

Salve sancta facies: Some Thoughts on the Iconography of the *Head of Christ* by Petrus Christus

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SMALL IN SIZE, but powerful in impact, the *Head of Christ* (Figure 1) is generally, but not universally, agreed to be an autograph work by Petrus Christus.¹ The picture is often placed early in Christus's career; Upton dated it about 1446, and Schabacker proposed a date about 1444.² Christ is depicted full face, with long, shoulder-length hair. His neck and shoulders are visible, and he wears a purple robe. Around his head is an elaborate, floriated, tripartite nimbus. A crown of thorns has been impressed upon his head, and drops of blood run down his face and have fallen on his neck. Although Christ's expression is calm, his brow is furrowed, and his heavy-lidded eyes stare outward fixedly and intently.

In his recent monograph on Petrus Christus, Joel Upton has eloquently described how this miraculous living portrait of the Savior, almost a speaking image, would have engaged and aided the spectators in their very personal and private devotions; he also presents the picture as a fusion of several iconographic types. At the risk of covering some of the same ground, I will consider the painting's iconographic antecedents and the ways in which they might have been combined to produce the *Head of Christ*.

In large part, the *Head of Christ* belongs to a class of religious images known as *acheiropoetai* (*imagines non manu factae*); that is, images not made by hand, but miraculously created. Most such images are of Christ and are said to have been made when a piece of fabric was pressed against the face or body of Christ.³ One of these, the Shroud of Turin, shows the entire figure of the dead Christ and is not relevant to this discussion. In the West the two other closely related *acheiropoetic* images, called the Holy

Face and the *sudarium*, both show the face of the living Christ and both are connected with a woman named Veronica. Because the modern Stations of the Cross include the episode of Veronica wiping Christ's face during the Via Crucis, the *sudarium* type is considered to show the crown of thorns and omit the head and shoulders of Christ. However, the association of the *sudarium* and the legend of Veronica with the Way of the Cross came about only in the fourteenth century, as we shall see. Before that, the two types show certain overlappings. In the East the most famous *acheiropoetic* image of Christ is called the Mandyion of Edessa, and this may also have influenced the development of the Western types.

Since Christus's painting does not depict the face as impressed upon a cloth, it would not, strictly speaking, seem to be a *sudarium*; on the other hand, the presence of the crown of thorns means that it is not purely a Holy Face either. Moreover, the purple robe probably alludes to the biblical narrative and attendant iconographic tradition of the Passion of Christ. In John 19:2–5, after being scourged, Jesus is dressed in a purple robe and has a crown of thorns placed upon his head before being presented to the people by Pilate.

Within Christus's oeuvre a partial stylistic and iconographic component of the New York painting may be seen in the *Man of Sorrows* (Figure 2). Like the *Head of Christ*, it is quite small in size and is usually dated to about early 1444. The Birmingham and New York pictures are connected by similarities in Christ's facial features and in the ornate, floriated nimbus seemingly wrought in metal, as well as by the presence of the crown of thorns and rivulets of blood. The iconography of the *Man of Sorrows* theme has been extensively discussed; in reference to the Birmingham *Man of Sorrows*, Rowlands succinctly described it as "a kind of unhistorical and vi-

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 27

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Figure 1. Petrus Christus (act. by 1444–d. 1472/73), *Head of Christ*. Tempera and oil on parchment, mounted on wood, 14.9 × 10.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Lillian S. Timken, 1959, 60.71.1

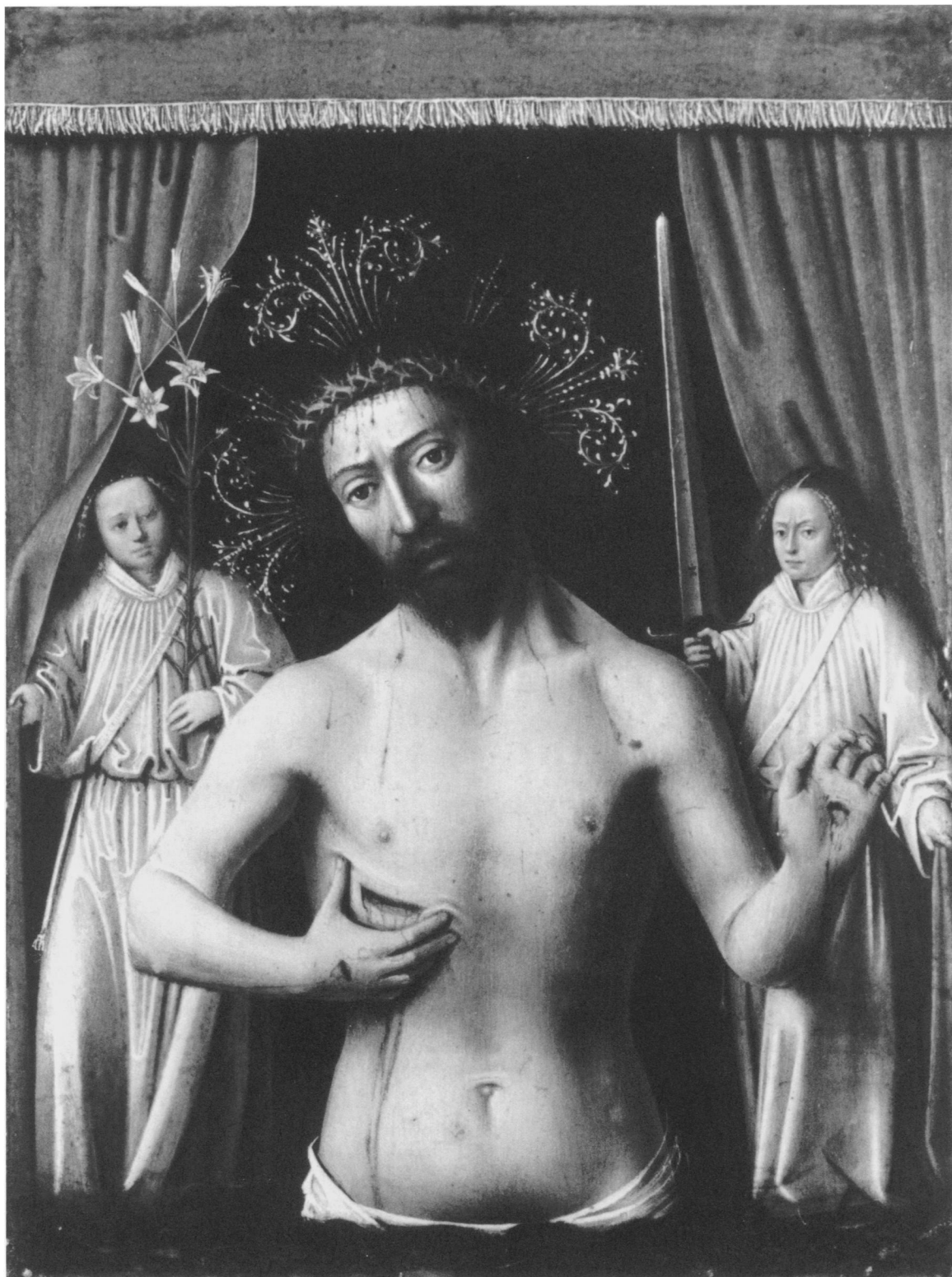


Figure 2. Petrus Christus, *Man of Sorrows*. Birmingham, England, City Museum and Art Gallery (photo: City Museum and Art Gallery)

sionary *Ecce Homo*.⁴ Upton also has discussed the painting as a personalized devotional image not connected with a specific narrative event.⁵

Of great importance and relevance to the *Head of Christ* are two images of Holy Faces from the realm of fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting. Preceding Christ's painting, even if only by a short time, was a *Holy Face* by Jan van Eyck that may have been executed as late as 1440. Of the several known versions of this painting, Panofsky has suggested that the picture formerly in the Swinburne collection, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Figure 3), was possibly a damaged original.⁶ Like Christ's *Head of Christ*, the Eyckian *Holy Face* represents the Savior in a fully frontal, hieratic manner. Christ's neck and shoulders are included, as is a floriated tripartite nimbus. The *Holy Face* lacks a crown of thorns, and Christ's face is smooth and unlined.

This visage of Christ corresponds in several respects to a description of the Savior in the so-called Lentulus Letter, purportedly written to the Roman Senate by Publius Lentulus, but in fact an apocryphal document dating no earlier than the thirteenth century. Christ is described as "having a reverend countenance which they that look upon may love and fear; having hair of the hue of an unripe hazelnut and smooth almost down to his ears . . . waving over his shoulders; having a parting at the middle of the head according to the fashion of the Nazareans; a brow smooth and very calm, with a face without wrinkle or any blemish . . . ; having a full beard of the colour of his hair, not long, but a little forked at the chin."⁷ A similar description is found in the *Vita Christi* composed in the fourteenth century by Ludolphus of Saxony and especially popular in the north of Europe. The image of the Savior in the *Head of Christ* also accords with the Lentulus type, as do countless other representations in Netherlandish and German art from the fourteenth century onward.

The second painting, by Christus himself, is the *Portrait of a Young Man* (Figure 4), which has been dated to the 1450s.⁸ On the back wall is a wooden placard to which has been tacked a piece of paper or parchment bearing a Holy Face and below it a shortened form of the prayer *Salve sancta facies* (Figure 5).⁹ The face of Christ lacks the neck and shoulders and is shown in a quadripartite halo. On either side of the top of his head are the Greek letters alpha and omega, also to be seen in the Eyckian *Holy Face*. Since a crown of thorns is not present, it may seem somewhat surprising to find at the top of the

right-hand column of the accompanying prayer the words *Salve o sudarium*[m]. However, at this period the term *sudarium* did not necessarily denote a pas-sional image of Christ obtained during the Carrying of the Cross; to see what it does refer to, we shall at this juncture examine the literature and imagery connected with the cult of Veronica, one of the most potent of the Middle Ages.

The earliest text recounting the legend of Veronica is the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, which dates from the eighth century. The emperor Tiberius, gravely ill and hearing of the miracles of Jesus, sends an officer named Volusianus to bring him to the emperor. When Volusianus arrives in Jerusalem, he learns that Jesus has been crucified by Pilate but that a woman named Veronica possesses a likeness of Christ. Veronica is identified with the woman in Matthew 9:20–22 who was cured of a hemorrhage by Jesus. Volusianus returns to Rome with both Veronica and the likeness of Christ, which when worshiped by Tiberius cures him.¹⁰

In another, later version of the story, Veronica wishes to paint a picture of Jesus and goes to him with a linen cloth, but upon hearing her request, Jesus takes the cloth from her and miraculously imprints his features upon it. By merely looking at Christ's likeness upon the cloth, Tiberius is instantly healed. The name *Veronica* is often considered a personification based on the words *vera icon*—that is, "true image"—but it may in fact derive from *Berenike*, the Greek name given in early tradition to the woman cured of a hemorrhage.¹¹

The basic elements of the story were repeated, with slight variations, numerous times, and a version appears in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* in the chapter entitled "The Passion of Our Lord" as part of the discussion of the death of Pilate.¹² In none of these versions does the imprinting of the image take place during the Carrying of the Cross.

Sometime in the twelfth century there was in St. Peter's in Rome a piece of cloth imprinted with the face of Christ, which was venerated as the *sudarium* of Veronica. The relic is sometimes thought to have perished in 1527, during the Sack of Rome, although a cloth bearing an illegible image is still in St. Peter's and associated with Veronica. Although the exact appearance of the medieval veronica, or vernicle, as the image was called, is a matter of some dispute, it is generally agreed that the earliest representations of it are two illuminations by Matthew Paris, one in a Psalter (London, The British Library, Arundel 157, fol. 2) dated about 1240 and the other,

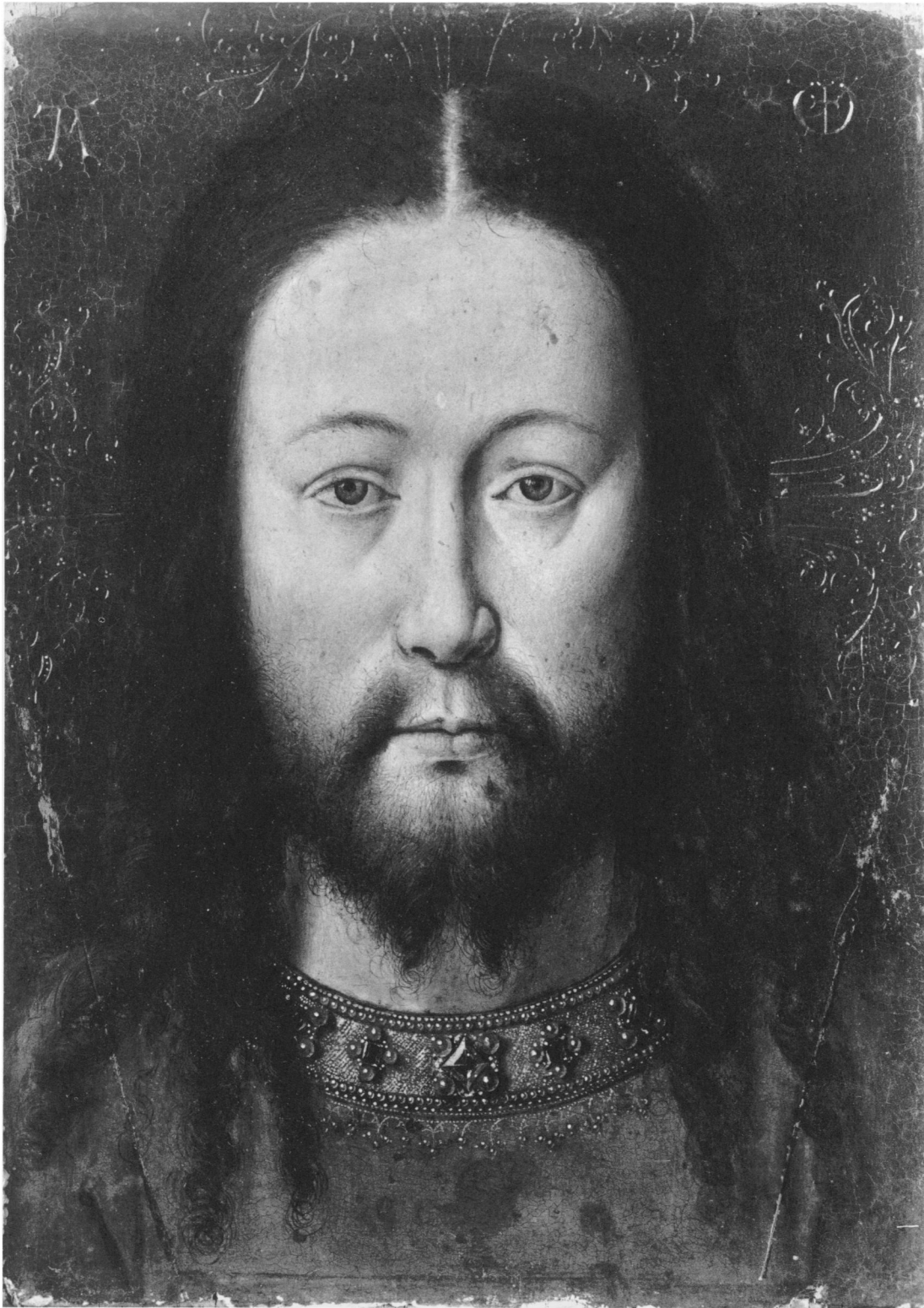


Figure 3. Jan van Eyck? (act. by 1422–d. 1441), *Holy Face*. Present location unknown (photo: ACL, Brussels)



Figure 4. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Young Man*. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

slightly later but before 1250, in his *Chronica Majora* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 16, fol. 49v).¹³

Both images of Christ include his neck and shoulders; he is presented frontally and hieratically, with a cleft beard and a tripartite nimbus. In the illumination in the *Chronica Majora* the alpha and omega appear at the upper corners of the background. As Pächt observed, the Eyckian *Holy Face* (Figure 3), made almost two hundred years later, faithfully preserved this depiction of the Savior.¹⁴

Others of the countless Holy Faces produced from the late thirteenth century onward do not show Christ's neck and shoulders, and it is possible that the appearance of the relic itself altered over time.¹⁵ In this regard, the Byzantine literary and visual tradition should also be mentioned. In the East-

ern version of the story, Abgar, king of Edessa in Syria, is cured by the acheiropoetic image of the face of Christ impressed upon a cloth that was brought to Edessa after Christ's death by the disciple Thaddeus. In the West, the tale is recounted in the *Legenda Aurea*.¹⁶ A relic associated with this legend and known as the Mandyllion was taken from Edessa to Constantinople in 944; there it became the type of numerous distinctive images of the face produced in all the artistic mediums of the Byzantine tradition. The Edessa Mandyllion was supposedly sold to St. Louis, removed to the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris by 1241, and presumably destroyed during the French Revolution. A *Holy Face* of the Edessa Mandyllion type was sent in 1249 from Rome to the convent of Montreuil-les-Dames, near Laon,

and in the seventeenth century was transported to the treasury of the cathedral of Laon. Apart from its Byzantine Slavonic style, what is distinctive about the *Holy Face* of Laon is the absence of the neck and shoulders, and the disembodied head of Christ is left floating ominously.¹⁷

To return to the relic in St. Peter's in Rome, from the early thirteenth century onward, the *sudarium* of Veronica became an increasingly important and powerful object of veneration. In 1216 Pope Innocent III composed an office for the veil of Veronica when it reversed itself after the annual procession between the hospital of the Holy Ghost and St. Peter's. Later in the thirteenth century, under Pope Innocent IV, the prayer *Ave facies praeclara* was composed and was followed in the fourteenth century by the prayer *Salve sancta facies*, attributed to Pope John XXII. The Veronica Holy Face appears to have been the first indulgenced image, and the indulgence was gained by reciting *Ave facies praeclara* or

Salve sancta facies in front of the *sudarium* or a representation of it. Innocent IV granted an indulgence of forty days for reciting the prayer *Ave facies praeclara*, and the later *Salve sancta facies* gained one of at least ten thousand days. The value of the indulgence increased exponentially over time, and the indulgenced prayer was crucial for the dissemination of the Veronica cult. On this point Ringbom is worth quoting at length.

The part played by the indulgences in the unique diffusion of the *Veronica* motif has been justly stressed. It seems obvious that a pictorial formula, if coupled with promises of enormous indulgences, must have gained a singular popularity. This applies especially to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when the term "indulgence" underwent the gradual shift of meaning from the original "remission from penitence" to the later meaning of "remission of sin." It is this confusion of temporal and eternal punishment which ultimately accounts for the stupendous inflation of the indul-



Figure 6. Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), *St. Veronica between Sts. Peter and Paul*. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art)

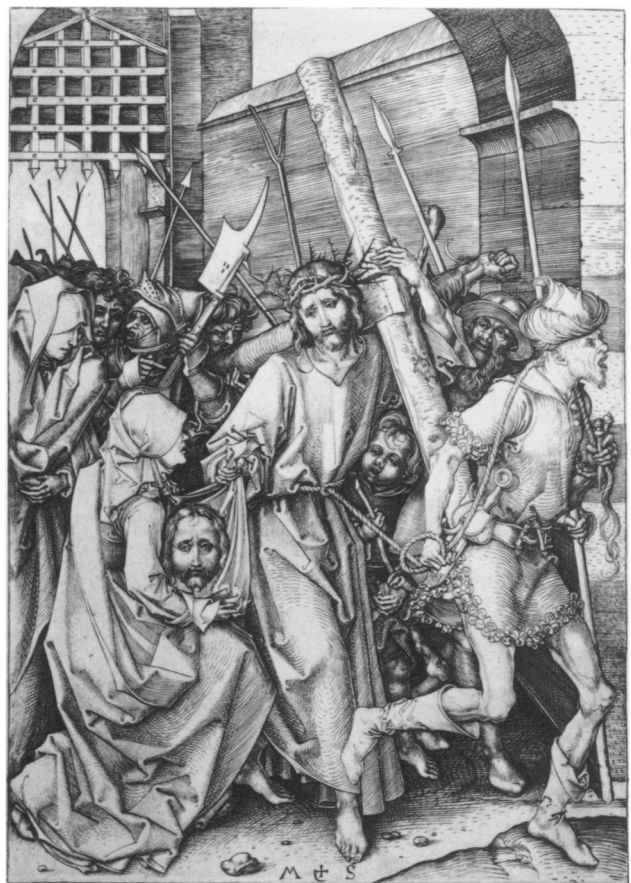


Figure 7. Martin Schongauer (1430/45–91), *The Bearing of the Cross with St. Veronica*. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Gift of W. G. Russell Allen (photo: National Gallery of Art)



Figure 8. Studio of Rogier van der Weyden, *Head of Christ*. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

gence market which can be seen in the development of the *Veronica* indulgence from the original ten days in the thirteenth century to the fantastic claims of the promises of the late fifteenth century.¹⁸

The second *imago non manu facta* is said to have originated when a compassionate woman wiped the face of Christ with a cloth as he carried the cross to Golgotha, and apparently dates from no earlier than the first part of the fourteenth century. The Bible of Roger of Argenteuil, written about 1300, is usually cited as the first association of this legend with the *sudarium* of Veronica.¹⁹ Although the exact nature of the process is unclear and merits further study, one can easily understand how the popular Holy Face of Veronica, venerated by pilgrims and enhanced by indulgenced prayers, could be combined with the affective piety and increasing mystical devotion to the Passion of Christ in the fourteenth century.²⁰ As Ringbom notes, there must have been a strong transforming influence from the passional iconography of the Man of Sorrows theme.²¹

Images of the passional Holy Face, such as that in Dürer's *St. Veronica between Sts. Peter and Paul* (Figure 6) from the *Small Woodcut Passion* of 1510, often omit the neck and shoulders and show impressed on the cloth the head of Christ wearing a crown of thorns. Christ may have a nimbus, and drops of blood may appear on his forehead.

I believe that by the fifteenth century passional and nonpassional Holy Faces were thoroughly intermingled, and that there is no way of logically determining which type might be allied to prayers or used in isolated images. In Petrus Christus's *Portrait of a Young Man* the Holy Face surmounting the shortened form of the prayer *Salve sancta facies*²² lacks a crown of thorns, and the neck and shoulders are not depicted. On the other hand, a fifteenth-century pilgrim's badge recovered from the Seine shows a Holy Face with a crown of thorns topped by the words *Salve sancta faci[es]*, a clear association of the passional image with the popular prayer.²³ The crown of thorns becomes something of an independent variable, not necessarily connected with the devotional or narrative functions of the image. For example, in depictions of the Carrying of the Cross that include Veronica, such as Schongauer's engraving (Figure 7), Christ himself wears a crown of thorns but the visage on Veronica's *sudarium* does not.

To return to the *Head of Christ* by Petrus Christus, though the picture is the product of a conflation of

images, it is also perhaps the earliest Netherlandish painting of its type. The only comparable painting known to me is the *Head of Christ* assigned to the studio of Rogier van der Weyden (Figure 8), found on the reverse of Rogier's *Portrait of a Woman* in the National Gallery, London. Although damaged, this picture evidently shows Christ with a crown of thorns and a tripartite nimbus, and his neck and shoulders are included as well. The London painting has been dated to about 1450/60.²⁴

I wish to underscore the complexity and fluidity of the conflation of the Holy Face and the passional imagery that is manifest in Christus's *Head of Christ*.²⁵ Although the reinforcing influence of the Man of Sorrows theme in, for example, the form of Christus's painting in Birmingham (Figure 2) is quite likely, there had already been an infusion of passional elements into depictions of the Holy Face. No less powerful an association is that with the various legends of St. Veronica and with indulgenced prayers. It is perhaps significant that the earliest translation of *Salve sancta facies* into the vernacular known to Pearson was a fifteenth-century Dutch version, prefaced by Pope John XXII's promise of an indulgence of ten thousand days.²⁶ Finally, it is in large part precisely because of the depth and variety of meanings that are associated with the *Head of Christ* that it achieves such power, resonance, and immediacy as an object of devotion.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Guy Bauman and I were both privileged to study with Professor Robert A. Koch at Princeton University, albeit at different times, and it is perhaps fitting that this paper had its origins in Koch's seminar on Petrus Christus. I am grateful to Craig Harbison and Joel Upton for their advice and encouragement in revivifying this material, which had lain dormant for more years than I care to think about. I also wish to thank Maryan Ainsworth and members of the Department of European Paintings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for their assistance. I am indebted to Susan Foister for help in obtaining photographs.

NOTES

1. Regularly spaced filled holes around the perimeter of the parchment support suggest that it was originally tacked to a panel in the manner of the illumination in Petrus Christus's *Portrait of a Young Man* (Figure 5). The paint surface has been damaged and extensively overpainted and is further obscured by a heavy varnish layer. The inscription at the bottom is illegible. Provenance: Private collection, Spain; [Lucas Moreno, Paris, until 1910]; [Francis Kleinberger, Paris, 1910–31]; Mr. and Mrs. William R. Timken, New York (1931–49); Mrs. William R. Timken, New York (1949–59); Bequest of Lilian S. Timken, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1959.

2. Joel M. Upton, *Petrus Christus: His Place in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (University Park, Pa., 1990) fig. 58; Peter H. Schabacker, *Petrus Christus* (Utrecht, 1974) pp. 42–43. The attribution of the painting to Christus has been questioned by Jacqueline Folie, "Les Oeuvres authentifiées des primitifs flamands," *Bulletin de l'Institut royal du patrimoine artistique* 6 (1963) p. 206, and Lola B. Gellman, "Petrus Christus," Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1973, pp. 484–485, no. 27.

3. For a general discussion, see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1957) vol. 2, pt. 2.

4. John Rowlands, "A Man of Sorrows by Petrus Christus," *Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962) p. 419. The literature on the Man of Sorrows theme is extensive; see Erwin Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis: Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmanns' und der 'Maria Mediatrix,'" *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1927) pp. 261–308; Gert von der Osten, *Der Schmerzensmann: Typengeschichte eines deutschen Andachtbildwerkes von 1300 bis 1600* (Berlin, 1935); Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 6 (1955) pp. 35–152; Carlo Bertelli, "The Image of Pity in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London, 1967) pp. 40–55; Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Abo, 1965) esp. pp. 107–170; and more recently, Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin, 1981).

5. Upton, *Petrus Christus*, pp. 55–56.

6. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) pp. 187 and 430 n. 187-1, notes that the ex-Swinburne painting bore an inscription on the reverse indicating that the artist's name and the date of Jan. 30, 1440, were on the original frame, which was sawn off in 1784. A copy in the Groeningemuseum, Bruges, probably from the first quarter of the 17th century, is also dated Jan. 30, 1440; see Dirk De Vos, *Bruges, Musées Communaux: Catalogue des tableaux du 15e et du 16e siècle* (Bruges, 1982) pp. 228–229. A second type of Holy Face by van Eyck, known through copies in the Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, and the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, each dated Jan. 31, 1438, has the words *Rex Regnum* on the neck of Christ's garment and thus takes on more the character of a *Salvator Mundi*. The Berlin panel is reproduced in Elisabeth Dhannens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck* (New York, 1980) p. 292.

7. Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (London, 1975, corrected reprint of 1924 ed.) pp. 477–478; for an extensive account of the appearance of the *Epistola Lentuli* in manuscripts and books, see Ernest von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder:*

Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende (Leipzig, 1899) pp. 308–330.

8. Martin Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd ed. (London, 1968) pp. 33–34, no. 2593, dated on stylistic grounds to ca. 1450/60; see also Schabacker, *Petrus Christus*, pp. 95–98, cat. no. 9, and Joel M. Upton, "Petrus Christus," Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1972, pp. 330–334, no. 14.

9. The prayer is transcribed by Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: Early Netherlandish School*, p. 33.

10. For an English translation of this and later versions of the story, see Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 157–161. The standard works on Holy Faces and Veronica are Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 197–262, 273–335, 157–203, for the Veronica legend and the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*; and Karl Pearson, *Die Fronica: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg, 1887) pp. 1–22, on the development of the Veronica legend.

11. P. K. Meagher, "Veronica," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967) XIV, p. 625; Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (New York, 1956) III, p. 83.

12. *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, trans. and adapted from the Latin by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York, 1969, reprint of 1941 ed.) pp. 214–215.

13. Discussed and reproduced in color in Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1987) pp. 126–130, pls. iv, v. See also Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 294, 297–298, and Pearson, *Die Fronica*, pp. 51–53, 96–97, nos. 5, 6.

14. Otto Pächt, "The Avignon Diptych and Its Eastern Ancestry," *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961) pp. 404–405.

15. Pächt, "The Avignon Diptych," pp. 406–409, suggests this as a possible rationale for the variance between Matthew Paris's illuminations and later representations of Holy Faces.

16. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 102–196; Ryan and Ripperger, *The Golden Legend*, pp. 634–635, as part of the legends of the Apostles Simon and Jude. See also Carlo Bertelli, "Storia e vicende dell'Immagine Edessena di San Silvestro in Capite a Roma," *Paragone* 19 (1968) pp. 3–33.

17. The standard reference is André Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon* (Prague, 1931). The *Holy Face* of Laon is reproduced in Karen Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978) fig. 65; there is also, pp. 81–94, an excellent discussion of Holy Faces centered around the Holy Face in the Psalter and Hours in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

18. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, pp. 23–24. For a discussion and the texts of indulgenced prayers, see Pearson, *Die Fronica*, pp. 22–30, 69–74, and Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 224–225, 306–309.

19. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, II, pt. 2, p. 19; the text is reproduced in Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 304–305, no. 56.

20. See James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk, 1979) pp. 1–32, and Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter*, esp. pp. 25–106. Although the episode of Jesus and Veronica is found in modern prayer books as the sixth Station of the Cross, this seems to have been a late or sporadic development,

and I am unclear as to its exact course of development. The devotion of the Stations of the Cross evolved during the 15th century, and Veronica's house in Jerusalem is often indicated in guides for pilgrims; see Thurston and Attwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, III, p. 38.

21. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, pp. 69–70.

22. The prayer reproduced in Christus's painting is a conflation from the twelve stanzas of the original, given in Pearson, *Die Fronica*, pp. 22–24.

23. P. Perdrizet, "De la Véronique et de Sainte Véronique," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932) pp. 3–7, pl. 1, fig. 2; the location of the badge is not given, but it is probably in the Musée de Cluny, Paris; similar badges are reproduced in André Chastel, "La Véronique," *Revue de l'art* 40–41 (1978) figs. 1, 21–23.

24. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: Early Netherlandish School*, pp. 170–171, no. 1433; both sides are reproduced in Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Leyden/Brussels, 1967; Eng. ed. of *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924) II, pl. 56, no. 34. Erwin Panofsky, "Jean Hey's *Ecce Homo*: Speculations about Its Author, Its Donor and Its Iconography," *Bulletin des Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique* 5 (1956) pp. 131–132 n. 45, is essentially correct when he observes, "Here the head of Christ is shown crowned with thorns (as normally in a *Sudarium*), but the neck is included (as normally in a Holy Face); the hands are not shown"; but, as we have seen, this is an oversimplification.

25. Given the well-known transmission of motifs from Italian trecento and early quattrocento painting into early Netherlandish painting, often by means of manuscript illumination, we should note that a variety of Italian Holy Faces, with and without a crown of thorns, were available as potential models; see Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (New York, 1964) pp. 36–38, figs. 42–46.

26. Pearson, *Die Fronica*, pp. 67–68; the prayer book is in the British Museum, Harleian 914, folios 85–86. Besides the works cited in the notes, the following were among the sources consulted:

Germain Bazin, "Petrus Christus et les rapports entre l'Italie et la Flandre au milieu du XVe siècle," *La Revue des arts* 2 (1952) pp. 200 nn. 25, 202.

Joshua Bruyn, *Van Eyck Problemen: De Levensbron* (Utrecht, 1957) p. 115.

Liana Castelfranchi Vegas, *Italia e Fiandria nella pittura del quattrocento* (Milan, 1983) pp. 70, 87, fig. 57.

Colin Eisler, review of Erik Larson, *Les Primitifs flamands au Musée Métropolitain de New York* (Utrecht/Antwerp, 1960) in *The Art Bulletin* 46 (1964) p. 104.

Ursula Panhans-Bühler, *Eklektizismus und Originalität im Werk des Petrus Christus* (Vienna, 1978) pp. 11–17, fig. 1.

Wolfgang Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1938) p. 57, no. 23.

Charles Sterling, "Observations on Petrus Christus," *The Art Bulletin* 53 (1971) p. 24.