

Hellenistic Portraiture, Christological Iconography and the Shroud of Turin

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The development of the image of Christ in ancient, Byzantine and medieval iconography has been attributed to a number of influences. It has long been the general consensus of art historians that certain iconographical motifs, such as “Christ Enthroned,” must have been modeled after imperial conventions, or alternatively, inspiration was adduced to depictions of esteemed philosophers. Recently, Thomas F. Mathews has effectively demolished these notions, but he himself points instead to Hellenic and Hellenistic pagan religious art as the prototype for much of Christian iconography, in particular images of Christ.¹



I. Christ Enthroned, Dome
Mosaic, Palermo, c. 1150 A.D.

There is no question that early Christian art did draw upon pagan themes and forms. There are many instances of this sort of borrowing, Christ as Helios, for example.

¹ Mathews, Thomas F., *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) revised, 1999, with added Chapter Nine referring to the Fayum portraits.



2. Helios in Chariot, Athenaion at Ilion early Hellenistic, c. 285 B.C.



3. Ascension of Christ, mausoleum of the Julii, third (?) century.

Still, it is not correct to say that Zeus, portrayed with a full beard and long hair, was the basis for portraying Jesus with features so well known as realities for Jewish men.



4. Jesus supposedly in style of philosopher, Catacomb of Commodilla, third/fourth century.



5. "Zeus of Orticoli," colossal marble, late first century BC, after Bryaxis.



6. Shroud of Turin (detail). Image of unknown formation on linen.

The Shroud of Turin also has been adduced as the archetype not only for the general nature of Christ's portrayal, but even for a good number of detailed motifs, some of which became standard conventions in certain iconographic schools.² While the image on the Shroud of Turin did eventually determine certain aspects of Christian iconography, we should, I feel, be cautious in evaluating its influence. Just as the bearded Zeus was not the likely prototype for the bearded Christ, so neither is it likely that the image on the

² This has been most exhaustively argued by Paul Vignon in *Le Saint Suaire de Turin devant la science, l'archeologie, l'histoire, l'iconographie, la logique* (Paris, Masson et Cie, 1938).

Shroud was the source for every example of the bearded Christ in paleo-Christian and Byzantine art.

Actual evidence for the supposed imperial and pagan foundations of Christ's image in art turns out to be rather scarce. Graeco-Roman portraiture, whether private, religious or imperial, for the most part succumbed to destruction by its enemies – religious and political -- and to the process of physical decomposition. (I am distinguishing painted portraiture from sculpture, relief sculpture, coinage and decorative murals depicting mythological and historical scenes.)

The only surviving imperial portraiture we have is this roundel of the Emperor Septimius Severus with his wife and young sons, discovered in Egypt.



7. Emperor Septimius Severus and family, c. 200 AD (discovered in Egypt).



8. Tryptich with Isis and Serapis, c. 180-200 B.C., provenance unknown.

Surviving religious portraiture also is relatively scanty. We have, again from Egypt, the two ends of this tryptich with Isis and Serapis. Both, especially Isis, are depicted in the conventional Graeco-Roman pose of three-quarter torso, while the eyes look, or the head is turned slightly towards the opposite direction. This convention of posing is echoed in later Christian art, as seen in the exquisite “Good Shepherd” of the tomb of Galla Placidia and in the figure of the apostle Bartholomew, also from Ravenna.



9. Apostle Bartholomew, Baptistry of the Orthodox, Ravenna, late fifth century A.D.



10. Good Shepherd mosaic, Galla Placidia mausoleum, late fifth century A.D.

As far as private portraiture is concerned, it appears that the greatest amount was executed on wood panels most often in encaustic, both fragile media. Therefore it is not surprising that except in Egypt, very much less than we might hope has survived. In general, whatever escaped destruction did so because it was buried and thus preserved, whether by the sands of Egypt or by volcanic ash. From Pompeii are extant portraits of a young woman and of a young couple. Note the similar posing, including the handling of literary items, supposed evidence of education and therefore of social status.



11. Portrait of a young woman, Pompeii, first century B.C.



12. Wall painting of married couple, from the House of Terentius Neo, Pompeii, c. 50 – 75 A.D.



13. Roman Official Heliodorus (detail) Dura Europos, House of the Scribes, second/third century A.D.

From Dura Europos there is a wall fresco of the Roman official Heliodorus, which looks as if it might have been a rondel – like the Pompeii portrait and the engraving of the Septimus Severus family. Some other rondel portraits include an elderly gentleman from

Arezzo, whose likeness has come down to us engraved on the bottom of a fragile blue cup, etched on gilded glass, in gold and silver leaf, and another glass engraving, only six centimeters in diameter, formerly thought to be of Galla Placidia and her children. This latter was found attached to a seventh-century processional cross.³



14. Portrait of a man on glass, engraved, second century B.C.



15. Severan (?) noblewoman with her family c. 225 - 400 A.D.

The rondel was a favorite in Christian art, whether in great mosaics or adapted to smaller forms. This famous vase, presently in the Louvre collection, depicts Jesus between two apostles and his mother Mary between two angels.



16. Above and right -- The Edessa Vase, silver, sixth century, Musee du Louvre



Late in the nineteenth century, a very substantial body of Hellenistic portraiture from Egypt came to light. I am referring to the funerary art known collectively and popularly as the “Fayum portraits,” which survived decomposition because they were

³ Hutter, Irmgard, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (New York, Universe Books, 1988) p. 38.

buried in the arid sands of Egypt. These were private portraits of upper class settlers and their descendants in Egypt of Roman, and to a lesser extent, Greek origin. The paintings were executed in encaustic (a technique involving heated wax) or less commonly, in a tempera medium. The portraits were inserted over the faces of the mummies, usually wrapped in hundreds of yards of linen layered in a rhomboid pattern, although mummy cases of painted wood and plaster also are found.



17. Portrait fragment from Egypt, c. 117-161 A.D. provenance unknown



18. Above and right -- Mummy with inserted panel portrait of a youth, Hawara, c. 80 - 100 A.D.



Generally, the images were painted onto thin wood panels. But a number of linen “shrouds” with full length portraits have also survived.



19. Portrait fragment of a woman, Hadrianic, c. 117 - 138, provenance unknown.



20. Linen shroud portrait of a man with Osiris and Anubis, Saqqara, second century A.D.



21. Apostle figure, Baptism of the Arians, Ravenna, late fifth century A.D.

In figure 20, the pagan subject rests on his left foot, poised to step into eternity, a stance reflected in the fifth century mosaic of an apostle from Ravenna (figure 21) where we also note the familiar three-quarter pose, with the head turned to the right while the torso twists to the left.

Noted features of the art of the “Fayum” corpus include the large eyes and penetrating gaze, found not only in young adults (the most common age range of the Fayum portrait corpus) but also in children and in elders. In some cases, the eyes are



22. Portrait of a young girl, Antinoe, Hadrianic, c. 117 – 138 A.D.



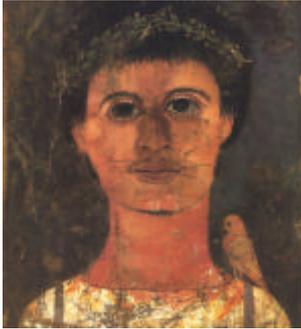
23. Portrait of boy on mummy panel, Hawara, Trajanic, c. 98 – 117 A.D.



24. Portrait of a man, late Antonine - early Severan, c. 180 – 211 A.D., provenance unknown.

Painted somewhat unevenly and without highlights, yielding an otherworldly, mysterious quality (figure 25). These features, an absence of highlights and uneven pupils -- attested even in funerary art of the Pharaohs (figure 26) -- are found also in Byzantine icons of Christ, as for example in the magnificent sixth century icon of the Pantocrator from the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai (figure 27).

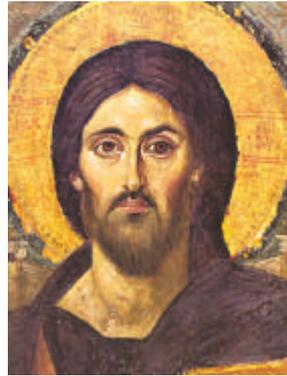
This very famous painting has received considerable attention in connection with its possible iconographic relation to the Shroud of Turin. It is possible that some enigmatic marks on the Shroud may indeed have inspired the development of certain features found in Christological iconography. But I would point out that several motifs – including the head facing front, the direct, penetrating gaze, the three-quarter turn of the body, the



25. A young man, fragment of a linen shroud, c. 150 – 250 A.D., provenance unknown



26. Tutankhamen, detail of the second mummiform coffin, gold-plated wood inlaid with glass paste



27. Christ Pantocrator, Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, (detail) sixth century

absence of pupil highlights, the gilt background (in the case of the Sinai Pantocrator, the gilt nimbus or halo, which itself long preceded Christian art,) the hand gesture-- all are found as conventional motifs in Graeco-Roman portraiture.

Some attention has been given to the possibly uneven size and placement of the eyes on the Sinai Pantocrator. As “reverse foreshortening,” this is a common feature of the Fayum mummy portraits. True foreshortening would give slightly more prominence to the closer eye, rather than to the eye that is turned slightly away, as here. This curious



28. Portrait of a man on mummy casket, (detail) Hawara(?) c. 125 – 150 A.D.



29. Panel portrait of a woman (detail) Antinoe, late Hadrianic /early Antonine, c. 130 – 161 A.D



30. Panel portrait of a woman, (detail) Fayum site, Trajanic, 98 - 117 A.D.



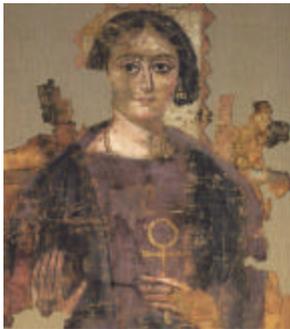
31. Christ Pantocrator, Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, (detail) sixth century



32. Christ Pantocrator, Monastery of Chelandari, Mt. Athos (detail) c. 1260 - 1270 A.D.

effect is found also in Byzantine iconographic imagery (figures 31 and 32).

We have observed in private portraiture from Pompeii the prominent posing of hands holding items indicating literacy, and supposed social superiority. In several full portraits on linen from Antinoe, the hand is raised in an enigmatic gesture which may be blessing (or some sort of greeting—or farewell!) The little girl in figure 35 (we know



33. "Lady with Ankh Cross," portrait on linen, Antinoe, c. 193 – 235 A.D.



34. Portrait on linen of lady with heavy ankh cross, Antinoe (?) c. 193 – 235 A.D.



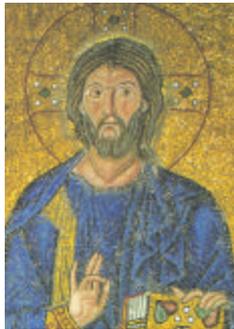
35. Painting on linen of a young girl, Antinoe (?) first half of third century A.D.

that she is a girl, not a boy, from her jewelry and blue apron) displays the hand gesture, but not the cross. The ankh cross in these linen paintings may be a Christian symbol. It is well known how early Christianity took root in Egypt. Moreover the same sort of cross is found on Coptic Christian textiles and stelae, and a cross reminiscent of this ancient Egyptian ankh cross is in use even today among Coptic Christians in Jerusalem (figure 36).

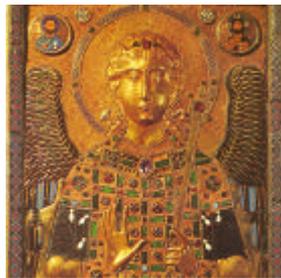


36. Coptic Cross in use in Jerusalem, late twentieth century

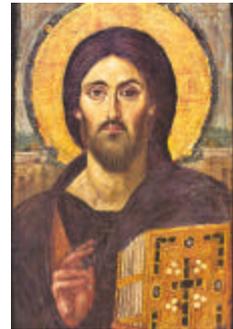
In Christian art, this hand gesture is found as a familiar iconographic theme, and is not limited to representations of Christ, but occurs with other figures—such as various saints, including the Archangel Michael (figure 38).



37. Christ Pantocrator (detail)
Hagia Sophia, Constantinople,
c. 1028 – 1034 A.D.



38. Icon portrait of St. Michael
(detail) tenth century,
Constantinople,
Venice, San Marco



39. Christ Pantocrator,
Monastery of St. Catherine
in the Sinai, sixth century.

The gold nimbus or halo of the Sinai Pantocrator, as well as the beautiful gold background of numerous Christian icons, are features also found in the Graeco-Roman portraiture of Roman Egypt.



40. Christ Pantocrator,
Monastery of Chelandari,
Mt. Athos (detail)
c. 1260 - 1270 A.D.



41. Gold leaf portrait,
c. 138 – 180 A.D.,
provenance unknown.



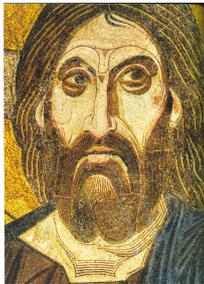
42. Portrait, with
gold leaf, Antinoe,
c. 138 – 192 A.D.



43. Portrait, gold
leaf background,
Akhmim, c. 160(?)

(It is reasonable to extrapolate from this evidence of private portraiture the probable extensive use of gold leaf in pagan religious art in Graeco-Roman Egypt.) The halo itself as a motif of religious portraiture predates Christianity (cf. figure 2).

Next we may consider two peculiar features found in the Pantocrator type of Christian iconography – a sort of “box” like mark between the eyes (figure 45) and a stylized “V” shape in the same area (figure 44). Inspiration for these features have been



44. Left and above -- Mosaic in the Dome, Church of Daphni, c. 1100 A.D.



45. Left and above -- Deesis fragment, Hagia Sophia, twelfth/thirteenth century.

adduced to the Shroud of Turin, but two facts undermine this notion: First, analogous markings are found in non-religious portraiture predating the Pantocrator tradition. Second, such features are not limited to icons of Christ in Byzantine religious representations.



46. Mummy portrait, Hawara, c. 253 - 268 A.D.



47. Soldier, Trajanic, c. 98 - 117 A.D., unknown provenance.

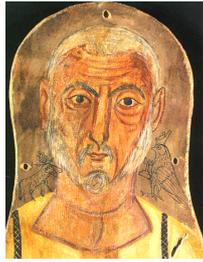


48. Above and right -- Portrait of a man on linen, Arsinoe (Hawara) c. 25 - 75 A.D.



The three lines between the soldier’s eyes (figure 47) would appear to have no special import other than indicators of age and possibly the stress of his occupation. But what are we to make of the three white lines added to the mummy portrait in figure 46? Possibly the painting was executed some years before the man died, the lines added to indicate his advanced age. This appears to have been the case with the portrait of figure 48. The mummy was that of an extremely old man, indicating that the painting was

copied from a portrait done long before the subject died. (As the portrait was done in encaustic directly onto the linen wrapping for the mummy, it would not likely have been executed so many years before the subject died.) Two sharp red strokes between the eyes were added, quite likely, as in figure 46, to emphasize the subject's advanced age.



49. Tying panel portrait, c. 250 A.D., provenance unknown.



50. "Klaudiane," Antinoe, c. 150 A.D.



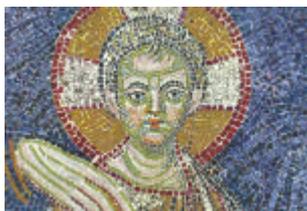
51. Apostle Andrew (detail) Ravenna, c. 494 - 519 A.D.



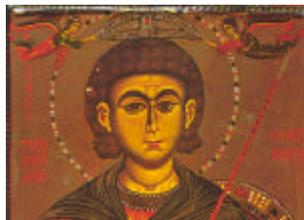
52. St. Abbacyr, fresco, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, sixth/seventh century

In figures 49 and 50, furrows between the brows exhibit an almost "box-like" appearance, a peculiar feature seen also in Byzantine (figures 51 and 52) and later (cf. figure 31) iconography. The three-sided "box" between the eyes of the apostle Andrew may perhaps be taken simply as age marks, given his gray hair. One might reasonably accept the same explanation of the box-like mark on the forehead of St. Abbacyr, a Coptic Abbot from Egypt. (The marks on his forehead are paint, not to be confused with the greenish marks of deterioration elsewhere on the image.)

Eventually, the "box" mark seems to have taken on a special significance of



53. Infant Jesus (detail, Enthroned Virgin and Child) Hagia Sophia, tenth century.



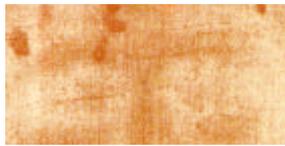
54. St. Procopius (detail) Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, thirteenth century.



55. Justinian (detail, Enthroned Virgin and Child) Hagia Sophia, tenth century.

holiness and spirituality, for it appears in contexts having nothing to do with its earlier connotations relating to age. Thus we see it with the infant Jesus, on the forehead of the Emperor Justinian and with various saints, including the military figure, St. Procopius.

Vignon⁴ discussed a “V” mark between the eyes of the image of the man on the Shroud of Turin which may be discerned in figure 56. (These marks appear not to be of the same nature as the oxidized image fibrils, and therefore they may not have been coexistent with the formation of the image.) Nevertheless, however such a mark may have gotten onto the Shroud, the important thing is that if an artist saw it, he may have copied it. Is there also such a mark, however faint, on the Sinai Pantocrator? I have added a red line tracing to indicate where such a mark might (figure 57), but it is not clear to me that this in fact exists on the icon. Moreover, if an artist in the sixth century (or at



56. Shroud of Turin (detail).
Image of unknown
formation on linen.



57. Christ Pantocrator (detail)
Monastery of St. Catherine
in the Sinai, sixth century.

some other time) may have seen such a strange mark, whatever its origin or nature, and have intended to copy it, one would think, considering the extremely conservative nature of the iconographical tradition, that it would have been copied more clearly and more exactly.

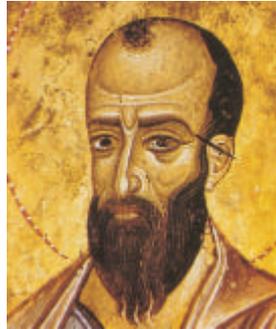
Even earlier than the Sinai Pantocrator, the “V” mark appears on the brow of the “Young Martyr” mosaic of Salonika (figure 58). In any case, by the twelfth or thirteenth

⁴ *Ibid.* Vignon tied several conventional iconographical motifs to the Shroud, but also acknowledged the influence of Hellenistic art (in one instance referring to the “semitic” features of a “Graeco-Egyptian” portrait) on its development. See his *The Shroud of Christ* (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1970) pp. 87 f.

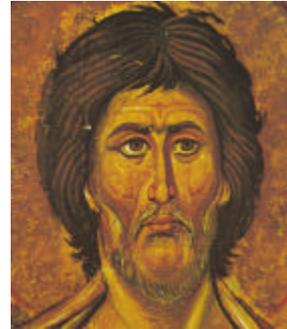
century, this became a rather common motif, appearing in Christian iconography on images of subjects other than Christ.



58. "Young Martyr" (detail)
Salonica, Dome Mosaic,
fifth century A.D.

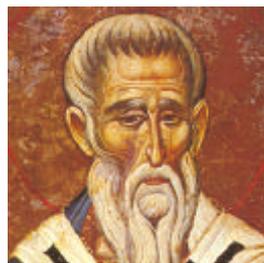


59. St. Paul the Apostle,
(detail) Mt. Sinai,
late thirteenth century.

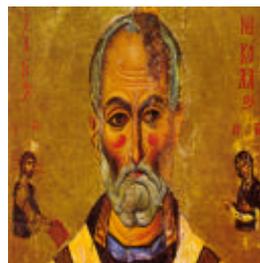


60. Icon with bust of Moses
(detail) Mt. Sinai,
late thirteenth century.

A few of the many extant examples include icons from the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai of the apostle Paul and the figure of Moses, as well as St. Nicholas and the first century martyr and Bishop of Pergamus, St. Antipas, who is mentioned in the New Testament (Rev. 2:13). The "V" mark seems to have connoted a particular kind of spirituality, and perhaps asceticism.



61. St. Antipas, martyr
(detail) Sinai,
thirteenth century.



62. St. Nicholas of Myra
(detail) Sinai,
tenth century.

By the later Byzantine period and the dawning of the Renaissance, the image on the Shroud did come to dominate the iconography of Christ in Europe and Asia Minor. Even more important and convincing than the shoulder-length hair and full beard were

the conventions of the arms crossed as they would appear to be on the Shroud (for it would not have been apparent that the Shroud reveals a mirror image) and the swollen abdomen. The ultimate influence of the Shroud is irrefutable, as evident in the beautiful silk *epitaphios* from Thessaloniki (figure 63) which exhibits not only these features but also the three-to-one herringbone pattern -- which is in fact the very weave of the Shroud.



63. Epitaphios, embroidered silk (detail)
Thessaloniki, fourteenth century (?)



64. "Eutyches," encaustic
on panel, c. 100 – 150 A.D.,
Philadelphia (?)

Nevertheless, many of the conventional motifs of Christian iconography, as we have seen, need not be adduced to the image on the Shroud of Turin, inasmuch as they are standard and in no way unique features of Hellenistic portraiture.

Finally, it is not necessary to point to one area of Hellenistic imagery – that is, to imperial portraiture, to pagan religious art, or to a “philosophical,” type, as the primary source for the roots of Christian iconography. Rather, motifs and conventions of the entire gamut of Hellenistic portraiture – pagan, imperial, but most of all private (cf. figure 64), as attested in the one thousand portraits of ordinary upper-class persons of Graeco-Roman Egypt and the few examples surviving from elsewhere – provided the foundation for the development of the great body of Christian art.

CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1.** *Christ Enthroned*, mosaic in the Dome, Cathedral of Palermo, c. 1150 A.D. Photo, Canali Photobank, Capriolo, Italy.
- Figure 2.** *Helios in Chariot*, Athenaion at Ilion, early Hellenistic, c. 285 B.C., Berlin, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Museum photograph..
- Figure 3.** *Ascension of Christ*, mosaic in Mausoleum M of the *Julii*, beneath St. Peter's, Rome, pre-Constantinian, perhaps third century. Photo, T. Nicolini, SCALA, Florence.
- Figure 4.** *Bust of Christ* supposedly after the style of philosopher, Catacomb of Commodilla, Via Latina, Rome, third/fourth (?) century. Photo, Held. This is among the earliest of the bearded images of Christ. It is found in the cubiculum of "Leo," an employee of the *annona*, the revenue and supplies administration. The dating of this fresco has varied, based primarily not on technique, materials, or style, but on the supposition that no paintings of Christ would have been executed prior to the Edict of Milan. The dating of catacomb art, a complicated matter, is under continual revision.
- Figure 5.** *Zeus of Oricoli*, colossal marble head, late first century B.C., after Bryaxis (restored, 1783). Found during excavations at Oricoli in 1782. *Sala Rotundi*, Vatican. Photo, *Pontifica Commissione di Archeologia Sacra*, Rome.
- Figure 6.** *Shroud of Turin* (detail). Image of unknown formation on linen. Chapel of the Holy Shroud, Turin, *San Giovanni Battista, Cattedrale Metropolitana*. Photo, Barrie Schwartz.
- Figure 7.** Rondel with portrait of the Emperor Septimus Severus and his family, tempera on wood, c. 200 A.D., provenance unknown. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung. Photo, BPK, Berlin. This only surviving portrait of an Emperor was discovered in Egypt, and is mute testimony to the *damnatio memoriae* imposed after Caracalla had his brother Geta, whose head has been effaced, assassinated in 212 A.D.
- Figure 8.** Tryptich with Isis and Serapis, c. 180-200 B.C., provenance unknown. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum. Photo, The British Museum, London. These are folding ends attached to a panel portrait of a man after the style of the "Fayum" funerary art. Note the strong stylistic affinity between figures 7 and 8.

Figure 9. *Apostle Bartholomew* (detail of the grand mosaic) third quarter of fifth century A.D., Baptistery of the Orthodox, Ravenna. Photo, SCALA, Florence. This is also known as the Baptistery of the Basilica of Ursus or the Neonian Baptistery, built under the direction of Bishop Neon about twenty years after the Galla Placidia mausoleum.

Figure 10. *The Good Shepherd*, lunette mosaic, late fifth century A.D., (purported) Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna. Photo, SCALA, Florence. This portrayal evinces notable evolution from earlier representations of Christ as a simple herdsman in peasant dress. Here He appears seated, in royal raiment, with a great golden halo.

Figure 11. *Portrait of a Young Woman*, Pompeii, first century B.C., Naples, Museo Nazionale. Photo credit by Soprintendenza Archeologia per le Province de Napoli e Caserta.

Figure 12. *Paquius Proculus and his Wife*, wall painting, from the house of Terentius Neo, Pompeii, c. 50 – 75 A.D., Naples, Museo Nazionale. Photo credit by Soprintendenza Archeologia per le Province de Napoli e Caserta.

Figure 13. *Heliodoros*, a Roman official (detail). House of the Scribes, Dura Europos, second/third century A.D.

Figure 14. *Portrait of a Man* on glass, engraved on glass and encrusted with gold, second century B.C., Arezzo, Museo Civico.

Figure 15. Severan (?) noblewoman with her family c. 225(?) – 400 (?) A.D. Bresica, Museo Civico. Blue enamel etching with gold and silver leaf. The inscription may be the artist's name. Frequently described as "Galla Placidia and her Family," this superlative rondel has been dated c. 225 A.D., based on Severan affinities, but may be a late third or early fourth-century imitation of that style.

Figure 16. The Edessa Vase: Busts of Christ between two Apostles and the Virgin Mary between two Angels, silver, sixth century, Paris, Musee du Louvre, Departement des Antiquites. Photo, Arnaudet, RMN, Paris.

Figure 17. Portrait fragment from Egypt, encaustic on linen mounted on wood panel. Hadrianic or early Antonine, c. 117-161 A.D., provenance unknown. Athens, G. Mavroides private collection. Photo, M. Skiadaresis.

Figure 18. Mummy with inserted panel portrait of a youth, encaustic on lime wood, c. 80 – 100 A.D., Hawara. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Approximately only ten percent of these Egyptian funerary panel portraits are still intact with their mummies. Museum photograph.

- Figure 19.** Portrait fragment of a woman, encaustic on wood, Hadrianic, c. 117 – 138, provenance unknown. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Antikensammlung. Museum photograph.
- Figure 20.** Near life-size portrait of a man with Osiris and Anubis, tempera on linen, Saqqara, c. 125 - 150 A.D. The head was painted separately, apparently transferred from a worn cloth to a new one. The pose, with weight resting on one foot, was not conventionally Egyptian, but rather Greek. Moscow, Pushkin Museum, Oriental Section. Photo, SCALA, Florence.
- Figure 21.** Mosaic detail of an apostle, Baptism of the Arians, Ravenna, late fifth century A.D. Photo, SCALA, Florence.
- Figure 22.** Portrait of a young girl, called "*The European*," on account of her fair complexion. Encaustic on wood panel with gold leaf, Antinoe, Hadrianic, c. 117 – 138 A.D. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Grecques, Etrusques et Romaines. Photo, Gerard Blot, RMN, Paris.
- Figure 23.** Portrait of boy with complete mummy, encaustic on wood panel, Hawara, Trajanic, c. 98 – 117 A.D. London, British Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities. Photo, Lucinda Douglas-Menzies.
- Figure 24.** Portrait of a man, late Antonine - early Severan, encaustic on panel, c. 180 – 211 A.D., provenance unknown. Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Arthur M. Sachler Museum, Harvard University. One of few representations of an older person in the Hellenistic Egyptian funerary corpus. Museum photograph.
- Figure 25.** A young man, fragment of a linen shroud, tempera on linen, c. 150 – 250 A.D., provenance unknown. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum. Museum photograph.
- Figure 26.** Tutankhamen, Eighteenth Dynasty, detail of the second mummiform coffin, gold-plated wood inlaid with glass paste, Egyptian Museum, Cairo. The face exhibits an impassive sufferance of death. Photo, F. L. Kenett.
- Figure 27.** *Christ Pantocrator* (detail). Gallery of the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, sixth century. Encaustic on wood panel. Photo, John Galey. See note to figure 39.
- Figure 28.** Portrait of a man on complete mummy casket, (detail of eye area). Encaustic on panel, Hawara (?) c. 125 – 150 A.D. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Photo, Lucinda Douglas-Menzies.
- Figure 29.** Panel portrait of a woman (detail of eyes) from Antinoe. Encaustic on panel with stucco and gold leaf, late Hadrianic /early Antonine, c. 130 – 161 A.D. Detroit, Michigan, The Detroit Institute of Arts. Museum photograph.

- Figure 30.** Panel portrait of a woman (detail of eyes). Encaustic on wood panel, Fayum site, Trajanic, c. 98 - 117 A.D. Cairo, Egyptian Museum. Photo, Lucinda Douglas-Menzies.
- Figure 31.** *Christ Pantocrator* (detail of eyes). Gallery of the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, sixth century. Encaustic on wood panel. Photo, John Galey. See note to figure 39.
- Figure 32.** *Christ Pantocrator* (detail of eyes) Mt. Athos, Monastery of Chelandari, c. 1260 - 1270 A.D. After Radojicic. See note to figure 40.
- Figure 33.** “*Lady with Ankh Cross*” (detail). Fragmentary portrait in encaustic and tempera on linen, Antinoe, c. 193 – 235 A.D. Paris, Musee du Louvre, Departement des Antiquites Egyptiennes. Photo, Giraudon, Paris. Two additional ankh crosses are located at either side of the woman’s feet, in place of Anubis jackals. The cloth is additionally decorated with a grape-leaf foliated scroll, a popular motif in pharaonic funerary art, used also by Christians in Egypt.
- Figure 34.** Portrait of lady with heavy ankh cross (detail), probably from Antinoe, c. 193 – 235 A.D. Tempera of gelatin and pigment on linen. Photo, M. Skiadaresis. Such near life-size funerary portraits on do not appear to have been meant to wrap the mummy; they may have been used as wall hangings.
- Figure 35.** Portrait of a young girl with raised hand, (detail). Tempera on linen with stucco and gold leaf. Iconographical motifs link it to Antinoe, first half of third century A.D. Manchester, Manchester Museum. Photo, Lucinda Douglas-Menzies.
- Figure 36.** Coptic cross in use in Jerusalem, late twentieth century. A. Winter and M. Arch, *Gateways to Jesus* (Rome: Christian Era Publishing, 1999) p. 14.
- Figure 37.** Mosaic depicting *Christ Pantocrator* between Constantine IX Monomachos and Empress Zoe (detail). Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, south gallery, c. 1028 – 1034 A.D. Photo, E. Lessing, Magnum Photos, Paris.
- Figure 38.** Icon portrait of St. Michael (detail), Constantinople, tenth century, now in Venice, *Procuratoria*, San Marco. Photo, SCALA, Florence.
- Figure 39.** Bust of *Christ Pantocrator*, Gallery of the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, (detail) first half of sixth century. Encaustic on wood panel. Cleaning of the icon in 1962 by Tassos Margaritoff enabled accurate dating, which had been obscured by overpainting. It had previously been published as belonging to the thirteenth century. Photo, John Galey.

- Figure 40.** *Christ Pantocrator* (detail) Monastery of Chelandari, Mt. Athos, c. 1260 - 1270 A.D. After Radojcic. This masterpiece of Serbian Byzantine painting may have originally adorned the old templon in the Katholikon of Chelandari Monastery, along with an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria.
- Figure 41.** Portrait of a young man, encaustic on panel with gold leaf, c. 138 – 180 A.D., provenance unknown. Moscow, Pushkin Museum, Oriental Section. Photo, L. Gavrilova. Gold was considered the color of eternity in pharaonic Egypt. It is combined here with the naturalism of Hellenistic portraiture, presaging its use in Christological iconography of the type of Sinai and later.
- Figure 42.** Panel portrait of a youth in encaustic on wood with gold leaf background, Antinoe, c. 138 – 192 A.D. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Agyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. Photo, Salzewaski.
- Figure 43.** Portrait of a young woman wearing a gilded wreath, executed in encaustic and gold leaf on wafer-thin wooden panel. Panopolis/Akhmim, c. 160 (?). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Museum photograph.
- Figure 44.** *Christ Pantocrator*, Dome mosaic from the Church of Daphni, Greece, now in the Monastery Museum, c. 1100 A.D. Photo, SCALA, Florence.
- Figure 45.** Mosaic fragment of *Christ Pantocrator*, central figure of the Deeis panel, Hagia Sophia Constantinople. The panel has been variously dated from the twelfth century to c. 1380. Photo, Max Hirmer. Talbot Rice considered the earlier date more probable. (Cf. David Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1963, p. 221.)
- Figure 46.** Mummy portrait of a man with three white lines painted at the bridge of his nose. Tempera on linen, Hawara, time of Gallienus, c. 253 - 268 A.D. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Antikenabteilung. Museum photograph.
- Figure 47.** Soldier, Trajanic, c. 98 – 117 A.D., provenance unknown. Moscow, Pushkin Museum. Photo, L. Gavrilova.
- Figure 48.** Portrait of a man on complete mummy, encaustic on linen, c. 25 – 75 A.D., Arsinoe (Hawara) Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Museum photograph.
- Figure 48.** Tying panel portrait of an elderly man, tempera on sycamore fig wood, c. 250 A.D., provenance unknown. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Museum photograph.
- Figure 50.** “*Klaudiane*,” Antinoe, c. 150 A.D., encaustic on wood, Dijon, Musee des Beaux Arts. Photo, Musees des Beaux Arts. Her name is known because it is written in rough letters across her chest.

Figure 51. Medallion mosaic depicting the Apostle Andrew (detail) Archepiscopal Chapel, Ravenna, c. 494 – 519 A.D. Photo, SCALA, Florence. The mosaics of this chapel, also known as the Oratory of St. Andrew the Apostle, date from the age of Theodoric, when they were executed under Peter II, bishop from 494 to 529 A.D. (Cf. Bovini, Giuseppe and Mario Pierpaoli, *Ravenna, Treasures of Light* (Ravenna: Longo, 1991) p. 56.

Figure 52. *St. Abbacyr the Physician*, fresco, *Santa Maria Antiqua*, Rome, seventh century. The headquarters of the cult of St. Abbacyr was at Alexandria before it spread to Rome, where his relics were brought probably in the seventh century. The expressive art of this portrait brings to mind the Coptic paintings at Bawit and Saqqara.

Figure 53. Infant Jesus (detail of *The Virgin, Protectress of Constantinople*) tenth century mosaic, Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, south vestibule. Photo, E. Lessing, Magnum Photos, Paris. The Virgin holds the Child and is seated between the Emperors Constantine and Justinian).

Figure 54. *St. Procopius* (detail) Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, thirteenth century. Photo, John Galey.

Figure 55. Justinian (detail of *The Virgin, Protectress of Constantinople*) tenth century mosaic, Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, south vestibule. Photo, E. Lessing, Magnum Photos, Paris. The Virgin holds the Child and is seated between the Emperors Constantine and Justinian).

Figure 56. *Shroud of Turin* (detail of the eye area). Image of unknown formation on linen. Turin, *San Giovanni Battista, Cattedrale Metropolitana*. Photo, Giuseppe Enrie.

Figure 57. *Christ Pantocrator* (detail of the eyes). Gallery of the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, sixth century. Encaustic on wood panel. Photo, John Galey. See note to figure 39.

Figure 58. “*Young Martyr*” (detail) mosaic in the Dome, Church of Salonica, fifth century A.D.

Figure 59. St. Paul the Apostle, (detail) Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, late thirteenth century. Photo, John Galey.

Figure 60. *Bust of Moses*, (detail) Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, late thirteenth century. Photo, John Galey.

Figure 61. *St. Antipas*, detail of icon of the martyr, Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, thirteenth century. Photo, John Galey.

Figure 62. *St. Nicholas of Myra* (detail) Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, Old Library, tenth century. Photo, John Galey.

Figure 63. *Epitaphios*, embroidered silk, Thessaloniki, fourteenth century (?) Athens, Byzantine Museum. Photo, E. Lessing, Magnum Photos, Paris. The proper left side, with the wound, is not depicted, although the proper left hand is. This exquisite embroidery is probably the product of a monastic workshop.

Figure 64. “*Eutyches*,” portrait of a boy in thickly textured encaustic on limewood, inscribed in Greek with his name, c. 100 – 150 A.D., possibly from Philadelphia. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. An accompanying inscription describes this gentle child as a “freedman of Kaisanos.” Museum photograph.