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The Manoppello Icon the prototype of images of Christ

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the prototype of images
of Christ



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Introduction

This work is the result of research which in large measure was financed by Gdańsk University as part of the research grant allocated for this purpose. The research, conducted into the Manoppello Veil, was undertaken almost a year after the first reports appeared in the media on this subject in 2006.¹ The media were then informing the public about the surprising qualities of the Veil's image and also about the image being a twin object to that of the Turin Shroud. One of the most intriguing pieces of the media news was the information that the Manoppello Veil was made of byssus, 'the most expensive fabric of antiquity'², having qualities very rare in nature, such as limited colouring susceptibility which prevents the making of multi-tone images on it. Thus, it was puzzling that, on a fabric woven from byssus, there was an image of great richness and nuances of colour.

Some items of information given in the media news turned out to be so imprecise or even altogether false that it became imperative to verify them scientifically.³ The research project concerning the Manoppello Veil image emerged simultaneously with the setting up of the Semiotics of Image and Audio-Visual Techniques Unit, in 2008, and was immediately implemented. But the basic objective of the newly formed Unit was not to verify all the details appearing in the media in connection with the announcement of the Manoppello Veil subject, but to explain a few detailed issues beyond the media's attention. Speaking about the phenomenon of the image changing its character (consisting among others in the

¹ P. Badde, *Boskie Oblicze. Całun z Manoppello [God's Face. The Veil of Manoppello]*, transl. A. Kuć, Radom 2006. See also: A. Stein, *Autoportret Jezusa [Jesus' self-portrait]* in "Ozon", no. 22(59), 6/2006, and M. Piotrowski, *Największy cud jaki posiadamy [The greatest miracle we have]*; in "Miłujcie się" ["Love one another"], 4/2006.

² M. Piotrowski, op. cit., p. 4.

³ One of the untrue pieces of news propagated by the media was that byssus is characterised by the following features: it is indissoluble, fireproof, resistant to 'the influence of alcohol, ether, diluted acids and lye.' See: A. Stein, op. cit., p. 36.

changeability of colours and tones appearing on the Veil at a steady point of observation) and the obverse and reverse side qualities demonstrating the same degree of colour saturation. Initially, the purpose was to analyse the described image qualities by concentrating on its physical determinants. When it turned out that the image has no counterpart considering its physical characteristics, we also undertook the Manoppello Veil image analysis by concentrating on its formal and structural qualities.

The departure point for our analyses was the work of Father Andreas Resch, pointing to the influence of the Manoppello Veil image aesthetics on the aesthetics of the early Christian images of Christ.⁴ The above issue relates also to the typology of images of Jesus Christ, which finally became the main object of our research, considering its relation to the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the image's changing character. The outcome of research on this latter phenomenon demonstrated how much impact this typology had on icon artists and painters who drew their inspiration from the Veil. The arguments in this paper for the recognition of the Manoppello Veil as the pattern/model for the oldest representations of the face of Christ in the Western and Eastern traditions follow from observing how the Veil's image changing character features converge with analogical features reproduced on artistic images of Christ in the iconographic tradition.

In parallel to the empirical and structural research, we researched the Veil image specifically as an *acheiropoietos* image. This Greek term refers to images not made by human hand, including, among others, the images on the Turin Shroud and Guadalupe Tilma, namely the acheiropits that had been studied earlier. It must also be mentioned that, while examining images on acheiropits, it was not possible to separate *acheiropoietos*-images from acheiropits-objects inseparably connected to them and being the base for them. Because there is considerable freedom in passing judgement as to whether a researched object belongs to the group of acheiropits or not, the research team undertook the establishment of the criteria for recognising a particular object as an acheiropit within the frame of the Unit's research as well. Fragments have been include fragments of the paper by Karolina Aszyk presented at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University last year during the seminar entitled "Visual Theology in the Body" organised by the Institute of Knowledge about Culture.

The final thematic thread of our work is the issue of the theology of the icon with reference to the image of the Manoppello Veil, which is a selection of excerpts from the work on the theology of *acheiropoietos* images prepared by Zbigniew Treppa. In this part of the book, the Manoppello Veil image is analysed as a materialised sign of God's revelation with the meanings encoded in the icon without the mediation of a hagiographer or an icon artist.

⁴ A. Resch, *Oblicze Chrystusa. Od Całunu Turynskiego do Chusty z Manoppello*. [The face of Christ. From the Turin Shroud to the Manoppello Veil], transl. A. Kuć, Radom 2006.

Subjecting the Manoppello Veil image to analysis, a certain strain was experienced between two ways of interpreting: one based on empirical experience and the other resulting from intellectual reflection. The strain between research based on empirical experience and analysis resulting from intellectual reflection appear specifically in the case of all known acheiropits. In the case of these objects, the strain between the two cognitive orders appear mainly when an attempt is made to explain either the origin of the images visible on them or the technique of their making, or the nature of phenomena responsible for their origin. The difficulty between the two ways of interpreting the phenomena does not result in a conflict between the drawn conclusions but may cause a conflict of world views, philosophy or ideology in the people who research the mentioned objects or just interpret the results of research of many disciplines engaged in an explanation of their unique properties.

If we look from different cognitive perspectives when interpreting the phenomena connected with the image origin on the *acheiropoietos* objects and research the objects themselves in full spectrum, it will turn out that the difficulties mentioned above pertain only to methodological issues and to the proper understanding of the scope of competence of each discipline taking part in the research. With reference to acheiropit objects, in many cases the competence of natural science ends at the point where humanities take up the research in a competent way. In the face of the inability to explain insoluble problems within the scope of represented disciplines, some representatives of natural sciences do not pursue their research further but their results are utilised by representatives of the humanities.

To illustrate this issue we will give an example from the history of research into the image on the Tilma of Guadalupe, whose properties are impossible to explain in the categories of the known laws of physics because it is even impossible to answer the question as to what is responsible for the colour of the threads making up this image.⁵ This does not mean that the rational mind is to be satisfied with the statement that the image on the Tilma of Guadalupe is only the product of an illusion. At that particular moment, the research into the Tilma was taken over by the humanities. The history of the engagement of various disciplines belonging to the humanities in the research of other acheiropits starts in a similar way.

Also, in the case of other acheiropits, contemporary research methods by means of natural science tools are unable to answer the question about the character of the structure of the images on them. For example, the only thing which can be said with any certainty about

⁵ At the present stage of development in engineering in the case of the Tilma of Guadalupe, natural sciences do not find any answer to the question of the origin and kind of pigments responsible for the colour of the threads. This question was put many years ago by a Nobel prize-winner, a German professor representing the area of organic chemistry, Richard Kuhn, who examined the threads from the Tilma of Guadalupe. According to this scientist, "There is no technique of colouring in these threads. The materials which were used to produce something which resembles colours are not known to science. These are not components of animal, plant or mineral origin." See: F. Johnston, *The Wonder of Guadalupe*, Mexico D.F. 1981, p.121.

the structure of the best researched acheiropit object, namely the Turin Shroud, is that it is impossible to falsify.⁶

The results of the research conducted in the ENEA centre in Frascati by a team of Italian scientists are significant. Using ultraviolet radiation, they strove to make an image similar to that of the Shroud. Their attempts to create a reproduction of the image of Christ demonstrated that 34 billion of power watts should be used for such an experiment on a total area of canvas with the dimensions of 4.36 metres by 1.10 metres.⁷

The history of the Turin Shroud shows how many problems were connected with matters and which impossible to explain from the point of view of natural sciences which were became possible due to intellectual reflection. This concerns the issues defined as contradictory or impossible to explain, from which however rational conclusions could be drawn, for instance on the ground of theological reflection.

An example of the above issue may be the undamaged traces of clotted blood on the surface of the Shroud and the lack of the body from which the blood comes. Although medical sciences cannot interpret that paradoxical situation when there is no body and simultaneously the shape and form of the clotted blood traces indicate that the body could not have been torn from the canvas; this fact, which is completely incomprehensible for science, is explained by theology, by the body penetrating through the linen and rising, which is defined by one simple word: "resurrection". At that moment, theology prompts the rational mind to think that what is simple in itself should not be overcomplicated, although it may be difficult to accept, especially if one considers the natural type of cognition to be the only criterion for understanding phenomena.

It should be noticed that the above difficulty is not a novelty in the relation between various disciplines of natural sciences on the one hand and human rationality on the other. The greatness of science, however, is manifested in the fact that, in spite of methodological differences, its various branches serve to pursue the truth albeit by different methods. However, are the times gone when relations between various ways of pursuing the truth clash because of ideology? We may have the impression, while looking into the history of the research of an acheiropit, the Turin Shroud, that the apparent conflict between various branches of science was transferred from the level of high science onto the level of the media, where over and over again big guns are brought out to discredit the imaginary competitor.

⁶ The research is still continuing. The Frascati ENEA Research Centre conducts very interesting research which, among other things, confirmed that it is groundless to cite the results of radiocarbon tests with regard to the Turin Shroud. Presently, at least two solutions of a scientific explanation for the process of originating the image of the body on the surface of the Shroud are being considered. In May 2010, in Frascati, during the conference which was mentioned above, the concept of O. Scheuermann, F. Lattarulo and G. Fanti was presented, indicating the so-called corona discharge as responsible for the origin of the body image. Another concept by Paolo di Lazzaro from the ENEA Research Centre assumes that the body of the Shroud man may have emitted the ultraviolet type of radiation.

⁷ It is the power which makes it impossible to reproduce the whole Shroud image with the use of just one laser because it is not generated by any source of VUV light (void ultraviolet radiation).

In conclusion, we may say that natural sciences by themselves, limited to the procedures researching repetitive phenomena, have a substantial role to fulfil in learning about *acheiropoietos* images even if they yield contradictory data about them. The rational mind allows the use for analyses of the facts which may be useless from the point of view of natural sciences in order to draw from them creative conclusions. Analysing the Manoppello Veil image, we had a chance to see how the relation is formed between the two above-mentioned cognitive systems with reference to this unique object without infringing their methodological differences.

1.

The state of research concerning the Manoppello Veil's base structure and hypotheses concerning the origin of the image

Before Giulio Fanti from the Mechanical Engineering Department of Padua University declared that the material from which the Manoppello Veil is made may be linen, the unit's our opinion about the type of the image's base was founded on the diagnosis of Chiara Vigo, a world-famous specialist in the creation of byssus fabrics.⁸ Until that moment, the nature of the Manoppello Veil base material seemed to have been definitely determined from the perspective of the media news. It must be noted that in articles and programmes the Manoppello Veil is still spoken about as a byssus object with unflinching certainty while the information spread about byssus itself is at least partially untrue.

In May 2010, in the ENEA Centre of New Technology and Energy in Frascati (Italy), Fanti's hypothesis was presented at an international conference on *acheiropoietos* images.⁹ Fanti's declaration cannot be treated in terms of scientific argument or opinion because, to support his thesis, the Italian scientist used arguments based on a subjective assessment of a photograph showing fabric threads in polarised light, which, according to specialists in physics and chemistry, give an insufficient basis to decide that the base material of the Manoppello Veil image may be linen.

What kind of fabric is being dealt with then in the case of the Manoppello Veil: is it a linen fabric, as Fanti suggests, or fabric made of byssus, as Vigo stated many years ago?

⁸ The most prestigious museums storing ancient fabrics from byssus use Chiara Vigo's opinions and the byssus threads made by her to restore the exhibits.

⁹ The full name of the conference was the International Workshop on the Scientific Approach to *Acheiropoietos* Images.

It seems that the findings of the scholar who became famous a few years ago researching the Turin Shroud and discovering an image on its outside (analogical to the one on the inside of the linen which has been known for almost two thousand years¹⁰) cannot be ignored and neither can the diagnosis of the only person at present who has the ability to produce byssus (from the threads which are very difficult to obtain and are produced from the excretion of a mollusc, a species of bivalve named *pinna nobilis* living in the Mediterranean Sea) and whose family has been producing fabrics from this thread for generations.

Trying to resolve this problem observation was undertaken: the influence of lighting on the look of byssus and linen. The way in which light passes through the threads of byssus seems close to what may be observed in the photographic close-up of the Manoppello Veil on a scale of 8:1 [photo 1] using the method of illuminating the object and changing the angle of light by about 25° with reference to the initial position, with the steady position of the camera. Other than in the case of the analogical observation of a linen thread, when the effect of “passing” light through the fibre can be seen [photo 2], on the byssus thread the effect of “sliding” light can be seen [photo 3], which seems to resemble the effects on the Manoppello Veil’s surface. It is not enough to say definitely that, in the case of the Manoppello Veil, we are dealing with byssus but it brings to mind the idea that the case is similar when the surfaces of byssus and linen fibres are observed through an electronic microscope [photos 4, 5]¹¹: the structure of the byssus fibre, more so than when the structure of linen is observed, resembles the structure of the surface of the fibres which make up the threads of the fabric of the Manoppello Veil¹².

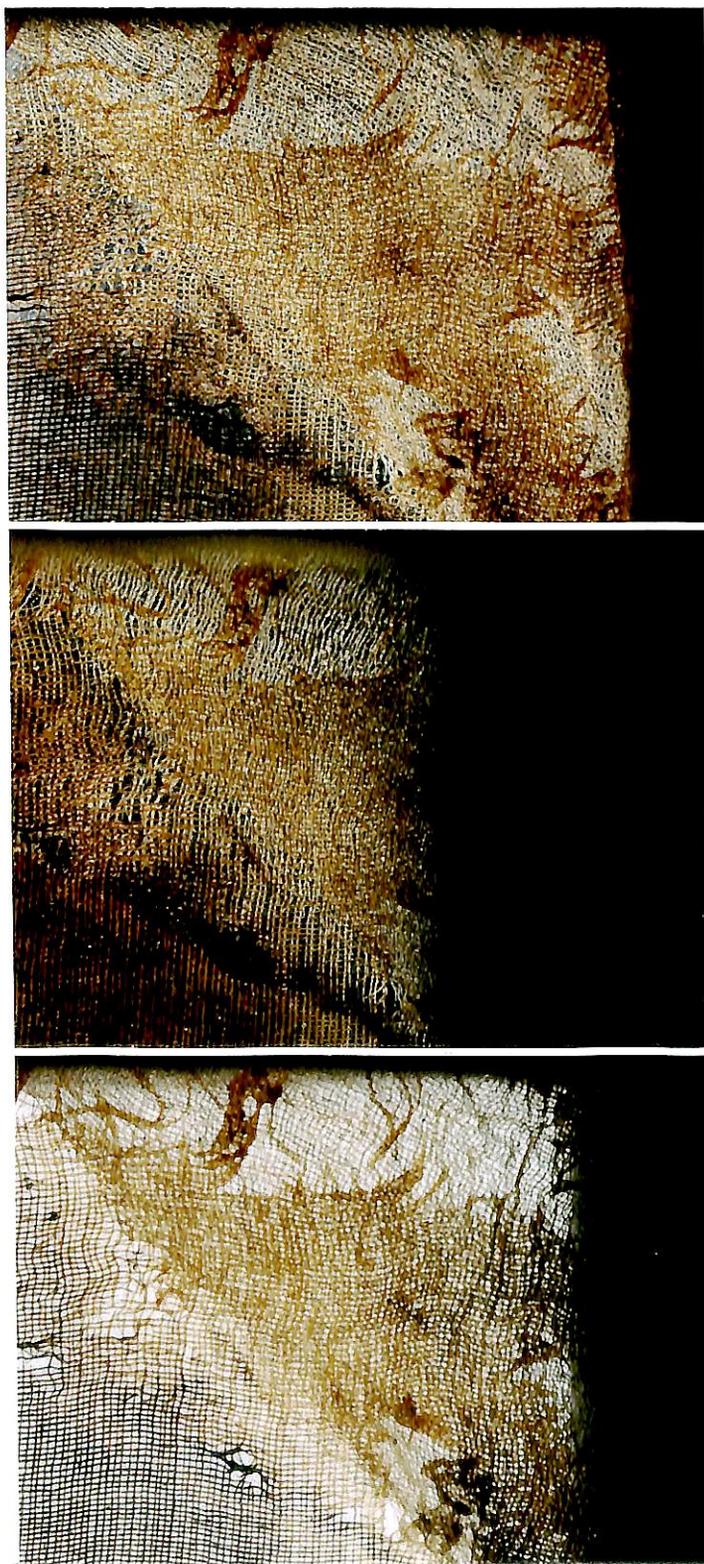
There is one more premise which turns the scale in favour of the Chiara Vigo thesis that, in the case of the Manoppello Veil, we are dealing with byssus. The analysis of the photographs conducted in February 2012, with illumination at a very small angle of light falling on the surface of the image from the Manoppello Veil, emphasising the smallest details of the fabric folds and creases [photo 6], convinced the unit that its surface demonstrates more similarity to the surface of byssus fabrics than to linen ones.

Although it seems that the expert evaluation made by Chiara Vigo has a higher level of probability than Giulio Fanti’s hypothesis, which has not been confirmed scientifically, there is still no certainty about the kind of fabric of the Manoppello Veil. Now there are more premises to say that the fabric is byssus but further research may change this status quo. To say definitively which kind of fabric is being dealt with, the measurements of the

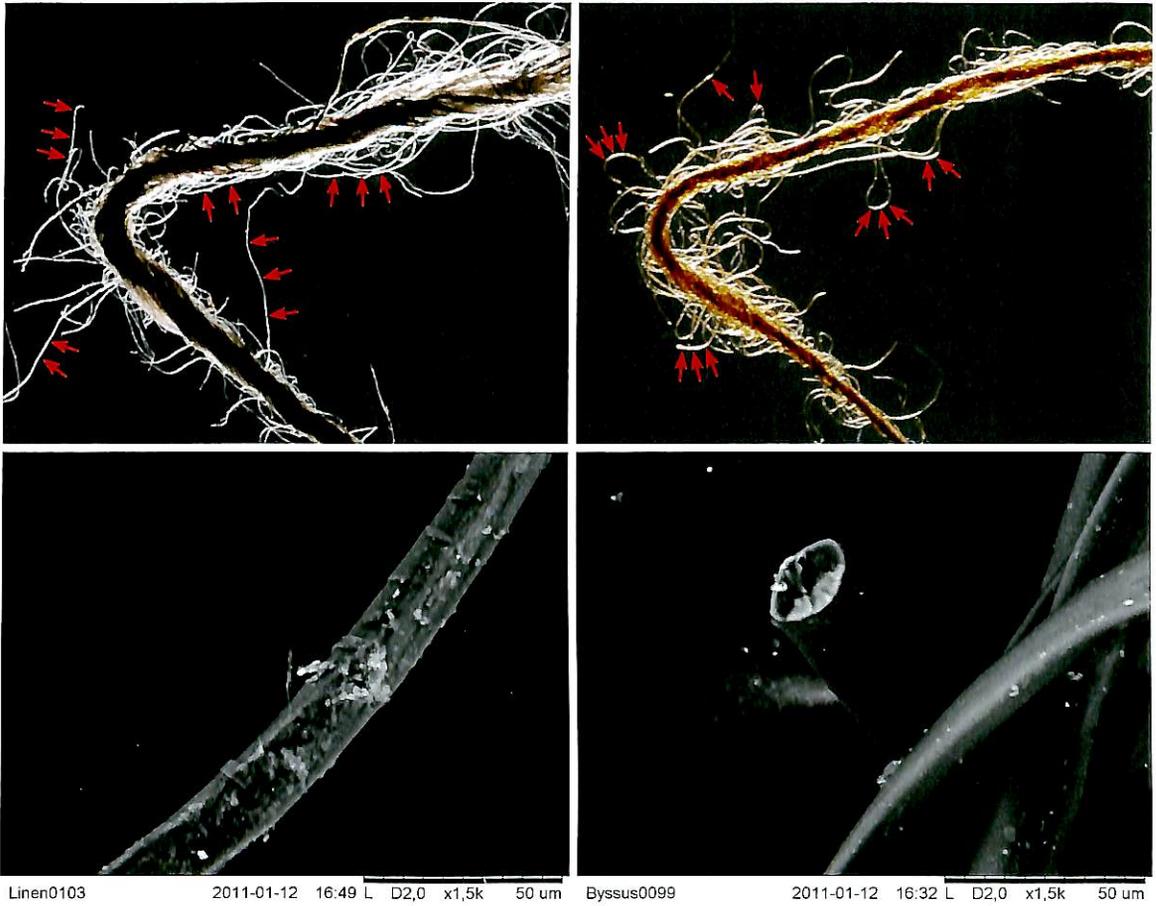
¹⁰ Giulio Fanti made the mentioned discovery together with Roberto Maggiolo in 2004. The newly discovered image of the body is on the outside of the Shroud. According to the abovementioned scholars, the discovered image is different from the known image on the inside of the Turin linen, among others, with a much lesser degree of intensity.

¹¹ The photographs were taken at our request by a teams of researchers from the Unit of Spectroscopy of the Condensed Phase of the Experimental Physics Institute at Gdańsk University by Professor Mark Grinberg.

¹² In this last case, the microscope photographs can only be compared with photographic close-ups of the Veil on a much smaller scale than a microscope would allow, considering its limited technical possibilities.



1a, 1b, 1c. 1:8 scale blow-ups of the right upper obverse side of the Manopello Veil. Illumination variants: VII, VIII, IX [see illustration 10]



- 2. Effect of "penetration" of light through linen fibers.
- 3. Effect of "sliding" of light on byssus fibers.
- 4. Microscopic observation of byssus fibres surface through an electronic microscope.
- 5. Microscopic observation of linen fibres surface through an electronic microscope.

Manoppello Veil with the use of research tools used in a routine examination defining the kind of fabric should be taken.

Because there is no permission for direct examination of the Veil from the authorities at whose disposal the Veil remains, the invasive methods, consisting in sampling the fabric for chemical analysis to establish unambiguously the kind of fabric, must be excluded. What remains is to undertake research based only on observation or measurements with the obstacles, that is two glass panes 1.5 cm thick encasing the Veil in a historical reliquary.

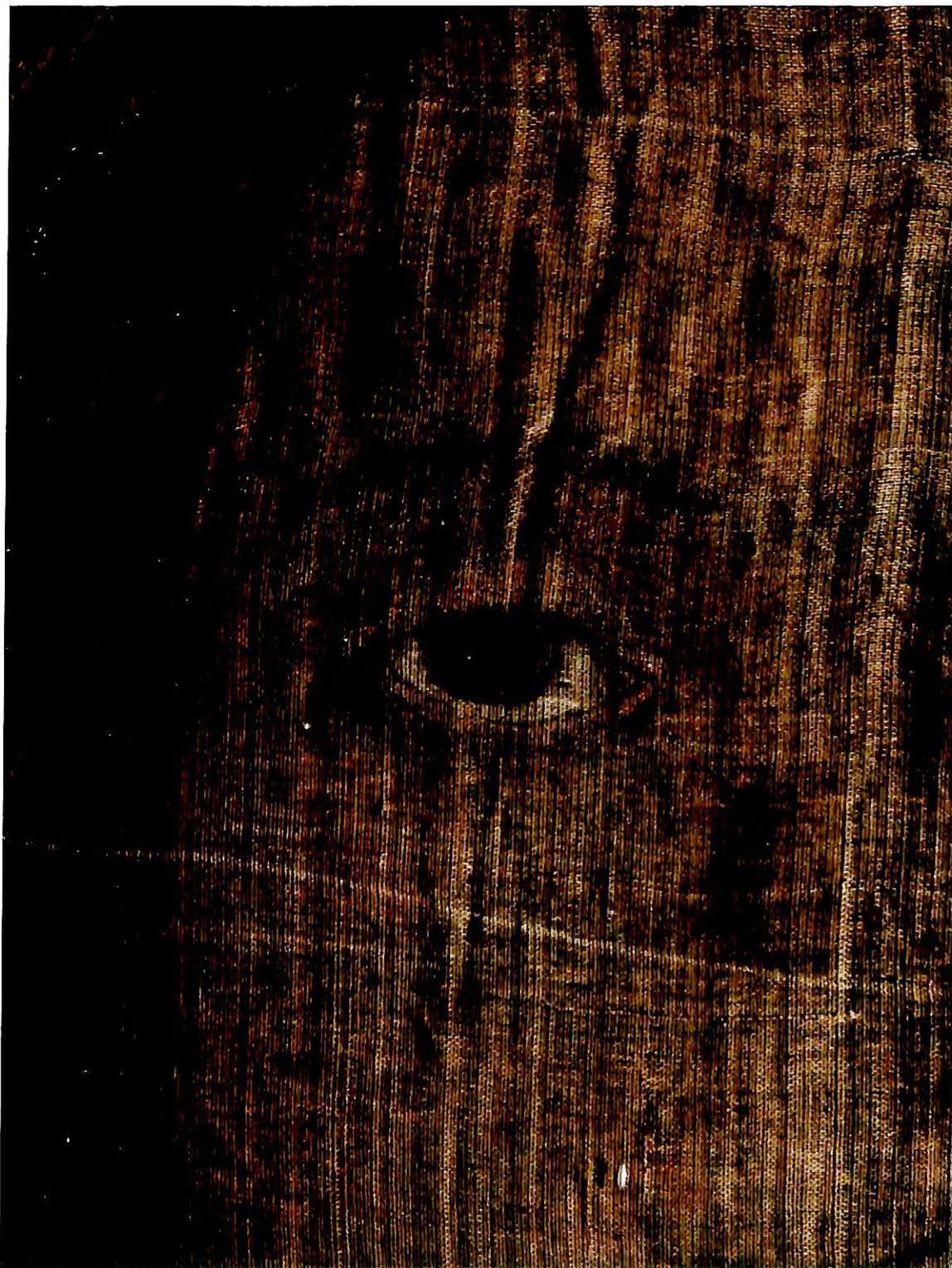
According to Professor Mark Grinberg, the head of the Spectroscopy of the Condensed Phase Unit at the Experimental Physics Institute of Gdańsk University, one solution to enable the identification of the base material of the Manoppello Veil would be to subject it to examination with Raman's spectroscope. The problem is, however, that the relic cannot be examined out of its place of keeping. To examine it with Raman's spectroscope, we would have to use the portable model of this device incurring considerable financial costs. Although at present there are no prospects for this kind of solution, it is probable that it is possible to determine the kind of base material of the Manoppello Veil. It is difficult to say, however, when this is going to happen.

1.1. Hypotheses explaining the method of making the image on the Manoppello Veil

Although determining the kind of base material of the Manoppello Veil is only a matter of time, determining the technique of the origin of the image on it, at the present stage of technical development, encounters much more difficulty. This is connected with the unique character and properties of the image itself, which has all the features necessary to be classified as an *acheiropoietos* image; a fact which is recognised by some scholars as something obvious, while by others it is defied and by others it is still explicitly rejected.

What is puzzling is that, while negating the thesis about the *acheiropoietos* status of the Manoppello Veil, no rational arguments are presented against it and most false opinions are based on selective and unconfirmed information. It is also typical that none of the negative opinions about the Manoppello Veil takes into consideration all aspects of the image together, which is a prerequisite for the proper estimation of the object's true value.

The history of *acheiropoietos* research knows cases when it seemed that, on the basis of selective details about a given object, their *acheiropoietos* status would never be pronounced. That was the case of the Tilma of Guadalupe, where, at a certain moment, traces of natural pigments were found and even a substantial area of the picture was covered in gold and silver flakes. However, after detailed examination, it was revealed that the described traces are a secondary interference in the structure of the image which do not change its primary status as an *acheiropoietos* object. At the present stage of research into the Manoppello Veil, it cannot be excluded that some portions of the image may contain natural pigments



■ 6. Fragment of the reverse side of the Manopello Veil with very small angle of falling light. Illumination variant X.

pointing to the interference of human hands, which would not necessarily mean that the image has a natural origin.

Below, we present hypotheses explaining the method by which the image on the Manoppello Veil was made, based on all accessible details about it. We will also present our general approach to the issue of the Manoppello Veil as *acheiropoiotos*, analysing the phenomenon in more detail in chapter four. Taking into consideration the opinion that there is no certainty, as described before, as to whether the base of the Manoppello Veil is a fabric made of byssus or linen. It does not change the essential fact that, irrespective of the kind of base material, when indicating various interpretations of the method of making the image, the general conclusions are the same. In our conclusions, we take into consideration the most crucial features of the image and the properties of its base.

1.1.1. The version assuming that the base material of the Manoppello Veil image is byssus fabric

Until the Manoppello Veil was without doubt assumed to be made from byssus, the fact that the byssus fabric has a limited ability to absorb colour and it is practically impossible to create multi-tone images on it was the most important premise to define the way in which the image was formed. How has it been rationally explained that an image enormously rich in colour nuances has appeared on the byssus fabric?

The premise that on the Manoppello Veil there is an image which has no right to exist considering byssus characteristics, is paradoxically still one of the crucial arguments for the explanation as to how the image originated. The image on the Veil is to be counted among “impossible” images,¹³ whose physical properties may be certainly defined as exceeding the known laws of physics. Among them are the Turin Shroud and the Tilma of Guadalupe, which were thoroughly analysed. It must be explained that the mentioned “impossibility” is a term to some degree conventional and necessarily metaphorical because it is difficult to define adequately a group of specific features characterising the above mentioned images.

Assuming broader criteria than those strictly natural for the above mentioned objects, they are called *acheiropits*. All *acheiropits* have *acheiropoiotos* images in their structure, meaning that images defined by this term have not been created by human hands. This term is used for images considered impossible to create by human hands, both in the literal and metaphorical sense. In the case of the Manoppello Veil, it is literally impossible to have been created by human hand. The above issue will be the subject of our analyses in chapter four, where the proposition of criteria defining a particular object as an *acheiropit* will be presented.

¹³ The term used by Emanuelle Marinelli with respect to the Turin Shroud, see: E. Marinelli, *Całun – obraz “niemożliwy”* [The Shroud – the “impossible” image], Wrocław 1999, transl. W. Polczyk.

It is just the very similarity of certain Manoppello Veil features to other *acheiropoietos* images that allows us to explain its origin on the impossible to colour fabric in a similar way to the origin of the images on the Turin Shroud or the Tilma of Guadalupe. It must be mentioned that the Manoppello Veil also has other features which other *acheiropoietos* objects made by human hands do not have. It is a characteristic feature of all *acheiropoietos* images: each of them is completely unique and in its own way “impossible” to explain if only natural sciences’ tools are used to explain at that stage of technical development.

Though similar to many features of the image appearing in such *acheiropoietos* as the Turin Shroud or Tilma of Guadalupe, assuming earlier that the base material of the image is a byssus fabric and taking into consideration the analysis of all aspects of the Manoppello Veil image, among which the most important will be discussed in the next chapter, there is no possibility of explaining how the image on the Manoppello Veil originated if only the methodology of natural sciences is adopted. To offer a fully logical explanation of the appearance of the image on the discussed object, the Manoppello Veil must be seen from a broad perspective of science, not only from the perspective of disciplines based on a purely physical perspective. From this perspective, many seemingly incomprehensible cases, such as the stigmata of the Lord’s Passion appearing on the body of some people admitted to the list of saints of the Catholic Church, the heart tissue and traces of blood from Lanciano and other Eucharistic miracles or phenomena impossible to explain that are connected with the physical structure of *acheiropoietos* images, indicate supernatural action as their source. Many elements of the analysis of the Manoppello Veil image seem also to indicate that it could have originated in a supernatural way. It is impossible not to ask the question: if the Manoppello Veil did not originate in a supernatural way, how did it originate?

It should be made it clear that we do not pose the above question is not posed exclusively because of a lack of another rational explanation of the Veil image’s properties. To refer to the supernatural automatically in the face of the inability to explain the origin and duration of a particular phenomenon by natural causes would be a naïve and superficial act. We are deeply aware that, while bringing forth the diagnosis, the concept of supernatural should never be abused to explain the unique character of the researched phenomena. If we consider the fact that the Manoppello Veil image could have originated in a supernatural way, we do it only on account of the facts learned about it. It is necessary to be aware that, if there are justified data allowing for the possibility to determine a supernatural act in the origin and duration of a phenomenon, it would be dishonest to shirk from invoking it or even contradicting the dominant fashion in science. The indicator or even a dogma is to bring down everything in research to natural categories.

The hypothesis of a supernatural act in the origin of the Manoppello Veil given the assumption that its base material is a byssus fabric, justifies the use of the term *acheiropoietos* with regard to it. It means an object not made by human hands in positive categories, that is indicating by whose hand the Veil image was made. Not made by human hands may mean

in this case: made in a supernatural way. Until the naturalist research, similar to that applied to the Turin Shroud and the Tilma of Guadalupe, proves how the images on these objects originated, which does not seem realistic either with the advanced technological methods of 21st-century science or in the future¹⁴, the most probable and fully rational interpretation regarding their origin is the hypothesis of a supernatural act.

1.1.2. The version assuming that the base material of the Manoppello Veil image is linen

What essential features are implicit in the version explaining the origin of the image on the Manoppello Veil, assuming that its base is linen fabric on which, in contrast to byssus, many pictures rich in tones have already been created?

Even though a linen canvas is the support for many pictures displaying the great richness of half-tones known to art historians, there are only a few cases when no coating was put on canvas of such loose weave (understood as opposite to the concept of cohesion or thickness) and on the Manoppello Veil image the presence of grounding must be excluded. There are no known examples, however, of double-sided images made on canvas, which is a specific feature of that unique image (we will discuss this more extensively in the next chapter).

In each case when the image is illuminated at a different angle with the same observation point, a different colour and tone scale is visible and has its exact counterpart on the reverse side of the fabric. It is a feature which radically differentiates the image on the Manoppello Veil from other images made in classical painting techniques: when such pictures are illuminated, the light reflected from the surface of the grounded canvas does not change the colour or tone scale of the picture because paints cover its surface. In such a case only slight changes in the tone of colours can be observed if the light reflects at different angles from impastos (resulting from applying ample quantities of paint with a spatula or stiff horsehair brush) or if it reflects from the bulging fibres forcing their way through the base material. In the case of the Veil of Manoppello, the colour which constructs the image is visible on the whole circumference of each particular fibre, which together make up a coherent and amazing structure.¹⁵ Each change of illumination angle causes a different colour effect.

Consultations with art historians and restorers did not bring until now a positive answer to the question whether there exists an equivalent in art history for the “technique” of making the Manoppello Veil image. The art conservators know only the so called “seeping

¹⁴ It should be doubted whether the further development of science is going to change anything in the question of explaining paranormal phenomena if they have their source in the supernatural. The history of the research into the Turin Shroud shows that new research tools only reveal new cognitive horizons without reaching full knowledge about it.

¹⁵ Our research is based on the detailed examination of the fibres from the obverse and reverse sides while comparing two neighbouring photographic images made in identical lighting conditions. We want to make the reservation, however, that the existence of slight differences, impossible to be seen by the human eye, cannot be excluded. These could perhaps be discovered by “sensitive” tools analysing the colour intensity of particular fibres.

through” technique, which is distantly similar to the effect visible on the Manoppello Veil. Apparently the painting made with this technique could be the effect of depositing the painting structure by means of an additional layer of canvass directly adhering to the proper picture. The paint seeping through one layer of canvass could penetrate the fibres of the proper picture creating a double sided image. Such techniques were applied in the Renaissance and Baroque periods but nothing more is known about them. Such artistic tricks are allegedly unknown to have been used in the Middle Ages and we have to realize that the origin of the Manoppello Veil goes back to more distant times, that is Antiquity.

The attempt to explain the technique of making the Manoppello Veil image with Renaissance or Baroque artistic techniques seems to be obviously pointless considering that the origin of the Manoppello Veil goes back to Antiquity, which was proved by Father Andreas Resch¹⁶ in one of his works. The more so because, according to Professor Donato Vittore from Bari University, who used a digital scanner of very high definition: ‘in the space between the warp thread and the weft thread no trace of colour remains can be isolated.’¹⁷ Professor Vittore explains in the following way what he means by lack of “colour remains”: ‘If I think about an oil canvas, I imagine that between one thread and another there is at least some colour deposited; therefore I must eliminate reference to this technique in the case of the Manoppello Veil relic. The hypothesis of using watercolour must also be excluded because the contour of the eyes and lips of the image is very distinct. Watercolour would have certainly seeped through the yarn and the paint in consequence spilled on the details.’¹⁸

An important argument in this case, if not the final one, could be the opinion of Father Heinrich Pfeiffer, an expert in Christian iconography at the Gregorianum University in Rome, who examined the Manoppello Veil in the 1990s: ‘In the light of the Wood lamp, the image cannot be seen. It disappears totally in the ultraviolet rays. This proves that we are not dealing with a painting, i.e. with a work created by an artist by means of paints applied by some tool on the fabric.’¹⁹

In conclusion: while assuming that the image’s base is linen and considering the antique origin of the Veil and the technical expertise in making the image, unknown either in antiquity or in modern times, in order to suggest a fully logical explanation concerning the method of creating the image on the said object, what remains is to resort to human rationality. The specific features of the image on the Manoppello Veil, perceived from the point of view of a structural analysis of the image, provide clear premises that it originated in a supernatural way.

¹⁶ A. Resch, op.cit., pp. 47-98.

¹⁷ S. Gaeta, *Drugi Całun. Prawdziwa historia Oblicza Jezusa [Second Shroud. True history of the Face of Jesus]*, transl. W. Lisowski, Radom 2007, p.108.

¹⁸ As above.

¹⁹ H. Pfeiffer, *Il Velo di Manoppello, la Sindone e l’immagine autentica di Cristo Nell’arte. Saggio di identificazione e di distanzione*. LSHL 1993, pp. 81-84. Quoted after P. B. Bollone, *Całun Turynski. 101 pytań i odpowiedzi [The Shroud of Turin. 101 questions and answers]*, transl. K. Stopa, Kraków 2002, p. 39.

1.2 Conclusions

We are entitled to present the following conclusions after the structural analysis of the Manoppello Veil including such features of the Veil as: the double-sided character of the image demonstrating identical characteristics (still to be discussed), the technical expertise unparalleled in any preserved picture of the epoch when the image originated, which manifests itself, among other things, in the image changing character depending on the angle of light falling on the object (to be discussed in the next chapter), and all elements of the image analysed jointly.²⁰

At this stage of research into the Manoppello Veil, the definition of the “technique” of making the image and not the definition of the kind of its base material decides whether we are dealing with an *acheiropoietos* image or an image which was created in a natural way. Considering just the kind of base, it is only necessary to speak about different ways in which the image originated, manifesting in the case of byssus or linen different essential features.

It seems that a similar position, though indirectly expressed, is demonstrated by Giulio Fanti, the author of the hypothesis saying that the base material for the Manoppello Veil is linen. He classified the Manoppello Veil as an *acheiropoietos* at the same conference at which he spoke about the base structure of the Veil.

Therefore, regardless of the fact of whether byssus or linen in the Manoppello Veil is being dealt with there is no, fully rational explanation other than the one accepting that the image originated in a supernatural way.

²⁰ We do not take into consideration at this moment those style features of the image which cannot be unambiguously assigned to any one period of the history of iconography.

2.

The analysis of the phenomenon of the changing character and qualities of the obverse and reverse sides of the Manoppello Veil

One of the essential physical features of the Manoppello Veil is the phenomenon concisely defined as the changing of the image. What is implicit in this pithy and succinct expression?

The changing character of the image reflected on the Manoppello Veil consists of several elements. One basic element is the changing character of some anatomical details of the face, initially distinguished at the changing observation point of the Veil image. Over the course of time, it turned out that the changing of the anatomical details of the face can also be perceived from one chosen observation point. To obtain the best results of observation, we used photographic recording, which enabled a thorough analysis of the phenomenon.

Another spectacular element is the changing colour tones from the same point of observation, occurring even with minimal changes in the illumination of the object. It is amazing how radically the colour tones change when the lighting is changed by 180° with the preservation of the same point of observation (at this moment, it should be remembered that a double-sided image is being dealt with). The results of the observations are presented below.

2.1. The influence of light on the phenomenon of the changing character of the Manoppello Veil image

Examining the phenomenon of the changing of the Manoppello Veil image, the research unit analysed the changes in the details of the face and changes in the colour tones of the image visible from one chosen observation point. The best adopted point of observation was located on the vertical axis of the image. As the optimum vertical axis for observation, the vertical axis converging with the intersection of the diagonal lines of the image was adopted. Thanks to this, a stable observation point was obtained, allowing for the analysis of many variants of the image depending on the changing illumination angle of the object. In this way, we could repeat the observation of particular variants of the image, taking as a reference point the stable location of the cloth fibres. All the mentioned stable elements of observation allowed us to distinguish considerable differences between particular variants of the image. In the described method, the examined phenomenon is most fully visible during a screen projection of particular illumination variants of the Veil image.

What can be observed during the analysis of the face photography of the Manoppello Veil obtained in the above mentioned way?

The changing of the image is best visible when the observer focuses on the lips, eyes and the characteristic wisp of hair. The sequence of changes is striking when analysing the fragment of the central part of the face around the nose and eyebrows. The most surprising change was noted during the analysis of the lips. There is a clear difference in the lips' contours for different illumination variants [photo 7]. As long as there was no possibility of operating the source of light so as to obtain changes of the angle of illumination with controlled repetitiveness, it was observed that there were changes in the lips' contours comparing single images obtained by means of random recordings of variants of the Veil illumination. This was followed by a number of questions, the most important of which was about an understanding of the phenomenon causing just this effect on the Manoppello Veil.

In the initial stage of research, it was only possible to analyse a limited number of illumination variants due to limited access to the researched object. To photograph the Veil of Manoppello, placed in a reliquary resembling a monstrance in shape and fitted into a partly glazed ciborium, was to have only limited opportunity to acquire the material because the opportunities to operate the light were very limited [photos 8, 9]. In such circumstances, and applying the above mentioned technical principles, the Veil was photographed during two sessions divided by an interval of one year.

The analysis was not very detailed because the number of acquired illumination variants was too small. The answer to the question about the cause of the sequential effect of the Manoppello Veil had to be delayed in time. However, the results of the analyses brought the research closer to finding a method of solving the described problem. The method is a development of the earlier-applied ways of taking photographs by introducing, during



7. There is a clear difference in the lips contour for different illumination variants – material obtained during random registration of various illumination variants.



8, 9. The Veil of Manoppello permanently closed in a reliquary place in a ciborium does not allow permanent observation and recording of the image changing character.

recording, a constant principle of image illumination. It consisted in ensuring changes in object illumination by constant angle changes of the source of light within 360° while locating the object in the central point of the circle on which the source of light travelled [photo 10]. The above method was used when we obtained permission from the Veil possessors to take the ancient reliquary out of the ciborium and place it in a space where it was possible to operate the source of light and move it around the Veil.

During two photographic sessions, which took place on 2nd and 3rd February 2010, we obtained photographic material for analysis, which allowed us to accumulate a lot of important data. First, a position will be taken on the issue of the changes in the face of the Veil image visible in a most spectacular way in the anatomical area of the lips.

Applying a regular change to the illumination angle of the photographed motif, we acquired a number²¹ of illumination variants of the chosen section of the image. After detailed analysis, the earlier observations about changes in the lips' contours were confirmed. This change can be described as a gradual disappearance of the upper lip and the simultaneous appearance of the lower contour of the same lip "acting" as its upper contour [photos 11-21]. This changing outline of the lips is accompanied by a gradual disappearance and the revealing of the outline of the teeth. The described changes can only be seen in the angle changes of the source of light which, in relation to their position, gradually isolate the upper outline of the upper lip from the background, demonstrating at that moment the outline of the upper teeth, or gradually "losing" the outline of the teeth and the upper outline of the upper lip, producing the effect of the disappearance of the teeth and the "lowering" of the upper lip. The above effect is best visible during the comparison of photos 11 and 14, and 18 and 21.

This phenomenon is accompanied by a gradual change of colour and value effects appearing or disappearing under the influence of this and no other angle of motif illumination. This problem concerns the changing quality of the Manoppello image, not only in the area around the lips but also around the eyes. A similar effect was observed and recorded appearing around other anatomical details during the second photographic session in February 2011. Some time after the detailed analysis of the photographs taken during the two February sessions, it turned out that the described changes do not concern only the area around the lips and eyes – a similar variation of colour effects appears on the whole surface of the image [photos 22-32].

It should be mentioned that the photographic material chosen for analysis was obtained in conditions of complete darkness in the place where the Veil photographs were taken. Such conditions allowed the researches to obtain optimum saturation with the colour and value of the image in the photos. This decision was due to the following circumstances: the fabric weave is very "loose" (the spaces between particular weaves are usually bigger

²¹ The positions of the source of light moving around the photographed object were regularly changed by 25° from the starting position according to the scheme in photo 10.

than the thickness of the thread, sometimes two or three times bigger) and, therefore, what is behind the image interferes with its reception, influencing how all its features are deciphered. For instance, enclosed are some photographs taken with a white screen situated at a small distance behind the object, which allowed observation of the differences between the conditions of the environment when either a black or white background was used for the image visible on the fibres [photos 33-36 which are equivalents of photos 29-32].

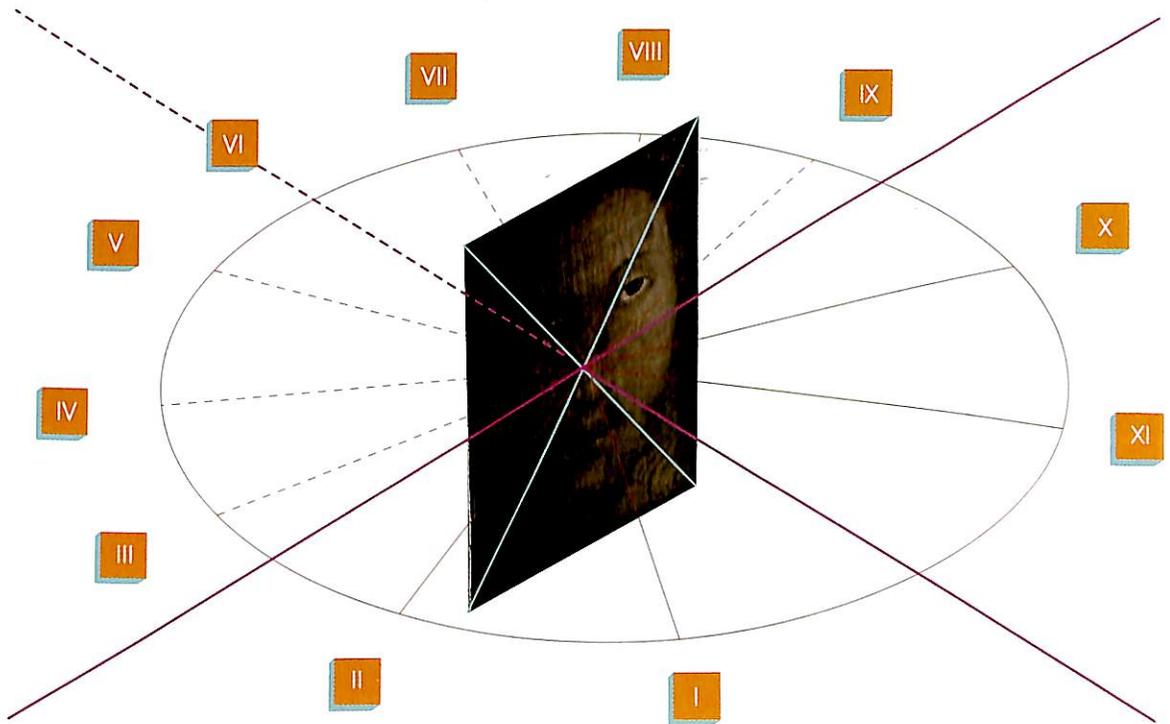
When focusing on the area around the eyes, a similar photographic record was made as in the case of noticeable changes in the lips' contours. Changes in the eye area concern mainly colour and value differences [photo 52]. Analysing illumination variants of the right and left eye area [photos 37-47], led to the conclusion that, in the case of the lip area, the disappearing and appearing of anatomical parts is related to changes in colour and value effects which cause either domination or vanishing of lip sections or teeth surface [photo 53].

A real puzzle is the array of artistic colour effects in the image structure. These embrace, for instance, examples of the colour "impasto", in whitish pinks appearing around the lips and eyes [photos 11, 12, 20, 21 and 37, 38, 46, 47] only to change later into "dirty" reds and burned sienna [photos 13-15, 17-19 and 39-41, 43-45] seen at varying angles of illumination. Equally puzzling are the contour variations of the characteristic wisp of hair hanging over the forehead of the Man of the Veil [photos 48-51]. It should be noted that some hairs of this wisp appear only in particular illumination variants [photos 49, 50].

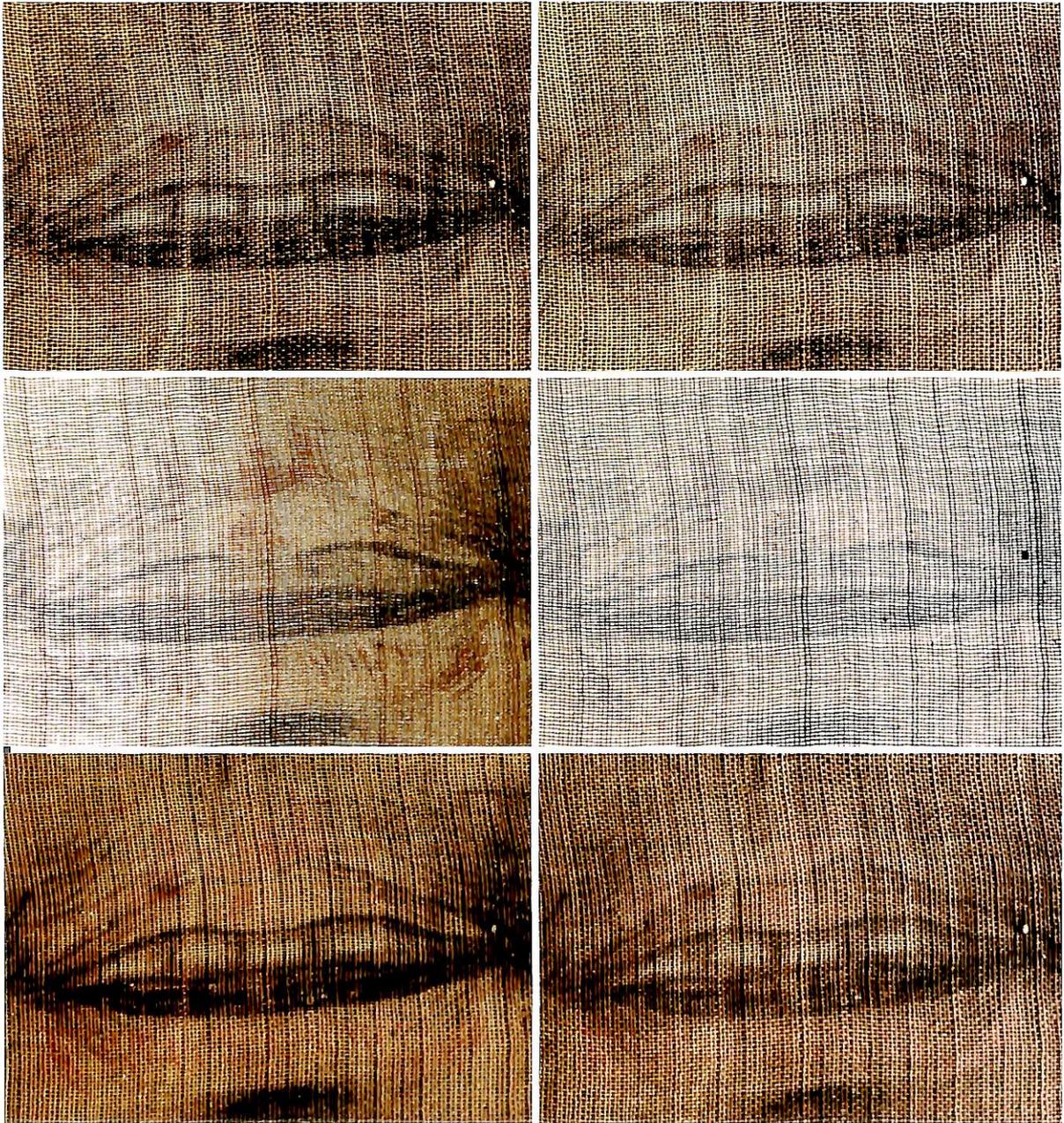
Based on the data obtained from the analysis of the Manoppello Veil variants, it can only be said that the changing character of the image is observed with the change of the illumination angle but the cause of this phenomenon cannot be explained at this stage of research. Saying this, it is necessary return to the question about how the image originated. This is also connected to the special technique of the image, unknown to art historians or artwork conservators. Asking how the image was created on the Veil, we need to consider the colour and value effects known from the observation of details and all surfaces of the Manoppello Veil as well as the properties of its obverse and reverse sides.

2.2. The analysis of the obverse side and reverse sides of the Manoppello Veil image

Although in the case of the Manoppello Veil we cannot be certain what kind of fabric we are dealing with, the Manoppello Veil must be treated as a completely unique object whose structure reveals an image of great richness in half-tones and colour nuances. Apart from the image qualities analysed above, its uniqueness is confirmed by the obverse and reverse sides' properties: the image fibres examined by thorough eye inspection are saturated with the same intensity of colour on the obverse and reverse sides. The phenomenon of changing colour and value described above is visible to the same degree on the image's obverse and



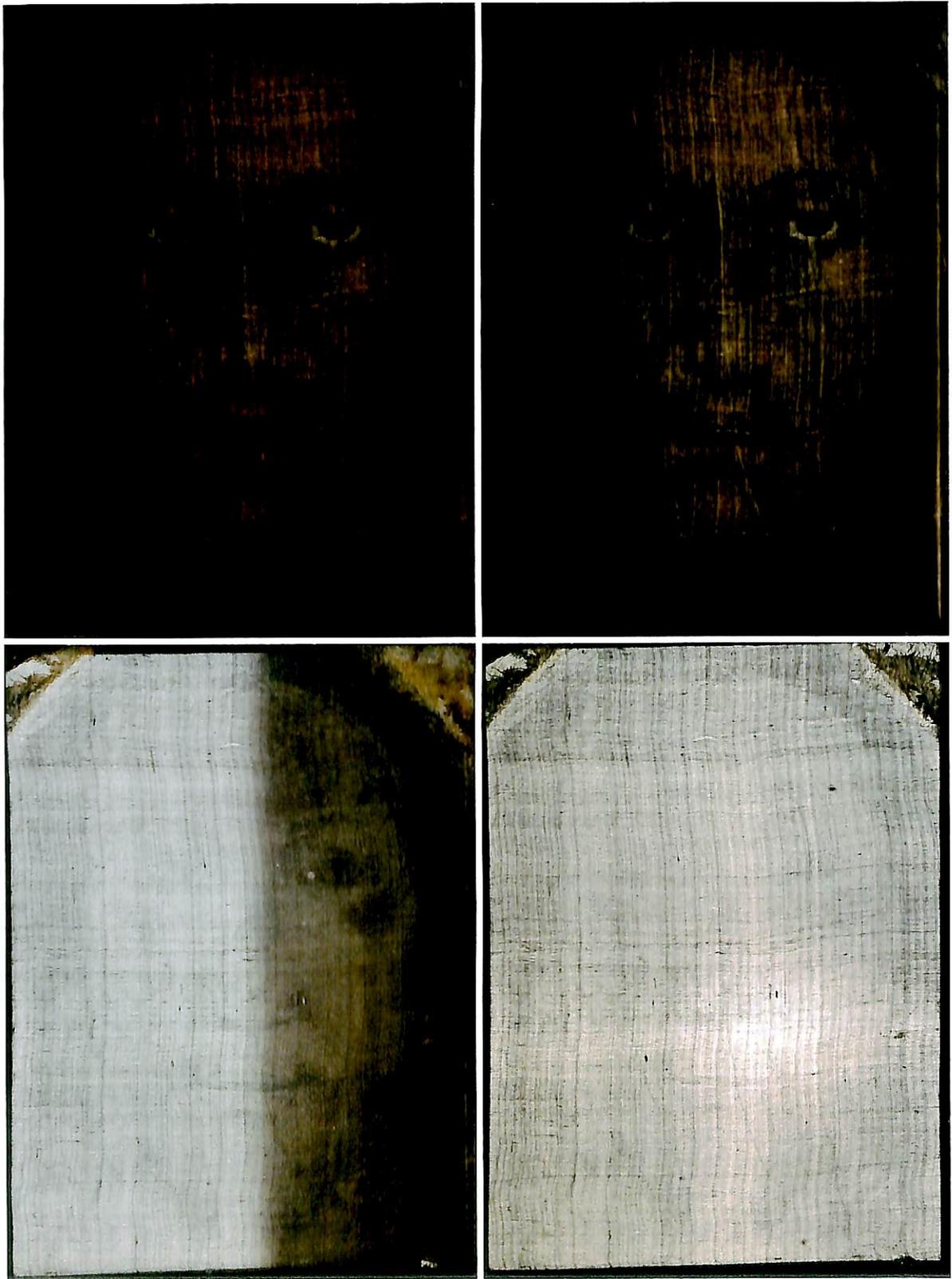
10. Diagram of illumination changes with the same point of observation. The line within the plane of the image and the vertical image axis coinciding with the optical axis of the lens which recorded particular illumination variants is marked purple. As optimum vertical axis of the image adopted as an axis converging with the point where the image diagonals intersect (blue lines). The red ellipsis visualizes the way of the light moving round the image on the circle at identical distances from the image centre. Orange rectangles marked from I to XI are graphic signs of sources of light illuminating the image. Changes of light were every 25° with the exclusion of three positions: the one situated on the image axis (position of the camera) and positions on the left and right side of the camera.



11-21. Effects of photographic recording of particular illumination variants of the lips contour, on the reverse side with application of regular change of illumination angle of the photographed motive. The variants are located according to pictographs describing the way of the source of light around



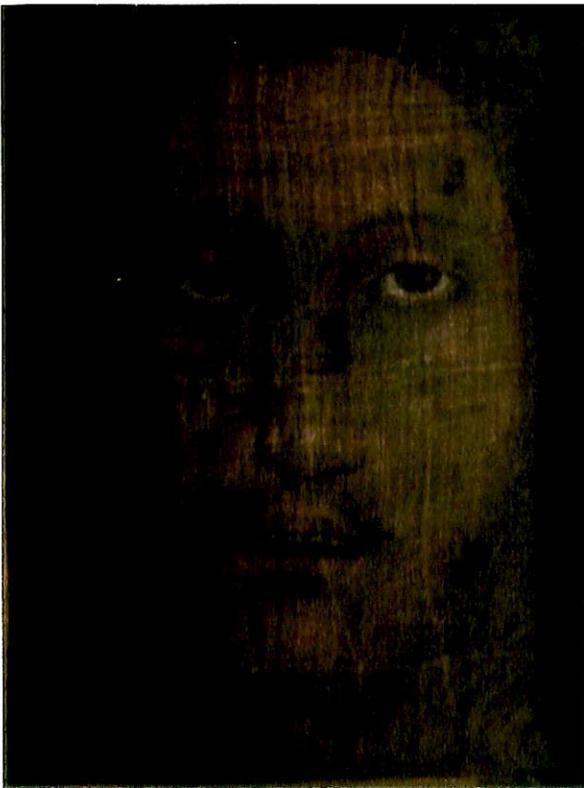
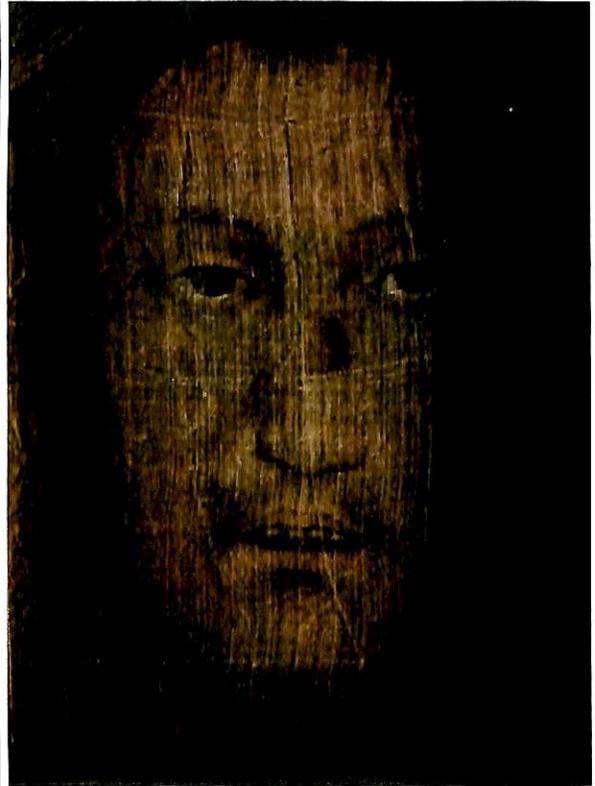
the object. This change can be described as gradual disappearance of the upper lip and simultaneous appearance of the lower contour of the same lip “acting” as its upper contour. After crossing the axis of the image the phenomenon returns gradually to the initial situation.



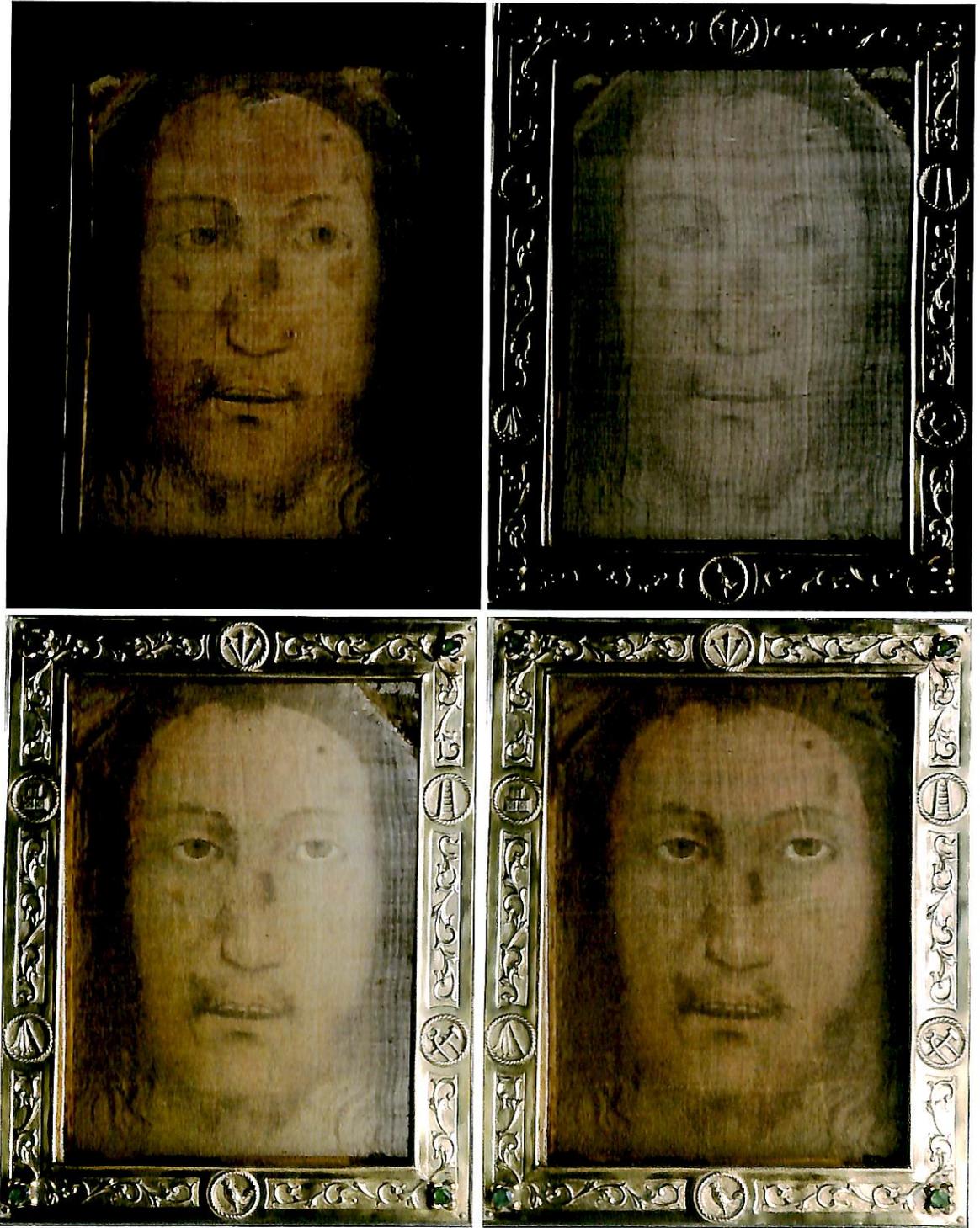
22-32. Effects of photographic record of particular illumination variants of all surface of the Veil on the



obverse side, with regular change of illumination angle of the photographed motive. The variants are



situated according to the pictographs describing the way of the source of light around the object.



■ 33-36. A comparison of photographs made with a white screen situated behind the object which allows to observe differences in the conditions of surroundings when either black or white background is used. Photos 33-36 are equivalent to 29-32, illumination variants VIII-XI.



37-47. Effects of photographic record of particular illumination variants of the right eye on the reverse side with regular change of illumination angle of the photographed motive. The variants are situated according to the pictographs describing the way of the source of light around the object.



The change of illumination angle demonstrates the change of tone in variants of color "impastes" in whitish pinks [variants I, II, X, XI] to the "dirty" reds and burnt sienna [variants III, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX].



48-51. A comparison of a photograph of a wisp of hair seen on the reverse side. Illumination variants I, IV, VIII, XI. Some hairs of this wisp are seen only in specific illumination variants [IV and VIII].





reverse sides. It can be seen on the circumference of each of the fibres all together making up one concise structure.

During two photo sessions conducted in Manoppello in February 2011, a number of Veil reproductions were made, taking photographs from both sides: obverse and reverse. This means that when the lips, eyes and the wisp of hair falling over the forehead area was recorded the photographs were taken twice: first recording the obverse side and then the reverse side. It must be added that in each of these recordings the same method of illumination was used, changing the angle of light every 25° in respect of the initial position with a stable position of the camera.

The concept of the obverse and reverse sides of the Manoppello Veil needs to be explained; it is a double-sided image. In the case of this unique image, it must be explained what the criterion is for deciding which side is considered to be obverse and which reverse.

During this detailed analyses of the Veil photographs, privileged side was not observed considering its material properties or technical parameters. There was not the slightest difference in saturation of either side [photos 54, 55]. It may seem useless to speak about the obverse and reverse sides of the image if there is no observable difference either in the material structure of the base or the degree of saturation. However, one side of the Manoppello Veil should be treated as obverse and the other as the reverse side.

Therefore, the question of how to decide which side is the obverse and which the reverse must be dealt with. To answer this question, it is necessary to go back in time to the late 1970s when a German nun from the Trappist congregation, Sister Blandina Paschalis Schlömer, for the first time became acquainted with the Manoppello Veil. The Trappist saw it in one of the copies of “Das Marien Kirchen” magazine, where a black and white reproduction of a then unknown image of the Veil was published. She immediately recognised the features of the face, known to her from reproductions of the Shroud of Turin.²² It was then that the academic research concerning the identity of the faces from the Turin Shroud and the Veil began.

After a few years of arduous research, when Sister Blandine Paschalis managed to confirm her observations concerning the conformity of the said images, the issue was taken up by two scholars: a Gregorianum professor, Father Heinrich Pfeiffer, and Father Andreas Resch. It is to them that is also owed a number of interesting analyses of the Veil image, including confirmation of the research by the German Trappist and confirmation by information technology tools (the so-called plane techniques) of the conformity of the Veil image to that of the Turin Shroud.²³ At first sight, the similarity of two images cannot be observed

²² See: P. Badde, op. cit., pp. 39-52.

²³ To notice the conformity of both images, we need to read: A. Resch, op. cit. pp. 85-98, B. P. Schlömer, *Jezus Chrystus. Świadectwo jego całunów. Atlas. Wyniki obserwacji i badań prowadzonych przez 27 lat [Jesus Christ. The testimony of his shrouds. The Atlas. The results of observations and research conducted for 27 years]*, transl.



54, 55. The obverse and reverse side of the Manoppello Veil. Illumination variant VIII. No privileged side



of the image considering its material or technical parameters was observed.

— this is revealed only after detailed analysis which demonstrates numerous points of conformity.

After overlaying images one on the other, full identification of the same face can be achieved. The rich evidence is owed to the above-mentioned scholars as an effect of their many-year-long work. Owing to their analysis, the basic reference for indicating the obverse and reverse sides of the Manoppello image can be identified. This reference is the face from the Shroud of Turin. To decide which side of the Manoppello Veil is the obverse side, it is necessary to have knowledge about how to decipher properly the right direction of the Turin Shroud face. At this moment, it needs to be realised that the image of the face which is seen on the Shroud is a replica of the real face covered by linen after the taking of the body of Jesus Christ down from the cross.

Since the image on the linen which covered the body of Jesus was copied as if dealing with an optical projection, the image reflected on the Shroud is a reversal of the direction of a real face. In other words, the proper reproduction of the face, considering directions, is a mirror reflection of what is to be seen on the Shroud. The obverse side of the Manoppello Veil is therefore the one which, after fitting to the reversed image of the Shroud, preserves the conformity of the direction of the face.²⁴ Conformity of the two images is easier due to particular points and places of conformity and their asymmetric arrangement: the asymmetry of the Manoppello Veil image repeats the asymmetry of the Turin Shroud image. In both cases, it is the effect of the deformation of the face of Jesus Christ resulting from the injuries sustained during the Way of the Cross, which has been examined in detail by forensic doctors.²⁵ The points and places of conformity are the effect of identical proportions of the face and distances between particular anatomical elements of the face. They are also the result of the conformity of shapes of particular anatomical parts.

Consultations with art historians and art conservationists, also with respect to the features of the image analysed above, have not brought any positive answer about the existence of any equivalent in art history of the double-sided image on the Manoppello Veil demonstrating characteristics of identical saturation on its obverse and reverse sides. It must be added that the existence of the obverse and reverse sides of the Manoppello Veil facilitates analysis of the Veil image as the prototype of many significant representations of Christ in the history of iconography. The existence of the mentioned features is one of the arguments

B. Rysiewicz, Radom 2009, pp. 116-121; H. Pfeiffer, *L'Altro volto dei Gesu che sfida la scienza (e combacia con la Sidone)* in: "Il Volto Santo di Manoppello", 1/2010, pp. 22-25.

²⁴ See: A. Resch, op. cit., p.86 ff.

²⁵ See: among others: S. Waliszewski, *Całun Turyński dzisiaj [The Shroud of Turin today]*, Kraków 1994; A. Marion, A-L. Courage, *Całun Turyński – nowe odkrycia nauki [The Shroud of Turin – new discoveries of science]*, transl. P. Murzański, Kraków 2000, pp. 99-114; B. Barberis, M. Boccateletti, *Całun kwestia wciąż otwarta [The Shroud. The question still open]*, transl. A. Soćko, Kielce 2011, pp. 99-127; A. Torielli, *Śledztwo w sprawie Całunu [The investigation of the Shroud]*, transl. L. Rodziewicz-Doktór, Kraków 2011, pp. 27-49; V. Loupan, A. Noel, *Śledztwo w sprawie śmierci Jezusa [The investigation in the case of the death of Jesus]*, transl. W. Szymona, Kraków 2010, pp. 359-413; see also: P. Barbet, *La passion de Jesus-Christ selon le chirurgien*, Paris 2005.

for recognition of the Manoppello Veil as a model for the most ancient representations of the face of Jesus Christ in the Eastern and Western traditions. It is interesting how, on the basis of the conformity of the obverse or reverse sides of the Manoppello Veil, it can be established which images of Christ originated under the Veil's overwhelming influence.

3. The Manoppello Veil as the prototype of images of Jesus Christ in Christian iconography

Even a superficial glance at the characteristics of the Manoppello Veil image brings to mind numerous associations with well-known iconographical models of various art schools taking part in the creation of a particular type of representation of Jesus Christ's face throughout various epochs. The earliest image of Christ inspired by the Veil is reflected in the Byzantine icon tradition, or even earlier in the Syrian, in ancient frontal images of Christ and later in the mandylion convention, in representations of Christ Pantocrator and also in the canon *Imago Pietatis*. What is the basis which allows it to be said that the Manoppello Veil image is the prototype of images of Christ in the Syrian and Byzantine traditions?

Some researchers believe that the prototype of the mandylion convention (Greek *mandylo* – Veil), where the face of Jesus Christ is shown on the Veil from the front, is the so-called *Mandyllion of Edessa*. It must be mentioned that, while speaking about the *Mandyllion of Edessa*, a triumphant parade of this icon from Edessa to Constantinople in 944 is mentioned. This started the feast of the Divine Face celebrated by the Orthodox Church on 16th August on the day when the icon was moved to Hagia Sophia. After the Crusaders stole it, the *Mandyllion* is said to have been kept until now in Rome, in a secret place accessible only to the Popes²⁶ (it is a mystery if it should be identified with the *Volto Santo* icon kept in the Vatican and stolen by the Venetians from Constantinople in 1204, which will be discussed later). Apart from these brief pieces of information, it is impossible to learn more about this mysterious object. It is not known what it looks like and some might doubted whether

²⁶ See: A. A. Napiórkowski, *Acheiropity – ikony nie ręką ludzką uczynione* [*Acheiropits – icons not made by human hand*], in: A. A. Napiórkowski (ed.) "Chrystus wybawiający – teologia świętych obrazów" ["The saving Christ – theology of holy images"], Kraków 2003, p.120-121.

it exists at all. It is, however, worth thinking about that in the full name of the feast of the Divine Face, which is undoubtedly a reference to a real event, there are no references to the *Mandyllion of Edessa* but to ‘an image of Our Lord Jesus Christ not-made-by-human-hands, an image known as the Holy Veil.’ In the light of the data presented below, the prototype of the mandylion convention should be searched for in a different place.

Art historians, analysts of images and theologians of icons are convinced today that the prototype for the convention of the mandylion was a legendary story reaching back to the time of the apostles or a series of stories, according to which, even when Jesus Christ was still living on the earth, an *acheiropoietos* image, an image not-made-by-human hands was created.²⁷ One of these legends recalls the figure of King Abgar V, the ruler of the first Christian city-state, ruling between 13 and 50 AD in Edessa in north Syria. It was on his supplication about being cured that the “true image of the face of Jesus Christ” came into being, ‘which in a miraculous way appeared on the Veil when Christ put it to his face.’²⁸ At the same time there appeared a shortened description of the creation of an image which probably was the prototype for the convention of the mandylion drawn from one of the significant works devoted to the history and aesthetics of holy icons.²⁹ As follows from the above, according to many researchers the sources of the mandylion conventions should be searched for in the legend about King Abgar, in a literary description. The problem is, however, that a verbal description does not explain the most important aspects connected with the conventionalised aesthetics of the image itself.

3.1. Looking for references of the images of Christ in the Turin Shroud image

The search for the aesthetic sources of the mandylion took some researchers to the prototype which could explain the persistence of artists of icons of various schools in reproducing the image of Christ in conformity with common facial features, a frontal presentation and a specific composition. It was discovered that the only prototype for the icons made in the mandylion convention could be the image of the Turin Shroud. The first scholar who drew attention to the dependence of images known from medieval icons to the image on the Shroud was Paul Vignon who ‘even before the Second World War [...] thoroughly investigated a number of specific features of the ancient images of Jesus. He isolated many such features, for example: a raised eyebrow, a wrinkle in the V shape between the eyebrows, an enlarged left nostril, a strongly marked line below the lower lip and a line running across the neck on the level of the throat. They all seem to indicate a common source of inspiration and were relevant to the features appearing on the Shroud’ — as Vignon demonstrated.³⁰

²⁷ K. Onasch, A. Schnieper, *Ikony. Fakty i legendy [Icons. Facts and legends]*, transl. Z. Szanter, Warszawa 2007, pp.79-124; see also A. A. Napiórkowski, op. cit., pp 119-121; A. Resch, op. cit., pp 48-59; L. Uspienski, *Teologia Ikony [Theology of Icon]*, transl. M. Zurowska, Poznań 1993, p. 23.

²⁸ K. Onasch, A. Schnieper, op. cit., p.124.

²⁹ In the same work.

³⁰ Ian Wilson, *Krew i Całun [The Blood and the Shroud]*, transl. B. Mizia, Warszawa 2001, pp.152-153.

Information about this has been spread starting from the fundamental work by Ian Wilson,³¹ who seems to be the first historian to indicate the connections of the King Abgar legend with the image on the Shroud and iconic reproductions of the face of Christ originating in the Middle Ages. According to Wilson, the image from the Turin Shroud should be identified with the image not-made-by-human-hands mentioned at the beginning of the chapter and present in the liturgical name of the feast of the Divine Face and known as the Holy Veil. The conclusion might be drawn from this that the prototype for the mandylion convention is the image from the Turin Shroud.³² Many medieval images of Christ Pantocrator³³ indicated by Wilson and demonstrating similarity to the image on the Shroud present themselves very convincingly, especially if we put them next to contemporary colour-saturated reproductions of the face from the Turin Shroud.

Until 1898, when the first photographic copy of the Shroud was made, many details of the face of Christ on the Shroud, about which Wilson said were present on the icons coming from the Middle Ages, could not have been seen. It has only been for 115 years that we have been able to see the positive of the image from the Shroud [photo 56] which was for centuries visible only in its negative form [photo 57]. The fact that many features of the image from the Shroud are impossible to decipher results from the following situation: when the technique of photography was unknown the concept of a photographic negative was also unknown and, therefore, it was not known how to interpret a negative image. Andreas Resch pointed to this fact when he discovered convergent features of the Manoppello Veil image and the image from the Shroud: 'The Face recorded on the Shroud of Turin cannot yield such precise data and, therefore, it was not possible to make such a detailed portrait, at least not before 1898 when only the negative of the image was known.'³⁴ Incomparably more than in the positive image of the Shroud (the negative of the figure) can be noticed after having done its tone inversion into the negative (the positive of the image).

It is worth quoting the words of Cardinal Schönborn: 'It was only the photograph [of the Shroud] that showed that an indistinct shape, which was for centuries worshipped as the impression of the dead body of Jesus, is in reality a mysterious and, not clarified until now, very clear impression in the negative of a crucified man. On the negative of the photo it can be seen how in reality a man looked carrying all the marks of the passion according to the Gospels' report.'³⁵ It must also be mentioned that, while looking at the positive of the Shroud image in the original, (i.e. in the form in which it was possible to see until 1898), fewer details can be seen than in its photographic reproduction without inversion into the negative. When observers come closer to the Shroud the image disappears (it is

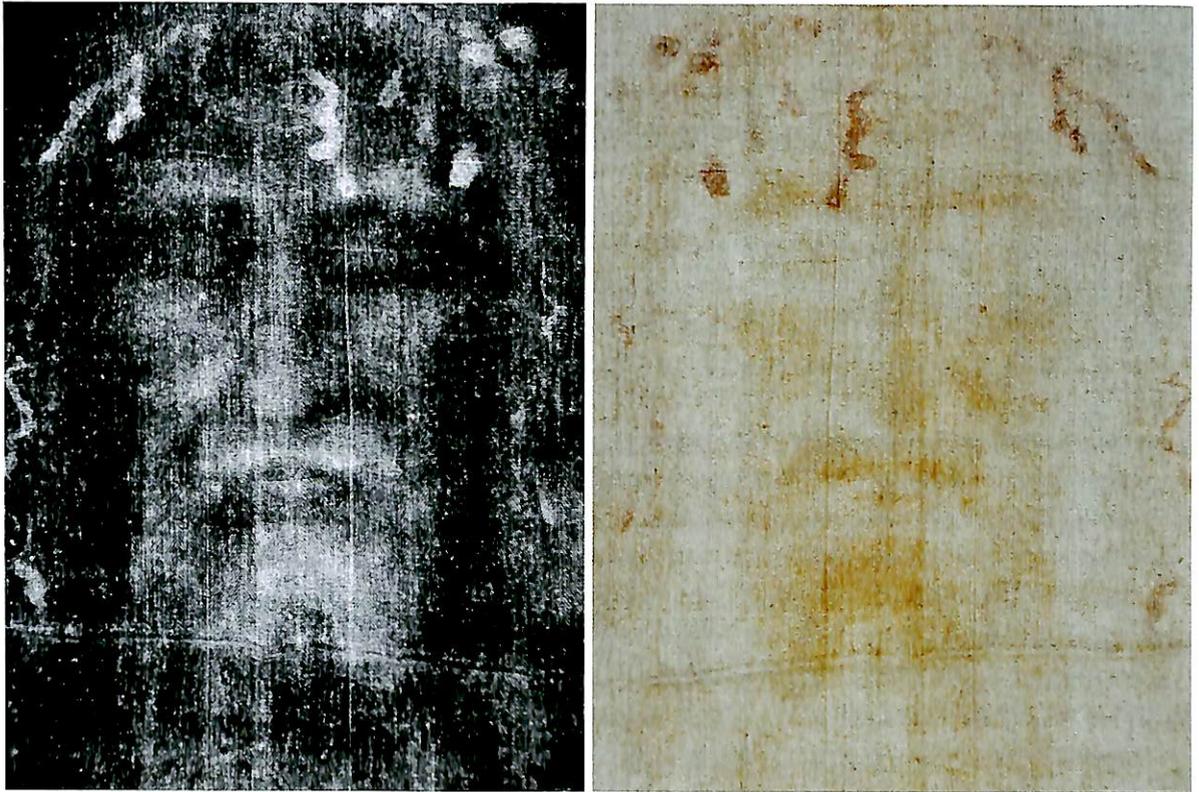
³¹ Ian Wilson, *Calun Turynski [The Turin Shroud]*, transl. A. Polkowski, Warszawa 1983.

³² Many sydonologists agree with this statement, among them P. B. Bollone, op. cit., p. 46; E. Marinelli, op. cit., p. 80; B. Barberis, M. Boccaletti, op.cit. p. 157.

³³ See: Ian Wilson, *Krew... [The Blood...]*, op. cit., fig. 36-39.

³⁴ A. Resch, op. cit., p. 62.

³⁵ Ch. Schönborn, *Ikona Chrystusa [The icon of Christ]*, transl. W. Szymona, Poznań 2001, text on the reverse of illustration 12.



- 56. The Turin Shroud image in positive (blood marks in negative). The positive version of the image has been known only since 1898.
- 57. Until 1898 the image could be seen only in the negative (blood marks in positive). Looking at the Shroud “live” fewer details of the image are visible than on its photographic reproduction.

a phenomenon called side neuronal inhibition³⁶) in contrast to the blood marks which remain unchanged independent of the distance from the observer. The photographic reproduction is better at giving a opportunity to notice a greater number of details which can be observed on direct inspection because the image reproduction is done by means of a long-focus lens, which means that the photographic image is recorded from a much longer distance than the same section of the image seen “live”.

The above data point to the fact, unfortunately ignored by many syndonologists who have become used to Wilson’s thesis³⁷, that based on what could be seen for ages on the Turin Shroud it was impossible to reproduce it on icons in the form suggested by Wilson.

Starting from the 1970s, when the convergence of the images on the Turin Shroud and the Manoppello Veil started to be pointed out,³⁸ for a few researchers it became clear that it was only this latter image that could provide the Medieval icon artists with the information necessary to record the face of Christ with the convergence which we meet on all the examples of icons specified by Wilson. The direction of his research should be corrected here as Wilson, while analysing the similarity of Medieval icons to the image of the Shroud of Turin, could not refer many features of this similarity to the Manoppello Veil because it had only recently become the object of scientific research. At the moment when Wilson formulated the results of his analyses, nothing indicated that maybe another object existed which would provide many data to the comparative study between the Medieval and also, as it turned out, ancient artistic reproductions showing the image of Christ.

The most ancient artistic representations, where the type of the image of Christ known from the icons presented by Wilson starts to be established, reach back to the 3rd century. It is contrary to the thesis adopted by many syndonologists that finding the Shroud within the walls of Edessa in the 6th century (probably in 522³⁹ and definitely before 544), that is around 300 years later, was to have an impact on starting the development of the canon of the image of Christ.⁴⁰

Cardinal Schönborn, while describing the image of the Christ Pantocrator from the middle of the 4th century coming from the catacombs of Saint Peter and Marcellino in Rome, points to the fact that already in the 4th century a proper image of Christ, known to us from icons, starts to be established [...] The artists do their best to reproduce individual, unique

³⁶ The optical phenomenon observed on the Turin Shroud by Ray Rogers in 1977, causing in the retina a blurring of the image and the background. See M. Siliato, op. cit., p. 57.

³⁷ It seems that the fact of neglecting the Manoppello Veil by many renowned and distinguished Shroud research syndonologists results from the fact that they cannot revise Ian Wilson’s suppositions which are so often repeated as the truth.

³⁸ Sister Blandina Paschalis Schlömer should be credited for this.

³⁹ See: E. Marinelli, op. cit., p. 79.

⁴⁰ The co-author of this chapter was also in this group basing their analyses on the research by Ian Wilson until he turned towards the Manoppello Veil in his research. See: Z. Treppa, *Calun Turynski. Fotografia Niewidzialnego? [The Shroud of Turin. The photography of the Invisible One?]*, Gdańsk-Warszawa 2004.

features of the human face of Christ. The conviction is spread that Christ looked just like that: long hair with a centre parting, long wavy beard, delicate features of an elongated face, large eyes looking straight at the viewer.⁴¹ Father Resch, writing about the same artistic representation of Christ, adds: 'on the fresco there is already a true portrait of Christ with long hair and a short beard [...] The expression of the face and its proportions are absolutely in agreement with the images of the Shroud and "Veronica". The image converges with the reverse of "Veronica".'⁴² In this last statement, it is very remarkable that the images from the catacombs of St Peter and St Marcellino are referred to as the reverse of the image from the Manoppello Veil, which is called by Father Resch "Veronica". The difference between the obverse and reverse sides of the Manoppello Veil will be very important for further argument. This issue will be returned to.

Father Resch reaches back to one of the most ancient artistic representations showing the facial features' convergence with the images of the Shroud of Turin and the Veil of Manoppello, which is the fresco of *The Reading Shepherd* dated at a period before 270. This picture is considered to be 'the oldest image of Christ as the Good Shepherd with a beard.'⁴³ The Redemptorist priest from Innsbruck reached the limit in searching for the oldest artistic depictions inspired by the Manoppello Veil image. He also argues that the Manoppello Veil should be identified with the Shroud of Kamulia – a place non-existent today, lying near Edessa where the nuns from Melitene settled after fleeing from the Persians.⁴⁴ It was their convent that held 'the first religious picture which took part in public worship – until then reserved only for depictions of emperors and magnates – in the form of procession and celebration.'⁴⁵

To complete the brief history of the Kamulia-Manoppello Veil with further facts, it must be added that in 574 it was carried in procession through Asia Minor to Constantinople and in 705 found itself in Rome in a chapel built by Pope John VII 'who came from a Greek aristocratic family settled at the Byzantine court.'⁴⁶

On the basis of the quoted data, an important conclusion can be drawn. If the origin of Christ's face model with such features as those presented by Cardinal Schönborn ('long hair with a centre parting, a long wavy beard, delicate features of an elongated face, large eyes looking straight at the viewer'), reproduced by icon masters with particularly solicitous and ritual solemn dignity, is traced by many significant syndonologists (starting from Paul Vignon and then Ian Wilson) to the Shroud image, then the more so it should be traced to the Veil of Manoppello, treating it in an equal way as a prototype for the presented iconic

⁴¹ Ch. Schönborn, op. cit. text on the obverse side of illustration 6.

⁴² A. Resch, op. cit., p. 106.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 102.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 54.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 62, see also: S. Gaeta, *L'Enigma del Volto Santo di Gesù*, Milano 2010, pp. 219-225.

examples, although a lot of data seem to indicate that the image from the Veil of Manoppello and not from the Shroud could be the prototype for many artistic depictions of Christ.

The impact of the Shroud on artists' image of Christ was not possible until the middle of the 6th century, as opposed to the Veil of Manoppello, which many scholars overlook carelessly, keeping silent about the gap of two-three hundred years separating the first artistic images of Christ from the finding of the Shroud of Turin within the walls of Edessa. It should be noted that there are such images of Christ as the image on the top of the vertical beam of the cross of Justinian II from the treasury of Saint Peter's Basilica made before 570 in regard to which 'somebody who would like to refer them only to the Shroud of Turin would be obviously evading facts.'⁴⁷

It would also be difficult to sustain the thesis about the Turin Shroud's inspiration in the case of such images as, for example, the above-mentioned *Good Shepherd* fresco from the catacombs of Priscilla, *The Reading Shepherd* from the Aurelius hypogeum before 370, two images of Christ on the top and at the base of the vertical beam of the cross of Justin II before 570 and *Volto Santo* from Genova before 1362. According to the analyses by Father Resch⁴⁸, the enumerated images reflect the obverse side of the Veil of Manoppello and thus the mirror reflection of the image from the Turin Shroud. In the case of the listed images, the inspiration with the double-sided image of the Manoppello Veil would be the result of natural observation of its obverse side. Considering all aspects of the image, there is no doubt that they originated under the influence of the Manoppello Veil image.⁴⁹

In the light of the analysis of the image from the Manoppello Veil, the earlier guesses concerning the Shroud image as the source for many iconic depictions of the face of Christ with a visible wisp of hair on the forehead become irrelevant. According to some scholars, the prototype of this wisp was the trace of blood from the Shroud which formed itself on the forehead in the shape of a Greek letter Σ (or reversed digit 3). No premises allow for the conclusion to think that the artists of icons were unable to tell the distinct trace of blood on the fabric from the image of the body of delicate straw-sepia colouring if they were able to notice at the same time such barely noticeable details in the extremely subtle image on the Shroud as the shape of the hair or beard. An outside viewer has no problem with telling it from the hair, the more so as careful observers of the Shroud image, who intended to copy the details of the face faithfully, could not mistake it for the image of the body.

It can be seen that an analogical wisp of hair similar to those which can be seen on many iconic representations is visible on the Manoppello Veil image [photos 48-51]. Because there are known images of Christ with such a wisp of hair coming from the period before the Shroud of Turin was found in the wall of Edessa, the iconic source should be searched for

⁴⁷ A. Resch, op. cit., p.112.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 106-123.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 117.



- 58-59. The trickle of blood in shape of Σ from the image on the Shroud should not be identified with wisps of hair visible on the icon representations of the face of Christ, as most syndonologists do, because their source is the image from the Manoppello Veil.

in a pre-image which could provide such a model. This prototype image could only be the image of the Manoppello Veil.

Therefore, some of the syndonologists' opinions about the presence of the wisp of hair on the iconic representations of Christ, sometimes uttered in an uncompromising way, should be reviewed. To understand this, let us quote the opinion of one of the most distinguished syndonologists: 'The relation of convergence with the Shroud is based on speculations but is undeniable. For instance, the presence of one or more wisps of hair [...] has no reference in any document or image with the exception of the trickle of blood in the shape of Σ on the forehead of the face from the Shroud.'⁵⁰ Since we have the "point of reference" for the wisp of hair from the iconic depictions of Christ in the wisp of hair from the Veil of Manoppello, we should be cautious with the opinions of scholars who, while establishing a list of identical features for the image from the Shroud and ancient and medieval images of Christ, attach the greatest significance to the wisp of hair which, in their opinion, is 'in reality a trickle of blood marking the forehead and starting at the roots of the hair.'⁵¹ In the light of the learned data, 'the trickle of blood marking the forehead' should not be identified with the wisp of hair visible on the iconic representations of the face of Christ because it has its source in the image from the Manoppello Veil [photos 58, 59].

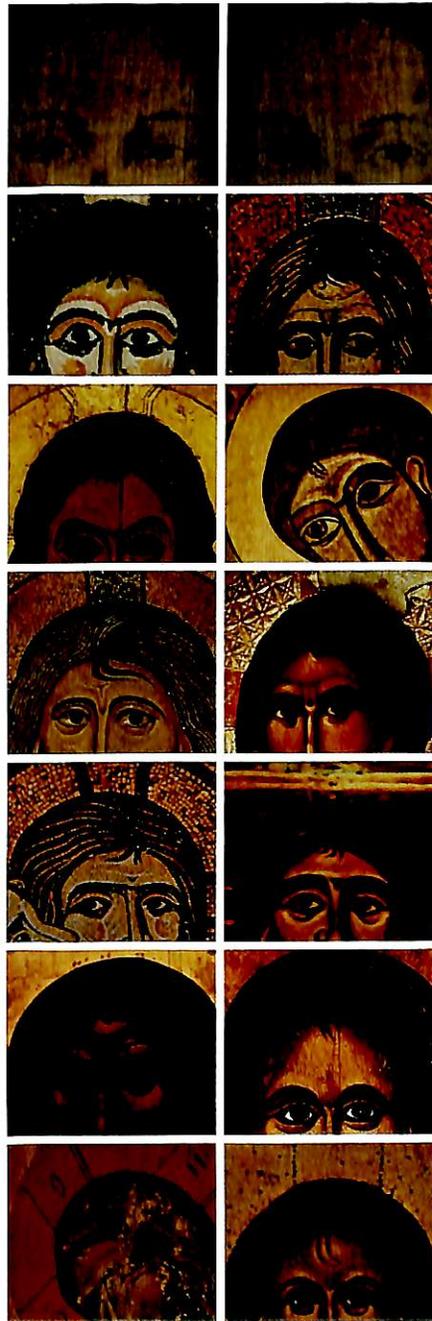
One particularly significant example of icon representations of the image of Christ's face with a wisp of hair on the forehead is Albrecht Dürer's self portrait from Alte Pinakothek in Munich evidently stylized on the image of Christ. It is worth considering that a great number of artists presenting details of Christ's face in many different ways selected a wisp of hair falling on the forehead as an invariable mark of His identity [photo 60]. This may be evidence that the Manoppello Veil kept in Rome at that time was the fundamental point of reference for the artists aspiring to a faithful representation of the Saviour's face in their works.

3.2. The Manoppello Veil as a basic reference for the images of Christ

Finding the pattern for many of the oldest Christian representations in the image held for several centuries in Manoppello, should be reason enough to undertake comparative research and to explain with actual images of Christ coming from various iconographic traditions originating from the inspiration of the Veil of Manoppello and with inspiration from the image of the Shroud. However, even at an initial stage of analysis, we can state that most of them seem to have more features from the Veil of Manoppello, which seems to agree with Father Andreas Resch's opinion. There are many images of Christ which could not have originated from observation of the image from the Shroud, as no anatomical details or shapes of pupils can be observed on the Shroud image, for obvious reasons. A clear example of this is *Volto Santo* from Genova, that is the *Mandylion* from Constantinople

⁵⁰ P. B. Bollone, op. cit., p. 76.

⁵¹ A. Legrand, *Datation par l'icographie*, in: "Actes du symposium scientifique international du CIELT a Rome en 1993", quoted after A. Marion, A.-L. Courage, op. cit., p. 37.



- I 60. Fragments of images of Christ with the characteristic wisp of hair:
 60a. The Manopello Veil, obverse side; 60b. The Manopello Veil, reverse side; 60c. Christ from Grottaferrata, 11th c.; 60d. *The Divine Mercy Jesus* from Byzantium, 11th-12th c.;
 60e. *The Mandylion* of Novgorod, 12th c.; 60f. *Saint John Baptist* of Mestia, 12th-13th cc. presented in the convention of the Christ image; 60g. *Christ Pantocrator* of Cefalu, 13th c.;
 60h. Constantinos Cavasilas, *Christ Pantocrator*, 1262-63; 60i. *Christ* from St Mark's Basilica in Venice, 13th c.; 60j. *Christ Pantocrator* of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, 13th c.;
 60k. *Christ Saviour* of Kreml, 14th c.; 60l. The Jaroslaw School, *Mandylion*, 14th c.;
 60m. *Christ as Man of Sorrows* from Poganowo, 15th c.; 60n. *Christ Pantocrator* of Wujsk, 15th c.

[photo 61], which was handed over to the governor of the Genova colony on the Bosphorus, Leonard Montaldo, as a gift from the Byzantine Emperor John V and which, since 1384, has been held in Genova, in the church of San Bartolomeo degli Armeni.⁵² Hans Belting, while describing this icon, with its “twin” Vatican tablet (both are tempera paintings on linen canvas and both are stuck to a wooden tablet of cedar wood of the same format) which was stolen from Constantinople by Venetians in 1204, speaks of them as of paintings of striking archaic character and features which ‘we find in early Syrian work of the 3rd century.’⁵³ Writing about the Vatican copy, Belting defines it as demonstrating ‘distinct properties of the late antique work [...]. Perhaps if the decision was made to clean the painting, it would be possible to retrieve the oldest preserved icon of Christ. [...] It is true that, in the Genova copy, the linear border of the eyes reveals signs of a medieval replica. However, the chosen type diverges from all conventions of Christ of the period.’⁵⁴

Belting, who did not know the Veil of Manoppello, overlooks the features of both icons which were noted a few years before by Father Resch: both icons ‘considering the proportions of presented images converge totally’ with the proportions of the Manoppello Veil image and, what is crucial, the two images are a mirror reflection of each other, which clearly allows reference to a double-sided prototype, namely to the Veil of Manoppello.⁵⁵ It may be added that on the *Mandylion* of Constantinople there is an almost identical arrangement of the eyebrow arches, eyes and, which is very specific, the shape of the irises as observed on the image from the Veil [photo 62]. These are the more important details – many icon artists reproduced the shape of irises on icons simply as circles or nearly circles.

It should be noted that the artists of icons from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, inspired by the image of Manoppello, reproduced in their depictions just these features of the image which they were able to see at the moment of observing the Veil in the given light conditions. After having conducted research into the changing nature of the image on the Manoppello Veil, it became obvious that some images inspired by the Veil of Manoppello reflect a specific illumination variant observed by a particular artist. The example of various illumination variants observed by artists and reflected in their artistic depictions may be the images as the above-mentioned *Mandylion* from Constantinople or the image of *The Blessing Christ* by Giovanni Bellini [photo 63] from the 1560s.

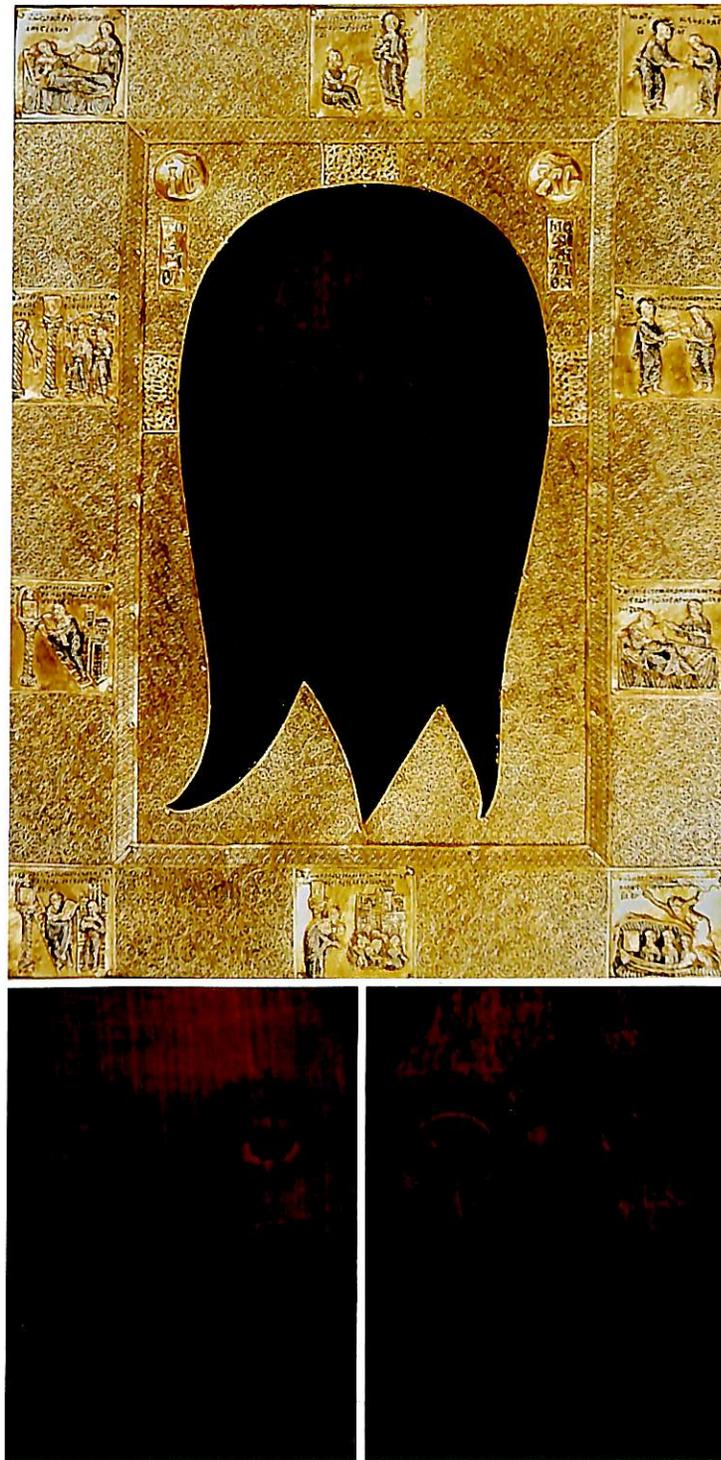
Bellini’s picture has a lot in common with the image from the Manoppello Veil concerning the reproduction of lip contours and the arrangement and character of the beard and hair, which proves that there is nothing accidental about it [photo 64]. Likewise, what does not seem accidental is the reproduction of the shape of the beard and the set of the hair, face proportions and the characteristic oval forehead by other icon artists of various epochs and schools. In the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, a specific canon for the reproduction

⁵² See: H. Belting, *Obraz i Kult [The image and the cult]*, transl. T. Zatorski, Gdańsk 2010, p. 241.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ A. Resch, *op. cit.*, p. 120



- 61. *Volto Santo from Genova or the Mandylyon of Constantinople*, presented as a gift to the governor of the colony from Genova on Bosphorus by a Byzantine emperor John V, with characteristic features 'found in East Syrian works of 3rd century' (H. Belting).
- 62. On the *Mandylyon of Constantinople*, there is an arrangement of eyebrow arches, eyes and shape of irises identical to that of the Veil.



63. Giovanni Bellini, *Christ Blessing*, 1460, Paris, Musée du Louvre
64. Convergence of Bellini's *Christ Blessing* with the image from the Manopello Veil, regard reproduction of the shape of lips and arrangement and character of beard and hair. The color tone of the picture does not seem accidental either, but is an equivalent of variant X with the white screen behind the object.

of the shape and style of the beard and hair referring to the forms in the Manoppello Veil [photo 65] appeared and started evolving towards the naturalist treatment of anatomical details. Some of the presented examples may be the effect of a model following the Manoppello Veil image, others might have been inspired indirectly as the effect of mutual influences of artists creating images of Christ. This does not change the fact that the prototype image for all of them was the image of Manoppello. It should be noted that, in the case of Bellini's depiction, the arrangement of the lips is equivalent to the same arrangement of the lips which can be observed at a particular illumination variant of the Manoppello Veil – based on an analysis of the actual illumination variant of the Manoppello icon, a conclusion can be drawn that a similar variant was artistically reproduced in Bellini's picture. It must be recalled that, in the case of the Veil image, there is a close relation between a definite illumination variant and the specific effect of the lip and teeth arrangements.

At the present stage of research, another aspect of the Manoppello image's inspiration must be referred to the pattern of a transparent Veil in artistic representations which indicates the Manoppello Veil as its original model. Such is the picture of *Saint Veronica* by the Master of Flémalle, which is older than Bellini's representation by c. 40 years [photo 66]. The picture depicts a female figure holding a transparent Veil with the image of Christ. On the narrative level, the author explicitly refers to the figure of the saint who appears in late medieval Western passion literature under the influence of the revelation of St Bridgit during the 1370s. The Veil of St Veronica motif, becoming a frequent motif of many passion representations, began at that time to play in the West a role similar to the convention of the mandylion already popular for centuries in Eastern Christianit.⁵⁶ It is worth consideration that many of these representations show the image of Christ strikingly similar to the image on the Veil [photos 67-68].

The work of the Flémalle master allows the image of the Manoppello Veil to be looked at as the source of inspiration for the artist, who literally reproduced a transparent Veil with the image of Christ precisely as we can see it on the Manoppello Veil. This can also point to the fact that the Veil held in St Peter's Basilica in Rome between the 8th and 16th centuries was an important source of information about Christ's physical features, just as it was earlier the source of inspiration for Byzantine artists. The evidence of this is, among others, images of Christ in the mosaic technique from Roman temples, among which the most characteristic is the image from the dome of the chapel of St Zenon in St Praxeda's Basilica [photo 69]⁵⁷ made 85 years after the Veil arrived in Rome, and many representations from Byzantium [photo 70], where the type of representation was established from the times when the Veil was kept in Constantinople and earlier in Kamulia.

⁵⁶ It must be added that the mandylion convention developed on the basis of the legend about King Abgar and not about the story of St Veronica as it is sometimes mistakenly understood to be. See: R. Waland, *Veronika*, in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 10, 2001, p. 715.

⁵⁷ Other examples of this type of representation are found in the St Cecilia Basilica in Trastevere (from the late 9th century) in the Grottaferrata monastery (late 11th century), in the Holy Mary Basilica Trastevere (from around 1140) and in the Santa Maria Maggiore Basilica (from around 1294).



65. Fragments of images of Christ with the characteristic shape of beard:
- 65a. The Manopello Veil, obverse side. Illumination variant II; 65b. The Manopello Veil, obverse side. Illumination variant X; 65c. Simone Martini, *Christ Blessing*, c. 1317; 65d. Masters of the Cologne school, *Trinity Pieta (reverse)*, c. 14-15th.; 65e. (Robert Campin) Master of Flémalle, *Saint Veronica*, 1410; 65f. Master of Saint Veronica, *Saint Veronica with the Holy Kerchief*, 1420; 65g. (Robert Campin) Master of Flémalle, *Christ Blessing (detail)*, 1424; 65h. Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of Christ*, 1440; 65i. Michele Bono, *Vera Icon*, 1440-50; 65j. Fra Angelico, *Portrait of Christ*, 1450; 65k. Dirk Bouts, *Portrait of Christ*, c. 1460; 65l. Dirk Bouts, *Portrait of Christ*, 1460; 65m. Piero della Francesca, *Resurrection*, 1463-65; 65n. Simon Marmion, *Virgin and the Man of Sorrows*, 1480-90



66. (Robert Campin) Master of Flémalle. *Saint Veronica*, 1410. Frankfurt, Städtische Galerie
 67. Hans Memling. *Saint John and Veronica Diptych* (right wing), c. 1483, Washington, National Gallery of Art
 68. Roger van der Weyden. *Crucifixion Triptych* (detail), 1445. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum

The *Saint Veronica* of the Master of Flémalle is not the only picture which explicitly confirms that the Veil of Manoppello, kept at that time in Rome, must have been known to the world of artists. This fact is supported by the work of a Catalonian master, Joan Mates, dated at 1429, presenting the *Entombment of Christ* [photo 71]. Undoubtedly, the transparent Veil seen in the Mates painting is an iconic correlate of the Veil of Manoppello [photo 68]. Many elements are evidence of this: the texture of the removed fabric (presumably by Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea), Christ's face and torso, reproducing the light texture of the prototype and then the shape of the beard, the shape of the eyebrow arches, the features of the face clearly reproducing the proportions of the face from the Veil and the arrangement of lips and teeth in Mates's painting corresponding to the same arrangement of lips and teeth which can be observed when applying one particular variant of the Veil illumination. It would be a huge mistake to read the enumerated elements of image composition as accidental associations.

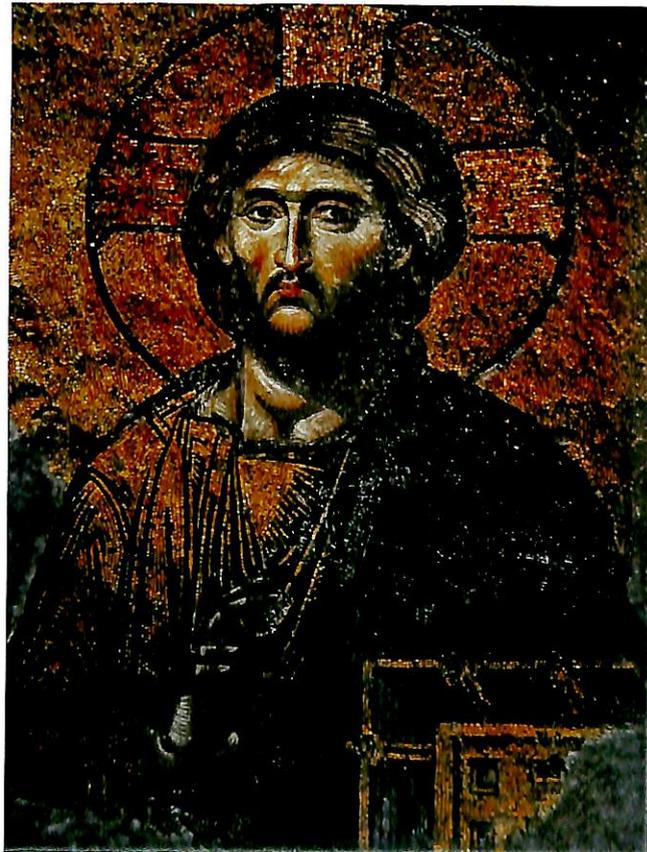
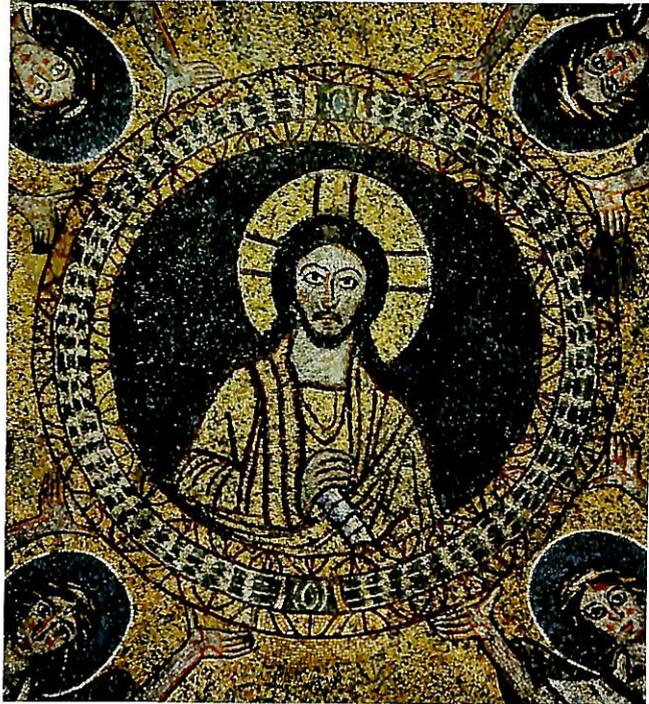
In Mates's scene, it is worth observing with particular attention that the treatment of the scene of the entombment itself diverges greatly from the representations known in the iconographic traditions of the East and the West recorded in the mandylion convention and, later than that, the canon of presenting the figure of St Veronica holding the Veil.

In this chapter, we have already mentioned the mandylion convention and the iconographic tradition of presenting the Veil of St Veronica. At this moment, yet another canon cannot be omitted: *Imago Pietatis* originated from the Byzantine original model known from the icon in the basilica of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem in Lateran⁵⁸, where two traditions of the image of Christ meet. One was inspired by the image of Christ with his eyes closed on the Turin Shroud, which is evidenced by among other things the location of the figure copying the representation of the body on the Shroud (the arrangement of hands from the *Imago Pietatis* representations follows the arrangement of hands on the Shroud [photo 72]). The other originated from the inspiration of the Veil of Manoppello. In many representations of the *Imago Pietatis* canon, a distinct influence of the proportions and expression of the face on the Veil can be seen.

It has been proved by the American syndonologist, John P. Jackson, (at the end of the 1970s and published in many works on the Turin Shroud⁵⁹ and presented again during the International Conference dedicated to *Acheiropoietos* Images in Toruń in 2011) that the *Imago Pietatis* canon was formed owing to a very specific presentation of the Shroud of Turin. It consisted in showing only a fragment of the Shroud, on which the face and torso of Christ are visible, which can be determined on the basis of detailed observation of traces of the strip of discolouring and small marks from nails which can be seen on the Shroud. 'John Jackson noticed those marks for the first time while examining the Shroud in the

⁵⁸ It is noteworthy to see the features of Christ's face in the *Imago Pietatis* canon, from iconic representations of the Eastern tradition with clear similarity to the image from the Manoppello Veil. One example may be the icon of Nicholas Tzufurius of Heraklion in Crete from the late 15th century (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

⁵⁹ See among others: F. Antonacci, *Zmartwychwstanie całunu* [The Resurrection of the Shroud], transl. A. Kowalska, Warszawa 2002, pp. 146-147.



- 69. *Christ from the Dome of St Zenon Chapel at Basilica of St Praxeda, Rome, ca. 820*
- 70. *Christ Pantocrator from Hagia Sofia, Constantinople 12th c.*

framework of the STURP programme in 1978. He later spent a lot of time on recreating the way in which the Shroud was folded.⁶⁰ The American syndonologist discovered that the Shroud was held in a container rolled around a wooden support which allowed the canvas to be unrolled to some height in order to show the image of the body in such a position as can be seen on the *Imago Pietatis* canon images. 'Jackson thinks that the Shroud stored and shown in this way served as a prototype for paintings representing the Greatest Humility [*Imago Pietatis*] and not the other way round because the Shroud is not a painting and, apart from the image of the front of the body, there is also an image of the back.'⁶¹ This is not in contradiction to the fact that the images of Christ from many representations of the canon took as their model the image from the Manoppello Veil. There would have been references to two inspirations within this one convention, both referring to one and the same face of Jesus Christ. In both these cases of inspiration from the image from the Shroud or the Veil, one and the same face of the Saviour is being dealt with which was reflected on the Shroud and the Veil excluding the presence of the human hand.

Against this background, the painting by Mates can be seen as one which has no counterpart in iconic representations of the image of Christ. The central motif is a representation of the moment of taking the Veil from the Face of Christ – a thing not encountered in the known passion representations of the Eastern and Western traditions. It can be assumed that the intention of the painter in the above activity was to be an introduction to the covering of the body of Christ with the funeral shroud. As it seems, this reflects the state of knowledge of the author about the Jewish ways of burying the dead. It is partly identical to reality because in cases when the face of the dead person was disfigured and 'could be repelling to the surroundings it was immediately covered by a Veil or fabric.'⁶² Referring this ritual gesture to the original model of the Veil from the painting by Mates, that is to the Veil of Manoppello, it seems, however, hardly probable for the image created on it to appear as the result of the contact of the Veil with the face of Christ during His burial. The most important thing seems to be that the scene shown by the Catalonian artist can be interpreted as the artist's attempt to explain how the image was formed on the Manoppello Veil.

On the basis of two different images of the Western tradition from the same period: the Master of Flémalle and Joan Mates, which show the original model of the Manoppello Veil in a different way, it can be concluded that the artists of those times were looking for the answer to the question of how the image was formed on the Manoppello Veil -- at that time kept in St Peter's Basilica in Rome. The Master of Flémelle, showing the face of Christ from the Veil, recalls the figure of St Veronica, referring to the revelations of St Bridgit known in his cultural circle for at least forty years. Joan Mates, though, seems to distance himself from the message of the saint but he distances himself not only from the revelations fashionable at that time in Europe, which bore fruit in numerous iconic representations of

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 146.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 147.

⁶² Sanh. C7, *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, p. 600. after S. Waliszewski, op.cit., p.195.



71. Joan Mates, *Mourning over the Dead Christ*, 1429, © MNAC – Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona. The transparent veil is an icon correlate of the Manopello Veil.

St Veronica, but also from the much older canon of the mandylion as well, presenting an authorial vision of the origin of the image on the Veil.

It is puzzling, though, that all iconic traditions which “produced” images of Christ with the facial features from the Kamulia-Rome-Manoppello Veil invariably point to the fact that the image of Christ must have originated from direct contact with his face. The image by Bellini, later by half a century than the images by Mates and the Master of Flémalle, together with the twenty-year-earlier composition by Roger van der Weyden⁶³, showing the scene of the Resurrected Christ [photo 73] demonstrating undoubted similarity to the image from the Veil, seem to point towards the fact that the Renaissance artists were convinced ⁶⁴ that the image of Christ from the Manoppello Veil was in fact the image of the Resurrected Christ. A similar case can be found in a little later composition the *Resurrection* by Dirk Bouts⁶⁵ [photo 74].

The proportions of the latter image, with distinct asymmetry of the face identical to the reverse image from the Veil [photo 75], leave no doubt what were the sources for the artists of the time who reproduced the face of Christ. It is interesting that in spite of showing Christ *en face*, the type of presentation where artists usually carefully constructed harmonious proportions of the face, many images of Christ clearly inspired by the image from the Veil were presented asymmetrically. Moreover, there were no aesthetic reasons to justify their choice (for instance the direction of the figure or composition). It is thought provoking that the asymmetry of the face of Christ in representations *en face*, which has its source in the image from the Veil, was persistently undertaken by many artists and icon artists down the centuries [photo 70].⁶⁶

The perception of the face of Christ from the Veil as the face of the Resurrected Christ by many distinguished Renaissance artists seems to comply with the “script” of formation from the image of Christ on the Veil which was first presented by Sister Blandina Paschalis Schlömer based on her analyses.⁶⁷ The meaning of this judgment remains unchanged even though the mentioned artists have in their rich artistic output also scenes showing the figure of Christ from before the Resurrection [photo 76] – or as in the case of Hans Memling who also created many scenes of the Resurrection, the “timeless” image of Christ by showing Him granting His blessing [photo 77]⁶⁸ or during the Parousia. It is no wonder that finding

⁶³ *Miraflores Altarpiece* from around 1440, kept in the Gemaldegalerie in Berlin. See also: *Crucifixion Triptych* from 1445 kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

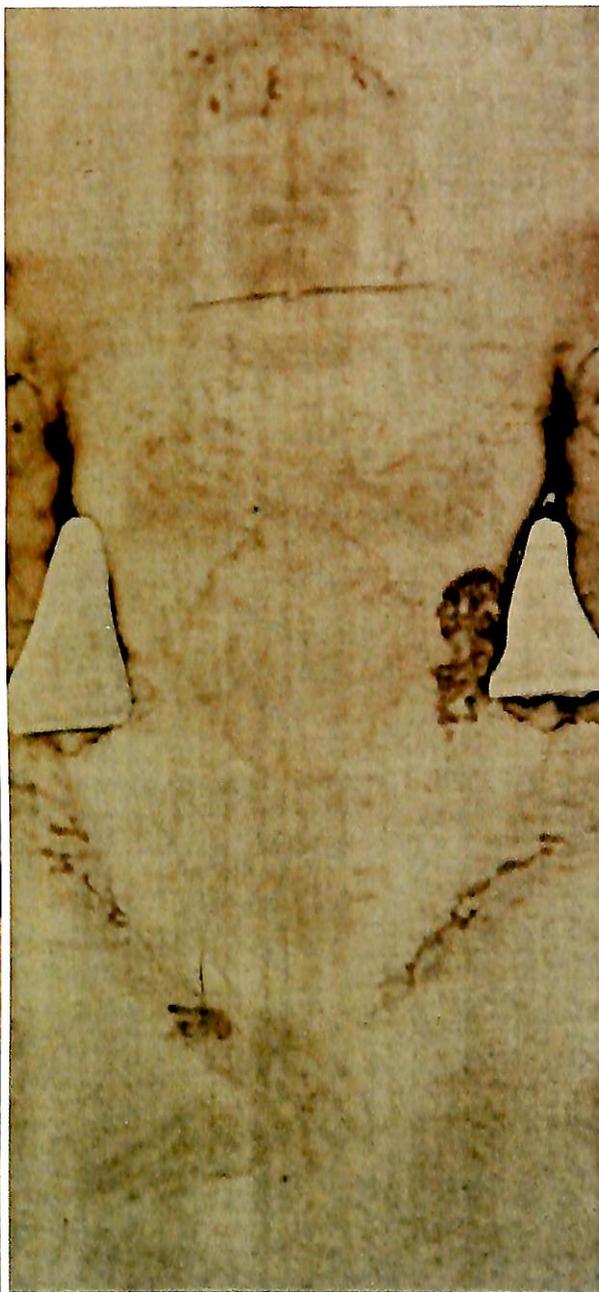
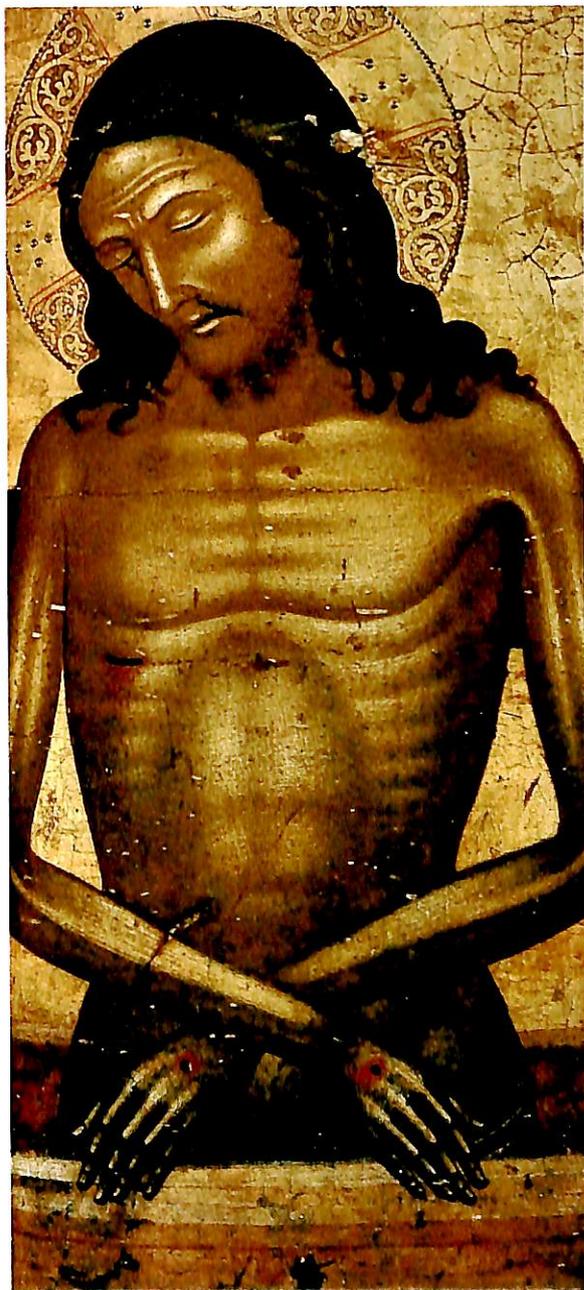
⁶⁴ The catalogue of paintings including the described resemblance to the image from the Manoppello Veil does not end with the enumerated examples.

⁶⁵ *Resurrection* from ca 1455 kept In Norton Simon Museum In Pasadena In California. See also: *The Head of Christ*, kept in National museum Stockholm (NM 6632).

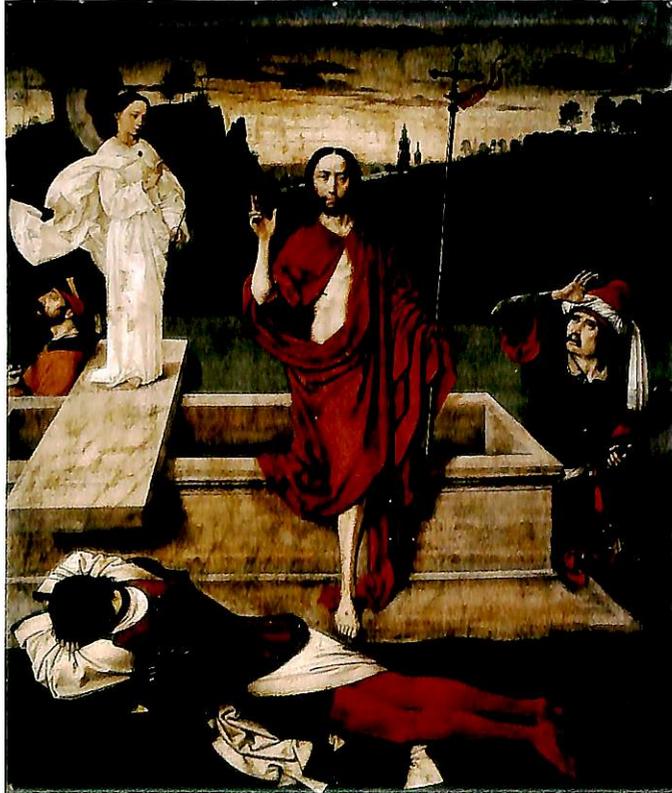
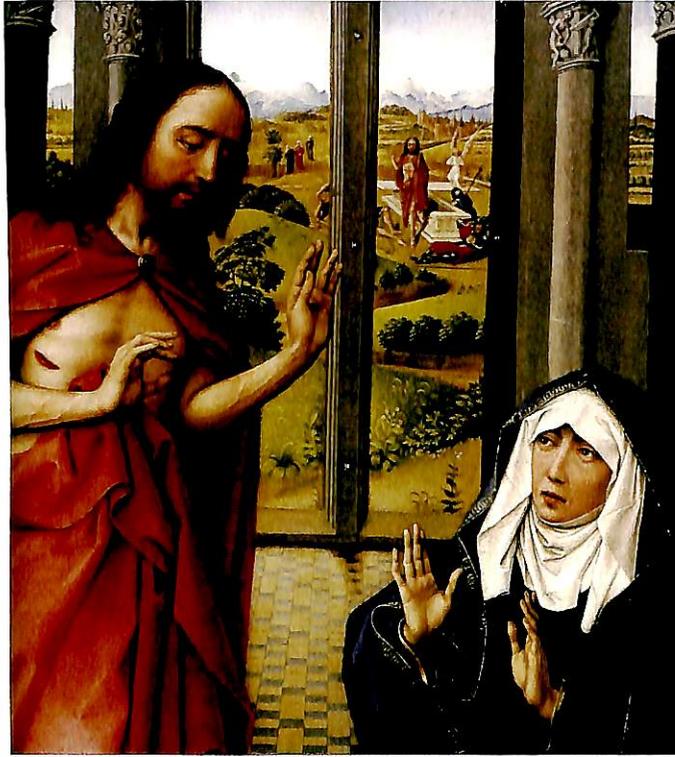
⁶⁶ Before examination of the Manoppello Veil, when the image from the Turin Shroud was recognized as the prototype of many representations of Christ, it seemed that the problem of the asymmetry of the face of Christ on the icon representations was definitively solved.

⁶⁷ B. P. Schlömer, op. cit., pp. 116-121.

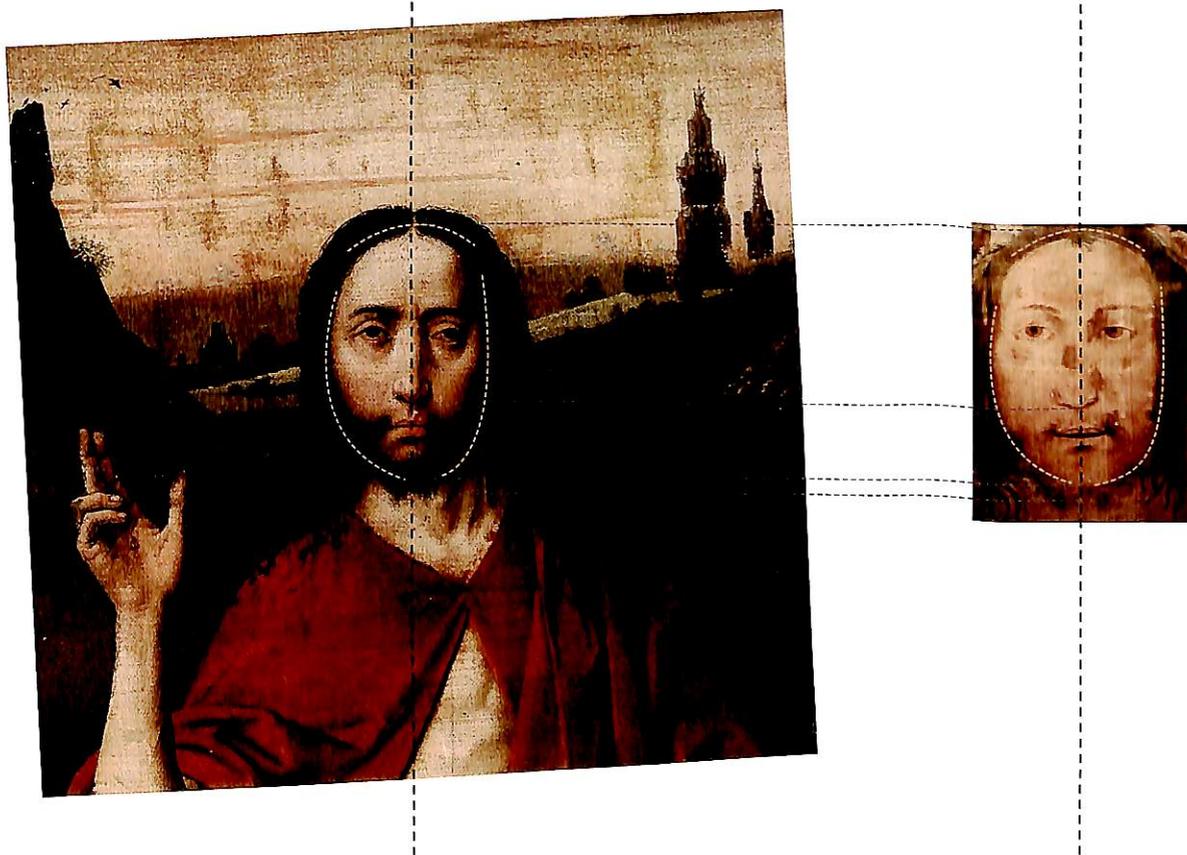
⁶⁸ *Christ Blessing* from 1478, Norton Simon Museum In Pasadena, California.



72. The arrangement of hands from representations of *Imago Pietatis* is identical to the arrangement from the Shroud of Turin; 72a. Nicholas Tzafuris, Heraklion, *Christ Suffering between Mary and St John* (detail), late 15th c., Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum; 72b. *Turin Shroud* (detail).



73. Roger van der Weyden, *Miraflores Altarpiece* (detail), c.1440, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie
74. Dirc Bouts, *Resurrection* (detail), c. 1445, Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum



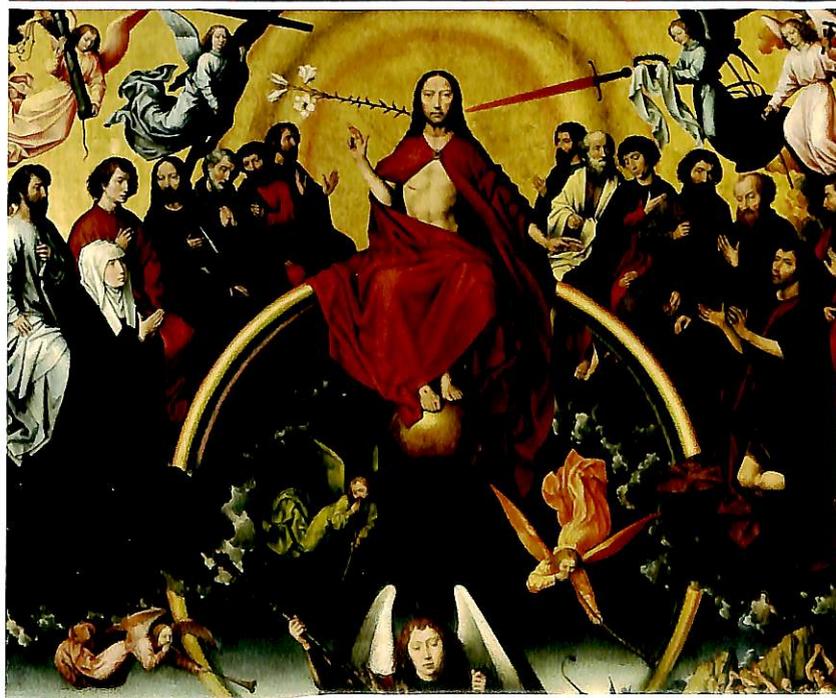
75. Dirck Bouts, *Resurrection* (detail). Distinct asymmetry of the face being an identical counterpart of the reverse image from the Veil leaves no doubt as to what were the sources for the artists of the time when reproducing the face of Christ. It is interesting that in spite of showing Christ's face en face, the position where artists were usually very careful to construct harmonious proportions of the face, many images of Christ clearly inspired by the image from the Veil were presented asymmetrically without any aesthetic reasons to justify their decision (for instance by direction of the figure or composition).

the prototype for the representations of Christ's face in the image of the Manoppello Veil allowed the artists to use this model as a type for showing all scenes where the figure of Christ was presented.

The data presented in this chapter permits certainty that the image of the Manoppello Veil was the source of many known images of Christ in Eastern and Western traditions. Many were presented and still are as the outcome of inspiration from the Shroud of Turin, which ensues from the fact that many syndonologists underestimate the Veil of Manoppello as a "twin" object to the Shroud, failing what is being dealt with an authentic object which carries, just as on the Shroud, the real image of Jesus Christ, the image not made by human hands. Whereas, as mentioned above, most images indicated by syndonologists as originating from the inspiration with the Shroud could not have been made as a result of its observation in the version known before photography was discovered.

Summing up the data accumulated in this chapter, brief arguments will be present below for recognition of the image from the Manoppello Veil as a pattern for the oldest representations of the face of Christ, also collecting together details from previous chapters and from the quoted source materials:

1. On the basis of the image reflected on the Manoppello Veil, a more detailed image can be made than on the basis of the Shroud of Turin, especially since, in the case of the latter, 'before 1898 only a negative of the image was known' (A. Resch), which did not allow for the obtaining of many data explicitly legible on the Veil.
2. The oldest ancient artistic representations, where the type of the image of Christ is beginning to be established, reach back to the times when the Shroud of Turin was hidden within the walls of Edessa. The model for these representations can only be the Veil of Manoppello, which should be identified with the so-called Shroud kept in Kamulia.
3. Some early Christian and later images of Christ were made under the influence of observation of either the obverse or reverse side of the Manoppello Veil. The image from the Veil is the only image allowing artists and artists of icons to observe (for example during processions or public appearances of the Veil) and to copy either the obverse or reverse side.
4. There is a much greater probability that the images of Christ in accordance with the obverse side of the Veil come from the inspiration of the Veil and not the Turin Shroud because the image from the Shroud shows only what is on the reverse side of the Veil. Until the confrontation of the images from the Veil and the Shroud, which took place at the end of the 20th century, it was impossible to say which was the obverse and which the reverse side of the image.



76. Dirc Bouts, *The Last Supper*, central panel from the altar in the Church of St Peter in Leuven (detail), 1464-67

77. Hans Memling, *Last Judgment Triptych* (detail), 1467-71. © K. Sadowski, © Muzeum Narodowe, Gdańsk

5. It is not possible that the artists of icons who noticed in the image of the Shroud such details as an unclear shape of the hair or beard could fail to tell a clearly-drawn trace of blood of striking red colour from the image of the body. With a great deal of probability, it can be said that the images of Christ with a characteristic wisp of hair on the forehead come from the inspiration of the Manoppello Veil, where such a wisp can be seen.

6. Some illumination variants known from observation of the Manoppello Veil and the respective arrangements of the lips and teeth can be found in some artistic representations, which proves that some artists of icons and artists of various epochs showing images of Christ were inspired just by the Manoppello Veil. The effects of their realisations reflect a specific illumination variant observed while looking at the prototype.

7. The image of the Manoppello Veil aggregates various formal elements known from various artistic representations inspired by the image from the Veil and, therefore, it is their prototype. The opposite situation must be excluded because of the formal richness of the Manoppello image incomparable to any artistic representations.

8. The artists of various epochs focusing on one imposing chosen aspect of the image were helpless in front of the formal richness resulting from all variants of the prototype. None of the paintings painted by a man is able to show what can be observed during an examination of the Manoppello Veil. There is no possibility to recreate in one painting all the features of the Manoppello image: what can be seen at one moment in the Manoppello image depends on the way in which the relic is illuminated.

9. The striking resemblance of structural aspects of the Manoppello Veil image to analogical aspects which can be found on numerous representations from various epochs showing the image of Christ points to the fact that the inspiration was drawn from with the Kamulia-Rome-Manoppello Veil from ancient times (antiquity) until modern times (Renaissance).

4. The Manoppello Veil as an acheiropit⁶⁹

All known acheiropits are objects which have a more or less close connection with situations described by biblical authors. Two of them, the Shroud of Turin and the Veil of Manoppello, *sensu stricto* refer to the paschal events described by the evangelists or prophesied in the Old Testament (for example in the Book of Isaias) whereas two others, the Tilma of Guadalupe and the Icon of Coromoto, reflect the situation prophesied in the books of the New Testament, such as the Revelation of St John or the Acts of the Apostles. Each of the mentioned objects is probably made of a different kind of material and is at the same time the basis for images which were formed without the participation of human hands.

The Shroud of Turin is a linen fabric which was used for the burial of Jesus Christ. The linen was brought by Joseph of Arimathea,⁷⁰ a member of the High Council, who, after having obtained permission from Pilate to take the body of Jesus down from the cross, bought it hurriedly at the Jerusalem bazaar just before the Jews started to celebrate the Passover feast. The certainty in the case of the shroud linen we probably never be possible in the case of the Veil of Manoppello because knowledge about its origin is based only on linking various pieces of circumstantial evidence. There is no certainty about the kind of the base material of the Manoppello Veil. The Tilma in turn, where the icon of Mary is visible, and which is known as Our Lady of Mexican Guadalupe was produced from fibres of agave.

⁶⁹ Chapter four consists of extensive fragments of the paper by Karolina Aszyk, *Napięcia pomiędzy ciałem pogrzebanym a zmartwychwstałym – kryteria uznania wizerunku za achieropoiotos na przykładzie Chusty z Manoppello* [*The tensions between the buried and the risen body – the criteria of acknowledging the acheiropoiotos image on the example of the Veil of Manoppello*], which was presented on 24th October 2012 in Warsaw at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University during the seminar “Teologia wizualna w ciele” [“Visual theology in the body”] organised by the Institute of Knowledge about Culture.

⁷⁰ Mk 15, 42-46; see also: Mt 27, 57; Luke 23, 50-53; J 19, 38-40.

Before the image appeared on it, in 1531, it belonged to an Indian now canonised as Saint Cuauhtlatoatzin (with the Christian names Juan Diego) serving him as a kind of overcoat. Before the image appeared on it, it had its practical use. Among the mentioned acheiropits, the least can be said about the background of the image of the Icon of Coromoto. The documents of the Episcopate of Venezuela, who are the possessors of the relic, mention, when referring to its material aspect, only the inconspicuous size of the image, which is 2 x 2.5 cm.

The list of acheiropits is probably not exhausted by the mentioned objects. Many representatives of various fields of science who deal with acheiropits in their work present sometimes very different “catalogues” of objects which carry *acheiropoietos* images. Below, it will be possible to become acquainted with a suggestion as to how to determine the criteria of classifying an object as an acheiropit by considering the most essential features of an object not-made-by-human-hands.

4.1. The criteria for recognising the image as an *acheiropoietos* image

Starting from an essential assessment of the jointly treated state of research into acheiropit objects, it must be concluded that clear criteria of classifying an object as an acheiropit or an image as *acheiropoietos* have not been worked out yet.⁷¹ There is no interdisciplinary view either. They are generally researched exclusively in either a cognitive system: historical-theological, or the one represented by natural sciences. Below, two positions will be presented, one for each of the above-mentioned fields.

In the historical-theological field, an interesting analysis was made by Father Andrzej A. Napiórkowski from the Theological Faculty of the Papal Academy of Theology in Kraków. In the field of natural sciences, one of the more interesting contributions is the opinion of Giulio Fanti from the Mechanical Engineering Faculty of Padua University, which was presented at the conference on *acheiropoietos* images in May 2010 in Frascati. It is interesting to see which objects were classified by each author as objects not-made-by-human-hands and which were not mentioned.

Father Napiórkowski included in the ‘best known acheiropits’ (Father Napiórkowski’s own expression) the Veroicon from Scala Santa in the Lateran, the Edessa *Mandyllion* from the Vatican, Veronica’s Veil from St Peter’s Basilica in Rome and Tilma of Guadalupe. According to Fanti, *acheiropoietos* images are the Shroud of Turin, the Tilma of Guadalupe, the Veil of Manoppello, Father Pio’s Handkerchief and the image of the Mother of God from Medjugorie.

⁷¹ Differentiation should be made between objects, which are called in a polonised version acheiropit, from *acheiropoietos* images. *Acheiropoietos* images are of course inseparable from acheiropits but, while analysing the image itself visible on a concrete acheiropit, we must consider its structural autonomy as an image.

Obviously, the lists of objects recognised by each author as *acheiropits* are different. Father Napiórkowski mentions some objects, for example the Edessa *Mandyllion* from the Vatican, Veronica's Veil from St Peter's Basilica in Rome, which he calls *acheiropits* only symbolically, exclusively based on traditional sources. He does not mention the Shroud of Turin, which is an unquestionable and very important *acheiropit*. On the other hand, in Fanti's list there are such objects as Father Pio's Handkerchief and the image of the Mother of God from Medjugorje, which still require study and research to confirm their belonging to *acheiropit* objects because they are relatively "young". The only *acheiropoiotos* image which appears on both lists is the Tilma of Guadalupe. However, neither author mentions the inconspicuous Icon of Coromoto in Venezuela, which has a similar origin to that of the Tilma of Guadalupe. This example shows how until now there has been no agreement among scientists as to which *acheiropoiotos* images belong to the select group and which can only be called *acheiropoiotos* images or *acheiropit* objects symbolically.

Considering the large discrepancy in passing judgments about the relevance of applying the term *acheiropoiotos* with reference to a picture, it is necessary to determine the criteria which should be used to define an *acheiropoiotos* image and which should not. Is it an image which literally is not made by human hand, as in the case of the Shroud of Turin, or is it only symbolically when it is said that a given picture is only a *vera eikon*, that is a so-called "true picture" which is called *acheiropoiotos* based only on tradition, as in the case of the Veroicon from Scala Santa in the Lateran? Before suggesting the minimum criteria for classifying an image as *acheiropoiotos*, reference must be made to the etymology of the concept itself. The *acheiropoiotos* concept provides many important directions to establish a methodological framework.

The *acheiropoiotos* concept has its origin in Greek antiquity and literally means: not-made-by-human-hands. The above expression appears many times in the New Testament. The Evangelist Mark uses the word *acheiropoiotos* when he quotes the words of Jesus himself talking about the demolition of the temple made-by-human-hand (Mk 14, 58) and rebuilding it as another one, a different one, not made by human hand in three days. This temple is to be the resurrected Jesus himself. In the second letter to the Corinthians, St Paul speaks about the destruction of 'the temple of earthly habitation and receiving from God a house not-made-by-human-hands', everlasting in heaven (2 Cor 5, 1). In the letter to the Colossians, Paul uses the term *acheiropoiotos* when he writes what Christ's baptism means (Col 2, 11). The author of the letter to the Hebrews refers the word *acheiropoiotos* to the Holy Place made not-by-hands and not-of-this-world, namely the temple (Hbr 9, 11), which is Christ himself.

In the quoted texts there is a tension felt between the buried body and the resurrected body, between a buildt temple and a body temple, between the physical and spiritual. Referring the above relations to the best known *acheiropoiotos* image that is the Shroud of Turin, it is possible to say that in a theological sense it points to the rebuilt temple. (Mk 14, 58)

As follows from the above-mentioned, there are many relations between *acheiropoietos* images and the message from the source texts which use the notion of *acheiropoietos*. What consequences can this have on establishing unfailing criteria which can be realized by researches in the field of study?

Defining the above criteria, different cognitive orders must be considered. One of them should be theological order, which points to the rich symbols of the *acheiropoietos* term, the second -- naturalist order, based on a literal understanding of the *acheiropoietos* term. Lastly, historical order should not be omitted either.

Defining such criteria now:

1. Theological criterion: the Shroud of Turin, an undeniable acheiropit, teaches that the content coded in the *acheiropoietos* image should be compliant with the Revealed Word.
2. Naturalist criterion: to recognise the given picture as an *acheiropoietos* image, it must be proved that it was made in a way excluding human participation. Naturalist theologies obviously do not have an insight into the supernatural world but they can decide about the impossibility of making a given image at a particular stage of development in technology when the picture appeared.
3. Factographical, historical or traditional criterion: an image "aspiring" to be within an *acheiropoietos* image group should have its line of descent. For images of descent earlier than our modern understanding of history, the required minimum should be a trustworthy traditional source.

The above list of criteria is a proposal about how to introduce order in the classification of images considered to be *acheiropoietos* images. It can also be helpful to distinguish images recognised as a *vera icon* or a relic from *acheiropoietos* images. It is worthwhile mentioning at this point that an *acheiropoietos* image is at the same time a *vera icon* -- a true image and a relic. Of course not every *vera icon* image or relic is an *acheiropoietos* image.

4.2. Why should the Manoppello Veil be recognised as an *acheiropoietos* image?

Having established the criteria for recognising a particular image as an *acheiropoietos* image, the criteria needs to be applied to the Manoppello Veil, as some people question its belonging to acheiropit objects.

As has been demonstrated in the previous section of this dissertation, according to a few German researchers, Sister Blandina Paschalis Schlömer, Father Heinrich Pfeiffer and Father Andreas Resch, the Manoppello Veil image is identical to the Shroud of Turin image.

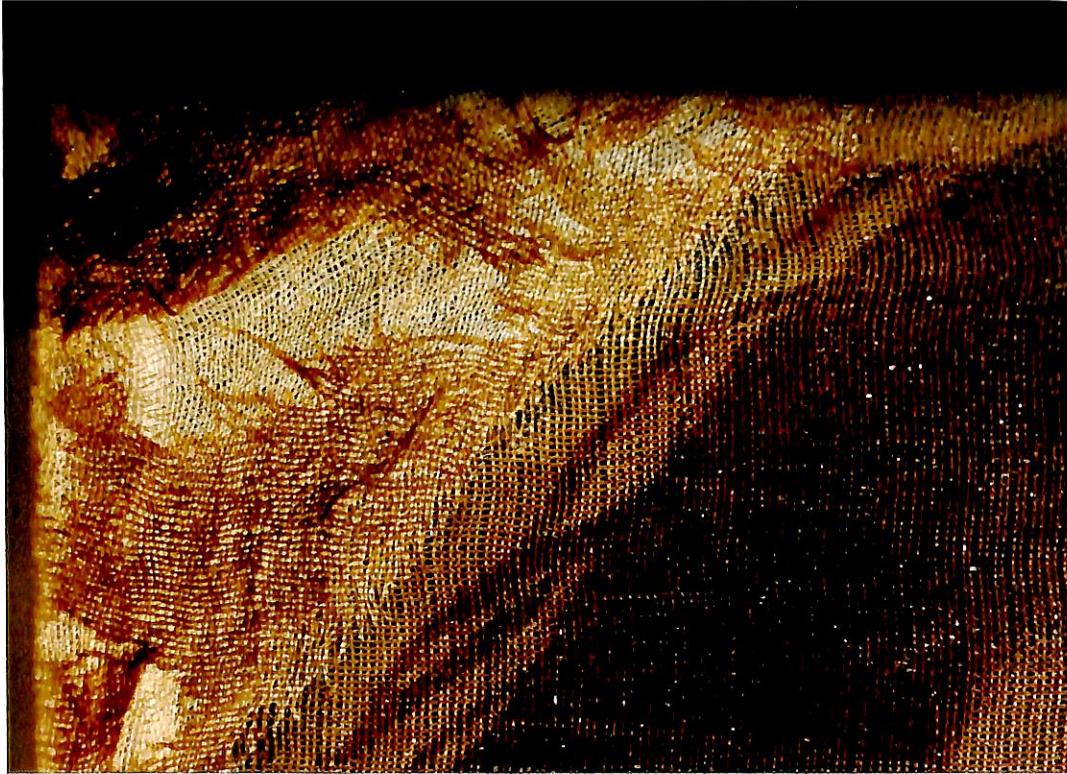
The image from the Shroud, through its visual similarity to photographic images and also through the fact that it is a negative image, is classified as a photographic record (as has been demonstrated in the research in the Optical Institute D'Orsay near Paris).⁷² In the case of the Veil, the matter seems to be more complex. The structure of the image from the Manoppello Veil shows a resemblance to artistic paintings. It is enough to look closely at the photographs of the Manoppello Veil, at what can be seen both on its obverse and reverse sides, to fall into the misapprehension that it is a picture painted by an expert artist. This impression seems to deepen when focus is laid on particular details of the image. The way in which the hair itself is "styled" [photos 78, 79] is puzzling. When we look at the close-ups, it is almost imaginable which way the artist's hand was running.

Stylistically, the image from Manoppello cannot be classified into any particular epoch in art history. When, for instance, particular attention is focused on the reproduction of the hair and beard, it brings to mind many Renaissance images of Christ especially from the circle of Flemish or Dutch masters. However, showing the face of Christ with its proportions as on the Manoppello Veil can be seen on images of Christ coming from various epochs. While analysing hundreds of examples with images of Christ coming from many icon schools of both Eastern and Western Christianity, executed in various techniques, we come to the conclusion that the Manoppello icon is perhaps a prototype for some or even many of them.

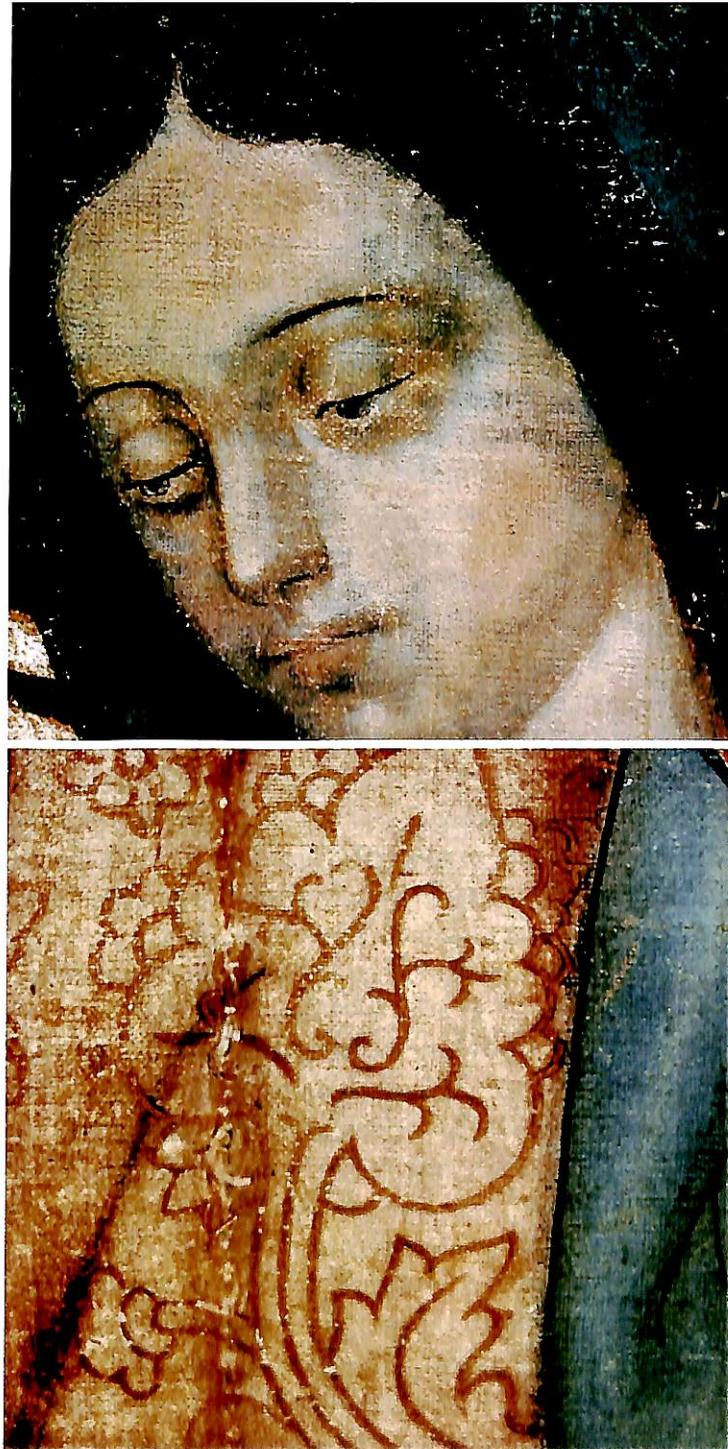
Particular artists and icon artists reproducing the image of Christ most probably focused on one imposing aspect of the Veil image, being totally helpless in the face of the formal diversity emanating from the Manoppello image. It would be very difficult, while painting in a traditional way and applying techniques known from the past, to reproduce in one painting all the features of the image from the Manoppello Veil. The reason is that what is seen is dependent on the way in which the Manoppello relic is illuminated and it is impossible to see at one moment all the elements of the image together. Art history does not know examples which are technically similar to the Manoppello Veil.

There is also one further question to be resolved, among others: why do some anatomical elements of the face, illuminated from different directions with the preservation of the same observation point, differ as if we were dealing with different versions of the image? [photos 11-21; 22-32; 37-47] In previous sections, there was an opportunity to analyse the changing character of the image from the Veil while illuminating it around its axis. It is puzzling that light has the same effect on the obverse and reverse sides. Until the photographs depicting the described phenomena had been taken only an intuitive definition as to what was responsible for the changing character of the Veil image could be made. Now it is known which direction of light causes this or that effect.

⁷² A. Marion, A-L. Courage, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150. Speaking about the photographic nature in the essential meaning of the phenomenon as the principle of image creation independent of the applied technology, namely not about the kind of photographic nature which is spoken about by a distinguished researcher of the Shroud, Barrie Schwartz, who announced that the image on the Shroud is not a photograph. In the common understanding of the word "photograph", the image from the Shroud is not a photograph.



78. *Veil of Manoppello*. Obverse side, detail (left upper corner). Illumination variant VII
79. *Veil of Manoppello*. Obverse side, detail (right lower corner). Illumination variant IV



- 80, 81. Image not made by human hand (acheiropoietos), The Tilma of Guadalupe, (details), 1531. When looking at fragments of the icon of Mexico, the richness of formal solutions is amazing as if they were the effect of activity of a famous master of painting. However, there are no artist's pigments in the icon, which was confirmed by naturalist researchers, one of whom is a Nobel prize-winner.

The changing character of the Veil image as has been observed before, concerns not only anatomical elements of the face but also structural properties, which include various artistic effects. These effects make an impression as if the image was built up from traditional pigments.

The image contains great richness of colour tones and drawing effects, which create the impression that they were made by human hands while at the same time it includes elements indicating compliance with facial anatomy. The shape of the pupils is compliant with the physiology of the eye. According to Sister Blandina Paschalis, who bases her opinion on consultations with representatives of medical science, the size of the pupils of the eyes from the Manoppello Veil is characteristic of a situation when a man who has been in the dark for a long time or is awakened suddenly from sleep is exposed to a sudden flash of light. What is puzzling is the "non-typical" shape of the irises from the Veil, which has no equivalent in any Renaissance images of Christ when a human face was reflected in a similar convention to that in the Veil.

An almost identical shape of irises can be seen though on the *Mandyllion* of Constantinople mentioned in this work and kept since the 14th century in Genova. It must be stated again that the proportions of the face in this icon (the length of the nose, the shapes of eyebrow arches and eyes and irises) are almost identical to those on the Veil of Manoppello [photo 62]. There is little probability that this is accidental. It is more probable that the face from the Veil was a prototype for the *Mandyllion* from Constantinople. It could be, in a similar way, a prototype for many other representations of Christ's face from Syrian and Byzantine icons, Roman mosaics and Gothic and Renaissance paintings of many artistic schools. This should not seem strange once it is known that before the Veil of Manoppello arrived in Europe it had been in Constantinople for a few centuries and earlier in Kamulia near Edessa.

This study has tried to demonstrate how many elements of the image are dependent on our perception of this or that angle of light causing the illusion of the disappearance or appearance of various anatomical details of the face or colour effects. Our senses should not be deceived when confronted with puzzles that are difficult to reason or beguile the mind with appearances. When speaking about illusions, it must be emphasised that, in the case of the Manoppello Veil, that delusion is easy because it recalls to mind paintings which are known to have been made by human hands.

In an assessment of the Manoppello Veil, another image, which, like that of the Shroud of Turin, is an *acheiropoietos* image must be considered. The image is the icon on the Tilma of Guadalupe in Mexico. The similarity of artistic structures in both pictures is striking. When looking at fragments of the icon of Mexico, the richness of formal solutions is amazing as if they were the effect of the activity of a famous master of painting [photos 80-81]. However, there are no artist's pigments in the icon, which was confirmed by naturalist researchers, one of whom is a Nobel prize-winner.

If we want to avoid reductionist opinions in diagnosing such phenomena as the Veil of Manoppello, it is necessary to analyse all acheiropits jointly, applying all possible cognitive systems not excluding faith based on reason, obviously. The last one is perhaps the most essential if we intend to decipher the meaning of this icon and the sense encoded in it because it opens our mind to horizons inaccessible for naturalist types of research tools.

In this context, it is worth remembering that the conformity of the face from the Shroud and the face from the Veil, anatomically and with regard to the deformation being the result of torture sustained during the Way of the Cross, proves that we are dealing with relics from the Holy Sepulchre. If a relic like the Shroud can stand up to inspection by forensic doctors who confirm that the Shroud conforms to the text of the Gospels⁷³, then when all the convergent elements of the images from the Shroud and the Veil, are linked the Veil of Manoppello must be recognised as a relic of Christ's Passover.

On the basis of the arguments presented above, is the Veil of Manoppello recognisable as an *acheiropietos* image? The answer to the above question may be found by referring to the three criteria which defined at the beginning of the chapter.

1. Referring to the theological criterion, the Veil of Manoppello can be spoken about as an *acheiropietos* image because the content encoded in the image comply with the content of the Revealed Word of God (this matter will be discussed more extensively in the next chapter).
2. Next, referring to the naturalist criterion: the Manoppello Veil image can be declared as an *acheiropietos* image because it is not possible for the Veil image to be a work of an expert artist – all elements analysed together exclude assigning the image style to any particular period in the history of iconography. Also the “technique” of the image, having no equivalent in art history, points to the fact that the image is literally not-made-by-human-hands. Recalling the case of the Tilma of Guadalupe, doubtlessly an acheiropit, we have the right to declare that the images on which artistic effects can be seen need not be made by human hands.
3. Factographic criterion, the historical or traditional one, also allow the Veil of Manoppello image to be classified into the group of *acheiropietos* images when considering its origin. Traditional sources as well as historical ones testify to this – if we refer to such authorities in the field as Father Pfeiffer or Father Resch – sufficiently transmitting the information about the history of the Veil during the last 2000 years.

⁷³ See ref. 25.

5. The Manoppello Veil in a theological perspective

Do not hide Your face from me
Ps 27, 9

The analysis of the image of the Manoppello Veil would be incomplete if we ignored its supernatural dimension. This issue concerns all *acheiropoietos* images. The explanation of technical issues concerning the structure of *acheiropoietos* images should not obscure the issues connected with learning about its meaningful sphere because the latter belongs to their very nature.

In analysing an *acheiropoietos* image, attention should not only be turned to the image itself, which structurally is completely different from images made by human hands, but also to its cause – not only are *acheiropoietos* images themselves (looking at their structural side) completely different from other images made by man but also the way in which they started to exist has no equivalent in the history of culture.

Theological sources for the Manoppello Veil image and other *acheiropoietos* images can be found in biblical texts. They are present in various kinds of Old Testament descriptions of visual signs accompanying epiphanies and God's intervention in the history of the Chosen People and in the texts of the New Testament, especially those which refer to Paschal events.

One of the Old Testament epiphanies took place during the making of the covenant between God and Abraham in the land of Canaan. The object of this covenant was the promise to grant Canaan to the descendants of Abraham. It was confirmed by visual signs of 'smoke as

if from a furnace and fire as if from torches' which 'passed between two halves of animals' offered to God by the patriarch (Gen 15, 17). A significant trait of this covenant was the fact that Abraham received that visual sign in reply to the question directed to God: 'Lord, how shall I know that I shall receive it [the land of Canaan]?' (Gen 15, 8)

On the basis of the analysis of the quoted line, it is possible to conclude that even in the dawn of the history of the Chosen People, God granted the guarantee of His truthfulness and credibility by means of visual signs. In the example of Abraham, it is possible to say that a man who stands in a relation to God needs visual signs with special persuasive value. Images not-made-by-human-hands seem to be such signs because in their case the addressee also receives some kind of guarantee of the truthfulness and credibility of God's promises. In the case of the Manoppello Veil image and other *acheiropoiotos* images, the guarantee of God's promise credibly refers to the fulfilment of the promise sealed with the blood of Jesus Christ. A special example of this is the traces of Christ's blood left on His burial Shroud. All known *acheiropoiotos* reflect various kinds of signs, in a different way and scope, whose source is in the Gospel message. That is why it is possible to say that the Veil of Manoppello and other *acheiropoiotos*, such as the Shroud of Turin and the Tilma of Guadalupe, are signs of the covenant of the New Testament, confirming the veracity of the Gospels and enhancing the verbal message of the covenant of the New Testament.

The connection of theology with visual signs accompanying the epiphanies of the Old Covenant and those present in the message of the Gospels does not exhaust the search for sources of theology of the *acheiropoiotos* image. The theological reflection on *acheiropoiotos* should also be connected with the theology of the holy icon. The icon of the Christian tradition, when discussed from the point of view of the structure of the image, appears as an image made (painted) by a man but, in the categories of its meaning, it touches a supernatural reality because in it the holy icon has its source and sense of existence: the content of the holy icon is the image of supernatural reality revealed in the pages of the Bible, which is expressed by the language of symbols.⁷⁴

The holy icon made by human hand and an *acheiropoiotos* icon are thus connected by a common area of symbolism though in both cases we have different models of symbols. In contrast to the holy icon made by an icon artist, an *acheiropoiotos* image inscribed in its material structure, similar to the word recorded by hagiographers, is a direct reflection of revelation. The icon artist indirectly encodes meanings transmitted by means of a hagiographer and, as it also turns out, often indirectly reflects in the icon the prototype features of the *acheiropoiotos* image.⁷⁵ In the case of an icon made by human hands we are dealing with encoded meanings in the image by the mediation of the icon artist; in the case

⁷⁴ See among others: L. Uspienski, op. cit.; P. Florenski, *Ikonoostas i inne szkice [Iconostasis and other sketches]*, transl. Z. Podgórzec, Białystok 1997; M. Quenot, *Ikona okno ku wieczności [Icon. A window on the eternity]*, transl. H. Paprocki Białystok 1997; P. Evdokimow, *Sztuka ikony. Teologia piękna [The art of icon. Theology of beauty]*, transl. M. Żurowska, Warszawa 1999; Ch. Schönborn, op. cit.

⁷⁵ On the example of many artistic representations of various schools, it can be concluded that they must have had a common prototype image, which invariably directs researchers towards the *acheiropoiotos* images.

of the *acheiropoietos* icon we do not have such a mediator because everything indicates that we are dealing with the meanings flowing directly from divine revelation.

The *acheiropoietos* icon is then a materialised sign of God's revelation. Together with God's word from the Bible, it reveals the same truth as the word, expressing it only by different means. The *acheiropoietos* image can be considered by resemblance to the biblical word as a revealed image. The revealed word and the revealed image should be declared as parallel and fully compatible carriers of the same revelation.

Acheiropoietos images are also exceptional images for other reasons: apart from the symbolic character which appears in them a different way than in holy icons which are the work of human hands, they are a reflection of a supernatural image in veristic categories understood here as a "purely mechanical" reflection in the form of real faces and figures. The way in which the image originated, obviously unknown to the holy icon which is a work of human hands, confirms the fact that these images are literally a reflection of real figures which took place in a actual *punctum* of place and a actual *punctum* of time.

As follows from the above-mentioned, the full theological analysis of the Manoppello Veil might require a focusing on the image on the Veil not only treating it in the categories of a sign of epiphany but also analysing different types of symbolic nature characteristic of an *acheiropoietos* image and of the holy icon made by human hands. This investigation shall concentrate on the first problem. It was that which was provoked at the beginning of this dissertation: the Biblical scene of God's covenant with Abraham. Referring to this event, finds that in a similar way as the signs of fire and smoke passing between halves of the animals offered by Abraham, they became for him the guarantee of a fulfilling of the promise by God; in the case of *acheiropoietos* images, their addressee receives in them a guarantee of the fulfilment of the promise of another covenant: the Veil of Manoppello is a hope-giving sign of the covenant of the New Testament.

On what basis can it be said that the Veil of Manoppello is a sign of the covenant of the New Testament?

Answering the above question, reference will be made to the texts from the New Testament speaking about the New Covenant which God has entered into with man. One of the letters of St Paul has been chosen. The Apostle of the Nations unfolds before the reader the perspective of taking possession of 'the land', in a similar way to God's covenant with Abraham to grant his descendants the land of Canaan, as described above. That land is, however, completely different and called by the Apostle 'our home land'. 'Our home land is in heaven' – writes St Paul. 'From there we expect the Saviour Our Lord Jesus Christ who will transform our transient body and make it similar to his glorious body. He shall do this with the power capable of subordinating everything to Himself.' (Phlp 3, 20-21)

In the light of the quoted words, the question posed above shall be modified a little: on what basis can it be said that the Veil of Manoppello is a sign which guarantees the fulfilment of the promise of God contained in St Paul's words?

The realization that the Veil of Manoppello is an object with so many connections to the Shroud of Turin, as has been shown by, among others, the researchers quoted in this work: Sister Blandina Paschalis Schlömer, Father Heinrich Pfeiffer and Father Andreas Resch, the conclusions from the above-mentioned analyses seem unavoidable and compatible with the most probable theories explaining the fact of the appearance of the face of Jesus Christ on the Shroud.

Most of the renowned sydonologists or researchers of the Turin Shroud seem to have no doubt that Jesus Christ left His imprint in the form of the image visible on the Shroud of Turin.⁷⁶ Their hypotheses lead to the conclusion that at the moment the body freed itself from the Shroud (which itself is a phenomenon unparalleled in nature and doubtless a supernatural activity)⁷⁷ the image which is an effect of radiation formed itself on the Shroud fibres' surface. If the reconstruction made by Sister Blandina Paschalis Schlömer of the events in the Jerusalem sepulchre on the morning of the Resurrection, is accepted the image on the Manoppello Veil must be the face of Jesus Christ, who, after having penetrated the linens, leaves them empty.⁷⁸ According to the nun of Manoppello, these linens, through similarity to what happened with the burial linens of Jesus Christ, are the Shroud of Turin and also the Veil of Manoppello. When linking together all the circumstances connected with the event of the Resurrection,⁷⁹ at the Manoppello Veil should be looked at as the Veil put on the Shroud in the place where it covered the face of Jesus Christ. The Veil of Manoppello would be the Paschal Veil receiving the face of the resurrecting Christ.

⁷⁶ Already on 21st April 1902, the agnostic Yves Delage speaking at the Academie des Sciences in Paris stated that 'based on calculus, the chance that the image on the Shroud could be someone other than Jesus Christ is 1:10,000,000,000. With passing years, based on newer research, this estimate has been corrected higher.' (see: A. Resch, op. cit., p. 132). Today it is known that 'the image of the body is not formed by means of any material but is an effect of oxidizing – dehydration of microfibrils of linen cellulose.' (see in: Barberis, M. Boccaletti, op. cit. p. 152). Owing to the experiments of Giuseppe Baldacchini and Paolo Di Lazzaro (ENEA Research Centre) of 2008, it is also known that, while explaining how the image appeared on the Shroud, the phenomenon of radiation should be taken into very serious consideration as a very probable cause. While searching for the answer to how the image was formed, the mechanism of projection is also spoken about (Emanuela Marinelli, see in: A. Tornielli, op. cit. p. 32) or of optical projection (Andre Marion and Anne-Laure Courage, D'Orsay Research Centre, see in: A. Marion, A.-L. Courage, op. cit., pp.149-150) which is not contrary to the radiation hypothesis but even supplements it.

⁷⁷ The following fact speaks about the supernatural character of the phenomenon of the body freeing itself from the Shroud: in spite of the close contact of the body with the Shroud linen for at least 36 hours, the blood clots visible on the linen remained untouched – the body could not have been torn from the linen.

⁷⁸ B. P. Schlömer, op. cit., pp. 116-121.

⁷⁹ Author described them in: Z. Treppa, *Fotografia z Manoppello. Twarz Zmartwychwstającego Mesjasza* [The Photography from Manoppello. The Face of the Rising Messiah], Włocławek 2009, see also: B. Korduk, *Tajemnicze wersety* [Mysterious Verses], in: "Ozon", op. cit. p.46.

The Manoppello Veil, deciphered as a paschal sign, should obviously be deciphered as a sign of the New Covenant, that is a sign which is a guarantee of the fulfilment of the Promise of God contained in the above-quoted words of St Paul. If we profess in St Paul's words, that 'Our home land is in heaven' and that 'From there we expect the Saviour Our Lord Jesus Christ who will transform our transient body and make it similar to his glorious body', the warranty of these words is the paschal face of the transfigured Christ from the Manoppello Veil.

Conclusion

The many-faceted analysis of the Manoppello Veil leads to the conclusion that an authentic image not-made-by-human-hands and of the same rank of authenticity as the image from the Shroud of Turin is being dealt with. As of the latter it can be said, using the words of the Holy Father Pope Francis, that 'it gives us an impulse to climb Mount Calvary, look at the Cross, submerge ourselves in the eloquent silence of love'⁸⁰, of the former one it can be said that it gives us an impulse to enter the empty sepulchre on the morning of the Resurrection. Looking from that point of view, it must be recognised that the Veil of Manoppello must be considered as one of the relics of the Holy Sepulchre, which, beside the Shroud of Turin, the Veil of Oviedo and the Tunic of Argenteuil, is a "witness" of what happened on 9th April 30 AD (which, according to theologians, is the most probable date of the resurrection of Jesus Christ.)

The image on the Veil of Manoppello should also be looked upon from another perspective: as an image of historically documented origin, coming from the ancient times and also as an image which became a prototype of early Christian images of Christ. These indirectly confirm its authenticity because when they originated there was no other pattern for the image of Christ. Canonical gospels are silent about the physical features of Jesus Christ while the Shroud of Turin, which was considered their source, was still hidden within the walls of Edessa.

Time is certainly needed for the data presented above to change the views of sydonologists speaking about the influence of the image from the Shroud on the formation of typology and canons of the image of Christ. Some of these views were confirmed with their authority

⁸⁰ Address of the Holy Father Pope Francis on the occasion of demonstration of the Shroud of Turin on television, Holy Saturday, 30th March 2013. Quoted after KA1 02. 04. 2013.

for many years and were deeply rooted and well established in their minds. We hope that the desire to know the truth, which is the basic purpose of scientific argument, will lead precisely to this. As the history of the development of science shows, time always falsifies or verifies theories of all sorts.

The structural research of the image from the Veil should not end with the presentation of data referring to the conformity of many Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance images of Christ with the prototype image of the Manoppello Veil. Research should be conducted as to which actual images originated under the direct influence of observing the Veil and which under the secondary inspiration resulting from the observation of the man-made canonical artistic images. It is very probable that the type of Christ's face of canonical elements worked out on the basis of direct observation of the Veil could have been with time enriched with secondary-canonical elements later. These might have seemed equally obligatory to reproduce in paintings as canonical aspects.

The research into the changing character of the image from the Manoppello Veil should not be closed either. The illumination variants researched there were acquired by photographing the Veil only from one point of view and during the changes in the source of light which was circling the image exclusively on one orbit situated vertically to the plane of the image. To obtain more information about the changing image from the Veil, many more variants of observation and illumination should be applied. Their acquisition would allow for the application of the observation results to comparative research of the Manoppello Veil with early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance images of Christ.

It is also impossible to predict what could be observed and analysed further with a more extensive scope of research into the Veil. There is no doubt that the Veil of Manoppello is yet to disclose many aspects of the image. Learning about them is a great challenge for the mind and should not be avoided. It is to be hoped that these observations, which were the basis of the data concerning the changing character of the image, will contribute to a better understanding of the mystery of the image on the Manoppello Veil and its penetration, at least to some extent.

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The authors have studied the characteristics of structural acheiropoietos images for several years; they have had numerous individual art exhibitions and have received rewards in painting (K. Aszyk) and design photography (Z. Treppa). Their joint work is the text for the album *Manoppello i Lanciano. Oblicze i Serce Boga* [*Manoppello and Lanciano. The Face and Heart of God*]

The work of Karolina Aszyk and Zbigniew Treppa is an important, well documented and scientifically verified contribution to research on acheiropoietos images. The research which uses a specific illumination method is an innovative attempt to prove that the fabric bearing the face of Jesus is byssus. The analysis of photographs taken by the researchers in February 2011 with illumination at a very small angle highlighting the smallest details of folds and creases of the fabric, seems to suggest that the fabric is in fact byssus although there is no certainty, of which the scholars from Gdańsk meticulously inform. They also take into consideration the possibility that the fabric used for the image might have been linen, but one thing is undeniable in either case—there is no other rational explanation of the method in which the image originated than a transcendental one.

It is almost certain and clearly indicated by the work reviewed, that some icon artists and painters presenting images of Christ were inspired by the Manoppello Veil, which was kept between 8th and 16th century in Rome as “Veronica” (Vera icon), the most precious Roman relic. The research is continued to establish which concrete images of Christ known from various iconographic traditions were inspired by the image of the Manoppello Veil and which by the Turin Shroud. In both cases, however, we deal with the same face of the Savior reflected on the Shroud and on the Veil and rendered there in a way excluding activity of the human hand.

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