

THE ATLANTA INTERNATIONAL CENTER
FOR CONTINUING STUDY OF
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“LAZARUS” & JESUS:

HOW THE FOURTH GOSPEL CLEVERLY REVEALS THE SURVIVAL AND SIGNIFICANCE OF BOTH THE SHROUD (*SINDON*) AND THE OVIEDO CLOTH (*aka* THE *Soudarion*) WHILE “SECRETLY” MAINTAINING THEIR RESPECTIVE MESSAGES.

A Comparison of Jesus' burial shroud in John 20:7 (*i.e.* one among the *othonia*) & 12 testifying to His Resurrection and the face cloth of “Lazarus” (*soudarion aka* the Oviedo Cloth) in John 11 - a didactic narrative in which the latter serves as a “spy clue” guaranteeing their own resurrection to members of the primitive Church.

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ABSTRACT

Exegesis of John 11 & 12 reveals a superbly ingenious way of affirming the survival and significance of both the Shroud and the Oviedo Cloth to "insiders in the know" while cleverly denying that knowledge to "outsiders" who could seize and destroy them.

John 20:12 is a masterpiece wherein both the evangelist* and redactor* deflect drawing attention to the Shroud by avoiding the Synoptics' use of the word *sindon* while simultaneously affirming its image(s).

Jerome H. Neyrey observes:

... a number of patterns which regularly appear in the Fourth Gospel concerning: (a) ..., deception and evasion, (b) hiding ...[of] oneself or information, (c) secret and public transmission of information, (d) misunderstandings, ambiguity and double-meaning words.¹

Alfred C. Rush notes:

Frequent reference in early Christian writings [mention] the use of linen clothing for the dead. In certain Apocrypha there is a strong insistence on this.²

Further analysis will reveal not only the influence of these burial linens on subsequent liturgical practices, but it also shed significant light about what was actually visible upon them.

Despite the debate on when the Shroud arrived in Edessa, scholars agree that as early as the second century there was contact between Christians from that city and Rome. Abgar VIII who ruled from 177-212 clearly seems to be Christian, actually visited Rome and became friend to Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus. Thus we should not be overly surprised to discover as early as A.D. 325, Pope Sylvester I established:

that Mass be celebrated on an altar covered with a cloth of linen consecrated by the Bishop, as if it were the clean Shroud of Christ.³

Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. A.D. 350-428) expresses this motif's incorporation into the liturgy, describing the role of the deacons in the liturgy as follows:

When they bring up (the oblation at the offertory) they place it on the altar for the completed representation of the passion so that we may think of Him on the altar as if He were placed in the sepulchre after having received the passion ... the deacons who spread the linens on the altar represent the figure of the linen cloths at the burial...⁴

Saint Nino of Georgia (4th c.), whose mother, Susanna was a sister of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, informs us:

"Now they did not find the *sudarium*, but it is said to have been found by Peter, who took it and kept it, but we know not if it has ever been discovered."⁵

Ishodad of Merv writes:

...the (*sudura*= *sudarium*) ... remained with him [Peter] ... head. And whenever he made an ordination, *he arranged it on his *head ... just as even ... bishops of the Church arrange the turbans that are on their heads... in place of that sudarium.*⁶

Finally, the Mozarabic rite (6th c.) reveals that: "Peter ran with John to the tomb and *saw the recent imprints of the dead and risen man on the linens.*"⁷

We have come full circle: Scripture influenced liturgy; liturgy served to clarify scripture.

* Refers to terms used by Frs. Raymond E. Brown (S.S.) and Francis J. Moloney (S.D.B.) in describing two of the three composers of the Fourth Gospel.

Scriptural "Secrecy", Theological Significance & Liturgical Expression... as revealed by the Treatment of the Burial Cloths in John 11, 12 & 20

The rationale or intent of the treatment of *keiria*, *soudarion* and *othonia* by the writers of the Fourth Gospel with regard to the resuscitation of "Lazarus" and the Resurrection of Jesus in chapters 11-12 and 20 respectively.⁸

Rationale for saving the burial cloths

"He Saw and He Believed" (John 20:8)

What *evidence* could have convinced the Magdalene and the women, Peter and the "Beloved" Disciple and all the others that an empty tomb and an empty Shroud signified that Jesus had been resurrected? Certainly the most obvious, least complicated and most logical conclusion is that offered by the Magdalene herself: "They have taken away my Lord and I do not know where they have laid him" (Jn 20:13). Remember that as late as the last third of the first century when he penned his gospel Matthew (27: 64; Cf. Jn. 20:2) was still trying to dispel this charge of "body snatching"

Are there any clues which might assist us in our attempt to reconstruct how these witnesses arrived at their certainty in the Resurrection? I believe that there were and, moreover, that the primary impetus for such a conclusion was both *visual* and *Shroud-related*.

Mark Guscini concludes:

...the fact remains that if anybody took them out of the tomb, and somebody must have done if the cloths preserved in Turin and Oviedo today are indeed the burial cloths of Christ, it must have been the apostles.⁹

When I first began to study the Shroud in 1977 – convinced that it couldn't possibly be authentic - I was convinced that that no 1st c. Jew would have saved burial linens which were three times unclean *unless* there was something highly unusual about them as they: **a.** they were unclean having had contact with a corpse; **b.** were stained with that victim's blood; and **c.** were those of a victim executed as a capital criminal)

As the evidence to the contrary began to mount, I surmised that the burial cloths had been kept precisely because they contained life blood and, believing that the body would be found, and saved to be buried with the corpse as required by Jewish custom.

Today I would propose that the image(s) on the Shroud played a primary role in helping the disciples and others conclude that Jesus also had been directly translated to the right hand of God. After all, there was no body. The subsequent discovery of the Shroud and its ghostly image(s) convinced them that their friend and rabbi was indeed God's promised Messiah. Admittedly, this realization and recognition of the Shroud's image(s) in an acute form probably did not happen until a few days after their discovery in the Empty Tomb. Rather, it occurred some time later in Galilee for those who had fled Jerusalem

Contrary to popular belief, no one at the tomb on that first Easter morning knew that Jesus had been resurrected.¹⁰ In truth this realization came later only *after* profound reflection when the more astute among them came to understand that heretofore only Enoch and Elijah had been raised to the heavenly realm without having to undergo *corruption* and *the gathering of their bones to the fathers*. The *Assumption of Moses* was both well known and popular among Jews early in the first century. This work described how Moses' uncorrupted body also was translated directly to heaven.¹¹

Significance of Linen Burial Cloths

All of the gospels call attention to the burial cloths in the Empty Tomb. John employs the theme of "a white linen garment" as the apparel of immortality" in both Chapters 11 and 20 - a motif repeatedly emphasized later in numerous documents of the early church. Fr. Alfred Rush points out that there is:

Frequent reference in early Christian writings [is made] to the use of *linen clothing* for the dead. In certain *Apocrypha* there is a strong insistence on this. These accounts at least give an indication of the mind and outlook of the period in which they were written. In the *Acts of John* (middle of the second century)... from the account of the burial of John... it is said "We brought a *linen cloth* and spread it upon him... The *Acts of Thomas* (third century), relate that the brethren brought beautiful robes and much fair linen. Certain *Apocrypha* mention that the soul *was clad in linen*.¹²

KEY MOTIFS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

Secrecy

Fr. Jerome H. Neyrey, quoting the pioneering and seminal work of Stanton Tefft and his associates, calls our attention to the fact that the "secrecy process" has been employed from the earliest human records originating in the ancient Near East and is clearly evidenced in the Fourth Gospel:

Secrets, moreover, are "a social resource (or adaptive strategy) used by individuals, groups, and organizations to attain certain ends."¹³

As a strategy, secrecy may be employed aggressively against rivals or defensively against attackers...¹⁴ Secrecy enables certain types of associations to avoid political persecution or

destruction; it allows other groups to maintain an exclusive monopoly on esoteric knowledge... we note a regular pattern in the Fourth Gospel whereby select disciples of Jesus or witnesses to him are entrusted with special information. They know secrets about his identity which not only are unknown to others, but even withheld from them.¹⁵

Double Entendre

None is more skillful than the Fourth Gospel in proclaiming the significance of these burial linens - while not drawing undue attention to them. Given the *need for secrecy* and the *significance of the burial linens*, those versed in sindonology can make a strong case for the Fourth Gospel's use of both these factors influencing the intentional construction of Chapters 11 & 20. Chapter 11 reveals the survival of the seemingly innocuous *face cloth (soudarion)* without drawing attention to the Shroud while the author of Chapter 20 cleverly reveals the Shroud's true significance by using vs. 11-15 to describe its *double image* without using the "give away word" *sindon*.

Sequence

In analyzing biblical history one must guard against a linear acceptance of the events described. Such a literal/linear approach sometimes proves to be fallacious. Especially is this true in the Fourth Gospel. When we examine John 20 we are dealing with material that has been composed and/or redacted by its authors with the intent of making a particular point rather than providing us with a court stenographer's transcript of what actually happened in linear sequence. John's description of the Empty tomb undoubtedly does contain eyewitness accounts of some of the details concerning what in fact really transpired – but not necessarily in historical sequence.

Chapter 20 does contain the earliest and only “eyewitness” description of the discovery of the Empty Tomb; but contemporary exegetes would argue that the original sequence prior to redaction was 1; 11-17; 2-10 (*i.e.* the arrival of Peter and the Beloved Disciple having been inserted out of sequence to provide two male witnesses early in the account); & 18.

This paper will attempt to make the case that Chapter 20 was written *prior* to Chapter 11 with the latter “borrowing” certain elements from it in the construction of a didactic narrative in which Lazarus is employed to assure new believers that they, like their Master, will one day join Him leaving behind empty cloths pointing to their own newly achieved resurrected state. In other words, as the *sudarion* in 20:7 was a proof of Jesus' glorified state so it serves as both symbol and guarantee of the new Christian's eventual heavenly status in the Lazarus story. Raymond Collins, together with biblical scholars like G.H.C. MacGregor, Massey Shepherd and Alan Richardson, points out:

The account is *dramatic and largely symbolic*; facts, as such, do not form its central theme.... As a narrative figure, Lazarus... represents the disciple of Jesus who has died, and who will be raised because Jesus has been glorified (John 11:4-40).... The gospel carefully distinguishes between the resurrection of the disciple (resuscitation) and that of Jesus (a true resurrection). This is symbolized by the wrapping cloths; while Lazarus is unwrapped, Jesus leaves the wrappings behind (John 11:44; 20:4-7).¹⁶ [Emphasis, italic and double underlining added.**]**

Jesus & the *sindon*

"He Saw and He Believed" (John 20:8)

What phenomenon/evidence could possibly have convinced the Magdalene and the women, Peter and the "Beloved" Disciple and all the others that an empty tomb and an empty Shroud signified that Jesus had been resurrected? Certainly the most obvious, least complicated and most logical conclusion for the body's absence is that offered by the Magdalene herself in the earliest and only eyewitness account: "They have taken away my Lord and I do not know where they have laid him" (Jn 20:13). Remember that earlier we noticed that Matthew (27: 64; Cf. Jn. 20:2) was still trying to dispel this charge of "body snatching" as late as the last third of the first century when he penned his gospel. [See p. 3 above.] Are there any clues which might assist us in our attempt to reconstruct how these witnesses arrived at their certainty in the Resurrection? Obviously I believe that there were and, moreover, that the primary impetus for such a conclusion was and is both *visual* and *Shroud-related*.

Faithful in maintaining the true nature of the image(s) on the Shroud not related by the Synoptics, John chooses to maintain the secret by disguising the true and highly significant details of this "appearance" in his masterful account of the Empty Tomb. There in 20:12 the author has the Magdalene *see* the "two angels in white, sitting where the body of Jesus had been lying, one at the head and the other at the feet" (*i.e.* God Himself in the form of an angel" - the double image representing the ventral and dorsal aspects of the single Risen Christ.)

Note that 20:11-13 is the only *angelophany* in the Fourth Gospel. R.E. Brown describes it as an example of *interpreting angels*. He further observes that scholars differentiate between the earlier knowledge of the Magdalene's finding of the empty tomb "and a later developed narrative about how *angels* revealed the meaning of the empty tomb."¹⁷ Could it be that this "category" (*i.e.* *angel*) was chosen precisely because it represented a "heavenly being" (*i.e.* one in a transfigured/resurrected state) who appeared in "human form"? What we have here is **not**, as some scholars would claim, an *angelophany* turned into a Christophany. What we have is an "empirical" *Christophany* - initially believed to be an *angelophany* because of the ghost-like image(s) on the Shroud - which is reaffirmed as a *Christophany* after it is acknowledged to be one of the Jesus in his "risen" form.

To emphasize the fact that Jesus has truly risen from the dead, the author then has the Magdalene mistakenly identify the Risen Christ as the *gardener* 20:15. Here stated in Hebrew parallelism a second time and labeled as such, John uses the word *kay-poo-ros* (Strong G2780 ἐκδοῦνός from G2779 *oupos ouros* (a warden); a garden-keeper, *i.e.* gardener) as the term was a well known symbol for God in the Middle East of the first century - as "only He could make the desert bloom."¹⁸

From Scriptural "Secrets" in John 20 to their Liturgical Expression

Pope Sylvester 1 (Jan. 31, 314-Dec. 31, 335)

As early as A.D. 325 Pope Sylvester I at the Baths of Trajan, with the Emperor Constantine and 327 bishops in attendance, established:

that the holy sacrifice of the Mass be celebrated on a cloth of linen consecrated by the Bishop, as if it were the clean Shroud of Christ.¹⁹ [Emphasis added.]

Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. A.D. 350-428)

So significant is the *hidden description* of the Shroud's image(s) in Jn. 20: 6,7 & 12 that centuries later in his *Cateches* Theodore of Mopsuestia expresses this *secret's* incorporation into liturgical practice. There he describes the role of the deacons as follows:

When they bring up (the oblation at the offertory) they place it on the altar for the completed representation of the passion so that we may think of Him on the altar as if He were placed in the sepulchre after having received the passion. This is why **the deacons** who spread the linens on the **altar represent the figure of the linen cloths at the burial...** (The deacons) stand up on both sides and agitate all the air above the holy Body with fans...the Body lying on the altar at the Baths of Trajan, which is holy, awe-inspiring and remote from all corruption, a Body which will very shortly rise to an immortal being.²⁰ **[Emphases, double underlining and *italic* added.]**

One can only speculate about exactly what Theodore of Mopsuestia meant to convey in this instance. However, it is fascinating to question whether or not the plural of deacons when juxtaposed to the singular figure of the linen cloths is a conscious choice on Theodore's part reflecting his own knowledge of the image(s) on the Shroud. It would be all the more exciting if this were the case; for then it would reflect liturgical inclusion of this property of the Shroud as early as the late fourth or fifth century - nearly one hundred years prior to the Shroud's rediscovery in 525 C.E. above Edessa's west gate

And there is yet another clue to its significance:

[Following the kiss of *peace*] **One or more deacons... spread a linen cloth which covered the whole altar. This preparatory act**, which is mentioned at this point, before the offertory, by more than one early writer [*e.g.* Opatus of Milevis, *adv. Donatistas*, vi.2 (Africa c. A.D. 360)], **soon received various mystical interpretations, such as that which saw in it a likeness to the preparation of the linen grave-clothes for the Body of the Lord** on the first Good Friday evening. But it is in reality a merely utilitarian preparation, 'spreading the table-cloth' when the table is first wanted, to receive the oblation. **The Eastern rites have now removed it to the very beginning of the liturgy and changed the old plain cloth for the elaborately embroidered silk cloths of the *antimission* and the *eiletton*.** But it still survives in the Roman rite at its original point, as the spreading of the plain linen corporal by the deacon before the offertory of the bread and wine. **In some such homely form this little ceremony must go back to the beginnings of the liturgical eucharist.²¹ [Emphasis added.]**

Dix apparently was unaware of the council at the Baths of Trajan. Had he been, he might not so cavalierly have dismissed the **spreading [of] the [linen] table-cloth** as a "merely utilitarian preparation." That council had identified this linen cloth with the linen burial shroud of Christ.

Mozarabic Rite (6th century, Spain)

If one continues to wonder if Peter actually saw "images" on the Shroud, a confirmatory "Spy-clue" indicating same may well appear in the preface (*i.e. illatio*) of the Mozarabic rite for the Saturday after Easter:

"Peter ran with John to the tomb and saw the recent imprints (*vestigia*) of the **dead** and risen man on the linens.²² [**Emphasis added.**]

Pietro Savio²³ translates *vestigia* as "imprints", while Guscini indicates:

The first meaning can be quickly dismissed as totally inappropriate in the context, which leaves us with some kind of mark or sign of Christ, something clearly related to his death and resurrection. This would seem to suggest that Peter and John saw the blood (death) and the body image (resurrection). There is very little else that could be seen on the burial cloths.²⁴

As important as this definition may be, it would seem that "the" real *key words* for correctly deciphering this passage are the dead and risen man on the linens.

A. On the linens. Whether defined as imprint, trace or mark, the simplest and most logical interpretation of this passage is that there were some kind of physical marks or traces on the (*i.e.* the Lord's burial) linens.

B. The dead ... man. Given Jesus' death having resulted from a crucifixion, which was preceded by scourging, included nails in the wrists and feet and ended with a lance wound in the side, one would expect to see bloodstains on these burial linens. Then as now, the most logical deduction would be that these bloodstains were in fact traces or imprints (*i.e. vestigia*) of the man who was dead. Neither Mary Magdalene nor Peter who followed her in discovering the burial linens was expecting to encounter the Resurrection. The Magdalene surmised only that someone had "taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid him" (Jn 20:13). Peter according to Lk. 24:12, initially went home "wondering at what had happened."

C. The ... risen man. Those who fail to acknowledge either the Shroud's authenticity or the significance of the Image(s) which it bears have had little or no need to consider the possibility of actual ventral and dorsal images of a body physically present on the linen. Like Stephen and Constantine Lecapeni on the night of the Shroud's arrival in Constantinople in 944 C.E., Peter initially may have perceived only a Rorschach-like image which was "extremely blurred ... a moist secretion without coloring or artificial stain ... (which did) not consist of earthly colors" (Wilson, 1979, p. 255). Only later would John be able to point out to him the "likeness" of the Lord and Master who had risen from the dead.

Should objection be made to the relevance of this 6th c. source in support of Peter's having seen these image(s), remember that Leander (c. 550- 601), later Bishop of Seville,²⁵ was sent on an embassy to Constantinople about 582.²⁶ That assignment would have placed him in Byzantium only fifty-seven years after the Shroud's rediscovery in Edessa and well may have influenced his input this liturgy's composition.

Recall also that it was the Emperor Justinian I who dispatched engineers to Edessa in 525 to divert its river and prevent future flooding. It was then that this miraculous cloth was rediscovered - a cloth "impressed with an image of Christ *acheiropoietos* - "not made by human hands".... Justinian...lavishes money for (a) flood prevention scheme at Edessa, and the building of a beautiful shrine for the cloth, the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Edessa; ²⁷

Justinian I, a patron of the arts, was also a great venerator of holy images.

The Justinian Christ images accord with the Shroud face even in proportions and in some strange details like the swollen left cheek which in later times will be a special feature of the imperial Christ images. ²⁸ **[Slide – Vignon Markings]**

Many of these details peculiar to the *sindonic* face appear in the mosaic of the Enthroned Christ at Ravenna's St. Apollinare Nuovo.²⁹ A study of this church's mosaics reveals a dramatic shift in the portrayal of Christ which occurs in the middle of the sixth century. In the first half of same, Christ is *beardless* **[Slide A - St. Apollinare Nuovo]**; after 550 C.E. he is depicted as *bearded* **[Slide B - St. Apollinare Nuovo]**

The timing of this shift, combined with its striking resemblance to the sindonic Face, would indicate the dependence of Ravenna's mosaics on the Image of Edessa cloth as their model. The same may be said of the encaustic icon of the Pantocrator preserved at St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. Dating from 550-590 C.E. **[Slide – Sinai Pantocrator]**, this encaustic icon *may* well have been rendered by an artist dispatched to Edessa from the imperial studios and given as a gift by Justinian to St. Catherine's. Virtually inaccessible in its desert locale, it avoided destruction by the iconoclasts and remains well preserved there even to this day.

All facts considered, one can surmise that the Shroud was still being discussed in 582 C.E. while Leander was in Constantinople. Furthermore, if his interest in liturgy eventually resulted in his influencing the content of the Mozarabic rite, he well may have acquired knowledge about the Shroud by learning of another rite specifically written for it. The latter was an intricate liturgy celebrated at that time in Edessa's Cathedral of Hagia Sophia during which this miraculous image "twice a year only ... was removed from its sanctuary and carried with its casket in an elaborate procession accompanied by torches, fans, and spice-filled censers. Each step of the procession represented a stage in the life of Christ, The entry into the church, for instance symbolizing his entry into the world."³⁰ **[Slide – Procession in Edessa's cathedral.]**

One may debate at what point in history the full-length figure on the Shroud was first known. However by the time it reached Constantinople, one can make a case that an image of the "whole body on a cloth" ³¹ was known even as early as the eighth century. From a Good Friday sermon by Pope Stephen, Wilson informs us that by carefully folding the *Mandylion* the Byzantines: ...

devised a super-Mass for special private showings, in which the figure of Christ was made to rise in a series of stages from the casket, each stage being regarded as a symbolic part of Jesus' earthly life....at the first hour of the day as a child, at the third hour as a boy, at the sixth hour as an

adolescent, and at the ninth hour in his full manhood, in which form the Son of God went to his Passion when he bore for our sins the suffering of the Cross. ³²

If known in the eighth century, there is no compelling reason to prohibit suggesting that such knowledge of a full-length figure may be traced back to Peter. Mark, who this author believes would have learned about the image(s) from Peter himself while in Rome, chose not to reveal this knowledge directly lest the Shroud he seized and destroyed by enemies of the emergent faith during a time of persecution.

Once again Guscini provides us with two helpful insights:

1. The next question that has to be asked is why Leandro was convinced of this fact, so convinced that he included it in the national liturgy in spite of its not being a biblical story? This too is a historical question that must have a logical answer. One thing is whether or not Leandro was scientifically right, but it is undeniable that he believed the story of the image or at least the blood on the cloth. Another historical fact is that the image called the Mandylion was rediscovered in Edessa in AD 525, whether this was the Shroud or not (although the linen was not known as the Mandylion until the ninth century), the image's rediscovery quickly became a well-known fact throughout the Byzantine Empire, as the emperor made a generous donation towards building a church for the image to be kept in... Leandro spent three years in the capital city of this same empire just half a century after the Mandylion was discovered, and as a significant bishop and friend of the future pope, must have at least heard of the image. It is possible that he visited Edessa to see it, although this has not been confirmed. He then included the beginning of the cloth's history in the national liturgy of his country, Spain. Leandro clearly had knowledge that led him to believe that Peter and John had seen something on the burial cloths of Christ, something related to his death and resurrection. This must mean blood and probably an image, the logical meaning of *vestigia* in the context of the liturgy. This in turn would mean that the Edessa image was known from this time as the burial cloth of Christ, as a bloodstained image. The coincidences with the Turin Shroud are too great to be just chance. (Guscini, Mark. 2000. *The Burial Cloths of Christ*. London: Catholic Truth Society, pp. 16-17.) **[Emphasis added.]**

2. Of course, Leandro is incorporating extra-biblical information into the liturgy as no image on the cloth is mentioned in the gospels. The idea of their seeing the image on the Shroud according to Leandro is not an eccentric idea either - indeed there is no other explanation for the text in the liturgy... historically all that is being said here is that a sixth century Spanish bishop believed Peter and John to have seen an image on the burial cloths of Christ. There is nothing controversial about admitting this fact. (Guscini, Mark. 2002 *The Shroud and the Sudarium*, p. 4. Unpublished draft for booklet published as *The Burial Cloths of Christ*.)

Scripture's Handling of Lazarus & the Soudarion: The Continuing Need for Secrecy

When one takes into account that of all the gospels John is the most complex, theologically sophisticated and skilled in the use of double meanings, the case is further strengthened for its intentional construction in part of both Chapters 11 and 12 as didactic narratives. Compared with Jesus' own resurrection in Chapter 20, the potential "borrowing" of such themes as **a)** a *Mary* at the tomb; **b)** the *stone's* being rolled away; **c)** the references to *weeping* and **d)** the subtle but highly

effective employment of words for the *burial cloths* themselves in revealing the reality and significance of the Resurrection, one begins to discern the original basis underlying the development of the "Lazarus" narrative.

In analyzing the "Raising of Lazarus" from a sindonological perspective, remember as early as Chapter 1 (vss. 1-18) we are introduced to themes which are only the result of years of reflection developed *after* the resurrection. A prime and early example of this is Christ as the preexistent logos - acknowledged by most biblical scholars as a late addition by a hand other than the original author's. Like that pericope, the "Lazarus" narrative also would seem to be one of these later themes of the Resurrection's salvific benefits and therefore highly unlikely a part of the earliest oral tradition.

Historical Clues

Peter's saving of the *soudarion*

Though the *sindon's* survival is a "given" for sindonology, many of its supporters are unaware of potential evidence involving Peter's initial retention and preservation of the *soudarion*. Ishodad of Merv (ca. 850) who is known to preserve early eastern traditions states that "the clothes that were in his grave were taken away by Simeon and John."³³

Lest one dismiss this claim because it is too far removed from the actual event, note that as early as the 4th c. Saint Nino of Georgia (whose mother, Susanna, was a sister of the then Patriarch of Jerusalem) writes:

“Now they did not find the *sudarium*, but it is said to have been found by Peter, who took it and kept it, but we know not if it has ever been discovered.”³⁴

Two centuries later in describing his pilgrimage to Jerusalem Antonius Martyr (6th c.) informs us:

“There is a cave on the bank of the Jordan ...The *sudarium* that covered Jesus' head is said to be there.”³⁵

As a final piece of evidence attempting to establish Peter's earliest connection with the Shroud, Alfred O'Rahilly calls our attention to Ishadod of Merv (c. 850) who in his *Commentaries on the Gospels* informs us that the linens "that were in His grave were taken away by Simeon (*i.e.* Peter) and John."³⁶ O'Rahilly goes on to cite another quote from this ninth century preserver of eastern traditions, making his own corrections in parentheses of that writer's original translation:

But the shroud (*sudara = sudarium*) Simeon took, and it remained with him, that it might be a crown upon his head. And whenever he made an ordination, *he arranged it on his *head* - and many and frequent helps flowed from it - just as even leaders and bishops of the Church arrange the turbans that are on their heads and about their necks in place of that shroud (read *sudarium*).³⁷ [*Italic added.*]

*on (the) head "- could this be the Face Cloth of Oviedo?

Whether or not the above the above was indeed a first century practice, it does open the door to further research. If the *soudurion* of John 20:7 were truly "that which had been on Jesus' head" (alt. trans. *over* the head), could it have been what we know today as the Oviedo Cloth? Guscini informs us that the Oviedo Cloth (*soudurion*) was still in Jerusalem at that time and remained in that city until 614 A.D. departing that city just before the invasion of the Persians.³⁸ We also know that at least three factors may account for the rationale prompting Peter's saving of same: 1. the sheer size of the Shroud (*sindon*) would seem to disqualify its use for such ordinations; 2. the Shroud itself was much too precious to be so exposed with the obvious danger of its being seized and destroyed by its enemies; 3. by the 3rd c. at the latest the Shroud was known to be in Edessa.

There also may be a one other factor based on Hebrew theology which influenced Peter's saving of the *soudurion*: it had been in contact with the *Face* - "the" most recognizable feature on the Shroud:

In Rabbinic Judaism man's highest hope is to see the face of God or of the *s'k-ndh*, either in the hour of death and in the world to come after the days of the Messiah or even according to some opinions during the days of the Messiah.³⁹

Erich Tiedtke goes on to note:

The NT reflects Heb. modes of thought and speech... For the believer the glory of God (-> Glory, art. *doxa*) has appeared in the face of Christ (2 Cor. 4:6). This verse is linked with the story of the transfiguration (Matt. 17:2 Jesus' face "shone like the sun")... Christ "is the likeness of God" (2 Co

r. 4:4. Jn. 12:45; 14:9), God's turning to us and his final revelation. The reference of the whole context to Exod.34 makes this certain. The glory on Moses' face, derived from his meeting with God, was transient (2 Cor. 3:13). Hence he covered his face with a veil.⁴⁰ (*ibid.*)

In New Testament usage, we discover that:

On the basis of Ex. 34:29-35 Paul in a Christian midrash (2 C. 3:7-18) refers to the radiant [*pros pon*] of Moses which the Israelites could not look on because of its *doxa* (glory), v. 7...Christians ...can see with uncovered face the (glory of the Lord) and experience the change which proceeds from the Lord of the Spirit, v. 18. This line of thought is adopted again in 2 C. 4:6 where we are told that the of God shines for us in face of Christ.⁴¹ **[Emphasis added.]**

If Paul could make this connection of the glory (*doxa*) of the face of Jesus with that of Moses, is it not possible that Peter - or another who pointed out this connection to him - could make such an association with a cloth like the *soudurion*? Not only this cloth had touched the face of his master; but even more significantly, together with the *sindon* and the other *othonia*, it was an "outward and visible sign" of this "new Moses" ascension to the heavenly realm? What a powerful symbol this would be for new ordinands to assure them that they too would someday see the Face of God.

CONCLUSION

Our exploration is complete. True, it was history which provided the clues to both the Shroud and the Oviedo Cloth's use in liturgical rituals from Peter's employment of the *soudarion* at ordinations, through processions of the *sindon* in both Edessa and Constantinople to the Greek Orthodox custom of carrying the *epitaphios* around the outside of the church on Good Friday. **[Slide – Epitaphios]** It would indeed be difficult to account for these solemn acts were they not based on the original linens found in the Empty Tomb on that first Easter morning. However, maybe the most amazing discovery of all in our study is that both the survival and significance of these cloths was carefully written into the scriptures so that their true meaning and import would be known to the members of the early church while simultaneously being hidden from their enemies.

APPENDIX I

John 11:38-44

11:38 Then Jesus, again greatly disturbed, came to the tomb. It was a cave, and a stone (*lithos*) was lying against it...

39 Jesus said, "Take away the stone (*lithos*)."
Martha, the sister of the dead man, said to him, "Lord, already there is a stench because **he has been dead four days**." [ARD: Could it be that the **four days** also is employed to suggest that Lazarus – unlike Jesus – will not rise in **three days** but is to remain on earth until he is free of the **strips of cloth** (*keiria*) which “bind” him to earth until the day of his death when –like his Lord – he too will be resurrected?]

40 Jesus said to her, "Did I not tell you that if you believed, you would **see** (*optanomai*) the **glory of God**?"

G3700. *optanomai*, op-tan'-om-ah-ee; The first a (middle voice) prolonged form of the second (primary) which is used for it in certain tenses; and both as alternates of

41 So they took away the **stone**. And Jesus looked upward and said, "Father, I thank you for having heard me.

42 I knew that you always hear me, but I have said this for the sake of the crowd standing here, that they might believe that you sent me."

43 When he had said this, he cried with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come **out**!"

44 The dead man came out, his hands and feet bound with strips (*keiria*) of cloth,

“As is typical in the Fourth Gospel, the miracle itself is narrated leanly (cf. 2:7-8; 5:8-9; 9:6- Yet even this lean narration has layers of theological meaning. Jesus' summons to Lazarus in vs. 43 recalls Jesus' words in 5:28

John 20: 1-8

20:1 Early on the first day of the week, while it was still dark, Mary Magdalene came to the tomb and saw that **the stone** (*lithos*) **had been removed from the tomb**.

G3037. *lithos*, lee'-thos; appar. a prim. word; a stone (lit. or fig.):--(mill-, stumbling-) stone.

2 So she ran and went to Simon Peter and the other disciple, the one whom Jesus loved, and said to them, "**They have taken the Lord out of the tomb, and we** do not know where they have laid him."

3 Then Peter and the other disciple set out and went toward the tomb.

4 The two were running together, but the other disciple outran Peter and reached the tomb first.

5 He bent down to look in and saw (*blepo*) the linen wrappings (*othonia*) lying there, but he did not go in.

G991. *blepo*, blep'-o; a prim. verb; to look at (lit. or fig.):--behold, beware, lie, look (on, to), perceive, regard, see, sight, take heed. Comp. G3700.

6 Then Simon Peter came, following him, and went into the tomb. He saw **the linen wrappings** (*othonia*) lying there,

7 and the cloth (*soudarion*) that had been on Jesus' head, not lying with the linen wrappings but rolled up in a place by itself. [or “in its own place”]

G4676. *soudarion*, soo-dar'-ee-on; of the face, or binding the face of a corpse):--handkerchief, napkin Lat. or.; a sudarium

and 10:3; it is Jesus' voice to which Lazarus responds. Jesus' words also echo the words of the Servant in Isa 49:9 to those who are bound and in darkness.” (Culpepper, p. 692.)

G2750. *keiria*, ki-ree'-ah; of uncert. affin.; a swathe

(sweat-cloth), *i.e.* towel (for wiping the perspiration from the face, or **binding the face of a corpse**):—handkerchief, napkin. **(Emphasis added.)**

8 Then the other disciple, who reached the tomb first, also went in, and he saw and believed

APPENDIX II

Chronology:

Liturgical Expression of Scriptural Secrets & “Spy Clues”

A. *Sindon*:

1) As part of the Eucharistic Liturgy

Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. A.D. 350-428)

2) Processions in Edessa & Byzantium

Edessa:

ca. 569 A.D. “Twice a year only the cloth was removed from its sanctuary [*i.e.* a “stone-built shrine of outstanding beauty, capped with a dome that would seem reminiscent of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, built at the same period.] and carried within its casket in an elaborate procession accompanied by torches, and spice-filled censers. Each step of the procession represented a stage in the life of Christ, The entry into the church, for instance symbolizing his entry into the world.” (Wilson. 1979. P. 145.)

Constantinople:

10th c. “when the Byzantines discovered the full-length figure on the Mandylion, they devised a super-Mass for special private showings, in which the figure of Christ was made to rise in a series of stages from the casket, each stage being regarded as a symbolic part of Jesus' earthly life...at the first hour of the day as a child, at the third hour as a boy, at the sixth hour as an adolescent, and at the ninth hour in his full manhood, in which form the Son of God went to his Passion when he bore for our sins the suffering of the Cross.” (*Ibid.*, p. 162.)

Byzantium (*i.e.* Constantinople):

945 A.D. Constantine Porphyrogenius institutes August the 16th

Was the official feast day of the Holy Mandylion (*i.e.* Image/Portrait of Edessa now known as the Shroud of Turin. (Wilson. 1979. p. 256.)

“Special Effects” on Fridays

1203 A.D. Robert de Clari, French member of the 4th Crusade, describes seeing in the Church of St. Mary of Blachernae “the *syndoine* in which Our Lord had been wrapped, which stood upright every Friday so the figure of the Lord could be plainly seen there.” (Wilson. 1979. pp. 257-258. In art this theme came to be known as the “Man of Sorrows” or “Christ of Pity” [Slide]. According to Gertrud Schiller:

The roots of the *Imago pietatis*, like those of the *epitaphios* image, lie in the liturgical art of the eastern church. Both types came into existence in connexion with the liturgy for Good Friday and Easter and are related in content. The *epitaphios* image ...presents Christ as the offered sacrifice, the *Imago pietatis* as the Redeemer who is at hand, beyond death and life.....

No example of the Man of Sorrows has been identified before the twelfth century, although it probably originated earlier. It is possible that, as is assumed to be the case with the *epitaphios* image, it appeared in its earliest form soon after the council of 680-1 in Constantinople had forbidden the use of the lamb as a symbol of Christ

The prototype of these thirteenth- and fourteenth century images ... in the church of S, Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome copy of a highly venerated wonderworking image that was probably brought to Rome in the twelfth century from the east or was made there in imitation of an eastern model. This wonderworking image was the source of the western tradition of the *Imago pietatis*.⁴²

3) Mozarabic Rite

- a) Leander (c. 550- 601)
- b) Pope Gregory the Great (590 – 604)

4) Pope Julius II – 1506 assigns May 4th as annual Feast of the Holy Shroud.

- a) Mass of the Holy Shroud
- b) Office of the Holy Shroud

Soudarion:

1) St. Peter & Ordinations

- a) St. Nino (4th c.)
- b) Antonius Martyr (6th c.)
- c) Ishodad of Merv (9th c.)

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""The life of St. Nino"". 1900. from *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica Vol. V. v, Part I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 10-1 1, translated from the Georgian by M. Waldrop & J.O. Waldrop of Oxford University]

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Fig. 1 Sinai Pantocrator - Encaustic icon, ca. 550 A.D. Given as a gift to the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai where it is believed to have been painted in Edessa.

Fig.2. The Vignon markings - how Byzantine artists created a living likeness from the Shroud image. (1) Transverse streak across forehead, (2) three-sided "square" **between brows**, (3) V shape at bridge of nose, (4) second V within marking 2, (5) raised right eyebrow, (6) accentuated left cheek, (7) accentuated right cheek, (8) enlarged left nostril, (9) accentuated line between nose and upper lip, (10) heavy line under lower lip, (11) hairless area between lower lip and beard, (12) forked beard, (13) transverse line across throat, (14) heavily accentuated owlsh eyes, (15) two strands of hair

Fig.3. Ravenna – 6th c. Mosaic at St. Apollinare Nuovo - Depicts a youthful, beardless Christ which was the norm prior to the rediscovery of the Shroud (*i.e.* the Image of Edessa) ca. 525 A.D..

Fig.4. Ravenna – 6th c. Mosaic on wall opposite the beardless Christ - Indicative of the changed appearance of bearded Christ by artists following the Shroud's rediscovery.

Fig. 5. 6th c. Liturgical Procession in Edessa's cathedral - Elaborate procession in Edessa's Hagia Sophia on the Sunday before Lent. (Drawing by John E. Long).

Fig. 6. Color Photo revealing Folds in Ventral Image - This photograph was taken in 1978 using raking light to emphasize fold lines.

Fig. 7. Actual location of "doubled in four" fold marks as suggested by Dr. John Jackson (*Shroud Spectrum International*. 1984. No. 11, Yr. III, p. 10.)

Fig. 8. Jackson's reconstruction of *tetradiplon* folding to reveal Christ of Pity/Man of Sorrows

Fig. 9. Christ of Pity/Man of Sorrows 13th c. – Santa Croce in Jerusaleme, Rome
A small, badly damaged mosaic icon. A copy of a highly venerated wonder - working image that was probably brought to Rome in the 12th c. from the east or was made there in imitation of an eastern model.

Fig. 10. Thessolanike Epitaphios - Thessaloniki, Museum of Byzantine Civilization -
Epitaphios in gold-thread embroidery, early 14th century.

Fig. 11. Uroš Milutin – 13th c., Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church
Note that Christ is "vertical" or "standing" like the image on the Shroud in contrast to the traditional *epitaphios* which depicts Him in the "horizontal"

ENDNOTES

¹ Neyrey, Jerome H.. "The Sociology of Secrecy and the Fourth Gospel" found in *What Is John? Vol. II: Literary and Social Reading of the Fourth Gospel*, 1994. pp. 79-109.

² Rush, Alfred C..1941. *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, pgs. 128-130.

³ Labbe, *Scr. Conc.*, p.1542. Cited by G. Ricci, *Guide to the Photographic Exhibit of the Holy Shroud* (Milwaukee: Center for the Study of the Passion of Christ and the Holy Shroud (1982), p. XX). This tradition is preserved in *Liber Pontificalis* which dates somewhere from the late 6th to the early 7th century. You can find this reference in Mansi, J. D. (1759-98 11901-1927, 1960)]. *Ab anno CCV ad annum CCCLVI: Vol. 2. Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* P. Labbe. Graz, Germany: Akademische Druck--U. Verlagsanstalt. See cot. 616 for the tradition that Pope Sylvester mandated the use of linen "*sicut corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi in sindone munda sepultum fuit*" as an altar cloth.

⁴ Cited by Dom Gregory Dix. *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre, 1960) p. 282. Cf. For full text see Edward Yarnold, S.J. 1994. *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation*. Second Edition. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press. "Baptismal Homily IV" (**Note:** There is unfortunately a variety of systems for numbering these few sermons. Numbered 2-5 here, they bear the numbers 13-16 in Tonneau's edition. and 3-6 in Mingana and in Whitaker), p. 201.

⁵ M. and J.O. Wardrop and F.C. Conybear, "The life of St. Nino", from Vol. V.v, Part I of *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* (Oxford 1900)., pp. 10-11, translated from the Georgian by M. Waldrop & J.O. Waldrop of Oxford University.

⁶ Quoted from Ishodad of Merv's *Commentaries on the Gospel*, trans. Gibson, 1911, 208. Cited by Alfred O'Rahilly. "The Burial of Christ." *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 59, 1941, p. 169, f.n. 6).

⁷ Green, Maurus. 1969. "Enshrouded in Silence" (*The Ampleforth Journal*, Vol. 74, Part 3, p. 329.

⁸ See Appendix I for comparison of these chapters in parallel columns illustrating similar themes and stresses.

⁹ Guscini, Mark. 2000. *The Burial Cloths Of Christ*. London; The Incorporated Catholic Truth Society, p. 51.

¹⁰ See (NRSV) Jn. 20: 9 "For as yet they did not understand the scripture, that he must rise from the dead." Cf. Lk. 24:12 "But Peter got up and ran to the tomb; stooping and looking in, he saw the linen cloths by themselves; then he went home, amazed at what had happened."

¹¹ For additional research: Moses in Early Judaism and the Samaritan Tradition: Wayne Meeks, *The Prophet-King. Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*, ch. III "Moses in Non-Rabbinic Jewish Sources" [on Philo, Josephus, pseudepigraphic, apocalyptic, and Qumran lit.), pp. 100-175. Meeks (*op. cit.*) ch. IV "Moses as Prophet and King in the Rabbinic Haggada", pp. 176-215. Meeks, *op. cit.*, ch. V "Moses as King and Prophet in Samaritan Literature" pp. 216-257 The Gospel According to Matthew, The Gospel According to John (recommended edition: *New Annotated Oxford Bible* with NRSV), St. Paul's Letter to the Galatians ch. 2:15-6:10, Meeks ch VII "Mosaic Traditions in the Fourth Gospel" (pp. 286-319).

¹² Rush, Alfred C. . 1941. *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, pgs. 128-130.

In a work describing the "resurrection" of the Good Thief on Easter morn we read:

Then they took *the wrappings that belonged to the Lord Jesus and shrouded the body of that dead man (i.e. the Good Thief) who earlier had been found by the Jews in a deep well and shrouded the body of the dead man with them.* And Pilate and his soldiers lifted it and placed it in the tomb in which Jesus lay. Then Pilate stretched his hands; and prayed at the door of the sepulchre... When Pilate recited his prayer..., a voice came from the dead man saying: "O my lord Pilate, open to me the door of the tomb in order that I may come out, I was the first to open the door of Paradise. Lift the stone, O my lord Pilate, so that I may come out by the power of my Lord Jesus Christ who rose from the dead"...And Pilate said to him: "From where are you, and who threw you in this well?" And the robber replied saying: "I am the robber who was crucified on His right. I have been deemed worthy of all favours and gifts before My Lord Jesus Christ because of the few comforting words that I uttered while He was on the wood of the cross ".²¹ *Emphasis and italic added.*] (Mingana. 1928. *Christian documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshuni with two introductions by Rendel Harris. Woodbrooke Studies, Vol. 2.* 1928. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons (Reprinted from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 5 Vol. 12,1928*), pp, 208-209.)

Another prime example is *The Martyrdom of Pilate*, considered by many to be a second Gamaliel apocryphon like *The Lament of the Virgin*, here too we discover a clue to Pilate's hope for total "healing" (i.e. "resurrection") for himself by having his corpse wrapped in a shroud and placed in proximity to Jesus' tomb. According to the text, Pilate instructs his wife as follows:

O my sister Procula, arise and hide in a place on account of what Herod is going to do to me ... Watch, however, over my body, if they are bent in taking off my head. Give silver to the soldiers and redeem my body from them, shroud it, and place it near the tomb of my Lord Jesus in order that his grace may overtake me. Do this even if you have to give all my possessions for the purpose. ²¹ [**Emphasis added.**] is (Mingana, pp. 179-210.)

Pilate's adamant desire to be enshrouded with his own corpse placed near the Empty Tomb may be the result of an earlier ploy whereby, according to the *Mors Pilati*, the Procurator had successfully protected "himself from Caesar's anger for a long time by wearing the seamless robe of Jesus". ²²

²¹ Mingana, *ibid.*, pp, 208-209.

²² Mingana, *ibid.*, p. 253. Cf. p. 274.

The central point in both of the above examples is not that the "resurrections" of the Good Thief and that hoped for by Pilate are real historical events. Rather, the intended conclusion is that even at the time of the writing of these works, healing and "resurrection" are associated with the actual -7-or, in Pilate's case, replica - burial wrappings of Jesus. [**Consider this section as extended f.n..**]

¹³ Tefft, Stanton K.. "Secrecy as a Social and Political Process." 1980. *Secrecy: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Stanton K. Tefft, editor. New York: Human Sciences Press, p. 35 as quoted by Neyrey in "The Sociology of Secrecy and the Fourth Gospel" 1994. *What Is John? Vol. II. Literary and Social Reading of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 79-109.)

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Collins, Raymond F. *AB Dict., Vol. 4*, pp. 265-66. Cf. G.H.C. MacGregor. *The Gospel of John*. New York: Harper and Brothers, n.d., pp. 253-254; Alan Richardson. *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament*. New York: Harper & Row, 1958, pp. 99-100; Massey Shepherd. *The Interpreter's One Volume Commentary on the Bible*, p. 720.).

¹⁷ Brown, Raymond. E..1994. *The Death of the Messiah, Vol. 2*. New York: Doubleday, pp. 1236-37.

¹⁸ Charlesworth, James H. "Jesus as 'Son' and the Righteous Teacher as 'Gardener.'" 1992. *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. (James H. Charlesworth, editor). New York: Anchor Doubleday, p. 148; Cf. 142-175. (Cf. Otto Betz calls our attention to the fact that in the ancient Near East God is portrayed as the *gardener*: He is the one who brings rain and provides for the fruitfulness of the land. The Righteous Teacher inherits these thoughts from other ancient traditions and projects himself as the one whom God has allowed (or caused) to irrigate the dry land (the parched followers) and plant the eternal planting (the remnant shall be living trees in God's restored paradise). The Righteous Teacher conceives of himself as the gardener, "the irrigator of the garden" (1 QH 8:4-5)

¹⁹ Labbe, *Scr. Conc.*, p.1542. Cited by G. Ricci, *Guide to the Photographic Exhibit of the Holy Shroud* (Milwaukee: Center for the Study of the Passion of Christ and the Holy Shroud (1982), p. XX). This tradition is preserved in *Liber Pontificalis* (the text of which dates somewhere to the late 5th – early 6th century). You can find this reference in Mansi, J. D. (1759-98 11901-1927, 1960)]. *Ab anno CCV ad annum CCCLVI: Vol. 2. Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* P. Labbe. Graz, Germany: Akademische Druck--U. Verlagsanstalt. See cot. 616 for the tradition that Pope Sylvester mandated the use of linen "*sicut corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi in sindone munda sepultum fuit*" as an altar cloth.

²⁰ Cited by Dom Gregory Dix. *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre, 1960) p. 282. Cf. For full text see Edward Yarnold, S.J. 1994. *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation*. Second Edition. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press. "Baptismal Homily IV" (**Note:** There is unfortunately a variety of systems for numbering these few sermons. Numbered 2-5 here, they bear the numbers 13-16 in Tonneau's edition. and 3-6 in Mingana and in Whitaker), p. 201.

²¹ Dix. 1960. *Op. cit., The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 104.

²² Green, Maurus. 1969. "Enshrouded in Silence". *The Ampleforth Journal, Vol. 74, Part 3*, p. 329.

²³ Savio, Pietro 1984. "The Arrangement Of The Sindon When It Infolded The Body Of Christ." *Shroud Spectrum International*, Issue #12, September, p. 24.

²⁴ Guscini, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Guscini also provides us with two more helpful insights:

1. The next question that has to be asked is why Leandro was convinced of this fact, so convinced that he included it in the national liturgy in spite of its not being a biblical story? This too is a historical question that must have a logical answer. **One thing is whether or not Leandro was scientifically right, but it is undeniable that he believed the story of the image or at least the**

blood on the cloth. Another historical fact is that the image called the Mandylion was rediscovered in Edessa in AD 525, whether this was the Shroud or not (although the linen was not known as the Mandylion until the ninth century), the image's rediscovery quickly became a well-known fact throughout the Byzantine Empire, as the emperor made a generous donation towards building a church for the image to be kept in... **Leandro spent three years in the capital city... just half a century after the Mandylion was discovered, and** as a significant bishop and friend of the future pope [*i.e.* Gregory the Great], **must have at least heard of the image. It is possible that he visited Edessa to see it,** although this has not been confirmed. **He then included the beginning of the cloth's history in the national liturgy of his country, Spain. Leandro clearly had knowledge that led him to believe that Peter and John had seen something on the burial cloths of Christ, something related to his death and resurrection. This must mean blood and probably an image, the logical meaning of vestigia in the context of the liturgy. This in turn would mean that the Edessa image was known from this time as the burial cloth of Christ, as a bloodstained image. The coincidences with the Turin Shroud are too great to be just chance.** (*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.) [Emphasis added.]

2. Of course, Leandro is incorporating extra-biblical information into the liturgy as no image on the cloth is mentioned in the gospels. The idea of their seeing the image on the Shroud according to Leandro is not an eccentric idea either - indeed there is no other explanation for the text in the liturgy... historically all that is being said here is that a sixth century Spanish bishop believed Peter and John to have seen an image on the burial cloths of Christ. There is nothing controversial about admitting this fact. (Guscin, Mark. 2002 *The Shroud and the Sudarium*, p. 4. Unpublished draft for booklet published as *The Burial Cloths of Christ*.)

²⁵ Green, 1969, p. 399.

²⁶ Cross, 1961. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. p. 793.

²⁷ Wilson, 1979. p. 254.

²⁸ Bulst, 1989, p, 5.

²⁹ Wilson, 1979. pp.100-106.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1979. p. 145.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

³³ Quoted from Ishodad of Merv's *Commentaries on the Gospel*, trans. Gibson, 1911, 208. Cited by Alfred O'Rahilly. "The Burial of Christ." *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 59, 1941, p. 169, f.n. 6).

³⁴ M. and J.O. Wardrop and I".C. Conybear, "The life of St. Nino", from *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* (Oxford 1900). [In the Life of St. Nino" [Vol. V.v, Part I of '*Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, pp. 10-11, translated from the Georgian by M. Waldrop & J.O. Waldrop of Oxford University], we read

[And they found linen early in Christ's tomb.... Sometimes afterwards the linen came into the hands of St. Luke the Evangelist, who put it in a place known only to himself. Now they did not find the Shroud (*Sudari*) but it is said to have been found by Peter, who took it and kept it, but we do not know if it has ever been discovered. (*Ibid.*, p.71).]

³⁵ Geyer, Paulus (ed. & comm). *Itinera Hierololymitiana, Saeculi IIII-VIII*. Prague and Leipzig: F. Tempsky, 1898, page 167-68.) [*In illa ripa lordunis est, spelunca, in qua suet cellulae In quo loco cum timoremagno ingressi sumus ad orationem, In ipso loco dicitur esse sudarium, qui fait in fronte Domini.*]

³⁶ O'Rahilly. Alfred. 1941. "The Burial of Christ: Peter and John at the Tomb. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 59, p. 169, f.n. 6)

³⁷ Ishadod of Merv, *Commentaries on the Gospel*, p. 208, trans. Gibson. corrections O'Rahilly op. cit.

³⁸ Guscin. *Op cit.*, p.64.

³⁹ Tiedtke, E. 1975. "Face". *Dictionary of the New Testament Theology, Vol. 1*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, pp. 585-587.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Lohse, Eduard. 1968. " " in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Vol. VI. (Gerhard Kittel, ed.. Geoffrey W. Bromiley).. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, p. 776.

⁴² Schiller, Gertrud. 1972. *Iconography in Christian Art*, Volume 2 (Janet Seligman, trans.). London: Lund Humphries/New York Graphic Society, p. 199.