



Fig. 1: Figure of Christ in the Crypt of the Saints, catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellino, Rome. Late IVth c.

THE SHROUD OF TURIN AND THE FACE OF CHRIST
IN PALEOCHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE
AND WESTERN MEDIEVAL ART*
PART II

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The Edessa Image and Its Variants

From what source originates the type of face of Christ which has all the characteristics of a personal portrait? Gerhart Egger says: From the Shroud. Can this be proven? There are various difficulties to confront.

- 1) Christ is not always represented with a bipartite beard, but also with an undivided beard, sometimes long and pointed.
- 2) The oriental tradition associated the "true face" of Christ with the image that, according to tradition, a messenger carried to King Abgar from Christ himself.
- 3) A strong doubt remains in the minds of iconographers whether one can demonstrate an exclusive connection between the Shroud and a sufficiently large number of images of Christ.

In the catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellino (Fig. 1) and in the mosaics of St. Apollinare in Classe (Ravenna), which are posterior to those of St. Apollinare Nuovo, Christ is represented with a long, pointed beard. This type of beard corresponds to a very ancient tradition in the Middle East. As early as ca. 2800 BC, King Naramsim is shown with this long beard on a stele now in the Louvre. We find it again on the god Ba'al Shamin of the Triade of Palmira of the First c. AD, also in the Louvre. In the Bagdad Museum, the head of a Persian king, found at Hatra (Iraq), dated to the IInd c., has the same hair, beard, and moustaches. And the Aaron from the synagogue of Dura Europos, now in the Museum of Damascus, can be added to the series. It seems that the long pointed beard was sometimes given to Christ as a characteristic of the portraits of oriental sovereigns. It does not seem that this feature was derived from the Shroud; however, before we can give a definite answer to the question, we must examine the second problem.

According to the Oriental church, the true portrait of Jesus is based on the Edessa image, the so-called Mandylion. Even today the Orthodox liturgy celebrates the transfer of the Edessa image to

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Fig. 2: (Left) The Edessa image, originally in St. Sylvester, now in the Matilda Chapel, St. Peter in Vatican.
 Fig. 3: (Right) Edessa image in St. Bartholomew of the Armenians, Genoa.

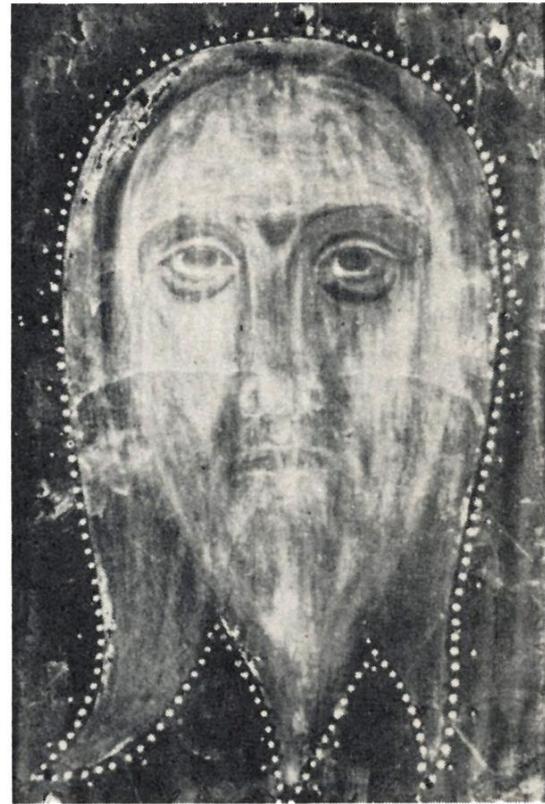
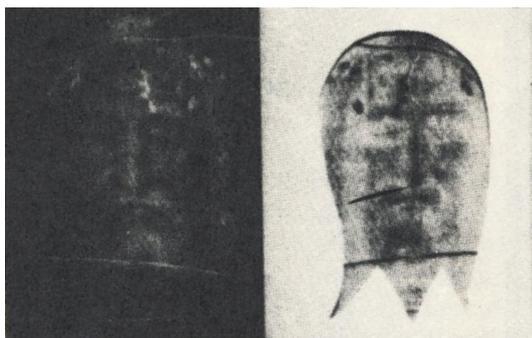


Fig. 4: (Left) This copy of the original Veronica of St Peter's is in the Church of Jesus.
 Fig. 5: (Right) X-ray of the Genoa icon.



Constantinople in 944. The Gospel reading is from Luke 10:23: "Blessed are the eyes which see what you see". Who sees the image that Christ sent to King Abgar, sees Christ himself.

Fig 6: (Left) Form of the Mandylyon mask laid upon one in the positive photo of Shroud face.

Two paintings still exist which claim to be the authentic Edessa image: Vatican collection, which 1870 was in the church of St. Sylvester in Capite, Rome (Fig. 2); and one in the church of St. Bartholomew of the Armenians in Genoa (Fig. 3). In her book on the Genoa icon, Colette Defour Bozzo quotes Pico Cellini, who asserts that a close connection exists between the two paintings and other images of Christ which are, according to tradition, "*acheiropoietos*", (not made by human hands). He writes: "I noticed that one (i.e. the Vatican image) matches the other (i.e., the Genoa image) and that the placement of the nails holding the Vatican Holy Face corresponds exactly to the holes plugged with wax on the Holy Face of Genoa. Continuing the experiment on other similar images, I found that the same measurements and proportions are found consistently in the copy of the Veronica of the Church of Jesus (Rome) (Fig. 4), in the *acheiropoietos* of the Lateran ... and even in the shading of condensed vapors on the Holy Shroud of Turin." Pico Cellini made the last observation together with Mons. Giulio Ricci, an extremely important observation because it allows us to say that there are images which must be at least indirect copies of the Shroud face, and these copies correspond even to the measurements and proportions of the Shroud.

But with this statement, all is not yet said. The X-ray of the Genoa Mandylyon reveals its earliest state. It shows clearly that the face is divided into two zones (Fig. 5). The beard, mouth, and lower part of the nose are of a different character from the upper portion of the face, which is flat and cubic with a very wide nose, and the outline of the forehead is an almost perfect semicircle. These features are also found in a Serapis (Fig. 10) painted on a household altar now in the Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California. This image, on wood, is very rare, probably the only one of its kind now known. The date must be the IIIrd c. It cannot be totally excluded that the older layer of the Genoa Mandylyon is nothing less than a pagan image, a painting perhaps of the IIIrd c. like the Serapis of Malibu. The lower part of the Genoa face, with the pointed beard and the two long locks of hair also ending in points, are of a totally different character, unknown in representations of pagan divinities. The hair and beard, all ending in points, are determined by the shape cut in a metallic mask overlaid on both the Genoa and the Vatican icons.



Fig. 7: (Left) Engraving of the Veronica of St. Peter in Vatican. Rehri Ainring Collection, Bavaria. (Photo by H. Pfeiffer)

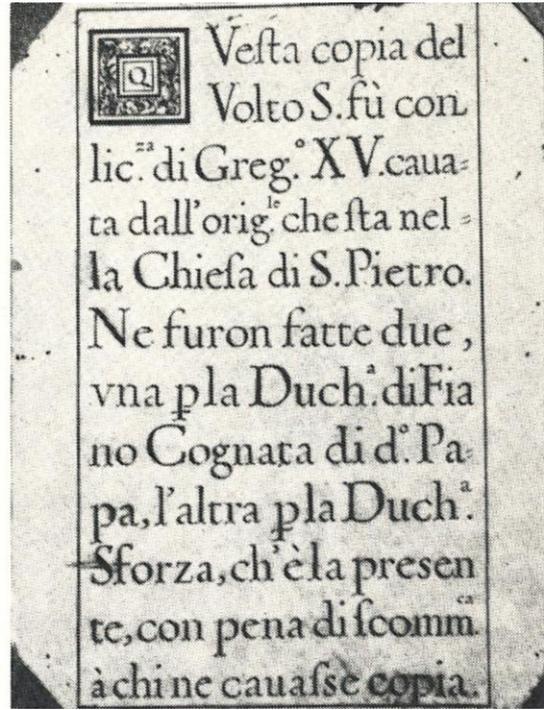


Fig. 8: (Right) Inscription on back of the Veronica in the Church of Jesus. (Fig. 4)

As an experiment, I fitted a similar mask with the characteristic three points to the positive photo of the Shroud face (Fig. 6). The experiment revealed the more-than-probable function of the Mandyllion mask. Placed upon the Shroud face, it makes the bipartite beard end in one single point and separates the beard from the hair. The whole aspect of the face then becomes more legible, more plastic. We know that the Shroud imprint is a partial negative (since the bloodstains are positive). Only the photographic negative gives it plasticity.

In ancient times, the simplest means to attain this effect of modeling must have been a mask, which was probably similar in its form to the one on the Genoa icon. The form of the mask on the Edessa icon was imitated also for the Veronica conserved at St. Peter in Vatican, as we see from engravings (Fig. 7) and a copy on silk conserved in the Church of Jesus since the time of Pope Gregory XV (1621-23) (Fig. 8). On this copy and on the engravings, the beard appears strangely tripartite. The mask with its three points was evidently known, but its true function, i.e., to separate the two locks of hair from the single-point beard, was no longer understood. Since the Genoa image is in a frame, we can no longer clearly detect the function of the mask in the sense described above. But the X-ray of this Mandyllion, revealing the image in its original state (Fig. 5), clearly shows the locks of hair separated from the beard. Like the image in the Church of Jesus, it is a copy of the Veronica conserved in St Peter's, just as all these *acheiropoietos* images. The Genoa Mandyllion, the Vatican Mandyllion and the Veronica face, are all, in the last analysis, copies, more or less successful, of the sindonic image. By means of the mask, the beard becomes pointed: thus we must come to the conclusion that in quite ancient

times, either a copy of the sindonic face or the face of the Shroud itself, had been presented framed by a mask which separated the beard from the two locks of hair and gave more plasticity to the image.

In this way, the beard of the Shroud face, or of a copy, assumed a point, in conformity to the millenary tradition in the Middle East. We repeat that the full significance of these details becomes apparent only when the Mandyllion mask is applied to the Shroud, allowing an interpretation by uniting the colored and uncolored areas of the imprint in a form which is plastic, precise and differentiated; an effect which the negative imprint of the Shroud face does not show in the same way without the mask. If, then, the function of the Mandyllion mask becomes clearer when it is applied to the Shroud than it does when applied to the two known versions of the Edessa image, the Genoa and the Vatican, we have one more argument for concluding that all the images which were copied from the Mandyllion or the Veronica or some elaborations of these, have their primigenial source in the Shroud itself. In 1969, Adolfo Barberis, referring to *acheiropoietos* like the Edessa image, remarked: "Many reveal the attempt to interpret a model which is totally reversed, and this is known only on our Shroud".

While images of Christ in art purport to give an individual portrait of Jesus, they are instead—and this can at last be accepted as an acquired fact—based on the readings and re-readings and elaborations of the sindonic face in direct observation or through copies or other images. In fact, such re-readings result in many alterations in the artistic image, although none of any significance.

Studying the conditions which have contributed to these changes in the images of Christ, we see how almost all versions of the classic, bearded type stem from a possible reading of the sindonic face and can to some extent be ascribed to it. Thus we can respond to the third difficulty mentioned above. A large number of the images in question are, in fact, not copies made directly from the Shroud but at least partly from re-elaborations of a type of reading of the Shroud face. These primary readings must have been made in different times, beginning at least in the VIth c.

When comparing the Shroud and the Mandyllion, we became aware of one of the problems of the reading of the sindonic image: the beard. We can suppose that this reading was influenced by the style of the time and regional traditions. Thus we have seen the transformation of the bipartite beard of the Shroud into an undivided, pointed beard on the Mandyllion as well as on the Ravenna mosaics. The bipartite beard on the Shroud imprint can be interpreted either as the beard Jesus really wore during his life on earth, or as the result of the maltreatments he suffered during his passion. When an artist wished to make a portrait of Christ, he could paint a bipartite beard if he did not read the Shroud face in the context of the passion but considered that, in life, Jesus wore a bipartite beard. But whenever an artist considered the bipartite beard as what was left after Jesus' tormenters pulled out his beard, he could paint a beautiful, rounded beard according to his

taste. This fact was verified in VIth c. Constantinople, when the icon of Christ Pantocrator was created, probably in one of the imperial workshops. A majestic example is conserved in the Convent of St. Catherine of Mount Sinai.

Both forms of the beard, bipartite and single-pointed, are represented in one of the scenes on the frame of the Genoa Mandylion. The frame of the Paleologan era is embellished with little reliefs (Fig. 3) which narrate all the legend of the Edessa icon. In one of the scenes, Christ holds out the Mandylion to Ananias for King Abgar of Edessa. His face is already imprinted on the Mandylion. Now the figure of Christ who holds the Mandylion in his hands has a bipartite beard; the face on the veil, instead, has an undivided and pointed beard, which is like the beard on the icon. It will be remembered that a veil or cloth lies under the present painting on wood.* Here we find ourselves before two iconographic traditions appearing together and portraying the same subject in two manners. Now both iconographic traditions, as we said, are based on different readings of the Shroud.

Before considering these different readings and the consequent results in the diverse types of the Christ image, we must look at the various versions of the Mandylion and the Veronica legends.

Another Form of the Representation of the Mandylion

On an icon conserved on Mt. Sinai, various scenes represent the legend of how King Abgar of Edessa received the Mandylion from an emissary of Christ. On this icon, the Edessa image is shown as a towel with the portrait of Christ in the center and *only the head as far as the neck* is represented (Fig. 9). The beard is bipartite. This icon must be considered as a pictorial echo of the transfer of the Mandylion from Edessa to Constantinople in 944. It must have been painted immediately after this event.



Fig. 9: Artist's drawing of the Mandylion held by King Abgar.

The Mandylion appears in a similar form in the Byzantine manuscripts of the XIth c. and later in the miniatures of the Abgar legend, and from the XIIth c. onward in the Serbian and Russian frescoes at Gradac, and in the unfortunately destroyed Church of the Savior of Nereditsa, near Novgorod. In all these examples, a double fact is to be emphasized: the Mandylion is a piece of cloth extended horizontally like a towel or tablecloth; and the head of Christ is situated in the center of the cloth, occupying only a relatively small area on it.

* See L. FOSSATI, "Was the So-called Acheropita of Edessa the Holy Shroud?", pg. 21, *Shroud Spectrum*, June, 1982.

Recently it has been proposed that the towel-shaped Mandyllion was nothing less than the Shroud folded four times so that only the head was visible. Maybe. However, as we are not yet able to make a judgment in this matter, let us gather some further material.

The Legends

When we speak of the Mandyllions of King Abgar and the Veronica, it is useful to distinguish between the images *per se* (and the copies of these) and the legends about them. Legends always have an historical nucleus. Could this nucleus of the legend be the Shroud of Turin? E. von Dobschütz studied the legends in their diverse documents, stratifications and ramifications, together with those of other *acheiropoietos*, and his fundamental work is still valid today.

In its original form, the legend of King Abgar of Edessa did not treat of an image but of a letter, which the king would have received from Christ in reply to Abgar's. The letter is mentioned by Eusebius of Caesarea. The pilgrim of Aquitania also saw it in Edessa around the end of the IVth c., but says not a word about an image of Christ. The *Doctrina Addai*, composed about the year 400, knows instead the legend of the image and says that the king's archivist, the artist Haman, had painted a portrait of Jesus from life. He then took the image to Edessa where the king arranged it in his palace. The ecclesiastical historian Evagrius writes immediately after 593 that the image of Christ had had a decisive role in the defense of Edessa against the Persians in 544. Evagrius tells of the image as a *Theoteukton eikona* created by God and not by man. Dobschütz remarks that if we do not believe, or cannot believe, that the icon played an important role in the defense of the city against the Persians in 544, this date should nonetheless indicate more or less the period in which the Mandyllion arrived in Edessa. At this time, Dobschütz thinks, an image entered the legend in the place of the letter. However, the *Doctrina Addai* had already mentioned the image around the year 400.

In the second half of the VIth c., still other *acheiropoietos* images appear, three successively in Cappadocia. The most famous of these is the Camulia image which, after its transfer to Constantinople in 574, quickly became the Palladium of the empire, the image which was carried before the Byzantine armies in all their wars. The Camulia image is painted on linen. A pagan woman who did not want to believe in Christ if she could not see him (cf. Jo 12:20) had found this image in a fountain of her villa. The legend says that when the woman wrapped the painting in her dress, it produced a second, identical image on the cloth of the dress. A third image "not made by hands" was venerated in the same area and survived the fire of the church where it was kept.

In Memphis, Egypt, the pilgrim Antonino of Piacenza around 570 venerated an image on a piece of cloth, the *pallium lineum*, on which

Christ had dried his face, leaving the imprint of it on the towel.

In the *Acta Thaddaei*, written between 550 and 600, and which are, according to Dobschütz, the most important documents on the Mandylion of Edessa, the process used by Jesus to produce his portrait is described in these words: "He asked to wash himself and was given a towel folded four times and he washed and dried his face; thus he himself made the imprint of his image on the cloth". Previously a very able painter had tried in vain to paint a portrait of Christ. In a later version of the same legend, one reads that not water, but sweat, had produced the portrait on linen; and later still, the bloody sweat of Gethsemane is mentioned. In a very late Latin version, one reads even that Christ had produced not only his face but all his body on linen.

The legend of the Veronica image, which is the occidental version of an *acheiropoietos* on linen, also presents many variants. Although we have no datable sources for this legend before the XIIth c., it must have been formed already in the VIth c. According to this legend, the Veronica veil came to Rome during the time of the Emperor Tiberius, shortly after the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

The only thing we can say with certainty is that the Veronica existed before the XIIth c. and was conserved in the oratory, St. Mary of the Crib, constructed by Pope John VII (705-707) at St. Peter in Vatican. For some time, the *sudarium* was identified with the Mandylion of King Abgar. By the XIIIth c. the relic was called simply "The Veronica". Gervasius of Tilbury (between 1212 & 1214) interprets the name "Veronica" as the "vera icon", true image of Christ.

How do the legends explain the creation of the Veronica? In the most ancient form of the story it is always described as a painted image, as it is also in the so-called *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*. Veronica is the woman with the flow of blood who was cured by Christ.* Full of gratitude, she had Christ's image painted. The legend tells how the woman and her image of Christ were taken to Tiberius and how the image cured the emperor of a sickness. The legend does not say whether the image was a painting on wood or on a veil. In another version of this legend, written around 1050, Jesus himself produced the image by applying the cloth to his face. Still another legend says that it was in Veronica's house that Christ produces his portrait by wiping the sweat from his face. Around 1160, a poem entitled *Dit is Veronica* narrates that Veronica was a disciple of Christ and had his portrait painted by the artist Luke. However, the portrait did not resemble Christ; so Christ washes his face and dries it, leaving a perfect portrait on the towel.

It is clear that the elaboration of the Veronica legend presents features similar to those of the Mandylion legend. Petrus Mallius, around

* Originally, tradition named this woman Berenike (see *Acti Pilati*) a dialectical form of the Greek, *phereniki*, meaning "victorious". A statue of her at Paneas (Caesarea Philippi) is described by Eusebius and other authors. [Ed.]

1160, writes concerning the Veronica of the oratory: "*Oratorium sanctae dei genitricis Virginis Mariae, quod vocatur Veronica, ubi sine dubium est sudarium Christi, in quo ante passionem suam sanctissimam faciem ... extersit quomodo sudor eius factus est sicut guttae sanguinis...*" Thus he connects the creation of the image with the bloody sweat of Jesus at Gethsemane. Not until the end of the XIIth c. does that version appear in which Veronica hands Jesus a veil as he walks on the *via crucis*, and, wiping his face on the veil, he produces the image.

Of particular interest for us is still another version, which says that the Emperor Tiberius was afflicted with leprosy; to cure him, Veronica's *sudarium* with the image of Christ was taken to him; the emperor had to lie down with his whole body on the linen, which carried the imprint of all the body of Christ.

In the diverse formulations of the Veronica legend, we find all the various elements, modal and material, which gradually enriched the Mandylion legend. In the legend of King Abgar's image, however, the miraculous production of Jesus' portrait is not seen in the context of his passion, and the initiative of a woman like Veronica is almost entirely lacking. Elements common to the two legends are the following:

- 1) Very early, the portrait appears on a piece of cloth instead of a painted panel.
- 2) The image is produced by means of direct contact with the face of Christ, because an artist is incapable of painting his portrait.
- 3) The image is not produced without an intermediary, either water, sweat, or the bloody sweat of Gethsemane.
- 4) Only exceptional versions of both the legends speak of an image of the body of Jesus on a linen.

Both legends developed, at least later, after their first formulation, in contact with their objects, i.e., the Mandylion and the Veronica images. These two portraits of Jesus, as we have seen, correspond so well to the Shroud image that they must be considered copies of the relic which is now in Turin. But perhaps the later developments of the two legends are to be interpreted as attempts to explain the mysterious character of an image on a piece of cloth, obviously not painted but appearing to be the direct imprint of a human face. In successive stages, continuing attempts were made to understand the extraordinary character of the image which the story tells about; so we have to ask ourselves: Was not the re-formulation explaining the process of the production of the portrait of Jesus caused by some knowledge of the Shroud image? In fact these re-formulations described above come ever closer to the sindonic reality: a portrait on a veil, produced by Jesus' pressing the veil to his face, through the moist agency of water, sweat, then bloody sweat, and finally not only his face but the whole figure of the body. The genesis of the image was connected with the *via crucis* only in the occident, and only occidental versions of our legends know of a linen with all the figure of the Lord. In fact, even

before the fateful year 1204, crusaders from the west had been able to come into direct contact with the Shroud in Constantinople.

The Veronica of St. Peter's was either copied from the sindonic face or from a copy of earlier copies. Is the same true for the Mandylion of Edessa? Is this latter image actually the Shroud? In a recent publication of divulgative nature, not scientific, it was proposed that in Edessa the image was folded so that only the face was visible, thereby identifying, as we mentioned above, the Mandylion with the Shroud of Turin. In my opinion, a definite response to this question is not yet possible. According to Mons. Ricci's research, the Shroud remained in Jerusalem at least until the VIth c. It could not have been in Edessa at the same time.

We must remember that, in his chronicle of events of 1204, Robert de Clari tells us that a Mandylion was conserved in the chapel dedicated to the Madonna in the Bukoleon palace, while the Shroud was in the church of St. Mary of the Blakerna palace. The Mandylion was received in Constantinople with great honors in 944. But we have no information about the transfer of the Shroud from Jerusalem to the Byzantine capital. If the Shroud and the Mandylion are two separate objects, it is not easy to explain the total silence of the transfer of the Shroud to Constantinople. Therefore it is prudent to leave the question open until further data can be verified. In any case, the Mandylion is at least a copy of the sindonic face and we have every right and reason to admit that the sindonic image was the determining influence in the formation of the classic portrait of Christ in art. We can justly suppose that the artistic image is always reducible, at least in part, to one of the possible readings of the image on the Shroud.

Artistic Reading of the Sindonic Face

To sum up: Considering everything which we know so far, we can tranquilly admit that all the images of Christ created in Constantinople shortly before 1204 were created under some influence or other of the Shroud, which was then in that city. In Edessa, on the other hand, a Mandylion was known at least from the end of the VIth c. It must be considered, if not identical with the Shroud, at least a copy of the sindonic face. Other Holy Faces "not made by hands" arrived in Constantinople even before 600. Now how could these images be considered true portraits of Jesus Christ if the type of the image of Christ was not already known for quite some time? In fact, the portrait of Christ with the long face, long hair and the beard as represented by the artists of the sarcophagi of the Theodosian era correspond in their essential traits with the Christ Pantocrator of Byzantine art of the VIth c. This characteristic type never changes essentially from the Theodosian sculpture in all the creations of Byzantine art right up to our own days, and also in large part, of all Christian art of the occident.

Diverse currents, however, flow together in the formation of the definitive portrait of Christ. We have seen an image of a pagan

divinity, a Serapis, which resembles very much the classic image of the Christ Pantocrator. We have seen another type in the young beardless Christ. Why did the portrait with the majestic face, the beard and long hair, predominate through the centuries?

Originally, Christian art was not concerned with presenting an individual and definitive image, but intended rather to translate the salvific word of God into the universal visibility of the image. It is not Christ as an individual person who is represented in the catacomb pictures or on paleochristian sarcophagi, but one who holds out his hand, who speaks, who works a miracle. Such a one can be delineated with diverse features. On the other hand, the influence of one or another type of representation of the divinities of the pagan ambient on the images of Christ was always felt as a great danger of relapse into idolatry. The image of a Christ-Serapis or Christ-Jove could not have established itself for very long among the oriental Christians. Another element must be emphasized, for it contributed greatly to the affirmation of the principle type of -the portrait image of Christ: this element we ourselves see in the sindonic face.

Now this is verified in the artistic renderings of the sindonic face; when an artist wants to copy the figure imprinted on the Shroud, his interpretation of one or another of the accidental characteristics and the details themselves which are interpreted, can serve us as spy elements to confirm the dependence of any particular work of art on the Shroud. However, those portraits of Christ which do resemble the sindonic image but do not show these spy elements, cannot be inserted in a line of dependence which reaches to the Shroud itself. In this case, confrontation with the image on the Shroud has served, at best, to confirm a type of image of Christ originating from a source totally independent of the sindonic imprints, and it could even be a pagan source. One cannot deny that the majestic and bearded type of Christ comes close, at least, to the Jovian or Serapic types. But in every case where one finds spy elements on the art images, it would be difficult to deny their dependence on the Shroud.

If one looks at the face on the Shroud and asks himself what these spy elements might be which should be encountered in some form also on the images that might have been created under the influence of the legible figure on the Shroud, we find essentially five:

- 1) There is a wide space without imprint between the cheeks of the Man of the Shroud and his hair, so that the locks of hair seem to be too detached from the face.
- 2) The bipartite beard is slightly displaced to one side.
- 3) The moustaches are not symmetrical and the sides fall below the mouth at different angles.
- 4) The epsilon imprint on the forehead formed by a bloodflow from a thorn wound.
- 5) One cheek is very swollen because of a strong blow, so that the face appears asymmetric.

Starting from the first element, we see right away the great difficulty in rendering the negative imprints on the linen into a positive image. If one wants to translate the visible marks on the Shroud into a portrait, he must decide how he wants to fill the space between the locks of hair and the cheeks, i.e., how he wants to unite the hair with the face. He could do it in three ways: either the artist decides to make a high, narrow face of almost rectangular form, filling the empty space with very dense hair—which is not demonstrated on the Man of the Shroud; or he decides to make a very narrow face in the lower part and widen it in the upper part, strongly accentuating the cheekbones; or he aims at a harmonizing solution, giving the face an oval form.

All three of these fundamental forms and all the possible combinations of them have been verified in the images of Christ. However, only the second form, the strong accentuation of the cheekbone, can serve as an indication of a portrait's dependence on the sindonic face, because rectangular and oval faces correspond rather more to general schemes.

The rectangular form of the face of Christ is a characteristic on the sarcophagi of the Theodosian era, which we have already studied.* Another typical example of a rectangular face to be considered is the Christ of the mosaics of the church of SS. Cosma and Damiano (Rome) dated to the first half of the VIth c. (Fig. 11). The rectangular and majestic face could, however, also derive from pagan iconography, as we have shown in the example of the Serapis. Thus it is not possible to establish a certain and exclusive influence of the sindonic image on this type of face of Christ. Particularly the Christ of the apse of SS. Cosma and Damiano seems rather to stem from the pagan divinities rather than the Shroud image. Prominently rectangular also is the face of the "Beau Dieu" (Fig. 12), a statue of Christ at the south portal of Chartres Cathedral, of the first third of the XIIIth c. This sculpture initiates a new version of Christ in the occident, less the *rex tremendae maiestatis*, more human, more master of men. Asking ourselves from whence could come the facial form of this "Beau Dieu," with his hair falling in smooth locks, one must consider the sindonic image as a probable source. By the XIIIth c., the Shroud was certainly known in the west, through the crusades or at least from one of the copies of the face, such as the Veronica image.

The Byzantine masters, who could have observed the image of the Shroud at close range, had often, in their icons and mosaics, accentuated the cheekbone, especially on one side of the face, and this corresponds to our fifth spy element, the swelling of the cheek. Thus they drew an asymmetric face with one cheek concave and a noticeable bulge of the bone, especially on one side. We have already seen this form in the Christ of a mosaic at St. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna in the scene of the Lord's appearance to the Eleven, where he is portrayed with the left cheek concave. The most beautiful example, contemporary

* See Part I of this article, Shroud Spectrum, December 1983.

to the Ravenna mosaic of the VIth c., is the grandiose encaustic icon of a Christ Pantocrator in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. The Christ with the concave left cheek is found again on the Sicilian mosaic of Cefalu and the Palatine Chapel at Palermo of the XIIth c., as well as in the Kahriye Djami at Constantinople, dated to the beginning of the XIVth c., to mention only a few of the most important examples.

At some time, one of the Byzantine masters must have studied the sindonic image very closely. Only an artist who had seen the sindonic face up close, or an exact copy of it, could have applied the schema of the concave cheek with a strong accentuation of the cheekbone to a portrait of Christ. An artistic reading of the Shroud must have been made during the VIth c. or perhaps a bit earlier. The Pantocrator of Mount Sinai reflects such a study, directly or mediately, of the sindonic face. Perhaps the account of Justinian's sending envoys to Jerusalem to take the exact measure of Jesus for the Cross of Santa Sophia in Constantinople can also be interpreted in the sense of a study of the Shroud for artistic purposes. However, we know nothing precise about that.

In the west, the iconography of Christ adopts the third harmonizing schema, showing the Lord with an oval face. One of the most characteristic examples of this type is seen on the VIIIth c. mosaic of the Niche of the Pallium in the Confession of St. Peter in Vatican (Cover photo). On the icons of Tivoli (near Rome) and Sutri (in Lazio near Viterbo), both of the XIIth c., the faces are oval and repeat the famous acheiropietos of the Lateran. Another oval face is found in a painting of the Last Supper by Dierick Bouts, painted a little after the middle of the XVth c., not to mention many other examples.

The second detail which could help to discover a dependency on the Shroud is the bipartite beard. We have already seen how, in one of the readings of this detail, the beard with two points was transformed into one with a single point by the characteristic shape of the mask on the Genoa and Vatican Mandylions.

The first time that a bipartite beard appears on Christ is on one of the frescoes of the Hypogeum of the Aurelians (Rome) dated, again, in the first half of the IIIrd c. Seated in the midst of sheep, Christ is represented as a Shepherd, reading a scroll (Fig. 13). As Carlo Cecchelli has observed, the face of this figure represents that type of Christ "which dominates in later art". Now this fresco is the first realistic image of Christ of which we know. As early as the last third of the IInd c. such images of Christ already existed among heretic currents, as we learn from a notice of Irenaeus. In the Aurelian Hypogeum, the Lord's beard not only has two points but it is also slightly crowded toward the right. The hair falls to the shoulders; the face is oval; the nose is not quite so long as it is on the majestic Christ of the Theodosian era and on the Byzantine Pantocrator.

Where do we find a beard with two distinct points in ancient non-



Fig. 10: (Left) Serapis in Paul Getty Museum. (Weitzmann *Die Ikone*)

Fig. 11: (Right) Mosaic in the apse of SS. Cosma and Damiano.

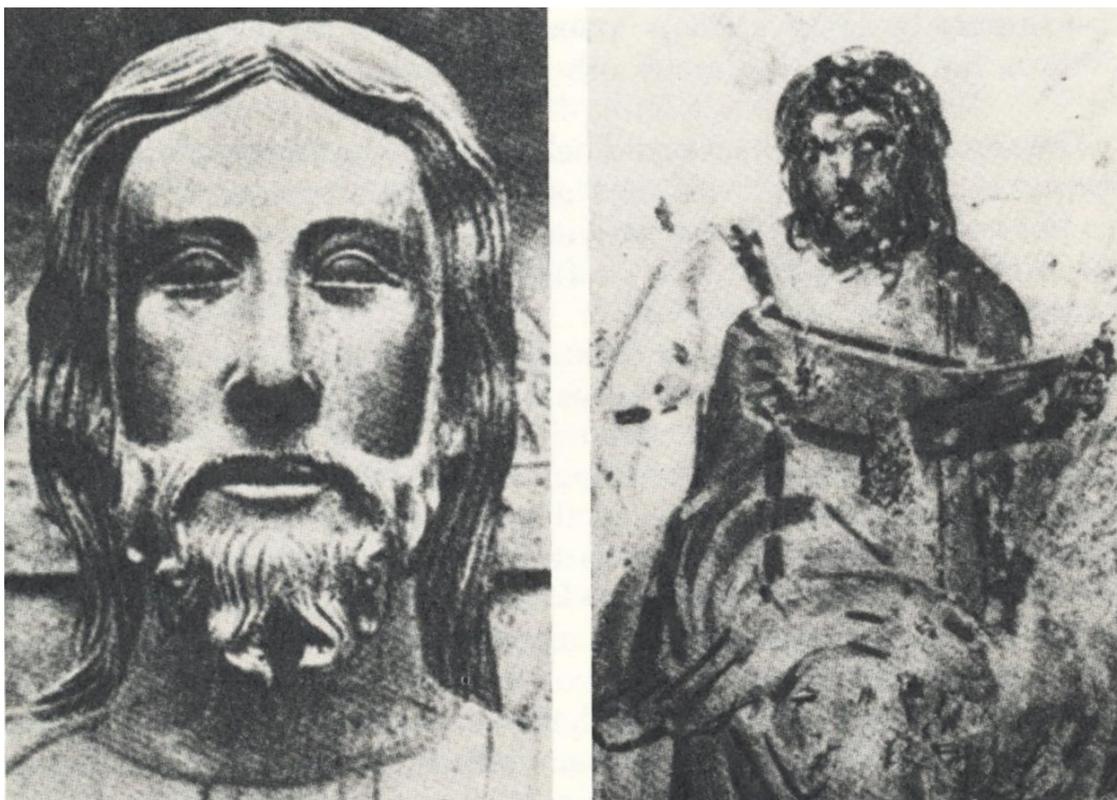


Fig. 12: (Left) The "Beau Dieu" of Chartres Cathedral.

Fig. 13: (Right) Christ Shepherd, in the Aurelian Hypogeum.

Christian art? It is found in figurations of the Hellenistic era, for example the titan Anytos of the IInd c. BC, which is now in the National Museum of Athens. In the same museum there is the portrait of a bearded Oriental which could be contemporary to the fresco in the Aurelian Hypogeum. His beard shows a hint of separation into two points. In general one can say: When Roman art represents a barbarian of the oriental regions of the empire, for example, a Persian, they show him with long disordered hair falling to the shoulders and with a beard similar to that of the Christ of the Hypogeum. Therefore we can say that the image of the Shepherd of the Hypogeum related to Roman iconography and that this type of image can be explained as a representation of an Oriental. We have thus a type of Christ, realistic and bearded, inasmuch as this type corresponds to the way that Romans customarily represented Orientals. But we cannot say that the fresco in the Hypogeum is an individual portrayal of the Lord. Only that the clear separation of the beard into two points is not usual in Roman iconography, and this separation appears clearly on the faces of Christ on the Theodosian sarcophagi.

As for the third spy element, we notice that the moustaches on the Pantocrator of Mount Sinai correspond to those on the Shroud image. The line of the hairs above the left region of Jesus' upper lip falls at a sharper angle toward the chin than does the line on the right.

The fourth spy element consists in the flow of blood strongly impressed on the forehead of the Man of the Shroud. Now we find a strange detail on many images of Christ: a detail in the middle of the forehead which is sometimes shown as a lock of hair, or a double lock, or a red or white spot, or sometimes even a vertical wrinkle. This detail is always painted in the median region of the forehead. While its essential form does not change on diverse images of diverse centuries, it always betrays its origins precisely because it is interpreted in diverse manners from a unique source.

This detail is shown as a single or double lock in the mosaics of St. Apollinare Nuovo: in the scenes of Christ before Pilate; of Christ with the disciples of Emmaus; and Christ who appears to the Eleven. In the scene of the Emmaus episode, the lock on Christ's forehead almost reaches his eyebrows. The Pantocrator of the triumphal arch of St. Apollinare in Classe has a double lock, wavy, boldly drawn. Also the verso of a Byzantine solidus of the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, coined in 945, one year after the transfer of the Edessa icon to Constantinople, shows a wavy lock on the forehead. The Christ Pantocrator of Theophanes the Greek, in the cathedral of Santa Sophia at Novgorod, is shown with two white lines on the forehead instead of the double lock. The same can be said for a XVIth c. Russian icon which represents the Edessa Mandylion. Painted at Moscow, this icon is now conserved in the Museum of Berlin-Dahlem. Another Mandylion, painted in the Ukraine in the XVIth c. and conserved at Lancut, has a vertical wrinkle in the middle of the forehead.

Now all these diverse interpretations are easily explained as the result of renewed readings of the sindonic image or some copy of it. Early observers knew that there was something on Jesus' forehead: this something, we now know, is a blood flow in the form of an epsilon. Particularly interesting in this context is the XIIth c. miniature of a Christ Enthroned on an Exultet scroll of the capitulary archives of Troia (in Puglia, S.E. Italy). This Christ has a curved spot of red color on the forehead.

Having already treated the fifth spy element when speaking of the concave cheek in the Byzantine Pantocrators, we can arrive at our conclusions.

Conclusions

Images of Christ before the VIth c. could have been influenced by the Face of the Shroud, but we cannot yet prove that such an influence actually occurred, if not in the following way: the existence of a majestic imprint on linen, held to be the funeral linen of Jesus from the very first times, contributed in the first period to establish a specific type of figurative representation of the Lord, which later was affirmed as the most important type, and which was improved through artistic readings of the sindonic face. As soon as we perceive, not only a long and majestic face with long hair and a beard, but also the presence of those elements which we have called spy elements, such as the concave cheek, we are permitted to speak of a real, true influence of the Shroud image on artistic representations. I see this influence reflected for the first time in certain mosaics of the Christological cycle of St. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna and on the Pantocrator of Mount Sinai. Before this period—that is, before the first half of the VIth c.—I would speak only of an indirect influence of the sindonic image, or of a copy of it, on the figurations of the Face of Christ in sculpture and painting, since images deriving rather from a Jove-type or a Serapis-type are seen to be so similar to the face of Christ that they could also pass as portraits of Christ; or perhaps one should better say, that models which repeat a few of the features of the Shroud face—models that probably existed—allowed the artists to use, for example, a Serapis, making a few modifications on it to achieve a portrait of Christ. This could have been the case for the sarcophagi of the Theodosian era, which Egger associated with the sindonic image.

When, in the middle of the VIth c., the Edessa Mandylion appears on the scene, this icon on a veil becomes the model par excellence for the artistic figuration of the image of Christ. However, the problem of whether the Mandylion can be identified with the Shroud of Turin, or whether it is to be considered only a copy of the Shroud, remains open, even if the role which the Edessa relic has played from the time of its transfer to Constantinople has led some to identify it with the Linen of Turin. With all certainty, the Veronica which was venerated at St. Peter in Vatican is to be considered a copy. Thus the artistic image of Christ passes under the direct or intermediate, but always

increasing, influence of the Face of the Shroud. Images of pagan origin were therefore always "corrected" more and more by means of renewed readings of the portrait impressed on the Turin relic.

It is not easy to trace all the single moments of the increasing influence of the sindonic face on artistic images of Christ. Yet we can confidently affirm that the image of Christ, insofar as the classic type is concerned (which reached its most significant expression in the Pantocrator) has a very solid base on the Shroud of Turin. The Greek Orthodox accounted themselves blessed because they possessed a true image of Christ. Can we not be happy too, because we have an authentic image of Christ which, moreover, has been handed down to us through art?

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A REMINDER...

May 4 will be celebrated in many churches around the world as the Feast Day of the Holy Shroud, established by Pope Julius II with a Bull of April, 1506. In approving the Office of the Mass in honor of the Shroud, Julius II wrote, in part: "... as we venerate and adore the Holy Cross... so ought we equally to venerate and adore, in worthy manner, the Holy Shroud on which are clearly visible the imprints of the Humanity of Christ which the Divinity had assumed, that is, of his true blood... [in which the faithful were regenerated]".

All devotees should try to remember the day in some manner; while Catholics should try to attend Mass.