

*St. Louis, October 9-12, 2014*

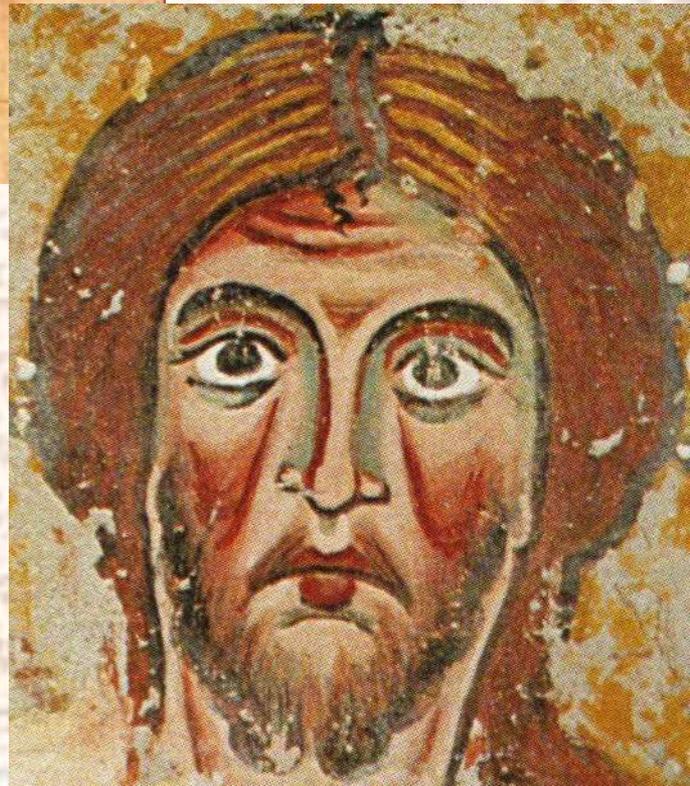
*The Shroud and the  
iconography of Christ*

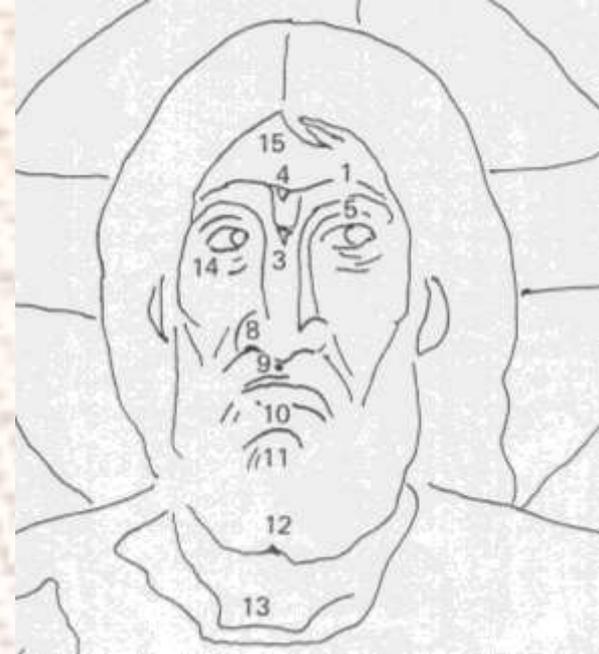
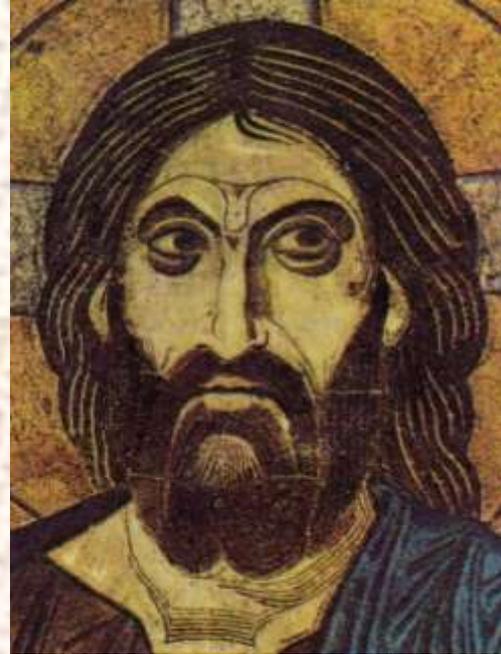
*Emanuela Marinelli*

*The similarity between the Shroud face and most of the depictions of Christ known in art, both Eastern and Western, is clear and can not be attributed to mere chance; it must be the result of a dependency, mediated or immediate, of an image from the other and of all from a common source.*



*Pantocrator, fresco, Church of Sant'Angelo, Pianella (PE), 12<sup>th</sup> century*



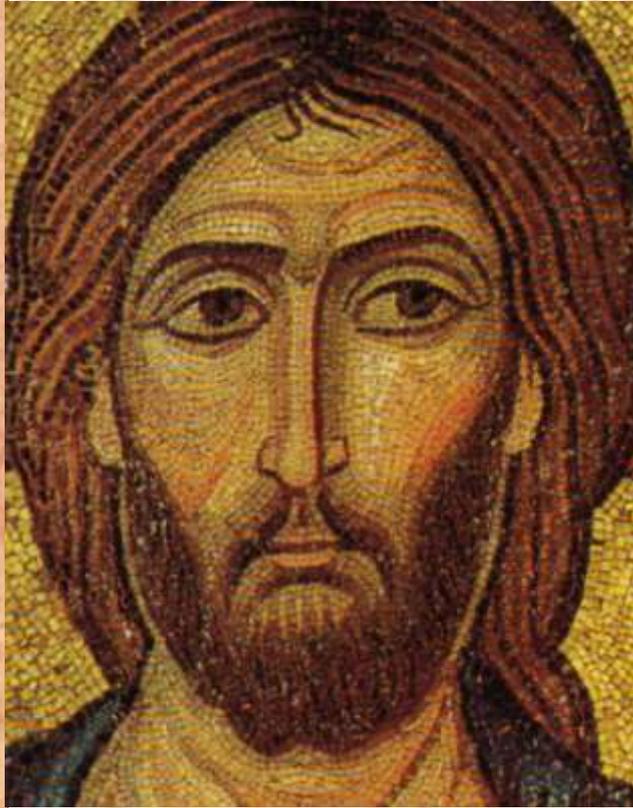


*Pantocrator, Monastery  
of Daphni, Athens,  
11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century*

*Vignon's marks*

*This argument, raised for the first time in the early twentieth century by the biologist Paul Vignon, asserts that the face of Christ, as it is presented in art, must depend on the Shroud; that is, there is a similarity between the classical type of the face of Christ with a beard and the Shroud image.*

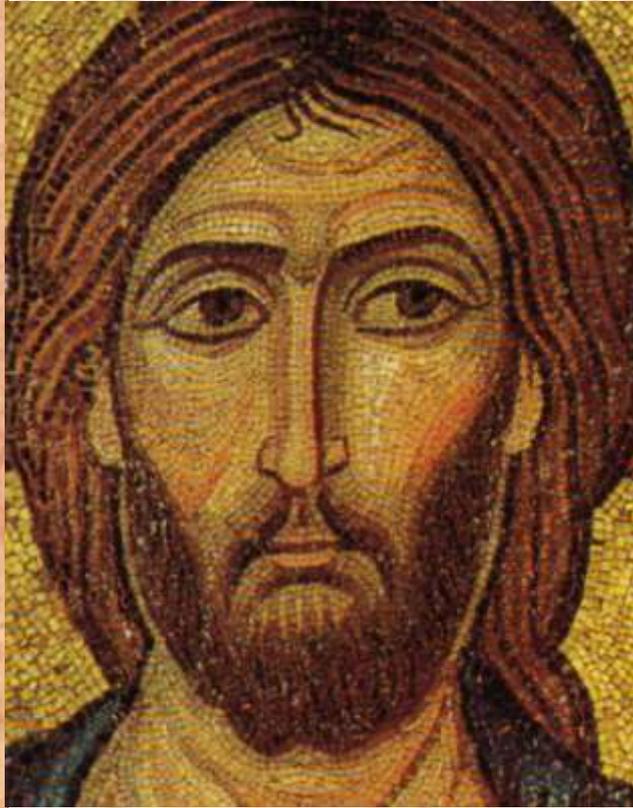
*Paul Vignon,  
20<sup>th</sup> century*



*Christ Eleimon, mosaic icon, National Museum, Berlin, 12<sup>th</sup> century*

*Vignon's marks*

*We can identify on the Shroud several elements that are not regular, hardly attributable to the imagination of the artists, that make us understand how the ancient representations of Christ's face depend on the venerated relic: the hair is long and bipartite; many faces show two or three strands of hair in the middle of the forehead: it can be an artistic way of depicting the trickle of blood in the shape of an epsilon present on the forehead of the Shroud face; the superciliary arches are pronounced; many faces have one eyebrow higher than the other, like the Shroud face; by the root of the nose, some faces have a sign like a square, missing in the upper side, and below it there is a sign in the shape of a V.*

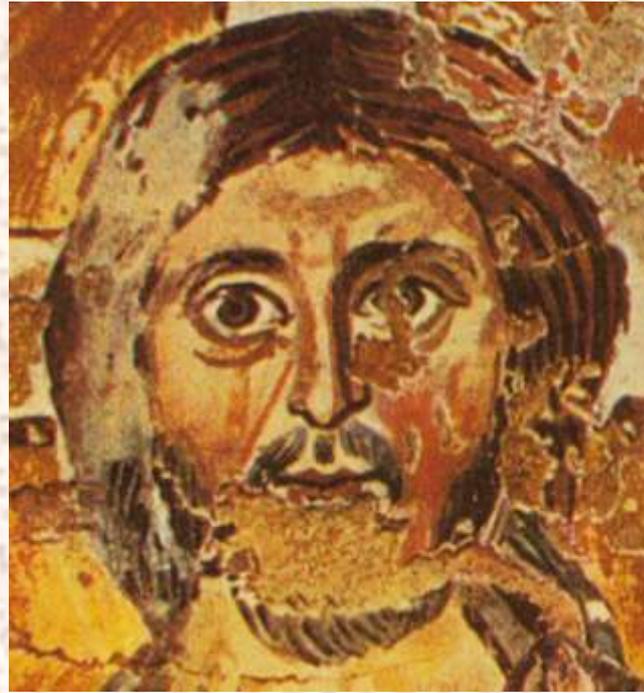


*Christ Eleimon, mosaic icon, National Museum, Berlin, 12<sup>th</sup> century*



*Vignon's marks*

*Moreover, the nose is long and straight; the eyes are large and deep, wide open, with huge irises and large eye sockets; the cheekbones are very pronounced, sometimes with spots; a wide area between the cheeks and the hair of the Shroud face is without mark, so that the hair bands appear to be too detached from the face; one cheek is very swollen due to a strong trauma, so the face is asymmetrical; the mustache, which is often drooping, is arranged asymmetrically and fall over the lips on each side with a different angle; the mouth is small, not hidden by the mustache; there is a beardless area under His lower lip; the beard, not too long, is bipartite and tripartite sometimes, and it is slightly displaced on one side.*



*Face of Christ, catacombs of Pontian, Rome, 8<sup>th</sup> century*

*The inspiration from the Shroud is evident, for example, in the signs between the eyebrows, on the forehead and on the right cheek of the face of Christ (8<sup>th</sup> century) in the catacombs of Pontian in Rome. So it is essential to look, into the history, the documents, the references, the descriptions of this unique object, to understand how much it might have influenced the depictions of Christ over the centuries.*



*Fish and Eucharistic loaf, catacomb of St. Callixtus, Rome, 2<sup>th</sup> century*



*Lamb blessing the loaves, catacombs of Commodilla, Rome, 4<sup>th</sup> century*

*Regarding the features of Jesus, you must keep in mind that Sacred Scripture does not hand down any physical description of the Savior; prohibitions of the Old Law prevented certainly the first disciples to fix His features in pictures or statues, although the legend attributes some of them to St. Luke or Nicodemus. Irenaeus (2<sup>th</sup> century) and Origen (3<sup>th</sup> century) consider it legitimate the representation of God into an image; in the early days of Christianity, however, they only used symbols, such as the lamb, the bread and the fish, whose Greek name ichthùs is formed from the initials of the words: Jesus Christ Son of God Savior. The image of Eucharistic fish can be seen, for example, in the crypt of Lucina in Rome, in the Catacombs of St. Callixtus (2<sup>th</sup> century).*



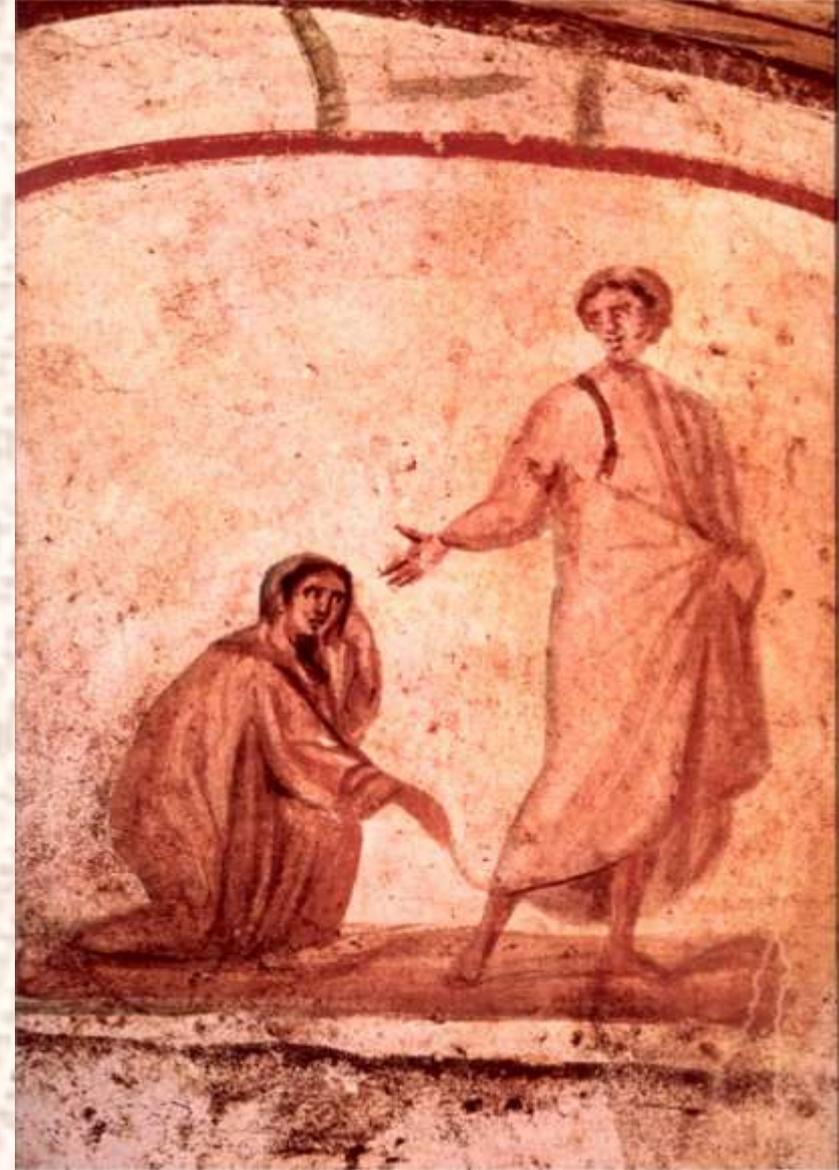
*An alternative was to apply to the figure of Christ features derived from other non-Christian religions. Among the oldest images we recall the Christus Sol Invictus in the Mausoleum of the Julii in the Vatican necropolis (3<sup>th</sup> century), in which Jesus is depicted as the Sun God, in opposition to pagan Helios.*

*Christus Sol Invictus, Mausoleum of the Julii, Vatican necropolis, 3<sup>th</sup> century*



*The Good Shepherd, catacombs of Priscilla, Rome, 3<sup>th</sup> century*

*In this period the human figure of the Good Shepherd, of the thaumaturgist and of the teacher were also introduced. The Christ who heals the hemorrhaging woman of the catacombs of St. Marcellinus and St. Peter in Rome (3<sup>th</sup> century) belongs to this kind of representations. Jesus is shown beardless to emphasize His divine nature.*



*Christ who heals the hemorrhaging woman, catacombs of St. Marcellinus and St. Peter, Rome, 3<sup>th</sup> century*



*Christ the Lord, Ostia, 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> century*

*After the victory of Christianity, sanctioned by Constantine in 313 with the Edict of Milan, a different image of the face of Jesus started to spread, characterized by not too long beard, mustache, narrow face, tall and majestic, with long hair that fall on the shoulders and that sometimes show a central line that divides them.*



*One of the earliest depictions of a bearded Christ appears in Rome in the hypogeum of Aurelii (3<sup>th</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century).*

*Christ delivers the sermon on the mount, hypogeum of Aurelii, Rome, 3<sup>th</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> century*



*Jesus Christ, Roman sarcophagus, Lateran Museum, Vatican City, 4<sup>th</sup> century*

*Among the works of art that show Him with a beard we must remember some sarcophagi of the Theodosian era (4<sup>th</sup> century) still preserved, for example, in the former Lateran Museum in Vatican City, at St. Sebastian Outside the Walls in Rome, at St. Ambrose in Milan and at the Lapidary Museum of Arles.*



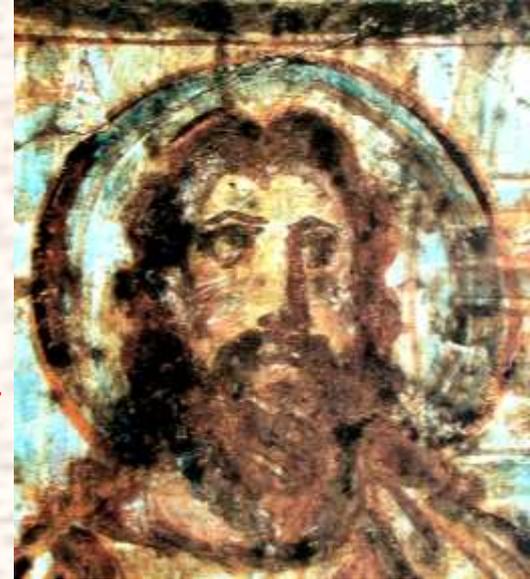
*Jesus with a beard can be found in Rome, even in the apse of the basilica of St. Pudenziana (4<sup>th</sup> century).*

*Salvator Mundi, basilica of St. Pudenziana, Rome, 4<sup>th</sup> century*

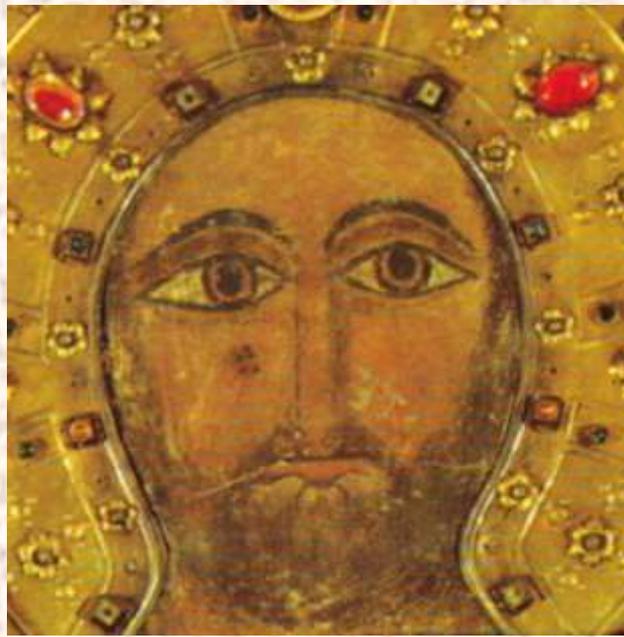


*Christ between Peter and Paul,  
catacombs of SS. Marcellinus and  
Peter, Rome, 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century*

*Christ the  
Teacher,  
Cubiculum of  
Leo,  
catacombs of  
Commodilla,  
Rome, 4<sup>th</sup>  
century*



*Christ the Teacher of the  
Cubiculum of Leo in the  
catacombs of Commodilla  
(4<sup>th</sup> century) and the  
enthroned Christ between  
Peter and Paul in the  
catacombs of SS.  
Marcellinus and Peter  
(4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century) belong  
to the same type.*

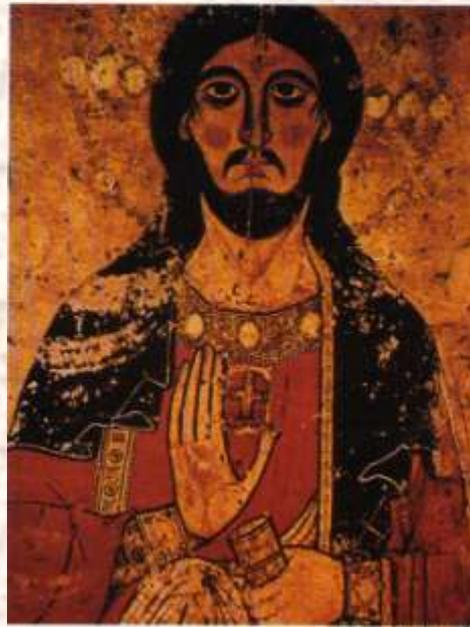


*SS. Savior, Sancta  
Sanctorum, Rome, 8<sup>th</sup> century*

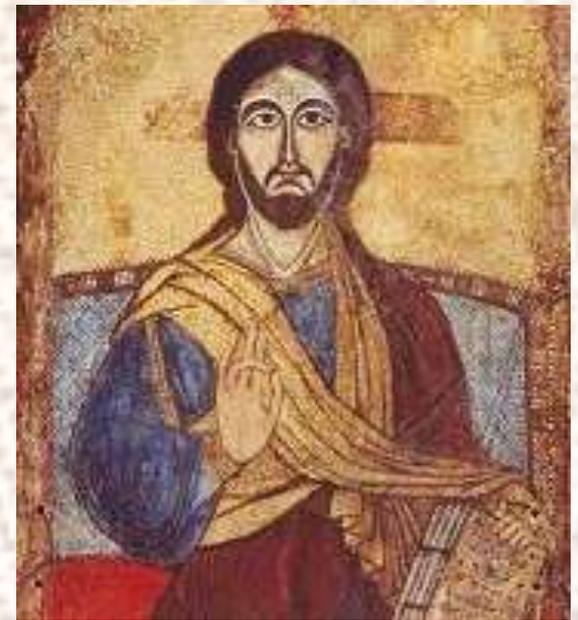
*In all the depictions of the Savior the similarity with the Shroud face is always marked: note, for example, the ancient image of SS. Savior venerated in the oratory of St. Lawrence in Palatio, called Sancta Sanctorum, in Rome, whose original icon goes back to the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century;...*



*Jesus Christ, Chapel of Saint Venantius, St. John Lateran Baptistery, Rome, 7<sup>th</sup> century*



*Christ the Savior, SS. Margaret and Martin Cathedral, Tarquinia, 12<sup>th</sup> century*



*Christ the Savior, Blessed Virgin Mary Assumed into Heaven Cathedral, Sutri, 13<sup>th</sup> century*



*Jesus Christ, apse of St. John Lateran, Rome, 13<sup>th</sup> century*

*...the mosaic (7<sup>th</sup> century) of the Chapel of St. Venantius by the Baptistery of St. John Lateran; the Savior of the Cathedral of Tarquinia (12<sup>th</sup> century); the Savior of the Cathedral of Sutri (13<sup>th</sup> century); and the mosaic (13<sup>th</sup> century) of the apse of the basilica of St. John Lateran.*



*Starting from the 6<sup>th</sup> century also in the East spreads a particular type of portrait of Jesus inspired by the Shroud: it is the majestic Christ, with a beard and mustache, called the Pantocrator (Almighty), of which there are splendid examples in Cappadocia.*

*Christ Pantocrator, Karanlik Church (Dark Church), Cappadocia, 11<sup>th</sup> century.*



*Silver vase, Homs, Syria,  
6<sup>th</sup> century*

*There is an evident inspiration from the Shroud in the face of Christ on the silver vase of the 6<sup>th</sup> century found in Homs, Syria, now in the Louvre in Paris...*

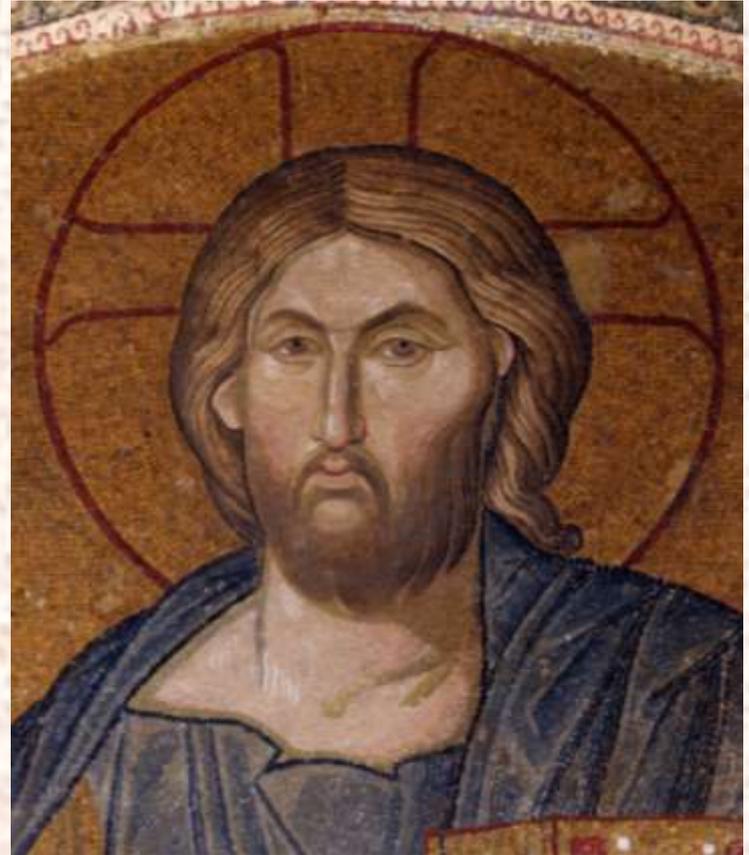


*Silver reliquary, Chersonesus,  
Crimea, 6<sup>th</sup> century*

*...and in that of the silver reliquary of the 6<sup>th</sup>  
century from Chersonesus, Crimea, which is in the  
Hermitage in St. Petersburg.*

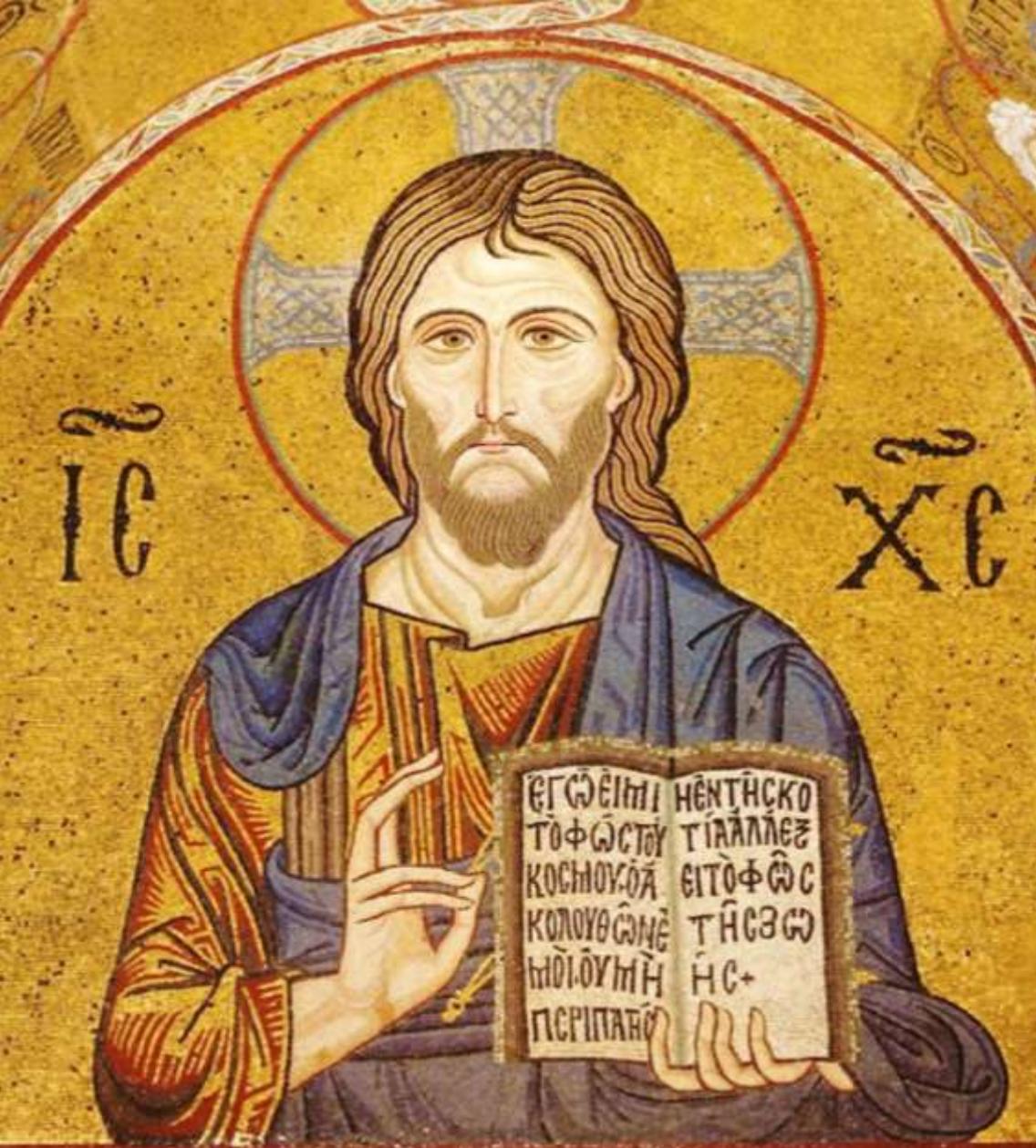


*Pantocrator, St. Sophia, Istanbul,  
13<sup>th</sup> century*



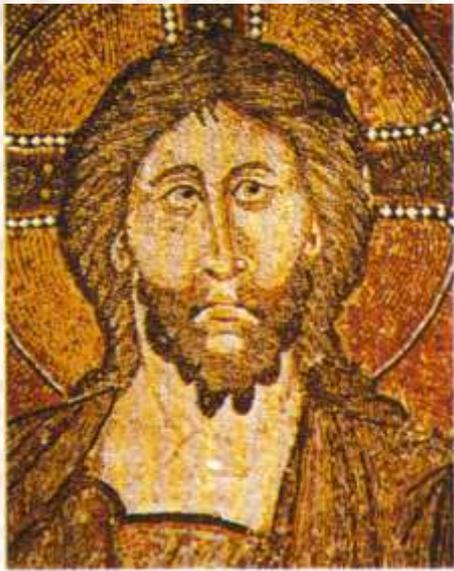
*Pantocrator, St. Savior in Chora,  
Istanbul, 14<sup>th</sup> century*

*The Pantocrator is also present in the post-Byzantine era and it will remain substantially unchanged until today. In the East, this image will become the only one for all the figurative art and even in the West it will always prevail. In the Pantocrator (13<sup>th</sup> century) of St. Sophia (Istanbul) and in the Pantocrator (14<sup>th</sup> century) of St. Savior in Chora (Istanbul) we find concave cheeks and prominent and asymmetric cheekbones.*

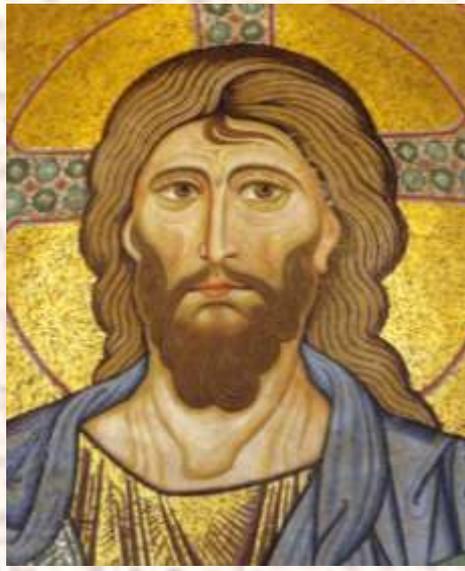


*Regarding the detail in the middle of the forehead, which can be a strand or a double strand of hair, or some red or white line or spot, sometimes even a vertical wrinkle, it is always painted in the middle and does not change the essential form but its content in the various images of several centuries. This reveals, despite the different interpretations, a unique origin: the characteristic trickle of blood on the forehead of the Shroud face.*

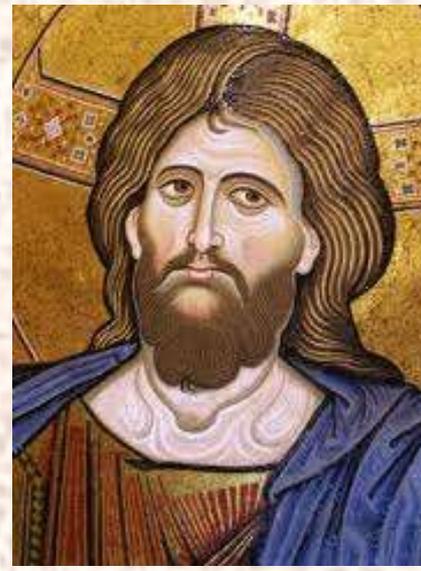
*Christ Pantocrator. Palatine Chapel, Palermo, 12<sup>th</sup> Century*



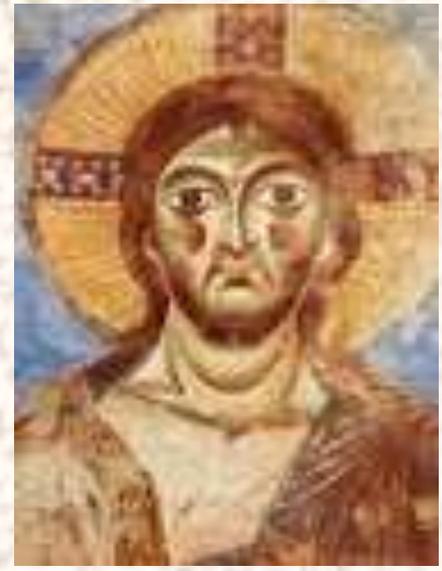
*St. Lawrence in  
Palatio, Rome, 9<sup>th</sup>  
century*



*Cathedral, Cefalù,  
Palermo, 12<sup>th</sup> century*



*Cathedral, Monreale,  
Palermo, 12<sup>th</sup> century*



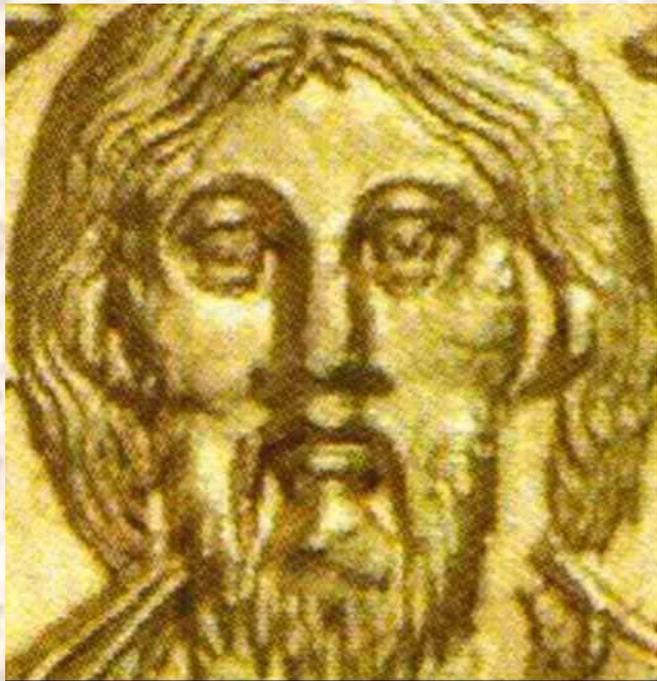
*Sant'Angelo in Formis,  
Capua, Caserta, 12<sup>th</sup>  
century*

*You can notice the lock of hair, simple or double, for example in the Pantocrator (9<sup>th</sup> century) of the oratory of St. Lawrence in Palatio in Rome, in the Pantocrator (12<sup>th</sup> century) of the cathedral in Cefalù (Palermo), in the Pantocrator (12<sup>th</sup> century) of the cathedral in Monreale (Palermo) and in the Pantocrator (12<sup>th</sup> century) of Sant'Angelo in Formis in Capua (Caserta)..*

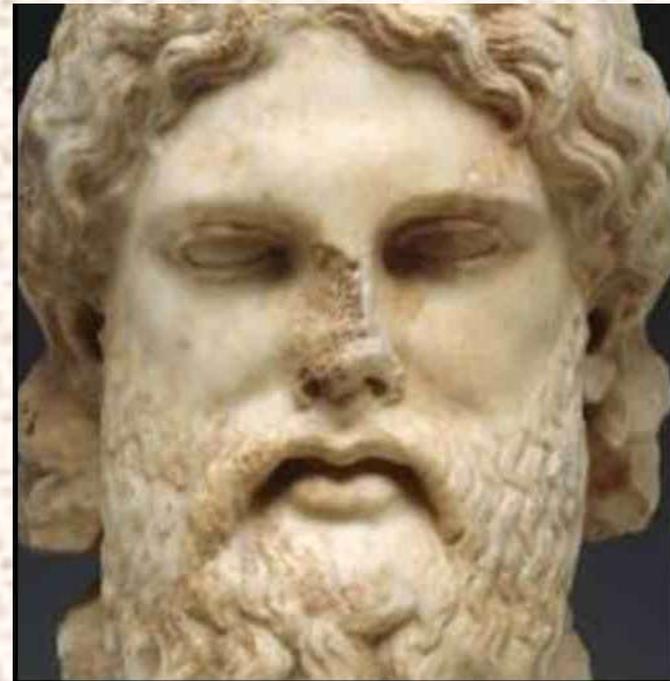


*Crucifixion, Portal of the Kings, Cathedral,  
Chartres, 12<sup>th</sup> century*

*...while it  
appears like a  
real trickle of  
blood on the  
forehead of  
Christ on the  
crucifixion  
panel in one of  
the windows  
of the Portal  
of the Kings in  
Chartres  
Cathedral  
(12<sup>th</sup> century).*



*Gold solidus of Justinian II  
(first reign, 685-695)*



*Marble head of Zeus (350-340  
a.C.), Mount Pentelicus, Athens,  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

*The observation of the Shroud face also affects the representation of Christ on the Byzantine coins from the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The hypothesis that «the model of Christ rex regnantium of the coins is the iconography of the Pantocrator according to a possible pagan model, certainly not coming from the Shroud: that of the Zeus pambasileus, represented for example by the famous chryselephantine statue of Olympia, made by Phidias, of which remains a marble copy of the face» (A. Nicolotti) is not acceptable. Observing the mentioned Zeus pambasileus, actually you do not notice at all the alleged similarities with the face of Christ.*



*Justinian II (Byzantine emperor from 685 to 695 and from 705 to 711) was the first emperor to order the face of Jesus to be represented on coins. On his gold solidus (692-695) appears a Pantocrator whose features are very similar to those of the Shroud: wavy hair falling around the shoulders, beard, mustache and the quaint little tuft on the forehead.*

*Gold solidus of Justinian II (692-695)*



*Unfortunately, there are very few images of Christ that survived the terrible period of the iconoclastic fury (730-843), during which prevailed the denial of sacred images.*

*The last iconoclast Patriarch, John VII Grammaticus (837-843), destroys an icon, Chludov Psalter, Museum of Russian History, Moscow, 2<sup>th</sup> century*

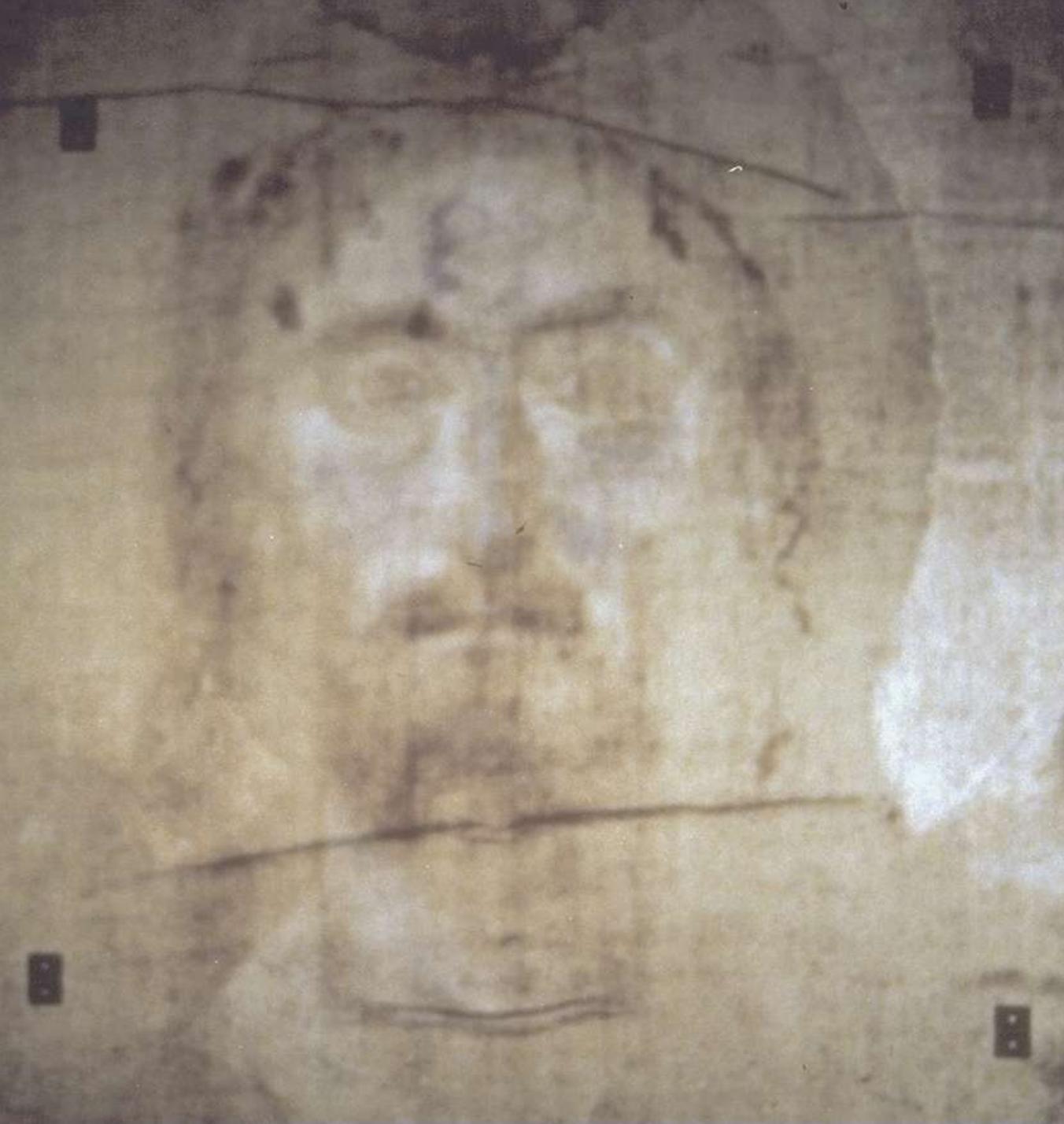


*After the iconoclast struggles, the face of Christ, inspired by the Shroud, will be portrayed again on coins. A strongly inspired by the Shroud Pantocrator, expressive, with large eyes, long hair and beard, appears on the golden solidus of Michael III (842-867).*

*Gold solidus of Michael III (842-867)*



*With the technique of superposition in polarized light it has been shown that the Shroud face fits in most points with that, suitably enlarged, of the Pantocrator portrayed on coins: there are more than 140 points of congruence, that are the points of overlap, with the solidus and with the tremissis of the first reign of Justinian II. This widely satisfies the American forensic criterion, according to which from 45 to 60 points of congruence are enough to establish the identity or similarity of two images.*



*The same technique was applied to one of the finest examples of Pantocrator, that of the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai (6<sup>th</sup> century), which has 250 points of congruence.*



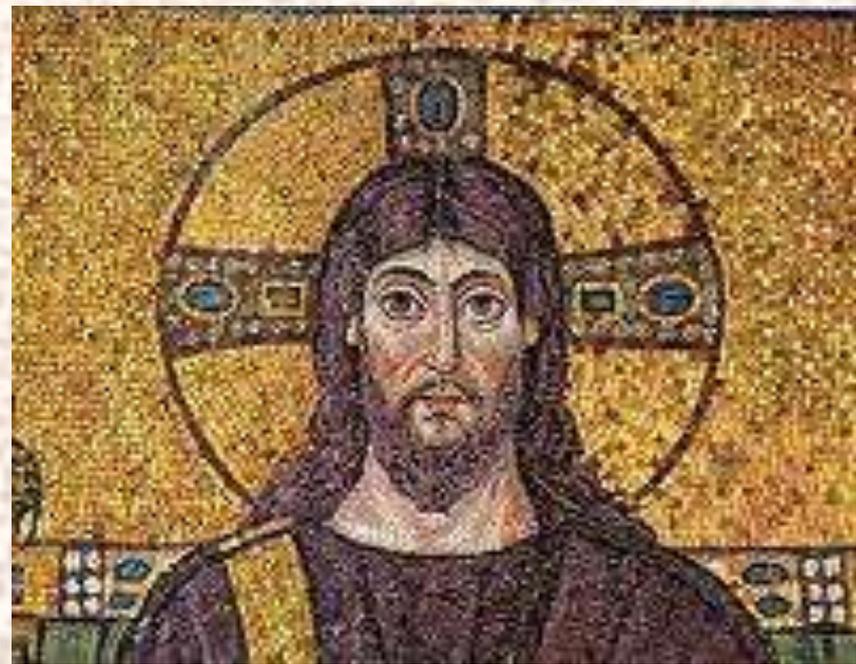
*Another comparison of the Shroud face was made with the technique of digital processing. It turned out that the traits and the outlines of the Shroud face are similar to those of the Christ of the solidus of Justinian II and the icon of the Sinai.*



*In the Byzantine literary sources the image of the Pantocrator is called acheiropietos - not made by human hands - or apomasso - imprint - and according to tradition it derives from a cloth; therefore it is called Mandylion (in Arabic mindīl, in Latin mantilium, in Aramaic mantila).*



*Doors of the basilica of St. Sabina, Rome, 5<sup>th</sup> century*



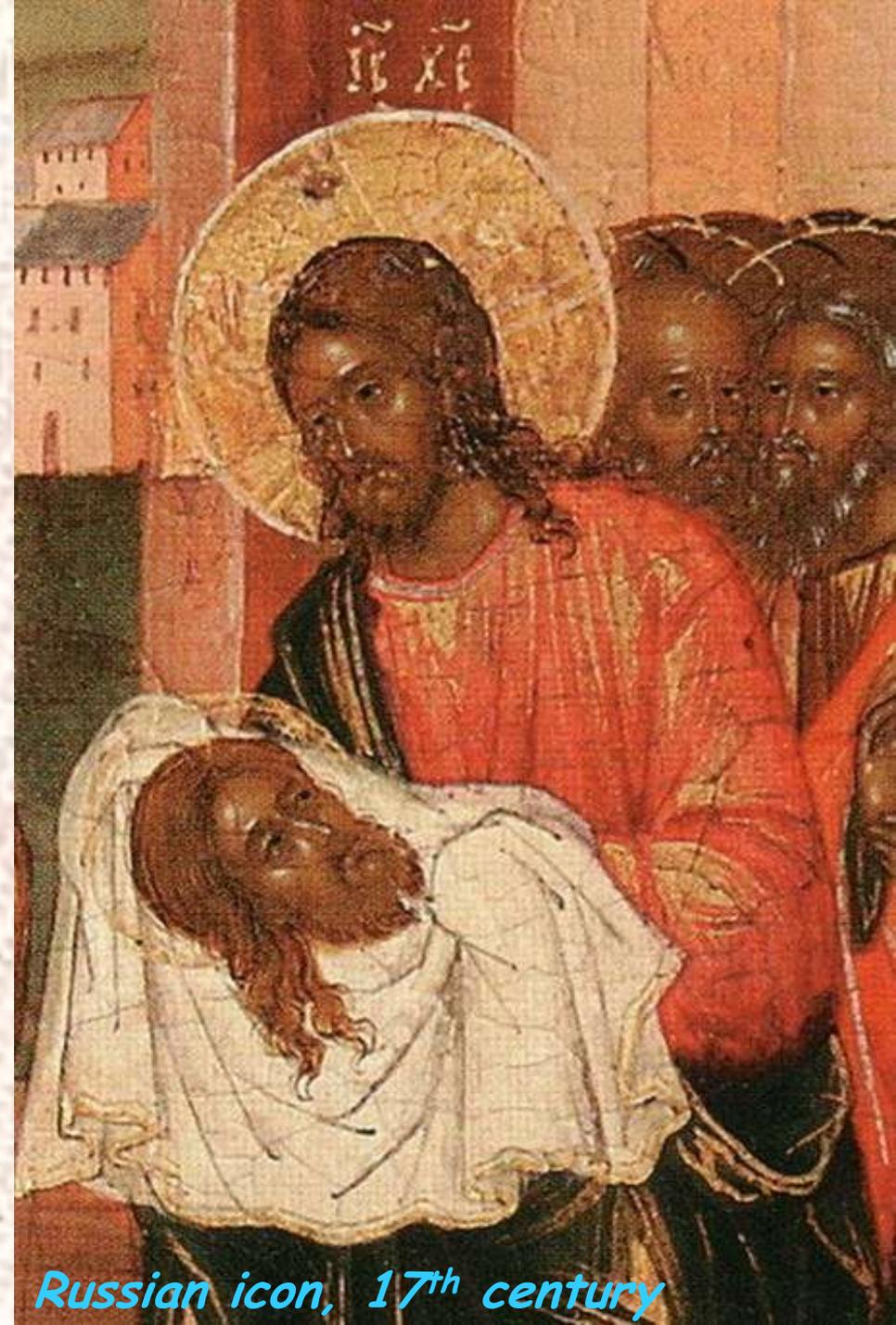
*Basilica of St. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, 6<sup>th</sup> century*

*It is interesting to note that the wooden doors of the basilica of St. Sabina in Rome (5<sup>th</sup> century) present Christ with a beard in the scenes of the Passion, while He is without a beard in all the other scenes of His previous life. This distinction also characterizes the mosaics of St. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (6<sup>th</sup> century). So there was a reason to put in relation the depiction of the bearded Christ with His Passion; this reason could be a pre-existing image, clearly related to the moments of Jesus' suffering.*

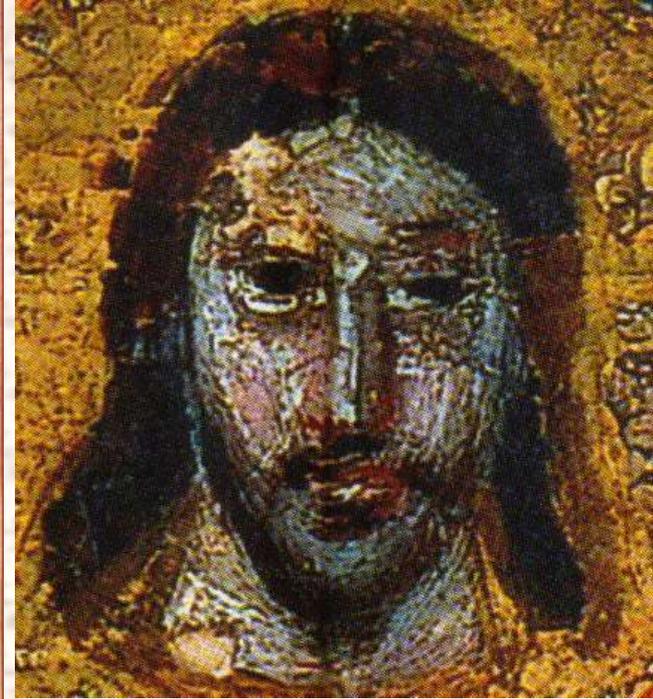
*It comes natural to think of the Shroud and other testimonials, both written and iconographic, of an imprint left by Jesus on a cloth with His sweat and His blood.*



*King Abgar V of Edessa receives the Mandylion, St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, 10<sup>th</sup> century*



*Russian icon, 17<sup>th</sup> century*



*Mosaic of the face of Christ, Museum of Şanlıurfa, 6<sup>th</sup> century*

*Detail of the icon of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, Museum of Western and Eastern Art, Kiev, Ukraine, 6<sup>th</sup> century*

*All the legends, the traditions, the references to the existence of such an image are important for reconstructing an itinerary of the Shroud in the dark ages prior to its appearance in Europe and to understand why there are so many references to the existence of an image of Christ on a cloth.*

*The testimonies concerning the image of Edessa (the modern Şanlıurfa, in south-eastern Turkey), that the historian Ian Wilson identified with the Shroud, are particularly interesting. In the Museum of Şanlıurfa we can find a mosaic of the face of Christ (6<sup>th</sup> century) that is very similar to a detail of the icon of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (6<sup>th</sup> century) from the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, now preserved at the Museum of Western and Eastern Art in Kiev, Ukraine. Both of these representations have traits inspired by the Shroud.*



*In 525 the Daisan, the stream that ran through Edessa, caused a catastrophic flood. Justinian, the future emperor, undertook a monumental reconstruction, which also benefited from the main church, St. Sophia. It is very plausible that then the discovery of the long time forgotten image took place. A small chapel to the right of the apse was destined to it; it was kept in a reliquary and was not exposed to the sight of the faithful.*



*The sacred cloth could also have been discovered during the Persian siege of 544 by King Chosroes I Anoshirvan, mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea in his book The War of the Persians without mentioning the image; the precious effigy would have been rediscovered in a niche in the wall that overlooked the city gate.*

*Details of the Saviour's icon, L. Stepanov e S. Kostromitine, Redemption Cathedral, Kremlin, Moscow, 17<sup>th</sup> h century*

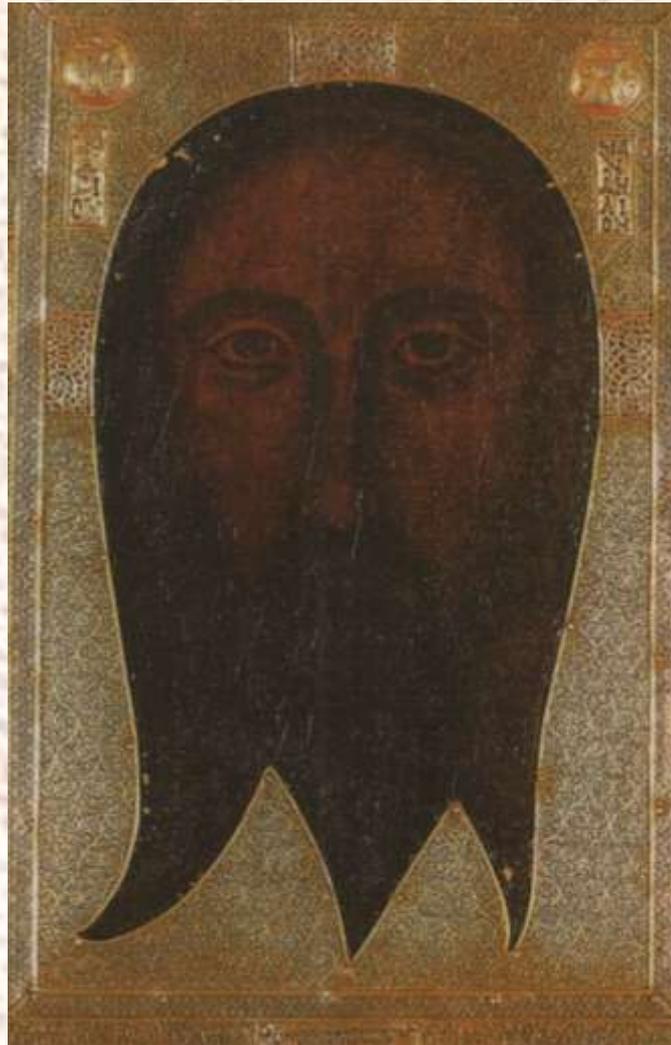


*The image was given the power to have contributed to repel boarders. Testimonials of that can be found in the Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius the Scholastic (594), which is about the liberation of the city from the 544 siege thanks to the sacred representation theóteuctos, «God's work».*

*Details of the Saviour's icon, L. Stepanov e S. Kostromitine, Redemption Cathedral, Cremlin, Moscow, 17<sup>th</sup> century*



*Mandylion of St. Sylvester in Capite, Rome, X-XI century?*



*Mandylion of St. Bartholomew of the Armenians, Genoa, X-XI century?*

*There are still two boards that claim to be the real Edessa image: one in the papal collections in Vatican, which until 1870 was in the church of St. Sylvester in Capite in Rome, and the other in the church of St. Bartholomew of the Armenians in Genoa.*

*Moreover in St. Peter they worshipped a Holy Face that they said it was the one of the Veronica, the woman that according to a 12<sup>th</sup> century tradition would have dried the bloodstained face of Jesus on the Way of Grief.*

*The name Veronica, according to Gervase of Tilbury (13<sup>th</sup> century), comes from «true icon»; the most ancient core of the legend, that goes back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, says that the name of the protagonist is Berenice.*

*Hans Memling,  
Veronica, National  
Gallery of Art,  
Washington DC, 1470*

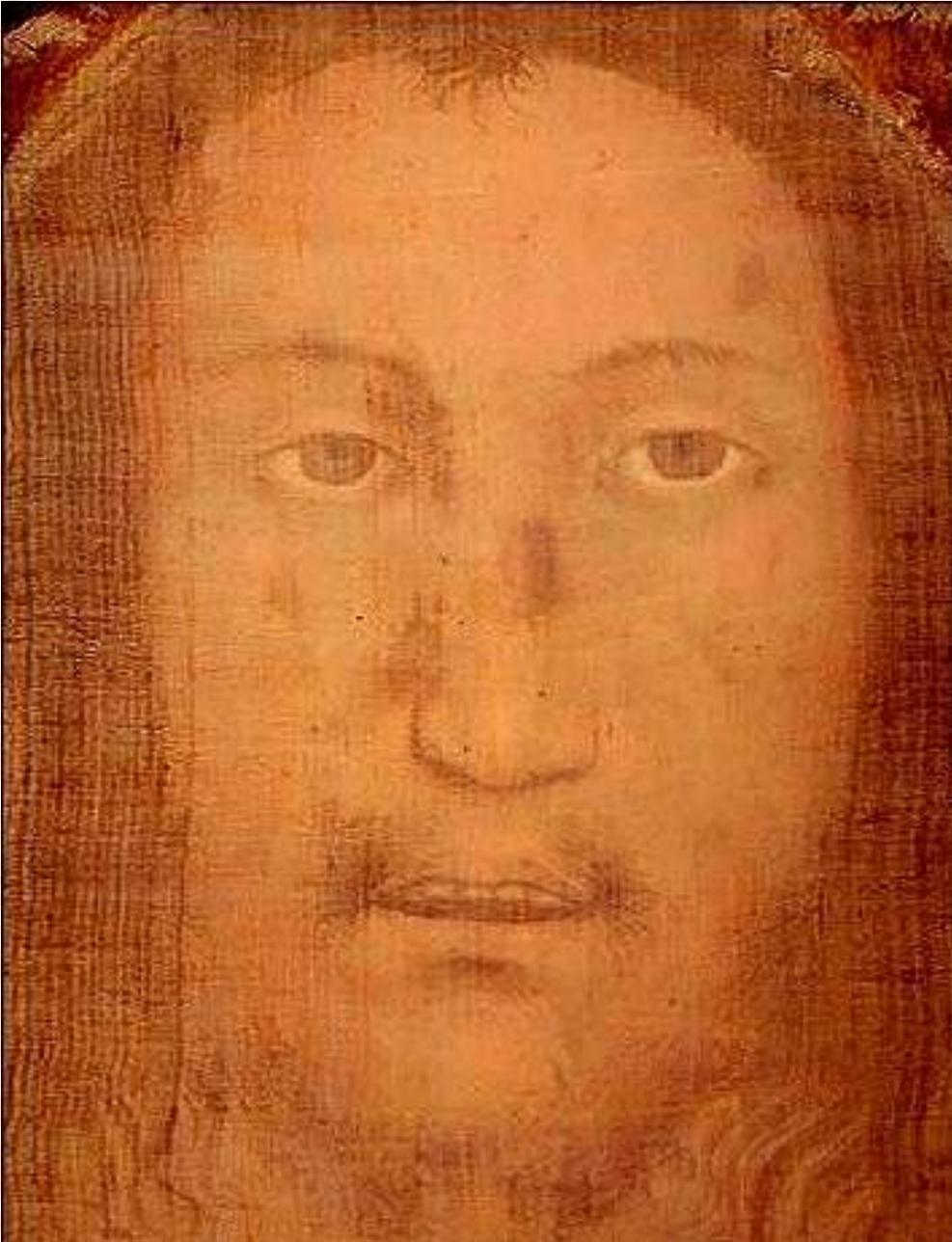




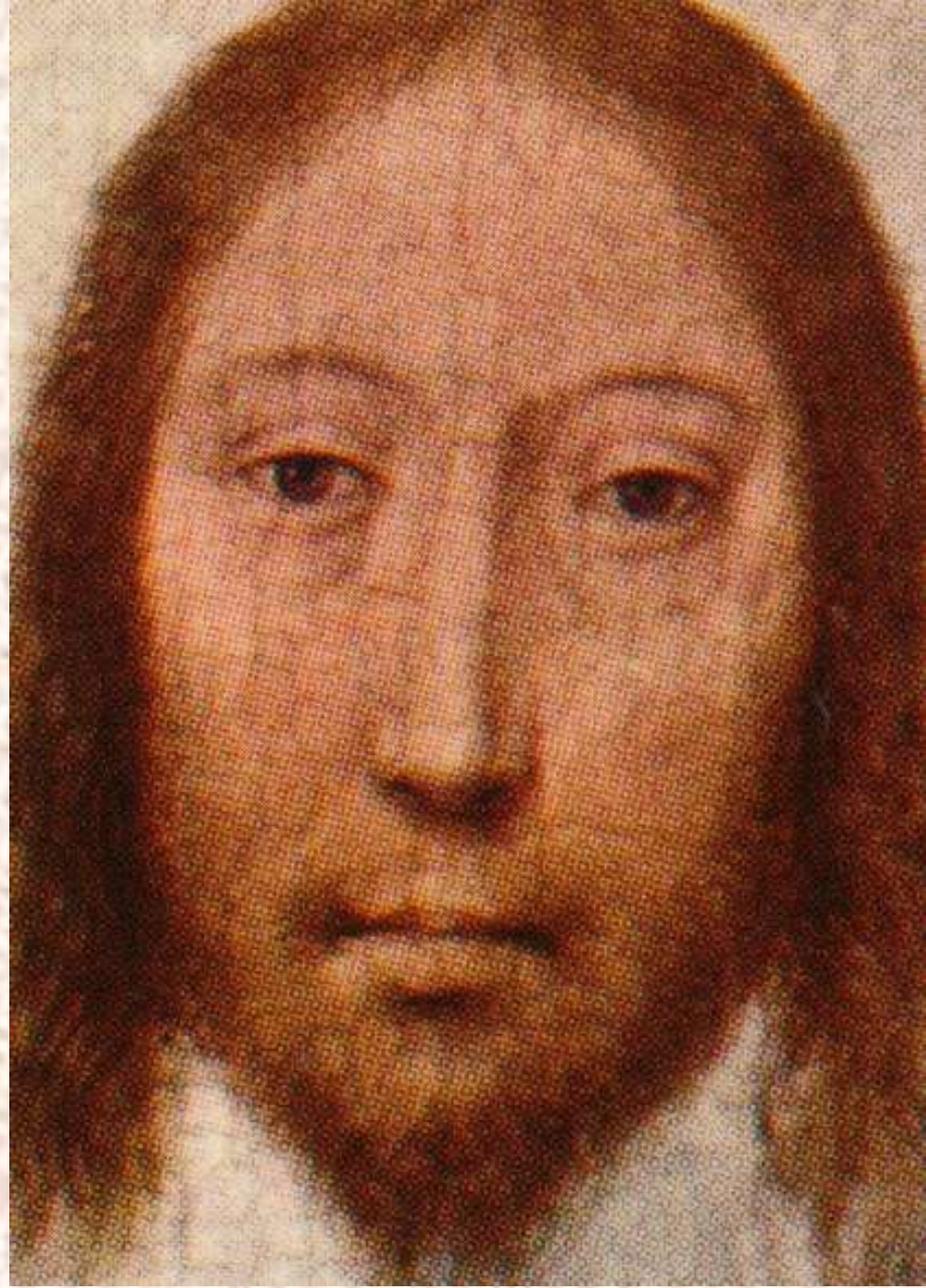
*The Veronica's reliquary is in the chapel of St. Veronica, in the pillar with the same name of the dome of St. Peter, Rome.*



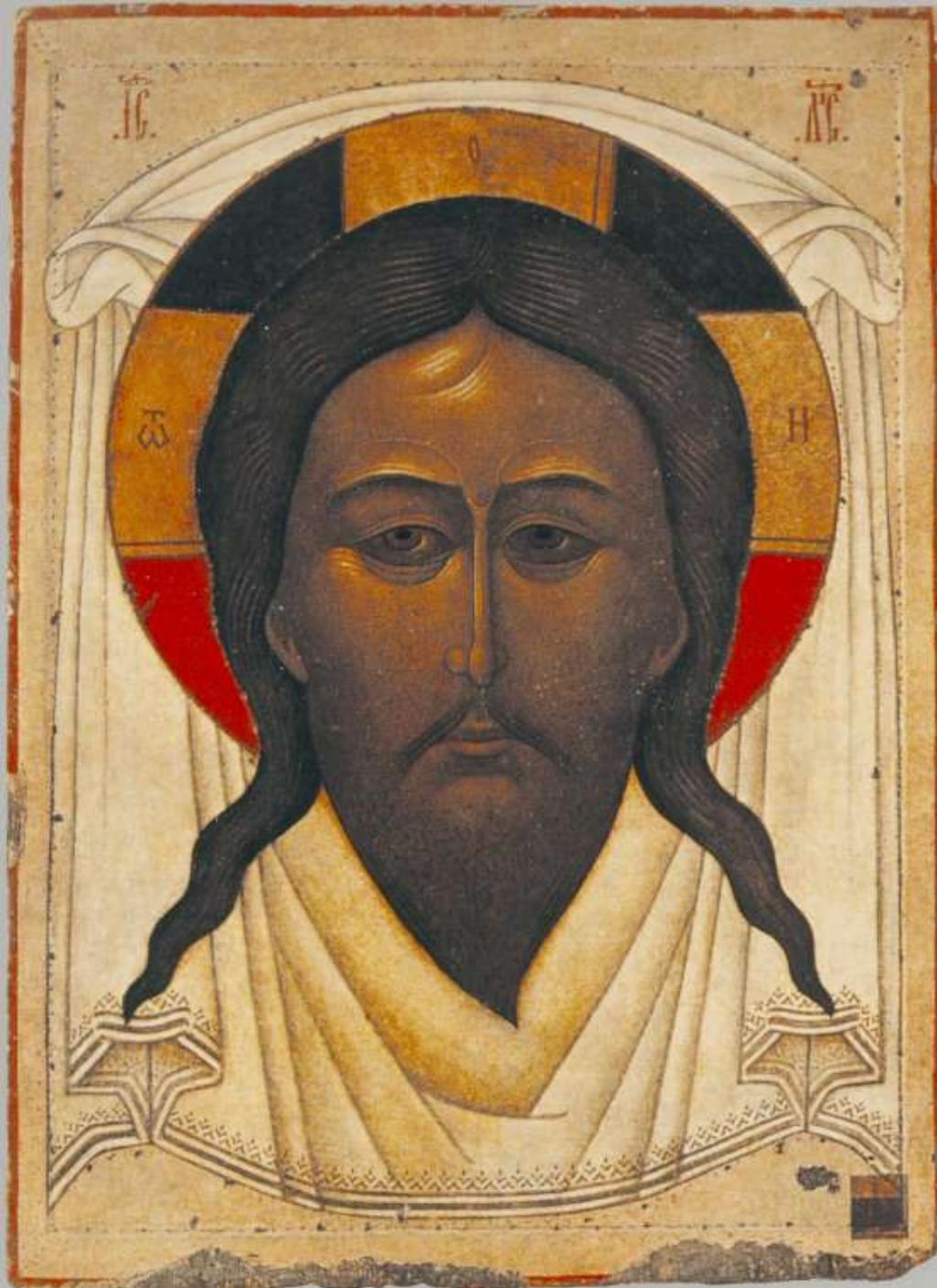
*According to the Jesuit Heinrich Pfeiffer, professor of History of Christian Art at the Papal Gregorian University, the veil of the Veronica would be the acheiropoietos face of Camulia that arrived in Constantinople in 574. Its tracks were lost around 705; in that time it would have been moved to Rome and called veil of the Veronica. This sacred image would have been shown for the last time to the pilgrims in 1601. The original image would have been stolen from Rome in 1618; in that year it would have been moved to Manoppello (PE) where a Holy Face is still worshipped, a veil of fine weaving that can be perfectly overlapped on the Shroud face.*



*This veil could be a painting of the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century.*



*Hans Memling, Veronica, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 1470*



*Four elements are common between the tradition of the Mandylion and the Veronica one: the representation of Christ's face is soon made on a cloth instead of a plank; the image is made through the direct contact with Christ's face; the imprint is produced through water, sweat or blood sweat; extraordinarily different versions of both traditions talk about an image on a linen that includes Jesus' whole body. These stories try to explain the mysterious nature of an image on a piece of cloth, clearly not painted, that appears like the direct imprint of a face. In their following versions they want to account most for the extraordinary nature of the image of the story. These reformulations get closer and closer to the reality of the Shroud and in some sources they start to speak of Jesus' whole body.*

*The Savior with a wet beard,  
Novgorod, Trondheim Cathedral,  
Norway, 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century*

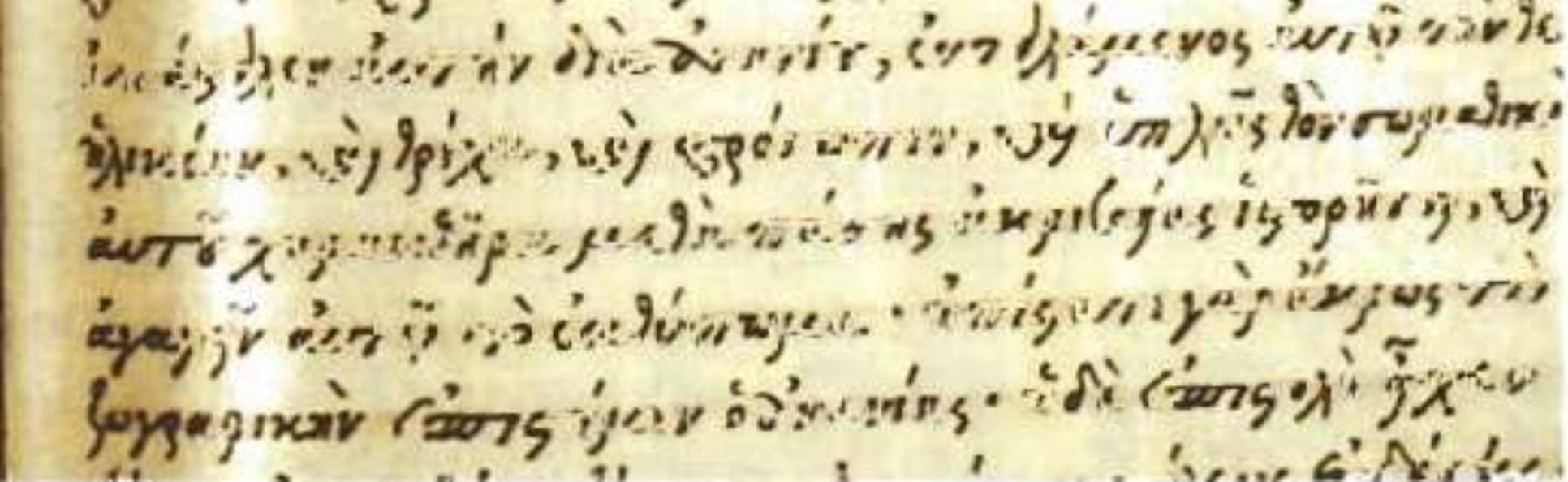
φορ, σοι ἀφοσίωκ ε:  
πικολούθησεν, ως ἀ:  
βραμ ἔχου, τι ψυχή. πᾶ:  
σι καθυπὲκκουσᾶμ, τοῦ  
σωτῆρος προστάγμασι:  
ωτος ὑπερῶνται κῆ,  
τοῦ σώματος οἰτύραμ:  
μοι. σου τῆν κεφα:  
λήν μετὰ τὸ τέλος,  
ἀποτεμόρτες. ἀλλὰ  
ψυχῆς τελευτῶς, κό:  
ρας διαμοίγονται χῶ.  
πίση προσερχόμενοι,  
διολμηδες πανθαύμασε:  
ερπύργιον ἔχουσα, ἡ  
βασιλίσ τῶν πόλεων,  
σε τῆν βασιλίδα καὶ  
κυρίαμ. τρέπη βασι:  
βαρῶν τὰς θηριώδης  
ὄρμας. ῥύεται παμ:  
ταίων πηρασμῶν.  
αἷξ καὶ κρατύνεται,  
θεοκλήτορ πανάμαμε:  
21. 5. σιωεχέθη.  
νοχεθεύτας, λῆλη τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων, ὃ ἕποπε:  
σύττας φθορᾶ. οὐ πα:  
ριδῆν ἡμέχου, πλάσσορ:  
γε καὶ καιμουργέ τοῦ  
χῆμου. ἀλλὰ κῆνάσας

σεαυτοῦ. ὁ ἕψας, καὶ 85  
φάμφο ἐν ὀλοκιάματι  
μου, ὃ ταυπημώματι  
ἀνεπλάσω σου φῶς,  
κάλλος ἕπουδους μοι  
τὸ ἀρχέτυπον.  
γμοούπι, τὸ τῆς βασι:  
λίας, τῆς ἐπουραμίου  
σου, πρὸς κῆ ἡ κῆς δι:  
γαθῆ. τοῦ φθαρτους  
ἐχαμερπηῆς ἀνάγων,  
ὃ τοῖς αἰγλοῖς χερουθια  
ἀπρῶσιτος, συκατῆ:  
θελοι μέχρι ἑἄδου.  
τοῦ σου ἀπόστολον τῶ  
αἰγάρω χῆ, ἐπεμψας  
κυσήριον σοφίζοντα:  
κατιδῶν σου, λόγε σο:  
φία, τοῦ παντοδωᾶ:  
μου πατρός, ὁῦ τοῦ  
ἀοράτου, ἀμαφῆσαιτε  
πρὸ τῶν αἰσῶμων. τὸ  
τῆς ἀκομῆς ὄλον ἀνθρῶ:  
πόμορφον, κατεπλήκτ:  
τε το ὁῦ γιμῶσκων. σαρ:  
κος ὃ αἰματός, ὃ ψυ:  
χῆς μοεράς, προσεπη:  
ληκμένον ὃ το παρχησε:  
πηθῆα, τῆ περι τῆν  
θῆαμ, τοῦ πεποικῆος

*Important indications on the Edessa image can be found in the Synaxáριον, a liturgical book with the lives of the saints of the Orthodox Church, and in the Menaion, that contains in addition hymns and poems. The basic texts of both books originated with Simeon Metaphrastes (10<sup>th</sup> century).*

*In some manuscripts of the Menaion that exist in the monasteries of Mount Athos, that go from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it is written: «looking upon the whole human form of Your image...».*

*Menaion, Iveron 1684 f.85r, Mount Athos*



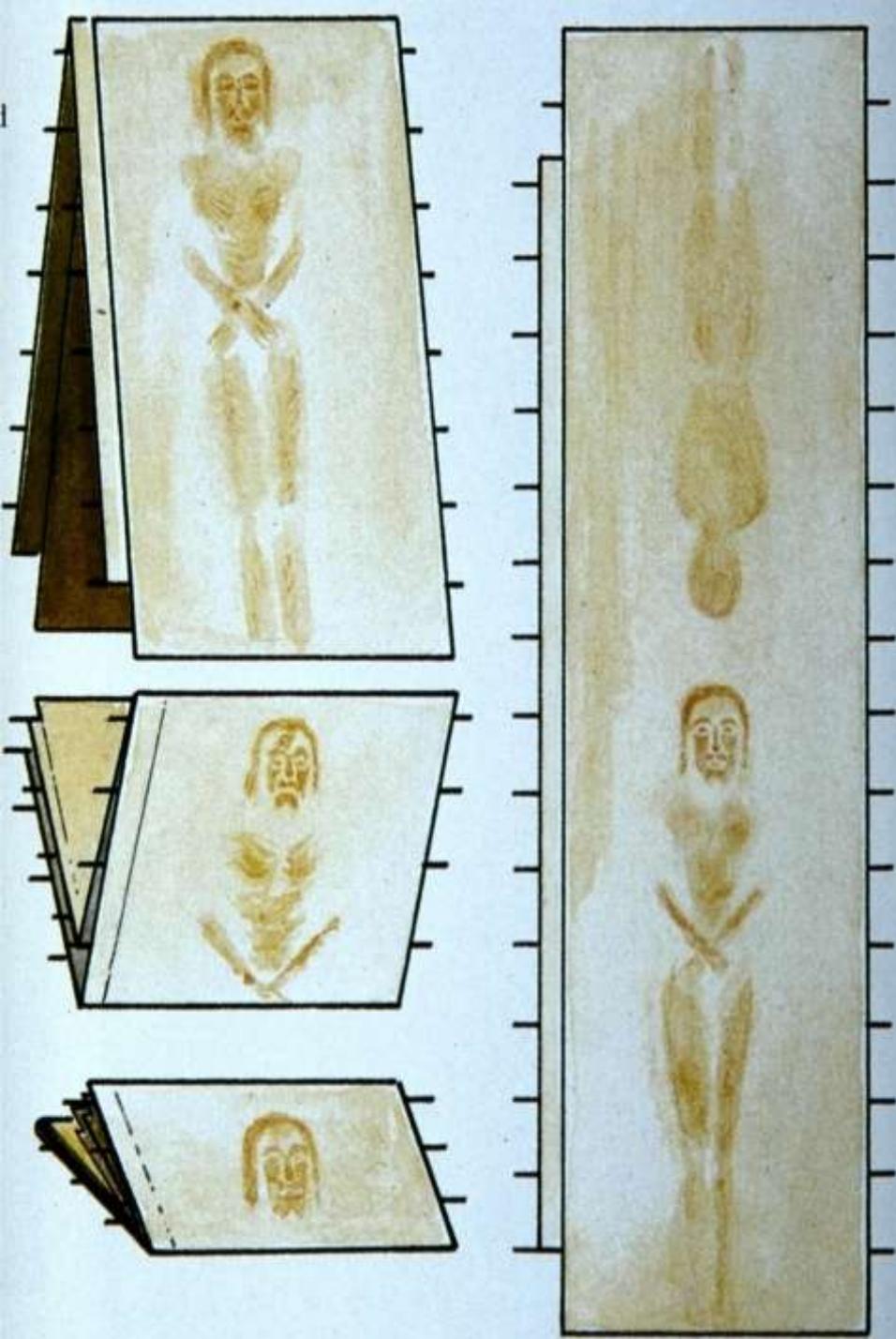
*Synaxarion, Iveron 573, Mount Athos*

*In some manuscripts of the Synaxárium that go from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, still in the monasteries of Mount Athos, Abgar asks Anania to «make a drawing of Jesus, showing in all detail His age, His hair, His face and His whole bodily appearance, as Ananias knew the art of painting very well». We can also read: «In life You wiped Your form onto a shroud, in death You were placed in the final linen shroud».*



*In some representations, like the one in the church of the Annunciation of the monastery of Gradač in Serbia (14<sup>th</sup> century), the Mandylicon is a big rectangle, much more wide than high, in the middle of which just Christ's head can be seen (above). The rest of the surface shows a grill of lozenges, each one with a flower in the middle. At the edges the fringes of the cloth can be seen. The decoration with lozenges that can be seen on the surface of the cloth could be the memory of the gold ornament put there by Abgar. Although on the Mandylicon we can always see just Jesus' face, sometimes the considerable dimensions of the cloth make us understand that it was not a little cloth. As a clear example of this we have the Mandylicon (in the middle) of the church of Christ Pantocrator of the monastery of Dečani in Kosovo (14<sup>th</sup> century) and the Mandylicon (low) of the church of the Panagia Forviotissa of Asinou, Cyprus (14<sup>th</sup> century).*

*Above: Mandylicon, church of the Annunciation, monastery of Gradač, Serbia, 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the middle: Mandylicon, church of Christ Pantocrator, monastery of Dečani, Kosovo, 14<sup>th</sup> century. Low: Mandylicon, church of the Panagia Forviotissa, Asinou, Cyprus, 14<sup>th</sup> century.*



*One could assume that the cloth might have been folded many times, hence the employment of the neologism tetrádiplon; folding the Shroud eight times you get exactly the wide rectangle with the head in the middle that you can see on the copies of the Mandyllion.*

Particularly interesting is the Ms. lat. 2688 of the National Library of Paris, which dates back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the folio 77r we can see a miniature in which the Mandylion is a long cloth that falls down out of its frame.



*The Mandylion moonlit,  
Ms. lat. 2688, f. 77r,  
National Library, Paris,  
13<sup>th</sup> century*





*The Edessa image belonged to the Orthodox/Melkite Church. The Nestorians made a copy of it in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the Monophysites/Jacobites made another in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. According to the Arabian Jacobite historian Yahia ibn Giair, the Edessa image was preserved folded and put between two tiles under the altar of the Great Church of Edessa officiated by the Melkite.*

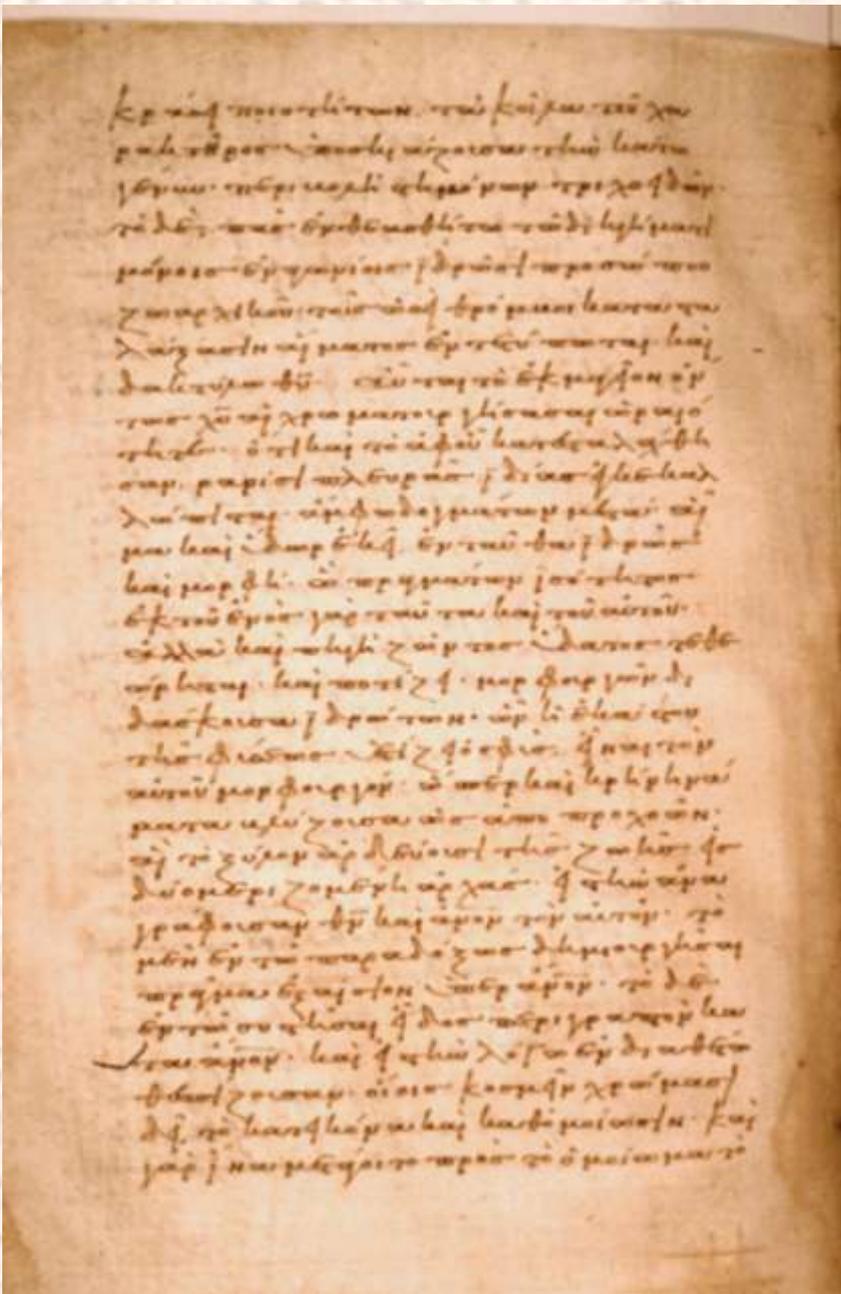


*When the Byzantine emperor Romanus I Lecapenus wanted to take possession of the image, once the diplomatic requests failed, sent the army under the command of the Armenian general John Curcuas. The bishop of Samosata, Abramius, who received the image on behalf of the emperor, was also shown the two copies of the Nestorians and of the Monophysites to verify which one was authentic. But actually all the three confessions thought they had the only authentic icon and they thought that those of the other two communities were copies. One of these images of Christ's face will be taken to Constantinople between 1163 and 1176.*

*Johannes  
Skylitzès  
Manuscript,  
National  
Library,  
Madrid,  
12<sup>th</sup> century*



*The reliquary that contained the precious effigy delivered to Abramius arrived in Constantinople on the 15<sup>th</sup> August 944 surrounded by a triumphal reception. It was put for a first veneration in the church of St. Mary of Blachernae and the following day a solemn procession accompanied the moving of the reliquary through the streets of Constantinople as far as St. Sophia. From here it was moved to the Bukoleon (the imperial palace) and placed in the chapel of St. Mary of the Pharos together with the other relics of the Passion. The event was remembered by a liturgical feast on the anniversary, on the 16<sup>th</sup> August. Some hymns composed for this feast hint at the image, particularly worshipped, to which it is attributed a thaumaturgic power.*



*Codex Vat. Gr. 511, 10<sup>th</sup> century*

*There is another acquisition in favor of the identification of the Edessa image with the Shroud: The Codex Vat. Gr. 511 ff. 143-150v., which dates back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In it is reported the Oration of Gregory, archdeacon and referendarius of the Great Church of Constantinople (St. Sophia). The orator affirms that the image has not been produced with artificial colors, as it is just «splendor». And that is how Gregory explains the imprint: «The splendor - and may everyone be inspired by this narration - has been impressed just by the beads of sweat of the agony flowed from the face which is source of life, dripped down like drops of blood, also like from God's finger. These really are the beauties that produced the coloring of the imprint of Christ, which has been further embellished by the drops of blood dripped from His own side. Both are full of teachings: blood and water there, sweat and image here. What resemblance of the events! These things come from the One and the Same». On the Edessa image, then, you could not see only the face, but also the chest at least until the level of the side.*

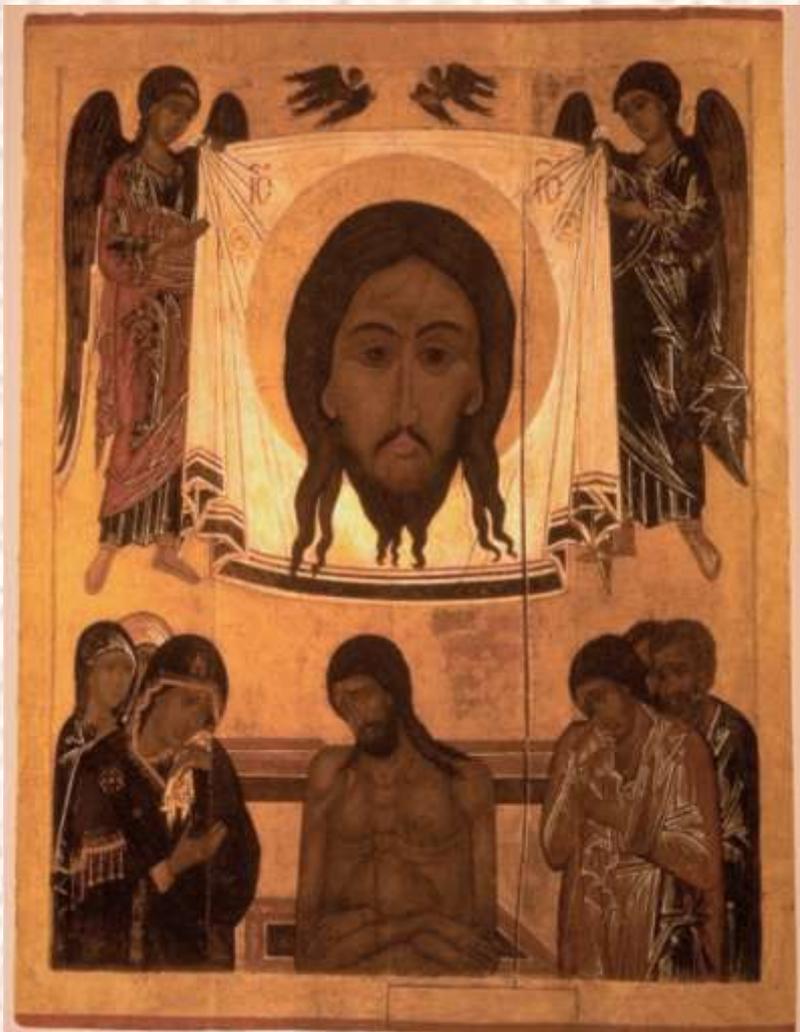


*Imago pietatis, Holy Cross in Jerusalem basilica, Rome, 14<sup>th</sup> century*



*Imago Pietatis, SS. Four Crowned basilica, Rome, 14<sup>th</sup> century*

*In Constantinople the reliquary of the Mandyllion must have been opened and so it became clear that it did not include just the face, but Christ's whole body with the signs of the Passion. The tetrádiplon cloth must have been partly opened: this is the only possible explanation for the artistic creation, during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, of the Imago pietatis, that portrays the dead Christ standing upright in the tomb. A splendid example of this is the Imago pietatis of the basilica of Holy Cross in Jerusalem in Rome, which dates back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Imago pietatis of the basilica of the SS. Four Crowned in Rome belongs to the same period.*

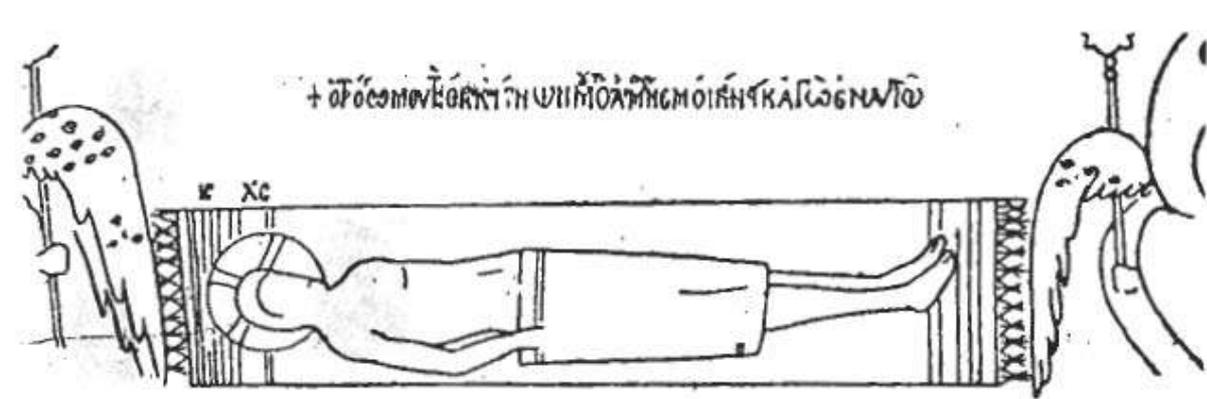


*Imago pietatis, Kolomenskoe Museum, Moscow, 16<sup>th</sup> century*



*Imago Pietatis, sanctuary of the SS. Pity of Cannobio (VB), 15<sup>th</sup> century*

*Another interesting icon is that of the Mandylion together with the Imago pietatis (16<sup>th</sup> century) preserved in the Kolomenskoe Museum in Moscow. Besides the front crossed arms, in these images Jesus always has the head bent on the right side; Pfeiffer noticed that joining together the two folds present in the neck area, you get a flexion of the head right on that side.*



*Sketch by G. Millet of a lost fresco, Church of the Mother of God Life-Giving Spring, Messenia, Peloponnesus, 12<sup>th</sup> century*



*Enamel reliquary, ancient Stroganoff Collection, Ermitage, St. Petersburg, 12<sup>th</sup> century*

*Also the depictions of Jesus' whole body on a sheet begin in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The àèr liturgical veil of the Byzantine ritual is embroidered with the figure of the lying Christ. The fresco in the church of the Mother of God Source of Life in Messenia, in the Peloponnesus, that is the most ancient example of melismòs (the fractio panis) is from that period. At the sides of the cloth you can notice the fringes, which recall the ones present on the ancient depictions of the Mandylion. Of the fresco, now lost, it remains a sketch by G. Millet. Another example, still belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, is on the enamel reliquary of the ancient Stroganoff Collection, today in the Ermitage of St. Petersburg.*



*Epitáfios Thrênos, Immaculate monastery, Andros (Greece), 1657*



*Byzantine Ivory, Victoria & Albert Museum, London 12<sup>th</sup> century*



*Present-day Plaščanica*

*This kind of representation will be then present on the Byzantine liturgical veil called Epitáfios Thrênos (funeral lament) and on the Plaščanica (Sudarium) in the Russian sacred art. The reference to the Shroud is evident also in a Byzantine ivory (12<sup>th</sup> century) preserved in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London.*



*Epitaphios of Stefan Uros II Milutin, King of Serbia (1282 - 1321), Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade*



*Epitaphios of Thessalonica, Museum of the Byzantine Civilization, Salonika, 14th century*

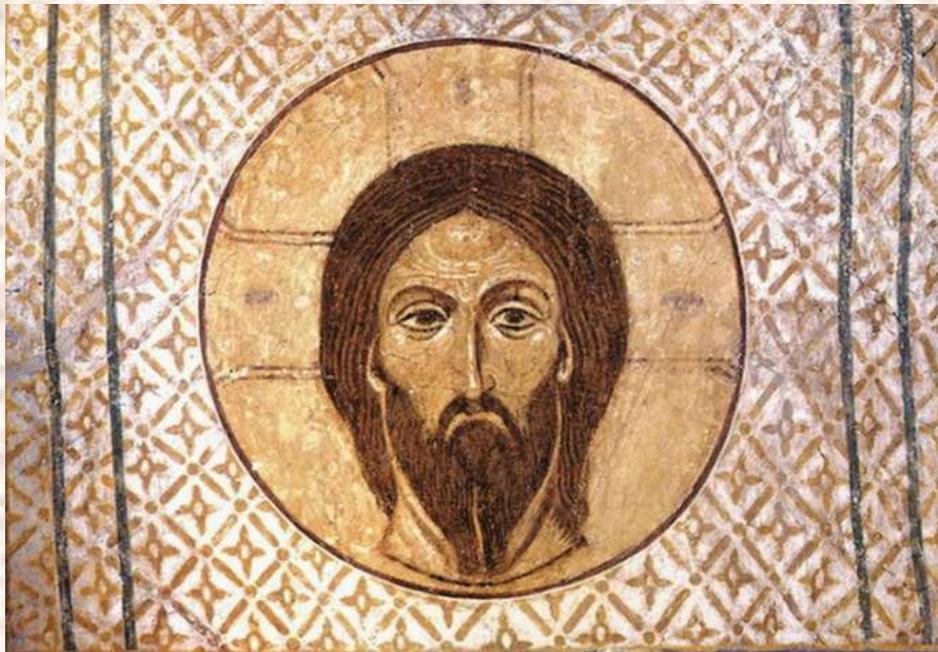


*Epitaphios of Stavronikita Monastery, Mounth Athos, 14th-15th century*

*A precious epitaphios is the veil of Stefan Uros II Milutin, king of Serbia between 1282 and 1321, today preserved in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church of Belgrade. The starry background, present in the most epitaphios, must be noticed. Other very remarkable epitaphios are the one of Thessalonica (14<sup>th</sup> century) preserved in the Museum of the Byzantine Civilization of Salonika and the one of the monastery of Stavronikita on Mount Athos (14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century), both with the herringbone cloth of the Shroud that recalls the original linen of the Shroud.*



*Threnos, S. Pantaleimon Church, Nerezi, Macedonia, 1164*



*Holy Mandylion, Mirozhsky monastery, Pskov, Russia, 12<sup>th</sup> century*

*The fresco of the church of St. Pantaleimon in Nerezi, in Macedonia, that dates back to 1164, is very interesting: Jesus is portrayed lying on a large sheet that presents geometrical drawings that look like the ones that often appear in the reproductions of the Edessa image.*



*Holy Face, cathedral of Laon, France, 13<sup>th</sup> century*



*Psalter of Melisenda, f. 9r, British Library, London, 1131-1143*

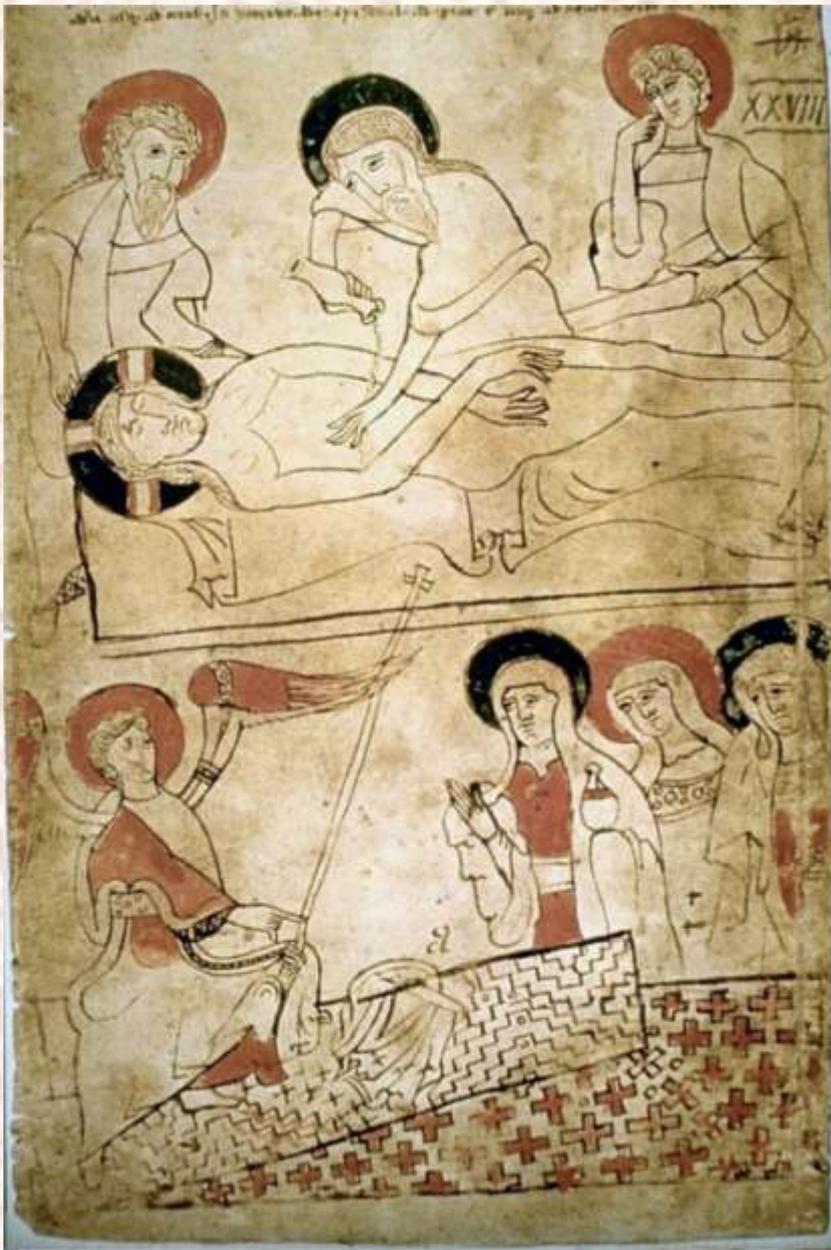
*Another feature present in the iconography of the Edessa image is a stylized floral decoration; you can see it, for example, in the Holy Face (13<sup>th</sup> century) preserved in the cathedral of Laon, France. A similar motif can be found in Christ's deposition sheet of the Psalter of Melisenda f. 9r (1131-1143), preserved in the British Library of London.*



*Pray Codex, f. 28r, National Library, Budapest, 1192-1195*

*A miniature of the Pray Codex of the National Library of Budapest, that dates back to 1192-1195, is clearly inspired by the Shroud. In the upper scene of the folio 28r it is portrayed the unction of Christ, laid down from the cross on a sheet: the body is completely naked and the hands cross to cover the lower part of the abdomen. The thumbs are not shown. On the forehead there is a sign that recalls the similar trickle of blood that can be observed on the Shroud.*





*Pray Codex, f. 28r, National Library, Budapest, 1192-1195*



*Shroud copy, collegiate church of St. Gommaire, Lierre, Belgium, 1516*

*In the lower scene we can see the arrival at the tomb of the pious women, the mirofore, to whom the angel shows the empty sheet.*

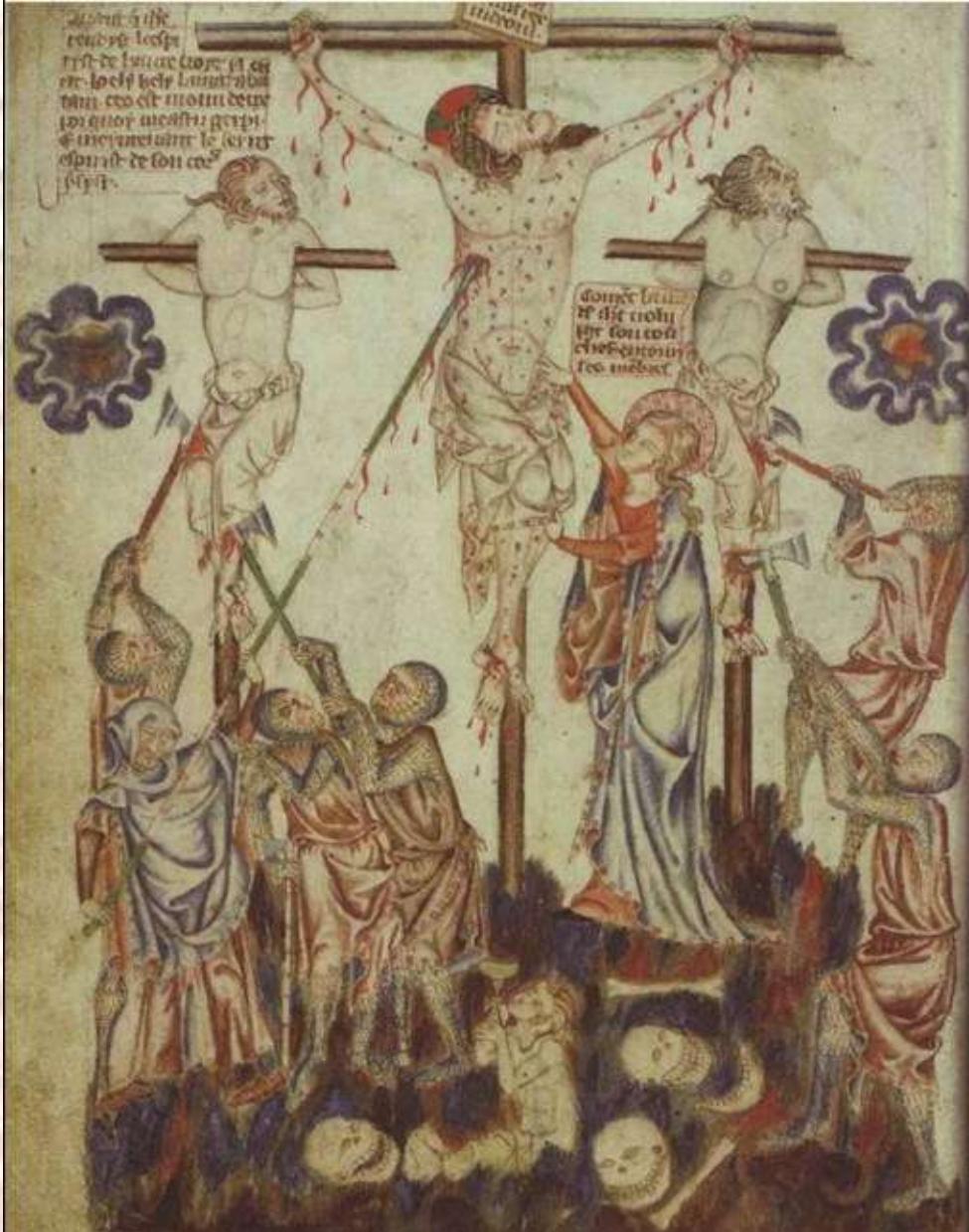
*The upper part of the empty sheet has a pattern that imitates the herringbone cloth of the Shroud, while little red crosses cover the lower part. Under the angel's foot you can notice two red winding marks that could represent two trickles of blood. In both parts of the cloth you can see some little circles, arranged in the same sequence of a group of four burning holes that on the Shroud is repeated four times. This damage to the relic is certainly prior to the 1532 fire: in fact these signs are reproduced on a pictorial copy of 1516 preserved in the collegiate church of St. Gommaire in Lierre in Belgium.*



*It is impressing the recall to the Shroud in four miniatures of the Bible of Holkham preserved in the British Library of London, an Anglo-Norman manuscript made in London in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the folio 29v there is the scene of the scourging and the signs of the strokes are evident on the whole naked body. In the scene of the folio 32r there is the crucifixion and the feet are nailed in a twisted position.*



*Holkham Bible, British Library, London, 14<sup>th</sup> century*



*Jesus crucified is still naked and in the scene of the folio 32v the Virgin Mary takes off her veil to cover His hips. The blood from the transfixed side falls down abundantly along Longinus' spear and in the folio 33r there is the representation of the Deposition.*



*Stuttgart Psalter, fol. 43v, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, 9<sup>th</sup> century*

*The portrayal of the naked Jesus during the scourging, with His body full of wounds, can be also found on the Stuttgart Psalter (9<sup>th</sup> century).*



*Another detail of the Shroud influenced the artists for the representation of the crucifixion. On the relic it seems to see one leg shorter than the other: it is the left one, which stayed more bent on the cross due to the superimposition of the left foot on the right one and fixed in this way by the cadaveric stiffness. Starting from the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Jesus is not portrayed any more rigid and upright, but with the head bent on the right side and the body moved on one side, so that it describes a movement, defined by the scholars «Byzantine curve». The artists, convinced by influence of the Shroud that Jesus had a shorter leg, had to give a curve to the hips to get the feet nailed in the same height. An example of this is the crucifix by Cimabue (13<sup>th</sup> century) preserved in the church of St. Dominic in Arezzo.*

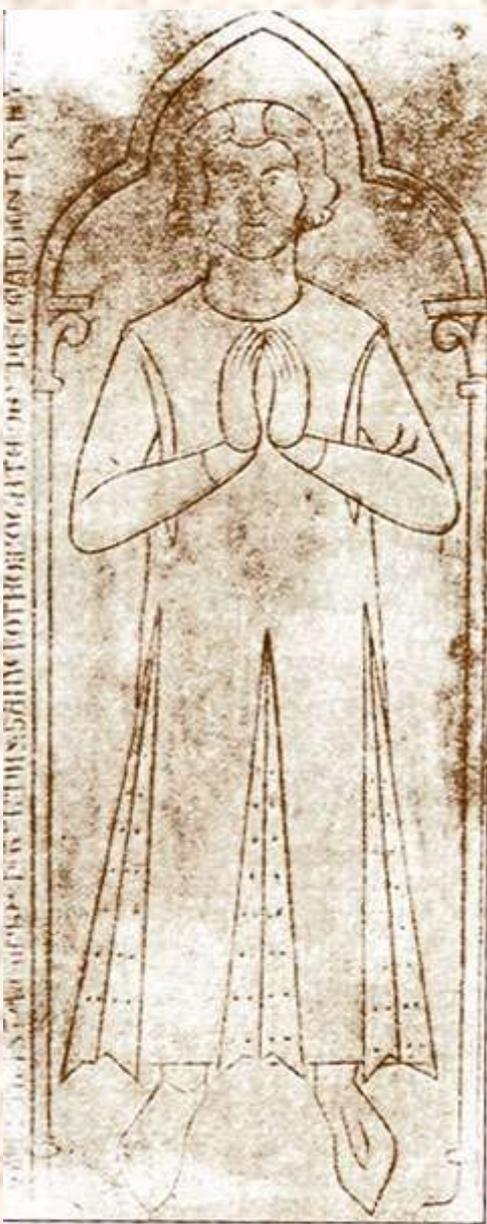
*Cimabue's crucifix, church of St. Dominic, Arezzo, 13<sup>th</sup> century*



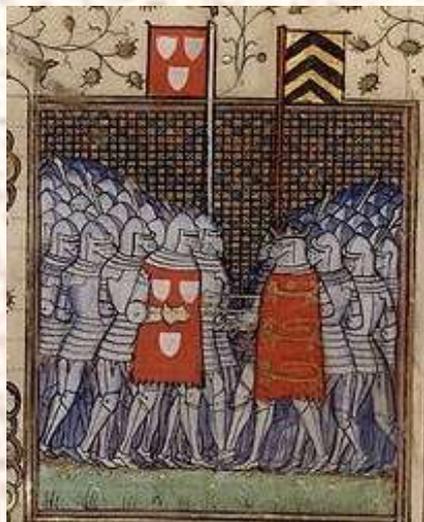
ne ne crevret v' mie. Et entre chet  
autres en eue -j- autre <sup>des</sup> moult q' on  
apelow me dame sainte marie de  
blakerne. ou li sydoines la ou n' es  
sires fu enuolepet iestou. q' cascun  
des venres se drechoit t' d'zoi. si q' on  
uxoit bien veir le figure n're seigneur.  
ne ne seut on onqs. ne gu ne fūchoit  
q' chū sydoines de vint. que le vile fu  
p'se. Et si en iavoit vne autre des abciēs

*Robert de Clari, La conquête de Constantinople,  
Royal Library, Copenhagen, 13<sup>th</sup> century*

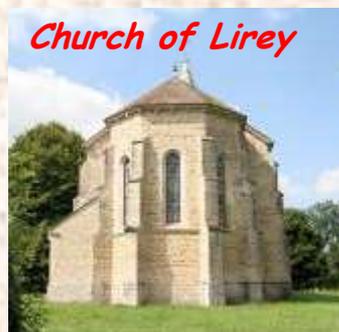
*In his work La conquête de Constantinople, Robert de Clari, chronicler of the IV Crusade, wrote about the wonders that could be seen before the city fell (12<sup>th</sup> April 1204) in the hands of the Latin Crusaders: among these, there was a church called «St. Mary of Blachernae, where was the Shroud (Sydoines) in which Our Lord had been wrapped, that every Friday was raised upright, so that it was possible to see well the figure of Our Lord. No one, nor Greek nor French, knew what happened to this Shroud when the city was conquered».*



*Othon de La Roche's  
grave-stone, Seveux  
church, France, 1234*



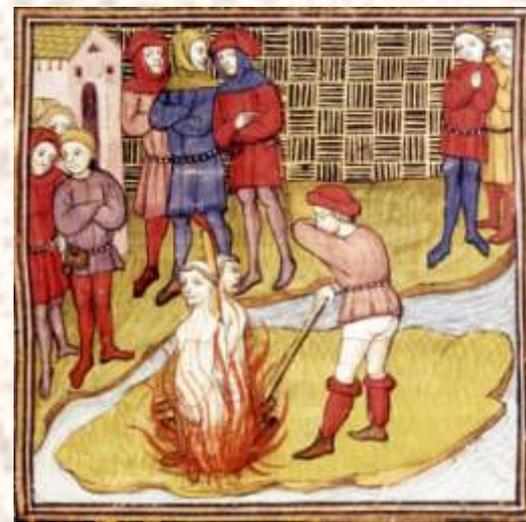
*Geoffroy de Charny  
confronts Edward III in  
Calais in 1349, Chroniques  
de Froissart, National  
Library, Paris, fr. 2662,  
fol. 172v, 15<sup>th</sup> century*



*Church of Lirey*



*Medallion of the Shroud  
in Lirey, Cluny Museum,  
Paris, 14<sup>th</sup> century*



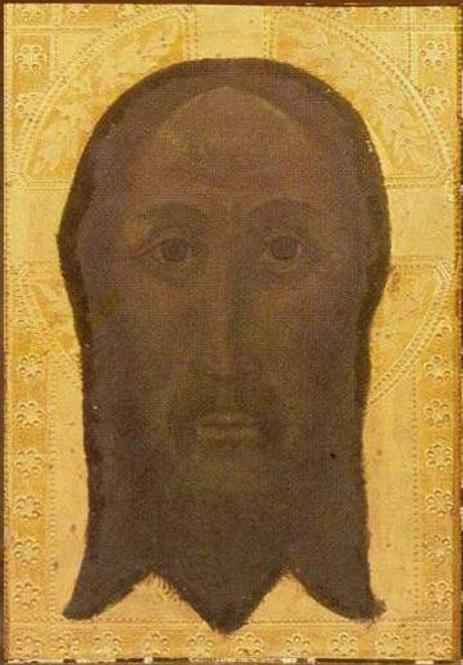
*Templars condemned to the  
stake in Paris, Grandes  
Chroniques de France ou de St.  
Denis, Biritish Library, 20 C.  
VII, f.48r, London, 14<sup>th</sup> century*

*Probably Othon de La Roche, Latin Duke of Athens, who had been one of the protagonists of the IV crusade, brought in France the venerated sheet. About the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the Shroud appeared in Lirey, in France, in possession of Geoffroy de Charny, whose wife, Jeanne de Vergy, was a descendant of Othon de la Roche. Moreover Geoffroy de Charny had the same name, and was probably a relative, of a Templar who ended up on a stake in 1314. According to Wilson, the relic could have been kept and worshipped for a while by Templars.*



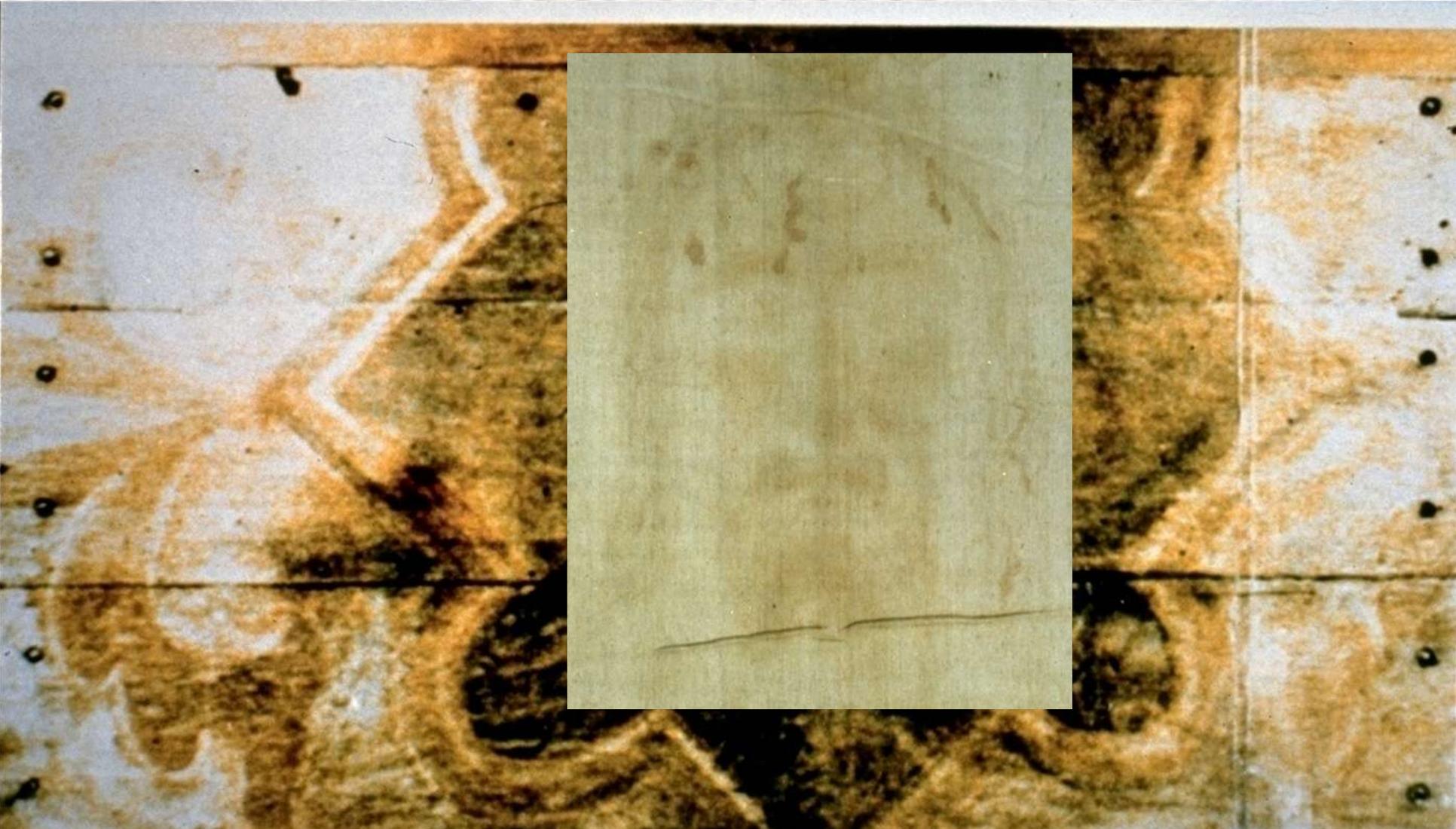
*Templecombe face, England, 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century*

*During the Second World War, an interesting representation has been found on a panel made of oak wood in Templecombe, in England. The place takes its name from the fact that from 1185 until the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century it was the site of a Templar Preceptory. On the panel there is a bearded face, whose borders are blurred.*

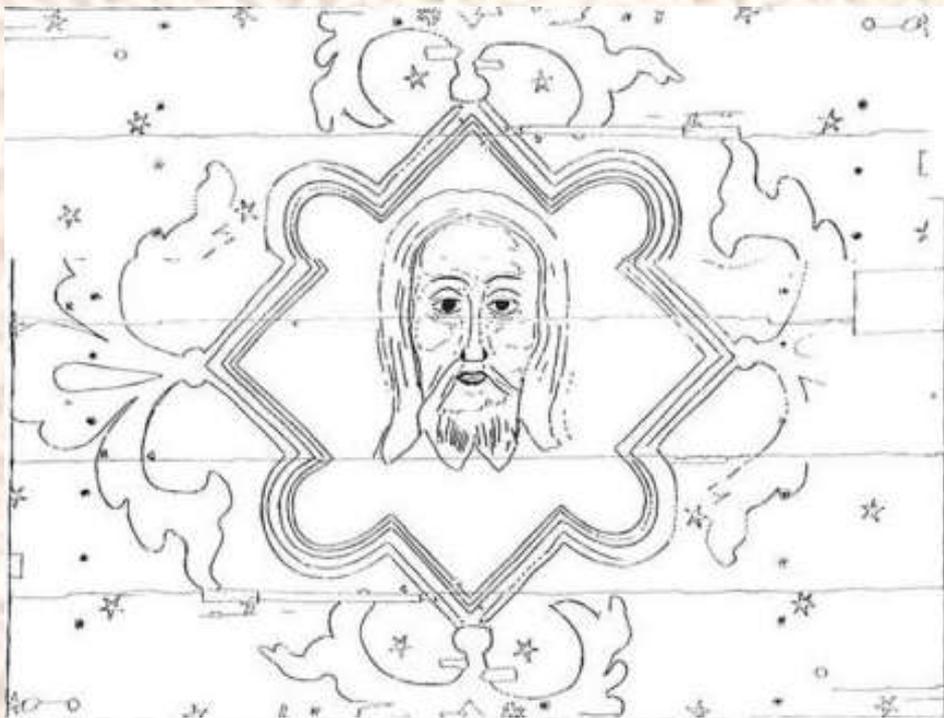


*Templecombe face, England, 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century and the Santo Rostro of Jaén cathedral, Spain,, 14<sup>th</sup> century*

*There are no doubts that it represents Jesus: you just have to confront it with the Santo Rostro, a 14<sup>th</sup> century holy face preserved in the cathedral of Jaén, in Spain.*



*And it is unequivocally similar to the Shroud: with the technique of the superimposition in polarized light 125 points of congruence between the two images have been found.*



*Reconstruction of the Templecombe panel*



*Epitaphios of the Voivode Vasile Lupu, Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos, 1651-2*

*The Templecombe panel could have been the cover of a wooden box in which the Shroud was kept. It is interesting to notice that when it was discovered, the panel had bright colors, bright blue and red. Moreover in the reconstruction we can notice a starry background. This detail recalls what Simeon of Thessalonica (15<sup>th</sup> century) wrote in the De Sacra liturgia: «At the end the priest covers the altar with the epitaphios. This symbolizes the firmament, where is the star, and it also recalls the funeral shroud, which wrapped Jesus' body sprinkled with myrrh: the mystery is presented to us like on a painted board».*



*The Holy Mandylion, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, 14<sup>th</sup> century*

*Still today on a venerated relic we contemplate the features, mysteriously impressed, of the Man of Sorrows, who reveals Himself to those who has clear eyes to see beyond the woof of the ancient linen.*