

## Popular Belief and the Image of the Beardless Christ

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Early images of Christ borrowed significantly from the Classical tradition. It is generally agreed that two traditions co-existed in which Christ could be youthful and unbearded or else older and bearded. This article traces the literary and historical backgrounds for both pictorial traditions from the late apostolic period to the thirteenth century. It proposes an origin in the East for the tradition of representing Christ with a beard that gained in popularity in the west in the twelfth century. This was a tradition that was driven by popular practice and owes nothing to the influence of the Church.

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No one knows what Jesus of Nazareth looked like.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, over the course of time, the Western world gave him a physiognomy that became familiar to every Christian—a slender solemn face with curly dark hair and a small beard. Dieric Bouts, Albrecht Dürer, Leonardo da Vinci, Rembrandt, and especially the Victorians have fixed this image in our visual memory. On the other hand, Michelangelo, when decorating the wall of the Sistine Chapel in 1536–1541, painted his Christ as an almost nude, antique deity without a beard. The Roman Catholic hierarchy was not pleased with many an audacious detail of this Last Judgment, and after the Council of Trent nearly all the nudity was decently covered.<sup>2</sup> There was also criticism over Christ's beardlessness,<sup>3</sup> but the face of Christ remained unchanged. Thus even in the days of the Counter Reformation, it was not seen as offensive to depict Christ as beardless. This article will examine the reasons as to when and why the beardless Christ, human or godlike, disappeared.<sup>4</sup>

It is possible that the Christian populace had a far greater impact on the development of the image of Christ than official statements and Church dogmas would leave us to believe and, as elsewhere, 'low' culture eclipsed 'high'. Needless to say, this article is not the first to deal with the genesis of the Christ's image. Ernst von Dobschütz, Friedrich Gerke, André Grabar, Erich Dinkler, and other dis-

tinguished scholars of early Christian iconography have written extensively about the various archetypes of Christ's face.<sup>5</sup> Robin Cormack, Herbert Kessler, and Hans Belting are among the generation that followed in their footsteps.<sup>6</sup> As scholarly as their recent findings are, it is clear that they have touched upon Christ's image only obliquely.<sup>7</sup> Thomas Mathews, one of the most recent scholars in the field of Christian imagery, has directly addressed the question and has asserted that in early Christian art, Christ was barefaced since he had explicitly androgynous traits.<sup>8</sup> Two recent exhibitions having the physiognomy of Christ as their prime subject do not refer to the beardless Christ.<sup>9</sup>

It is generally agreed that since early Christian times, the image of Christ as the son of God who came down to earth to save mankind, has its roots in two antique prototypes which were once used to visualize the Roman gods. Both traditions co-existed for many centuries. The first of these is the Hellenistic type of Jesus Christ, extant since the third century, in which Christ is the eternal youth. He can be paralleled to Apollo and Dionysios, both deities untouched by time because they exist in a cosmic cycle. The second type is more historical, and represents Christ as an adult man with a full beard. This figure is also based on a Classical type, the philosopher or *theios aner*. The beard stands for wisdom and also for status, comparable to the one Jupiter is gifted with.

This variety in images is not surprising. The actual presence of the Savior on earth and not the visual memory of his existence was the main concern of the Church Fathers. It was the Word made flesh, and thus the Word was the core of the Christian faith, not the flesh. As such, the official Church was not interested in Christ's physiognomy, but disputed the nature in which God's Son had come down to us—as a human, as a God, or as both—but it offered no guidelines as to what Christ had looked like. Hostility towards the adoration of images governed the attitude of the Church, rather than an appreciation of the popular wish to have a transcendent and yet human God translated into pictures.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, there were no contemporary sources, either visual or verbal. Thus Saint Augustine could stress that what we think in words is more important than what we see in images. In his *De Trinitate*, he wrote around 400:

For even the countenance of the Lord himself in the flesh is represented differently by reason of the diversity of innumerable thoughts, even though it was only one, whichever it was. But in our faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, it is not the image which the mind forms for itself and which may perhaps be far different for what it actually was that leads to salvation, but what we think of man according to his kind. Neither do we know the countenance of the Virgin Mary.<sup>11</sup>

Along with the canonical literature there are apocryphal texts, legends, and traveler's accounts. The Acts of John, dating from the early third century, are explicit in describing variances in Christ's appearance. It relates (John 88–89) how John and the apostle James, when in their boat, noticed Christ waiting for them ashore. James saw him in the form of a child, but when he pointed him out to John,

I [John], said: "Which child?" And he answered me: "The one who is beckoning us." And I said: "This is because of the long watch we have kept at sea. You are not seeing straight, brother James. Do you not see the man standing there who is handsome, fair and cheerful looking?" But he said to me, "I do not see that man, my brother."<sup>12</sup>

Going ashore to investigate, they became even more confused. According to John,

he appeared to me again as rather bald[-headed] but with a thick flowing beard, but to James as a young man whose beard was just beginning. ... I tried to see him as he was ... But sometimes he appeared to me as a small man with no good looks, and then as looking up to heaven.<sup>13</sup>

It is remarkable that both Apostles see, at exactly the same time, the two different types of Christ that had co-existed in the visual arts since the third century—the young child or adolescent, and the adult or bearded man.

Other early Christian sources confirm that the ordinary believer either did not expect Christ to have a standardized face, or else had to admit that it was impossible to describe him. The anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza who went to the Holy Land around 570 left us with a vivid description of every place he visited.<sup>14</sup> In Jerusalem, when praying in the Praetorium of Pilate, he saw a picture of Christ, and was more interested in the delicacy of his fingers and feet than in his features:

He had a well shaped foot, small and delicate, but was of ordinary height, with a handsome face, curly hair, and a beautiful hand with long fingers, as you can see from a picture which is there in the Praetorium and was painted while he was alive.<sup>15</sup>

In Egypt he came to see the cloth in Memphis, with which Jesus during his lifetime had wiped his face. The imprint that his face left on the veil was widely worshipped as an image, not made by human hands, "but it was too bright for us to concentrate on since, as you went on concentrating, it changed before your eyes".<sup>16</sup>

Apparently, the Roman Christian did not need recognizable features in order to worship Jesus or so the Church Fathers told him. The early Church had always been strict in forbidding the adoration of images and therefore did not want Christ's face to be memorable. As we saw above, Saint Augustine was firm in his view that we know nothing of what Christ looked like. How the hostility towards graven images was balanced against the popular urge for commemorative portraits differed in the East and the West and influenced the establishment of Christ's facial appearance to a great extent.

#### IMAGES OF CHRIST IN THE EAST AND THE WEST TO THE LATE SIXTH CENTURY

The images of Christ as a young man—the Hellenistic type—can be found from the late third century onwards. We first see him in the Roman catacombs (Jesus and the *haemorroissa* in SS Pietro e Marcellino), while later on he is more frequently represented. The sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, who died on 25 August 359, was found under the Church of Saint Peter in Rome. It portrays Jesus as a beautiful youth on his way to Jerusalem, as a prisoner before Pontius Pilate, and as the glorious *Maiestas*, seated above the firmament of Caelus (Figure 1). He is beardless in every scene and there is no distinction between his face as a human being on earth and his godlike appearance.

While the Junius Bassus carvings come from Rome, many images in the Eastern Empire depict him beardless. The Barberini ivory diptych, dating from the sixth century and now in the Louvre, shows a beardless Christ between sun and moon in a *clipeus* held by two angels at the top of the ivory.<sup>17</sup> The monumental mosaic with Christ between the four beasts in Thessaloniki (fifth century) represents him as an eternal youth, like the famous mosaic in Ravenna's San Vitale (c.540). The ivory throne of Maximianus (also in Ravenna), the ivory casket in Brescia (late fourth century), the Passion ivories in the British Museum (early fifth century) all



FIGURE 1 Junius Bassus sarcophagus 359AD, Rome, Saint Peter. Detail: Christ between Peter and Paul. Christ is beardless (from: F. Gerke, *Christus in der spätantiken Plastik*, Berlin 1941, pl. 49). (Courtesy of the author).

show him beardless.<sup>18</sup> The same type is found on silver objects, such as the beautiful Syrian chalice in the Cleveland Museum dating from the late sixth century.<sup>19</sup>

It is possible to identify, even from these few well-known examples, three consistent elements. First, the Hellenistic type occurs on all *specimina* of the visual arts: frescoes, mosaics, ivories, sarcophagi, and silver. Second, Christ is beardless both when performing his *Miracula Christi* on earth and when residing in heaven. And third, this type is as common in the East as it is in the West.

Exactly the same can be said about the historical type—the bearded Christ.<sup>20</sup> The painted fragments in the Museo Nazionale in Rome belong to the earliest examples, as does a painting in the catacomb of Commodilla (mid-fourth century) which shows him, with a beard, between Alpha and Omega.<sup>21</sup> In the monumental mosaic in the church of Santa Pudenziana, Rome, Christ is seated in majesty among the Apostles, clad in gold and wearing a beard. Heavily restored though the mosaic is, Christ's face dates to the early fifth century. Sarcophagi, ivory *pixes*, silver *patens*, bronze *ampullae*, gems, and illustrated manuscripts from East to West give innumerable examples of the bearded type. Here, too, these examples show moments from his earthly life, his death, and his timeless residence in heaven.<sup>22</sup>

In the past, scholars have sought to explain the two different types of Christ as his having two distinct natures. The beardless Christ represents him as the eternal youth, in existence before Creation and before time—the *Logos* nonincarnate—

whereas the bearded Christ is the Savior, the Word made flesh.<sup>23</sup> The beard here is the sign not only of maturity, but also of wisdom and of historical authenticity.<sup>24</sup> The two types should also be seen as a visual reflection of the theological controversy between supporters of Arianism and orthodox followers, who believed in the Son as *homo ousios* with the Father. Several early Christian monuments seem to have served as evidence for this discussion. The church of San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (probably completed before 526), although heavily restored, still clearly divides the christological cycle into two: Christ is beardless up until the Last Supper, but he wears a dark beard from the Passion onwards.<sup>25</sup> Equally clear are the wooden doors of the Church of Santa Sabina, Rome (431–433).<sup>26</sup> The *Miracula Christi* all show him as the beardless Christ with long curly hair, whereas Christ is wearing a beard from Peter's denial until the Ascension. In the paradisaical scene of Christ between Peter and Paul and in the famous Parousia scene he is beardless again.<sup>27</sup>

Thomas Mathews is one of the most recent advocates for a direct link between Arian controversy and the distinct types of Christ:

In the wake of the Arian controversy that dominated fourth-century theological debate, the aim of the artist was not to make an image of any mere earthly man, however exalted his status, but to create the true superman, a Christ who would be equal to God the Father.<sup>28</sup>

Kurt Weitzmann, too, adheres to the idea that the two types reflect the two natures of Christ, the *Logos* and the Word incarnate.<sup>29</sup> It is indeed tempting to do so, given the fact that disputes other than those concerning Christ's nature have so often had their impact on the representational arts. For instance, Pope Sixtus III (432–440) had the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome built as soon as the Council of Ephesus had proclaimed the Virgin as *Theotokos*.<sup>30</sup>

Yet we concluded above that images with and without a beard, in every phase of Christ's life on earth and in every picture of his timeless existence, are almost totally unpredictable. It seems that André Grabar was right when, in 1961, he argued that

the impossibility of separating as to their significance the representations of Christ made man (or the Word Incarnate) from those which mean to represent him apart from the Incarnation as God the Word, born before time and eternal, makes for skepticism concerning the existence of a theological iconography of Christ in early Christian art.<sup>31</sup>

And, further on: "One could equally well acknowledge that the image-makers were preoccupied with the great problems of the theologians at the period of ecumenical councils, or that they were not."<sup>32</sup>

From the time that Grabar made these comments, an avalanche of visual material has been published that underlines his hypothesis and allows us to conclude that the iconography of the image of Christ does not reflect the christological dogmas of the first centuries of the Christian era, either in the East or the West. Artists followed the official opinion of the Church that it is unknown what Jesus Christ looked like and, moreover, that it is unimportant. 'Image' and 'likeness' are two different concepts indeed.

Among the many unpredictable cases cited above, a few clearer examples occur. The images Christ-Apollo, Christ-Orpheus-David, and Christ as the Good Shepherd show him almost invariably beardless.<sup>33</sup> However, the beardless image here has nothing to do with christological dogmas. It is the classical heritage, in which Apollo, Orpheus, and the good shepherd, over centuries

of repetition, are portrayed as young men. One of the last Christian shepherds is also one of the best known: the mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna (c.425–440). A beautiful youth, clad in a golden tunic, dreams away among his flock, holding a jeweled cruciform staff in his hand.

### THE IMAGE OF CHRIST IN EAST AND WEST AFTER THE LATE SIXTH CENTURY

The sixth century shows the first signs of a divergence between Eastern and Western iconography. Gradually in the East, the earnest man with the long dark hair and the thin beard comes to prevail. It is as if the radiant icon from Mount Sinai sets the standard for a long tradition: there is hardly any difference in portraying Christ between this sixth century icon and the almost equally famous mosaic of the Deisis in the Hagia Sophia Church in Istanbul, dating from about 1260.<sup>34</sup>

Standardization was not imposed, however, and exceptions, though rare, do exist. Robin Cormack could point at the coins during the first reign of Justinian II (685–695), which were minted with a portrait of Christ on the obverse depicting him with long hair and full beard. However, after Justinian had re-established himself on the throne (705–711), new coins were produced showing Christ with hardly any beard at all and short curly hair.<sup>35</sup> In one of the small chapels of the Bawit Monastery (now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo), a beardless Christ ascends to heaven.<sup>36</sup> The explanation is unclear. Strangely, most of the sixth- to eighth-century exceptions concern the Entry in Jerusalem: in five out of six extant depictions, a beardless Christ is sitting side-saddle on a donkey.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, after Iconoclasm, Christ's image is fixed into the one and only acknowledged portrait: that of the slender man with dark undulating hair parted in the middle and a thin dark beard. Only in the outskirts of the Eastern Empire do we sometimes find a beardless Christ, as in Armenian miniatures, even after the ninth century.<sup>38</sup> Why the Eastern Empire became uniform in the rendering of Christ's face, we do not know. No official church communiqué approved of it, no emperor or patriarch commented. Relics, claimed to be versions of the miraculous "true likeness" of Christ, and which were not made by human hands, all occur after Iconoclasm. It must be assumed that once the portrayal of Christ was permitted, icon-loving Christians sought recognizable features in their Savior, as in the portraits of saints they venerated.

In Western culture, icon-like portraits scarcely existed. It might be the reason why Western Europe displayed such a different attitude towards the image of Christ. The beardless Christ is almost as common as the bearded type: he is present everywhere. To illustrate this statement, we will start with the Gospels of Saint Augustine in Cambridge.<sup>39</sup> This Gospel book was written and illuminated in Italy in the sixth century, and brought to England soon afterwards, possibly in the wake of the Roman missionary, Saint Augustine of Canterbury, sent to convert the island. The two surviving miniatures are a mixture of small scenes taken from the life of Christ, together with a portrait of the evangelist Luke. Even the passage from Luke 9:58 ("Iesus dixit vulpes fossa habent") and the parable of the fig tree (Luke 13:6) have been illustrated.<sup>40</sup> Christ is beardless in every scene.

In Insular art, from the seventh to the eleventh century, we are rewarded with a rich and varying collection of images.<sup>41</sup> In the Durham Gospels, as in the Codex Amiatinus and the Book of Kells, Christ has a dark beard.<sup>42</sup> In the St Gallen Gospels, he is beardless during the Passion, but wears a beard at the Last Judgment. In Würzburg (most likely a German copy of an Irish model), he has a dark beard and a moustache at the Crucifixion, but is beardless at the bottom of the same folio during the Storm at Sea.<sup>43</sup> In the fragment in Turin, the ascending Christ has a stubbly beard, but, although the angels comfort the Apostles that Christ will come back in the same shape as he has left us (Acts 1:10–11), he is like a joyful child, holding his cruciform staff amid 96 small figures at the Second Coming on the same bifolium.<sup>44</sup> The richly illustrated copy of the *Carmina Paschale* by Sedulius, made in Liege but based upon an Anglo-Saxon model from the eighth century, is as inconsistent: in most instances Christ does not wear a beard, but he will unexpectedly do so in other scenes.<sup>45</sup>

Spanish, Carolingian, and Ottonian art on the continent provides us with the same picture. From the binding of the Lindau Gospels (c.800), the Spanish commentaries on the Apocalypse, and the Lorsch Gospels, to the beautiful ivories and the richly illustrated Ottonian manuscripts, Christ is frequently rendered without a beard. In the Transfiguration, the *Miracula Christi*, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment, all artists seem to have chosen at random whether they would paint Christ as a beardless youth or as a bearded adult.<sup>46</sup> In monumental art, too, the beardless man is familiar, as in the large stone relief in Cividale (mid-eighth century) (Figure 2).

As this period contributes such a diversity of images, it seems worthwhile to raise the question as to whether there are hidden patterns behind the beardless Christ. For instance, could it be that the Western emperors, who wore no beard themselves, would prefer a beardless Christ? Would emperors with special ties with the Eastern Empire incline towards the Eastern type with beard? Could there be a difference in function of the image in question—for instance, could the private function of a miniature yield a variety of types whereas official monumental works of art lacked the possibility of variation? Could beards in general have a special meaning during the Middle Ages?<sup>47</sup>

All these questions cannot, unfortunately, be answered in depth in this short article. Imperial portraits do not follow a specific type. For instance, a manuscript from Pommersfelden displays in the upper half of a miniature a Deisis with Christ between Mary and Saint John the Baptist and below them, Emperor Otto III between Peter and Paul.<sup>48</sup> There is clearly a parallel between the lower and upper zones, and especially between Christ and the emperor. However, Jesus has a full dark beard, and the Emperor has not. Intimate objects of art do not differ from monumental or official works with regard to portraying Christ. Manuscripts and sculpture show the same variety of types. Although we find more bearded types in monumental art than in manuscripts, sculpture like the relief in Cividale mentioned above (Figure 2) and the elegantly decorated *tympanum* above the Prior's Doorway in Ely (c.1135) were meant to be looked at by more than one privileged monk.<sup>49</sup> It seems that the charming beardless Christ could appear everywhere without bearing a symbolic meaning.

The most moving example of the youthful Christ I know of is in the Diözesan Museum in Cologne (Figures 3 and 4). The precious golden Herimann cross was



FIGURE 2 Cividale, Museo del Duomo, Altar Frontal of Duke Ratchis. Marble, c.731–744 (c.140 × 90 cm), Christ in Majesty, beardless (photograph: E. Dommering, Amsterdam).

probably borne in procession by the pope in 1049 when he consecrated the church of Sankt Maria im Kapitol in Cologne.<sup>50</sup> At one time the crucifix was set with jewels and gems and adorned with golden filigrain on a goldleaf background. Much of it was removed during subsequent centuries, but the gilded body of Christ and his head still belong to the original setting. The head is cut from a costly piece of lapis lazuli, and dates much earlier. Looking closely, the observer will notice that the stone represents the head of a beautiful woman and, if he knows his history, he will recognize the portrait of Livia, the wife of the first Roman Emperor Augustus.<sup>51</sup> Without the recognition of the medieval beardless Christ, he would be utterly surprised. Now he understands that this cross testifies to the widespread tradition of a youthful and beardless Savior: for centuries none of the worshippers or Church officials ever took umbrage over Christ's feminine head.

It was not until the twelfth century that an explicit preference for the bearded figure appears in the West where the sculpted portals along the pilgrims' routes and the monumental wooden crucifixes all show Christ with a beard. Pilgrims apparently needed to recognize their Savior from afar. However, especially in manuscripts, it was to take decades before the beardless Christ would become a rare phenomenon. For example, in some giant Italian bibles from the twelfth century, Genesis opens more than once with the Creator as a beardless young man.<sup>52</sup> In typological and other non-narrative scenes, like the Sponsus-Sponsa





FIGURE 3 *Herimann cross, made c.1050 in Werden or Cologne for the Church of St Maria im Kapitol, Cologne. Cologne, Erzbischöfliches Diözesan-Museum. (41 × 28 cm; wood, gilded bronze, crystal, lapis lazuli). With permission: Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schutgen-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, Köln 1985, Band 1, p. 157 (Kat.nr.B9).*

image of Christ embracing his bride Ecclesia, the bridegroom is often beardless.<sup>53</sup> The Lambeth Bible shows him beardless in the Tree of Jesse.<sup>54</sup> In a lectionary of Corbie (late twelfth century), the Virgin Mary is crowned by her Son, who has no beard.<sup>55</sup> England took the longest to abandon the beardless tradition. The Bestiaries now in Aberdeen and Oxford (c.1200), the Lothian Bible from the Pierpont Morgan Library (c.1220), the Psalter and Hours now called "Margrete Skulesdatter's Psalter" in Berlin (c.1210–1220), and the Grandisson Psalter from Chichester (c.1270–1280) preserve a beardless Christ well into the late thirteenth century.<sup>56</sup> In other English manuscripts, it is often hardly discernible whether Christ has got a beard or not. The beardless adolescent never disappeared completely. In the sixteenth century, Michelangelo and Caravaggio were to return to the classical youthful deity. However, their intentions are beyond the scope of this study.

#### THE PORTRAIT OF CHRIST "NOT MADE BY HUMAN HANDS"

Portraits of Christ are a different matter to figural representations of Christ in historical or typological scenes. There, Christ is recognizable because of his cruciform halo, his gestures, and his being the focus of the scene. The portrait, however, is devoid of any such context. Image and likeness—especially likeness to a



FIGURE 4 Herimann cross, made c.1050 in Werden or Cologne for the Church of St Maria im Kapitol, Cologne. Cologne, Erzbischöfliches Diözesan-Museum. (41 × 28 cm; wood, gilded bronze, crystal, lapis lazuli). Detail showing Head of Christ which is a portrait of Livia, wife of the Emperor Augustus, first century AD (lapis lazuli, c.2.4 cms). With permission: *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schutgen-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, Köln 1985, Band 1, p. 136 (Kat).*

prototype—here diverge. Christian icons did exist in the wake of the cult of imperial portraits. The worship of religious images had been practiced in the church at least since the early fifth century. The late sixth and seventh centuries saw a marked intensification of the use of images. Unlike narrative scenes, the portrait or icon did have charismatic qualities: through its likeness to the prototype it served as intercessor between man and God and thus could bring the beholder into contact with God. It could protect cities against enemies, lead armies to victory, and help individuals fulfill their deepest aspirations.

Hostility towards portraits of Christ prohibited icon-like representations of Christ in early Christianity—famous is Eusebius of Caesarea's letter to Constantia in which he denies even the possibility.<sup>57</sup> The sixth-century icon from Mount Sinai is one of the first portraits of Christ, rendering him as a bearded man. Next to these icons, stories continued of images of Christ which were *acheiropoietoi*, "not made by human hands". Being the opposite of *cheiropoietos*, which is a man-made image and thus, according to the Septuaginta, a false idol, the image *acheiropoietos* is created through divine intervention. Although the Church was rather reticent about portraits of Christ—as cited above, Saint Augustine was clear in saying that

we do not know what Christ looked like—it did not forbid pilgrims to visit the miraculous cloths of Memphis, Edessa, or Kamulia. Jesus had wiped his face with each of them and had left them consequently with his imprint.<sup>58</sup> The *mandylion* of Edessa became the most famous of them all and was transported to the imperial palace in Constantinople in 944.<sup>59</sup> By that time, the portrait of Christ had already been established for centuries; the *mandylion* therefore cannot have had an influence upon its definitive form. Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos himself (913–959) guarded the *mandylion* in a golden frame in his chapel next to the tablets of Moses. It was venerated as the palladium of the city, carried round in times of sorrow, and disappeared in the thirteenth century during the Latin oppression.<sup>60</sup> Without exception, copies of the various *mandylia* show the isolated, frozen face of the bearded Christ.

Although much later, the West had its own “authentic” images of Christ. Accompanied by legends, the Veil of Veronica was one of the most popular ones. Saint Veronica (“vera icon” = true image) may never have existed, but her veil, which she used to wipe Christ’s face on his way to Calvary, had an enormous impact. It is said the veil (*sudarium*) had cured the Emperor Tiberius (or Vespasianus), and it was one of the most important relics in Rome.<sup>61</sup> It is not known how her veil reached the city, but it is mentioned in the *Ordo* of Benedictus Canonicus of 1143.<sup>62</sup> On 20 January 1208, it was carried round in procession for the first time, and Pope Innocent III paid tribute to it. Dante Alighieri saw how, in the holy year 1300, thousands of pilgrims tried to get a glimpse of the veil and wrote about it in his *Paradiso*.<sup>63</sup> All illustrations and all copies show Christ invariably as a bearded man.

The most important of all miraculous images, however, leaving everything else in its shadow, was the Turin Shroud. As in the case of Veronica’s Veil, it is its popularity in the Middle Ages that must be stressed here and not its questioned authenticity.<sup>64</sup> The cloth that is now called the Turin Shroud was in the hands of the local clergy of Lirey, France in the fourteenth century. In 1389, the Bishop of Troyes, Pierre d’Arcis, in whose diocese the village Lirey was located, wrote to Pope Clement VII, residing in Avignon.<sup>65</sup> The bishop emphasized that the shroud was false: he cited the findings of his predecessor Henry of Poitiers, who knew the man who had manufactured it. Indignant, he recalled that in Henry’s time the canons of the church of Lirey had exhibited the cloth as if it was the authentic shroud Christ had been buried in, and they even had asked the worshippers for money. Now the shroud was again on view in Lirey as if it was a precious relic: the canons placed candlesticks and two priests in liturgical dress on either side of the platform to underline its holiness. Pierre d’Arcis had become displeased and had had the shroud removed, but then the clergy in turn became angry and insinuated that the bishop may well be jealous. In short, a public scandal emerged. Quickly, the pope silenced the bishop and agreed with the Lirey clergy that they were allowed to show the shroud, not as an authentic image, but simply as “a representation” of the Savior. Popular belief had won. In the fifteenth century, the shroud came into the possession of the dukes of Savoy. The last king of Italy, Umberto II, donated the shroud to the pope in his will in 1983.

It is not surprising that at about the same time yet another document concerning the portrayal of Christ came to light. The letter by Publius Lentulus, governor of Judaea during Christ’s lifetime, is believed to have been sent to Octavianus Caesar.<sup>66</sup>

It apparently tells the story of an eyewitness who has seen Christ and describes him as follows

His hair is the colour of unripe hazelnut, and is smooth almost down to his ears. ... His beard is full, of the same colour of his hair, not long, and forked in form; simple and mature is aspect; his eyes, blue-grey, clear and quick. ... This record was found in the records of the Romans.<sup>67</sup>

Although the document was exposed as a fraud of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, it caused a flood of popularity as if it were an authentic source.<sup>68</sup>

### CONCLUSION

Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, the West generated two portraits of Christ "not made by human hands" which were venerated by thousands of believers as if they conveyed the "true likeness" of Christ. One "authentic" written record of his face emerged at this time and together the textual and visual traditions formed for the medieval Christian an indisputable fact. As the pilgrims flocked in, the Church expressed its doubts in ever more vague terms and ended in silence. The worship of relics of the Passion and the longing to see the painful face of Christ on his way to Calvary go hand in hand with the spirituality that focused on the *imitatio Christi*. Veronica's Veil and the Turin Shroud became the most important relics for this very reason.

Robert Cormack calls the movements of the common people at this point "the naïve animistic ideas of the masses."<sup>69</sup> To illustrate this, he refers to an incident he believes is as revealing as the popular belief in the Turin Shroud. Guibert, Abbot of Nogent (1053–1125) was in his own time renowned for his questioning the authenticity of certain relics. In his *De pignoribus sanctorum* (c.1119), for instance, he wonders about the two heads of Saint John the Baptist, both venerated as true relics, and asks whether Saint John had indeed had two heads.<sup>70</sup> Once he visited the market of Laon and found himself in a crowd listening to a relic monger. The man held up a box he said contained a piece of the bread that had been chewed by Christ at the Last Supper. When he recognized Guibert among the people as a possible skeptic, he openly challenged him to confirm this was a genuine relic. Guibert recorded his intimidation and admitted that in the presence of mass popular belief, he was unable to express doubts. His silence was interpreted as assent. Here, again, the public won over the critical intellectual.<sup>71</sup>

The very same process must have taken place 250 years later when the Bishop of Troyes expressed his sincere anger about the fraudulent shroud. The pope, alerted, saw the confrontation with the common people as counterproductive and left it to time to designate the winner. The controversy between word and image became one between intellectual and popular belief, in which the Church played a pragmatic role and choose the side of the crowd by choosing to be silent.<sup>72</sup>

My conclusion is that the tradition of the bearded Chris was established in the East in the late sixth century because of the necessity to bring about icon-like features once it was accepted that Christ could be portrayed. The West did not have icons, but followed the East in the late twelfth century because of the popular wish to have a god with a recognizable face. The image was created through popular (low) culture and the Church had nothing to do with it. Legends and

"authentic" images that came into being under low culture have generated a unanimous archetype rather than an archetype that created legends. The Church never did fully agree and held for a long time to the Augustine view that it is unknown what Christ looked like and that it is unimportant to know. However, pressed by the masses, who believed in miracles and came to worship, the Church took advantage of their ardent belief and followed in their footsteps.

### Acknowledgment

I would like to thank Linda Brownrigg for editing the English translation of this article.

### NOTES

1. The subject can only be broached with the greatest humility since it is impossible to suggest the amount of literature concerned. Inconceivable though it might be for theologians, I draw no distinction between Jesus and Christ, because in Christian art there is no visual distinction. An earlier version of this article was read at the University of Notre Dame in April 2001.

2. The implications for the visual arts of the various decisions made at the Council of Trent were far-reaching. A good overview is still E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Etude sur l'iconographie après le Concile de Trente* (Paris, 1932) and later English translations.

3. G.A. Gilio, *Dialoghi (...) degli errori de' pittori (...)* (Camerino, 1564). See F. Mancinelli, G. Colalucci and N. Gabrielli, 'Das "Jüngste Gericht" und seine Restaurierung: Anmerkungen zu Geschichte, Technik und Erhaltung', in *Die Sixtinische Kapelle* (Solothurn and Düsseldorf, 1993), 236–256, esp. 241, for the overpaintings and restorations of the Last Judgment.

4. The subject is the adult Christ; therefore, his early life from the Nativity to his being among the Doctors is not included. Christ Emmanuel, too, is not dealt with here, since this is an entirely different, mostly late Byzantine matter.

5. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legenden*, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1899); F. Gerke, *Christus in der spätantike Plastik*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1941); A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins. The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts*, 1961 (London, 1969); E. Dinkler, 'Ikonographische Beobachtungen zum Christustyp der polychromen Fragmente des Museo Nazionale Romano', *Gesta*, XVIII (1979): 77–87, esp. 82–86. See J. Kollwitz, 'Christus, Christusbild', in ed., E. Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Rome/Freiburg, 1968), 355–454.

6. H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago/London, 1994); R. Cormack, *Painting the Soul: Icons, Death Masks and Shrouds* (London, 1998), Chapter 3: God/Man; H.L. Kessler, 'Thou shalt paint the Likeness of Christ Himself: The Mosaic Prohibition as Provocation for Christian Images', *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997/1998): 124–139, republished together with other articles in H.L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia, 2000); H.L. Kessler and G. Wolf, eds, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (Bologna, 1998), with bibliographical references on 135.

7. Hans Belting argues that both types have been created intentionally in order to generate distinct effects, while I try to emphasize the "accidentalness"—or unimportance—of Christ's visual appearance. H. Belting, 'In search of Christ's Body: Image or Imprint?', in Kessler and Wolf, *The Holy Face*, 9–11.

8. T.F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, NJ, 1999), Chapter 5: Christ Chameleon.

9. *The Image of Christ* (the catalogue of the exhibition "Seeing Salvation", London, 2000); G. Morello and G. Wolf, eds, *Il volto di Cristo* (Milano/Roma, 2000).

10. A. Besançon, *L'image interdite: une histoire intellectuelle de l'iconoclasme* (Paris, 1994) translated into English as *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm* (Chicago/London, 2000).

11. Augustinus, *De Trinitate* VIII, caput 4, par.7 (MPL 42, 951a); Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 106\*. The English translation is taken from C. Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art 300–1150: Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1986), 44.

12. Acts of John, Chapters 88–89. See for the Greek text: "Acta Iohannis", in eds, Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* 1 and 2 (Turnhout, 1983). For a modern translation, see E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* (Philadelphia,

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1963), Vol. II, 225. The Acts of John were condemned by Pope Leo the Great (c.447) as "a hotbed of manifold perversity".

13. Hennecke and Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vol. II, 225.

14. Gildemeister, *Itinerarium* (Berlin, 1889). Also in 175, 127ff. Translated into English by J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), 79–89.

15. Gildemeister, *Itinerarium*, 17: "Nam et statura communis, facies pulchra, capilli subanellati, manus formosae, digiti longi, quantum imago designat quae illo vivente picta sunt"; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 84, Chapter 23; Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 99\* (Dobschütz identifies the author as Antoninus Placentinus).

16. Gildemeister, *Itinerarium*, 32: "Quam adoravimus, sed propter splendorem non potueramus intendere, quia quantum intendebas, immutabatur in oculis tuis"; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 88; see Kollwitz, "Christus, Christusbild", 356–357 for other literary sources.

17. W.F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3rd edn. (Mainz, 1974), no. 48.

18. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 140, 107, 116.

19. K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*. (exhibition catalog) (New York, 1977), no. 544. For random examples of the beardless Christ, see figs. 67, 86, 87, nos. 388, 406, 407, 450, 452, 469, 549, 567, etc.

20. Sometimes also called the "Asklepios" type; Dinkler, "Ikonographische Beobachtungen", 82–86.

21. Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, nos. 372–373; Dinkler, "Ikonographische Beobachtungen", passim; Christ between Alpha and Omega in P. du Bourguet, *Art paléochrétien* (Amsterdam/Lausanne, 1970), 123; another fourth-century example in the Catacomb of SS Pietro e Marcellino: J. Snyder, *Medieval Art* (New York, 1989), pl. 9.

22. The examples are many. See, for an arbitrary choice, Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, nos. 262, 455, 503, 547, 552, 562, 574, etc.

23. The discussion is epitomized in, e.g., Kollwitz, "Christus, Christusbild", 360–365; bibliography, 370–371.

24. Kollwitz, "Christus, Christusbild", 363.

25. G. Bovini, *Mosaici di San Apollinare nuovo. Il ciclo cristologico* (Florence, 1958); Snyder, *Medieval Art*, figs. 140–142.

26. G. Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen, 1980). Her remarks on the two types of Christ are on 54, 76, 78–79.

27. Jeremias, *Die Holztür*, pls. 42–62, 67–69.

28. Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, 101–103.

29. K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons I: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton, NJ, 1976), no. B.16. He discusses an icon dating from the seventh century, with a gray-haired, bearded Christ, surrounded by an inscription with the word "Emmanuel". Weitzmann prefers not to call it a contradiction—Christ Emmanuel as a bearded old man—but rather a conflation of the two distinct types of Christ.

30. Marian iconography has a long and rich tradition. On Mary Theotokos there is still the important study by G.A. Wellen, *Theotokos. Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Utrecht/Antwerp, 1960). More recent is D. Iogna-Prat, ed., *Marie. Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale* (Paris, 1996), with the subject of Mary Theotokos on 191–197.

31. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, p. 119.

32. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 121. Dinkler agrees in 1979: "Die Entstehung des Christusbildes in der frühchristlichen Plastik zwischen Ende des 3. Jhs. und Ende des 4. Jhs. ist nicht durch theologische Reflexion oder ästhetische Erwägungen gekennzeichnet. Eine klare Entwicklungslinie lässt sich nicht rekonstruieren" (Dinkler, "Ikonographische Beobachtungen", p. 84).

33. A good example of the Christ-Apollo is the vault decoration in the tomb of the Julii under the Saint Peter in Rome (late third–early fourth century); see Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, no. 467. Examples of the Good Shepherd (the antique Greek type of Philantropy) can be found in, e.g., Snyder, *Medieval Art*, figs. 1, 3, 8 (fig. 7 is not a Christian sarcophagus), 135 (the so-called mausoleum of "Galla Placidia"), and Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, figs. 50 (Baptisterium Doura Europos), 59, nos. 364, 462–466.

34. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine*, no. B.1; Cormack, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford, 2000), pl. 117.

35. Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London, 1985), 97–98.

36. Chapel no. XVII. A. Badawy, *Coptic Art and Archaeology: The Art of the Christian Egyptians from the Late Antique to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge/London, 1978), no. 4.26.

37. Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, 39ff. They are (1) stone relief from Sohag, sixth century, Berlin; (2) wooden lintel from the church Al-Mouallaka, datable to 735, Coptic Museum Cairo; (3) Saint-Lupicin

ivory diptych, sixth century, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris; (4) Rossano Gospels folio 1, verso, second half sixth century, Cathedral of Rossano; (5) Rabbula Gospels, folio 11 verso, dated 586, now Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana cod.Plut. I, 56; and (6) ivory of the book binding of the Etchmiatsin Gospels, sixth century, now in Yerevan. All show us Christ sitting side-saddle on a donkey, and five of them present him as a beardless man. Eager for androgynous signs, Mathews is convinced: "Christ is assuming a feminine role. ... He does not imitate the emperor's adventus, but celebrates an explicitly anti-imperial arrival ceremony" (Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, 43). Against, Mathews pleads that the Rossano Gospels render Christ with a dark beard, and that also most later Byzantine scenes with the Entry portray him side-saddled, but with a beard.

38. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (London, 1977); M. Zibawi, *Orients Chrétiens* (Paris, 1995). I thank Luk van Rompay for this reference.

39. F. Wormald, "The Miniatures in the Gospels of St Augustine, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 286" in F. Wormald, *Collected Writings I: Studies in Medieval Art from the Sixth to the Twelfth Centuries* (London/Oxford, 1984), 13-35; G.D. Henderson, *Losses and Lucinae in Early Insular Art* (York, 1982), 14-23 and Appendix B; color plates in K. Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York, 1977).

40. C.F. Lewine, "Vulpes fosa habent or the Miracle of the Bent Women in the Gospels of St. Augustine," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): 497-498.

41. Illustrations and further reference in J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century* (London, 1978)—see, e.g., nos. 10, 44, 55, 61, 64, 65. For later illustrations, like the Aethelstan Psalter dating from 924-939 (London BL MS Cotton Galba.A.XVIII, f 2v en 21r), see H. Fillitz, *Das Mittelalter I, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1990), fig. 70.

42. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS Amiatinus 1 (before 716); Durham, Cathedral MS A.II.17 (late seventh or early eighth century); Dublin, Trinity College MS A.1.6 (58) (eighth-ninth century); see Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, nos. 7, 10, 52.

43. St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 51 (second half eighth century); Würzburg Universitätsbibliothek Cod.M.p.th.f.69 (late eighth century); see Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, nos. 44, 55.

44. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod.O.iv.20 ff laverso and 2 arecto (first half ninth century); Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 61.

45. Antwerp, Museum Plantijn-Moretus M.17.4 (early ninth century); Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 65.

46. Examples of a beardless Christ in Fillitz, *Mittelalter* 1, figs. 16, 26c, 31, 42, 45, 54, 55b, 57, 67, 70, 75, 81a, 83, 105a, 131, 317, 368, 371, 399, XVI, XIX, XLVI.

47. Unfortunately, neither R. Bartlett ("Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1994): 43-60), E. Horowitz ("Visages du judaïsme. De la barbe en monde juif et l'élaboration de ses significations," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales* 49 (1994): 1065-1090), nor M. Jedding-Gesterling ed., *Hairstyles: A Cultural History of Fashions in Hair from Antiquity up to the Present Day* (Hamburg, 1988)) have been helpful in this respect. One particular reference to beard pulling is that by Z. Jacoby, "Beard Pullers in Romanesque Art," *Arte Medievale*, II (1987): 65-83.

48. *Vor dem Jahr 1000. Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanou* (Köln, 1991), 17, 92-96 and Abb. 6.

49. G. Zarnecki, *The Early Sculpture of Ely Cathedral* (London, 1958), 25-37 and pls. 40-49; L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1972), 71-73, pl. 54A.

50. The so-called "Herimann Cross" was probably made in Werden before 1056; now in Cologne, Erzbischöfliches Diözesan-Museum. 41 cm high, 28 cm wide; see *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, vol. 1 (Köln, 1985), 134-135, no. B9. In this catalogue, Rolf Lauer is not certain about the destination of the cross to the church of S. Maria im Kapitol.

51. U. Bracker-Wester, "Der Christuskopf vom Herimannkreuz—ein bildniss der Kaiserin Livia", in *Rhein und Maas. Kunst und Kultur 800-1400*, vol. 2 (Köln, 1973), 177-180.

52. Angelika Bible (Rome, Bibl. Angelica 1273, f 5v), see W. Cahn, *Die Bibel in der Romanik* (Fribourg/München 1982; also in English and French), 149, pl. 104; Todi Bible (Rome, Vat.lat.10405, f 4v), see W. Cahn, *Die Bibel in der Romanik*, 147, pl. 102; Pantheon Bible (Rome, Vat.lat.12958, f 4v), first half twelfth century, see Fillitz, *Mittelalter* I, pl. XLVI.

53. Bible of Alardus of St Amand (Valenciennes, Bibl.mun. 10, f 113), see Cahn, *Die Bibel in der Romanik*, 113, early twelfth century; Bede's commentaries on the Song of Songs (Cambridge, King's College MS 19, f 21v), first half twelfth century.

54. London, Lambeth Palace MS 3, f 198r (mid-twelfth century); C.R. Dodwell, *The Great Lambeth Bible* (London, 1959); Fillitz, *Das Mittelalter* I, fig. 399.

55. Paris, Bibl.nat. ms lat.11700, f 65r, second half twelfth century; see M.-L. Thérel, *Le triomphe de la Vierge-Église. Sources historiques, littéraires et iconographiques* (Paris, 1984), fig. 108.

56. Bestiaries: Aberdeen, University Library 24 (N.J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts I: 1190-1250* (London/Oxford, 1982), no. 17 and ill. 58-59) and Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 1511, (Morgan no.

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19 and ill. 62). Lothian Bible: New York Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 791 (Morgan no. 32, and ills 108, 112). Margrete Skulesdatter's Psalter: Berlin, Kupferstichkabinet MS 78.A.8 (Morgan no. 35 and ills 122, 130). Grandisson Psalter: London British Library Add. MS 21926 (N.J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II: 1250–1285* (London, 1988), no. 165 and ills. 325, 327).

57. Letter to Constantia: MPG 20, 1545; also G.A. Williamson, trans., *Eusebius of Caesarea: The Ecclesiastical History* (Baltimore, 1965), book VII 18, 4; see S. Gero, "The True Image of Christ: Eusebius' Letter to Constantia Reconsidered," *Journal of Theological Studies* 32 (1981): 460–470; Besançon, *The Forbidden Image*, 117–118.

58. Dobschütz has published all written sources known to him concerning the 'acheiropoietoi' portraits (Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, passim).

59. An apocryphal correspondence (third or fourth century) between Abgar V Ukkama, King of Osroëne, and Jezus. The capital of Abgar's realm was Edessa (near Urfa, Turkey). Eusebius included a Greek version in his *Ecclesiastical History* (I, 13). See Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 103–196, and his extensive parts II and III (Belege and Beilage) and *The Image of Christ*, 98–101.

60. *The Image of Christ*, 98–101; Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, 108–109.

61. H.L. Kessler and J. Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven, CT/London, 2000), 210–211, fig. 227.

62. "Postea vadit ad sudarium Christi quod vocatur Veronica et incensat" in *Ordo.rom.* XI, c 8 (Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 283\*).

63. Dante, *Paradiso*, Canto XXXI, ll 103–108.

64. Literature about the subject is difficult to grasp as there is too much of it and it is too diverse. I do not discuss here whether the Turin Shroud is a genuine relic or not: what is relevant here is the doubt cast upon the subject in the fourteenth century. Most recent articles are in *Das Münster* 54 (2001) and seven publications that went with the exhibition of the Shroud in 2000 by G. Ghiberti, B. Barberis en P. Savarino, S. Scannerini, P. Baima Bollone and S. Zaca, G.M. Zaccone, N. Balossino, A. Milanese et al. (Regensburg, 2000).

65. The following paragraphs have been based upon Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, 116–122 and on G.M. Zaccone, *Auf den Spuren des Turiner Grabtuchs. Ältere und jüngere Geschichte* (Regensburg, 2000), 5–9. The source material is in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, Coll. de Champagne, vol. 154. It is published as an appendix in U. Chevalier, *Etude critique sur l'origine du St Suaire de Lirey-Chembéry-Turin* (Paris, 1900). In recent research, of which there is much, people have tried to relate the Mandylion of Edessa to the Turin Shroud: K. Dietz, "Zur Frühgeschichte des Turiner Grabtuchs", *Das Münster* 54 (2001): 2–16, esp. 15.

66. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 308, 330, with text on 319. Also reproduced in *Image of Christ*, 94.

67. "Capillos habens coloris nucis auellane premature et planos fere usque ad aures. ... barbaram habens copiosam [et impuberem] capillis concolorem, non longam sed in mento (medio) [parum] bifurcatum; aspectum habens simplicem et maturum" (Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 319).

68. *Image of Christ*, 94–97.

69. Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, 110.

70. Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, 126; H. Platelle, "Guibert de Nogent et le De pignoribus sanctorum. Richesses et limites d'une critique médiévale des reliques," in eds, E. Bozóky and A.-M. Helvétius, *Les reliques. Objets, cultes, symboles* (Turnhout, 1999), 109–121 with recent bibliography.

71. Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, 126.

72. The sociological implications of these findings have been studied earlier by Theodor Klauser in several contributions to *Jahrbuch für Antik und Christentum* (1958–1967). Paul Corby Finney has another view (*The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art*, Oxford, 1994). See, for a broader span of time, A. Gurevitch, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge, 1988).