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Fig. 1

A small cloth to be destroyed

Emanuela Marinelli

After commenting on the first book by Andrea Nicolotti (1), a researcher on a study grant in the History Department of Turin University, we are now going to speak about his second book, From the Mandylion of Edessa to the Shroud of Turin, the metamorphosis of a legend (2). In this text Nicolotti expands what he already stated in a previous article (3) that proposed a series of negations:

1. The Mandylion is not the Shroud because it was a small towel and carried the image of the face only, in colour, of the living Christ, with open eyes and without signs of torture (pp. 281-282).
2. The Mandylion is not the Shroud because in the fourth century the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius speaks only of a letter, in the fifth century the Doctrine of Addai speaks of a painting of the face of Christ and only in the sixth century do the Acts of Mar Mari and Evagrius Scholastic speak about a miraculous origin of the Edessa image (pp. 282-285).
3. The hypothesis that the word tetrádiplon in the Acts of Thaddaeus, composed between 609 and

944, could refer to the folded Shroud is "a farraginous reconstruction", "frankly fanciful", which has no substantiation in the whole tradition, both on the Mandylion and on the Shroud. The author of the Acts describes the image of Edessa as a towel and uses a different terminology for the burial cloth of Jesus. The decorations of the representations of the Mandylion are found also elsewhere and cannot be the evidence of the existence of a reliquary in which the Shroud was folded. Tetrádiplon cannot be translated "folded four times double". The Shroud has been folded lengthwise from immemorial time and there are no dirty areas that would indicate the display of a framed side (pp. 285-291).

4. In describing "blood and water" from the side, Gregory Referendarius does not refer to the Mandylion but to the crucifix (pp. 292-297).

5. In the Codex Scylitzes the Mandylion is not depicted as a long cloth (pp. 297-301).

6. The Mandylion was bought by Louis IX and destroyed in Paris during the French Revolution (pp. 302-307).

Nicolotti joined sindonological historical research in 2009 (4). Obviously he found many hypotheses already formulated and scrupulously began with the verification of the sources and continued with their interpretation. The job is titanic and he heroically carried it ahead, completing an enormous and commendable work indeed, of which all the Shroud scholars should honestly be grateful. But he does not start from neutral positions and this, in the course of his survey, will prove harmful for the validity of his conclusions.

The lack of Nicolotti's neutrality appears in all its evidence in the first pages of his book on the Mandylion. In contrast to his book on the Templars, which begins with the declaration of writing without prejudices, the book on the Mandylion starts with the denigration of Ian Wilson, proposer in 1978 of "two revolutionary proposals of interpretation"(5): the role of the Templars in the arrival of the Shroud in Europe and in

its preservation until the suppression of the order; and the identification of the Shroud with the acheiropoietos (unpainted) image of Edessa.

This vilification of Wilson is very interesting because it occurs in two stages: first gently and masked, then the straight thrust. In the first veiled denigration, Nicolotti writes that Wilson is an English writer, "a prolific author with a remarkable tendency to investigate certain "mysterious" issues"(6). Where is the veiled denigration? Compare this description with that which appears in a book by Wilson: "Ian Wilson is a prolific, internationally published author specialising in historical and religious mysteries. Born in south London, he graduated from Magdalen College, Oxford University, in 1963 with honours in Modern History" (7). There is a clear difference between having "a remarkable tendency to investigate certain issues "of the mystery" and being "specialised in historical and religious mysteries", and especially, between being a "writer", who can be anyone, and "graduated with honours in Modern History at Magdalen College, Oxford University".

The non-mention of Wilson's degree is not due to the need for synthesis, because an extensive footnote follows, which lists 14 books by Wilson, warning that the list is not complete. But why this long list? To increase Wilson's prestige? No, because in this way a general writer, who the reader assumes is without a shred of graduation and with the "remarkable tendency" to mysteries, is passed off as a freak by listing titles that relate to reincarnation, ghosts, stigmata, experiences after death, the Flood and Nostradamus (8).

Just read below and any doubt about the intentions of Nicolotti is blown away by this phrase that applies to the identification Mandylion-Shroud: "Sometimes the negative judgment was delivered with cutting words: Alain Desreumaux, for example, thinks that the identification of the two relics "is only due to ignorance of the American Ian Wilson and was repeated with the complaisant lightness, typical of some journalists"(9).
Nicolotti does not say much more, he just puts the

reference to the book of this Desreumaux in a footnote, without explaining either who he is (10) or why he is so ignorant as not to know that Wilson is English rather than American.

The queer thing is that Nicolotti had written two pages before that Wilson is English. Then here he is pleased to report that judgment of an ignoramus who calls an Oxford graduate ignorant. But all this talk is part of a division of goats from the sheep that Nicolotti started to do a little earlier, explaining that "in the years after 1978, the Wilsonian identification of the Shroud with the Edessa portrait received remarkable attention by the the most popular publishing and printing" (11).

Below are mentioned the followers of Wilson, called simply "authors" (12): Pierluigi Baima Bollone, Daniel Raffard de Brienne, Werner Bulst, Massimo Centini, Karlheinz Dietz, André-Marie Dubarle, Barbara Frale, Maurus Green, Mark Guscin, Emanuela Marinelli, Heinrich Pfeiffer, Ilaria Ramelli, Daniel Scavone, Maria Grazia Siliato, Gino Zaninotto. These "authors" are clearly presented by Nicolotti as a category of the lowest level that is set against the other, that of "significant contrary voices", to which "some qualified scholars" belong (13).

In this second group he names Averil Cameron, Sebastian Brock and Ewa Kuryluk that "in fact have claimed that "the Edessa image has nothing to do with the Turin Shroud", rejecting what they consider an "improbable theory" based on "very unsatisfactory" elements" (14). Nicolotti continues in a footnote, reminding us that Ewa Kuryluk (15) states that Wilson "comes to a series of unwarranted conclusions" (16). Here is marked the dividing line between simple "authors" of "popular press" following the identification Mandylion-Shroud and "qualified scholars" who reject it. So Nicolotti's reader will not know that in the first group there are also university professors and professional historians. In his mind, by now, the "qualified scholars" are on the other side, that of skeptics.

And let's complete the picture of these introductory pages, which are entitled, I have not said it

yet, "research subject" (17). Nicolotti is keen on stressing that "even some Shroud scholars who have a pro-authenticity orientation, it must be said, have shown themselves quite skeptical, on the basis of the examination of the sources" (18), and puts Emmanuel Poulle in a footnote, without saying that he was a historian (recently deceased). It is enough to be pro-authenticity to be no "qualified expert", while rejecting the identification Mandylion-Shroud.

After Desreumaux and his ignorant Wilson, Nicolotti continues with the patrologist Pier Angelo Gramaglia, according to whom Wilson's theory is found in "pseudo-scientific scandalous publications" (19) and Andrew Palmer (20), who calls on historians to "react to the studies that accept Wilson's theory" (21), as if among the supporters of the identification Mandylion-Shroud there were no historians.

This introduction ends with what would become a refrain, repeated like a mantra throughout the book: "The Edessa relic, however, is a small fabric of cloth, of the size of a towel; on it the features of only the face of Jesus are imprinted, in colour; Jesus is alive, his eyes are open, his face does not show any injury" (22). According to Nicolotti, Wilson "incorrectly states that "the root of both the Greek and the Arabic seems to be the latin mantile, or mantle, which immediately indicates the size of a cloak" (23). Among other things, Nicolotti knows well that there was not only one Mandylion: "In Edessa there were at least (italics in the original text) three acheiropoietos: the original, a second copy and a third, equally miraculous, which had healed the daughter of King Chosroes. In practice, each of the three Christian groups in the city (Nestorian, Jacobite and Melkite) had their own image, which shows us how false relics already existed at that time, in competition with one another" (24).

Nicolotti points out: "One of these mandylions was moved to Constantinople in 944" (25). Obviously for him the hypothesis that "one of these mandylions" could be the folded Shroud is unacceptable. The impossibility of such

type of storage, according to Nicolotti, is confirmed "by the absence on the fabric of those signs of dirt and discoloration that you expect to find on a sheet folded for a long time in such a way as to expose one side only, perhaps held in a frame" (26). Nicolotti himself, however, recalls that between the years 1075 and 1099 the Anonymous Tarragona text reads, "This sheet, which contains the represented face of our Redeemer, is not shown to anyone, is not open to anyone, not even to the emperor of Constantinople" (27).

So let us see what the categories are to which, in fact, the sindonologists belong according to Nicolotti: a) the good and honest sindonologist, who is not interested in the history of the Shroud before the fourteenth century or is interested in it in a critical way; b) the smart but dishonest sindonologist, who is interested in the history of the Shroud before the fourteenth century, manipulating the texts and altering their meaning; c) the stupid and gullible sindonologist, who is interested in the history of the Shroud before the fourteenth century without knowing or understanding the texts, and as a result lets himself get carried away by his imagination; d) the sindonologist at times cunning and dishonest, and at others stupid and gullible.

Nicolotti does not explain how the type "d" can exist and by what miracle, magic potions the stupid sindonologist can become smart. Such an elixir must have been in the crusader Robert de Clari's possession. In his work La conquête de Constantinople he wrote about a church called "St. Mary of Blachernae, where there was the Shroud (Sydoines) in which Our Lord was wrapped, which every Friday rose up straight, so that it was possible to see the figure of Our Lord" (28).

According to Nicolotti, this tale of Robert de Clari "is not very credible" (29) and he thinks that "Robert, once back in France and having devoted himself to writing his chronicle, created on the basis of his memories, or echoed by another deformed story, full of fictional miracles, mixing traditions and different objects" (30). The gullible crusader, howe-

ver, becomes credible - an effect of the magic potion - when, among the relics of St. Mary of Pharos, he mentions a tile and a cloth: "The author is clearly talking about the Mandylion and the holy tile" (31), Nicolotti remarks. And he does not accept the hypothesis that this Mandylion may be a copy, while the original may have been opened, recognised as the Shroud and worshipped in St. Mary of Blachernae (32).

The philologist Carlo Maria Mazzucchi thinks that the discovery of the true nature of the Mandylion and the transfer to St. Mary of Blachernae could have happened between 1201 and 1203, among the most turbulent years of the history of Byzantium. It should be remembered that when the image of Edessa arrived in Constantinople, as already said, it was taken first to St. Mary of Blachernae and then placed in the chapel of St. Mary of Pharos; so a transfer between the two churches is not improbable. Also around 1100 the Byzantine historian George Cedrenus wrote that in the winter of 1036-1037 the Mandylion was carried in procession on foot to St. Mary Blachernae in petitioning for the end of a long drought (33). The episode is also mentioned by Nicolotti reporting a story by John Scylitzes (34).

These statements of Mazzucchi are not reported by Nicolotti, who however knows the article of the philologist: in fact he mentions it twice, both to emphasise that Mazzucchi does not see a reference to an image in the words of Nicholas Mesarites, when he writes that Christ's funeral cloths "wrapped the indescribable, naked corpse" (35), and in the adjective "theophorus", used by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus to describe the linen which along with other holy relics makes the water to be sent to his soldiers blessed by contact (36). To reinforce the denial that this theophorus linen could be the Shroud now preserved in Turin, Nicolotti adds: "So this is one of the many "shrouds" that several cities at the same time claimed to own. On the other hand, the Byzantines believed that in the tomb

Jesus was wrapped in bandages" (37). So we should infer that the emperor would send to his troops water blessed by a relic he believed false ...

Coming back to Mazzucchi's article, Nicolotti quotes it only in its denial aspect, but in a book all about the Mandylion and full of quotations like his, to quote the thought of the philologist favourable to the identification Mandylion-Shroud would have been appropriate. But that would have forced Nicolotti to include Mazzucchi in his class "c" and this didn't suit him, if he wanted to give strength to his previous statements. Better to put him in the category "a" with a partial quotation.

Now let us see how Nicolotti, in practice, places some sindonologists in the four categories. The category "a", that of the good and honest sindonologists, is hardly represented. Practically in addition to Mazzucchi there is only Gian Maria Zaccone because the ancient history is of little interest for him, but we have already seen (38) that when he gives his interest to it, and does it in a balanced way, Nicolotti does not quote him properly.

Not even two historians are allowed in the category "a". Karlheinz Dietz commits a sin of naiveté that we will see after, therefore he falls into the category "c"; Emmanuel Poulle, "anything but a naive scholar" (39), is out for different sins: he gave credit to Codex Pray (40) and thinks that the Shroud was in Constantinople between the tenth or eleventh century and 1204 (41). But, in Nicolotti's opinion, the medievalist Poulle is authoritative when he says that Barbara Frale did "cascades of deductions, all adventurous" (42).

Even the Archimandrite George Gharib could end up in the hell of the sindonologists - group "c". According to Nicolotti, Garib never translated the Menaeon texts "perfectly": "Gharib's approach is sindonological, so I cannot agree with his comment on the text" (43). Perhaps Gharib bothered Nicolotti translating as "shroud" (44) the word that instead he translates as "linen" (45). But immediately after Nicolotti absolves him from his sins: "It is true that the author in a subsequent

publication changed his mind, clearly excluding the possibility that the acheiropoietos and the Shroud are the same object" (46).

In fact in the first text Gharib did not side with the Mandylion-Shroud identification: "But we do not feel up, for the moment, to giving an answer: either positive or negative" (47). This uncertainty was not enough for Nicolotti: the failure of a decisive siding for denial made Nicolotti smell the stink of sindonologist, who, therefore, as a commentator, was suspicious. In the second text, describing the iconographic type of the Holy Mandylion, Gharib writes: "There is no sign of pain or passion, contrary to what we see on the so-called Western 'Veronica'. This excludes its identification with the Turin Shroud" (48). This is sufficient for Nicolotti to save him from the eternal damnation and to promote him further up to a valuable source (49).

Let us now turn to the category "b", where the undisputed queen of the cunning and dishonest sindonologists is Frale, who twists the sources (50), forces the translations (51) and brings in false evidence (52). Much of the book on the Templars by Nicolotti is devoted to her, and in the book on the Mandylion she also wins the charge of "iconographic manipulation" (53).

The sindonologist of category "c", stupid and gullible, is the most common fellow. Obviously the father of all the fantasies is Wilson, quoted profusely by Nicolotti, who believes him able of "avoiding even the greatest difficulties" (54) to support his speculations and of "changing the meaning of a legendary text to make it acceptable to the modern reader and without prejudice to the sindonological theory reader, even at the cost of fantasies, anachronisms and forcing" (55).

For example, Wilson's interpretation regarding an illumination of the Georgian Alaverdi Tetraevangelion, dating back to 1054, which looks like "a rectangular gold-covered panel, much larger than anything which might be expected for a mere face cloth" (56) is branded by Nicolotti as "fiction", quoting this judgment from a private communication received by the Georgian scholar Irma Karaulashvili (57).

Another example: Wilson would have "abandoned his interpretation of the diamond or interlaced lozenges pattern as a representation of a golden trellis" (58) and would have "understood to have to do only with one of many possible types of textile decoration" (59). To support the textile decoration as possible, while the golden trellis is not, Nicolotti brings forward this argument: "If the diamond pattern were attributable to a golden trellis, certainly it would not be reproduced also on the earthenware keramion" (60). But why would an earthenware keramion have a textile decoration?

In confirmation of the abandoning of the theory of the golden trellis by Wilson, Nicolotti notes that "his most recent (61) drawings of a graphic reconstruction are without the trellis and the side circles with the supposed nails" (62). Immediately the accusation for the other sindonologists is ready: "However, ... other sindonologists inspired by him ... continue to re-propose his old reconstruction and to talk about a 'trellis of lozenges' that covered the fabric" (63). In a footnote, he quotes as an example a book (64) of mine which came out at the same time as Wilson's.

At this point a comment becomes necessary. Apart from the fact that Wilson has not "abandoned" the trellis hypothesis, but merely considered another hypothesis without it, for this reason, ruling out the previous one, if I had learned about of a change of his opinion expressed with a book in 2010, how could I put it in my book, written in 2010, too? And what would be wrong with that, if, even knowing this, I had remained more convinced by the "old reconstruction"? Nicolotti, as we say in Rome, "clings to pipe smoke".

Still another example of Nicolotti's reasoning concerns a mosaic of the Mandylion that existed on the apse arch of St. Sophia cathedral in Constantinople. Wilson writes (65) that in 1058 Yahya of Antioch saw the Edessa Image in Santa Sofia and prudently assumes that this author did not see the original, but a mosaic that would then be reproduced in 1680 by the French artist Guillaume-Joseph Grelot in a

book of his. To deny that this mosaic has ever existed, Nicolotti does not mention Yahya of Antioch and writes that in similar depictions made by Cornelius Loos in 1710 that Mandylion is not there, therefore "the drawing by Grelot is erroneous because there has never been any Mandylion on the apse" (66). No chance that such a mosaic had been removed between 1680 and 1710. Nicolotti does not imagine things, he gives certainties.

Now let us see some other examples of sindonologists belonging to the "c" category; it is impossible to list them all, beginning with Dietz and his sin of naiveté. In the Acts of Thaddaeus, King Abgar of Edessa, sick, sends a messenger to ask Jesus to come to him and cure him of an incurable disease. Besides trasmitting the King's invitation, by his appointment the messenger had to "carefully observe Christ, his looks, his stature, his hair, in a word, everything" (67).

Ananias departed. "After giving the letter, he carefully watched Christ and could not catch him. But he, who knows the heart, saw it and asked for the necessities to wash himself. He was given a (cloth) tetrádiplon (folded in four). After he had washed himself, he wiped his face. Because his image was imprinted on the cloth (sindón), he gave it to Ananias" (68), telling him to bring a verbal message to his master. The latter, receiving his envoy, "bowed down and worshipped the image" (69); then he was cured of his illness. Nicolotti remarks with these words: "According to some sindonologists - and in a footnote he mentions Dietz as an example - this story shows that Jesus would have imprinted the whole image of his body on the cloth, satisfying the desire of King Abgar. This statement, in my opinion, is based on exaggerations" (70).

To let us understand that Dietz did not want to explain the origin of a legendary text, but naively believes that the episode really happened, Nicolotti sets about arguing with phrases like: "In the middle of the crowd, Jesus asks for some water, washes his face and wipes it; difficult to think that he took a bath (in which basin of water?) and wiped his

whole body" (71); "The creation of an impression of the whole body would suggest an operation much less credible: Jesus would have to bathe his entire body and lie down on the cloth after laying it on the ground" (72); "the inevitable chafing and skin rubbing would not have allowed that the body moisture would transfer itself onto the cloth in a manner consistent with the surface of the limbs with which it came into contact" (73). He adds: "We are thinking about a legendary text, certainly, but that does not mean that it must seem totally implausible" (74). So Dietz works "strained interpretations" just to argue that we speak of the "whole constitution of Christ, his stature, his hair, and indeed every part of his body" (75). But this kind of literal verisimilitude of a legendary text, in the end, concerns more Nicolotti than Dietz.

Later, in another chapter, Nicolotti writes: "The testimony from a historian, the so-called "Arab Herodotus" Al-Mas'udi († 956), is rather confused: "In this church a Mandylion is preserved, which was venerated by Christians, for Jesus the Nazarene wiped himself with it when he came out from the waters of baptism"(76). I expected Nicolotti to comment on saying that in this way the problem of finding water was solved, but not that of the wiping of the bath-robe. Instead he says simply: "It is likely, however, that he, who was not even Christian, had not at hand one of the versions of the Abgar legend" (77). That right one, of course, which had to speak about a very small towel.

Even on the term tetrádiplon, Nicolotti starts with a long lucubration: "If indeed it had been a long and bulky cloth, folded on itself, Jesus would have had to unfold it, applying it to the whole body, imprint his figure on it (front and back, as in the Shroud) and then deliver it to Ananias. But at this point, once unfolded and used to wipe himself, it could no longer be considered a tetrádiplon: should we think that Jesus wanted to fold back the cloth again, to give it back the form in which he was given it? An operation that he should have accomplished with the help of anyone present, since the cloth was over four meters long" (78).

In category "c" the married couple Alan and Mary Whanger could not be missing; Nicolotti criticises their technique of overlap in polarised light (79). To him the image overlappings by computer are "absurd discoveries" (80), "coarse operations" (81), "frankly embarrassing for how little they are able to demonstrate" (82). And more, another difficulty that he emphasises is how to find the points of congruence "on a face with the diameter of about 10 mm? There is not even the space to count them!" (83). Evidently his computer cannot enlarge the images and he thinks that no computer can do it.

Nicolotti quotes "an important monograph by James Douglas Breckenridge (84) dealing with the iconography of Justinian II's coins" (85) and criticizes Mario Moroni (86) because he "fails to inform the reader of what his conclusions are. According to Breckenridge, in fact, the model of Christ Rex regnantium of the coins is the iconography of the Pantocrator according to a possible model that certainly is not from the Shroud, but pagan: that of Zeus panbasileus, represented, for example, by the famous chryselephantine statue at Olympia, by Phidias, of which a marble copy of the face remains" (87).

In my opinion, these statements cannot be shared, because it seems to me that the comparison (fig. 1) shows a greater similarity of Christ's image on Justinian II (88) coin with the Shroud rather than with Zeus (89). But certainly I will not insult those who argue the opposite.

Nicolotti adds: "But, beyond the fact that these similarities do not exist, the exact opposite may be true, that is, it is the Shroud that imitated the iconography of the paintings, coins and icons: a snake chasing its tail" (90). It is easy to break this snake: the Shroud is not a work of art but a funeral sheet that wrapped a corpse (91). So this "exact opposite" does not exist.

Also Mark Guscin, a specialist in Byzantine manuscripts, ends in the congregation of simpletons. For him in the Acts of Thaddaeus King Abgar "is telling his artist to bring back a painting of the whole body of Christ" (92).

Immediately Nicolotti raps him: "But this statement is incorrect: the Acts of Thaddaeus, in fact, never qualify Ananias as an artist - which, however, was done in the Doctrina Addai - but as a messenger, nor deliver the news that Abgar ever asked Ananias to make a portrait of Jesus" (93). Nicolotti clearly did not understand that Guscin was referring to a text in an unpublished manuscript of the text.

Then what would you say about an assertion of Nicolotti, a few pages forther on? It speaks of a text by Gregory Referendarius in which Thaddaeus explains to Abgar that Jesus sent back Ananias to him with the letter, in which he promised to send subsequently a disciple after the ascension. That disciple was him. Then, when Jesus is in agony at the Gethsemane, he wipes his face with a linen cloth and the image is imprinted. Nicolotti remarks: "The story of the meeting between the edessene messenger Ananias and Jesus has undergone a shift in the setting" (94). Actually it is the time of the image formation that has undergone a shift in setting, not the meeting between Ananias and Jesus.

The text of Gregory Referendarius, however, provides the opportunity for a partial rehabilitation of Guscin in Nicolotti's eyes. Let us see why. André-Marie Dubarle (95) and Gino Zaninotto (96) believe that Gregory refers to the side wound, visible on the Mandylion-Shroud, when he says "there blood and water", with a translation "impossible to maintain" (97), according to Nicolotti. Immediately the two scholars become members of group "c". Dubarle is also accused of being contradictory (98), because on one side he argues that Gregory did not realise he was in front of Jesus' funeral sheet and on the other admits to seeing the side wound on it. Obviously for Nicolotti a partial unfolding of the cloth is not acceptable.

According to Nicolotti, Dubarle provides a "completely fanciful" (99), "figment of the imagination" (100) explanation: the cloth of Gethsemane would have been re-used by Joseph of Arimathea "as the cloth to wipe the blood of the dead body of Jesus" (101). And ironically he remarks:

"It really seems like Dubarle would believe the legend of Abgar trustworthy!" (102). Reading the text of Dubarle, however, we understand very well that he refers to Gregory as one that might suppose this explanation, it is not Dubarle himself who supports it (103). Otherwise we too would be allowed to think that Nicolotti really believes in the miracle of reproduction of the Mandylion on the keramion when he says: "From the niche of Edessa, where the first miracle of reproduction happened, to the Pharos Chapel of Constantinople and to every Byzantine church, the approached arrangement of the two relics is repeated also at the iconographic level" (104).

Nicolotti is sure that the Referendarius talks about the side wound of the Christ's body on the cross (105), but as an alternative explanation, rather than that of Dubarle and Zaninotto, he prefers the "provocative reading" (106), which seems to him "more sensible than the sindonological one" (107), made by Mr. and Mrs. Ciccone (108): "that the cloth has been sprinkled with some of the blood drops of Jesus preserved as a relic in an ampulla in the Pharos church of Constantinople" (109).

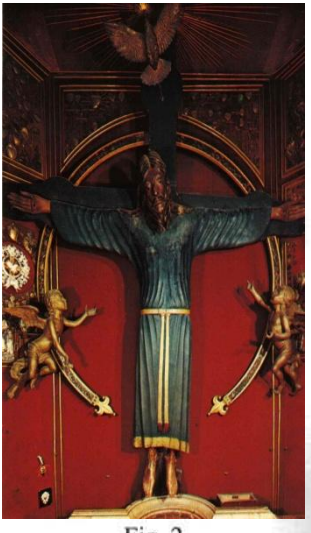

Fig. 2

And here is the rehabilitation of Guscin, who no longer follows the interpretation of Dubarle and Zaninotto: "It is significant that even Mark Guscin, after having initially shared it, has rejected this forced translation" (110). But the idyll lasts a few pages and soon Guscin is again under attack for the Narratio de Imagine Edessena: "The latest edition by Mark Guscin is useful, because it is based on a greater number of manuscripts, but unfortunately it turns out critically less reliable than the edition by Dobschütz (111), because it does not allow to distinguish the text stratifications" (112). This state-

ment is curious as Guscin includes all of Dobschütz's work and amplifies, not changes it.

Guscin definitely falls into disgrace on the Menaion manuscripts of Mount Athos. Nicolotti remarks: "Some of them would contain a passage, unknown to the current liturgical texts, in which it would be clearly asserted that the image of Edessa is actually the image of the Jesus' entire body" (113). Of course this is unacceptable to him. Comparing a 2003 (114) text in Spanish by Guscin with a 2009 (115) text in English, again by Guscin, Nicolotti finds the first translation "objectionable" (116) and "counterfeit" (117), while the second is "better than the previous one" (118) but "still imperfect" (119).

So Guscin remains placed in category "c": "It seems that Guscin really believes in the legend of the Edessene image, and really goes in search of a prodigiously formed image, certainly excluding the possibility that the Edessa-Constantinople Mandylion could be the simple fruit of the fervid devotional imagination!" (120). However, Nicolotti follows this "fruit of the fervid devotional imagination" step by step as a real object, and again picks on Guscin who "denies that the Mandylion ended up in Paris" (121).

Conclusion by Nicolotti: "None of the Byzantine texts composed on the occasion of the arrival in Constantinople of the Edessene image, a work by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, reworked under his control or created and subsequently spread throughout the East, especially for the liturgical officiations, contains any element that might serve to corroborate the hypothesis that the acheiropoietos cloth was Jesus' burial sheet" (122).

There is only one concession by Nicolotti: "Actually there is only one medieval text - whose oldest manuscript witness dates back to the tenth or eleventh century - in which the Edessene image is explicitly described as a cloth bearing the figure of the entire body of Jesus. It is an anonymous Latin sermon, which looks like a tractatus ex libro syrorum

translatus in latinum: therefore of declared Syriac origin, without this completely having to exclude an intermediate step in the Greek language" (123). The text says that Jesus "lay down the whole body on a snow-white sheet" (124), but Nicolotti is quick to point out: "The earliest review of the same story can be found in a speech delivered by Pope Stephen III in 769 , at a Roman synod" (125).

The harsh criticism by Nicolotti arrives on time: Pope Stephen III "was aware of a different version of the same tale, in which there was no mention of the impression of the whole body" (126). He continues: "We can confirm the deduction, advanced by modern commentators, that the addition of the particular of the whole body impression is the result of an interpolation occurred in the range between 769 and the tenth or eleventh century, age of the oldest codex of the Tractatus" (127).

A text written between the eighth and eleventh century, even as an interpolation, should still be considered interesting by Nicolotti, who would also have to wonder if an event of that period could have influenced the editor of the interpolation. Could something have been discovered at the arrival of the Mandylion in Constantinople in 944? But for Nicolotti it is only important to reiterate that in any case that text cannot be a reference to the Shroud: "Certainly the evidence of the Turin Shroud is not compatible with the impression of a living body on a sheet, without blood or wounds" (128).

Since the Tractatus also speaks of a change in the image, on Easter Day, with the passing of hours (129), this is a "fanciful description" (130) and the possible interpretations proposed by Zaninotto or Scavone are rejected as "pro-Shroud explanations" (131). Also Fr. Dubarle is accused of "confusion of heterogeneous elements" (132) and "forced" (133) interpretation. No long sheet can get out of Nicolotti's tailor's shop without being shortened.

Even Monsignor Pietro Savio (134) ends up badly, in category "c", with the legend of the Holy Face of Lucca, which oddly enough is so called but it is not

just a face. In fact it is a crucifix eight feet tall (fig. 2), dating from the twelfth century, which fortunately still exists (135), otherwise Nicolotti would no doubt have denied that it represents Jesus' entire body. In the Miracles appendix of the legend (twelfth-thirteenth century), quoted by Nicolotti, a "veil" is used by women present on Calvary to cover the naked dead body of Jesus still on the cross, "from the Savior's head to the feet" (136). When the veil is removed from the body, there is "represented the Savior's image and his truest representation and figure engraved into it" (137).

Savio comments: "Such linen, new in the tradition, is an open reference to the Shroud and to the effigy that the Lord impressed on it with his own bloodstained body when he was laid out for burial by Joseph and Nicodemus" (138). Nicolotti rises: "In truth, this interpretation patently misrepresents the text, which states that the long veil was used to cover Jesus while he was on the cross (italics in the original text), and not to bury him" (139). And he insists: "It is clear that the author of this legend certainly did not have in mind the Turin Shroud, which represents the body of a man lying on his back, as laying in a tomb, with his arms crossed on the body: this veil of Nicodemus, on the contrary, was placed on Jesus' corpse when he was still on the cross, then with open arms" (140). And then the women had made the cloth adhere "just in front and not behind, as with the Shroud" (141). Everything is taken verbatim by Nicolotti.

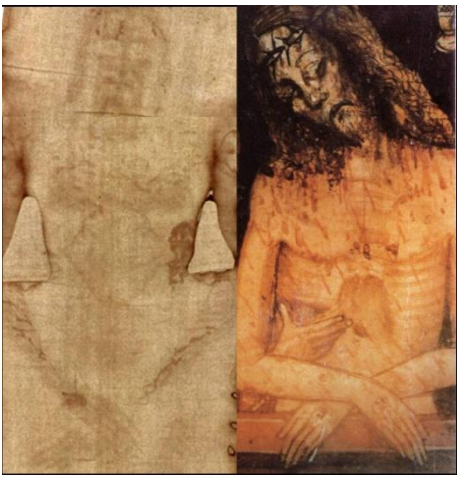

Fig. 3

The philologist Ilaria Ramelli and I belong to the category "d" of intermittent brains, the only

custodians of the secret of Robert de Clari's magic potion, the elixir that makes the idiots clever. Nicolotti levels accusations against Ramelli similar to those he addresses to me (142); so it is not strange that I am one of his "uncritical copyists" (143).

To better understand the barbs that Nicolotti throws at me, you should know that he read four of my books: two, written for the 1998 exhibition (144), which have now been out of print for a long time, and two written for the 2010 exhibition (145). He made thus two terrible discoveries that he describes in a note (146) so long as to shoot over to the next page. The first discovery is that my popular works, which did not provide for notes and have the bibliography reduced to a short list of books, cannot quote all the sources. This becomes for him "plagiarism" (147). The second finding is that in creating a new text on the same topic, I re-used (of course updating them) parts of the earlier books, especially if out of print and now unobtainable. This is "re-proposing herself" (148). Two despicable tricks.

The effect of the magic potion, however, ends soon and according to Nicolotti I make an "illogical deduction" (149) writing that "at the time of Eusebius and Egeria to show the image was no longer possible; this accounts for their silence on it" (150). In reality I made use of a thought of Fr. Dubarle's (151) and without the bibliographical note. Nicolotti could not know this, then the offence is all for me. Now, after this revelation, he may change the accusation: to me the usual plagiarism, to Dubarle the "illogical deduction".

The same goes for the Syriac hymn that celebrates the inauguration of the new cathedral of Edessa, eight years after the flood of 525 that had destroyed the previous building (152). Herein is mentioned as well known the image not made by human hands and the splendour of the cathedral marble is compared to it: "Its marble is similar to the image that-not-by-hands and its walls are harmoniously coated by it. And for his splendour all clean and all white, it draws within itself the light" (153). I have taken that concept from Dubarle without the

bibliographical note and so Nicolotti thunders against me: "It is equally impossible to argue, as Emanuela Marinelli does, that the Syriac hymn 'considers the existence of Christ's miraculous image already known and acquired', since there is no mention of Christ's images" (154).

Nicolotti finally realises that I have obtained information on Agapius of Menbidj and Michael the Syrian from Dubarle's book, and shouts to plagiarism in the above long-drawn-out note, which began with the accusation that I had also plagiarised Guscin's article on his researches at Mount Athos. It is difficult for me to understand how Nicolotti thinks that I have been hoping to convince my readers of having been to Mount Athos, but perhaps he believes that with the magic potion I can also turn into a man.

Since the effect of the elixir that made me smart finished definitively, then I follow Heinrich Pfeiffer (155) in a "fanciful explanation" (156). It is this: in the Imago pietatis, in addition to the arms crossed in front, Jesus has always the bowed head to the right side. Pfeiffer thought that combining the two folds, present at the neck, you could get a bending of the head just in that side (157) and he has verified it by comparing the Shroud frontal image with the bending head combining the two folds present at the neck, for example with the Imago Pietatis of the Shrine of the Holy Mercy in Cannobio (VB), dating from the fifteenth century (fig. 3). This too bothers Nicolotti. Any positive sign must be removed.

Guscin ends his book on the Edessa image with these words: "It should be stressed that there are no artistic representations of the Image of Edessa as a full-body image or with bloodstains, and the majority of texts make no reference to either characteristic; but at the same time it is undeniable that at some point in the history of the Image of Edessa, some writers were convinced, for whatever reason, that it was indeed a full-body image on a large cloth that had been folded over (possibly in such a way that only the face was visible) and that it did contain bloodstains" (158). The Shroud needs this

serene and balanced research; not a devastating fury.

Nicolotti's book on the Mandylion ends instead with a sharp harsh criticism: "No seriously based factor suggests that the Edessa Mandylion was a long funeral sheet bearing the whole image of a crucified and wounded corpse. The efforts made by the supporters of the identity of the Turin Shroud and the Edessa Mandylion are based on forcing, when not on actual manipulations of the texts and the iconographic evidence" (159). And he ends with a quote referring to the legend of Abgar as "real fable" (160).

The "little cloth" (161) must be destroyed. But Nicolotti's efforts at denial are in vain: the little, big cloth knows how to hide to escape from danger and knows then how to reappear mysteriously when nobody expects it ...

Notes

1. E. MARINELLI, Wiping the slate clean, in Shroud Newsletter 74, December 2011, pp. 45-70.
2. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, Ed. dell'Orso, Alessandria 2011.
3. A. NICOLOTTI, Forme e vicende del Mandilio di Edessa secondo alcune moderne interpretazioni, in Sacre impronte e oggetti "non fatti da mano d'uomo" nelle religioni, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Torino 18-20 Maggio 2010, Ed. dell'Orso, Alessandria 2011, pp. 279-307 and tables 23-31.
4. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 1.
5. Ibid., p. 5.
6. Ibid., p. 4.
7. I. WILSON, The Shroud. Fresh light on the 2000-year-old Mystery..., Transworld Publishers, London 2010, p. 1.
8. Even in the book about the Templars, Nicolotti had listed, in footnote 24 on p. 144, these issues dealt with by "the prolific English writer with a passion for the topics of "mystery", Wilson's definition provided on p. 20.
9. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 6.
10. Nicolotti does not provide information on A. Desreumaux, Eastern Christianity scholar and president of the Société d'Etudes Syriaques of Paris.
11. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 5.
12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Nicolotti does not provide information on E. Kuryluk who is a photographer, an art historian, a novelist and a poet.
16. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 6.
17. Ibid., p. 3.
18. Ibid., p. 5-6.
19. Ibid., p. 6.
20. Nicolotti does not provide information on A. Palmer, who is a historian.
21. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 6.
22. Ibid., p. 7.
23. Ibid., p. 96.
24. Ibid., p. 83.
25. Ibid., p. 183.
26. Ibid., p. 48.
27. Ibid., p. 109.
28. P. SAVIO, Ricerche storiche sulla Santa Sindone, SEI, Torino 1957, pp. 190-191; P. SAVIO, Le impronte di Gesù nella Santa Sindone, in Sindon 9 (1965), pp. 12-23.
29. A. NICOLOTTI, I Templari e la Sindone, storia di un falso, op. cit., p. 17.
30. Ibid., pp. 16-18.
31. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., pp. 119-120.
32. D. SCAVONE, Documenting the Shroud's missing years, in Proceedings of the International Workshop on the Scientific approach to the Acheiropoietos Images, Frascati 4-6 May 2010, Ed. ENEA, Frascati (Roma) 2010, pp. 87-94, a p. 88, http://www.acheiropoietos.info/proceedings/ScavoneBesanconWeb.pdf
33. C.M. MAZZUCCHI, La testimonianza più antica dell'esistenza di una sindone a Costantinopoli, in Aevum 57 (1983), pp. 227-231, on p. 230.
34. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 159.
35. Ibid., p. 115.
36. Ibid., p. 76.
37. Ibid., p. 76.
38. E. MARINELLI, Wiping the slate clean, op. cit., pp. 46-48.
39. A. NICOLOTTI, I Templari e la Sindone, storia di un falso, op. cit., p. 88.
40. Ibid., op. cit., p. 158.
41. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 69.
42. A. NICOLOTTI, I Templari e la Sindone, storia di un

falso, op. cit., p. 137 and 170.
43. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 89.
44. G. GHARIB, La festa del Santo Mandylion nella Chiesa Bizantina, in La Sindone e la Scienza, Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Sindonologia, Torino 7-8 Ottobre 1978, Ed. Paoline, Torino 1979, pp. 31-50, on p. 36.
45. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 86.
46. Ibid., p. 89.
47. G. GHARIB, La festa del Santo Mandylion nella Chiesa Bizantina, op. cit., p. 47.
48. G. GHARIB, Le icone di Cristo, storia e culto, Città Nuova Ed., Roma 1993, p. 85.
49. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., pp. 137-138.
50. A. NICOLOTTI, I Templari e la Sindone, storia di un falso, op. cit., p. 52.
51. Ibid., p. 61.
52. Ibid., p. 75.
53. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 161.
54. Ibid., p. 42.
55. Ibid., p. 80.
56. I. WILSON, The Shroud. The 2000-Year-Old Mystery Solved, Bantam, London 2010, p. 181. In reporting the whole text by Wilson on the subject, Nicolotti (p. 148) makes a translation mistake, because Wilson had not spoken of the "edge" but of the "fringe" of the fabric.
57. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 149.
58. Ibid., p. 148.
59. Ibid., p. 142.
60. Ibid., p. 140.
61. Nicolotti refers to the book by Ian Wilson, putting it in a footnote, The Shroud. The 2000-Year-Old Mystery Solved, op. cit., p. 141, fig. 25.
62. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 142.
63. Ibid.
64. E. MARINELLI, La Sindone, testimone di una presenza, Ed. San Paolo, Cinisello Balsamo (MI) 2010, pp. 36 and 52, and p. 9 of the unnumbered tables.
65.I. WILSON, The Shroud. Fresh light on the 2000-year-old Mystery..., op. cit., p. 237.
66. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone

di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., pp. 143-144.
67. A.-M. DUBARLE, Histoire ancienne du Linceul de Turin, OEIL, Paris, France 1985, p. 105.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
71. Ibid., p. 37.
72 Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., p. 98.
77. Ibid., p. 99.
78. Ibid., p. 42.
79. A.D. WHANGER - M. WHANGER, Polarized image overlay technique: a new image comparison method and its applications, in Applied Optics 24, 6, (1985), pp. 766-772.
80. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 166.
81. Ibid., p. 164.
82. Ibid., p. 165.
83. Ibid., p. 166.
84. J.D. BRECKENRIDGE, The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II, New York, American Numismatic Society, 1959, pp. 46-62. Nicolotti does not provide information on J.D. Breckenridge, who was an art historian.
85. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 165.
86. Nicolotti does not provide information on M. Moroni, who is a numismatist.
87. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 165 and tav. 53 on p. 218.
88. Gold coin of Justinian II (first reign, 685-695 AD).
89. Marble head of Zeus (ca. 350-340 BC) from Mount Pentelicus near Athens, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
90. Ibid., p. 166.
91. P.L. BAIMA BOLLONE, Rilievi e considerazioni medico-legali sulla formazione delle immagini sulla Sindone, in La Sindone e la Scienza, Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Sindonologia, Torino 7-8 Ottobre 1978, Ed. Paoline, Torino 1979, pp. 109-114; R. BUCKLIN, A pathologist looks at the Shroud of Turin, in La Sindone e la Scienza, Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Sindonologia, op. cit., pp. 115-125.

92. M. GUSCIN, The Image of Edessa, Brill, Leiden 2009, p. 146.
93. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 38.
94. Ibid., p. 60.
95. Nicolotti does not provide information on Fr. Dubarle, who was a biblical scholar and an exegete.
96. Nicolotti does not provide information on G. Zaninotto, who is a teacher of Latin and Greek.
97. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 65.
98. Ibid., p. 67.
99. Ibid., p. 66.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. A.-M. DUBARLE, L'homélie de Grégoire le Référendaire pour la réception de l'image d'Edesse, in Revue des études byzantines, 55 (1997), pp. 5-51, on p. 12.
104. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 120.
105. Ibid., p. 63.
106. Ibid., p. 68.
107. Ibid..
108. G. CICCONE - C. STURMANN CICCONE, La Sindone svelata e i quaranta sudari, Casa Ed. Donnino, Livorno 2006, p. 185.
109. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 68.
110. Ibid., p. 65.
111. Nicolotti does not provide information on E. von Dobschütz, who was a theologian and a historian.
112. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 72.
113. Ibid., p. 91.
114..M. GUSCIN, La Síndone y la Imagen de Edesa. Investigaciones en los monasterios del Monte Athos (Grecia), in Linteum, 34 (2003), pp. 5-16, on p. 15.
115. M. GUSCIN, The Image of Edessa, op. cit., p. 129.
116. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 91.
117. Ibid., p. 92.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.

120. Ibid., p. 170.
121. Ibid., p. 175.
122. Ibid., pp. 92-93.
123. Ibid., pp. 121-122.
124. G. ZANINOTTO, L'immagine Edessena: impronta dell'intera persona di Cristo. Nuove conferme dal codex Vossianus Latinus Q 69 del sec. X, in L'identification scientifique de l'Homme du Linceul: Jésus de Nazareth, Actes du Symposium Scientifique International, Rome 10-12 Juin 1993, OEIL-F.-X. de Guibert, Paris 1995, pp. 57-62, on p.61.
125. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 123.
126. Ibid.
127. Ibid., p. 124.
128. Ibid.
129. G. ZANINOTTO, L'immagine Edessena: impronta dell'intera persona di Cristo. Nuove conferme dal codex Vossianus Latinus Q 69 del sec. X, op. cit., p. 61.
130. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 124.
131. Ibid., p. 125.
132. Ibid., p. 126.
133. Ibid., p. 127.
134. In the book about the Templars (p. 123) Nicolotti says that Fr. Savio is a writer of the Vatican Library. In the book on the Mandylion he does not provide information on him.
135. It is located in the Cathedral of Saint Martin in Lucca.
136. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 130.
137. Ibid.
138. P. SAVIO, Ricerche storiche sulla Santa Sindone, op. cit., p. 357.
139. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 131.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid., p. 131.
142. Ibid., pp. 15, 24, 90.
143. Ibid., p. 124.
144. O. PETROSILLO - E. MARINELLI, La Sindone, storia di un enigma, Rizzoli, Milano 1998; E. MARINELLI, La Sindone, un'immagine "impossibile", Ed. San Paolo, Cinisello Balsamo (MI) 1996 (2a Ed. 1998).
145. E. MARINELLI, La Sindone, analisi di un mistero, Sugarco Edizioni, Milano 2009; E. MARINELLI, La Sindone, testimone di una presenza, Ed. San Paolo, Cinisello Bal-

samo (MI) 2010.
146. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., pp. 71-72.
147. Ibid., p. 71.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid., p. 11.
150. E. MARINELLI, La Sindone, testimone di una presenza, op. cit., p. 34.

151. A.-M. DUBARLE, Histoire ancienne du Linceul de Turin, op. cit., p. 111.
152. M. GUSCIN, The Image of Edessa, Brill, Leiden 2009, p. 169.
153. A.M. DUBARLE, Histoire ancienne du Linceul de Turin,, op. cit., p. 99-100.
154. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 26. I noticed that in this page, as in the others where there are biblical quotations, Nicolotti does not take the texts from Catholic Bibles but from reformed Bibles, without giving any reasons for this choice. Even some abbreviations are not those used in Italy: eg. Ps instead of Sal (p. 62) and Ex instead of Es (p. 63). Strange also his reference to Getzemani in the plural, eg. "garden of Gethsemanes" (p. 60) and "to the Gethsemanes" (p. 63).
155. Nicolotti does not provide information on Fr. Pfeiffer, who is professor of Christian Art History at the Pontifical Gregorian University. He is concerned rather to point out, in a footnote on p. 145, that in a caption "of an essay by the sindonologist Heinrich Pfeiffer" there are "as many as four spelling mistakes" because it is written "Goceme, Lakli Kilise" instead of "Göreme, Saklı kilise". He clings to anything in order to belittle a "sindonologist"!
156. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 162.
157. H. PFEIFFER, Le piaghe di Cristo nell'arte e la Sindone, op. cit. on p. 92; H. PFEIFFER, La immagine della Sindone e quella della Veronica, op. cit., tav. IX.
158. M. GUSCIN, The Image of Edessa, op. cit., p. 215.
159. A. NICOLOTTI, Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda, op. cit., p. 183.
160. A. NICOLOTTI, Ibid., p. 184.
161. A. NICOLOTTI, Ibid., p. 7.