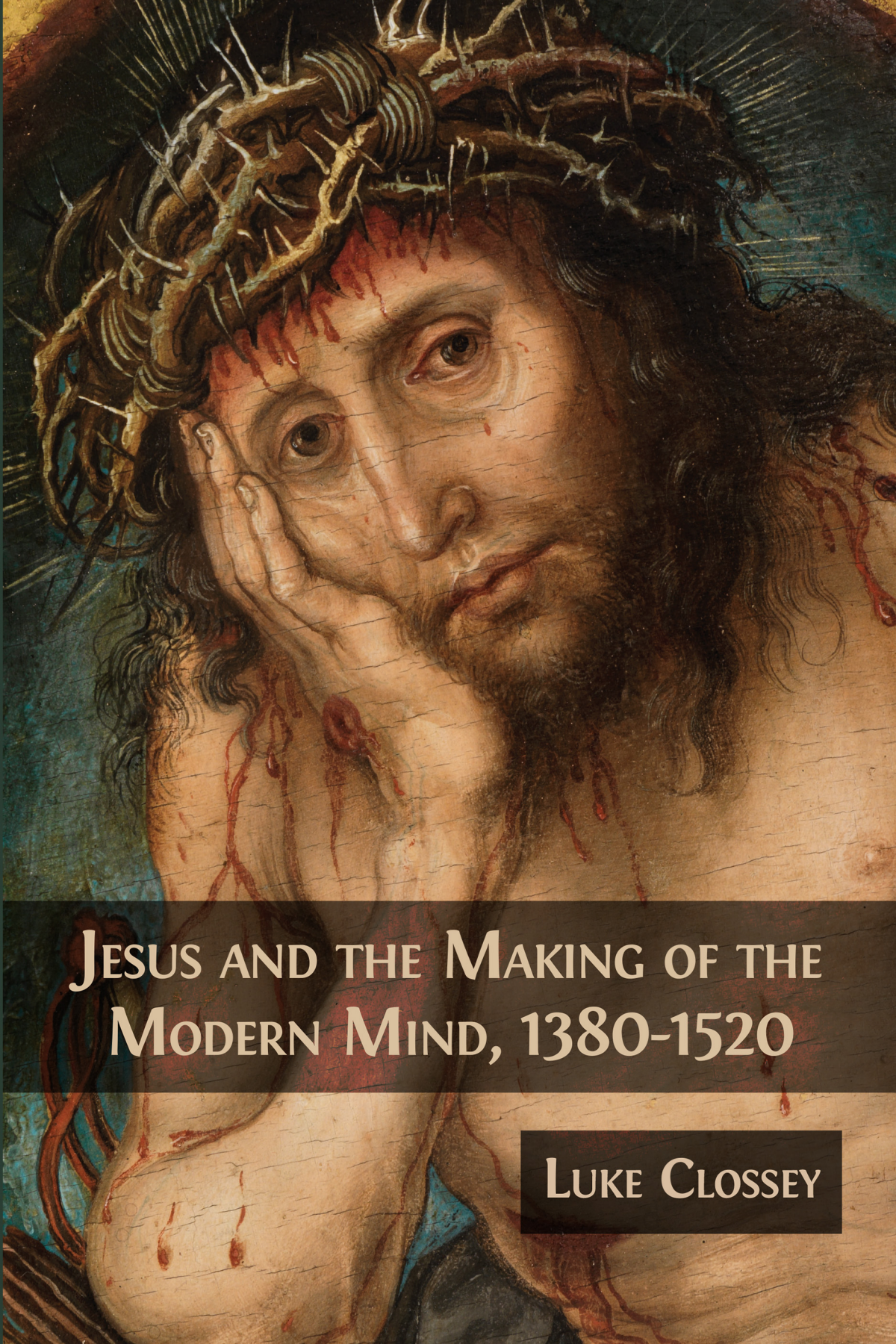

# Jesus and the Making of the Modern Mind, 1380-1520

Luke Clossey

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# 16. Extraordinary Jesus Images

## Jesus in the History of Art

Before turning to specific examples, we can make some observations about the history of Jesus images simply by looking at large quantities of metadata, the kind of information found not in the image, but on the museum placard next to it—the creator, its date and place, its subject. In the course of this research, for the 1380–1820 Late Traditional period our research team collected 10,059 Jesus images, further supplemented with an additional 1,570 Jesus images from the online Web Gallery of Art. The analysis of this big dataset allows us to make observations that before computers would only have been felt and hypothesized by the most knowledgeable of art historians.[1]

Some statistical-data collection has already been performed for art history more generally, especially looking at colour. Orthodox icons prefer warm colours, with a strong preference for orange over blue. This is similar to the palette of modern art, only more extreme in its preferences. Renaissance art is less distinctive in terms of hues.[2] Such scholarship is necessarily tentative: colours can be especially susceptible to time. Venetian greens have turned black. Although manuscripts have a better survival rate, most of the tens of thousands of medieval canvas paintings have been lost; most medieval colour has been lost.[3] Still, scholars have reached some conclusions. Analysis of it shows, for example, that pre-Renaissance paintings (and Jackson Pollock!) used fewer, purer colours.[4] Mary's blue robe was a blue

1 See Global Jesus, *SFU Digitized Collections*, https://digital.lib.sfu.ca/global-jesus

2 Krassimira Ivanova, Peter Stanchev, Koen Vanhoof, Milena Dobreva, "APICAS-Content-Based Image Retrieval in Art Image Collections Utilizing Colour Semantics," in *Access to Digital Cultural Heritage*, ed. Krassimira Ivanova, Milena Dobreva, Peter Stanchev, and George Totkov (Plovdiv: Plovdiv UP, 2008), 192–94. I base my conclusions on their data, but they did not come to the same conclusions.

3 Phoebe Stubbs, ed., *Colour in the Making: From Old Wisdom to New Brilliance* (London: Black Dog, 2013), 44–46.

 https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0371.16

robe, partaking in something like a Platonic ideal of blueness. It showed its truth and beauty through its purity. Renaissance artists, in contrast, mixed their colours, giving a greater variety and potential for nuance that allowed illusionistic representation of the observed world. The Renaissance also saw a diversification of genres, with landscapes and secular portraits becoming as mainstream as religious icons.

No major trends in painting match the same high saturation of colours that we see in icons. Again, modern art will come close, although without reaching the same levels. So, part of plain-ken illusionism is a decrease in saturation—a greying—the reds are less red, the blues less blue. Romantic art takes this further, with an especially low level of saturation, although the Romantic lows are less extreme than the iconic highs.[5]

The place of Renaissance art in the history of colour is extraordinary. In some ways it is boring—in terms of hue, luminance, saturation, it hugs the average. But this also means that it is foundational—and we see the importance of the Renaissance, too, when we look at the peculiarities of the icons. In fact, it may be wiser to think about the icons not as highly saturated warmly hued outliers but as the Renaissance as this strangely low-saturated cool-hued innovation—that looks less extraordinary to us because what followed it chronologically followed (copied) it artistically. The average was achieved early.

This mosaic summarizes the subjects of 8400 Jesus images created during the Late Traditional period (see Fig. 16.1). The size of each tile corresponds to that composition type's frequency. "Madonna and Child," the giant cornflower-blue tile at centre right, is the largest. In contrast, notice the pale-green "Teaching Ministry," at the lower right, which amounts to only 6% of the total. This is the category that contains all the images of Jesus's life between his childhood and the week before his death, essentially his entire teaching career. All his miracles, all his ethical teachings—which include parables that would lend themselves well to visual representation—are thus hugely underrepresented. Birth and death dominate.

4 Daniel Kim, Seung-Woo Son, and Hawoong Jeong, "Large-Scale Quantitative Analysis of Painting Arts," *Scientific Reports* 4, 7370 (2014): n.p., https://doi.org/10.1038/srep07370

5 Ivanova et al., "APICAS-Content-Based Image Retrieval," 193. Films also use muted colours to present themselves as more realistic.

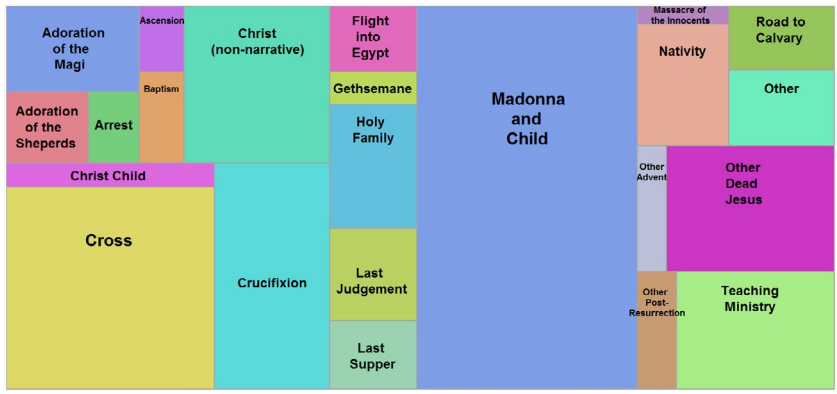


Fig. 16.1 Data Mosaic. Created by Luke Clossey (2023), CC BY-NC-ND.

However, this changes across space. This chart visualizes the correspondence between the Jesus images' subjects and the regions in which they were created (see Fig. 16.2). The Baptism and the many Madonnas with Child are distinctively Italian. A number of key composition types are "shared" between two places, popular in both: the cross for Russia and Britain, the Nativity for Britain and Iberia, the Crucifixion for Central Europe and France, and the Flight into Egypt for France and the Low Countries. The Last Supper belongs to three regions, Italy, Britain, and Iberia. Non-narrative representations of Jesus, as well as of the cross and the Trinity, are further east, in Russia and Central Europe. Last Judgment imagery is so extremely Dutch, and so rare in Italy and Russia, that it falls off the right edge of the diagram.[6]

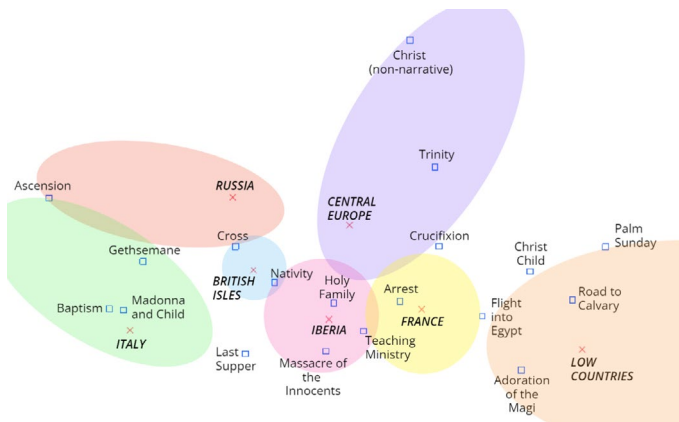


Fig. 16.2 Correspondence Analysis over Space. Created by Luke Clossey (2023), CC BY-NC-ND.

6 The pastel bubbles here merely suggest patterns; only each region's red "x" has precise statistical significance.

Looking across all three periods' Jesus art, we can similarly use correspondence analysis to explore the relationship between chronology and iconography (see Fig. 16.3). Subjects on this chart are close together if they are popular at the same time. Let us begin with the 1380–1530 bubble. Here, three composition-types associated with Jesus's birth—the Nativity, the Madonna and Child, the Adoration of the Magi—are most distinctive; within the bubble, these three are farthest from the other two periods. Two central subjects from Jesus's Passion—the Last Supper and the Crucifixion—are also disproportionately represented here.

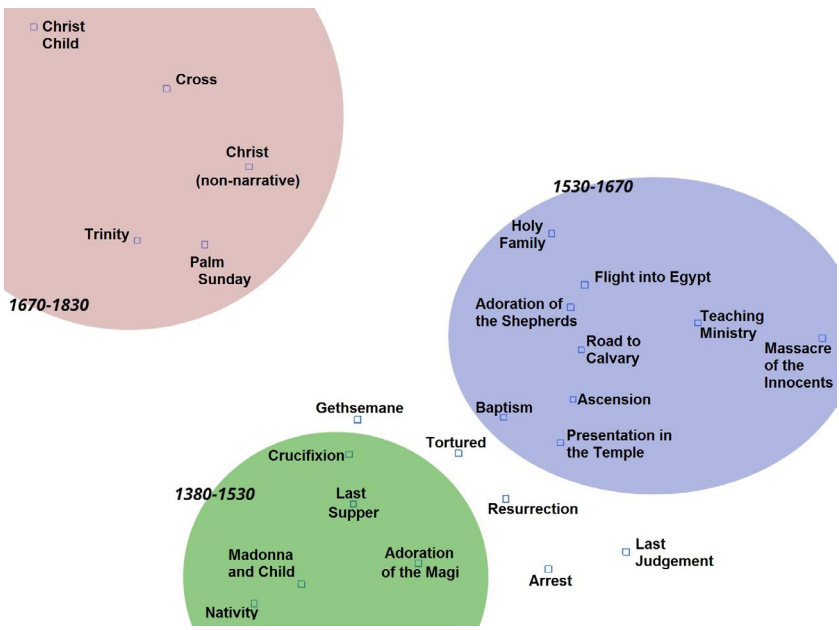


Fig. 16.3 Correspondence Analysis over Time. Created by Luke Clossey (2023), CC BY-NC-ND.

Passing through narrative subjects shared equally by the first and second periods—the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus's Arrest and Torture, and then his Resurrection and return for the Last Judgment—we reach the 1530–1670 bubble. Here we find what we might today consider secondary subjects: instead of the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt; instead of the Adoration of the Magi and its opportunity for conspicuous displays of kingly wealth, the Adoration of the Shepherds; instead of the climactic Crucifixion, we have Jesus carrying the cross on the Road to Calvary. Perhaps the prominence of the central subjects in the earlier period, and their continued display into this period, encouraged artists and patrons to turn to more minor moments. Most distinctive here—furthest

from the other periods' bubbles—are the teaching-ministry category and the Massacre of the Innocents. Perhaps this reflects the Reformation in, respectively, a heightened attention to doctrine and the carnage of the wars of religion. Certainly this period's anti-Marian impulses in Protestant areas confine the Madonna and Child to the earlier period's bubble.

Excepting Palm Sunday, the third bubble, for the 1670–1830 period, steps away from narrative events in Jesus's life. Instead, we find Jesus presented outside of time, the Christ Child and the cross both abstracted from the historical moments of Nativity and Crucifixion, and the Trinity typically portrayed in a heavenly setting—perhaps a rebellion against the overall contours of the shift from deep to plain ken in art. This period's imagery is also less dark and dreadful: the two composition types furthest from its bubble are the Last Judgment and the Massacre of the Innocents.

Within this wealth of images, some welcome particular consideration, either for themselves or for the circumstances of their creation. This chapter looks at Jesus images that are special in some way—lively (in a miraculous way), made from life (in an authentic way), or lifelike (and often bleeding life)—or all three at once.

## Miraculous Jesus images

The most powerful index of an image's truth is its own power. Real images can do impressive things. They can be invulnerable to damage; they can speak, cry, and move their eyes. They can be used for idolatry, or to discourage sin. Their exchange can meaningfully seal treaties. Miraculous images can transmit their power. They can copy themselves, and the copies themselves can be miraculous. Around 1400, one image was empowered by working into its back side some fragments of an earlier image, which was known to have been made from the wood of the Holy Cross. A miraculous Renaissance icon tends to do a miracle somewhere unexpected and inappropriate, and so it is believed by one person, and disbelieved by most. Often the Church steps in to claim it from an individual using it for his or her own purposes, to re-purpose it for public worship, which could be lucrative. There are thousands of testimonials attesting to the power, and truth, of the images at the heart of Jesus cult centres.[7]

7 Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 308, 333, 436–41; Rolf Fritz, "Das Halbfigurenbild in der westdeutschen Tafelmalerei um 1400," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1951): 161–78 (161); Matthew John Milliner, "The Virgin of the Passion: Development, Dissemination, and Afterlife of a Byzantine Icon Type" (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 2011), 101; Richard Trexler, "Being and

An anonymous monk-painter in France, not later than 1472, painting a Last Judgment high up on the side of a church, depicted the devil as so visibly evil—his skill was such that he could do this well—that the devil, furious, knocked him off the scaffolding. Just in time, a Madonna and Child that he had painted below stretched out her arm and, with assistance from Baby Jesus, caught him (see Fig. 16.4). She returned her arm to its usual position once he was safe, once others had arrived to witness the miracle.[8] In a similar example, a murderer was about to be executed in Rome, but his mother kidnapped a Baby Jesus from a Mary sculpture, and successfully extorted Mary to rescue her son—a son-for-a-son consonance.[9]

Fig. 16.4 Jean le Tavernier, *Miracle of the Caught Preacher* (ca. 1450s), *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 374, fol. 93r, https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/89523ebe-296d-49fe-b5a9-77671c8383da/surfaces/b448371d-ca13-4acd-90c6-692fd9dcd0fa/

The mystic Lucy Brocadelli (1476–1544) had several interactions with miraculous images. As a child, she was offered an array of toys, and she picked out a rosary with a Christ Child image, which she called Christarello. Whenever she was reprimanded, the Christarello would wipe the tears from her face. In another incident, at church she saw a marble Mary-and-Christ-Child statue.

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Non-Being: Parameters of the Miraculous in the Traditional Religious Image," in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Erik Thune and Gerhard Wolf (Rome: Erma di Bretschneider, 2004), 15–28.

8 Variations of this story appear in *Vie et miracles de Notre Dame*, BnF MS Fr. 9199, fol. 96v–99v and *Cantigas de Santa María*, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS T-I-1, fol. 108v–09r. See also David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 307 (who explicitly states that the Christ Child assisted); George F. Warner, ed., *Miracles de Nostre Dame collected by Jean Mielot* (Westminster: Nichols, 1885), xxxiv–xxxv.

9 *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. Jean Miélot (1456), BodL MS Douce 374, fol. 90r-92v. Illustrations by Jean le Tavernier.

At Brocadelli's request, Mary gave her the Christ Child, which became a living baby. Brocadelli took the baby home, dodging confused adults trying to take him from her, and barricaded herself and Jesus in her room for three(!) days, until, exhausted, she finally fell asleep. When she woke, the baby was gone, restored to the statue.[10]

Some images demonstrated their holiness in other ways. Annually on Good Friday, an image of the Madonna and Child painted by Luke in San Sisto Vecchio, Rome, would pale.[11] On 3 July 1418, a Swiss soldier, coming out of a cabaret where "he had left his money and his reason," hacked at a statue of the Madonna and Child, in Paris at the intersection of the Rue aux Ours and what is now the Boulevard de Sébastopol. The statue, Notre-Dame de la Carole, bled, which was recognized as a miracle.[12] Also in France, a scoundrel threw a rock, which broke the arm off a Jesus statue. He dropped dead; a friend who tried to resuscitate him died painfully the next day. Blood charged with miraculous power poured from Jesus's broken arm.[13]

We can infer the sanctity of some images from how they were treated, even by non-human animals. One image of Madonna and Child, known for its ability to produce healing miracles, attained particular significance when a bird had stolen it from a window ledge where it had been placed to dry. It was later found in the garden under a "great number of birds […] sitting and singing as if they had a special treat at hand."[14] Raphael's (1483–1520) painting of the *Christ Falling on the Way to Calvary* (called the "Spasimo") (1517), commissioned by a new monastery in Palermo, was lost when the ship carrying it wrecked off the Sicilian coast. The winds and waves "respected the beauty" of the work, Vasari tells us, and transported it, intact, miraculously, to Genoa. The trip back to Sicily was more difficult, and the pope had to intervene to pry it from the custody of the Genovese. In Palermo, it became more famous than the Etna volcano.[15]

Kissing an image could honour it and solicit its power. At the point in the liturgy where the priest was to kiss a cross image, the missal might include a

10 Giacomo Marcianese, *Vita della B. Lucia di Narni dell'Ordine di S. Domenico* (Viterbo: Diotallevi, 1663), 15–21.

11 *Mirabilia Romae*, ed. Gustavus Parthey (Berlin: Nicolai, 1869), 57.

12 Félix Lazare and Louis Lazare, *Dictionnaire administratif et historique des rues de Paris et de ses monuments* (Paris: F. Lazare, 1844–49), 511–12; Philippe Plagnieux, "D'une chapelle de la Vierge l'autre: l'exemple du prieuré clunisien de Saint-Martin-des-Champs à Paris," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 6 (2013): 1–15 (8), https://doi.org/10.4000/cem.12726

13 *Vie et miracles de Notre Dame*, ed. Jean Miélot, BnF MS Fr. 9198, fol. 131r–32r.

14 Johannes Meyer, *Women's History in the Age of Reformation: Johannes Meyer's Chronicle of the Dominican Observance*, trans. Claire Taylor Jones (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2019), 88.

15 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 14 vols. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1848), II, 183–84.

Crucifixion and even an additional cross designed for human lips.[16] The Grandes Heures, commissioned by Philip II the Bold (1342–1404) in 1376 (with images soon added) includes Veronicas (fol. 96r) sewn into the manuscript. Ducal grime remains on the images, suggesting that he touched and kissed it. The paint from the forehead of one Jesus (fol. 98r) had been scraped off. Perhaps the paint was then eaten, or added to water to be drunk, and the eyes might have been left intact so that Jesus could witness these devotions.[17] Similarly, a Flemish Book of Hours has an image of Jesus descending from the cross, where the Jesus image had been worn away by frequent kissing.[18] In the opposite direction, attacking an image might harm or hinder the figures it represented: in the Passion scenes in the sketchbook (ca. 1490) associated with Michael Wolgemut's (1434–1519) workshop, someone has attacked Jesus's tormentors with a knife or other sharp implement.[19]

Other images had a more human relationship to power. The Byzantine emperor gave a miracle-working Jesus image to Leonardo Montaldo (1319–84), the Doge of Genoa, who gave it to a local church in 1381.[20] Sometimes an image could end a drought through purely mundane mechanisms: a Mamluk sultan might have sent an image of the *Suffering Jesus*, known as the *Kwer`ata re'esu*, to the Ethiopian Emperor Dawit I (1382–1413) as an inducement to encourage them to undo their diverting of the Nile.[21] Ex-voto images recorded past miracles. Tommaso Inghirami (d. 1516), a humanist at the papal court, was seriously injured in 1508 when his mule ploughed into an oxcart. To show his gratitude

16 For example, the ca. 1460 North French Missal, BL Stowe MS 10, fol. 113v.

17 Philip the Good inherited it in 1404, added the images, and halved it into two volumes, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 11035-37 and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 3-1954. See Kathryn M. Rudy, "Eating the Face of Christ: Philip the Good and His Physical Relationship with Veronicas," *Convivium* 4 (2017): 168–79, https://doi.org/10.1484/m.convisup-eb.5.131051, and *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages*, ed. Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2017), 168–79.

18 BL Harley MS 2985, fol. 71v.

19 Richard Bellm, *Wolgemuts Skizzenbuch in Berliner Kupferstichkabinett* (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1959); Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 109–10 (figs. 46–48). See "Verspottung Christi," *bpk*, image number 00097095, https://www.bpk-bildagentur.de/series/1.295111

20 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 333.

21 This is unlikely to be the similar image, perhaps of Flemish origins, that played a role in later Ethiopian political and military history. Stanisław Chojnacki, *The Kweráta re'esu: Its Iconography and Significance* (Naples: Istituto orientale di Napoli, 1985); Ignazio Guidi, "Due nuovi manoscritti della Cronaca Abbreviata di Abissinia," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 6.2 (1926): 357–412 (360); Richard Pankhurst, "The History of the Kwer'ata re'esu: An Ethiopian Icon," *African Affairs* 81 (1982): 117–25.

for the divine intervention that saved his life, he commissioned an oil painting recording the accident, perhaps from Raphael (see Fig. 16.5).[22]

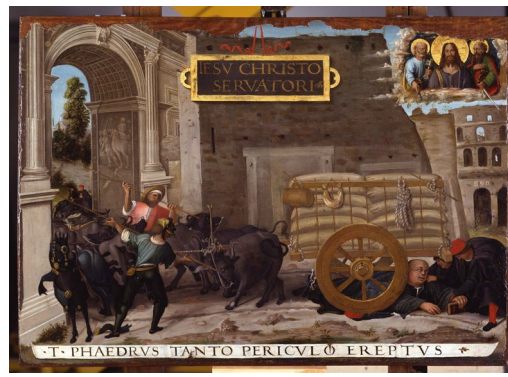


Fig. 16.5 Raphael(?), *Ex-voto of Tommaso Inghirami Fallen under an Ox-Cart* (ca. 1508), Museo del Tesoro, Basilica di San Giovanni in Lateran, Rome, Wikimedia, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ex-voto,_Tommaso_Inghirami,_Raphael.jpg

Fig. 16.6 *Jesus and the Parrot: New Year's Wish* (1470), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, public domain, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105055443/f1.item

22 Paul Künzle, "Raffaels Denkmal für Fedro Inghirami auf dem letzten Arazzo," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* 6 (1964): 499–548.

Some images were ambiguous. One 1470 image of the Christ Child was essentially an early greeting card—its size (18 x 13 cm) coincides perfectly with the modern A7 envelope size (see Fig. 16.6). Here, Baby Jesus is joined by a bird and a scroll with wishes: *fil god jar* [very good year] and *e lange lebin* [a long life]. Its resemblance to our less powerful modern cards may disguise its potential power: it might well have been intended to be effective in making a year good and a life long.[23]

## Authentic Jesus Images

Some miraculous images drew their power from their authenticity.[24] Several categories of Jesus images were considered especially faithful representations. Some of these, like the Veil of Veronica and the Shroud of Turin (see Chapter 8), were created when Jesus's face or body, pressed onto cloth, left an impression. Images in this group were described as *acheiropoieton* [made without hand]. A second category, made with human hands, was created by artists who were eyewitnesses to Jesus: the Holy Face of Lucca and the Gregory Image. Two image types, the Lateran Palace Image and the Mandylion, have been included in either category. All the images in both groups, of course, were believed to have been made in the first century, during the lifetime of the historical Jesus, except for that of Gregory the Great, who was an eyewitness to an apparition of Jesus in the sixth century. A special but related case is the textual description of Jesus's appearance recorded by Publius Lentulus, another first-century eyewitness; later artists used that description to create faithful Jesus images.

Some images found their authenticity in the nature of their medium. An image of Mary and Jesus appeared, or could be seen, in the natural patterns of a slab of marble in the Hagia Sophia, images "as if they were in the clouds of heaven." A Castilian visitor reported a local tradition that "when this stone was cut, to be placed in this most holy place, the workmen saw these most wonderful and fortunate images on it, and, as this church was the most important one in

23 Peter W. Parshall and Rainer Schoch, ed., *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-century Woodcuts and their Public* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 198–200 (no. 53), reads this in a secular way.

24 Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1899), I; *Volto di Cristo*, ed. Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf (Milan: Electa, 2000); Gerhard Wolf, "From Mandylion to Veronica: Picturing the 'Disembodied' Face Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, ed. Herbert Kessler and Gerhard Wolf (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998), 153–79.

the city, that stone was deposited in it."[25] A tradition developed that a Franciscan in Jerusalem had taken, ca. 1400, a piece of wood from the Gethsemane Garden, which, carved into a Christ Child, became the Santo Bambino of Aracoeli (see Fig. 16.7).[26]

Fig. 16.7 *Christ Child* (ca. 1400?) (detail), Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome, photograph by Matthias Kabel (2009), Wikimedia, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Santa_Maria_in_Aracoeli_Rome_Santo_Bambino.jpg

In particular, the fifteenth century saw an increasing number of images attributed to St. Luke and therefore guaranteed in their authenticity.[27] An epigram on a copy of the Santa Maria del Popolo icon of Mary with Child asserts that the original was painted by Luke from life, and that the copy was commissioned

25 Ruy González de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijjo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand*, ed. and trans. Clements R. Markham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1859), 38. See James Trilling, "The Image Not Made by Hands and the Byzantine Way of Seeing," in *The Holy Face*, ed. Kessler and Wolf, 109–27.

26 Antonio da Cipressa, *Discorso storico intorno la prodigiosa effigie di Gesu Bambino* (Rome: Monaldi, 1861); Ursula Schlegel, "The Christchild as Devotional Image in Medieval Italian Sculpture," *The Art Bulletin* 52 (1970): 1–10.

27 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 46–77, 203–07, 311–13, 332–48, 531–42.

by Alessandro Sforza (1409–73), painted by Melozzo da Forlì (ca. 1438–94), and would have been recognized by Luke as his own. Another (lost) copy by Antoniazzo Romano (ca. 1430–1510) affirms the Lucan origins and rhetorically asks, "Who would think that this was inauthentic [*errorem*]?"[28]

These various types were the most prominent "authentic" Jesus images, but there were traditions of other images with similar claims. One 1403 manuscript has an image of St. Irene painting a Holy Face.[29] A medieval legend recalled that a miraculous bust of Jesus appeared when Pope Sylvester I (285–335) consecrated San Giovanni Laterano.[30] Jesus hung a painting of himself as the Ancient of Days (Daniel 7:9) around the neck of the Ethiopian noblewoman Kristos Samra.[31]

Beyond their deep-ken abilities, these images indicate a plain-ken interest in the first-century Jesus, and for their mechanisms of replicating an appearance in spacetime, and in some cases for their antiquarian cultural enthusiasm.

## Holy Face of Lucca

The Holy Face of Lucca,[32] a larger-than-life-sized wooden Crucifixion, was said to have been carved by Nicodemus, an eyewitness to the removal of Jesus's body from the cross (see Fig. 16.8). In keeping with its origins in the Near West, it wore a full-length tunic, in the Byzantine style. In the medieval period, copies of it were made and displayed throughout the Far West. Matthias of Janov (d. 1393/94) wrote that whenever he saw the Lucca image on a flag he had "always been terrified, my hair stood on end, because I thought of the coming of Christ to sit in judgment."[33]

28 Corrado Ricci, *Umbria Santa*, trans. H. C. Stewart (New York: Oxford UP, 1927), 182.

29 Giovanni Boccaccio, *Livre des femmes nobles et renommées* [translation of *De Claris mulieribus*], BnF MS Fr. 598, fol. 92r

30 Kirstin Noreen, "Re-Covering Christ in Late Medieval Rome: The Icon of Christ in the Sancta Sanctorum," *Gesta* 49 (2010): 77–150 (119–20).

31 Filəṗṗos, *Atti di Krestos Samrā*, ed. Enrico Cerulli, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Leuven: L. Durbecq, 1956), 11.

32 James Fishburne, "Renaissance Devotion and the Volto Santo of Lucca," *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 41 (2010): 149–66, https://doi.org/10.1353/cjm.2010.0024; Nicolotti, *Sindone*, 120–26; Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Les images d'une image: La figuration du Volto Santo de Lucca dans les manuscrits enluminés du Moyen Âge," in *The Holy Face*, ed. Kessler and Wolf, 205–27. Reproduced in Neil MacGregor and Erika Langmuir, *Seeing Salvation: Images of Christ in Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2000), 95 (fig. 30).

33 Matthias of Janov, from *Rules of the Old and New Testament* (ca. 1390), extracted in Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 540.

Fig. 16.8 Holy Face of Lucca, Lucca Cathedral, photograph by Joanbanjo (2011), Wikimedia, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Volto_Santo_de_Lucca.JPG

Two subsequent legends grew up around it, both flourishing by 1400. First is the story of the fiddler: one pilgrim to Lucca, too poor to offer the relic a gift, instead played music, and received a silver shoe.[34] The second appears to come from the misperception that this crucified figure, because of the "dress," was not Jesus, but a female saint. There was no plain-ken openness to the possibility that the tunic was a non-local, oriental costume. A backstory developed, or a pre-existing story was linked: the Portuguese princess Wilgefortis, disinclined to accept an arranged marriage, miraculously grew a beard so offensive to her suitor's narrow standards of beauty that the wedding was cancelled; her father, infuriated, had her crucified. The Wilgefortis cult spread quickly and widely (see Fig. 16.9). For example, in the early fifteenth century, a smaller version of the Lucca Crucifixion floated up the Isar River in Bavaria. Recovered from the river, it was installed in a church at Neufahrn bei Freising and performed miracles, including restoring sight to a blind woman and blinding, temporarily, a painter who incorrectly painted it red instead of blue. A Wilgefortis cult developed, and the church was rededicated to Kumernis, the Saint's local name.[35]

34 Koraljka Kos, "St. Kümmernis and Her Fiddler (An Approach to Iconology of Pictorial Folk Art)," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19 (1977): 251–66.

35 Ilse E. Friesen, *The Female Crucifix: Images of St. Wilgefortis Since the Middle Ages* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2001), esp. 70–73.

Fig. 16.9 *Scenes from the Life of St. Wilgefort* (ca. 1527) (detail), St. Wilgefortis Church, Neufahrn bei Freising, photograph by GFreihalter (2020), Wikimedia, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Neufahrn_bei_Freising_St._Wilgefortis_Chor_Tafelbilder_719.jpg?uselang=de

## The Gregory Image

A medieval mosaic, of some 50,000 pieces, representing the suffering Jesus (the Man of Sorrows) arrived in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (Rome) around 1400. During or soon after arrival, it became understood to be a record of Jesus's appearance to Gregory the Great (d. 604).[36] Israhel van Meckenem's (ca. 1445–1503) engraved *Man of Sorrows* (1490s) has an explanatory inscription: "This image was made according to the model and likeness of that first image of the *Pietà*, preserved in the church of the Holy Cross in the Roman city, which the most holy Pope Gregory the Great had painted, according to a vision [...] shown to him from above" (see Fig. 16.10). The importance of this Man of Sorrows in Santa Croce made it a popular subject in art more broadly. This image is distinctive among those considered authentic, as the depiction was based on an appearance of Jesus centuries after his death.

36 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 337–41; John Lansdowne, "The Micromosaic of the Man of Sorrows at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome" (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 2019). Scholarly consensus now is that it is a ca. 1300 Byzantine work arrived in Italy in the 1380s, maybe transported by Raimondello Orsini del Balzo from Sinai. See Carlo Bertelli, "The Image of Pity in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbart, Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon, 1967), 40–55; C. A. Tsakiridou, *Tradition and Transformation in Christian Art: The Transcultural Icon* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 40–52. An orthodox representational tradition, of Christ "the King of Glory" (Царь Славы), has a similar focus on the suffering Jesus.

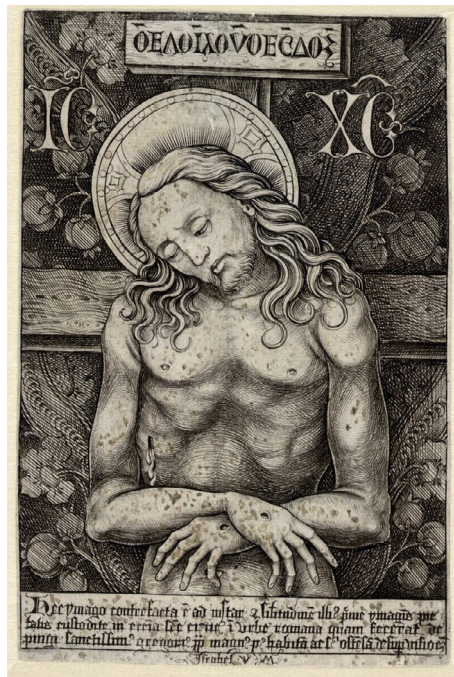


Fig. 16.10 Israhel van Meckenem, *Man of Sorrows* (1490s), Albertina, Vienna, public domain, https://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=search=/record/object numbersearch=[DG1926/1016]&showtype=record

## Lateran Palace Image

An important Jesus icon was kept in the Sancta Sanctorum of the old Lateran Palace, the papal palace before the Vatican.[37] Today it is sometimes called *l'Acheropita del Sancta Sanctorum*, which we can abbreviate as LASS (see Fig. 16.11). One ca. 1100 account explains that the image was begun by Luke but "completed through the power of God by an angel."[38] In the thirteenth century, Pope Innocent III (1161–1216) gave it a protective silver cover, with doors for feet. The cover provided protection not for the image, but for the viewer, as direct

37 Catherine Niehaus, "Appropriating Divinity: Iconography, Functionality, and Authority in Latium Acheropita Copies, ca. Twelfth-Fourteenth Centuries," *Comitatus* 47 (2016): 37–68, https://doi.org/10.1353/cjm.2016.0006; Kirstin Noreen, "Revealing the Sacred: The Icon of Christ in the Sancta Sanctorum, Rome," *Word & Image* 22 (2006): 228–37, https://doi.org/10.1080/02666286.2006.10435751

38 "De ecclesia sancti Laurentii in palatio," in *Museum italicum*, ed. Jean Mabillon, 2 vols. (Paris: Montalant, 1724), II, 572–73.

viewing could cause blindness or death.[39] On the doors are representations of people worshipping a, or this, Jesus image.[40] Each August, during the feast of Mary's Assumption, the LASS would be brought in procession to Santa Maria Maggiore to visit that church's venerated Mary image. During that procession, this Jesus image had its feet, accessed through the cover's doors, washed a total of five times.[41]

Fig. 16.11 Lateran Palace Image, Lateran Palace, Rome, photograph by Sailko (2016), Wikimedia, CC BY 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Immagine_acheropita_entro_altare_argenteo_di_Innocenzo_III,_1198-1216_ca._01.jpg

39 Gerald of Wales, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, in *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, 4 vols. (London: Longman, 1873), IV, 278; Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, in *Christusbilder*, ed. Dobschütz, I, 292*–93*.

40 Kirstin Noreen, "Sacred Memory and Confraternal Space: The Insignia of the Confraternity of the Santissimo Salvatore (Rome)," in *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 159–87 (175), suggests the horizontal strip under Jesus on the first door references the silver cover, but I propose it refers to the icon itself: the cover goes up to Jesus's chin, while the strip is lower, making his shoulder tops visible.

41 Giovanni Marangoni, *Istoria dell'antichissimo oratorio, o cappella di San Lorenzo* (Rome: San Michele, 1747), 120–28. See Ernst Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art," *The Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 6–19; Noreen, "Sacred Memory," 171.

Many copies of the LASS were made, mostly in Italy or by Italians. A fourteenth-century close copy, which included the universe-body of the coverless image, was at the Chiesa di San Biagio (Palombara Sabina). Later in that century, a fresco of it was made in the Santissima Annunziata Cathedral, Montecosaro. One painted copy was made ca. 1400 at Montecassino Abbey, and another, later in the century, at the Scriptorium di Castelnuovo. Antoniazzo Romano or his workshop made two copies (ca. 1490–1502), one now in Madrid (see Fig. 16.12), and another in Ancona's cathedral before it was destroyed in World War II.[42]

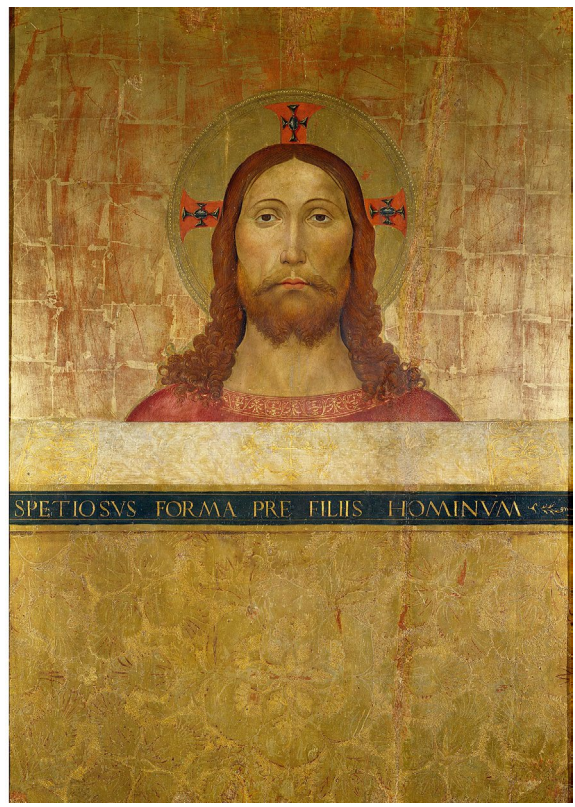


Fig. 16.12 Antoniazzo Romano workshop, copy of Lateran Palace Image (ca. 1490–1502), Museo del Prado, Madrid, Wikimedia, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Antoniazzo_Romano_Tr%C3%ADptico_con_busto_de_Cristo_entre_San_Juan_Bautista_y_San_Pedro,_San_Juan_Evangelista_y_Santa_Colomba._Tabla_centro._87_x_62_cm._Portezuelas._94_x_35_cm._Museo_del_Prado.jpg

42 Giovanni Russo, "Antoniazzo Romano" (PhD thesis, Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II," 2014), 151–54, 188–91.

## Mandylion, or the Image of Edessa

According to tradition, in the first century, Abgar V, King of Osroene, had sent a messenger named Ananias to Jesus to ask for medical aid, and upon arrival Ananias painted Jesus's portrait.[43] Some versions remembered that Jesus was in fact too bright to be painted, so Jesus washed his face and used a towel for drying, which was imprinted with his image.[44] Whether painted or printed, the resulting image became known as the Image of Edessa, the capital of Osroene, or as the Mandylion, from an Arabic word for "a cloth."[45]

By 1400, the Mandylion or a copy of it was claimed both in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris (in 1239, Emperor Baldwin II had sold it, with the Crown of Thorns, to the Venetians, who sold both to Louis of France)[46] as well as in San Bartolomeo degli Armeni in Genoa.[47] The presence of two additional Mandylion candidates in Rome (including the one in San Silvestro in Capite) led to long debates about authenticity, and more pragmatic decisions to favour one cult over another.[48] In 1517, the Silvestro in Capite Mandylion was suppressed to avoid rivalling the prestige of Rome's Veronica (see below).

43 Albert M. Ammann, "Due immagini del cosidetto Cristo di Edessa," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia d'Archeologia* 38 (1965–66): 185–94; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 208–15; Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, I, 185–87; Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 70–86; Steven Runciman, "Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa," *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 3 (1931): 238–52. For diffusion of images see Wilhelm Grimm, "Die Sage vom Ursprung der Christusbilder," in *Kleinere Schriften*, ed. Gustav Hinrichs, 4 vols. (Berlin: Dümmlers, 1883), III, 166–73.

44 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, "Narratio de imagine edessena," in *Scripta quæ reperiri potuerunt omnia*, in *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris: Migne, 1858), CXIII, col. 421–54. See Alexei Lidov, "The Miracle of Reproduction: The Mandylion and Keramion as a Paradigm of the Sacred Space," in *L'immagine di Cristo dall'acheropita alla mano d'artista*, ed. Christoph L. Frommel and Gerhard Wolf (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), 18–19; Andrea Nicolotti, *From the Mandylion of Edessa to the Shroud of Turin* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 7–28, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004278523. On one occasion Francis of Paola, asked for a portrait, pressed his face onto a tablecloth, which kept the image. Gino J. Simi and Mario M. Segreti, *St. Francis of Paola* (Rockford: Tan, 1977), 106.

45 Franz Rosenthal, "A Note on the Mandīl," in *Four Essays on Art and Literature in Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 63–99.

46 On the thirteenth-century transfer of relics (including crown and mandylion) to Paris, see Fernand de Mély, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae*, 2 vols. (Paris: Leroux, 1878), II, 135–36 (no. 80). See Nicolotti, *From the Mandylion*, 188–203.

47 Colette Dufour Bozzo, "La cornice del Volto Santo di Genova," *Cahiers archéologiques: Fin de l'antiquité et moyen-âge* 19 (1969): 223–30.

48 Giuseppe Carletti, *Memorie istorico-critiche della chiesa e monastero di S. Silvestro in Capite* (Rome: Pilucchi Cracas, 1795), 94–108. See Carlo Bertelli, "Storia e vicende dell'immagine edessena di S. Silvestro in Capite a Roma," *Paragone* 217 (1968): 3–33; Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium urbis Romae*, ed. Enrico Bulletti (Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1931), 215–16; Nicolotti, *From the Mandylion*, 182–87.

The Keramion was a tile, or multiple tiles, bearing the imprint of Jesus's image from the Mandylion. At least one was thought to have been brought to Georgia. It has been identified both with an icon kept in the Martqopi Monastery, until lost during Timur's invasions (1386–1403), and with an icon that in our period was at the Ancha Monastery.[49]

The Mandylion's origin story also became a subject for art, as in two images from the 1410s: Lluís Borrassà's (ca. 1360–1426) altarpiece for a Franciscan convent in Catalonia,[50] and a miniature in a manuscript of the *Fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient* [Flower of Histories from the Orient], written by the Armenian prince Hayton of Corycus (d. ca. 1310) to encourage crusading (see Fig. 16.13).

Fig. 16.13 Egerton or Bedford Master, *Creation of the Mandylion* (ca. 1410–12), BnF MS Fr. 2810, fol. 230r, public domain, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10021503v/f463.item

49 Ekaterine Gedevanishvili, "Encounters of Eastern and Western Christianity: Iconographic Peculiarities of the Holy Face of Telavi," in *Synergies in Visual Culture / Bildkulturen im Dialog*, ed. Nicola Suthor, Annette Hoffmann, Manuela De Giorgi, and Laura Veneskey (Leiden: Brill, 2013) 33–43 (33–34), https://doi.org/10.30965/9783846754665_004; Irma Karaulashvili, "A Short Overview of the Nationalised Peculiarities of the Abgar Legend in Georgian, Armenian and Slavonic Traditions," *Scripta & e-Scripta* 11–12 (2012): 171–84; Alexei Lidov, "Holy Face, Holy Script, Holy Gate: Revealing the Edessa Paradigm in Christian Imagery," in *Intorno al Sacro Volto*, ed. A.R. Calderoni Masetti, C. Dufour Bozzo, and G. Wolf (Venice: Marsilio, 2007), 195–212; Nicolotti, *From the Mandylion*, 160–62.

50 Lluís Borrassà, *Altarpiece Dedicated to Saint Francis* (1414–15), Museu Episcopal de Vic, Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Lluís_Borrassà#/media/File:Borrassa_retaule_advocacio_franciscana_2081.jpg. See Maria Portmann, "Converting Jews through Preaching and Painting in the Kingdom of Aragon, ca. 1400," in *Jews and Muslims Made Visible in Christian Iberia and Beyond, 14th to 18th Centuries*, ed. Borja Franco Llopis and Antonio Urquízar-Herrera (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 70–88 (70–75).

## Veronica

The Mandylion was not alone in receiving an imprint of Jesus's face. In the Far West, the most popular reproduction was the Veil of Veronica.[51] Tradition remembered a woman named Veronica who used her veil to wipe the sweat from Jesus's face as he carried his cross. The veil retained an image of his face. "Veronica" may be the Latin version of her name, or, reflecting the importance of the veil, a play on words *veram iconiam* [true icon]. It was also called the *Sudarium* [sweat-cloth]. The veil was understood to be kept in the Vatican, where it attracted so much popular interest that the loss of life in a stampede was a real danger. Its fate became uncertain during the 1527 Sack of Rome. Contemporaries variously reported it as unmolested, burned, or stolen to be passed through the city's taverns en route to oblivion.[52]

A number of powerful copies were made, either miraculously or by human hand. One was sent, according to tradition, in the thirteenth century, to the nuns at Montreuil Abbey (Laon),[53] with a note urging them not to be distressed by the dark complexion, caused by "the sun and heat of his tribulations."[54] Two

51 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 218–24, 371–73; Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, I, 197–262; Gabriele Finaldi, *The Image of Christ* (London: National Gallery, 2000), 80–83; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "«Frequentant memoriam visionis faciei meae»: Image and Imitation in the Devotions to the Veronica attributed to Gert[r]ude of Helfta," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998), 229–46; Karl Pearson, *Die Fronica: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1887), 94–141.

52 Giovanni Salviati to Baldassarre Castiglione, Paris, 8 June 1527, extracted in Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. Ralph Francis Kerr, 18 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1910), IX, 505–07; Marcello Alberini, *I Ricodi*, ed. Domenico Orano, Il Sacco di Roma 1 (Rome: Fornazi, 1901), 333; Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii*, ed. Federico Stefani, Guglielmo Berchet, and Nicolò Barozzi, 58 vols. (Venice: n.p., 1879–1903), XLV, col. 192; Pero Tafur, *Andanças é Viajes* (Madrid: Ginesta, 1874), 26.

53 *Holy Face*, Laon Cathedral, Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Icône_Sainte_Face_Laon_150808.jpg. See Andre Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon: le Mandylion dans l'art orthodoxe* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1930). Nicole Sabour, *La Sainte Face de Laon* (MA thesis, Université de Montréal, 2017).

54 Jean-Jacques Chifflet, *De linteis sepulchralibus Christi servatoris crisis historica* (Antwerp: n.p., 1624), 207–08. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 218, summarizes the explanation of the dark complexion as "the sunburn that Jesus had acquired on his wanderings through Palestine." Stephen Perkinson, *Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 75–78, https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226658810.001.0001 mostly follows Belting. In contrast to these plain-ken reads, Jacques Pantaléon, the future Urban IV, explains the darkness in terms of a farmer's tan, but does not suggest that Jesus was such a farmer; rather he, with the deep ken, is speaking of Jesus metaphorically working in the field which is this world. He cites the Song of Songs. While the source does, with the plain ken, contrast Jesus with those "qui

travelled to Spain, becoming known as the *Santo Rostro* of the Cathedral of Jaén and, arriving in the 1480s, as the *Santa Faz* of Alicante. Locals used the latter in a procession to create rain, and it miraculously wept.[55] Sometimes, these were referred to as mandylions, or copies of the Mandylion; contemporary sources did not carefully distinguish.

We can see another example of the transmission and copying in Central Europe. In 1368, a copy of the Rome Veronica was created, and brought to Prague's St. Vitus Cathedral by Charles IV (1316–78).[56] Around 1400, a copy of the copy was made, which eventually, by the eighteenth century, came to the St. Mary Magdalene Church in Wrocław.[57] The fifteenth-century(?) *Holy Face* in Saint Margaret's Basilica, Nowy Sącz may also have been a copy of Charles IV's.[58]

In some images, oriented towards the deep ken, the Jesus face on the veil is more real than the veil.[59] It defies the spatial limitations of its cloth medium. Some Veronicas ignore the concavity of the veil, or its folds, or its shadows. We see divergence even among the works of a single artist. Of these two Veronicas painted by Hans Memling (ca. 1430–94), one's veil shows a real Jesus, the other an illusionistic relic.[60] Sometimes the halo lines' rays appear to be before the veil and behind the face, essentially forcing the face out in front of the veil (see

semper resident sub aere temperate frigido," to emphasize the physical reality of the Near West the general tenor of the passage orients itself to the Song of Songs.

55 Vicente Martínez Colomer, *Historia de la provincia de Valencia de la regular observancia de S. Francisco*, 2 vols. (Valencia: Faulí, 1803), I, 169; María Amparo López Arandia, "Aproximación a un tratado ilustrado sobre el Santo Rostro de Jaén," *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses* 171 (1999): 29–45; Manuel López Pérez, *El Santo Rostro de Jaén* (Jaén: Agrupación de Cofradías y Hermandades de la Ciudad de Jaén, 1995); Rafael Esplá Rizo, *La Santísima Faz de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo* (Alicante: Serra, 1962).

56 Image and information available at *Veronica Route*, https://veronicaroute.com/1368/03/07/1368/. See Klára Benešovská, "Forgotten Paths to 'Another' Renaissance: Prague and Bohemia, c. 1400," in *Renaissance? Perceptions of Continuity and Discontinuity in Europe, c.1300–c.1550*, ed. Alexander Lee, Harry Schnitker, and Pierre Péporté (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 289–310 (293–94, 300), https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004183346.i-370.47; Pearson, *Die Fronica*, 97.

57 See "Denarius (Royal Type)," *Digital Collections of the National Museum in Warsaw*, https://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/en/catalog/603043

58 See "Obraz," *Parafia pw. Św. Małgorzaty w Nowym Sączu*, https://www.bazylika.org.pl/obraz.html and *Veronica Route*, https://veronicaroute.com/1390/06/28/xiv-16/

59 Noa Turel, *Living Pictures: Jan van Eyck and Painting's First Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2020), 30–8.

60 Hans Memling, *Triptych of Jan Floreins*, 1479, Memlingmuseum, Bruges, Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hans_Memling_-_Triptych_of_Jan_Floreins_(reverse)_-_WGA14894.jpg; Hans Memling, *Saint Veronica*, ca. 1475, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.41659.html

Fig. 16.14).[61] Resisting folds sometimes created an illusion of the face floating in front of the veil.[62] This can best be seen in three dimensions, when a sculpture shows Jesus's face projecting out from the flat veil.[63]

Fig. 16.14 Masters of Zweder van Culemborg, *Man of Sorrows*, *Book of Hours* (ca. 1430s) (detail), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MS W.168, fol. 128v, CC BY 3.0, https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W168/

61 E.g., Book of Hours (ca. 1430s), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MS W.168, fol. 128v, https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W168/description.html; see also Master E. S., *St Veronica Engraving* (1450–67), British Museum, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1895-1214-113

62 See Simon von Taisten, *Saint Veronica with the Veil* (1496), Kapelle Zur Allerheiligsten Dreifaltigkeit Auf Schloss Bruck, Austria, https://veronicaroute.com/1496/02/17/1496-6/. Here, there is consonance between the cloth and Jesus's eyes, both drooping.

63 See the Veil of Veronica sculpture, polychrome stone, tomb of the Archbishop Werner von Falkenstein (d. 1418) (behind the shield held by angels behind the Archbishop's head), Basilica of St. Castor, Koblenz, https://veronicaroute.com/1418/12/29/1418/. For more examples, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone, 1998), 89, 100 and Noa Turel, "Living Pictures: Rereading 'au vif,' 1350–1550," *Gesta* 50 (2011): 163–82 (170, fig. 9), https://doi.org/10.2307/41550555

Fig. 16.15 Master of Delft workshop, *Carrying the Cross* (ca. 1475–1500), Louvre, Paris, photograph by Sailko (2013), Wikimedia, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maestro_di_delft,_cristo_portacroce,_1490_ca..JPG

Some Veronica images depict the process of imprinting the face onto the veil, but approach it in very different ways. One Dutch engraving shows the veil, just imprinted, having merely a smudge, illegible but illusionistic in a plain-ken manner.[64] A German altarpiece shows the imprinted veil with a Jesus face more abstract than that on the Jesus bearing the cross. Veronica's arm gets in the way, as per plain-ken space, blocking most of the veil face.[65] Ridolfo Ghirlandaio's (1483–1561) *The Procession to Calvary* (ca. 1505) has Jesus's face in the veil directly facing the viewer, even as the actual Jesus's face is turned aside in profile.[66] A Dutch painting downplays the copying process. Here, Veronica has already turned away from Jesus, more focused on the relic than

64 E.g., Lucas van Leyden, *Christ Carrying the Cross* (1521), hand-coloured engraving, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-2011-115-8

65 Ascent to Calvary, altar (1470–90), German, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Cologne, https://veronicaroute.com/1470/01/19/1470-1490-5/

66 Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, *The Procession to Calvary* (ca. 1505), National Gallery, London, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/ridolfo-ghirlandaio-the-procession-to-calvary

on Jesus himself. The veil is translucent, so the face is almost floating in space, but her facing away means that the two Jesus faces, original and copy, are both facing the same direction, reinforcing the sense of fidelity (see Fig. 16.15).[67] One Italian painting of the Sudarium prominently includes an IHS-halo and blood on Jesus's face. Are these imprints of the original (in which case the lettering "should" be reversed), or are they merely adorning the copy?[68]

Ugo da Carpi's (fl. 1502–32) altarpiece for St. Peters in Rome (ca. 1524–27)[69] was originally located near the chamber with the Veronica itself. It bore an inscription, *Per Vgo / da Carpi Intaiatore / fata senza / penello*, that is, "Ugo da Carpi the engraver made without a brush." This alludes to the idea that the Veronica was made "without human hands." He worked off a preparatory drawing by Parmigianino (1503–40) but took away the three-dimensional effects from the face; with shading and shadows replaced by solid abstraction, the face appears to float above the cloth. Michelangelo (1475–1564) and Vasari (1511–74) later laughed at the "without a brush" inscription, and the former, critical of the finished product, snipped that maybe Ugo should have used a brush after all.[70] A close examination reveals that he used a woodblock to print Jesus's face on the panel, and then finger-painted it. Thus, it was made without a brush, and it, like the original Veronica, involved a process of imprinting.

Miniature versions of the Veronica, called vernicles, were popular in the Far West.[71] The Hours of Philip the Bold had well-used vernicles sewn in,[72] and one German prayerbook for nuns had a darkened vernicle glued in.[73] The Pardoner in Geoffrey Chaucer's (ca. 1340s–1400) *Canterbury Tales* had a vernicle sewn into

67 Master of Delft or workshop or circle, *Carrying the Cross* (ca. 1475–1500), Louvre, Paris, https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010066468

68 *Sudarium of St. Veronica* (Italian, ca. 1450), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/SK-A-3994

69 The altarpiece is now in L'Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro. Parmigianino's preparatory *Drawing for the Saint Veronica Altarpiece*, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, n. 13554 F, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Drawings_by_Parmigianino_in_the_Uffizi_Gallery#/media/File:Parmigianino_-_inv_13554_F.jpg. Nicole Blackwood, "Printmaker as Painter: Looking Closely at Ugo da Carpi's Saint Veronica Altarpiece," *Oxford Art Journal* 36 (2013): 167–84, http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxartj/kct015

70 Vasari, *Le vite*, V, 421–22.

71 For a statistical analysis of Veronica images/copies, see Amanda C. Murphy, Felicita Mornata, and Rafaella Zardoni, "From Copies to an Original: The Contribution of Statistical Methods," in *La svolta inevitabile: sfide e prospettive per l'informatica umanistica*, ed. Cristina Marras, Marco Passarotti, Greta Franzini, and Eleonora Litta (Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 2020), 178–84.

72 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 11035-37, fol. 97r, https://uurl.kbr.be/1768650

73 *Gebetbuch für Nonnen*, BSB Cgm 12, fol. 1v, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00095487?page=8,9. For vernicles, see Hamburger, *Visual*, 329–31.

his hat.[74] Veronicas would be made in reverse and imprinted onto surfaces.[75] The Veronica was one of several Jesus images popular as paper watermarks from the 1390s.[76] Vernicles appeared on coins,[77] as rings[78] and as brass pilgrim badges.[79]

In practice, only vague borders separate the LASS, the Mandylion, and the Veronica. Nineteenth-century scholarship has sharpened those borders artificially. The Jaén image is usually classified as a Veronica, but is more similar to the Genoa and San Silvestro images (usually classified as mandylions) than to the Laon Veronica. Genoa-Silvestro-Jaén visually form a type. In comparison, the Laon Veronica is more illustionistic (and so plain ken), while the LASS is more abstract in its features (and so more deep ken). One German Veronica (ca. 1420s) even replaces the veil with a mandorla, blurring the edges of the category of Veronicas.[80]

## The Lentulus Letter

Before our period, a number of textual descriptions of Jesus's appearance circulated. Christians used the Old Testament and logic to argue that Jesus was especially beautiful, especially ugly, or polymorphic—shifting his shape to take on an appearance appropriate to the circumstance.[81] Muslims had their own parallel traditions. Ibn Arabi (1165–1240) described Jesus as "a man who is like unto his father [Gabriel or the Spirit of God], who is non-Arab, well-proportioned in his physical make-up, and of medium height."[82] Al-Suyuti (1445–1505) cited a hadith collected by al-Bukhari (810–70): Jesus was "of medium height, brown, as if he had come out of an underground passage, that is, a bathhouse."[83]

74 Geoffrey Chaucer, *General Prologue*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson and F. N. Robinson (Boston, MA: Houghton-Mifflin, 1987), 34 (line 685).

75 Hamburger, *Visual*, 338.

76 Etienne Midoux and Auguste Matton, *Étude sur les filigranes des papiers employés en France aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris: Dumoulin, 1868), 22–23, nos. 1, 10.

77 For example, the papal ducat (1464–71) with Veronica and her veil. Image reproduced at *Veronica Route*, https://veronicaroute.com/1467/10/29/1464-1471-2/; Arthur L. Friedberg and Ira S. Friedberg, *Gold Coins of the World from Ancient Times to the Present*, 9th ed. (Williston, ND: Coin and Currency Institute, 2017), 773.

78 Visa Immonen, "Medieval Vernicle Finger Rings in Finland," *Fornvännen* 99 (2004): 103–18.

79 See pilgrim badge (fifteenth century), British Museum, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1855-0625-16

80 Anonymous, *The Holy Face of Christ-Vera Icon* (ca. 1420–30), Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, Nr. 1217.

81 Gilbert Dagron, "Holy Images and Likeness," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 23–33.

82 Ibn al-'Arabi, *Jawab al-Mustaqim* (1206–07), quoted in Gerald T. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time* (Brill: Leiden, 1999), 593.

83 Al-Suyuti, *Le parfait manuel des sciences coraniques: al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān de Ğalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī* (*849/1445–911/1505*), trans. Michel Lagarde (Leiden: Brill,

As we approach the period under study such traditions continued, sometimes with unexpected variations. A Wycliffite belief held that Jesus, in heaven, was "seue fote [seven foot] in fourme and figure of flesshe and blode."[84] Some people saw Jesus themselves and recorded his appearance. For example, in Basel, Jesus appeared to the lay woman called the Selige Schererin, the "pious shearer" (d. 1409), and "showed on his face how he was handled or formed when he was in the savage hands of the Jews, who held him in prison. And his face was a dark brown-yellow because of his distress…"[85]

The most important description, with the boldest claim on authority, was called the Lentulus Letter.[86] The letter appeared to be authored by a Roman official Publius Lentulus, who had personally seen Jesus, and recorded his appearance. Jesus's height was moderate (*mediocris*). His unripe-hazelnut hair (*coloris nucis avellane premature*) was smooth as far as his ears, where it curled and darkened. His moderately ruddy face was "without wrinkle or blemish," and his "copious" beard colour-consonant (*concolorem*) with his hair. The letter concluded by confirming a line from the Psalms (45:2 [44:3]), which "with merit" praised an "appearance beautiful in comparison with the sons of men" (*speciosus forma prae filiis hominum*).[87] Aspects of the Lentulus description echoed those of several medieval Greek manuscripts, ranging from theologian John of Damascus (d. 749) to historian Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (d. ca. 1335).

Lorenzo Valla's (1407–57) denunciation of this "vicious and spurious" source did nothing to detract from its popularity.[88] At least five Latin versions

2018), 1142, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004357112

84 Anne Hudson, ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 17.

85 "Von der seligen Schererin" (1409), reproduced in Hans-Jochen Schiewer, "Auditionen und Visionen einer Begine: Die 'Selige Schererin', Johannes Mulberg und der Basler Beginenstreit," in *Die Vermittlung geistlicher Inhalte im deutschen Mittelalter*, ed. Timothy R. Jackson, Nigel F. Palmer und Almut Suerbaum (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 1996), 289–318 (313), https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110939743.289

86 Shindo Jun 新藤淳, "Profile Icons: On the 'Portrait' of Christ on the Eve of the Reformation横顔のアイコン—宗教改革前夜におけるキリストの「肖像」について," *Bulletin of the National Museum of Western Art* 国立西洋美術館研究紀要 13 (2009): 5–27; J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 542–43; Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone, 2010), 250–74.

87 Michele Savonarola, *Speculum physonomie*, BnF MS Lat. 7357, fol. 54rb. See Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, II, 308**–30**, with the text at 319**; Cora E. Lutz, "The Letter of Lentulus Describing Christ," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 50 (1975): 91–97. For background, see Joseph Ziegler, "*Cuius facies est deformis, mores habere bonos non potest nisi raro*: Reflections on the Notion of Deformity in Medieval Learned Physiognomy," in *Deformità fisica e identità della persona tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Gian Maria Varanini (Florence: Firenze UP, 2015), 181–97.

88 Lorenzo Valla, *The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine*, trans. Christopher B. Coleman (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1922), 143.

were written out in the fourteenth century, and at least thirty-five in the fifteenth, alongside translation into vernacular languages.[89] The fifteenth-century texts tend to have more elaborate framing devices that speak to plain-ken expectations, giving details—names or dates—of the discovery of the manuscript earlier in the century. The text was influenced by, and published in, Ludolph of Saxony's (ca. 1295–1378) *Life of Christ* (1474).[90] Drawing on Lentulus, which he quoted in its entirety, the physician Michele Savonarola (1385–1468), grandfather of the famous Girolamo, linked Jesus with the physiognomy of the normative (*temperatus*) human, with an emphasis on moderation (*mediocritas*): moderate height, moderate hands and feet, colour neither too red nor too white. That is, he used the deep ken to extrapolate human-biology norms from Jesus's appearance.[91]

Like a police sketch artist today, fifteenth-century artists transformed the words of the Lentulus Letter into visual representations of Jesus. The text created a basic framework, but a number of artistic decisions had to be made to create a plain-ken illusionistic image. New visual image would have to be added to what the text dictated.[92] This ambiguity allowed for a variety of interpretation, and the various exemplars varied significantly in their details; by fitting within the textually defined parameters, these could "check the box" of authenticity.

Early on, the image appeared most prominently in medals. The medal was a classical medium that enjoyed a revival during the Renaissance.[93] In the 1450s, Matteo de' Pasti (1412–68) made a medal based on the Lentulus description (see Fig. 16.16). Note that the nimbus is a cross-section, in perspective. The reverse text identifies him as the author.[94] A similar sketch, probably contemporary, perhaps preparatory, exists in an album of drawings by Pisanello (d. ca. 1450/55), de'

89 Dobschutz, *Christusbilder*, II, 308**–29**. For example, *Rubricae, prologi, argumenta librorum bibliae*, BSB Clm 19608, 201v, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00102998?page=410,411

90 Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation, 1378–1615* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 259, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004476172; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 245–46.

91 Savonarola, *Speculum physonomie*, fol. 54rb.

92 Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 155–64.

93 Brigit Blass-Simmen, "The Medal's Contract," in *Inventing Faces*, ed. Mona Körte (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013), 20–43.

94 Matteo de' Pasti, Jesus medallion (ca. 1450), Museo del Bargello, Florence, Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Matteo_de%27_pasti,_medaglia_di_ges%C3%B9_cristo,_recto.JPG. Another exemplar is in the Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?lang=en&id=18228298

Pasti's teacher.[95] This medal likely informed a similar one, gilt silver.[96] It also inspired rectangular plaquettes, made of bronze.[97]


Fig. 16.16 Matteo de' Pasti, Jesus medallion (ca. 1450), Museo del Bargello, Florence, photograph by Sailko (2013), Wikimedia, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Matteo_de%27_pasti,_medaglia_di_gesù_cristo,_recto.JPG

A second wave of Lentulus portrait medals, in bronze, occurred ca. 1500, probably in Florence. The reverses had texts, one of which explained the authority of the image: the Emperor Tiberius (rl. AD 14–37) had been so moved by the Lentulus Letter that he commissioned an emerald cameo as a visualization of the textual description. In 1482, Sultan Bayezid II (1447–1512) sent Pope Sixtus IV (1414–84) just such an emerald cameo, now lost, engraved with a Jesus portrait—like the Lance (see Chapter 8), this was a thank-you for keeping the Sultan's brother out of the way in Rome. The emerald was then used as the model for the medal.[98]

95 Antonio Pisanello, *Projet du droit une médaille à effigie du Christ, en buste, de profil*, Louvre, Paris, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl020003081

96 Medallion (mid-fifteenth century), V&A Museum, London, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O39776/medallion/. For this paragraph, see G. F. Hill, "Medallic Portraits of Christ in the Fifteenth Century," *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist* 10 (1904): 178–84 (175–77).

97 *Portrait of Christ* (late fifteenth century), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, https://collections.ashmolean.org/collection/search/per_page/100/offset/100/sort_by/relevance/object/44457 and plaquette (fifteenth century), British Museum, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1893-0901-2

98 See Hill, "Medallic Portraits of Christ." For an example of Hill's "Type A," see medal (cast) (ca. 1492–1500), British Museum, London,

Images based on the Lentulus text appeared in a range of other media. This 1507 woodcut, made at Pforzheim, is gloriously spare (see Fig. 16.17).[99] The Augsburg printer Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) made a ca. 1511–15 woodcut that paired the text of the Lentulus with an illustrative medal image, and an account of a bronze relief portrait based on a painted-from-life image that a sultan had given a German pilgrim visiting the Holy Sepulchre.[100] A painted Utrecht diptych (1490s) has the Lentulus text on the left and its image on the right (see Fig. 16.18).[101] Another Lentulus painting (ca. 1485–1509) bore an English caption.[102] Other Lentulus visualizations appeared as terracotta[103] or papier-mâché reliefs.[104]

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https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_G3-PMAE1-1. For Hall's "Type D," see the late-fifteenth to early-sixteenth century medals at the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, nr. 381763 and 381764, https://fotoinventari.uffizi.it/it/ricerca. Hill, "Medallic Portraits of Christ," 188–92, shares Nagel and Wood's doubts about the emerald.

99 Hill, "Medallic Portraits of Christ," 184–92.

100 Hans Burgkmair, *Portrait of Christ with the Text of the So-called Lentulus Letter*, ca. 1511, woodcut. See *Medaillon mit Profilkopf Christi* (1510–12), The Albertina Museum, Vienna, https://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=search=/record/objectnumbersearch=[DG1934/52]&showtype=record. This appears to derive from a Hill "Type D" medal. Max Geisberg, *German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500–1550*, ed. Walter L. Strauss, 4 vols. (New York: Hacker: 1974), II, 413 has a reproduction of a Burgkmair woodcut. See Georg Habich, "Zum Medaillen-Porträt Christi," *Archiv für Medaillen- und Plaketten-kunde* 2 (1920): 69–78; C. W. King, "The Emerald Vernicle of the Vatican," *Archaeological Journal* 27 (1870): 181–90; Stephanie Leitch, "Visual Acuity and the Physiognomer's Art of Observation," *Oxford Art Journal* 38 (2015): 189–208 (206–07), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxartj/kcv010

101 *Diptych of Image of Christ* (fifteenth century), Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, https://www.nasscal.com/materiae-apocryphorum/diptych-of-image-of-christ/. See John Oliver Hand, Catherine A. Metzger, and Ron Spronck, *Prayers and Portraits: Unfolding the Netherlandish Dyptich* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2006), 200–05; Stijn Bussels, "The Diptych of the Lentulus Letter: Building Textual and Visual Evidence for Christ's Appearance," in *Speaking to the Eye: Sight and Insight Through Text and Image (1150–1650)*, ed. Thérèse de Hemptinne, Veerle Fraeters, and Mariá Eugenia Góngora (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 241–57; Finaldi, *The Image of Christ*, 94–97.

102 *The International Sale: Old Master Paintings, Drawings & Prints* (Exton, PA: Brilliant Studio, 2011), 10.

103 *Reliëf van Christushoofd* (1500–50), Stedelijk Museum Breda, Breda, https://www.brabantserfgoed.nl/collectie/object/stedelijk-museum-breda/f5d1d515141f791df8b4f5bd38749e9248aa326c

104 Horst Appuhn and Christian von Heusinger, "Der Fund kleiner Andachtsbilder des 13. bis 17. Jahrhunderts in Kloster Wienhausen," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 4 (1965): 157–238 (230–31) (no. 88, ill. 212). The circumferential text reads "(IE-)SVS • XPS • SALVA/T(O)R • MV(N)DI."

Fig. 16.17 Lentulus woodcut (1507), from Ludwig Kaemmerer, *Hubert und Jan van Eyck* (Leipzig: Velhagen and Klasing, 1898), 97, https://archive.org/details/hubertundjanvane00kaem/page/96/mode/2up

Fig. 16.18 Diptych of Image of Christ (1490s), Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, Wikimedia, CC0 1.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MCC-42341_Tweeluik_met_Lentulusbrief_en_portret_van_Christus_(1).tif

These Lentulus images found their way into other artwork. A Lentulus medal appears in Bartolomeo Montagna's (d. 1523) *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*

(1498).[105] In other cases, the text or images exemplifying it informed the depiction of Jesus, as in the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* tapestry (1516–21) (commissioned by Leo X for the Sistine Chapel; cartoon by Raphael; tapestries made in Brussels by Pieter van Aelst),[106] or Michelangelo's marble statue *Risen Christ* (1519–21).[107]

## Lifelike Jesus Images

In the wake of the development of the interest in authentic images came portraits that had no claim to authenticity but achieved a visual charisma through effective plain-ken techniques.

In some cases, the veil disappears, mostly or entirely, and we are left with Jesus portraits. Bernardino Zaganelli's (d. 1510) painting centres so starkly on such a plain veil that the face dominates, and it becomes a portrait of Jesus as much as an image of a veil. The hyper-realism of the face compounds this effect (see Fig. 16.19). Jan van Eyck (d. 1441) made a Veronica painting, now lost, that inspired a number of copies (ca. 1438–45) (see Fig. 16.20).[108] These portraits are signed works, with text explicitly commenting on the creation:

105 Bartolomeo Montagna, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* (1498), Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bartolomeo_Montagna_-_Madonna_and_Child_Enthroned_with_Saints_-_WGA16154.jpg

106 Pieter van Aelst, *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* (ca. 1519), Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pieter_van_Edingen_Van_Aelst_-_The_Miraculous_Draught_of_Fishes_-_WGA07459.jpg. Lisa Pon, "Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* Tapestries for Leo X: Sight, Sound, and Space in the Sistine Chapel," *The Art Bulletin* 97 (2005): 388–408, https://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.2015.1043827; John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London: Phaidon, 1972), 50–51.

107 Michelangelo, *Risen Christ* (1519–21), Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Michelangelo-Christ.jpg. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, 162. Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 138–39 links the Minerva Jesus to a similar image in Fra Bartolomeo's sketchbook. Fra Bartolomeo, *Studies for Salvator Mundi* (1516), Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, https://www.boijmans.nl/collectie/kunstwerken/59387/schetsen-voor-diverse-projecten-waaronder-de-salvator-mundi-het-centrale-paneel-van-het-billi-altaarstuk-florence-galleria-palatina

108 Extant copies include (1) *Antlitz Christi* (1438), Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Van_Eyck_%28workshop%29,_Holy_Face,_1438,_Berlin.jpg, (2) *Salvator Mundi* (January 30, 1440), Groeningemuseum, Bruges, https://artifexinopere.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/van-eyck-copie-salvator-mundi-Groeningemuseum-Bruges.jpg, (3) Petrus Christus, *Head of Christ* (ca. 1445), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435897, and (4) *Das Wahre Antlitz Christi* (ca. 1500), in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/en/artwork/ZMLJYJDxJv

"painted and completed me on 31 January 1438," or a humble "as well as I can" (*als ich chan*).[109] Their illusionism orients towards the plain ken, with light making the nimbus look real. They appear like contemporary, secular portraits, sharing characteristics like half lengths and dark backgrounds.[110] The veil is no longer necessary to establish authenticity and power: these instead have illusionism to an impressive degree.

Fig. 16.19 Bernardino Zaganelli, *Saint Veronica's Veil* (ca. 1500), Philadelphia Museum of Art, public domain, https://www.philamuseum.org/collection/object/101900

109 This date is on the copy in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. See John Oliver Hand, "Salve sancta facies: Some Thoughts on the Iconography of the 'Head of Christ' by Petrus Christus," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 27 (1992): 7–18; Joseph Leo Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 89, 104–07.

110 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 430 notes that one (1440?) has windows reflected in his eyes, as if he's sitting in a studio.

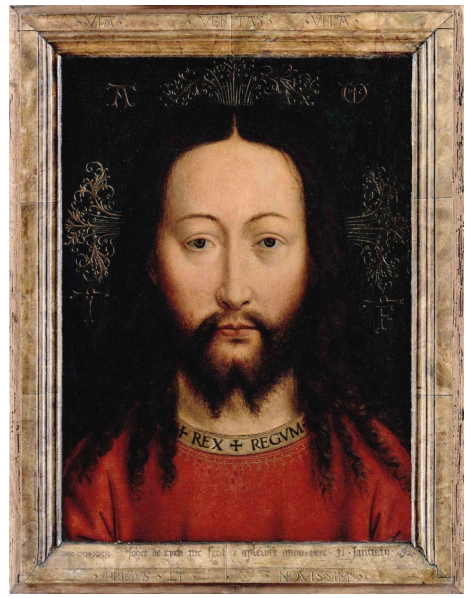


Fig. 16.20 Jan van Eyck workshop, *Holy Face* (ca. 1438), Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, Wikimedia, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Van_Eyck_%28workshop%29,_Holy_Face,_1438,_Berlin.jpg

Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) also used himself as a model for Jesus, and perhaps Jesus as a model for himself.[111] His ca. 1492 self-portrait (see Fig. 16.21) has a pose and expression that reappears in his *Christ as Man of Sorrows* (1490s) (see Fig. 16.22). That *Christ* also shares with Dürer a distinctive, bony thumb. His 1500 *Self-Portrait*, now at Munich, has a symmetry and frontality that at the time would be strongly associated with religious, not secular, portraiture.[112] His 1503 charcoal drawing of the head of the dead Jesus again incorporates some of his own features; on it he notes that this was made during an illness.[113] In 1522, he made a new self-portrait, a pencil drawing with chalk, of himself in a state of

111 Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy* (London: British Museum, 2002); Rudolf Preimesberger, "'…proprijs sic effingebam coloribus…': Zu Dürers Selbstbildnis von 1500," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998); Koerner, *Moment*, 116; Robert Smith, "Dürer as Christ?," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 6 (1975): 26–36.

112 Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy*, 81–82; Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits, European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1990), 81–86; Kayo Hirakawa, "The Man of Sorrows in the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe," *Kyoto Studies in Art History* 1 (2016): 3–18, https://doi.org/10.14989/229448

113 Albrecht Dürer, drawing (1503), British Museum, London (BM Sloane 5218-29), https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_SL-5218-29. See Smith, "Dürer as Christ?," 34–36.

suffering, when he had malaria; here he gives himself Jesus's features, and holds a whip and a scourge, like the Arma Christi.[114]

Fig. 16.21 Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait* (1491–92), Graphische Sammlung der Universität, Erlangen, public domain, https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:29-bv039856508-8.

Fig. 16.22 Albrecht Dürer, *Man of Sorrows* (1490s) Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, CC0 1.0, https://www.kunsthalle-karlsruhe.de/kunstwerke/Albrecht-Dürer/Christus-als-Schmerzensmann/4CF6CD9D45DD6B1AC91CECAE9EC57F44/

114 Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait as the Man of Sorrows* (1522), Kunsthalle Bremen, Bremen, Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Albrecht_D%C3%BCrer_-_Self-Portrait_as_the_Man_of_Sorrows_-_WGA07108.jpg

A number of paintings, through their artists' extraordinary skill, achieved a particularly compelling expressive force. Antonello da Messina's (d. 1479) *Christ Blessing* (1465)lacks a halo but includes a parapet with a card noting the artist's name and date.[115] Hans Memling's *Christ Blessing* (1478) is similarly illusionistic.[116] Benedetto Rusconi's (ca. 1460–1525) *Christ Blessing* (1510s) follows Antonello closely.[117] Francesco Francia's (1447–1517) *Ecce Homo* (ca. 1500) has an illusionistic Jesus with a translucent halo.[118] Antoniazzo Romano's version (ca. 1495) appears in the tradition of the Laon Veronica and the Roman-confraternal emblems.[119] Fernando Yáñez's (d. 1536) *Head of Christ* (ca. 1506) was influenced by Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) (see Fig. 16.23). Correggio's (1489–1534) own *Head of Christ* (ca. 1525–30) uses a barely visible, awkwardly composed veil fringe, contributing to the realism of the depiction.[120]


Fig. 16.23 Fernando Yáñez, *Head of Christ* (ca. 1506), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, public domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/641257

115 Antonello da Messina, *Christ Blessing* (1465), National Gallery, London, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/antonello-da-messina-christ-blessing

116 Hans Memling, *Christ Blessing* (1478), Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, https://www.nortonsimon.org/art/detail/M.1974.17.P

117 Benedetto Rusconi, *Christ Blessing* (1510s), National Gallery London, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/benedetto-diana-christ-blessing

118 Francesco Francia, *Ecce Homo* (ca. 1500), The Monastery of the Minor Brothers, Dubrovnik, Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francesco_francia,_ecce_homo,_1490-1510_ca._01.JPG

119 Antoniazzo Romano, *Bust of Christ* (ca. 1495), Museo del Prado, Rome, https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/bust-of-christ/5c550e3d-1b9d-4eb3-aebe-97372ac88807

A branch of this lifelike-portrait tradition even reached Ethiopia: the painting known as the *Kwer'ata Re'esu* was probably made by a European, either brought to Ethiopia or created there, perhaps in connection with Dom Rodrigo de Lima's embassy in the 1520s.[121]

## Bloody Jesus Depictions

Lifelike Jesus images take many forms. While illusionistic Jesus portraits attract the modern gaze, depictions of the bloodied Jesus of the Passion narrative are, for us, much more alien.[122] We will see (Chapter 20) the violence associated with Jesus marriages in this period, and the gore in these images would also have been emotionally charged. One early-fifteenth-century Crucifixion describes Longinus's stabbing of Jesus as "love."[123]

These depictions occur in a variety of types, visual styles, media, and contexts. One illustration shows two angels holding the side wound, here embedded on

120 Correggio, *Head of Christ* (ca. 1525–30), Getty Center, Los Angeles, Wikimedia, 94.PB.74 https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103RK3 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Correggio_(Antonio_Allegri)_(Italian)_-_Head_of_Christ_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg. David Ekserdjian, *Correggio* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP 1997), 6, 166–71 says this "evidently intended to be an image of the veil," but Denise Allen takes this as image of Jesus himself, with the veil wrapped around his shoulders, in Mollie Holtman, ed., *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Paintings* (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1997), 25 (no. 10). Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (London: Murray, 1857), 345 describes it as "unfinished." See Eugenio Riccomini, "Le Corrège: Un visage du Christ," *L'Oeil* 454 (1993): 26–29.

121 Martin Bailey, "Exclusive: First Colour Photographs Shed Fresh Light on Ethiopia's Most Treasured Icon and its Looting by an Agent of the British Museum," *The Art Newspaper* (25 September 2023), https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2023/09/25/exclusive-first-colour-photographs-shed-fresh-light-on-ethiopias-most-treasured-icon-and-its-looting-by-an-agent-of-the-british-museum; Stanisław Chojnacki, *The "Kweráta re'esu": Its Iconography and Significance* (Naples: Istituto orientale di Napoli, 1985), fig. 4, 12–14.

122 For more on Jesus's wounds and their depictions, see David S. Areford, "Reception," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 73–88; David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 37–42; Parshall and Schoch, ed., *Origins of European Printmaking*, 258–62; Flora May Lewis, "The Wound in Christ's Side and the Instruments of the Passion," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Jane H. M. Taylor and Lesley Smith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 204–29; Wolfgang Riehle, *The Middle English Mystics*, trans. Bernard Standring (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 46–47.

123 Nigel Morgan, "Longinus and the Wounded Heart," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46–47 (1993–94): 507–19.

a cloth.[124] Another abstracts the wounds even further, showing them floating in space independent of any wounded body.[125] A French stained glass has blood spurting out from wounds on Jesus's disembodied feet, hands, and heart.[126] One fifteenth-century manuscript illustration depicts a lance stabbing the heart, surrounded by nail-stabbed feet and hands.[127] Another manuscript image of the Crucifixion, linked to an 80,000-year indulgence, has Jesus's entire body dripping with blood, hideously.[128]

The most famous, and perhaps the bloodiest, of such manuscripts is BL Egerton MS 1821 (ca. 1480s).[129] An abbreviated "Jesus" heads each page, suggesting an origin in the House of Jesus of Bethlehem of Sheen, a Carthusian monastery outside London. Fol. 1r–2r have drops of blood, and in places are worn, suggesting rubbing if not kissing. Blood and wounds densely populate fol. 6r–8r. Turning another leaf, we see fol. 8v has a Man of Sorrows, covered with blood, with a background of blood. The next folios show a lanced heart on a cross with nailed hand and foot, covered with blood, on a background of blood

124 Book of Hours (Cistercian), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MS W.218, fol. 28v, https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W218/description.html

125 Loftie Hours, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MS W.165, fol. 110v, https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W165/description.html

126 Sacred Heart and Five Wounds, stained glass (ca. 1450), Burrell Collection, Glasgow, http://collections.glasgowmuseums.com/mwebcgi/mweb?request=record;id=39736;type=101#. It has a cousin at in Shield with the Arma Christi, stained glass (ca. 1400), Burrell Collection, Glasgow, http://collections.glasgowmuseums.com/mwebcgi/mweb?request=record;id=40991;type=101

127 See *The Popular Imagery Collection: An Inventory of the Collection at the Harry Ransom Center*, University of Texas, Austin, https://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/fasearch/findingAid.cfm?eadid=00484&kw=Jesus%20heart (item 324).

128 Indulgence for 80,000 years (fifteenth century), Cambridge University Library, MS Add.5944/11, reproduced in Vibeke Olson, "Penetrating the Void: Picturing the Wound in Christ's Side as a Performative Space," in *Wounds and Wound Repair in Medieval Culture*, ed. Larissa Tracy and Kelly DeVries (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 313–39 (332), https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004306455_016 and in Karen Ralph, "'Behold the Wounds on Christ': Crucifixion Imagery in Late Medieval Ireland," *Religions* 13 (2022): 570 (fig. 35), http://dx.doi.org/10.3390/rel13060570

129 BL Egerton MS 1821, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Egerton_MS_1821 and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=egerton_ms_1821_fs001r. See Areford, *Viewer*, 76–80; Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, "The Social Life of a Manuscript Metaphor: Christ's Blood as Ink," in *The Social Life of Illumination: Manuscripts, Images, and Communities in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Joyce Coleman, Mark Cruse, and Kathryn A. Smith (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 17–52; John Lowden, "Treasures Known and Unknown in the British Library: Kissing Images (A Book for Devotion: BL MS Egerton 1821)," British Library Conference Centre (2–3 July 2007), https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/TourKnownC.asp; Parshall and Schoch, ed., *Origins of European Printmaking*, 185–87.

(fol. 9r) and a resurrected Jesus covered with blood, on a bloody background (fol. 9v). One page has more than 500 wounds. The text on 8v offers 32,755 years' indulgence for saying ten prayers and a creed.

A number of woodcuts show the "Holy Heart" of Jesus.[130] Most link the heart to the Crucifixion,[131] but other themes occur, such as linking the stabbed heart to the Evangelists and the mass.[132] The most abstract is just a heart shape, but has been physically speared to create a slit.[133] Such images, called *Speerbilder*, were designed to be pierced by the Holy Lance, which would presumably transfer power from relic to image. Scholars debate how many were actually cut by the Lance itself.[134] One woodcut of Jesus's heart was impressed on vellum, and then the heart slit, presumably by the Lance (see Fig. 16.24). The best example was a coloured woodcut stitched into a book of pious texts and images as an additional leaf, which allowed it to be flipped around, where—without the image—one sees only the lance's wound, enhanced by the red paint that bled through. Text was added after the cut had been made, as the word *videamus* carefully splits around the wound. The text adapts 1 Corinthians 13:12, "for now we see only a reflection as in a mirror; then we shall see face to face," as a reference to the immediacy of the Last Judgment.[135]

130 Lise de Greef, "Uterus Cordis: Speerbildchen Featuring the Christ Child in the Wounded Heart," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (2009): 52–97; Beatrice Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel* (Munich: Prestel, 1990), 177–79 (cat. 30–31); Carl Richstätter, *Die Herz-Jesu-Verehrung des deutschen Mittelalters* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1919).

131 Schwäbischer Meister, *Holy Heart Held by Angels* (ca. 1484–92), Albertine Museum, Vienna, https://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=search=/record/objectnumbersearch=[DG1930/191]&showtype=record

132 *Holy Heart with Chalices and Four Evangelist Symbols* (ca. 1470s), Albertine Museum, Vienna, https://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=search=/record/objectnumbersearch=[DG1930/193]&showtype=record

133 *Holy Heart* (before ca. 1470), Albertine Museum, Vienna, https://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=search=/record/objectnumbersearch=[DG1930/192]&showtype=record

134 Areford, "Reception," 82–85; David S. Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred: The Fifteenth-Century Woodcut as Reproduction, Surrogate, Simulation," *Studies in the History of Art* 75 (2009): 141–47; Parshall and Schoch, ed., *Origins of European Printmaking*, 261; Volker Schier and Corine Schleif, "Seeing and Singing, Touching and Tasting the Holy Lance: The Power and Politics of Embodied Religious Experiences in Nuremberg, 1424–1524," in *Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and their Representations in the Arts, 1000–2000*, ed. Nils Holger Petersen, Claus Clüver, and Nicolas Bell (New York: Brill, 2004), 401–26.

135 *Sacred Heart* (1460s), colored woodcut in *Hymni de confessore et de apostolis*, BSB Clm 692, fol. 73rv, https://digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00124327?page=150,151. Colour reproduction at Areford, "Multiplying," 144–45.

Fig. 16.24 *Sacred Heart on a Cloth Held by an Angel* (ca. 1480s), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, public domain, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/337750

A number of bloody Jesus images include details about the wound measurements (see Chapter 8). A German woodcut of the wounds on the heart, feet, and hands has the major wound's slit precisely measured to correspond to the original wound. The inscription promises seven years' indulgence for looking upon it with reverence and contrition.[136] Two paintings juxtapose the Nuremberg Lance, drawn to scale, with a traditional Jesus scene.[137] One woodcut visualized the wound alongside a caption explaining that the cross within the wound measures one fortieth the height of Jesus; kissing it protects the kisser from bad luck and sudden death (see Fig. 16.25). The cross reproduced here should be rendered at 4.9 cm to be effectively kissable.

136 Woodcut with precisely measured side wound in heart, sidewounds on feet and hands (ca. 1484–92), BM 1880,0710.652, British Museum, London, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1880-0710-652. See Peter Schmidt, "Beschrieben, bemalt, zerschnitten: Tegernseer Mönche interpretieren einen Holzschnitt," in *Einblattdrucke des 15. Und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Volker Honemann, Sabine Griese, Falk Eisermann, and Marcus Ostermann (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 2000), 245–76 (260–61).

137 *Lamentation with Arma Christi*, central panel of an altarpiece (ca. 1424–50), oil on panel, Chapel of Saint George, Burg Trausnitz, Landshut, LaT.A 3; photograph by Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, reproduced in Areford, "Multiplying," 135 (fig. 13). Areford describes a similar painting (ca. 1435), Jakobskapelle, Marienkirche, Danzig, published in Albert Bühler, "Die Heilige Lanze. Ein ikonographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Reichskleinodien," *Das Münster* 16 (1963): 85–116 (96–99).


Fig. 16.25 *Measure of the Side Wound and the Body of Christ* (ca. 1484–92), National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, public domain, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.4046.html

## Envoi

Although we have seen disagreements about particular artistic techniques, especially those tending towards the plain ken, the people in these three visual-arts chapters generally had a positive attitude towards images overall. That esteem was not universal. In 1414, one Hussite entered a Prague church during a sermon, piously revering the crucifix until he was close enough to attack it with feces. This was not an isolated occurrence: the wave of such attacks seems to have been instigated by the reformer Jerome of Prague (1379–1416). In their iconoclasm, as in many other ways, the Bohemian reformers anticipated the Protestant Reformation of the following centuries.

Here, too, the Bohemian critics took up both kens to express their caution about, and sometimes outright hostility to, Jesus images. Much as the deep ken questioned whether illusionistic images accurately represented Jesus and his disciples, some of these reformers questioned whether any image of Jesus could truly represent him at all. Petr Chelčický (ca. 1390–1460) feared that what

appeared as a Jesus image might in fact be an image of the Antichrist. Nicholas of Dresden argued that all images were false, except for the law of God, the only true representation of divinity. Others with the plain ken framed their doubts in more human terms. Matthias of Janov warned that many images were merely the Church's tools for entrenching its wealth. Jakoubek of Stříbro (d. 1429) worried that images might distract from the true image of Jesus found in the Eucharist. They were a result of plain-ken human behavioural norms, not of deep-ken demands of scripture.[138] These reformers, like the Protestants to come, felt greater affinity for language, and for the precision and directness of not only the written but also the spoken word, the subject of the following chapters.

138 *Magnum Oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium*, ed. Hermann von der Hardt, 6 vols. (Frankfurt: Genschii, 1699), IV, 640–41, 674–76. See Paul De Vooght, *Jacobellus de Stříbro* (Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1972), 142–49; Thomas Fudge, *Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Florence: Routledge, 2018), 141, 178, 252, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315238531; Noemi Rejchrtová, "Czech Utraquism at the Time of Václav Koranda the Younger and the Visual Arts," *Communio Viatorum* 20 (1977): 157–70 (159–60).