1297)*. Translated by Thomas Renna. Edited by Shannon Larson. Saint Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2012.
- Bonaventure. *The Life of Saint Francis*. Translated by Ewert Cousins, with an introduction by Donna Tartt. New York: HarperCollins, 2005.
- Braun, Frans, ed., and Georg Hogenberg, engravings. *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. 6 vols. Cologne, 1572–1617. Library of Congress. Accessed May 31, 2019. www.loc.gov/resource.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Canterbury Tales*. Translated by David Wright. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. eBook Collection (EBSCOhost).
- Coogan, Michael D., Marc Z. Brettler, and Carol Newsom, ed., with contributions by PHEME Perkins. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Edition*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Dante Alighieri. *The Divine Comedy*. Translated by C. H. Sisson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- and Mark Musa. *Dante's Vita Nuova, New Edition: A Translation and an Essay*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1973.

- De Boron, Robert. *Joseph d'Arimathie*. Edited by Richard O'Gorman. *Studies and Texts* 120. Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1995.
- De Rossi, Joh. Bapt., and Ludov. Duchesne, eds. *Martyrologium Hieronymianum: Ad Fidem Codicum, Adiectis Prolegomenis*. Brussels: Typis Polleunis et Ceuterick, 1894.
- Ehrman, Bart D. *Lost Scriptures: Books that Did Not Make It into the New Testament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- and Zlatko Pleše. *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Ernoul. *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Tresorier*. Edited by L. de Mas Latrie. Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1871.
- Eusebius Pamphili. *Ecclesiastical History, Books 1–5*. Vol. 19. Translated by Roy J. Deferrari. In *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005.
- Ford, Alvin E., ed. *La Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur: The Old and Middle French Prose Versions: The Cura Sanitatis Tiberii (The Mission of Volusian), the Nathanis Judaei Legatio (Vindicta Salvatoris), and the Versions found in the Bible en français 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, 1984.
- Fratris Felicis Fabri (Fra Felix Fabri). *Evagatorium in Terræ Sanctæ, Arabiæ et Egypti Peregrinationem*. Vol. 1, 1494. Edited by Konrad Dietrich Hassler. Stuttgart: Societatis Litterariæ Stuttgardiensis, 1843. www.gutenberg.org.
- Gervase of Tilbury. *Otia Imperialia*. Edited and translated by S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Giraldus Cambrensis. *Opera: Speculum Ecclesiae*. Edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1873. Reprinted by Kraus Reprint, Ltd., 1964.
- Goodwin, Charles Wycliff, trans. and ed. for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. *The Anglo-Saxon Legends of St. Andrew and St. Veronica*. Cambridge: Deighton, MacMillan and Co., 1851.
- Guyllforde, Sir Richard. *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guyllforde to The Holy Land, A.D. 1506*. Edited by Sir Henry Ellis. London: Camden Society, 1851. Reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1968.
- Horn, Elzear. *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae, 1724–1744*. Edited and translated by Eugene Hoade and Bellarmino Bagatti. Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1962.
- Ignatius of Loyola. *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius based on Studies in the Language of the Autograph*. Translated by Louis J. Puhl. New York: Vintage Books, 2000.
- Izydorczyk, Zbigniew. *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*. Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997.
- Jacobus de Voragine. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. Introduction by Eamon Duffy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Vol. 1. Translated by William Granger Ryan. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- James, M. R., trans. *The Gospel of Nicodemus, or Acts of Pilate*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.
- John of Caulibus. *Meditations on the Life of Christ*. Translated and edited by Francis X. Taney, Anne Miller, and C. Mary Stallings-Taney. Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 2000.
- Julian of Norwich. *Revelations of Divine Love*. Translated by Barry Windeatt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Kempe, Margery. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, c. 1440. MS 61823, British Library, London. www.bl.uk/manuscripts.
- *The Book of Margery Kempe: A New Translation, Contexts, Criticism*. Translated and edited by Lynn Staley. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001.
- Levänen, Tuomas, trans. *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*. www.academia.edu/15436621/Cura_Sanitatis_Tiberii_English_Translation.

- Lewis, Agnes Smith, trans. and ed. *Apocrypha Syriaca: The Protoevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902, reprinted 2012.
- Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works: Church and Ministry III*. Vol. 41. Edited by Eric W. Gritsch and Helmut T. Lehmann. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1966.
- Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani (Matthew Paris). *Chronica Majora*. Vol. 3. Edited by Henry Richards Luard, M.A. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1872. Reprinted Weisbaden: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964. <http://archive.org>.
- McNamer, Sarah. *Meditations on the Life of Christ: The Short Italian Text*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018.
- Mueller, Joan. *A Companion to Clare of Assisi: Life, Writings, and Spirituality*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Niccolò da Poggibonsi. *Libro d'Oltramare, pubblicato da Alberto Bacchi della Lega*. Bologna: Presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1881. www.archive.org.
- Petrarch, Francesco, and Mark Musa. *The Canzoniere, or Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Ragusa, Isa, trans., and Rosalie B. Green, ed. *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Rosweyde, Heribert, and Jean Bolland. *Acta Sanctorum*. Antwerp and Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–1940. Accessed April 24, 2018. [ProQuest. http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk](http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk).
- Rufus, John. "'A Pilgrimage in Jerusalem,' in *The Life of Peter the Iberian*, c. 500." In *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, translated and edited by John Wilkinson, 99–102. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 2002.
- Schroeder, H. J., trans. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*. Charlotte, NC: Tan Books, 1978.
- Suriano, Fra Francesco. *Treatise on The Holy Land*. Translated by Fr. Theophilus Bellorini and Fr. Eugene Hoade. Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1949.
- Theodosius the Cenobiarch. "The Topography of the Holy Land, c. 518." In *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, translated and edited by John Wilkinson, 103–116. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 2002.
- Vasari, Giorgio. *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*. 2 vols. Translated by Gaston du C. de Vere. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.
- Wey, William. *The Itineraries of William Wey*. Edited and translated by Francis Davey. Oxford: The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2010.
- Wilkinson, John, trans. and ed. *Egeria's Travels*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1999.
- Zuallart, Jean. *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme*. Rome: F. Zanetti & Gia Ruffinelli, 1587. www.archive.org.

Secondary Sources

- Ahl, Diane Cole. "Camposanto, Terra Santa: Picturing the Holy Land in Pisa." *Artibus Et Historiae* 24 (2003): 95–122.
- Alston, George Cyprian. "Way of the Cross." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 15. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912. Accessed May 21, 2019. www.newadvent.org.
- Arad, Prima. "Pilgrimage, Cartography, and Devotion: William Wey's Map of the Holy Land." *Viator* 43 (2012): 301–322.
- Atkinson, Clarissa W. "Female Sanctity in the Late Middle Ages." In *The Book of Margery Kempe: A New Translation, Contexts, and Criticism*, translated and edited by Lynn Staley, 225–236. New York: Norton & Company, 2001.
- Aurélien, des Célestins de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît. *Sainte Véronique, apôtre de l'Aquitaine: son tombeau et son culte à Souillac, ou, Notre-Dame de Fin-des-Terres, Archidiocèse de Bordeaux*. Toulouse: L. Hébraile, 1877.

- Bacci, Michele. "The *Volto Santo*'s Legendary and Physical Image." In *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, edited by Juliet Mullins, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, and Richard Hawtree, 214–233. Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2013.
- . "Alla Ricerca del Volto di Cristo." In *Gesù: Il Corpo, Il Volto dell'Arte*, edited by Timothy Verdon, 90–95. Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010.
- Baert, Barbara. "The Gaze in the Garden: Mary Magdalene in *Noli Me Tangere*." In *Mary Magdalene, Iconographic Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, edited by Michelle A. Erhardt and Amy M. Morris, 189–221. Boston: Brill, 2012.
- (with the collaboration of Emma Sidgwick). "Touching the Hem: The Thread between Garment and Blood in the Story of the Woman with the Haemorrhage (Mark 5: 24b–34parr)." *Textile* 9 (2011): 308–352.
- . "Weaving." In *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and Their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert, 39–40. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2007.
- Baldi, P. Donatus. *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum*. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1955, reprinted 1982.
- Ballardini, Antonella, and Paola Pogliani. "A reconstruction of the oratory of John VII (705–707)." In *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, edited by Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story, 190–213. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Barbier de Montault, Xavier. "Iconographie du chemin de la croix." *Annales Archéologiques*, xxiii (1867).
- Barnay, Sylvie. "Il Volto non fatto da mano d'uomo." In *Gesù: Il Corpo, Il Volto dell'Arte*, edited by Timothy Verdon, 96–103. Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010.
- Beckett, The Rt. Rev. Michael, O. P. "Blessed Alvarez of Cordova." *The Order of Preachers Independent* (February 19, 2015). Accessed May 30, 2019. www.theorderofpreachersindependent.org.
- Behind the Name. "Berenice." Accessed June 21, 2019. www.behindthename.com.
- Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image in the Age before Art*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Benay, Erin E., and Lisa M. Rafanelli. *Faith, Gender and the Senses in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art: Interpreting the Noli me tangere and Doubting Thomas*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015.
- Berliner, Rudolf. "Arma Christi." *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 6 (1955): 35–116.
- Blackwood, Nicole. "Printmaker as Painter: Looking Closely at Ugo da Carpi's *Saint Veronica Altarpiece*." *Oxford Art Journal* 36 (2013): 167–184.
- Blair Moore, Kathryn. *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- . "The Disappearance of an Author and the Emergence of a Genre: Niccolò Da Poggibonsi and Pilgrimage Guidebooks between Manuscript and Print." *Renaissance Quarterly* 66 (2013): 357–411.
- Bölling, Jörg. "Face to Face with Christ in Late Medieval Rome. The Veil of Veronica in Papal Liturgy and Ceremony." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 136–143. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Borrini, Matteo, and Luigi Garlaschelli. "A BPA Approach to the Shroud of Turin." *Journal of Forensic Sciences* (July 2018). doi:10.1111/1556-4029.13867.
- Boullata, Kamal. "To Measure Jerusalem: Explorations of the Square." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28 (1999): 83–91.
- Bourrières, Michel. *Saint Amadour and Sainte Véronique*. Paris: Tolra, 1895.
- Bowers, Terence N. "Margery Kempe as Traveler." *Studies in Philology* 97 (2000): 1–28.

- Breitenbach, Edgar. "The Tree of Bigamy and the Veronica Image of St. Peter's." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 9 (1978): 30–38.
- Brockmann, Stephen. *Nuremberg: The Imaginary Capital*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006.
- Brown, Katherine T. *Mary of Mercy in Medieval and Renaissance Italian Art: Devotional Image and Civic Emblem*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- . *The Painter's Reflection: Self-portraiture in Renaissance Venice, 1458–1625*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki Press, 2000.
- Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Zone Books, 2011.
- . "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the 15th Century." In *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, edited by Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, 208–240. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- . *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Candiani, Stefano. "The Iconography of the Veronica in the Region of Lombardy: 13th–14th Centuries." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 260–273. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Casper, Andrew R. "Display and Devotion: Exhibiting Icons and Their Copies in Counter-Reformation Italy." In *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler, 43–62. Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2013.
- Carr, Annemarie Weyl. "The Face Relics of John the Baptist in Byzantium and the West." *Gesta* 46 (2007): 159–177.
- Chadwick, Whitney. "Women Artists and the Politics of Representation." In *Feminist Art Criticism: An Anthology*, edited by Arlene Raven, Cassandra L. Langer, and Joanna Frueh, 167–185. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1988.
- Chastel, André. "La Véronique," *Revue de l'art* 40–41 (1978).
- Clark, Anne L. "Venerating the Veronica: Varieties of Passion Piety in the later Middle Ages." *Material Religion* 3 (2007): 164–189. doi: 10.2752/175183407X219732.
- Cleveland Museum of Art. Accessed July 15, 2019. www.clevelandart.org.
- . Wall text. Visited May 5, 2019.
- Collins, Adela Yarbro. *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse*. Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1984.
- Coakley, John W. *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and their Male Collaborators*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Connolly, Daniel K. "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris." *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 598–622.
- Cooper, Lisa H., and Andrea Denny-Brown. "Introduction." In *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: With a Critical Edition of 'O Vernicle'*, edited by Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown, 1–19. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014.
- Cross, J. E., ed., with contributions by Denis Brearley, Julia Crick, Thomas N. Hall, and Andy Orchard. *Two Old English apocrypha and their manuscript source: 'The Gospel of Nicodemus' and 'The Avenging of the Savior.'* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Cullen, Christopher M. *Bonaventure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Custodia Terræ Sanctæ: Franciscan Missionaries Serving the Holy Land. Accessed January 15, 2018. www.custodia.org.
- Da Zedelgem, Amédée (Teetaert). *Saggio Storico sulla Devozione alla Via Crucis: Evocazione e rappresentazione degli episodi e dei luoghi della Passione di Cristo*. Bergamo: Atlas, 2004.

- *Aperçu historique sur la dévotion au chemin de la croix*. In *Collectanea Franciscana* 19 (1949): 45–142.
- Damon, P. E., D. J. Donahue, et al. “Radiocarbon dating of the Shroud of Turin.” *Nature* 337 (1989): 611–615.
- Darby, Peter, and Daniel Reynolds. “Reassessing the ‘Jerusalem Pilgrims’: The Case of Bede’s *De locis sanctis*.” *Bulletin for the Council for British Research in the Levant* 9 (2014): 27–31.
- D’Arcy, David. “Custodians of the Holy Land: the Franciscans to Open New Museum in Jerusalem.” *The Art Newspaper* (January 6, 2017). www.theartnewspaper.com.
- Davey, Francis. “William Wey: An English Pilgrim’s Journey to Jerusalem.” In *Pilgrimage: The Sacred Journey*, edited by Ruth Barnes and Crispin Branfoot (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2006): 80–95.
- Debby Ben-Aryeh, Nirit. *The Cult of St Clare of Assisi in Early Modern Italy*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014.
- Degert, Antoine. “Saint Veronica.” In *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, edited by Charles G. Herbermann, et al. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912.
- De Giorgio, Teodoro. “Le Icone archetipiche dei santi nell’alto Medioevo: origine, funzione e percezione di una specifica tipologia di ritratto ‘dal vero’ e ‘a somiglianza’ dell’effigiato.” In *Intorno al ritratto: origini, sviluppi e trasformazioni*, edited by Fabrizio Crivello and Laura Zamparo in collaboration with Federica Boràgina, 93–98. Torino: Accademia University Press, 2019.
- Derbes, Anne. *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Di Blasio, Tiziana Maria. *Veronica: il mistero del volto; itinerari iconografici, memoria e rappresentazione*. Rome: Città Nuova Ed., 2000.
- Di Fruscia, Chiara. “Datum Avenioni. The Avignon Papacy and the Custody of the Veronica.” In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 218–230. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Di Pippo, Gregory. “Passion Sunday: The Veil of St. Veronica and the Stational Liturgy at St. Peter’s,” with an embedded video by Lucas Viar, 2008. *New Liturgical Movement* (March 26, 2012). Accessed June 20, 2018. www.newliturgicalmovement.org.
- Dobschütz, Ernst von. *Christusbilder; Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*. Leipzig: L. C. Hinrichs, 1899.
- Doublier, Étienne. “*Sui pretiosissimi vultus Imago*: Veronica e prassi indulgenziale nel XIII e all’inizio del XIV secolo.” In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 180–193. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Drossbach, Gisela. “The Roman Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia and the Cult of the Vera Icon.” In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 158–167. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Easton, Martha. “Feminist Art History and Medieval Iconography.” In *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, edited by Colum Hourihane, 425–436. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Edson, Evelyn. *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World*. London: British Library, 1999.
- Eglash, Ruth. “Archaeologists find possible site of Jesus’s trial in Jerusalem.” *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC). January 4, 2015. Accessed July 11, 2018. www.washingtonpost.com.

- Evans, Rev. John, M. A. *The Statutes of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, Recognized and Established by Subsequent Councils and Synods Down to the Council of Trent*. London: L. and G. Seeley, 1843.
- Fein, Susanna. "Mary to Veronica: John Audelay's Sequence of Salutations to God-Bearing Women." *Speculum* 86 (2011): 964–1009.
- Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler. *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins*. New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1983.
- Flora, Holly. "Gender, Image, and Devotion in Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*." In *Beyond the Text: Franciscan Art and the Construction of Religion*, edited by Xavier Seubert and Oleg Bychov, 160–176. Saint Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2013.
- . *The Devout Belief of the Imagination: The Paris Meditationes Vitae Christi and Female Franciscan Spirituality in Trecento Italy*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2009.
- and Arianna Pecorini Cignoni. "Requirements of Devout Contemplation: Text and Image for the Poor Clares in Trecento Pisa." *Gesta* 45 (2006): 61–76.
- Folda, Jaroslav. "Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre through the Eyes of Crusader Pilgrims." In *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art. Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Bianca Kühnel, 158–164. Jerusalem: *Jewish Art* 23/24, 1997–1998.
- Foster-Campbell, Megan H. "Pilgrimage through the Pages: Pilgrims' Badges in Late Medieval Devotion." In *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interactions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, edited by Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2011. doi:10.1163/9789004215139_008.
- Frank, Georgia. "The Pilgrim's gaze in the age before icons." In *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, edited by Robert S. Nelson, 98–115. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- French, Dorothea R. "Felix Fabri." In *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, edited by Larissa J. Taylor, et al. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2012. Accessed July 23, 2019. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163>.
- Friedberg, Arthur L., and Ira S. Friedberg. *Gold Coins of the World from Ancient Times to the Present*. 9th ed. Williston, VT: Coin and Currency Institute, 2017.
- Frugoni, Chiara. "Una proposta per il Volto Santo." In *Il Volto Santo. Storia e culto*, edited by Clara Baracchini and Maria Teresa Filieri, 15–48. Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 1982.
- Galleries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris. *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285–1328*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1998.
- Gallo, Federico. "De sacrosanto sudario Veronice" by Giacomo Grimaldi. Preliminary Investigations." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 72–83. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Ghiberti, Giuseppe. "Il Corpo della Sindone." In *Gesù: Il Corpo, Il Volto dell'Arte*, edited by Timothy Verdon, 116–123. Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010.
- Godding, Robert, ed. *De Rosweyde aux Acta Sanctorum: La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles: actes du Colloque international, Brussels, 5 October 2007*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2009.
- Gounelle, Rémi, and Céline Urlacher-Becht. "Veronica in the *Vindicta Salvatoris*." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 50–57. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Hamburger, Jeffrey. *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.
- Hammond, Jay M., J. A. Wayne Hellmann, and Jared Goff. *A Companion to Bonaventure*. Boston: Brill, 2013.

- Hand, John Oliver. *Hans Memling's Saint John the Baptist and Saint Veronica*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1994.
- . “*Salve sancta facies*: Some Thoughts on the Iconography of the *Head of Christ* by Petrus Christus.” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 27 (1992): 7–18.
- Holcomb, Melanie. “Matthew Paris’s Map of the Holy Land” (catalogue entry 1). In *Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People Under Heaven*, edited by Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Hulbert, J. R. “Some Medieval Advertisements of Rome.” *Modern Philology* 20 (1923): 403–424. www.jstor.org/stable/433697.
- Innes-Parker, Catherine. “Bonaventure’s *Lignum vitae*: The Evolution of a Text.” In *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition*, edited by Ian Johnson and Allan F. Westphall, 425–456. Turnout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013.
- Izydorczyk, Zbigniew. “The *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* a Century after Ernst von Dobschütz.” In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 32–49. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Johnson, Geraldine A. “The Art of Touch in Early Modern Italy.” In *Art and the Senses*, edited by Francesca Bacci and David Melcher, 59–84. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Keppler, Paul Wilhelm von. *Die XIV stationen des heiligen kreuzwegs eine geschichtliche und kunstgeschichtliche studie zugleich eine erklärung der kreuzweg-vilder der malerschule von veuron*. Freiburg: Herder, 1904.
- Kessler, Herbert L. “Introduction: The Literary Warp and Artistic Weft of Veronica’s Cloth.” In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 12–30. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- . “*Il mandylion*.” In *Il Volto di Cristo*, edited by Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf, 64–99. Milan: Electa, 2000.
- and Gerhard Wolf, eds. *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*. Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998.
- Keyvanian, Carla. *Hospitals and Urbanism in Rome, 1200–1500*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Kinney, Dale. “Fact and Fiction in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*.” In *Roma Felix—Formation and Reflection of Medieval Rome*, edited by Éamonn Ó Carragain and Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar, 235–252. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007.
- Kirkland-Ives, Mitzi. “Alternate Routes: Variation in Early Modern Stational Devotions.” *Viator* 40 (2009): 249–270.
- Kleinbauer, W. Eugene. “The Anastasis Rotunda and Christian Architectural Invention.” In *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art. Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Bianca Kühnel, 140–146. Jerusalem: *Jewish Art* 23/24, 1997–1998.
- Knox, Lezlie S. *Creating Clare of Assisi: Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Koerner, Joseph. *The Moment of Self-portraiture in German Renaissance Art*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Kumler, Aden. “*Signatis...vultus tui*: (Re) impressing the Holy Face before and after the European Cult of the Veronica.” In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 102–113. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.

- Kuryluk, Ewa. *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1991.
- Lang, Uwe Michael. "Origins of the Liturgical Veneration of the Roman Veronica." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 144–155. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Lange, Judith. "Die Verslegende <<Veronica II>>: Hybridedition und Studien zur Überlieferung." PhD. diss., Aachen University, Germany, 2013.
- Lenzi, Sarah. *The Stations of the Cross: The Placelessness of Medieval Christian Piety*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2016.
- Lewis, Flora. "The Veronica: Image, Legend and Viewer." In *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, edited by W. M. Ormrod, 100–106. Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1985.
- Lewis, Suzanne. *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1987.
- Lindquist, Sherry C. M. "The Iconography of Gender." In *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, edited by Colum Hourihane, 412–424. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Lingo, Estelle. "Mochi's Edge." *Oxford Art Journal* 32 (2009): 3–16.
- Lord, Frank K. "Image, vision, and faith: Viewers' responses to the Mandylion, Veronica's Veil, and the Shroud of Turin." PhD. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003.
- Machielsen, Jan. "Heretical Saints and Textual Discernment: The Polemical Origins of the *Acta Sanctorum* (1643–1940)." In *Angels of Light? Sanctity and the Discernment of Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, edited by Clare Copeland and Jan Machielsen, 103–141. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Mâle, Émile. *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1925. <https://archive.org>.
- Maréchaux, Bernard-Marie. *Notre Dame de la Fin des Terres de Soulac*. Bordeaux: Imprimerie Nouvelle A. Bellier, 1893.
- Marin, Louis, and Marie Maclean. "The Figurability of the Visual: The Veronica or the Question of the Portrait at Port-Royal." *New Literary History* 22 (1991): 261–296.
- Mauray, Alfred. "Lettres sur l'étymologie du nom de Véronique donné a la femme qui porte la sante face et sur l'origine de son culte." *Revue Archéologique* 2 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1851): 484–495.
- McNamer, Sarah. "The Origins of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*." *Speculum* 84 (2009): 905–955. www.jstor.org/stable/40593681.
- Mezuret, M. l'abbé. *Notre-Dame de Soulac ou de la fin-des-terres: L'Apostolat de Sainte-Véronique en Aquitaine: le tombeau et le culte de Saine-Véronique a Soulac*. Lesparre: J. Rivet Imprimeur-Libraire, 1865.
- Miedema, Nine. "Following in the Footsteps of Christ: Pilgrimage and Passion Devotion." In *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, edited by A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann, 73–92. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998.
- Milanese, Guido. "*Quaesivi vultum tuum*. Liturgy, *figura* and Christ's Presence." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 126–135. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Molinari, Andrea Lorenzo. "Saint Veronica: Evolution of a Sacred Legend." *Priscilla Papers* 28 (2014): 9–15.
- Molteni, Ferdinando. "Storia e devozione della Sindone." In *Il Volto di Cristo*, edited by Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf, 276–282. Milan: Electa, 2000.
- Montagu, Jennifer. "A Model by Francesco Mochi for the 'Saint Veronica.'" *The Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982): 430–437.

- Mooney, Catherine M. *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church: Religious Women, Rules, and Resistance*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
- Morgan, Nigel. "'Veronica' Images and the Office of the Holy Face in Thirteenth-Century England." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 84–99. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Morris, Colin. *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Mueller, Joan. *The Privilege of Poverty: Clare of Assisi, Agnes of Prague, and the Struggle for a Franciscan Rule for Women*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.
- The National Gallery, London. Accessed August 31, 2019. www.nationalgallery.org.uk.
- National Gallery of Art, Washington. Accessed July 3, 2019. www.nga.gov.
- Newhauser, Richard G., and Arthur J. Russell. "Mapping Virtual Pilgrimage in an Early Fifteenth-Century *Arma Christi* Roll." In *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: With a Critical Edition of 'O Vernicle'*, edited by Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown, 83–112. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014.
- Nichols, Ann Eljenholm. "O Vernicle: A Critical Edition." In *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: With a Critical Edition of 'O Vernicle'*, edited by Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown, 308–392. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014.
- Nisbet, Jim. *An Illustrated Stations of the Cross: The Devotion and Its History*. Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1982.
- Noga-Banai, Galit. "Places of Remembrance: A Via Dolorosa in Berlin's Bavarian Quarter." In *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, edited by Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt, 173–196. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2015.
- Ousterhout, Robert. "Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography." In *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art. Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Bianca Kühnel, 393–404. Jerusalem: *Jewish Art* 23/24, 1997–1998.
- Pächt, Otto. "The 'Avignon Diptych' and Its Eastern Ancestry." In *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*. Vol. I, edited by Millard Meiss, 402–421. New York: New York University Press, 1961.
- Palme, Jos. *Die Deutschen Veroniclegenden des XII Jahr*. Prague: Verlag des K. K. Deutschen obergymnasiums der Kleinseite, 1892.
- Pearson, Karl. *Die Fronica, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes in Mittelalter*. Strasbourg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1887.
- Perkinson, Stephen. "Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture." *Gesta* 46 (2008): 135–157.
- Perdrizet, Paul. "De La Véronique et De Seinte Véronique." In *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5, 1–16. Prague: Institute: Kondakov, 1932.
- Peters, F. E. "The Procession That Never Was: The Painful Way in Jerusalem." *The Drama Review* 29 (1985a): 31–41.
- . *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985b.
- Petoletti, Marco, and Angelo Piacentini. "The Veronica of Boniface of Verona." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 250–259. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Pringle, Denys. *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

- “The Planning of Some Pilgrimage Churches in Crusader Palestine.” *World Archaeology* 18 (1987): 341–362. www.jstor.org/stable/124590.
- Rafanelli, Lisa M. “Thematizing Vision in the Renaissance: The *Noli Me Tangere* as a Metaphor for Art Making.” In *Sense and the Senses in Early Modern Art and Cultural Practice*, edited by Alice E. Sanger and Siv Tove Kulbrandstad Walker, 149–168. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012.
- Réau, Louis. *Iconographie de L’Art Chrétien*. 3 vols. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959. Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, 1983.
- Renna, Thomas. Introduction to *The Life and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Cortona (1247–1297)* by Fra Giunta Bevegnati, 9–42. Saint Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2012.
- Rhodes, James F. “The Pardoner’s ‘Vernycle’ and His ‘Vera Icon’.” *Modern Language Studies* 13 (1983): 34–40.
- Rist, Rebecca. “Innocent III and the Roman Veronica: Papal PR or Eucharistic Icon?” In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 114–125. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Rocacher, Jean. *Rocamadour et son pèlerinage: étude historique et archéologique*. 2 vols. Toulouse: Association les Amis de Rocamadour, 1979.
- Rudy, Kathryn M. “Eating the Face of Christ. Philip the Good and his Physical Relationship with Veronicas.” In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 168–179. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- “Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages.” *Disciplina Monastica* 8 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2011): 28–29.
- “A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliothèque De L’Arsenal Ms. 212.” *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 63 (2000): 494–515.
- Runciman, Steven. “Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa.” *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1931): 238–252.
- Il Sacro Monte di Orta. Accessed April 21, 2019. www.orta.net/sacromonte/index.html.
- Sand, Alexa. *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Sanger, Alice E. “Sensuality, Sacred Remains and Devotion in Baroque Rome.” In *Sense and the Senses in Early Modern Art and Cultural Practice*, edited by Alice E. Sanger and Siv Tove Kulbrandstad Walker. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012.
- Savigni, Raffaele. “The Roman Veronica and the Holy Face of Lucca: Parallelism and Tangents in the Formation of their Respective Traditions.” In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 274–285. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Schaus, Margaret, ed. *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Schiaparelli, L. “Le carte antiche dell’Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro in Vaticano’.” *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria* 24 (1901): 393–496.
- Schiller, Gertrud. *Iconography of Christian Art*. 2 vols. Translated by Janet Seligman. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971–1972.
- Scott, John Beldon. “Seeing the Shroud: Guarini’s Reliquary Chapel in Turin and the Ostension of a Dynastic Relic.” *The Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 609–637.
- Seubert, Xavier John. “Franciscans in Jerusalem: The Early History.” In *Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People Under Heaven*, edited by Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb, 240–241. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

- Sidgwick, Emma. "At once limit and threshold: How the early Christian touch of a hem (Luke 8: 44; Matthew 9: 20) constituted the medieval Veronica." *Viator* 45 (2014): 1–24.
- Siew, Tsafra. "Translations of the Jerusalem Pilgrimage Route at the Holy Mountains of Varallo and San Vivaldo." In *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, edited by Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt, 113–132. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2015.
- Städel Museum, Frankfurt. Digital Collection. Accessed August 20, 2019. <https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de>.
- Stoenescu, Livia. "Ancient Prototypes Reinstantiated: Zuccari's *Encounter of Christ and Veronica* of 1594." *The Art Bulletin* 93 (2011): 423–448.
- Storme, Albert. *The Way of the Cross: An Historical Sketch (The Holy Places of Palestine)*. 2nd ed. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1984.
- Swan, Mary. "Remembering Veronica in Anglo-Saxon England." In *Writing Gender and Genre in Medieval Literature: Approaches to Old and Middle English Texts*, edited by Elaine Treharne, 19–39. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002.
- Terra Sancta Museum. Accessed April 11, 2018. www.terrasanctamuseum.org.
- Terry-Fritsch, Allie. "Performing the Renaissance Body and Mind: Somaesthetic Style and Devotional Practice at the Sacro Monte di Varallo." *Open Arts Journal* 4 (Winter 2014–2015): 111–132. doi:10.5456/issn.2050-3679/2015w07.
- Thacker, Alan. "Rome of the Martyrs: Saints, Cults and Relics, Fourth to Seventh Centuries." In *Roma Felix—Formation and Reflection of Medieval Rome*, edited by Éamonn Ó Carragain and Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar, 13–50. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007.
- Thomas, Grégoire Marie. *Soulac et Notre-Dame de la Fin-des-Terres*. Bordeaux: Imprimerie de l'oeuvre de Saint-Paul, 1882.
- Thompson, E. M. "Apocryphal Legends." *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* XXXVII, 239–253. London: British Archaeological Association, 1881.
- Thompson, Nancy M. "The Franciscans and the True Cross: The Decoration of the Cappella Maggiore of Santa Croce in Florence." *Gesta* 43 (2004): 61–79.
- Thurston, Herbert, S. J. *The Stations of the Cross: An Account of Their History and Devotional Purpose*. London: Burns & Oates, 1914.
- Tobler, Titus. *Itinera hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*. Geneva: J. G. Fick, 1877.
- Tola, Fabrizio. "Parole e immagini nella devozione alla Passione di Cristo in Sardegna nel XVII e XVIII secolo: *Via Crucis* e processione dei misteri." *Theologica & Historica* 25 (2016): 535–561.
- Van Asperen, Hanneke. "'Où il y a une Veronique attachée dedens'. Images of the Veronica in Religious Manuscripts, with Special Attention for the Dukes of Burgundy and their Family." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 232–249. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- . "Praying, Threading, and Adorning: Sewn-in Prints in a Rosary Prayer Book (London, British Library, Add. MS 14042)." In *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert, 81–120. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2007.
- Van Dijk, Ann. "The Veronica, the *Vultus Christi* and the veneration of icons in medieval Rome." In *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, edited by Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story, 229–256. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Van Dijk, S. J. P., and J. Hazelden Walker. *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century*. Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1960.
- Verstegen, Ian. "Between Presence and Perspective: The Portrait-in-a-Picture in Early Modern Painting." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 71 (2008): 513–526.

- Il Volto Ritrovato (association). *Veronica Route*. Accessed July 18, 2018. www.veronicaroute.com.
- Weddigen, Tristan. "Weaving the face of Christ: on the textile origins of the Christian Image." University of Zurich: Open Repository Archive, 2015. www.zora.uzh.ch/113276/1/Weddigeng.pdf.
- Weigert, Laura. *French Visual Culture and the Making of Medieval Theater*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Weitbrecht, Julia. "The Vera Icon (Veronica) in the Verse Legend Veronica II: Medializing Salvation in the Late Middle Ages." *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 52 (2016): 173–192.
- Wharton, Annabel Jane. *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Wilpert, Josef. *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert: unter den Auspizien und mit allerhöchster Förderung Seiner Majestät Kaiser Wilhelms II.* 4 vols. Freiburg: Herder, 1917.
- Windeatt, Barry. "'Vera Icon'? The Variable Veronica of Medieval England." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 58–71. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Wittkower, Rudolf. "'Sacri Monti' in the Italian Alps." In *Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 175–183. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.
- Wolf, Gerhard. "'Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?' Sguardi alla 'vera icona' e alle sue copie artistiche." In *Il Volto di Cristo*, edited by Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf, 103–211. Milan: Electa, 2000.
- . "From Mandylion to Veronica: Picturing the 'Disembodied' Face and Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West." In *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Presentation*, edited by Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf, 153–179. Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998.
- Wood, Jeryldene. *Women, Art, and Spirituality: The Poor Clares of Early Modern Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Zardoni, Raffaella, Emanuela Bossi, and Amanda Murphy. "The Iconography of the Roman Veronica. From the Repertoires of Karl Pearson to Veronica Route." In *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages, Convivium Supplementum*, edited by Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, 286–301. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017.
- Zchomelidse, Nino. "Liminal Phenomena: Framing Medieval Cult Images with Relics and Words." *Viator* 47 (2016): 243–296.
- Zissos, Andrew, ed. *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome*. West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016.
- Zwijnenburg, N. H. J. *Die Veronicagestalt in den deutschen Passionsspielen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988.