

COPIES OF THE HOLY SHROUD

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Introduction

Many aspects of Shroud history can be better understood by a study of the copies made in past centuries. Such a study can reveal precious information little known or insufficiently considered by modern researchers, justly concerned with the Object itself. The list of copies presented here is by no means complete, because of the difficulty at present to locate some of the examples. Even less complete is the gallery of illustrations, due to the difficulties of reproduction. Limiting our research to copies in natural size or of particular historical/artistic interest, we do not include the almost incalculable numbers of small-format copies, executed in every conceivable technic.

This review is in three parts: Part I lists in chronological order the copies which carry a date upon them. Those which are not dated are listed in Part II in alphabetical order of the localities in which they are conserved. The information acquired in studying the copies can help to clarify particular aspects of the history of the Holy Shroud, and Part III gives a brief synthesis of that new knowledge.

NOTE 1: The first patient initiator of this research was Don Domenico Leone, Delegate in Spain of the *Cultores Sanctae Sindonis*. His book, *El Santo Sudario en Espana* (published in 1952 and re-edited in 1959), which lists the numerous copies of the Shroud existing in Spain and Portugal, is of high documentary value. I am indebted to him for nearly half of the copies mentioned here, as he was the first to describe them.

NOTE 2: A list of copies was made at the beginning of this century, by F. de Mély; but his list is not confined to "true copies" of the Shroud—there are specific characteristics which a copy must have to be classified thus—but includes also the names of many other localities which boast of having sepulchral relics (shrouds, sudarii, bands). He also lists the shrouds of Cadouin, Cahors, Compiègne, Besançon, etc. These copies are not included here, nor are those very numerous others found in France which carry only the frontal imprint and therefore do not qualify as "true copies". A publication by Carles, *Histoire du Saint Suaire de N.S.J.C. ...*, Paris 1875, was much more accurate; a source which de Mély certainly consulted.

The Besançon copy was destroyed in 1794 by order of the French Convention, after a formal examination which ascertained its manual origin. For an idea of this shroud, one could consult Vignon, *Le Linceul du Christ*, Paris 1902, and also the painting by Chifflet in *De linteis sepulchralibus Christi Servatoris crisis historica*, Antverpiae 1624 (also mentioned by Vignon). This is very significant in view of the tradition which had been formed concerning the two relics, both authenticated with an explanation which is as bold as it is ingenuous:

Sindon Taurinensis refert corpus Christi/ cruentum, et recens de Cruce depositum; / Sudarium vero Bisontinum exhibit illud/ idem iam lotum ac perunctum, et in/ sepolchro compositum.

(The Shroud of Turin held the bloody body of Christ, just taken down from the cross; then the sudarium of Besançon shows him already washed and anointed, and composed in the tomb.)

PART I*
COPIES WITH THE DATE INDICATED ON THE CLOTH
In Chronological Order

1516 - Lierre, Belgium; St. Gommaire Church

This copy, attributed to Albrecht Dürer, measures 1.47m x 0.33m (one-third of the Original). It carries the date, a Latin inscription in the center and an inscription in the Old Nuremberg dialect along the lower border.

THIERY: *Une copie du Suaire de Turin*, Louvain, s.d.

FOSSATI: *La Santa Sindone*, Turin 1961, pp 224-225.

LEYSEN: "Le St. Drap de Turin à la lumière des visions d'Anne Catherine Emmerick", *Sindon* #23, April 1976.

Four groups of red stains are clearly shown on this copy. The artist assumed they were bloodstains but they are, instead, burn holes. On the Shroud, these burn holes merge with the burns from the Chambéry fire (1532) but after an attentive examination, Tonelli found that they have different characteristics from those of the Chambéry fire, and, as evidenced by this copy of 1516, are anterior to it. In Part III we will speak again of this detail.

TONELLI: "Verso l'ostensione della Sindone; Incendi.. . provvidenziali", *Rivista dei Giovani*, Aug. 1933 pp 475-478.

1568 - Guadalupe, Archdiocese of Toledo, Province of Caceres Measure: 4.40m x 1m

Inscription: (*along upper border*) A LA RIQVESTA DEL SIGNOR FRACESCO DE YVARRA QVESTA PICTVRA ESTATA FACTA AL PIEV PRESO DEL PRECIOSO
(*along lower border*) RELIQVIARIO QVE RIPOSSA NELLA SANCTA CAPPELLA DIL CASTELLO DI CHIABERI ET ESTATA DISTESA DISSOPRA DI IVNIO

The date, 1568, is written at each end.

This relic-copy is offered to the kisses of the faithful in some liturgical commemorations.

LEONE: *El Santo Sudario en Espana*, Barcelona 1959, pp 47-56. (At the request of Signor Francesco Ibarra this picture was made as closely as possible to the precious relic which reposes in the Holy Chapel of the Castle of Chambéry and was laid upon it in June 1568.)

1568 - Navarrete, Diocese of Calahorra-Calzada-Logroño, Prov. of Logroño
Measure: 4.54m x 0.93m

Inscription: (*upper border*) A LA RIQVESTA DEL SIGNOR DIEGO GONZALE QVESTA PICTVRA ESTATA FACTA AL PIV PRESSO DEL PRECIOSO (*lower border*) RELIQVIARIO QVE RIPOSA NELLA SACTA CAPPELLA NEL CASTELLO DI CHIABERI ET ESTATA DISTESA DISOPRA DI IVNIO

* While we read the measurements of each copy, it is helpful to remember that the Shroud measures 4.36m x 1.10m counting the side-strip, which is approx. 8cm wide. [Ed.]

The date, 1568, is written at each end.

This copy is publicly venerated on Easter Sunday and may be kissed by the faithful.
LEONE: Op. cit.

1571 - Alcoy, Archdiocese of Valencia, Prov. of Alicante
Measure: 4.38m x 0.93m

Inscription: (*along upper border*) CECI EST LE VRAY PROVTRAYCT DV SAINT SVAYRE REPOSANT (*lower border*) EN LA SCINCTE (*sic*) CHAPPELLE DV CASTEAV DE CHAMBERI • 1571

The date, 1571, figures again at each end.

On the back of the reliquary in which this copy has been kept since early in the XVIIth century, an inscription relates that "This Holy Relic of the Shroud of Christ was presented to Don Juan of Austria by Pope Pius V in 1571 ..." explaining then how the copy came to Spain. A document in the Municipal Archives gives a bit more detail, saying that this was one of two copies commissioned by Pius V; that when Don Juan went to Rome for the Pope's blessing before leaving for Lepanto, Pius V gave him this shroud. In 1574, he sent the shroud to the Holy Sepulchre Convent in Alcoy.

LEONE: Op. cit., pp. 63-76.

There are features common to the copies of Guadalupe, Navarrete and Alcoy; and this observation suggests a common origin. Besides the arrangement of the inscriptions, there are other common details:

1. Even though they were painted after 1532, they do not show the signs of the Chambéry fire (burns, patches).
2. However, the signs of a previous fire are shown, just as they appear on the Lierre copy of 1516, where they mistakenly represent bloodstains.
3. In these three copies, the frontal imprint lies at the viewer's right, the dorsal image at his left. Later it became the custom, still followed today, to present the dorsal imprint at the right, the frontal at the left; we do not know the explanation for this.
4. A very important detail is the written declaration on the Guadalupe and Navarrete copies that they had been laid out upon the Original, a custom which has continued through the centuries.

It will be noticed that the Alcoy inscription is in French, while the other two are in Italian.

1620 - Lisbon; private property by right of inheritance.
Measure: Leone gives measure as approximately the size of the Original.

Inscription: CAVATO DAL ORIGINALE IN TVRINO L'ANNO 1620 There are no documents concerning the provenience of this copy. Oral tradition relates that it was brought from Rome by an ancestor of the family, a friar (um frade crúzio), about 1634.

LEONE: op. cit.



Fig. 1: Lierre, 1516



Fig. 2: Alcoy, 1571: Gift of Pius V to Don Juan before the Battle of Lepanto.

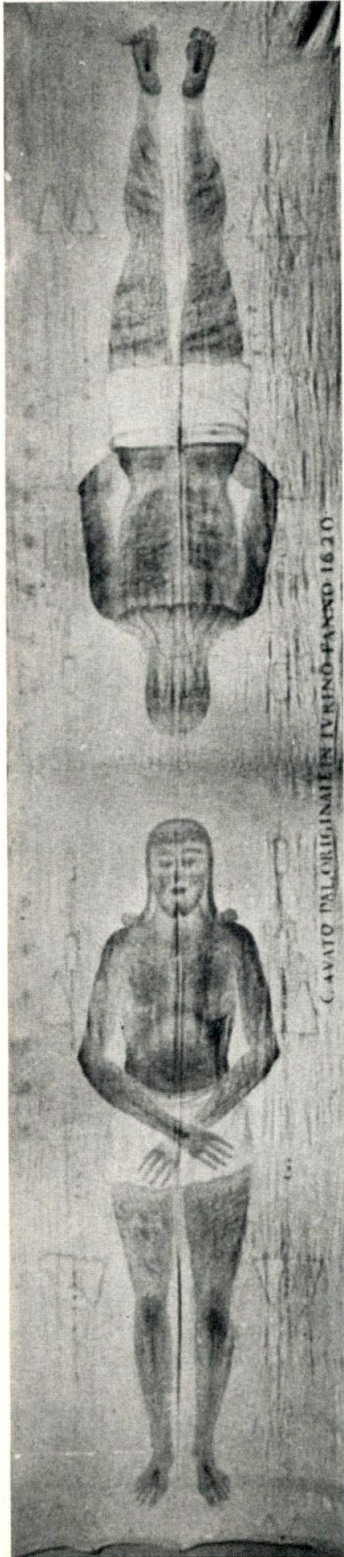


Fig. 3: Lisbon, 1620

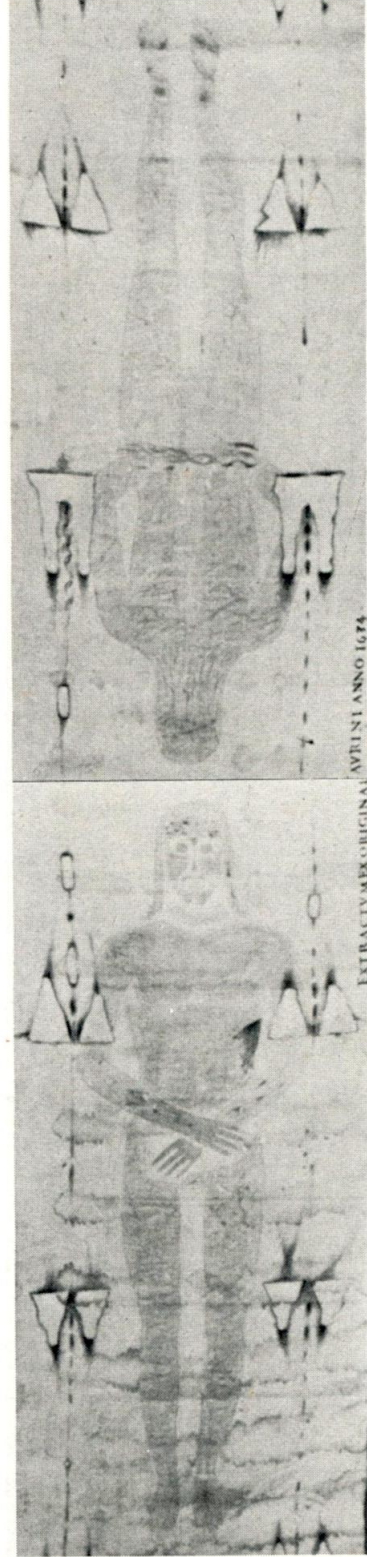


Fig. 4: Moncalieri, 1634

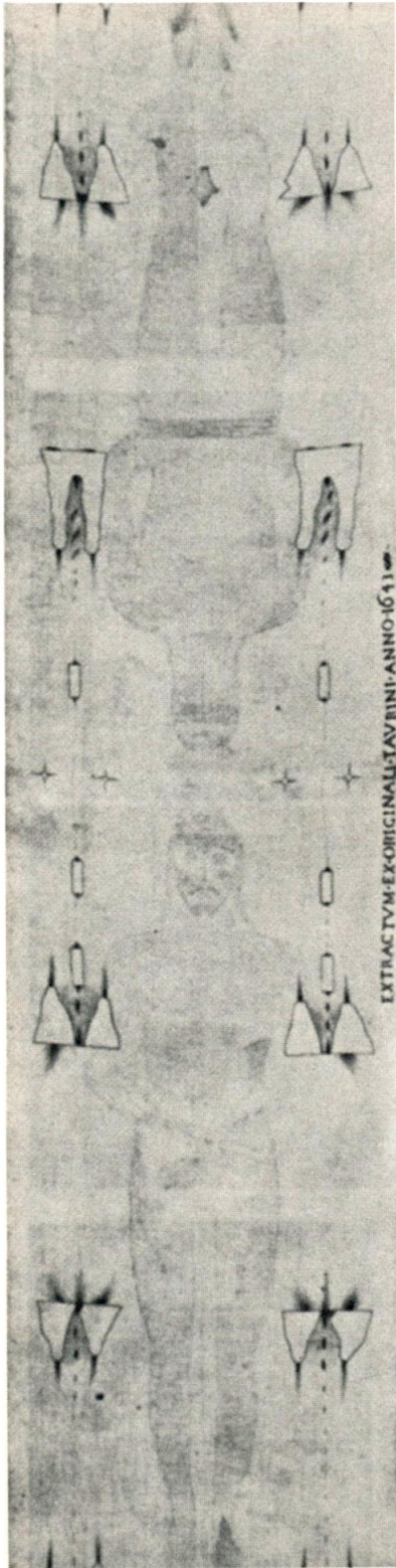


Fig. 5: Rome, 1643: Decorated with the Savoy Knot.

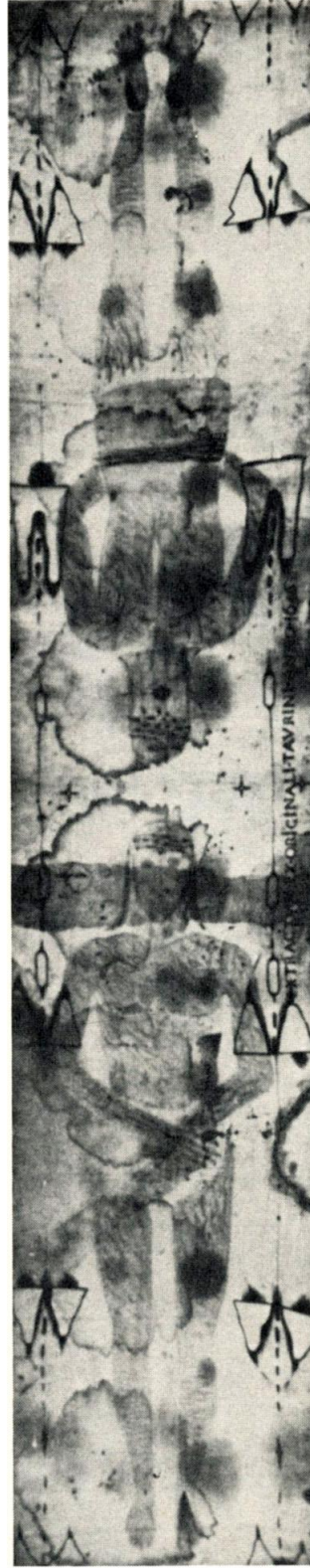


Fig. 6: Fabriano, 1646

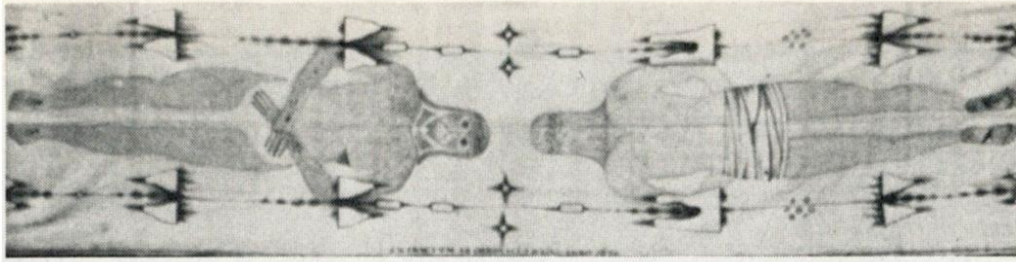


Fig. 9: Imperia, 1678: Perhaps by Fantino.

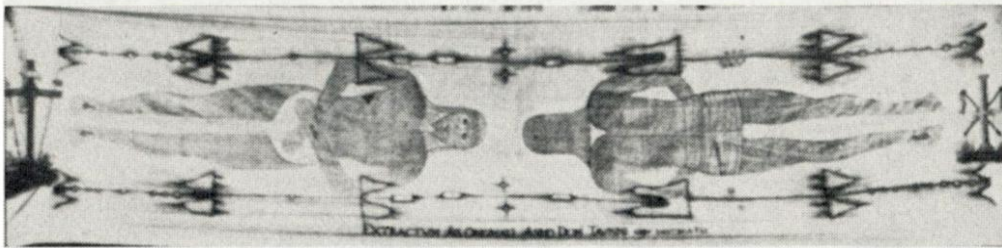


Fig. 10: Savona, 1697: "Fantinus fecit".

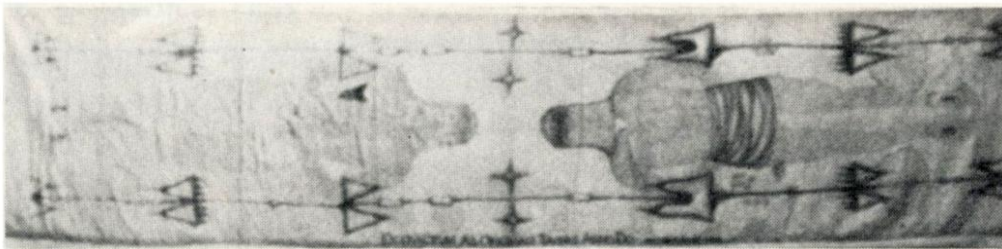


Fig. 11: Aglie, 1708

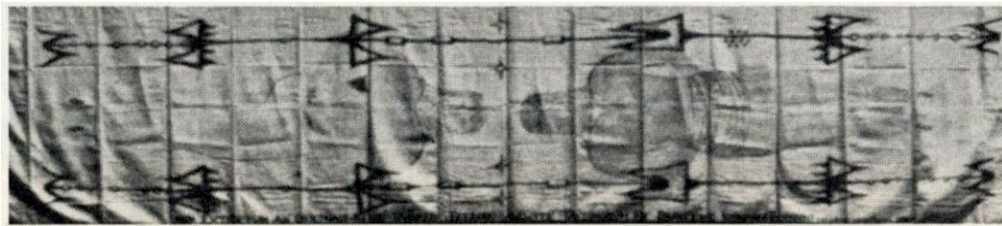


Fig. 12: Gallarate, 1710: "Fantinus fecit", adding the Savoy Knot.
On this copy, the foldmarks are quite distinct.

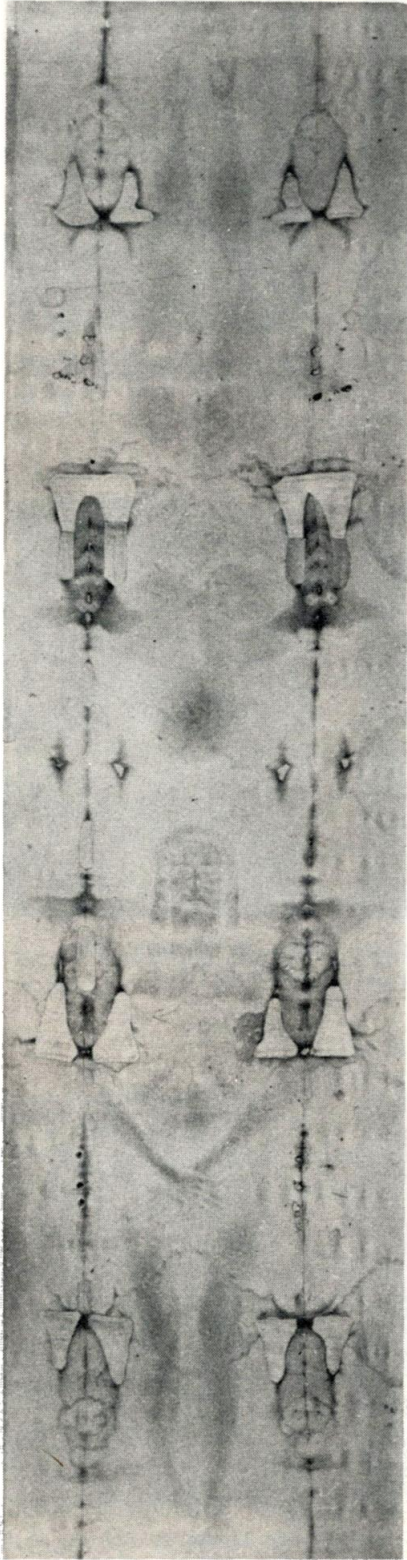


Fig. 13: 1898: Airbrush copy by Carlo Cussetti.

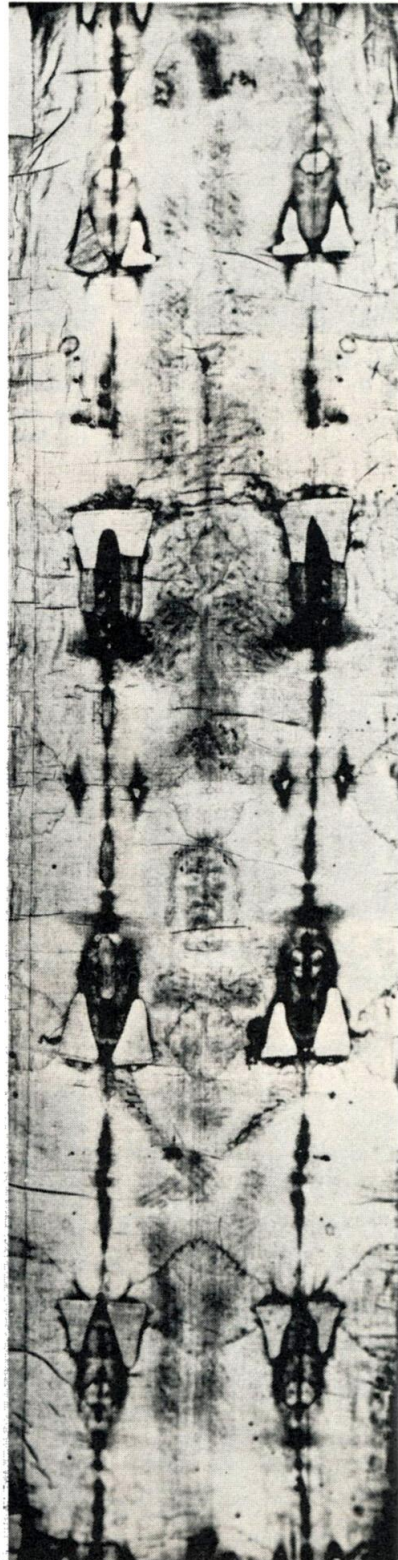


Fig. 14: Positive reproduction of the Holy Shroud.



Fig. 15: Alcoy, 1571: Detail of Fig. 2



Fig. 16: Caltagirone, 1649: Could it have been made by the same artist who made the Naples copy? (see Fig. 7)



Fig. 17: Naples, 1652: Detail of Fig. 7



Fig. 18: Moncalieri, 1634: Detail of Fig. 4

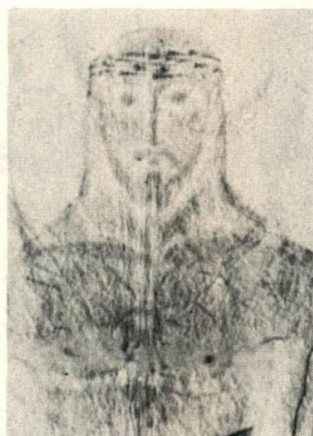


Fig. 19: Acireale, 1644



Fig. 20: Fabriano, 1646: Detail of Fig. 6

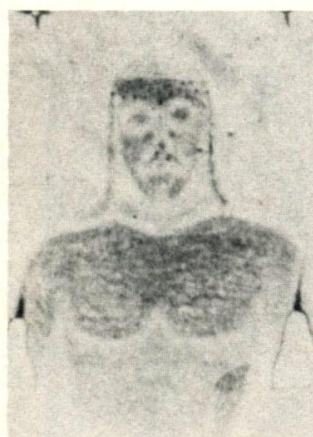


Fig. 21: Turin, 1644



Fig. 22: La Cuesta, 1654: The dark stains under beard seem to be blood.



Fig. 23: Agliè, 1822

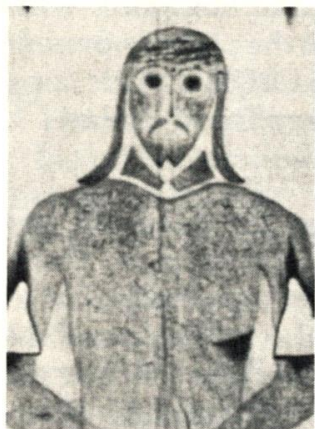


Fig. 24: Imperia, 1678: Detail of Fig. 9



Fig. 25: Savona, 1697: Detail of Fig. 10



Fig. 26: Gallarate, 1710: Detail of Fig. 12



Fig. 27: By Cussetti: Detail of Fig. 13

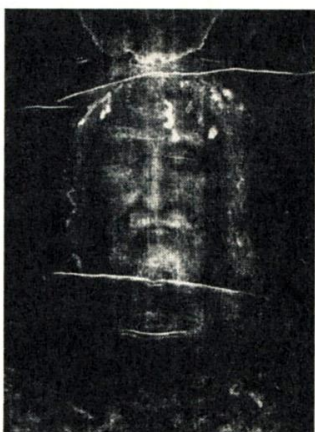


Fig. 28: Negative image of the Holy Face



Fig. 29: Reproduction of a painting by Enrico Reffo, 1898

All reproductions are by courtesy of Don Luigi Fossati, S.D.B.

1620 - Torres de la Alameda, Diocese of Madrid

Measure: 4.47m x 1.43m

Inscription: ESTE ES EL VERDADERO RETRATO DEL SANTISIMO SUDARIO SACADO DEL ORIGINAL EN TURIN Y TOCADO A EL EN 3 DE MAYO DE 1620 AÑOS

The inscription, which tells that the copy was touched to the Shroud on 3 May 1620, runs along the lower border. The copy is exposed and carried in procession on Good Friday. LEONE: op. cit.

1623 - Logroño, Diocese of Calahorra-Calzada-Logroño

Measure: 4.50m x 1.58m

Inscription: SACADO DEL ORIGINAL EN TURIN EN 4 MAYO DE 1623

On the chest in which the copy is kept, is written: COPIA DE LA SABANA SANTA.

The documents (in the archives of the Cathedral of Logroño), written in Latin the 4, 5, and 12 May 1623, tell us that the prelates present at the exposition put the copy in contact with the Original. This copy was exposed to the veneration of the faithful every Good Friday.

LEONE: Op. Cit.

Although the characters of the inscriptions on the Alameda and Logroño copies are quite different, other details common to them, such as; the delicacy of the drawing, the very light representations of the 1532 fire, the use of the Spanish language, the indication of the date in that particular way, all lead us to think that they could be the work of the same artist. The Lisbon copy, dated 1620, is quite different.

One might also add that these two are notably wider than almost all the others examined: Alameda being 1.43m wide and Logroño 1.58m.

1634 - Moncalieri, Carmelo san Giuseppe, Archdiocese of Turin Measure: 4.36m x 0.98m
Inscription: EXTRACTVM EX ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO 1634

During the Exposition of 1931, this copy was "Put in contact with the True Shroud on 25 May 1931", as appears from the inscription (in Italian) embroidered in azure on the red silk support, and from an archival document written by Canon Michele Grasso, Chaplain of the Holy Shroud Chapel. It is superfluous to add that this copy had already been in contact with the Shroud when it was given to the monastery; the second ceremony only confirms the century-old tradition.

FOSSATI: "Le copie della Sindone", *Studi Cattolici* #260, pp. 602-604.

1640 - Castillo de Garcimuñoz, Diocese of Cuenca
Measure: 4.34m x ?
Inscription: EXTRACTUS EX ORIGINALI TAURINI, ANNO 1640

The document of authentication was drawn up at Cuenca under the date of 14 April 1642. The copy is exposed from time to time.

LEONE: Op. Cit.

1643 - Private collection
Measure: not known
Inscription: EXTRACTVM EX ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO 1643

After the date appears the Savoy Knot. This was one of the copies included in the great Shroud Exhibit mounted in Palazzo Madama, Turin, on the occasion of the 1931 Exposition. In the Souvenir Album of the Exhibit, it is described thus: "Facsimile of the Holy Shroud on linen cloth, made from the true [Shroud]—Count Carlo Lovera di Castiglione, Turin".

L'Ostensione della Santa Sindone, Turin 1931.

FOSSATI: *Conversazioni e discussioni sulla Santa Sindone*, Turin 1968, Plate XXXVI.



Savoy Knot

1644 - Acireale, San Sebastiano church

Measure: not known

Inscription: EXTRACTVM EX ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO 1644

The date is followed by a small ornament.

No information has been found concerning this copy, not even how it came to Acireale.

FOSSATI: "Le Copie della Sindone", *Studi Cattolici* #260.

1644 - Monastery of the Cappucines, Madonna del Suffragio, Turin

Measure: 4.47m x 1.05m

Inscription: EXTRACTVM EX ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO 1644

The date is followed by a little ornament.

The monastery was founded in 1627, but has kept no record of when or how this copy was given to the community. From other sources, we learn only that the Princesses Francesca Maria and Francesca Caterina of Savoy* were frequent visitors to the convent. Without any doubt, the copy was a gift from them.

FOSSATI: *op. cit.*

1646 - Cathedral of Bitonto, Province of Bari

Measure: one-third of the Original

Inscription: EXTRATVM EX ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO 1646

A document of the capitular archives reads: "On 25 May 1659, the Illustrious Monsignor Alessandro Crescenzo, Bishop of Bitonto, gave to the Most Reverend Chapter the Holy Shroud touched to the Original which is conserved in Turin, where he [Bishop Crescenzo] was Apostolic Nuncio for twelve years; this Shroud, before being placed in the reliquary, was carried in procession ..."

BARBERIS: "Le Sindoni", *Sindon* #3, 1960; and "Le altre sindoni", *La Sindone nelle ricerche moderne*, anastatic edition, Marietti, 1980.

1646 - Cathedral of St. Peter, Bologna

Measure: 4.42m x 0.87m

Inscription: EXTRACTVM EX ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO 1646

The inscription here is along the upper border, while in all the other copies it is on the lower border. This copy, executed in tempera on a linen cloth, is attributed to the Princess Francesca Maria Apollonia of Savoy, daughter of Carlo Emanuele I. In her biography it is remarked that "she took delight in making faithful copies (of the Shroud) with her own hands, presenting them then to eminent personages or to pious sodalities". This copy was exposed during Holy Week.

ALESSIO: *Vita della Serenissima Infanta Maria di Savoia*, Milan 1663.

CROSET MOUCHET: *Vita della Veneranda Servo di Dio l'infanta Maria Francesca Apollonia*, Turin 1878.

FOSSATI: "Le copie della Sindone", *Studi Cattolici* #260.

Cusicou, Corrixi, FANTI: "Le copie della Sindone conservate in Bologna", *La Sindone; Scienza e fede*, Bologna 1983.

* Franciscan tertiaries, both sisters were later beatified.

1646 - St. Catherine church, Fabriano, Prov. of Ancona

Measure: exact dimensions are lacking

Inscription: EXTRACTVM EX ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO 1646

The drawing is very carefully done, however it is badly stained.

This copy was first photographed in 1935 when it was placed in the restored chapel where it is still conserved.

Fossatti: op. cit.

1650 - In his book *Le Linceul du Christ* (Paris 1902, pg 159), Vignon writes: "The Count Ernest Gay de Montariolo possesses a copy of the same size as the Original; painted on linen in 1650." A note explains that: "The Chevalier Pia was kind enough to photograph this copy for me. I thank the Count of Montariolo for his kindness in authorizing this reproduction". The reproduction, however, is not included in the book.

1652 - Naples, Monastery of SS. Joseph and Theresa, Mounts of Ponti Rossi

Measure: 4.37m x 0.95m

Inscription: Omni dimensione simillimum exemplar sacratissimae Christi Sindonis—Taurini in maiori Templo repositae—Contactu Prototypi consecratum Archiepiscopi manu—coram Regia Sabaudiae Celsitudine Anno Domini M.DC.LII

This copy would seem to be by the same artist who made the painting of Caltagirone, of which we will speak later. But there is a question which raises doubts: Why is this one signed, dated and with a long inscription, and the other is not?

FOSSATI: *La Santa Sindone*, Turin 1961

FOSSATI: "*Le copie della Sindone*", *Studi Cattolici* #260

1653 - Cuneo, Santa Maria parish

Measure: 4.15m x 0.97m

Inscription: EXTRACTVM EX ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO 1653

A little ornament follows the date.

The imprints are heavily outlined, resembling a rough charcoal sketch. On the back, a red silk lining prevents transparency. Entwined ribbons of red and white run all around the border. This copy was shown at the Historical Exhibit of the Shroud held during the 1931 Exposition. In the Exhibit Catalogue, the date is given as 1658.

FOSSATI: "*Le copie della Sindone*", *Studi Cattolici* #260

1654 - La Cuesta, Diocese of Osma-Soria

Measure: 4.16m x 0.93m

Inscription: EXTRACTVM EX ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO 1654

The date is followed by a small ornament.

The dark stains under the beard appear to be blood added later. The document of authentication, in the parish archives, states that on 4 May 1655, a Carmelite priest put the reproduction in contact with the

true Holy Shroud which is in Turin's Metropolitan church; a reproduction on linen, of the same length and width of the true Holy Relic (autentica sacra reliquia).

It is considered a true relic and is offered to the faithful to kiss on 16 September, date of the town's feast-day.

LEONE: Op. cit.

1678 - Imperia, Basilica of san Maurizio

Measure: 4.40m x 1m

Inscription: EXTRACTVM AB ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO 1678

The copy is very well preserved. The figures are drawn with delicate but quite decisive lines. Although it does not carry a signature, by its delicate delineation and by similarities in some details, it seems one could attribute it to Giovanni Battista Fantino, whose signed copies follow.

FOSSATI: op. cit.

1697 - Savona, Carmelite Monastery

Measure: 4.50m x 1.10

Inscription: EXTRACTVM AB ORIGINALI ANNO DOM[INI] TAVRINI 1697
FANTINVS FEC[IT]

This copy is longer than others because the symbols of the Passion are represented at the ends. The Monastery also possesses five etchings on cloth, on one of which is imprinted: In Torino per Gio. Battista Fantino.

Fossatti: "Repliche sindoniche", *Studi Cattolici* #262.

1708 - Aglie, St. Martha church

Measure: 4.40 x 0.97m

Inscription: EXTRACTVM AB ORIGINALI TAVRINI ANNO DO. FANTINVS FECIT

1708

Forgotten for many years, this copy was found again in 1978. It is now exposed during Holy Week.

FOSSATI: "Repliche sindoniche", *Studi Cattolici* #262

1710 - Gallarate, Basilica

Measure: 4.25m x 0.90m

Inscription: EXTRACTVM AB ORIGINALI REGIE DVCCALIS (sic) ECLESIE (sic)
AVGVSTE TAVRINORVM EX DEVOTIONE IOANNIS B. TROMBINI 1710 FANTINVS
FECIT

The Inscription is somewhat different from the usual formula, and has some spelling errors. At the beginning and the end of the Inscription is added the characteristic Savoy Knot. Along the four sides runs a red border edged in gold, by now quite faded.

FOSSATI: op. cit.

The copies of Imperia (1678), Savona (1697), Aglie (1708) and Gallarate (1710) are attributed to Giovanni Battista Fantino, not only because

three of them are signed by the artist, but also because all four present details so specific and so different from all the other copies analyzed up to this time. The details which distinguish them are:

1. In the customary phrase "Extractum ex Originali", the preposition "ab" is used instead of "ex".
2. The lance wound is on the left side, not on the right as it actually is (only the Imperia copy shows it on the right).
3. The signs of the Chambéry fire are shown on all four copies in a style quite peculiar to the artist, which sets these copies apart from all the others on which the 1532 damage is represented.
4. On the Gallarate copy, the Inscription is preceded and followed by the rare detail of the Savoy Knot. Only on the 1643 copy (Count Lovera di Castiglione) do we find the Savoy Knot, in this case only at the end of the Inscription. Although the copies are signed, we know nothing about the artist who created them; and yet he must have been a specialist, making copies of various types and sizes, as evidenced by the Badolatosa copy (Spain, 1674), much smaller than the Original, as well as another of small format conserved with the Savona copy.

1822 - Aglie, Chapel of the Castle
Measure: 4.40m x 0.90m

Rolled onto a cylinder and kept in a metal container, this copy shows wrinkles and creases. The linen is sewn onto a cloth of violet silk, which forms a border all around the sheet. According to the parchment of authentication, fixed to the linen with a ribbon, the copy goes back to 1822. The document reads:

"Colombano Chiaveroti, Order of St. Benedict, Congregation of the Camaldolese, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See Archbishop of Turin.

"Let it be known by all, and manifest, since by order of S.S.R.M.*, the Most Holy Shroud in which was wrapped the bloody body of Our Divine Redeemer, was, on the fourth day of this month, removed from the reliquary in which it is closed and was unfolded and laid out in the Royal Chapel; also, concerning the cloth here joined, lined with taffeta of violet color, [cloth] which represents the above-mentioned Holy Shroud, and is equal to its dimensions in length as well as width; the order of M.S.* was presented that it should be sanctified by contact with the Most Holy Relic; and which cloth was, by our hands, laid upon the Most Holy Shroud so that the two were perfectly fitted together in every part.

"In faith of this we have sent the present, signed by us and with the seal of Our Archbishopric and countersigned by Our Chaplain. In Turin, 4 January 1822." (Signatures of the Archbishop and Chaplain.)

* S.S.R.M. stands for Sua Sacra Real Maesta; M.S. for Maesta Sua.

1898 - Turin, Sacristy of the Holy Shroud Chapel

In the book *L'Ostensione della Santa Sindone* (1931), this copy is catalogued as follows: "1898 Facsimile of the Holy Shroud, of the same dimensions as the Original, painted on cloth by Cav. Carlo Cussetti".

The copy is conserved in the reliquary-frame prepared for the 1898 exposition and is permanently on view in the sacristy of the Holy Shroud Chapel. It will be remembered that the frame is shorter than the length of the Shroud, therefore it was necessary to fold back the copy quite a bit, and consequently several centimeters of the frontal image are not visible and do not appear in the photograph. This copy, executed with airbrush, is described by Tonelli: "In 1898, Prof. Cussetti ... was appointed ... to reproduce the Shroud in natural size. During the eight days of the Exposition, he copied the relic while observing it from the Royal Tribune of the cathedral. First he made a sketch in natural size, and a small sketch in aquarelle, which I have in my possession; and finally the linen which is exhibited in the sacristy of the Holy Shroud Chapel. He was able to observe the cloth up close; His August Royal Highness allowed me to take a photograph. I thereupon pointed out to Prof. Cussetti that he had traced a very faint contour-line at the sides of the face, but the Original lacks any lines. And he answered; 'But how can an artist draw a human body without putting down lines? So first of all I sketched all the outlines with a very light touch, then, when the work was completed, I cancelled the lines. In that place I forgot to cancel the lines.' Then he explained to me that he had to think of some ingenious way to reproduce the gradual melting-away at the edges, which we observe in the Original."

TONELLI: "La fotografia ha deciso...", *Rivista dei Giovani*, Nov. 1929.

ENRIE: *La Santa Sindone rivelata dalla fotografia*, Turin 1933.

1898 -

This copy was painted by Enrico Reffo; but we have only reproductions of it, as its whereabouts and its measurements are, at present, unknown. At the lower left is written simply, "Reffo 1898".

In 1875, Reffo had already prepared a drawing, which is described in the book *L'Ostensione della Santa Sindone* in this way:

"1875 - Imago SS. Sindonis D.N. Jesu Christi Aug. Taurin. asservatae ecc. Lithograph in color from drawing by Enrico Reffo, of the Fratelli Doyen of Turin. 0.65m x 0.60m."

NOGUIER DE MALIJAY: *Le Saint Suaire et la Sainte Face*, Paris 1922.

L'Ostensione della S. Sindone, Turin 1931, Plate XVI.

ENRIE: op. cit.

Parts II and III of this article will appear in *Spectrum* #13, December 1984.