St Veronica, *Volto Santo*, and *Anno Santo*: Visual Testimonies of Pilgrimages

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Abstract **- As Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi reported in his *Liber de centesimo seu Iubileo anno*, at the beginning of the 14th century, numerous pilgrims travelled to Rome, eager to obtain forgiveness for their sins and receive a plenary indulgence. Croatian pilgrims have been recorded among them from the very beginning, as noted by Dante in *Paradiso (XXXI, 103–108)*. Boniface VIII, moved by their faith, sought to fulfil their expectations and, on 22 February 1300, issued the bull *Antiquorum habet fida relatio*, formally proclaiming the first Jubilee Year. Since then, each Jubilee Year has drawn vast crowds of pilgrims to Rome, with one of the most venerated relics being the *Volto Santo* (Holy Face) in St Peter's Basilica. In Croatian Glagolitic missals, many depictions of Veronica and the Holy Face reflect an awareness not only of the relic itself but also—in illuminations by Bartol Krbavac—of its placement in the (old) St Peter's Basilica, in the structure (a ciborium-reliquary altar) erected for its public veneration. This study examines how drawings, woodcuts, engravings, and related representations in sacred art, as well as early printed works, shaped the formation and reception of this iconography, particularly in Glagolitic illuminations and figural arts in Croatia in the course of transit from the Late Middle Ages to the early modern period.**

Keywords - Holy Face / Volto Santo, Holy Year / Jubilee Year, Glagolitic missals, St Veronica.

1. INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 14th century, Pope Boniface VIII Caetani proclaimed a plenary indulgence on the occasion of the first ordinary Jubilee in 1300 through the Bull *Antiquorum Habet Fida Relatio* [1]. Inspired by this, numerous pilgrims travelled to Rome seeking forgiveness for their sins, as recorded by Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi in his *Liber de centesimo seu Iubileo anno* [2], including notable figures such as Dante and Giotto. Such devotion prompted the Pope to declare a 'year of forgiveness of all sins' and establish a centennial recurrence [3]. During the Avignon Papacy, Pope Clement VI Roger allowed the second Jubilee in 1350, reducing the interval to fifty years. Besides being assented, and not returning to Rome himself, Pope entitled Cardinal Geatani Ceocano to represent him at the Jubilee and in addition to his daily visits to the basilicas of St John Lateran, St Peter and St Paul, St Mary Major was added to the list: "The visit to these four churches has remained unchanged ever since as one of the primary conditions for gaining the Roman Jubilee." [4]. Pope Urban VI Prignano later shortened the interval to thirty-three years "as representing the period of the soujourn of Christ upon earth and also the average span of human life" [4]. After Urban's death, Pope Boniface IX Tomacelli declared a Holy Year in 1400 due to overwhelming pilgrim numbers. Pope Martin V Colonna introduced the custom of coining the Jubilee Medal and the ceremonial opening of the Holy Door at St John Lateran in 1425., Pope Nicholas V Parentucelli held the 1450 Jubilee, and in 1470, Pope Paul II Barbo set the interval at twenty-five years, ensuring more frequent celebrations [4]. Pope Sixtus IV della Rovere oversaw the 1475 Jubilee, commissioning significant artistic works in Rome, including the Sistine Chapel and Ponte Sisto [5].

Since then, each Jubilee Year has drawn vast crowds of pilgrims to Rome, with one of the most venerated relics in the pilgrimage itinerary being the *Volto Santo* (Holy Face) in St Peter's Basilica. Croatian pilgrims have been recorded among them from the very beginning, as noted by Dante in *Paradiso* (around 1320): "*Like some pilgrim coming from as far / Away as Croatia, to see the holy image /Of our Lord's sweaty face, but cannot believe it, / But says to himself for as long as they let him look: / 'Jesus Christ, my Lord, and one and only / God, could this be truly how you looked?'" /(XXXI, 103–108)* [6]. According to the research of Vjekoslav Štefanić, certain Glagolitic lines may reflect echoes of Dante's verses [7], [8].



Figure 1.
Unidentified miniaturist (Venice?), *Volto Santo*, Missale Glagoliticum Romanum, fol. 27r. Zagreb, Metropolitan Library, inv. MS 180

2. RESEARCH AND METHODS

In her study on the iconography of the *Volto Santo* in Croatian Glagolitic missals, Ljiljana Mokrović documents eleven miniatures [9]. She provides a comprehensive analysis of the origins of this iconography in both Eastern and Western traditions, explores their potential sources, and emphasises the elements of the Passion as a distinctive feature in Western iconography. In particular, she highlights the notable frequency of *Volto Santo* representations in Croatian Glagolitic missals, which is striking given its apocryphal origins: "If we define the Holy Face as a type of artistic representation known in the East as the *Mandylion* and in the West as the *Volto Santo* or Veronica, it is not surprising that the Western Middle Ages, viewing the *Volto Santo* as a relic of Christ, attributed to it the signs of the Passion in the Gothic period—an element that was subsequently adopted in artworks of later stylistic periods. This, in fact, underscores the position of this motif at the beginning of the Canon of the Mass, which, due to the sacrificial nature of this part of the liturgy, 'implies' Christ's Passion before his death. This is visually conveyed through the miniatures of the *Volto Santo*. Furthermore, the *Volto Santo* is a privileged apocryphal motif, as it occupies the most honoured place in the missal among all the other apocryphal motifs mentioned" [9], [10].

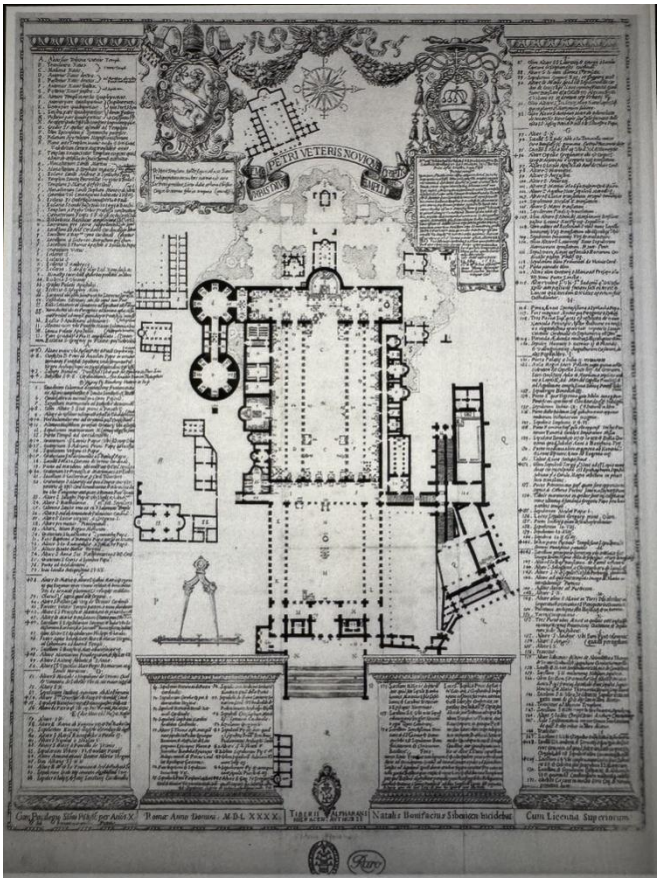


Figure 2.
Natale Bonifacio and Tiberio Alfarano, *Floor plan of the old and new St Peter's Basilica*, 1590, Rome, Central Institute for Graphic Design, inv. S-FC-69724

Focusing on the disparity between its apocryphal origins and its frequent representation in missals, this iconographic research concentrates on the contemporary testimonies regarding the manner in which the relic of Veronica's veil was exhibited in the old St Peter's Basilica in Rome. The presentation and veneration of the relic, along with its liturgical and theological context—including indulgences, devotional practices, and the *Anno Santo* tradition—may have contributed to the occurrence of this iconographic theme in missals. Although the story of Veronica is apocryphal, this fact was largely overshadowed by the practice of pilgrimage and the devotional experience surrounding the display of the *Volto Santo* in St Peter's Basilica in Rome. This devotional focus was further strengthened by the granting of indulgences to the faithful who participated in devotions, particularly processions, honouring the relic.

The Vatican *Sudarium* had been exhibited in (old) St Peter's Basilica since early *Duecento* [1], and – despite recurring debates concerning its authenticity – continues to be solemnly displayed from the Veronica loggia on the Fifth Sunday of Lent. It was displayed annually on the Sunday following the octave of Epiphany, a day established by Pope Innocent III de' Conti di Segni . The relic was regularly carried in procession to the Church of Santa Maria in Sassia (now Santo Spirito in Sassia), with the Pope himself participating and delivering a sermon, and those in attendance were granted a one-year indulgence [1]. The *Sudarium* itself was colloquially referred to as the *Veronica* ("quam Veronicam fidelium vox communis appellat" [11]). This relic, bearing the image of Christ's face—alongside the tomb and relics of the Apostle Peter, the major relics of the True Cross, the Holy Lance, and the skull of St Andrew—was a defining mark of St Peter's Basilica's superiority over all other churches, including the Lateran Basilica, which was the Pope's cathedral. Pope Sixtus IV affirmed this preeminence, stating: "Sixtus IV Pontifex Romanus [...] affirmat Basilicam S. Petri Romanam prae aliis Urbis orbisque ecclesiis excellere ob Salvatoris nostri Sudarium [...] asservatum." [11]. This status further reinforced the spiritual and devotional significance of pilgrimage to St Peter's, as the veneration of Veronica's veil (*Volto Santo*)—along with other major relics—was a key justification for the indulgences granted to the faithful [12].

If we examine the floor plan of the old basilica as depicted in the engraving [13] by Natale Bonifacio of Šibenik—produced after a drawing and documentary description by Tiberio Alfarano—and identify the location where the *Sudarium* was once displayed, we find it relatively close to the entrance, in the outermost bay on the Epistle side of the basilica. The form of the ciborium is preserved in several drawings, among them in the codex *OPVSCVLVM De Sacrosancto Veronicæ Sudario Saluatoris nostril Iesu Christi [...]*, written in 1620, one of the most significant source for visual records of the old St Peter's Basilica [14], and in this regard, it complements Alfarano's floor plan. Cleric Giacomo Grimaldi annotated the folios of the drawings with autograph notes, as he did for another

codex known as *Album Grimani* (Arch. Cap. S. Pietro A. 64ter). Previously known as *libri picturarum*, these collections of drawings were produced mainly by Domenico Tasselli of Lugo and other professional painters—here employed as draughtsmen—shortly before the complete demolition of the Constantinian basilica.



Figure 3.
Ciborium-reliquary altar with Sudarium in the old St Peter's Basilica, drawing in Giacomo Grimani, *Opusculum*, Florence, BNCF, inv. II-III-137

The drawing of the ciborium shows St Veronica displaying the *Volto Santo* in two instances: once above the *mensa* of the altar, between St Peter and St Paul, and again as a relief in an oval medallion on the structure above. In both representations, St Veronica faces forward towards the spectator, spreads her arms displaying the *Volto Santo*, which was kept within the giant reliquary-altar—the most imposing structure in that outermost bay—so much so that the bay itself became colloquially known by its name.

A familiarity with the placement of the *Volto Santo* on the ciborium, where it was displayed in the Old St Peter's Basilica, is not evident in the miniatures of Croatian Glagolitic missals, nor are these texts of a type that would typically incorporate such an architectural structure. However, the iconographic detail of St Veronica presenting the Sudarium frontally, extending her arms, as shown on the decoration of the ciborium, can be clearly identified, but only in the works of Bartol Krbavac, specifically in the miniatures of St Veronica holding the veil bearing the imprint of the Saviour's face, as seen in the Roč Missal (fol. 145r) and the Ljubljana Missal (fol. 147r) [15].

Although Bartol ("Bartholus scriba quondam Johannis"), a respected citizen of Zadar, was recognised both as a master scribe and an illuminator there, the ethnonymic part of his name (Krbavac, *de Corbavia*) suggests ancestral ties to the historical mountainous Croatian region of Krbava. Archival records confirm that his parents were Ioannes (son of Budislav) and Florella and that in 1399 his father arranged for him to apprentice as a goldsmith in Venice [16]. Through extensive research in Zadar's notarial archives, Petar Runje has identified numerous individuals associated with Bartol, either as relatives, acquaintances or commissioners: his sister Margarita, and his wife Margareta, as well as Abbot Vitko, the Glagolitic priest Nikola Žubrić, and the Glagolitic writer Martin Radoević. Fra Petar Bogdanić, a Franciscan tertiary and Glagolitic priest Karin [16].



Figure 4.
Bartol Krbavac, *St Veronica holding the Sudarium bearing the Volto Santo*, c. 1421, Roč Missal, Vienna, Austrian National Library, inv. Cod. Slav. 4, fol. 145r



Figure 5.
Bartol Krbavac, *St Veronica holding the Sudarium bearing the Volto Santo*, c. 1421, Ljubljana (Beram) Missal, Ljubljana, National and University Library, inv. Ms 162, fol. 147r

Bartol's sources for this iconographic solution remain unknown; however, they reflect an awareness of the decoration of the ciborium-reliquary altar of the *Sudarium* in the old St Peter's Basilica in Rome.

3. DISCUSSION

How did sacred images circulate across Europe before the emergence of open channels of visual communication—namely, prior to the widespread use of prints such as metal engravings, particularly copper engravings, or woodcuts? In an era when the mechanical reproduction of images was not yet common, the dissemination of visual forms relied primarily on direct encounters with artworks (*de visu*) and the transmission of key iconographies through drawings and workshop models. Painters maintained collections of such sketches, serving as templates for specific iconographic compositions, ensuring consistency while allowing for adaptation within different artistic traditions.



Figure 6.
Master of St Veronica, *St Veronica holding the Sudarium bearing the Volto Santo*, c. 1420, London, National Gallery, inv. NG687

As William Ivins observed, before the advent of reproducible prints, the transmission of visual information was difficult, uncertain, and restricted to the relatively few who had direct access to the original or to accurate copies [17]. This limitation meant that artistic knowledge was often localised, dependent on travel, personal networks, and the circulation of manually produced copies, none of which was exactly repeatable visual statement.

The absence of mass-reproducible imagery placed greater emphasis on the role of itinerant artists, patrons, and scholars in the transmission of stylistic and iconographic elements, reinforcing the significance of workshops, ecclesiastical commissions, and personal pilgrimage in shaping the visual landscape of medieval and early modern Europe.

Nevertheless, strikingly similar compositions featuring St Veronica with her arms fully outstretched, holding the cloth with the *Volto Santo* so that it covers the lower part of her body, appear in the works of both Bartol Krbavac and an excellent but anonymous contemporary Cologne painter whom art history has designated as the Master of St Veronica [18].



Figure 7.
Unidentified medalist (Southern Germany?), *Placchetta with a relief of St Veronica holding the Sudarium bearing the Volto Santo*, Vatican City, Vatican Museum, inv. MV 62786

This similarity suggests a shared prototype, particularly when compared with other contemporary depictions of Veronica with the *Sudarium*. In this regard, Bartol's training in cosmopolitan Venice in 1399 becomes especially significant, as he would have had access to

drawings and models circulating among various artistic workshops in the city, on the eve (possibly even during it) of the Jubilee Year 1400.

The iconographic solution that connects the Zadar and Cologne artists—though Bartol's Veronica conveys a far greater sense of movement and energy than its German counterpart—appears predominantly in regions north of the Alps, but commonly in the generation of painters and printmakers that followed (e.g., Master E. S., Hans Burgkmair, and Albrecht Dürer). The city of Zadar and the ecclesiastical patrons who commissioned works from Bartol Krbavac would also have had the means to acquire such models through monastic networks.

Of particular interest is a *placchetta*—possibly a pilgrim souvenir or pendant—preserved in the Vatican Museums, which features a closely related representation of St Veronica with the *Sudarium*, though it dates from a slightly later period [19]. Bartol's distinctive depiction of St Veronica, albeit with her head turned in the opposite direction, shares with the small *placchetta* the motif of fringes on the edge of the Sudarium. With the iconographic novelty of his expressive St Veronica Bartol both contributes to and reflects the broad visual culture of the Glagolitic miniatures. Those who commissioned them and used them in liturgy would undoubtedly have recognised and appreciated this unique departure from a simple representation of the *Sudarium* to a dynamic portrayal of Veronica herself, unfurling her most precious relic before the viewer, just as she does it at the time on the ciborium-reliquary altar in the old St Peter's Basilica in Rome.

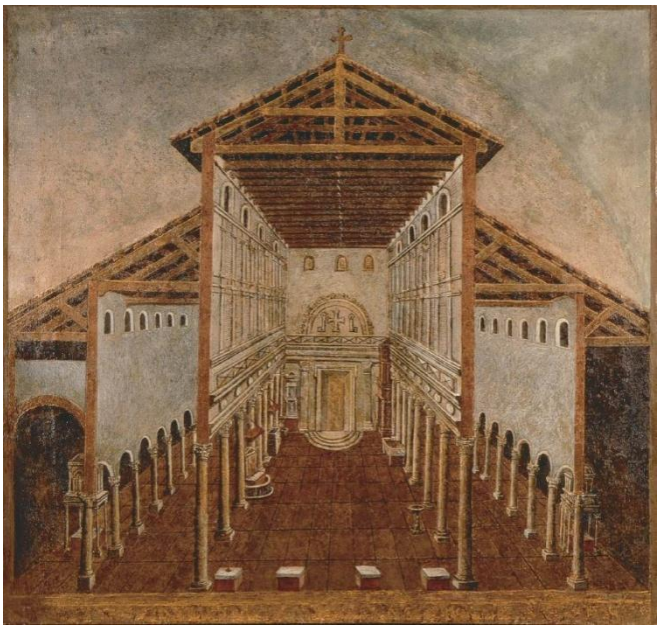


Figure 8.
Domenico Tasselli, *The Nave and Aisles of the Constantine Basilica* (old St Peter's Basilica) with the ciborium-reliquary altar on the outermost right aisle, reconstruction from the early 17th century, Vatican, St Peter Basilica, sacristy, detached fresco

4. Conclusion

Medieval Christian imagery functioned not only as a declaration of faith and a means of argumentation but also as a medium for visualising specific theological perspectives. Discussions on their legitimacy frequently revolved around the authenticity of images, understood as their capacity to bear witness to truth. Those deemed authentic were considered reliable and, at times, served as material evidence when their physical properties were invoked as proof. The Latin *auctoritas* aligns closely with authenticity, encompassing notions of validity, guarantee, authority, dignity, certification, and responsibility. In some instances, authenticity was also associated with originality.

Newly emerging images were often accompanied by a performative demand: their authenticity had to be as indisputable as possible. This phenomenon is evident in the negotiation of *acheiropoieta*, the miraculous, not-made-by-human-hands images that played a pivotal role in shaping Christ's visual representation. Among the most influential cases of medieval image authentication is the *Volto Santo*, an *acheiropoietic* image of Christ's face, as an unmediated divine imprint. In the Sixth Station of the Cross, a woman wipes the face of Jesus, and the cloth miraculously bears his true likeness—a double sign of truth, as the image reveals his face while he remains faithful to his mission. As Hans Belting argues in *Likeness and Presence*, such relic-images were not merely representations but were understood as direct manifestations of the sacred, reinforcing their *auctoritas* within devotional and pilgrimage practices [20]. The circulation and reproduction of these images across Europe not only strengthened their authority but also contributed to broader discussions on the legitimacy of sacred imagery.

Bartol Krbavac's role in the early dissemination of this newly dynamic depiction of St Veronica with the *Sudarium* offers valuable insight into the evolving iconographic tradition, demonstrating how artistic innovation could intersect with theological and devotional concerns.

Acknowledgment

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[10] "Definiramo li pritom *Sveto Lice* kao *tip* umjetničkoga prikaza koji je na Istoku poznat pod nazivom *Mandylion*, a na Zapadu pod imenom *Volto Santo* ili *Veronika*, nije čudno što je zapadni srednji vijek *Voltu Santu* kao Kristovoj relikviji pridao u gotici znakove muke, a što je potom bilo prihvaćeno i na umjetničkim djelima kasnijih stilskih razdoblja. Time se u stvari naglašava pozicija toga motiva na početku misnoga kanona koji, zbog žrtvenoga karaktera u tom dijelu svete mise, 'podrazumijeva' Kristovu muku prije smrti, a to se ostvaruje likovnim sredstvima, to jest minijaturama *Volta Santa.*", p. 101.
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Sveta Veronika, Volto Santo i Anno Santo: vizualna svjedočanstva hodočašća

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Sažetak: Kako kardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi izvješćuje u djelu Liber de centesimo seu Iubileo anno, početkom 14. stoljeća brojni su hodočasnici putovali u Rim, želeći dobiti oproštenje grijeha i primiti potpuni oprost. Među njima se od samoga početka bilježe i hrvatski hodočasnici, kako navodi Dante u Raju (XXXI, 103 do 108). Bonifacije VIII., ganut njihovom vjerom, nastojao je ispuniti njihova očekivanja te je 22. veljače 1300. izdao bulu Antiquorum habet fida relatio, kojom je službeno proglasio prvu jubilejsku godinu. Otada svaka jubilejska godina u Rim privlači mnoštvo hodočasnika, a među najštovanijim relikvijama bio je Volto Santo, odnosno Sveto Lice, u Bazilici sv. Petra. U hrvatskim glagoljskim misalima brojni prikazi Veronike i Svetoga Lica odražavaju svijest ne samo o samoj relikviji nego, u iluminacijama Bartola Krbavca, i o njezinu smještaju u (staroj) Bazilici sv. Petra, u strukturi podignutoj za njezino javno štovanje, odnosno u ciboriju s relikvijarnim oltarom. U radu se istražuje kako su crteži, drvorezi, bakrorezi i srodni prikazi u sakralnoj umjetnosti, kao i rana tiskana djela, oblikovali nastanak i recepciju te ikonografije, osobito u glagoljskim iluminacijama i figurativnim umjetnostima u Hrvatskoj tijekom prijelaza iz kasnoga srednjeg vijeka u rani novi vijek.

Ključne riječi: Sveto Lice, Volto Santo, Sveta godina, jubilejska godina, glagoljski misali, sv. Veronika