

# **THE CATHAR CRUCIFIX: NEW EVIDENCE OF THE SHROUD'S MISSING HISTORY**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Shortly after the dawn of the thirteenth century, a French knight toured the magnificent city that was then Constantinople and, upon entering one of its fabulous churches, observed a clear full-body image of Jesus Christ gracing an outstretched burial cloth.<sup>1</sup> Those who advocate that this *sydoine* was, in fact, the Shroud of Turin, are challenged to credibly account for the relic's whereabouts both prior to its exhibition in Byzantium and during the period spanning its disappearance in 1204 to its reemergence some one hundred and fifty years later.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, the author suggests that medieval crucifixes, orthodox and heretical, evolved from increased awareness of the sindonic image and that these changes mark the historical path of the Shroud as it traveled in anonymity from East to West.

## **THE ORTHODOX CRUCIFIX**

By the early third century, the cross was the recognized sign of Christianity throughout the Roman Empire and, over the next several centuries, the use of this symbol became so widespread that it is found on most remnants of the era.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps repulsed by the ignominious nature of Christ's death,<sup>4</sup> the earliest Christians did not portray his crucifixion. "The custom of displaying the Redeemer on the Cross began with the close of the sixth century"<sup>5</sup> and the first datable manuscript image of the Crucifixion is that found in a Syrian Gospel Book written in 586.<sup>6</sup> The sudden rise and proliferation of

crucifixes, beginning in the late sixth century, was countenanced by the Church which officially decreed, a century later, that Christ should be represented only “in human form”.<sup>7</sup> Concurrently, the first of two distinctly recognized periods of crucifixion art commenced and extended for the next seven hundred years.<sup>8</sup>

During this period, Christ was initially shown crucified in a robe or a *colobium* (a long, flowing, sleeveless tunic extending to the knees)<sup>9</sup> and seemed adhered to his cross, with eyes open and head erect, alive, triumphant, and evincing no agony.<sup>10</sup> The ninth century saw, in the West, the *colobium* shortened to a *perizoma* (a garment extending from the waist to the knees)<sup>11</sup> and, primarily in the East, a dead Christ with closed eyes.<sup>12</sup> Then suddenly in the eleventh-century, the Byzantines placed a suffering Christ on the cross, crowned his head with thorns, showed blood flowing from his wounds,<sup>13</sup> and added a Roman centurion to their crucifixion iconography<sup>14</sup>

Throughout this period, crucifixes generally reflected three ancient Church traditions. The first held that Jesus<sup>15</sup> had been hung on a *crux immissa*<sup>16</sup> comprised of an upright *stipes* extending above a horizontal *patibulum*,<sup>17</sup> reflecting universal belief that Christ’s hands had been affixed with nails to a crossbeam. The second held that Christ had been fastened to his cross with four nails.<sup>18</sup> The third held that, after Christ had expired on the cross, he was wounded in his right side<sup>19</sup> with a Roman lance.<sup>20</sup> The first two of these traditions were ratified, in the early thirteenth century, by Pope Innocent III<sup>21</sup> and all seemed validated by both the *Volto Santo* crucifix image, reputedly carved by Nicodemus from an impression left on the Shroud,<sup>22</sup> and also the *stigmata* of Francis of Assisi.<sup>23</sup>

Then, in the early part of the thirteenth century, a new period of crucifixion art commenced<sup>24</sup> when Western portrayals suddenly began to stress Christ's suffering<sup>25</sup> and death on the cross.<sup>26</sup> Ancient traditions and Papal admonitions notwithstanding, the crucified Lord's feet were now pierced by only one nail.<sup>27</sup> In addition, his legs were crossed, his head bowed,<sup>28</sup> and his body arched.<sup>29</sup> At precisely this same time, Western churchmen began to stress that Christ had hung completely naked on the cross and had bowed his head at the moment of death.<sup>30</sup> By 1260, the living Christ had virtually disappeared from Western crucifixion art.<sup>31</sup>

### **THE CATHAR CRUCIFIX**

In 1207, Pope Innocent III proclaimed the Albigensian Crusade in an attempt to eradicate the Cathar heresy that had been spreading throughout Languedoc for nearly half a century.<sup>32</sup> When orthodox armies marched into the south of France in 1209, the Cathar hierarchy took refuge in the mountain fortress of Montsegur.<sup>33</sup> As the bloody crusade continued to be prosecuted, many Cathars fled to neighboring Spain and, by 1218, a numerous and well-organized group of heretics had settled in the city of Leon<sup>34</sup> where they were confronted by a Catholic prelate known to posterity as Lucas of Tuy.<sup>35</sup>

Born in the middle of the twelfth century, Lucas became a priest<sup>36</sup> and was assigned to the Church of Saint Isidoro in Leon.<sup>37</sup> There he confronted the Cathars<sup>38</sup> and, unaided by the Inquisition,<sup>39</sup> personally destroyed a chapel that the heretics had erected in honor of one of their martyrs.<sup>40</sup> Between 1229 and 1234,<sup>41</sup> Lucas wrote *De Altera Vita, Adversus Albigensium Errores (The Other Life, Against the Errors of the Albigensians)*<sup>42</sup> which detailed various Cathar tenets and religious practices<sup>43</sup> and betrayed his own pathological hatred of heretics<sup>44</sup> and Jews.<sup>45</sup>

In *De Altera Vita*, Lucas reports that the Cathars manufactured a most unusual crucifix. At that time, the traditional orthodox crucifix consisted of four arms (i.e., pieces of wood) which formed an upright *stipes*, a horizontal *patibulum*, a *titulus* above the head, and a *suppedaneum* to support the body at the feet.<sup>46</sup> Lucas relates that the Cathars removed the “upper arm” of the orthodox crucifix<sup>47</sup> in order to mutilate the traditional sign of the cross.<sup>48</sup> Protesting against this heretical invention, Lucas argues that a proper cross must take the shape of overlapping arms,<sup>49</sup> represent the four regions of the earth,<sup>50</sup> and reflect the symbol that had adorned imperial crowns.<sup>51</sup> He also claimed that the *stigmata* of Francis of Assisi had validated the shape of the orthodox crucifix.<sup>52</sup> Lucas thereby rather clearly indicates that the Cathars had removed the *patibulum* from the orthodox crucifix and, in doing so, created a so-called *crux simplex*, comprised of a vertical stake, an inscription plate, and a footrest. Lucas notes too that the Cathar crucifix portrayed Christ attached to the cross with only three nails, one of which was driven through his crossed feet,<sup>53</sup> and that the heretics had claimed that Christ was pierced in his left side by a Roman lance.<sup>54</sup> Based upon the foregoing, I believe that the Cathar crucifix depicted Jesus wounded in the left side and hung from a *crux simplex*, with his arms extended directly above his head and his hands (or wrists) nailed to the upright *stipes*.

In the light of known Cathar religious tenets and practices,<sup>55</sup> this heretical crucifix raises a number of questions. For example, the Cathars clearly held religious images and relics in low esteem.<sup>56</sup> Given their strong aversion to images, the Cathars should not have created such a religious image-bearing object, and yet Lucas, an avid proponent of relics and holy images,<sup>57</sup> confirms that they did precisely that. Given too the unchallenged predominance of ancient crucifixion traditions dictating the shape of the Cross, the

number of nails, and the location of the lance wound, the Cathars should have embraced at least one of these ancient teachings, and yet, they did precisely the opposite.

The Cathars believed in two distinct deities, one good who made spiritual things and the other evil who created the things of this world.<sup>58</sup> Because they deemed mankind itself the work of the devil, the Cathars professed that Jesus had inhabited a *simulacrum*; i.e., a mere representation of a human body.<sup>59</sup> Consequently, they preached that Christ had been a ghost<sup>60</sup> who only appeared human and, consistent with Docetic heresies, claimed that neither his death nor his resurrection had been a physical reality.<sup>61</sup> Having rejected the reality of Christ's incarnation, the Cathars were logically compelled to disclaim the Eucharist,<sup>62</sup> the doctrine of transubstantiation,<sup>63</sup> and the Mass with its sacrifices of the altar.<sup>64</sup>

Once they had repudiated Christ's human nature, the Cathars should have viewed his crucifixion as nothing more than a mirage, and yet they were palpably frightened by the event and claimed that the Cross should inspire horror, since it had formed the instrument of Jesus' humiliation. As noted by medieval scholar, Zoë Oldenbourg, such reasoning demonstrates that the Cathars did, in fact, attach much more importance to the Crucifixion than is generally supposed and that they believed, in some way or other, in the real sufferings of Jesus and his death on the cross.<sup>65</sup>

Finally, given their rejection of the Eucharist and the Mass, the Cathars should not have claimed to possess Christ's transubstantiated body, and yet they did invite the leader of the Albigensian Crusade to see the body of Christ that had become flesh and blood in the hands of their priest.<sup>66</sup>

## SINDONIC SOLUTIONS

Some have attributed the sudden popularity of crucifixes in the late sixth century, as well as the Church's tolerance of their use, to an orthodox attempt to oppose certain heresies which proclaimed that Christ was possessed of a divine nature only and had never been subject to human vulnerability. While religious images of Christ, as a real man affixed to a cross, might aid in checking the spread of such heretical doctrines, it has been recognized that this explanation alone does not adequately account for the sudden popularity of crucifixes in the late sixth century.<sup>67</sup>

In 544, an image of Christ "not made by human hands" appeared in Edessa during the siege of that city by the Persian army. Ian Wilson has persuasively demonstrated that this icon was the Shroud<sup>68</sup> and I have previously suggested that the orthodox clergy of Edessa was well aware of the cloth's full-body image before converting it into a "folded-in-four" portrait.<sup>69</sup> I propose that it was this startling debut of a miraculous image of Christ crucified that inspired the popularity of crucifixes and persuaded the Church to countenance their use and proliferation beginning in the late sixth century. After all, if Christ himself had allowed his crucified body to be manifested on cloth, how could his Church rationally oppose the manufacture of other representations of this salvific event?

So long as the portraited Shroud, known as the Image of Edessa, was kept "folded in four", modesty-minded Christians,<sup>70</sup> unaware of the naked sindonic body image, would continue to portray Jesus crucified in a robe, *colobium*, or *perizoma*. So long as the extensive wounds caused by the whip, the thorns, the falls, and the lance remained hidden, reverent Christians could afford to imagine and depict their Savior adhered to his cross in triumphant glory.

In Byzantine crucifixion scenes dating from the eleventh century, however, a suffering Christ is substituted for the triumphant Christ, a crown of thorns appears on his head, blood flows from his wounds, and a Roman centurion is added to the standard crucifixion motif. While such nuances are sometimes ascribed merely to the supposed mysticism of that era, it is undisputed that the Edessa icon arrived in Constantinople in 944 and “an impressive array of circumstantial evidence” indicates that, prior to 1130, the cloth was unfolded and its full-body image revealed.<sup>71</sup> I suggest that once the Byzantines thereby became aware of the severity of Christ’s injuries,<sup>72</sup> they began to portray his sufferings and bloody wounds, and to stress the role of the centurion. This conclusion is supported by the correlative fact that, after the Shroud was presumably unfolded in Constantinople, Byzantine portrayals of Christ’s burial began to show him laid out in the precise manner of the sindonic image with his hands crossed below his waist.<sup>73</sup>

The rather dramatic developments in Western crucifixion art of the early thirteenth century, when a suffering Christ was depicted as crucified with three nails, have been ascribed to artistic purposes<sup>74</sup> and to the philosophies of new found religious orders.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that the full-body sindonic image had continued to escape Western attention until 1203 when, confronted by a military threat to Constantinople, the Emperor publicly exhibited the *sydoine* to French crusaders and the Italian seamen who had ferried them to Byzantium. Therefore, I suggest that it was recent acquaintance with the sindonic image that precipitated the new Western emphasis, in both art and ecclesiastical literature, upon a naked, suffering, head-bowed Christ crucified with three nails.

Ian Wilson has proposed that, as Constantinople was being sacked in 1204, the Shroud fell into the hands of the Knights Templar. He has ascribed the Templars' subsequent anonymous ownership of the cloth to their inherently secretive nature and noted that the Order ultimately came to venerate a mysterious bearded head idol and produce a martyred leader with familial links to Geoffrey de Charny, the Shroud's first record owner.<sup>76</sup>

Convinced that Wilson had correctly deduced that the Shroud's missing medieval owners were Christians connected to both Constantinople and Charny and positioned to resist the lucrative relic market for five-plus generations,<sup>77</sup> I recently nominated the Cathars as the Shroud's pre-Lirey custodians.<sup>78</sup> Allied with Byzantine dualists,<sup>79</sup> these heretics were scornful of pecuniary profit, compelled by persecution to conceal the relic, and subject to forfeiture laws<sup>80</sup> that would have legally brought the Shroud to Charny, via royal grant,<sup>81</sup> during the era of the Black Death.<sup>82</sup> In deference to traditional scholarship that the Cathars loathed religious images and relics, I suggested that they had acquired the Shroud as a protective palladium<sup>83</sup> against the Roman Church that sought their extinction through persecution and military crusade. In support of my theory, I cited contemporary romances<sup>84</sup> seemingly placing the Holy Grail<sup>85</sup> in Cathar Montsegur, Inquisition testimony recounting the surreptitious removal of an unidentified treasure from that fortress,<sup>86</sup> a chronicle reporting Cathar possession of Christ's body and blood,<sup>87</sup> and a heretical crucifix having only three nails.<sup>88</sup>

Heretofore, I have mentioned several seeming contradictions between Cathar beliefs, on the one hand, and Cathar deeds, on the other; however, I believe that all of the Cathars' actions are reconcilable with the transfer of the Shroud from Constantinople to

Languedoc in 1204. I suggest that, upon receiving the relic from their brethren in Byzantium, the Cathars discovered, within its incredible image, irrefutable proof that Jesus of Nazareth had truly been a living human being. Such graphic evidence would have surely dispelled their notion that Christ had been only a ghost, caused them to accept the reality of his suffering and death on the cross, and given rise to their mortal dread of his crucifixion. I believe that the Cathars' claim to possess the body and blood of Christ, which simply could not have referred to transubstantiated bread and wine, was made in reference to an imaged cloth that, when lifted up and unfolded by their priest, manifested a mysterious representation of Christ crucified.

So too is the Cathar crucifix to be understood and explained. While modern sindonologists are cognizant of medical evidence indicating that Christ's arms were extended horizontally and appreciate that the Shroud image mirrors the position of the body it once enveloped, thirteenth-century Cathars were ignorant of such medical considerations and probably failed to perceive the reverse perspective characteristics of the image.<sup>89</sup> I suggest that, convinced by the sindonic image that Jesus had been crucified with his hands nailed above his head, his crossed feet affixed by one nail,<sup>90</sup> and his left side pierced, the Cathars created a crucifix with no *patibulum*, three nails, and a wound to the left side.

In his classic study of the medieval Inquisition, Charles Henry Lea concluded that the Cathar crucifix was employed to proselytize orthodox believers.<sup>91</sup> This was based upon Lucas' report that the heretical crucifix had been employed to confuse the Catholic laity<sup>92</sup> and make them question their faith.<sup>93</sup> Lucas also related, however, that the Cathars attempted to propagate their heretical beliefs through paintings of the Holy Trinity that

illustrated multiple gods and Christ's subordination to his Father.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, since the Cathars were clearly inclined to employ religious objects to spread their theological beliefs, I suggest that the Cathar crucifix reflected their newfound acceptance of the reality of Christ's crucifixion and that its unconventional features were based entirely upon the authority of the sindonic image.<sup>95</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Medieval crucifixes, orthodox and heretical, underwent evolutionary changes as the Christian world became increasingly aware of the crucifixion details evinced by the sindonic image. By identifying significant revisions to the crucifix and to crucifixion art, it is possible to discover the historical path taken by the Shroud as it traveled, in anonymity, from place to place.

The late sixth-century rise in the popularity of crucifixes and their acceptance by the Church reflects the fact that, in 544, the Shroud surfaced in Edessa. The early eleventh-century shift in Byzantine crucifixion portrayals to a suffering Christ crowned with thorns and bleeding from his wounds reflects the fact that, in 944, the Shroud was taken from Edessa to Constantinople. The early thirteenth-century shift in Western crucifixion portrayals to a suffering Christ crucified with three nails and the newborn emphasis in ecclesiastical literature upon a naked and head-bowed Christ reflect the fact that, in 1203, the Shroud was publicly exhibited in Constantinople. The early thirteenth-century appearance of a Cathar crucifix having no crossbeam, three nails, and a left side wound reflects the fact that, in 1204, the Shroud was taken from Constantinople to Languedoc.

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## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Describing his experiences in 1203-04 Constantinople, Robert de Clari reported that "...there was another of the churches which they called My Lady St. Mary of Blachernae, where was kept the *sydoine* in which Our Lord had been wrapped, which stood up straight every Friday so that the figure of Our Lord could be plainly seen there...". Wilson, *The Shroud of Turin*, p. 169, citing Robert de Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, p. 112, trans. E.H. McNeal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).

<sup>2</sup> The Shroud can be traced, with a high degree of confidence, to its ownership by the chivalrous French knight, Geoffrey de Charny, Lord of Lirey, in the mid-fourteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Marucchi, p. 520; p. 526.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest Christians depicted the Crucifixion only in veiled forms, such as a lamb lying at the foot of an anchor, a dolphin entwined around a trident, and Ulysses tied to a mast. Marucchi, p. 527.

<sup>5</sup> Marucchi, p. 527.

<sup>6</sup> *Codex Syriacus*, 56, preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence. Marucchi, p. 527; Schacher, p. 487.

<sup>7</sup> In 692, this decree was issued by the Quinisext Council of Constantinople. Marucchi, p. 527; Schacher, p. 487.

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<sup>8</sup> “In the artistic treatment of the crucifix there are two periods: the first, which dates from the sixth to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and the second, dating from that time to our own day”. Marucchi, p. 529.

<sup>9</sup> The Syrian Gospel Book, mentioned heretofore, shows a bearded Christ in a sleeveless tunic. Marucchi, p. 527. Schacher, p. 487. Similar portrayals are found in the Vatican oratory, built in 705 by Pope John VII, and on a crucifix dating from the time of Pope Paul I (757-768) which features a wide-eyed Christ draped in a long grayish-blue tunic. Marucchi, p. 528.

<sup>10</sup> “In a word, it is not Christ suffering, but Christ triumphing and glorious on the Cross. Moreover, Christian art for a long time objected to stripping Christ of his garments...” Marucchi, p. 529. The Gregory of Nazianzus of Paris, datable to about 880, has a *colobium* painted over a loincloth and provides the first, and a very rare early, Eastern example of a *perizoma*. Schacher, p. 487.

<sup>11</sup> The crucifix of Leo IV (840-847) portrays the crucified Christ with a *perizoma*. Marucchi, p. 529.

<sup>12</sup> Schacher, p. 487; however, during the Carolingian period, a dead Christ, showing no sign of suffering, appeared alongside the living Christ in Western art. Oakes, p. 210.

<sup>13</sup> “From the eleventh century in the East..., the head droops onto the breast, the crown of thorns is introduced, the arms are bent back, the body is twisted, the face is wrung with agony, and blood flows from the wounds”. Marucchi, p. 529. “Iconographic precedents for the suffering Christ existed in such Byzantine works as the narthex mosaic *Crucifixion* (c. 1025) at Hosios Loukas, Phokis, and among the icons at St Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai”. Jones, p. 212.

<sup>14</sup> A holy woman joins Mary and John at the foot of the cross. Schachter, p. 491.

<sup>15</sup> Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine, brought the cross of the Good Thief from Jerusalem to Cyprus and the island was thereafter blessed copiously. This was seen to prove that the crosses of the two thieves had the same shape as Christ’s. Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 19.

<sup>16</sup> This tradition may have derived from the fact that a *titulus* had been placed over the head of the crucified Christ. See Matthew 27:37. Marucchi, p. 520. The prevalent Latin version of the *crux immissa*, with its transverse beam set two-thirds of the way up its vertical stake, was prevalent both in the West and the East and was employed at Constantinople’s Church of the Apostles, St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, and many churches located in Athens. The Greek version had its transverse beam set at the center of the vertical upright. Marucchi, pp. 521-522.

<sup>17</sup> Although some Christians venerated a T-shaped *crux commissa*, every crucifix featured a *patibulum*. Marucchi, pp. 521-522.

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<sup>18</sup> In the sixth century, Gregory of Tours wrote: "*Clavorum ergo dominicorum gratiâ quod quatuor fuerint hæc est ratio: duo sunt affixi in palmis, et duo in plantis*". Gregory of Tours, *De Gloriâ Martyrum*, I, vi, in P.L., XXI, 710. Marucchi, p. 528. Two early examples of the four-nail crucifix are found in the seventh century crypt of St. Valentine's Catacomb on the Via Flaminia and in the crucifix of Pope Leo IV (840-847). Marucchi, pp. 528-529.

<sup>19</sup> "This should be enough to prove...that the lance pierced the Savior's right side. This at least is clearly the tradition of the Roman church, and the Greek and Armenian churches, as well as the oriental church." Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 11.

<sup>20</sup> Although, the centurion was not typically added to Byzantine crucifixion scenes until the eleventh century, he had been portrayed in both Syria and the West. On a ninth-century ivory plaque set into the cover of the Pericope Book of Henry II, found in the state library of Munich, Longinus is shown thrusting his lance into Christ's right side. Schacher, p. 491. In the Syrian Gospel Book written in 586, the lance wound is on the right side. Schacher, p. 487. On an ivory casket of the fifth century, found in the British Museum, Longinus prepares to thrust his lance into Christ's left side and also, in the eighth-century Irish Gospel Book of St. Gall, he appears to Christ's left. Schacher, p. 486; p. 491.

<sup>21</sup> "Let us therefore recall the words of the glorious Pope Innocent III, and let us listen to what he says in his book of sermons ... about the cross ...as if he himself were speaking. The Lord's cross consisted of four pieces of wood - the upright trunk, the crossbeam, a support for the body, and the inscription over his head." Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 10. "The great vicar of God, teacher of the church and persecutor of heretics, Pope Innocent III, states that four nails were used in the body of our Lord. He says 'There were four nails in our Lord's passion, through his hands and feet'." Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 11. See also Curren-Briggs, pp. 191-192.

<sup>22</sup> This crucifix, then and still kept in the Lucca Cathedral, "...shows the author of life placed on the cross with uncrossed feet, and the cross is higher at the top than the crossbeam." Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 11. While the original eleventh-century piece has been lost, a thirteenth-century copy depicts a triumphant Christ dressed in a *colobium* with his eyes open. Oakes, p. 213.

<sup>23</sup> "...there were four nail holes in the hands and feet of Francis, showing in this soldier of Christ a perfect victory won over the world, and the sign of his following his king Jesus Christ, the four nails of the Lord's passion. ... The sign of the Lord's passion by some perfection was shown to be complete on the blessed father Francis, when it was said that later a scar appeared on his right side as if a lance had pierced him. This scar often bled, and his tunic and thighs were often stained with holy blood. ...This should be enough to prove what was said above, that there were four arms on Christ's cross and four nails, and that the lance pierced the Savior's right side." Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 11.

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<sup>24</sup> “From the 13<sup>th</sup> century artists usually emphasized Christ’s suffering on the Cross; furthermore, from the mid-thirteenth century the number of nails was often reduced from four to three by placing one foot over the other, and this powerfully affected the hanging, buckled posture of Christ’s body.” Oakes, p. 211. “The shift towards displaying more emotion and humanity in the subsidiary scenes prefigured a major change in the iconography that took place in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century and early 13<sup>th</sup>, when painters began to show Christ as suffering (*Christus patiens*). Innumerable variations of this type survive, including Enrico di Tedice’s *Crucifix* (first quarter, 13<sup>th</sup> century; Pisa, S Martino), Giunta Pisano’s *Crucifix* (1230-35; Assisi, S Maria degli Angeli) and the Master of St Francis’s *Crucifix* (late 1260’s; London)”. Jones, p. 212.

<sup>25</sup> In 1236, Giunta Pisano expertly conveyed the sense of Christ’s agony in the deep-cut lines of his mouth, eyes, and eyebrows. In Italy, a gradual transition from a triumphant to a suffering Christ had been taking place over the course of the preceding century, as reflected in cruciform panel paintings found in Tuscany (1138, Sarzana) and Umbria (1187, Spoleto). Schacher, pp. 491-492.

<sup>26</sup> The dead Christ appeared in the late twelfth century, but did not replace the triumphant Christ until the middle of the thirteenth. Schacher, p. 491.

<sup>27</sup> A German psalter illustration, dated to 1211-1212, depicted Christ’s feet attached to the cross with a single nail. See Curren-Briggs, pp. 191-192. Curiously, this prayerbook was owned by the patron of Wolfram von Eschenbach who, in his romances, appears to place the Holy Grail in Languedoc between 1205 and 1207. The first known example of a single nail penetrating both of Christ’s feet is a depiction dated to 1149 and found on a bronze baptismal font located in Tirmont, Belgium. Wilson, *The Blood and the Shroud*, p. 271. Schacher, p. 491.

<sup>28</sup> In the West, a crown of thorns was added in the late twelfth century. Oakes, p. 213.

<sup>29</sup> Western portrayals of a suffering Christ with eyes closed, head bowed, and body arched (but crucified with four nails) are rare and found mostly in Northern Europe. One example is a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon line drawing contained in a manuscript kept by the British Museum (Harvey MS 2094). Schacher, p. 491. Another is the Gero Cross (*ca.* 969-976), found in the Cologne Cathedral, which depicts Christ with a hanging head, closed eyes, and disjointed, sagging body. Oakes, p. 213.

<sup>30</sup> “He took up his cross and was crucified naked...” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 2. “Christ naked on the cross preaches the naked truth to the faithful”. Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 11. “He did not lift his head up when he died, but rather bowed it, in order to give an example of humility even as he, the teacher of humility, was dying.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 2. “He did this when he was in the flesh, when he gave up his spirit with his head bowed, not upright”. Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 14. Although Christ’s nakedness and bowed head are both mentioned in canonical Scripture (see Matthew 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 19: 23-24; 19:30), such details had not been previously emphasized in Western art or literature.

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<sup>31</sup> Schacher, p. 492.

<sup>32</sup> For a more detailed account of relevant Cathar history, see Markwardt, Jack, *Was the Shroud in Languedoc During the Missing Years?*, Acts of the Third International Scientific Symposium of CIELT-Nice 1997, p. 177 (Paris, 1998). Shroud of Turin Website Library, <http://www.shroud.com> (1997).

<sup>33</sup> Cathar bishop Guilhabert de Castres used Montsegur as the base for his legendary missionary activities and as the site of a synod held in 1232. Sumption, p. 228; p. 237. Madaule, p.51.

<sup>34</sup> Lea, Vol. II, pp. 181-182.

<sup>35</sup> He is also known as Lucas Tudense, Lucae Tudensis, and “El Tudense”. Between 1236 and 1239, Lucas authored the *Chronicon Mundi*, a great historical chronicle updating the work of Saint Isidoro. In 1239, Lucas became bishop of Tuy, a small town located on the former border between Spain and Portugal.

<sup>36</sup> As a priest, Lucas traveled to Nazareth, Tarsus, Constantinople, and France where he saw four nails that were reportedly used in the Crucifixion.

<sup>37</sup> St. Isidoro had once served as bishop of Leon.

<sup>38</sup> Lucas’ bishop had expelled heretics who had been whipping up public sentiment against the local orthodox clergy. Lea, Vol. II, p. 181.

<sup>39</sup> This part of Spain “never enjoyed the blessing of the medieval Inquisition”. Lea, Vol. II, p. 180.

<sup>40</sup> Lea, Vol. II, p. 182.

<sup>41</sup> Francis of Assisi experienced his *stigmata* in 1224 and Lucas reports that this event occurred five years before his writings. Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Ch. 11. A local heretic was burned to death in 1218 and Lucas reports that this event occurred sixteen years before his writings. Lea, Vol. II, p. 182. Lucas of Tuy, Book III, Ch. 9.

<sup>42</sup> The author gratefully acknowledges the prodigious efforts of Paul C. Maloney, Vice President and General Projects Director of the ASSIST Investigations Group, in locating and reproducing this relatively forgotten work and the fine translation of its medieval Latin text by Mark Guscin.

<sup>43</sup> Lucas’ sources included Cathar defectors. “We have heard this from those who were once covered in the filth of heretical waste but by the grace of God have returned to the arms of the holy mother church.” Lucas of Tuy, Book III, Ch. 5.

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<sup>44</sup> “...It is thus clear that not only should we not listen to heretics, but we should kill them, even though they seem to live a decent life and even if they work miracles. ... No matter how great our love is, we should not spare brothers or children, our wife or friend if they have been infected with the evil of heresy. ...The Lord also orders the death of small children on account of their parents' impiety, because (as I believe it) if they lived they would only imitate their parents' wickedness.” Lucas of Tuy, Book III, Ch. 22.

<sup>45</sup> “Those who crucified the Lord my God have rejected faith in him, and they oppress the poor without cause.” Lucas of Tuy, Book III, Ch. 3. “This in fact is what the perfidious and lying Jews do - when they are in the presence of the book of their law they bow down in reverence and kiss it.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Ch. 21.

<sup>46</sup> “The Lord's cross consisted of four pieces of wood - the upright trunk, the crossbeam, a support for the body, and the inscription over his head.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 10.

<sup>47</sup> “In these same times the heretics made a crucifix with only three arms... The upper arm of the cross was lacking.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 9. “They have sinfully changed the shape of Christ's cross to one with three arms...They are backed by no authority and led by no reason when they strive to show that...the cross itself lacked the upper arm.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 10.

<sup>48</sup> “...whoever strives to mutilate the sign of the cross is trying to destroy and extinguish the light and health of mankind from the Christian people.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 10.

<sup>49</sup> “The holy patriarch Jacob believed that this life-giving sign was full of divine virtue when he blessed Ephraim and Manasseh with his hands one over the other in the shape of a cross. ...By crossing his arms he showed that in the future the Lord's cross would have four arms.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 10.

<sup>50</sup> “We should not omit what is sung by the devotion of the church on the feast day of the Holy Cross: ‘Its shape shows this, taking in the four regions of the earth.’” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 10.

<sup>51</sup> “Christian emperors and rulers rejoice because they wear this admirable sign on their heads. No precious gem in the golden crown of a king is so beautiful as the sign of the cross - all such adornments are decorated by the beauty of the cross.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 10.

<sup>52</sup> “...This (Francis' *stigmata*) should be enough to prove what was said above, that there were four arms on Christ's cross and four nails, and that the lance pierced the Savior's right side.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 11.

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<sup>53</sup> “In order to deride and offend the cross of Christ, they have an image of the crucified one with one foot on top of the other and one nail through both feet... In these same times the heretics made a crucifix...with one foot nailed on top of the other and so there were only three nails.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 9.

<sup>54</sup> The heretics had “affirmed with no authority to back them that...the lance had pierced his left side and not the right...” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 11.

<sup>55</sup> Modern knowledge of Cathar theology seems to be limited to tenets that directly conflicted with orthodox doctrine. Oldenbourg, p. 33.

<sup>56</sup> “Holy images were no more than idols, and relics worse still—mere bits of crumbling bone, wooden splinters or scraps of cloth being picked up any old where, and passed off by a pack of plausible rogues as parts of saints’ bodies or other venerable objects. Those who bowed before such objects were adoring matter, and matter was the Devil’s handiwork.” Oldenbourg, p. 37. The Cathars rejected relics as devices through which salvation could be procured. Lea, p. 93. In the *Synodikon* of Bulgaria’s Tsar Boril, datable to 1211, the Council of Trnovo made this declaration against the Bogomil brethren of the Cathars: “To those who reject the adoration of the precious and life-giving cross, and the sacred and holy icons, anathema”. Hamilton, *Christian Dualistic Heresies*, p. 262.

<sup>57</sup> “An image that is painted of the Savior after he took on humanity should be venerated even more by the faithful as the form of the Son of God taken from his mother is much more worthy than any other.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 20.

<sup>58</sup> Costen, p. 62.

<sup>59</sup> Costen, pp. 63-64.

<sup>60</sup> Lucas of Tuy, Book III, Chapter 22.

<sup>61</sup> Costen, p. 65. Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 11.

<sup>62</sup> The Cathars considered the Eucharist, and all of the other sacraments, to be vain and useless. Warner, Vol. 1, p. 31.

<sup>63</sup> To this heretical view, Lucas replied: “The first and foremost of the Church’s sacraments on account of its dignity is the consecration of the body and blood of the Lord, the Church’s way, with the ministry of a priest, by which bread is transubstantiated into the flesh of Christ and wine into his blood.” Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 1.

<sup>64</sup> Lea, p. 93. Costen, p. 65.

<sup>65</sup> Oldenbourg, p. 37.

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<sup>66</sup> Joinville, p. 15. Amaury de Montfort led the Albigensian Crusade between 1218 and 1224. While the precise date and circumstances of this invitation remain unknown, the preeminent Cathar bishop, Guilhabert de Castres, was in Castelnaudary during Amaury's eight-month siege of that city in 1220-1221. Strayer, pp.119-120. Sumption, p. 228.

<sup>67</sup> “Dogmatic reasons alone, that is, the reduced fear of Arian and Apollinarist misinterpretation or the apologetic efforts against Monophysitism cannot explain the sudden popularity of crucifixion scenes in the later 6<sup>th</sup> century.” Schacher, p. 487.

<sup>68</sup> Wilson, *The Shroud of Turin*, pp. 126-147.

<sup>69</sup> Markwardt, Jack, *The Fire and the Portrait*, British Society for the Turin Shroud Newsletter, No. 48, p. 18 (December, 1998). Shroud of Turin Website Library, <http://www.shroud.com> (1998).

<sup>70</sup> “...Christian art for a long time objected to stripping Christ of his garments...”. Marucchi, p. 529.

<sup>71</sup> An interpolation made, at that time, to a papal sermon refers to Christ having left an image of his entire body on a cloth. Wilson, *The Shroud of Turin*, pp. 157-158.

<sup>72</sup> The lance wound made a particular impression upon Gregory, archdeacon of Constantinople's Hagia Sophia Cathedral, since he mentions, in a sermon delivered upon the cloth's arrival in 944, that the image had been embellished by blood drops “from his very side”. See Wilson, *The Blood and the Shroud*, p. 154.

<sup>73</sup> The dead Christ is so depicted on a Byzantine ivory found in the Victoria and Albert Museum and in the Stroganoff reliquary in St. Petersburg, both datable to ca. 1100. See Wilson, *The Blood and the Shroud*, p. 270.

<sup>74</sup> “...All this was done from artistic motives, to bring about a more moving and devotional pose.” Marucchi, p. 529.

<sup>75</sup> “These changes were connected with a more intimate and emotional piety inspired by the writings of St Bernard and St Francis and later also by the 14<sup>th</sup>-century mystics.” Oakes, p. 211. “In the 13<sup>th</sup> century the development of Franciscan theology, stressing Christ's humanity, and the renewal of Byzantine artistic influences prompted not only the transition from a triumphant to a suffering Christ but also the changes in number and arrangement of secondary figures and scenes.” Jones, p. 211.

<sup>76</sup> Wilson, *The Shroud of Turin*, pp. 179-192.

<sup>77</sup> Wilson, *The Shroud of Turin*, pp. 177-178.

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<sup>78</sup> Markwardt, Jack, *Was the Shroud in Languedoc During the Missing Years?*, Acts of the Third International Scientific Symposium of CIELT-Nice 1997, p. 177 (Paris, 1998). Shroud of Turin Website Library, <http://www.shroud.com> (1997).

<sup>79</sup> In 1204, when the Shroud disappeared, the Cathars were part of a single religious communion with the Bogomils and the Paulicians of Constantinople. Hamilton, *Monastic Reform*, p. 115; p.123. Warner, Vol. 1, pp. 11; 14. Curren-Briggs, p. 140.

<sup>80</sup> Title to the relic could not legally pass from one generation to another inasmuch as heretics, their sympathizers, and their descendants were prohibited from making a will or receiving a legacy. Warner, Vol. 2, pp. 145-146; p. 174. In Toulouse, all forfeited personal property belonged exclusively to the crown. Warner, Vol. 2, pp. 194-195.

<sup>81</sup> In the Spring of 1349, Charny's royal annuity was modified to include the first forfeitures that might occur in the Languedoc senechausses of Toulouse, Beaucaire, and Carcassonne. This grant is preserved in the Archives Nationales JJ77 #395, folio 245 and is hand-copied in the Wuenschel Collection. See Crispino, Dorothy, *Geoffroy de Charny in Paris*, Shroud Spectrum International, No. 24, p. 13 (September, 1987).

<sup>82</sup> In October of 1347, the Black Death swept into Europe, ultimately killing more than a third of its population. In rural Languedoc, the Black Death killed close to half of the population. Gottfried, p. 50-51. A legal forfeiture precipitated by this plague would have probably taken place in 1349 or 1350.

<sup>83</sup> "The Byzantine Emperor had always relied on his relics to protect his throne and his city, and in 1204 both were gravely threatened by the Frankish Crusaders". Drews, p. 50. Clearly, the peoples of Edessa and Constantinople had come to view relics, such as the Shroud, as possessing "palladian virtues which could protect them from their enemies". Curren-Briggs, pp. 126-127.

<sup>84</sup> Between approximately 1205 and 1207, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* placed the Holy Grail in fictional Munsalvaesche, a name denoting a mountainous region of safety, very much like Languedoc, in general, and Montsegur, in particular. Wolfram, p. 124. Curren-Briggs, p. 15. In another poem, Wolfram named the lord of the Grail castle as Perilla at the very time that Raymond de Perella was serving as Lord of Montsegur, and in his unfinished *Der Junge Titurel*, Wolfram situated the Grail castle in the Pyrenees which border on Languedoc and lie quite near to Montsegur.

<sup>85</sup> The author has identified the Grail as symbolic of three Passion relics which he believes that Western Crusaders reported as having disappeared from Antioch's Great Cathedral during the fourth-century persecution of Julian the Apostate; i.e., the Shroud, the Chalice of the Last Supper, and the Holy Lance. Markwardt, Jack, *Antioch and the Shroud*, Acts of the Shroud of Turin International Research Conference, Richmond, Virginia, 1999 (pending publication). Shroud of Turin Website Library, <http://www.shroud.com> (1999). For a different interpretation, see Scavone, Daniel C., *The Influence of the Edessa Icon on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, Acts of the Third

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International Scientific Symposium of CIELT-Nice 1997, p. 141 (Paris, 1998). Scavone, Daniel C., *Joseph of Arimathea, the Holy Grail and the Turin Shroud*, Shroud of Turin Website Library, <http://www.shroud.com> (1996). Curren-Briggs, pp. 1-29; pp. 72-73.

<sup>86</sup> On March 16, 1244, four Cathars, who had been concealed, used ropes to scale down Montsegur's steep western rock-face, and, according to tradition, they took with them a treasure of unknown content. Oldenbourg, p. 361. Sumption, p. 241.

<sup>87</sup> Joinville's *History of St. Louis* recounts that Amaury de Montfort, while leading the Albigensian Crusade, declined a Cathar invitation to come and see the body of Christ "which had become flesh and blood in the hands of the priest". Joinville, p. 15.

<sup>88</sup> Lea, p. 103.

<sup>89</sup> If so, the Cathars would not have been alone in having been misled by the sindonic image's mirror-image phenomenon. A Byzantine *epitaphios* liturgical cloth, dated to ca. 1282-1321 and found in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade, correctly shows the lance wound on the right side, but improperly shows the right hand crossed over the left in accordance with the appearance of the sindonic image. See Wilson, *The Blood and the Shroud*, p. 137.

<sup>90</sup> Modern examiners seem to agree that the sindonic image suggests that only one nail was placed through Christ's crossed feet. See, e.g., Barbet, Pierre, *Proof of the Authenticity of the Shroud in the Bloodstains: Part II*, Shroud Spectrum International, No. 23, p. 10 (March, 1984). Curren-Briggs, p. 192. Wilson, *The Blood and the Shroud*, p. 271.

<sup>91</sup> Lea, p. 103.

<sup>92</sup> "It is typical of elevated science, which tries to dominate the storms of our time, to always search for novelties and get others to follow. ... Many schisms and errors are born from such presumptions, and heretics, those enemies of the truth, feed on them." Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 3.

<sup>93</sup> "People came and worshipped this cross of Christ. The enemies of truth uncovered what they had kept hidden, and wickedly deceived the souls of the simple, stating 'If what you have believed up to now about the cross of Christ is true, what you are now worshipping is false, but if what you now believe is true, what you were taught before is false.'" Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 9.

<sup>94</sup> "They paint the image of the Holy Trinity as an elder father, younger son and holy spirit like a dove, ever younger than the son, so that they are forced to believe in their simplicity that three Gods have one will. Seduced by false intelligence, instead of one God they have three, but of one will..." Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 9. "The Cathars, it seems, were really Arians insofar as they refused to admit the equality of the three Persons of the Trinity". Oldenbourg, p. 41.

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<sup>95</sup> Unaware of the Shroud, Lucas was unable to discern the source of the Cathars' authority to redesign the crucifix. "You have no authority, and your habits are contradictory". Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 9. "They are backed by no authority and led by no reason when they strive to show that the Lord Jesus Christ was crucified with only three nails and that the cross itself lacked the upper arm. Their only justification for this is that they themselves believe it." Lucas of Tuy, Book II, Chapter 10.