These copies are sequenced by alphabetical order of the localities in which they are kept. When there is a date, it refers to the documents of authentication of the copy or to other documents of the period.

Arquata del Tronto (Ascoli Piceno), St. Francis Church, 1653 Measure: Although we do not have the exact measurements of this copy, it is believed to be approximately natural size. Inscription: EXTRATVM AB ORIGINALI (written in three lines, in the center of the cloth between the imprints of the head).

The information was reported by Dr. Augusto Giammiro, mayor of Arquata del Tronto, when this copy was rediscovered. I wish to express again my gratitude to Dr. Giammiro and to Dr. Giuseppe Biondini who provided me with the information.

The authentication, as it came to me translated from Latin, is of great interest:

To all those who read or see the present document, we attest that we (Fra Paolo Brisio, by the grace of God and the Holy See Bishop and Count of Alba), on 4 May 1653, while in the city of Turin, on the Piazza of Castelgrande, ... before the people who came here through devotion from all of Piedmont and from the territories of other Princes, the Holy Shroud of O. L. Jesus Christ, in which the body of the Lord was wrapped when taken down from the Cross, was publicly exposed; with our own hands we spread upon and touched to the original Holy Shroud a copy conforming to it, painted on cloth of linen five palms wide and twenty long; which copy had been consigned to us a short while earlier by M.R.P. Massimo Bucciarelli, lector general in sacred theology of the Order of the Minor Observants of St. Francis, and then we gave it back to him.

The authentication carries the date of 1 May 1655.

In his letter, Dr. Giammiro adds: "Our shroud is permanently exposed, protected by anti-projectile glass, in the church of St. Francis, where it has been venerated for centuries, and no one, at least for the moment, has the intention to fold it to put it in a chest." (Letter from Ascoli Piceno, 25 Jan. 1983.)

GIAMMIRO La Sindone di Arquata del Tronto un estratto dall'originale, Ascoli Piceno 1982.
Badolatosa, Archdiocese and Province of Seville, 1674
Measure: exact measure is not known, but it is less than natural size. Inscription: (in a border at the top of the copy) IL VERISSIMO RITRATTO DEL SANTISSIMO SVDARIO (in border at bottom) DEL NOSTRO SALVATORE GIESV CHRISTO

At the bottom left of the copy: Gio. Battista Fantino; at bottom right: Con privilegio di S.A.R. in Torino

The most interesting thing is that the copy is signed, like others by this artist. The certificate of authenticity, written at Rome, 14 September 1674, besides giving a careful description of the object, emphasizes three different times that the copy had been put in contact with the Original. The document is conserved in the parochial archives along with another, dated 28 March 1675, confirming that the copy had reached its destination.

LEONE: El Santo Sudario en España, Barcelona 1959.

Bologna, Monastery of Corpus Domini
Measure: 1.41m x 0.42m
There is no inscription.
The copy is an oil painting on linen; due to the technic used, the traits of the figure are quite precise. According to the opinions of recent experts, the copy can be attributed to Princess Maria Apollonia of Savoy, who gave it to the Poor Clare nuns of the Monastery during one of her sojourns in Bologna (off and on between 1645-1653).
CANTÀGALLI: "Maria Apollonia; Maria Caterina d'Este e il Monastero della Santa in Bologna." Extract from the revue Bologna, 1935.

Caltagirone, Sacristy of the Convent of the Cappuchins, 1649
This copy, of natural size, carries neither a date nor any inscription.

It is associated with Father Innocenzo da Caltagirone, Minister General of the Cappuchin Fathers, who received it from the Duke of Savoy after a private exposition granted him, on 24 October 1649, during a long tour which he made to the houses of the Order.

Dr. Sebastiano Rodante writes: "The copy is on silk, in natural size. It is in a good state of preservation, despite the fact that there are tears here and there ... and some small areas mended."

In the process for the beatification of Fr. Innocenzo, it was reported that "Prince Maurizio, uncle of the Duke of Savoy, gave to the Father General a holy shroud of the measurements of the Original, and promised him another, which he sent to him in Rome." At that time, they also entrusted to him "other small copies of the Holy Shroud, made on linen or silk, of various dimensions, so that they should be touched to [the large one]."

It is not known with certainty whether the copy conserved at Caltagirone is the first copy, given to him at Turin, or the second,
Fig. 1: Bologna

Fig. 2: Caltagirone, 1649

Fig. 3: Chambéry. Similar to Lisbon copy.

Fig. 4: Gallipoli (1585?). Detail.
Fig. 5: Guadalupe, 1588

Fig. 6: Inzago (15787)

Fig. 7: Laguna de Cameros, 1790. Detail.

Fig. 8: Lisbon. This copy represents the bloodstream across the back as a chain. See also Moncalieri, 1634 (Spectrum #12, Fig. 4) and Ponti Rossi, 1652 (Spectrum #12, Fig. 7).
Fig. 9: Ripalimosani

Fig. 10: Rome (1605?)

Fig. 11: Santiago (Argentina) 1585

Fig. 12: Silos, 1640. Detail.

Fig. 13: Silos; detail of torso.
received at Rome. In any case, the whereabouts of one of them is not known. 
CULTRERA: Un flagellato dalla buona fama; Padre Innocenzo da Caltagirone, Generale Cappuccino, nella luce della storia e della santità, Turin 1954.

Campillo de Aragon, Diocese of Tarazona, Province of Zaragoza, 1650 Measure: 4.38m x 1.03m
There is no inscription.

According to tradition, in 1650 the bishop of Malta, Francisco Lucas Bueno, received the copy from the Duke of Savoy, and after various travels the copy arrived to the parish of Campillo de Aragon. It is exposed over an altar, in a chapel especially constructed for it, and it is venerated with fervid devotion.

Chambéry, Church of Notre Dame There is no inscription.
This is a typical example characteristic of XVII century copies.
VIGNON: Le Linceul du Christ, Paris 1902, Plate IX.
ENRIE: La Santa Sindone rivelata dalla fotografia, Turin 1933.

Escalona del Prado, Diocese and Province of Segovia, 1657 Measure: 4.50m x 0.96m
There is no inscription. Nevertheless, documents attesting its origin are conserved in the parochial archives.

The copy was sent to Rome and from there ended up in Spain. Following is the first document that refers to this copy:

To the Most Reverend Father and Patron Most Observant, Father Sebastiano da Gaeta, theologian and Commissary General of the Minor Observants and Reformed; Rome, Aracoeli.

Most Reverend Father and Most Dear Patron:

Already several months have passed since Madama Reale was pleased to permit me to copy the Most Holy Shroud, on the occasion when she was having other small portraits made for the Duke of Bavaria. But I did not want to take the initiative of sending it since, on receiving a little portrait which I sent as a sample, Your Most Esteemed Reverence ordered me not to send any more. In any case, having said to Madama Reale that I wanted to send it to Your Most Esteemed Reverence, I send it by the present mail, with the superscription to the Father Secretary, consigned to the Master of the Post.

This one is of the same size, quality and quantity of the Original, which is colored like this and the cloth somewhat darkish and faded with age. Here one learns how the nails were placed in the wrists, and not in the palms. One knows also that the wound in the Holy Side was made on the right, though on the Sheet it appears on the left.

The wounds of the flogging and the crown of thorns are quite conspicuous. And believe, Most Reverend Father, that not a single superfluous line has been drawn. It is exactly like the Original. And
also it was spread upon the Original.
Turin, 30 December 1657
Most humble and most obedient Servant and Son,
Frà Giov. Batta di Strambino, Provincial Minister

The copy is exposed for veneration during Holy Week.
LEONE: Op Cit.

Escamilla, Diocese of Cuenca, Province of Guadalajara

There are no photographic reproductions of two copies conserved in a large reliquary-altar, amply described by Leone. We list these copies among those undated because the date of 1640, mentioned in an inscription on the retable, is not supported by any document.

A reproduction of the entire Shroud, on very fine silk, which seems to be the "true relic" (or believed to be such) measures only 0.53m x 0.32 m. The Sheet with the frontal and dorsal imprints is held up by three angels. Underneath are two inscriptions. The one at the left reads: IL VERO RITRATTO DEL SANTISSIMO SUDARIO DEL NOSTRO SIGNORE GIESU CRISTO, RELIQUIA SANTISSIMA & GRAN TESORO DELLA SERENISSIMA CASA DI SAVOIA

At the right is inscribed the prayer from the Mass in honor of the Shroud.

The other copy shows the frontal and dorsal imprints separately in natural size (2m x 0.70m), mounted side by side on frames which fold together. These are on cloth.

Around the border of the dorsal panel, one reads this inscription: ESTE SANGO SVDARIO CON TODAS LAS RELICVIAS CVE ESTAN EN ESTE RELICARIO TRAJO A ESTA VILLA JVAN CARRASCO VECINO DE DICHA VILLA I CRIADO DE SV MAGESTAD PHELIPE CVARTE.

Because of the lack of direct reproductions and insufficient documentation, it is not possible to form an exact evaluation of the two copies.

Gallipoli, Cathedral
Measure: 4.01m x 0.75m (These measurements refer to the somatic imprints, not to the dimensions of the cloth.)
There is no inscription.

We know very little about this copy. The information I can report was given to me by Don Gaetano Intrigillo, rector of the Sanctuary of the Madonna of the Rosary in Trani, founder and secretary of the Pugliese Delegation of the Centro Internazionale di Sindonologia. Here is what he wrote to me on 11 October 1980:

No contemporary writings have been found; but it is said that the painting was taken to Gallipoli by Bishop Quintero Ortis, a native of Loscia di Granada. It seems that the painting dates from 1585. It derives from a sort of copy-model of the Shroud, which Emanuele Filiberto had made when he transferred to Turin. This copy-model was at the disposition of artists who could copy the figures from it. It is said that the 'preciousness' of this painting of Gallipoli stems from
its having been touched (or having been put in contact) with the true Shroud. Nowadays this copy is taken out and exposed in the cathedral every Friday in Lent, then put back until the following Friday. The painted part of the cloth measures exactly 4.01m x 0.75m. Along one lengthwise side, another cloth has been sewn on for fixing it to a long staff... The painting carries no date. Or, if ever there was a date, it has completely disappeared. I carefully scrutinized the margins, where these things are usually put, but there is no trace.

FOSSATI: "Repliche sindoniche." Studi Cattolici #262.

Guadalupe, Diocese of Coria-Caceres, Province of Caceres, 1588
Measure: 3m x 0.97m

On this long cloth, two full-figure angels hold up the shroud on which the frontal imprint is 1.13m; the dorsal imprint, 1.11m.

There are documents which authenticate the date of 1588, however the manner of presentation, the noticeable stylistic differences from other copies of that period, and the delicacy of the work, induce one to think that the painting was retouched in later centuries.


Inzago (Milan), Provostship of Santa Maria Assumption
Measure: exact measurements are lacking; it is natural size.
Inscription: SACROSANCTA SINDONIS VERA IMPRESSA IMAGO

On one of his trips to Turin (1578, 1581, 1582), St. Charles Borromeo received a faithful copy of the Shroud from Emanuele Filiberto. It was probably on the first visit, a barefoot pilgrimage in the rain, undertaken especially to venerate the Shroud. After the saint's death, an inventory, of his property was made for Milan's Ospedale Maggiore, his sole heir. This item is listed: "A copy of the Holy Shroud on white omisin, rolled and wrapped."

However, Lodovico Moneto, St. Charles' secretary, claimed the copy for himself, for it was a "double" relic; not only because it was a reproduction of the Holy Shroud venerated at Turin, but even more because his archbishop had spent many hours in prayer before it, in the course of those six years which had passed since his first pilgrimage to Turin. After various vicissitudes and changes of ownership, finally, on 31 March 1935, Card. Ildefonso Schuster officially recognized the copy as a relic of St. Charles. This detail was recalled in 1938 during the solemn function in the Turin cathedral celebrating the centennial of the saint's birth.

Prof. Giovanni Judica Cordiglia gave this description of the copy:

There are considerable difficulties in examining this copy of the Shroud because of its poor state of preservation, nor is it possible to determine the artistic style ... The frontal and dorsal imprints are not well-defined; in fact they are quite deformed because of the poor condition of the fabric, which is rumpled and creased with various ripples, due to clumsy folding and unsuitable custody.

"Un santo e due epoche," L'Italia, 6 May 1938.

GIOVANNI JUDICA CORDIGLIA: "La 'Sacrosancta Sindonis vere impressa imago' donata da Emanuele Filiberto a san Carlo Borromeo (1578)," Sindon #16, April 1972.
Laguna de Cameros, Diocese of Calahorra-Calzada-Logrono, 1790 Measure; 4.60m x 0.86m

For easier viewing, this copy has been cut in half and the two parts set vertically side by side, so that now each half is 2.30m high and 1.72m wide.

Inscription: EXTRACTVM EX ORIGINALI TAVRINI

Inside the reliquary in which it is conserved, one reads (in Spanish):

True portrait of the Holy Shroud in which the Most Holy Body of our Redeemer J.C. was wrapped, copied from the Original, which exists and is venerated in the City of Turin, given to this hermitage of St. Dominic by Signors Yrusta sus Bienhechores, so that it would be conserved and exposed every year to the public veneration of the faithful from the Mass on Holy Thursday until the ringing of the Gloria on Holy Saturday: Year of 1790.


Lisbon, Monastery of the Mother of God in Xabregas

Natural size.

There is neither date nor inscription.

The copy is described thus by de Mély:

It is composed of two cloths of raw silk, wrapped in a cloth of blue silk; two silver rods serve to hold it vertically; it is kept in a box of acajou expressly made for it. The two images, 1.80m high, are painted in red except for the hair which is dark brown ...

The monastery dates from 1509, but the first mention of this copy was made in the middle of 1600, as a precious relic, reproduced in many examples diffused throughout Portugal. According to de Mély, the "pious belief" can be expressed this way: The nuns of the Mother of God, knowing the renown of the Shroud of Turin, had this shroud painted in the exact size and with the two images, in the likeness of the Holy Shroud of Turin.

Some scholars find a certain resemblance to the Lierre copy, attributed to Dürer, which we have already mentioned as the first dated copy so far known (see Spectrum #12). This copy could have been made at the same time or it could have been copied from the Lierre shroud. However, there are no proofs. And since there is a date and an inscription on the "Dürer" copy, one wonders why there is nothing on the other.


Ripalimosani (Campobasso), parish church

This copy is associated with two illustrious prelates of the end of the XVI century, natives of Ripalimosani. The Cappuchin priest, Eduardo di Iorio, published the history in Molise Oggi in 1979. Here are the points of most interest to us:

The copy measures 3.88 m x 0.80 m. It is in a large frame, protected by glass, and permanently exposed in the choir of the parish church.
The cloth is in four pieces sewn together. The image is painted in a light coffee color. The dorsal figure is at the right of the observer; the frontal (1.80m) at the left.

In the lower part of the cloth there is an inscription: VERA SS.MI SVDARII SALVATORIS IMAGO E SACRA SINDONE SABAVDIAE EXCEPTA—IVLIO CAESARE RICCARDO BARI ARCHIEPO CLEMENTIS VIII NVNCIO

Lower down, in a different script, one reads: D. HIERONIMI RICCARDI PIETATE HIC COLLOCATA: from which one could deduce that this second inscription was later added in memory of the donor.

Attached at the bottom left, there is a souvenir of the exposition of 1898: a picture of the Shroud with a bit of red silk, identified with these words: "Silk in which the most Holy Shroud was wrapped from May 1868 to May 1898 and which had immediate contact with the Most Holy Relic." There is also a prayer approved by Pius IX.

Judging from reliable documents, one can conclude that the copy dates to the end of the XVI century; nevertheless, the production is quite inferior to other copies of the same period.

Rome, Church of the Holy Shroud

This copy is natural size; there is no inscription.

According to tradition, this copy was a gift from Clement VIII in 1605, on the occasion of the consecration of the church. Some retouching was done in 1870-1871 by the artist Ricciardi, when the church was re-opened to the public after a long period of abandon.

On this copy, the frontal image is at the right, whereas traditionally it appears at the left of the observer. In a departure from the Original, all the features are depicted in positive.

Salamanca, Diocese and Province of Salamanca, 1655

There is no photographic documentation of this copy. It is of natural size, without inscription; and well-preserved, kept in a reliquary to which is tied the authentication, dated Madrid, 3 May 1655. The following information is interesting:

With this, I send you the large Holy Shroud which you have requested from me for a long time, having commanded that it be purposely drawn to the measure of the Original which is in Turin, and touched to it to satisfy your desire and devotion, assuring me that in this holy convent it will be held with all the veneration due to a Portrait of such a relic... .

LEONE: op. cit.
Santiago del Estero (Argentina), Convent of St. Dominic, 1585. This copy, on linen, is folded in half (thus measuring 2.17m x 0.81m) showing only the frontal image and only a part of the inscription: VERVM SACRAE SINDONIS (EXEMPLAR)

The image is well-defined and very faithful to the Original, even in small details (for example, the nail holes are in the wrists, not in the palms).

According to tradition, the cloth wrapped the Holy Shroud in the silver reliquary and the figure was miraculously produced during the fire in the Chamb ery Chapel.

Attached to the copy is this notice: OBSEQUIO DEL REY DE ESPASIA FELIPE II AL QUE ES HOY EL CONVENTO DE SANTO DOMINGO DE GUZMAN DE SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO ARGENTINA.

The copy was given to the city of Santiago in 1585. It is venerated as an extraordinary relic and exposed Friday and Saturday of Holy Week.

LEONE: op cit.

Silos, Archdiocese and Province of Burgos, 1640
Measure: Only the measure of the imprints are reported, not the total dimensions of the cloth. Frontal imprint, 1.59m; dorsal, 1.63m. There is no inscription.

The figures are heavily delineated. The famous Benedictine monastery received this copy while Father Nicolas Melendez was abbot (1637-1641). In the past, it was the object of great veneration. Medals and rosaries were touched to it, as well as reproductions, still preserved, with the inscription: ESTA IMAGEN HA SIDO TOCADA A LA SABANA SANTA QUE SE VENERA EN LA IGLESIA DE SANTO DOMINGO DE SILOS, EL DIA 3 DE MAYO

Archival documents describe it as being entirely similar to the Turin Shroud.

In his work of 1902, Vignon wrote: "Monsieur the Abbot of Silos was kind enough to send a photograph to M. Loth, who loaned it to me ..." However, it is not reproduced in the book.

VIGNON: Le Linceul du Christ, Paris 1902
LEONE: op. cit.

Toledo, Archdiocese and Province of Toledo, 1587
Measure: 4.50m x 0.87m
There is no inscription.

The date refers to the year the copy was given to the convent: 15 January 1587.
Two other copies are mentioned in the document of donation, but of these there is no further information.

LEONE: op. cit.

Valladolid, Archdiocese and Province of Valladolid, Monastery of the Dominican Nuns of Nuestra Señora de la Laura
The copy is 4.36m long; width unknown.

In an archival document dated 1672, one reads that this copy was obtained miraculously by contact in 1567, "so that one could not discern or recognize which of the two was the Original and which was the miraculous." The "miracle" is said to have happened in Chambéry during the visit of a Spanish noble to the court of Savoy.

The copy is exposed for the veneration of the faithful during the three days of Holy Week. LEONE: Op. Cit.

PART III: Synthesis of the Research
The many copies postulate an Original of great credit. The copies were held to be precious because they had been touched to the Original; in the popular estimation they were therefore considered relics.

The number of copies listed and those, in even greater numbers, which have been forgotten or lost, gives us the first information about the wide diffusion of knowledge of the Shroud from 1500 to 1700; a knowledge founded upon the high credit accorded to the Object venerated. The solemn functions and the almost annual expositions of the Shroud attracted not only the Savoyards but also pilgrims from other realms, as evidenced by many documents reported by Mons. Savio. Faith was nourished and lives were renewed as the people concentrated their devotion on the passion, death and resurrection of Christ, recalled by an Object so suggestive and so intrinsically authentic. This unity in a superior ideal also favored unity around the person who was the privileged custodian, for whom the Holy Shroud was a precious family heirloom. It was not without irony that Chevalier, well-known opponent of authenticity at the beginning of this century, defined the Shroud as the Palladium of the House of Savoy.

Manual Origin
In all the copies, their manual origin is patent. Never do they show a totally negative character, such as the Shroud presents; they are a melange of positive and negative, in which the positive obviously predominates. One can see the difficulty that the artists encountered: in trying to reproduce a reality which was not exactly what they were accustomed to, they represented the figure in ways and means which did not correspond to that reality. And while the somatic imprints are a perfect negative, a fact discovered in the first photograph, officially made by Secondo Pia in 1898, it must be remembered that the bloodstains are positive.

Important Details
The most important details to be noticed are the anomalies and incongruences which one finds in the various copies.

—Some copies show the eyes clearly closed; on others, the eyes are clearly open; in still other examples, it is difficult to determine whether the eyes are open, closed or half-closed.
—The lack of imprint in the pubic area was interpreted as a perizoma (loincloth) which is more or less evident in almost all the copies.

—The blood-stream across the back is not always depicted. When it is, the interpretations vary widely, from a chain to a continuation of the perizoma.

It would not be possible to mention the many other variants and details to be discovered; however, we might indicate two:

—On the frontal imprint of all the copies, one sees the faithful reproduction, clearly delineated, of only four fingers on each hand.

—The feet of the frontal image are sometimes parallel, sometimes crossed, whereas on the Shroud they are not imprinted at all. *

Artists
Almost all the copies are unsigned. Only a certain Giovanni Battista Fantino (of whom nothing more is known) signed his name to some copies. As already mentioned, they were: Savona (1697), both signature and date; Agliè (1708); Gallarate (1710). The Imperia copy (1678) carries a date but no signature. Badolatosa is signed but without a date on the copy.

Tamburini² recalls that in 1600 "... the devotion to the Shroud advanced fervently [...] a family of painters, Gerolamo, Giovanni Battista and Pier Francesco della Rovere, specialized in reproductions on cloth and on paper."³ Another person to whom copies can be attributed is the Princess Maria Francesca Apollonia, daughter of Carlo Emanuele I. She gave the copies she had made to the various convents where she and her sister, Francesca Caterina, were familiar visitors.⁴

About EXTRACTVM
The word extractum can have no other significance than portrait, drawn from, copied, reproduced from the Original, as the various expressions bear witness: QVESTA PICTVRA (Guadalupe and Navarrete, 1568); CECI EST LE VRAY PROVTRAYCT (Alcoy, 1571); IL VERO RITRATTO DEL SANTISSIMO SVDARIO (Escamilla, undated); VERA SS.MI SVDARII SALVATORIS IMAGO E SACRA SINDONE EXCEPTA (Ripalimosani, without date); CAVATO DAL’ORIGINALE (Lisbon, 1620).

The authentication of the La Cuesta copy (1654) clearly states that it is a reproduction, and written on the cloth is the expression which became customary in the 1600s: EXTRACTVM.

In view of the documentation verifying the manual production of the copies, it is quite evident that the later assertions, said or written about some of them: i.e., that they were obtained miraculously by a

* May I remind the reader that on three copies signed by Fantino (Savona, Agliè, Gallarate), the lance wound is shown on the observer’s left, as Don Fossati points out on p. 22, Spectrum #12. See also illus. on p. 14 of Spectrum #12. [Ed.]
simple contact with the Original, do not correspond to the truth. This is brought out simply and clearly in a posthumous publication of the Blessed Sebastiano Valfre. Expressing his judgment on the various copies of the Shroud, he wrote:

And as the devotion of the faithful toward the Shroud became more and more widespread, many [of the faithful] obtained copies drawn from original copies, and in the course of the passing years, these copies, either for having touched the Original or for representing the Original, eventually were held, in the pious credulity of the faithful and especially of the Populace, who do not examine things very closely, were, I say, then believed to be original; and so it follows that in many places one finds sudarii and shrouds being revered.3

Contact
As we see, already in Valfre's time, it was said very clearly that certain copies became "original" through the pious credulity of the faithful, without their actually being so. They had value and credibility because they had been put in contact with the Original and represented it.

All the copies, those of natural size and those in smaller format, were touched to the Original in order to render them more precious and miraculous by means of that direct contact. The fact is clearly written on some copies or in documents accompanying others, as has already been reported.

If the supporters of the pictorial origin of the Turin Shroud or of its having been retouched, had looked a little deeper into the history of the Shroud, they would not have maintained that the Shroud was manually produced and perhaps they would have given us a correct explanation of the provenance of these traces of paint found upon the Cloth.

These traces can have but one origin: the deposit left on the Original through contact with copies fresh with paint.

Burn Holes
Other information comes to us from the first dated copy (Lierre, 1516). Here we see how four groups of small burn-holes were mistaken for bloodstains and painted accordingly in red. The curious fact is that on some copies posterior to the 1532 fire, the burns and patches of that fire are not represented while the small round holes are still depicted as bloodstains. The burns and patches resulting from the Chambéry fire were clearly understood to be extraneous to the body imprint; the absence of these details, therefore, cannot constitute conclusive proof that the copy was made before the 1532 fire.

Tonelli made an accurate analysis of the burns from the two fires and found their specific characteristics to be quite different. His description of the pre-1532 damage follows:6

1. The marks do not have the brown halo because the cloth burned too rapidly to allow the formation of the gas of distillation.
The Lierre copy, 1516.

Probable folding at the time the Shroud received the small burns.  
First fold: E-F.  Second fold, O-P.  Third fold, K-M.  Fourth fold, H-N.  
The frontal half of the Shroud is in D-O-R-A.  

It will be seen that the holes are largest in Box 1, gradually decreasing in Boxes 2, then 3, and smallest in Box 4.
2. They are mended with patches stitched onto the backside of the Shroud, leaving the black edges of the holes completely free; one sees distinctly that the crowns of the burned threads are loose. (Some of these loose margins were repaired in later times.) This type of patch is completely different from those made by the Poor Clares in 1534.

3. The burns are symmetrically distributed and decrescent in intensity from the first to the fourth layer of the Cloth.

A considerable number of copies do show the signs of the Chambéry fire. We have sufficient historical documentation concerning this event, about the recognition of the Relic in order to identify it, and about the mending done by the Poor Clare nuns of Chambéry.'

**Expositions**

As can be seen on the copies with inscriptions, it was the custom to display the Shroud with the frontal image at the left, the dorsal at the right (although some copies show the contrary). The custom prevails today.

Very few copies are on permanent display. In Italy, those permanently on view are at Arquata del Tronto, Caltagirone, Ripalimosani, Rome (Church of the Holy Shroud), and Turin (Cussetti copy in the sacristy of the Holy Shroud Chapel). Many copies are exposed only during Holy Week; numerous others are never shown in public. Mention of these things has been made in the description of the various examples.

**Conclusion**

In closing, we recall briefly some other small details. The two copies of 1644 (Acireale and Turin Monastery of the Cappuchins) have a little ornament following the date, indicating that perhaps they were made by the same artist.

The so-called Savoy Knot appears on two copies: the Gallarate copy (1710) shows it before and after the inscription; on the 1643 copy (private collection) it is only at the end.

Two copies of Giovanni Battista Fantino have symbols and instruments of the passion at the ends; Savona (1697) and Badolatosa (1675).

I wish to take this opportunity to again express my gratitude to the Rev. Don Domenico Leone, by whose permission the photographs of copies conserved in Spain and Portugal have here been reproduced. They were first published in Don Leone's valuable book, *El Santo Sudario en España*. I also wish to thank my dear friends who made other photographs: Luigi Aloi, Giuseppe Biondini, Giovanni Chiantaretto, Gaetano Intrigillo, Vittorio Orsini, Giovanni Riggi, Sebastiano Rodante, Giulio Scavarda and Arturo Turina.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


3. Tamburini cites E. OLIVERO, La Chiesa di S. Francesco d'Assisi in Torino, 1935; and A. BAUDI DI VESME, Schede: l'arte in Piemonte dal XVI al XVIII secolo, Turin 1963-66. In Scheda I, Vesme lists a payment made to Gerolamo on 27 May 1616 for a miniature of the Holy Shroud of Our Lord, in a small book; and prints on silk, linen and paper, with "particular care to draw it always more to the measure and true effigy of God imprinted with his own blood in that Holy Shroud conserved in our House" [of Savoy]; with the permission to him and to his sons "during all their respective lives to paint in miniature, to print, and portray the above-mentioned form of the Holy Shroud, and to sell paintings, effigies and whatever representation of it." Gerolamo was again paid for "many Holy Shrouds given to the Infant our dearest daughters." Again, on 7 May 1633 he was paid for "29 portraits of the Most Holy Shroud that he made for us." Other payments were made on 4 May 1635; in 1637, '38, '39, '42, and '50, for various shrouds. [Giovanni Battista della Rovere is the artist who painted the small aquarelle of the Burial of Christ, usually (mistakenly) attributed to Giulio Clovio. Editor's Note.]

4. ALESSIO DI S. MARIA, Carmelite: Vita della Serenissima Infanta Maria di Savoia, Milan 1663.
   CROSET MOUCHET: Vita della Veneranda Serva di Dio l'Infanta Maria Francesca Apollonia, Turin 1878.


7. PHILIBERTUS PINGONIUS: Sindon Evangelica ... Augustae Taurinorum 1581.
   L. BOUCHAGE: Le Saint-Suaire de Chambéry, Chambéry 1891.
   GIAMMARIA SANNA SOLARO: La Santa Sindone the si venera a Torino, Turin 1901.
   [See also: "The Report of the Poor Clare Nuns," Spectrum #2, Mar. 1982.]

Don Fossati kindly loaned Spectrum a film strip of 66 frames for the purpose of illustrating this article. The filmstrip is not commercially available; however copies can be made on order (Lire 55.000). Anyone interested in obtaining the filmstrip please contact your editor, Dorothy Crispino.