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INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

Abhandlungen

- EUGENE CSOCSÁN DE VÁRALJA
The Turin Shroud and Hungary 1
- ZSOLT K. LENGYEL
Kulturverbindung, Regionalismus, föderativer Kompromiß.
Betrachtungen zur Geschichte des frühen Transsilvanismus 1918-1928 50
- IGNÁC ROMSICS
Graf István Bethlens Konzeption eines unabhängigen oder autonomen
Siebenbürgen 74
- TIBOR HANAK
Georg Lukács und die Entfremdung 94

Forschungsberichte

- KARL A. F. FISCHER
Die Kaschauer und Tyrnauer Jesuiten-Universitäten im 17. und 18.
Jahrhundert. Namenslisten der Professoren 117
- GÖTZ MAVIUS
Bayerisch-ungarische Beziehungen im Spiegel biographischer Fakten 186

Mitteilungen

- GYÖRGY SPIRA
Zur Rolle der Wiener Arbeiter 1848 199
- SAMU IMRE
Gemeinsprache und Dialekte in der ungarischen Sprache 202
- ZSOLT K. LENGYEL
Katholischer Glaube und ungarische Muttersprache.
Zur Wallfahrt in Csíksomlyó 210

Besprechungen

Allgemeines und Übergreifendes

- Magyarország hadtörténete két kötetben.* (Thomas von Bogyay). 219
Friends and Relatives. Finnish-Hungarian Cultural Relations.
 (Edgar Hösch). 220
Intellectuels français, intellectuels hongrois XIII^e-XX^e siècles.
 (Srećko M. Džaja). 221
Magyar családtörténeti és címertani irodalom 1561-1944.
 (Ekkehard Völkl). 222

Mittelalter und Türkenzeit

- Der Mongolensturm. Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen
 1235-1250.* (Ekkehard Völkl). 223
 SCHOLTZ, ALBERT: *Zur Herkunftsfrage der ersten Zipser.*
 (Gabriel Adriányi). 224
 SZÁNTÓ, IMRE: *Küzdelem a török terjeszkedés ellen Magyarországon.
 Az 1551-1552 évi várháborúk.* (István Hunyadi). 225
 DERNSCHWAM, HANS: *Erdély, Besztercebánya, Törökországi útinapló.*
 (Adalbert Toth). 228
 GAVRILOVIJ, SLAVKO; JAKŠIDI, IVAN; PECINJAČKI, SRETA: *Gradja o
 balkanskim trgocima u ugarskoj XVIII veka. Carinarnice i
 kontumaci.* (Ekkehard Völkl). 230

Ungarn im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert

- KÁLLAY, ISTVÁN: *Úriszéki bíraskodás a XVIII.-XIX. században.*
 (Mihály T. Révész). 231
L'absolutisme éclairé. (Edgar Hösch). 235
 GRESZL, FRANZ: *Ofen-Buda.* (Ekkehard Völkl). 236
 SCHRÖPFER, KARLHEINZ: *Obrist Trenck. Chef der Panduren.*
 (Winfried Baumann). 237

2. Weltkrieg

- NEULEN, HANS WERNER: *An deutscher Seite. Internationale Freiwillige
 von Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS.* (Hans-Werner Schuster). 238

Ungarn seit 1944

HETÉNYI VARGA, KÁROLY: <i>Akiket üldöztek az igazságért. Papi sorsok a horogkereszt és nyilaskereszt árnyékában.</i> (Gabriel Adriányi).	243
GERGELY, JENŐ: <i>A katolikus egyház Magyarországon 1944-1971.</i> (Gabriel Adriányi).	244
KEMÉNY, ISTVÁN: <i>Ouvriers hongrois (1956-1985).</i> (Jenő Bangó).	248

Literatur und Volkskunde

LAMMEL, ANNAMÁRIA; NAGY, ILONA: <i>Parasztbiblia. Magyar népi biblikus történetek.</i> (Olga Zobel).	250
<i>Puulta puulle: unkarilaisen vähemmiston nykyriikkaa Transilvaniasta.</i> (Ádám T. Szabó).	251
ISTVÁN, ERZSÉBET: <i>Volkstümliche Keramik aus Ungarn.</i> (Werner Endres).	251

Wissenschaft und Schulwesen

FODOR, ISTVÁN: <i>L. Magyars' s Records (1859) and the later sources.</i> (Mária Kecskési).	254
BERAUER, JOSEF: <i>Geschichte des Volksschulwesens der Erzdiözese Kallotscha-Batsch von den Anfängen bis 1896.</i> (Ekkehard Völkl).	257

Chronik

<i>Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn.</i> Zur »Szabó-Jakó-Schule«. (Zsolt K. Lengyel).	259
Attila T. Szabó (1906-1987) zum Gedenken. (István Szathmári).	263
<i>Ungarische Veranstaltungen im Westen.</i> (Judith Szász).	264

Verschiedenes

<i>Zur Rezension eingesandte Bücher</i>	279
<i>Korrekturnotiz zu »Ungarn-Jahrbuch« 14 (1986)</i>	281
<i>Ungarisches Institut München. Veröffentlichungen 1964-1987</i>	282

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ABHANDLUNGEN

EUGENE CSOCSÁN DE VÁRALLJA, OXFORD

The Turin Shroud and Hungary

- *The Turin Shroud and Hungary*
- *List of Pictures with supplementary explanations*
- *Appendix I: Description of the Turin Shroud*
- *Appendix II: Epitaph of William de St. Omer, the Duke of Macsó*
- *Bibliography*

The Turin Shroud and Hungary

In his detailed survey of the history of the Shroud now in Turin, Ian Wilson reached the conclusion that it was in the possession of the Templars, before it appeared on the estates of Geoffrey de Charny in the 1350s,¹ and that it was in fact identical with the Edessa Mandylion brought to Constantinople in 944.² Nevertheless, a certain historical gap remained in his account after the IVth Crusade in 1204, when Ian Wilson lost the trace of the Shroud and the time, when it could have been assumed to have been in the possession of the Templars at the end of the XIIIth Century.³

In the meantime Ian Wilson's identification of the Edessa Mandylion with the Shroud was questioned by Averil Cameron in her inaugural lecture on the 29th of April 1980.⁴ Averil Cameron, however, has not investigated the evidence of the Byzantine coins, while on the other hand, Dr. Alan D. Whanger and Mary Whanger of Duke University claimed that they have found 63 points of congruence between the Turin Shroud and a gold coin of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II

¹ WILSON pp. 155-166.

² Ibidem, pp. 92-103.

³ Ibidem, p. 151.

⁴ See Clifford Longley's article in the TIMES 30th April 1980 and Ian Wilson's reply in the TIMES 5th May 1980. Averil Cameron's lecture: The Sceptic and the Shroud published CAMERON 1981, no. V, pp. 2-27.

already from his first reign (A.D. 685-694),⁵ therefore much before the age of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (see pictures 1a, 1b).

It should be pointed out, however, that the image of the head on the Byzantine coin in question and on the Byzantine coins in general is approximately 10 millimetre,⁶ and 63 points of congruences between them and any other image could hardly be found without a certain degree of exaggeration, however important the Vignon markings could be for these investigations.⁷

More decisive, however, is the fact that on the mentioned gold solidus of Emperor Justinian II, especially on the undamaged items (see picture 1b) - and *measuring the length of the nose compared with the distance between the eyes* -, the nose of Christ is markedly shorter and the angle of his eyebrows is different from that observable on the Shroud.⁸ Therefore, there is a discrepancy in the main features of the two representations, which can be easily distinguished even on the small coins (see pictures 1-2, 12) not only by the numismatists, but also by the diemakers as well.

Similar discrepancies in the mentioned main features can be observed between the Turin Shroud and all the subsequent Byzantine coin issues, on which the face of Christ has appeared up to the time, when Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos established his sole authority in the Empire by removing the Lakapenoi usurpers on the 27th of January 945⁹ (see pictures 2-4a, 12).

⁵ WHANGER; WHANGER. A printed report of their lecture by Jack Adams appeared in the «Durham Morning Herald» on the 28th of January 1982.

⁶ BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume II, Part 2, Table XXXVII, coins 7a-10.

⁷ The main difference in Dr. Whanger's comparison stems from the 7 points of congruence.

⁸ On the Turin Shroud the length of the nose is approximately 1.4 times larger than the distance of the eyes, while these two distances seem to be equal as they appear on Justinian II's coin used by Dr. Whanger. However, on Dr. Whanger's coin the tip of the nose is missing, and on the undamaged issue reproduced by Breckenridge the length of Christ's nose is only 0.8 of the eyes' distance. (BRECKENRIDGE Table V, no. 30).

It also should be noted that both on the coin investigated by Dr. Whanger, and on the one published by Breckenridge Christ's eyebrows are slanting downwards starting already at the nose, in which these coins differ fundamentally from the image on the Turin Shroud.

⁹ Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume II, Part 2, Plates XXXVII, XLIII; Volume III, Part 1, Plate XXVIII; Volume III, Part 2, Plates XXX-XXXVI. As it was pointed out by Professor Grierson, the head of the enthroned Christ figures on these bezants is «abnormally large» (ibidem, Volume III, Part 1, p. 155, of.: p. 154) and because of this the main proportions of Christ's head on these coins are significant.

It is true that a more semitic-looking Christ type on the coins of Michael III has a long nose reaching usually the 1.4:1 proportion of the Shroud (Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 1, Table XXVIII 3.1-3.6). However, the very markedly arched eyebrows of this face clearly distinguish this type from the Face on the Shroud.

As the other type of Christ's face on the coins of Michael III is virtually identical with the

Immediately afterwards and, therefore, just following the arrival of the Edessa Mandyllion on the 15th of August 944 A.D. a completely new image of Christ appeared on the bezants, (see pictures 4b-5c, 12). On these coins Christ's nose became as elongated as on the Shroud, the angle of his eyebrows changed to match the Shroud eyebrows, and the slightly differing angle of each moustache seems to mirror that on the Shroud. In addition the Christ image took on just as impressionistic a character as on the Shroud in marked contrast with the sharp plasticity of Constantine Porphyrogenetos' earlier coins.¹⁰

Meanwhile, the remarkable similarity between these coins in question and the Turin Shroud inevitably reveals that the Turin Shroud was the Edessa Mandyllion brought to Constantinople in 944 A.D.

The fact that this long-nosed Christ type first appeared on the Byzantine coinage following the arrival of the Edessa Mandyllion cannot indicate anything else, but that it reflects the Edessa Mandyllion, because its arrival was intimately connected with Constantine Porphyrogenetos' rule as an independent monarch, and because the pains and efforts sustained by the Byzantines in obtaining this acheiropoietos image,¹¹ it could not have left the iconography of Christ on the Byzantine coinage unaffected. At the same time among all the representations of Christ on Constantine VII's coins, only this long-nosed Christ image could not be traced back to earlier representations of Christ.¹²

Christ image on the solidi of the first reign of Justinian II, only the just mentioned long-nosed Christ on the coins of Michael III could be based on the Brasen-House image set up by Michael III at the main entrance of the Imperial Palace complex from the city of Constantinople.

It should be observed, indeed that the mosaic image of Christ Chalkon in the Kahrie Djami in Constantinople has similar long nose and similar arched eyebrows and likewise it has a small mouth as well, although its appearance is slightly more idealized. - cf.: TALBOT RICE 1959, p. 60, Plate XXXI.

¹⁰ BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVII, 15.9-15.33 cf.: Plate XXXVI. 13 a.1, 13 b.2. The coin 13 a.1 is in mint condition, while the other (13 b.2) was obviously used quite a lot. Nonetheless they show a marked plasticity in contrast with the linear and more two dimensional design of coins 15.9 - 15.33.

¹¹ WILSON pp. 131, 126-129.

¹² On the basis of Professor Philip Grierson's Catalogue, we may distinguish three types of Christ's representation on Constantine Porphyrogenetos' coins after he removed the Lakapenoi from power and the coronation of his son Romanos II in the short period of 27th January and 6th April 945, which might reflect the fact, that the Emperor was an artist himself. These three types are marked with letters a, b, and c in the paragraphs below (while letters d, e and f refer to coins which originated after the end of March 945 according to the numismatists).

- a: A slightly modified enlargement of Christ's head from the lyre-backed throne type enthroned Christ used on the solidi issued between 931 and 944 (BELLINGER; GRIERSON op. cit., Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI, no 12, cf.: 10.1, 10.2).

- b: The young Emmanuel type Christ (*ibidem*, 13 a.2, 13 b.1, 13 b.2). See our Picture 4 1.

The same conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that the long-nosed

- c: The first long-nosed Christ on the coins of the Makedonian dynasty (*ibidem* 13 a.1 in mint condition, 13 a.3 more used but virtually identical with the previous one). As the proportion of the nose to the distance of the eyes on this coin is approximately 1.3:1, it is very close to the Turin Shroud's proportion 1.4:1; the curvature of the eyebrows somewhat approximates the eyebrows on the Shroud, just as the assymetry of the moustaches. Therefore this coin seems to have been the first bezant, which was influenced by the Turin Shroud as it was issued between the 27th of January and 6th of April 945, soon after the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion on the 15th August 944 (see picture 4 b).

- d: On the 6th of April 945 Constantine made his son Romanos II crowned and securing this way the succession of the legitimate Makedonian line. According to Timothy E. Gregory this coronation was commemorated by the issue of a solidus with the enthroned Christ sitting on the lyre-backed throne identical with representation appearing on Constantine coins in the Lakapenoi period in the years 931-944 (GREGORY p. 113, Plate XX, no 10. BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVII 14.1).

- e: As the coronation of Romanos II took place on Easter day profoundly connected with the veneration of the Shroud in the Byzantine liturgy (as indicated below in notes 91, 69, 64 and 100), subsequently most of the coins issued under the joint rule of Constantine VII and his son Romanos II show the Turin type long-nosed Christ. On these bezants Christ's eyebrows and his assymmetric moustaches match the image on the Shroud and the portrayal of Jesus took a rather impressionistic character, like the image on the Turin Shroud, in striking contrast with the markedly three dimensional and finely chiseled plasticity of the earlier coins issued (see pictures 4b, 7a). Therefore these coins were heavily influenced by the presence of the Turin Shroud in Constantinople after the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion and as explained in the text these images on the coins emphasized that the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion restored the power of the legitim Makedonian dynasty (BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume II, Part 2, Plate XXXVII 15.9-15.33. Measured in the distance of the eyes the length of Christ's nose is 1.3 on coin 15.9, 1.4 on coin 15.23, 1.27 on coin 15.28 and 1.4 on coin 15.33. By comparison the corresponding figure is 1.4 on the Turin Shroud. See pictures 5a-5c).

- f: Professor Grierson does not accept the authenticity of the coins with shorter noses of Christ from the period after the coronation of Romanos II in 945 following the legitim Makedonian dynasty's restauration to the power and following the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion (see: *ibidem*, p. 593, footnote and Plate XXXVII, F.1, F.2). The solidus with the fine but short-nosed Christ appearing on Plate LIII no. 14 in WROTH Vol. II, p. 465, no. 14, is also missing from his catalogue, because as it was explained by him he does not consider that coin as authentic (private communication, see picture 3e).

It should however be emphasized, that Professor Grierson does not reject the authenticity of these coins because of the shortness of Christ's nose on them, but because of completely different numismatic considerations, but as a result in his catalogue almost all the coins of Constantine VII and Romanos II joint reign between 945-959 and therefore in the period following immediately the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion actually show a long-nosed Christ, just as long-nosed as the Turin Shroud.

Christ seems to have almost completely disappeared from the Byzantine coins after Constantine Porphyrogenetos' death,¹³ because it again indicates that this image was intimately connected with his rule and by consequence with the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion.

Numismatists are convinced that a coin of Emperor Leo VI reflects the Blachernai Virgin, because this has been specified later on the silver coins of Constantine IX, Theodora and Michael VI.¹⁴ The numismatists also agree that the enthroned Christ on the bezants of the makedonian dynasty corresponds to the mosaic image above the imperial throne in the Chrysotriklinos (see picture 3a), though they are ill at ease in explaining his gesture.¹⁵ It is obvious, however, that the reason of this particular gesture is the Byzantine benediction, in which the fingers form minuscule type and letters (see picture 3b),¹⁶ but they cannot be read

¹³ Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2, Plates XXXVII-LXX.

On the Byzantine coins after Constantine Porphyrogenetos the longest nosed Christ image probably appears on the bezants of Nicephorus Phocas (*ibidem*, Plate XLI, for example 2.1) but even on his coins the proportion of the nose to the distance of eyes is 1:1, quite far from the 1.4:1 proportion on Constantine Porphyrogenetos coins in question and from the same proportion on the Turin Shroud. It could be pointed out that the proportion in question is also only 1:1 on the coin with the portrait of Emperor Romanos II, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*ibidem*, Plate XL, 1,2).

¹⁴ Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 1, p. 171; Vol. III, Part 2, Plate XXXIV.1, Plate LIX.8, Plate LXII. Theodora 3, Michael 3.

¹⁵ Christ's «right hand is raised outward in a curiously clumsy gesture of benediction» - Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON pp. 152-153; , pp. 152-153; BRECKENRIDGE 1959 p. 56 (note 47, cf.: pp. 52-55); BRECKENRIDGE 1980-81.

¹⁶ Although according to the explanation of Dionysios of Furna the fingers of Christ's blessing hand indicate the Greek letters IC XC (EPMHNEIA pp. 186-187, no. 448) and it seems to explain the position of Christ's fingers on the mosaic above the main entrance of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, these letters formed by the fingers could be read only if the hand is turned directly towards the spectator, as on the just mentioned mosaic (TALBOT RICE 1959 Picture 93; cf.: Plate XXVI at p. 49). It is obvious, however, that for example on the «Zoe panel» in the Hagia Sophia the forefinger of Jesus is bent and his little finger is straight, therefore his forefinger can not indicate the letter I and his little finger can not indicate the letter C as it was suggested by Dionysios of Furna (TALBOT RICE 1959, Plate XIII at p. 30). Meanwhile on the images, on which Jesus turns his right towards the right, he turns into the completely wrong direction to read the letters given by Dionysios of Furna, who therefore can not give the explanation of Christ's gesture on the mosaic of the Chrysotriklinos and on the coins, which reflect that image (see picture 3b).

The same gesture, however, makes the XP letters readable, if the letter X is formed by the forefinger and the middle finger and if the thumb and the ringfinger constitutes the ring and the little finger the stem of the letter, which is actually the position of Christ's fingers on the Zoe panel in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Incidentally this is the traditional explanation of the Byzantine blessing in the Byzantine Church in Hungary.

unless the hand is turned towards the right, just as on the Byzantine solidi in question, as it seems to be sufficiently clear on an early coin of Emperor Leo VI.¹⁷ The letters X and P, of course, constituted the Byzantine imperial standard, the *labarum*¹⁸ and therefore the enthroned Christ revealing in his blessing the letters and above the imperial throne emphasized the deep harmony between the heavenly and the Byzantine realms.

It should be stressed, however, that by the time of the Makedonean renaissance the Byzantine coins not only reflected certain types of the Byzantine iconography in general, but they have succeeded in representing exceptionally convincing real portraits¹⁹ possibly the only time between antiquity and the European renaissance. In particular, the features of Emperor Leo VI the Wise on his gold coin - with the Blachernai Virgin on the other side -,²⁰ unmistakably return on the ivory carving, which is in Berlin-Dahlem²¹ and on his votive crown, now in the Treasury of Saint Marc in Venice²² (see pictures 6a-6c).

By comparison, the bezants of his son clearly show that the nose of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos was markedly longer, than the nose of his father,²³ and this also distinguishes and identifies him on the mosaic above the main entrance of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople²⁴ (see pictures 7a-7b) excluding the possibility that it could represent his father, Leo the Wise.²⁵

¹⁷ Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2, Plate XXXIV, 2.3

¹⁸ The «XP» clearly appears on the *labarum* held by Emperor Constantinus II on his coin (see GRABAR 1967, p. 161, picture 169). The «XP» monogram also appears on the East-Roman Emperors' shield for example on the coins of Theodosius (A.D. 379-395) and of Honorius (A.D. 393-423) (KENT; PAINTER p. 172, no. 502, p. 174 no. 553) as well as on the mosaic of Justinian (A.D. 527-565) in Ravenna (see GRABAR 1953, p. 62).

¹⁹ Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 1, pp. 155-174.

²⁰ GREGORY Plate XX, 13, Picture 6b; Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2 Plate XXXIV, 1a, 1b 2.

²¹ GRABAR 1936 Plate XXIV, 1 after p. 296.

²² WESSEL picture 12a, 12b at p. 57.

²³ Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI, 13.a.1. This particular coin seems to be far superior to the other existing coins with the portrait of Constantine Porphyrogenetos as it seems to be in mint condition. Constantine Porphyrogenetos probably inherited his long nose from Zoe Carbounopsina, because the Emperor Alexander, the brother of Leo V was also short nosed: the length of his nose is only 0.67 if measured in the distance of his eyes according to his mosaic in the Hagia Sophia.

²⁴ GRABAR 1953, p. 92, cf.: p. 91.

²⁵ This has been already suggested by Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part I, p. 156, and partly by TALBOT RICE, 1959, p. 312, no. 93.

Our conclusion based on the analysis of the proportions of the represented persons' faces (cf. pictures 6-7), according to which the monarch represented above the main entrance door of the Hagia Sophia is not Emperor Leo VI the Wise, is demonstrated also by Leo's conflict with the

Therefore, at least at the time of the Makedonean renaissance, the Byzantine coinage succeeded in reflecting at least the proportions of the main features of the faces represented. This must have been particularly the case, when Constantine Porphyrogenetos became the sole ruler of the Byzantine Empire, because as an artist in his own right, according to Theophanes Continuatus,²⁶ he himself corrected the works of painters, sculptors and silversmiths.²⁷

It should be added that just after 944 Constantine Porphyrogenetos enlarged

patriarchs of Constantinople. Namely it is unbelievable, that Leo VI, who was prevented from entering the Hagia Sophia and the very same doors by Patriarch Nicholaos Mysticos in 906-907, could have put his image above the same doors in mosaic, or even if he had succeeded in doing so, it had not been removed from there, when the same Nicholas Mysticos was restored following the death of Leo the Wise. It is well known, that the image of Emperor Romanis III Argyros was removed from the Zoe panel in the Hagia Sophia for much less reason: because he died. (Even the interim patriarch installed by Leo VI would not let Leo into the church, but only as a public patient and the walls of the Byzantine churches are decorated by the images of saints and not by the portraits of sinners (see OIKONOMIDES especially pp. 164-166). According to Oikonomides the image of Leo VI had been placed above the main entrance of the Hagia Sophia after his death, around 920 A.D. (ibidem pp. 170-172), but it is also obvious that the Emperor there represented is the donor (cf. for example Theodoros Metochites' picture in the Church of Saint Saviour in Chora also called Charie Djami) and this excludes the possibility that Leo the Wise could have been represented as a donor on the mosaic in question many years after his death. This Emperor figure above the main door of the Hagia Sophia can not represent Romanos Lakapenos, because he is not accompanied by any other ruler-figure while Romanos Lakapenos always shared the power with other persons, unlike Constantine VII in 945. On the other hand the Emperor Constantine on the ivory carving in Moscow (see TALBOT RICE 1959, picture 96 = our picture 7d) hardly represents Constantine Porphyrogenetos, because unlike to his portraits on the coins and on the mosaic in the Hagia Sophia on the ivory carving in Moscow the line of the eyebrows is broken and the nose is shorter and peculiarly hooked. Furthermore the Christ figure on the Moscow ivory seems to be much more elongated than for example the figures on the Limburg reliquary made in Constantine Porphyrogenetos' court and this elongation of the figures was the peculiarity of the XIth Century Byzantine art as it appears already on the Monomachos crown in Budapest. As a matter of fact the peculiar hooked nose and the broken line of the eyebrow on the Moscow ivory identifies the Emperor in question with Constantine VIII as shown by his gold coin in mint condition in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2, Plate LVI, 1.2, 2.1) and this inevitably dates the ivory to the year 1025, when Constantine VIII became independent ruler.

²⁶ THEOPHANES Continuatus, p. 450, lines 12-20.

²⁷ Constantine VII «was, I believe, more thoroughly versed in the art of painting than anyone before him or after him. He often corrected those who labored at it and appeared to be an excellent teacher[...]. He corrected stone carvers and builders, workers in gold leaf, silver-smiths and iron-smiths and in every case he showed his excellence [...].» (see Theophanes Continuatus translated by Cyril Mango, in: MANGO p. 208; he refers also to Luitprand and Sigebertus Gemblacensis).

the head of Christ significantly on most of his bezants with the exception of a very few by representing only the upper part of the body, instead of the earlier entire enthroned figure.²⁸ This obviously facilitated the more proper portrayal of the proportions of Christ's face on the coins, as it enlarged it to the same size as the most accomplished portraits showing the emperor himself or his father on the same coinage. If, therefore, a new Christ image on the bezants of Constantine VII matches the proportions of the Face on the Turin Shroud, it provides highly significant historical evidence, and it can hardly signify anything else, but that the Turin Shroud was the Edessa Mandylion, as it is also implied by the picture of the Skylitzes manuscript in Madrid²⁹ (see pictures 5a-5c).

Namely, before the invention of the photography, even among the various representations of the Turin Shroud as such and other related images including the Veronica icons, there are very few with the main proportions of the head so similar to the face on the Turin Shroud, as Christ's head on the coins of Constantine VII in question.³⁰ This exceptional correspondence between these bezants appearing just after the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion at Constantinople inevitably indicates, that the Turin Shroud was the Edessa Mandylion.

It would be indeed unbelievable that Constantine with his very encyclopaedic mind³¹ had not made the Edessa Mandylion reflected on his coinage after it was brought with so much effort and pain to Constantinople and because of its significance for his reign.³² However, the only new Christ type appearing on these coins after the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion is the one which matches the proportions of the Turin Shroud, which again can only confirm their identity. It is also remarkable that just as Constantine has connected the restoration of the legitimate Macedon dynasty with the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion at Constantinople³³ the

²⁸ Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. II, Part 2, Plates XXXVI-XXXVII.

²⁹ On the picture of the Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes illustrating the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenetos the Edessa of Mandylion is unquestionably a large folded sheet and not a small towel (SKYLITZES *Matritensis*, p. 333, folio 131^a; cf.: p. 138).

³⁰ On the VIth Century silver vase found in Edessa and now in the Louvre the length of the nose is 1.33 compared with the distance of the eyes (see WILSON picture after p. 82). On the Templars' picture found at Templecombe the proportion in question is 1.44:1 (see *ibidem*, picture after p. 146). These two representations seem to be the only ones among all the non-photographic representations connected with the Shroud in Ian Wilson's quoted book, which approximate the corresponding 1.4:1 proportion of the Turin Shroud.

³¹ Constantine Porphyrogenetos has directed the compilation of several surviving encyclopaedic works (see BREHIER pp. 154-155).

³² The Byzantines have sent an army under John Curcuas deep into enemy territory to besiege Edessa in 943 and only through this military operation and prolonged negotiations could they obtain the Edessa Mandylion (see WILSON pp. 125-129).

³³ According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos' own account, when the Edessa Mandylion arrived at Constantinople on the 15th of August 944, and when he still had to share his throne with the

impressionistic Shroud-type Christ images appear on the issues, which show Constantine Porphyrogenetos with his son after the coronation of Romanos II on the 6th of April 945, which secured the legitimate succession of the Makedonian dynasty after the removal of the Lakapenoi usurpers.³⁴

In this connection it also should be mentioned, that following the arrival of the Edessa Mandylion, Constantine Porphyrogenetos has successfully converted Gyula, the Hungarian Duke of Transylvania,³⁵ and the Russian mission led by Princess Olga of Kiev,³⁶ who both visited him in Constantinople. From Gyula's conversion in Constantinople originates the Byzantine Church among the Hungarians,³⁷ and Gyula christened by Constantine as Stephen, was the grandfather of King Saint Stephen,³⁸ who became the apostle of Hungary. After Princess Olga's return to Russia, Christianity spread very rapidly among the Russians and the «acheiropoietos» image remained deeply imprinted on the Russian soul for the coming centuries.³⁹

Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos' successful missionary activities, therefore, were intimately connected with the previous arrival and the presence of the Edessa Mandylion in Constantinople.

It was mentioned above, that the Turin Shroud type face of Christ has almost completely disappeared from the Byzantine coins after the death of Constantine

Lakapenoi usurpers, a possessed man became cured and started to shout: «Constantinople, take the glory and joy and you Constantine Porphyrogenetos your throne». By the following 27th of January, (less than six months) Constantine indeed obtained the throne by removing the Lakapenoi, something he was unable to do for the previous 25 years.

Τέλος τάδε οἰονεῖ ἀπεφοίβαζεν. Ἀπόλαβε, λέγων, ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις δόξαν καὶ χαρὰν καὶ σὺ, Κωνσταντίνε Πορφυρογέννητε, τὴν βασιλείαν σου. Καὶ τούτων ῥηθέντων ἰάθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος (CONSTANTINE VII Narratio, col. 448-449).

³⁴ Grierson in BELLINGER; GRIERSON Vol. III, Part 2, Plate XXXVII, 15.9-15.33; cf.: BELLINGER p. 164 concerning the date of the coronation of Romanos II. The Christ image on Bellinger's example (Plate XXXV. no. 2) is not short-nosed anymore (1.2:1) but it is not «impressionistic» in the sense used by us here in this context.

³⁵ CEDRENUS Vol. II, p. 328, lines 3-22; SCYLITZES p. 239, lines 59-76; cf.: MORAVCSIK 1970, pp. 104-107.

Wer-Bulcs might have arrived for the peace negotiations of 943 in Constantinople or just after them, before the Shroud was brought to Constantinople, and this might explain the difference between his conversion and the conversion of Gyula. Cf. also: SKYLITZES pictures 338-340 (folios 134^{verso}-135^{recto}).

³⁶ CEDRENUS Vol. II, p. 329, lines 1-5; SCYLITZES p. 240, lines 77-81.

³⁷ CSOCSÁN DE VÁRALLJA.

³⁸ MORAVCSIK 1970, p. 111.

³⁹ This is well demonstrated even by the battle standard of Ivan the Terrible preserved in the Kremlin and by the flags used by the Russian troops in the First World War, quite apart from the innumerable Russian icons (see WILSON, pictures after pp. 146 and 82).

Porphyrogenetos, because apparently all the subsequent issues show Christ with short-nose, at least in the Dumbarton Oaks catalogue. The reason for this might have originated in the tradition already referred to, that the Byzantine solidi reflect the Christ image of the Chrysotriclinos, which was designed with Pheidias-type (see picture 3d) proportions according to Beckenridge. In reality, however, the disappearance of the long-nosed Christ representations from the Byzantine coinage might have been less universal and at least partly might stem from the distortion of the numismatic classifications which rely on the pellets, dashes and other small modifications of Christ's halo, but which completely neglect the differences in the main features of his face, including the proportion of the nose to the eyes.

There is a nomisma in the Historical Museum at Heraklion in Crete⁴⁰ (see picture 8b) which reflects not only the proportions, but even the contour of Christ's nose on the Turin Shroud. This bezant was issued by the grandsons of Constantine Porphyrogenetos decades after his death: by Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII between 976 and 1025. Its extremely close resemblance to the Turin Shroud again presupposes, that the Shroud remained in Constantinople and continued to influence the Byzantine iconography in which the Pheidias type short-nosed Christ face seems to have disappeared after the Macedonian dynasty as it was replaced always more and more by longer-nosed Christ face approaching the proportions of the Turin Shroud.⁴¹

These preliminary conclusions are important, because we know from Nicholas Mesarites that the burial Shroud of Christ was in the Church of the Theotokos

⁴⁰ It was reproduced in the catalogue *BYZANTINE ART A EUROPEAN ART* picture no. 677 (cf.: p. 313, no. 677, 5-19). In the collection of the Historical Museum in Heraklion the coin in question is numbered 2131. The length of Christ's nose on this coin is 1.39 length of the distance of the eyes.

⁴¹ The Pantocrator above the interior main entrance of the church Hosios Lucas usually dated in the decades following 1000 still reflects the Pheidian proportions because the nose is shorter than the distance of the eyes, and the nose of the Christ figure of the Zoe panel (in the gallery of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and originating from about 1030) is approximatively the same length as the distance of the eyes (TALBOT RICE 1963, picture 90 on p. 104).

However the nose of the Christ figure on the Anastasis mosaic in Chios from about 1040 might be slightly longer (GRABAR 1953, p. 108. On this mosaic however Christ's face is in half profile, and its proportions cannot be compared with the other face representations).

The nose of Christ is clearly longer than the distance of his eyes on the Deeses mosaic in the gallery of the Hagia Sophia (the proportion seems to be 1.18:1, see TALBOT RICE 1963, picture 202 on p. 221) and on the icon from Mytilene (see *BYZANTINE ART A EUROPEAN ART* picture no. 100, cf.: p. 254, no. 200). This icon is now in the Church of St. Therapon in Mytilene. Earlier it was in the Monastery of the Archangels, Kato Tritos in Mytilene. The proportion of the nose to the distance of the eyes is 1.41:1. Similar icons are in the Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos and in the Eremitage (ibidem, no. 200-201) and the «Christ of Pity» image in the Monastery of Tartana (ibidem, no. 167, p. 236) can be also compared.

at the Pharos in 1201.⁴² As the name implies, the Pharos Chapel was in the vicinity of the lighthouse of Constantinople, which was at the same time the centre of the Byzantine telegraph system,⁴³ by which the Emperor gave command to the troops. Thus this lighthouse was also in the vicinity of the Chrysotriclinos,⁴⁴ the main throne room of the Byzantine Emperors, which had a plan similar to the San Vitale in Ravenna according to Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos,⁴⁵ and in its main apse above the throne was the «Rex regnantium» image of Christ enthroned, which so often appeared on the bezants. The same palace complex also included the Bukoleon harbour of the Imperial fleet.⁴⁶

It is sufficiently clear in the account of the sack of Constantinople in 1204, written by the eyewitness Geoffroy de Villehardouin that for all practical purposes the most senior person in the imperial palace complex which included the Pharos Chapel, and which he called Bukoleon Palace, was the Empress Mary-Margaret from the Árpád dynasty, before it was occupied by Boniface Marquis de Montferat, the Commander of the Crusaders' army on the 12th of April 1204.⁴⁷ De Villehardouin also noticed that Mary-Margaret was «a very beautiful lady», and this has been also recorded by Georgios Akropolites and Nicetas Choniates.⁴⁸ Accord-

⁴² Published by HEISENBERG p. 30, lines 25-28, p. 32 lines 13-14.

⁴³ JANIN 1969, p. 235. It should be noted, however, that the Pharos Chapel of the Virgin was flanked «on the right» (therefore apparently towards the South) by the small chapel of Saint Demetrios and «on the left» (therefore towards the North) by the oratory of Saint Elias (see MIRANDA p. 106).

⁴⁴ See JANIN 1969, p. 235; CONSTANTINE VII De ceremoniis, pp. 290-292 has been interpreted in this way by MIRANDA p. 87.

⁴⁵ CONSTANTINE VII De ceremoniis, p. 580 line 16 (cf.: VOGT pp. 8-9).

⁴⁶ MIRANDA pp. 108-111 (see also his reconstruction attached to the volume: *Le grand palais des empereurs Byzantins au X^e siècle. Reconstruction hypothétique par Salvador Miranda 1966*).

⁴⁷ VILLEHARDOUIN Chapter 12, p. 92. It is very significant that Geoffroy de Villehardouin, like his Western contemporary Pope Innocent III called the Pharos Chapel of the Virgin «ecclesia Buccae Leonis» (see JANIN 1969, p. 233).

It is true that de Villehardouin mentioned «Empress Agnes, sister of the King of France» before «Empress Marie, sister of the King of Hungary» at this place, but we should realise that de Villehardouin was a Frenchman and that Agnes had never been an empress in reality, because both of her fiancés, Emperor Alexios II and Andronikos I were killed while she was only 11 years old in 1183 (see BRÉHIER p. 283), and 21 years before the IVth Crusade. By contrast Mary-Margaret was actually the Empress between 1185 and 1195 and she was restored by the Crusaders in 1203.

On the date of 12th April 1204 see BRÉHIER p. 299.

⁴⁸ VILLEHARDOUIN Chapter 10, p. 75, p. 229. Mary-Margaret «was a very beautiful woman according to those, who have seen her» (ἡ καὶ ὄρασαν πάνυ τῷ εἶδει οἱ κατιδόντες ἔφασκον εἶναι. AKROPOLITES p. 14, line 22 p. 15, line 1).

Mary-Margaret's beauty was also praised by Nicetas Choniates (see MORAVCSIK 1970, p. 94; MORAVCSIK 1923, pp. 79-86).

ing to Wertner's calculation,⁴⁹ she was about 29 years old at that time, and she was widowed in February 1204, when Emperor Isaak Angelos died in prison.⁵⁰ It could not have been long before Boniface de Montferrat, who controlled the entire imperial palace complex at the Bukoleon harbour,⁵¹ proposed to Mary Margaret,⁵² as they were married on the 15th of May in the same year.⁵³

Mary-Margaret's father was King Béla III of Hungary,⁵⁴ who in turn was reared by Emperor Manuel (I) Comnenos as heir apparent in Byzantium,⁵⁵ and her mother was Agnes-Anne de Chatillon, a princess of Antioch.⁵⁶ She was only about ten years old, when she was married to the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelos in 1185.⁵⁷ She suffered Isaac's overthrow and blinding during the palace revolution of 1195. She was imprisoned with him, but they were restored by the Crusaders in 1203 and overthrown again in the following year.

After the marriage of Mary-Margaret and Boniface de Montferrat in the course of the division of the former Byzantine territories between the Crusader leaders, Boniface became King of Thessalonica, a region chosen by him, according to de Villehardouin, partly because of its proximity to the domains of Mary-Margaret's brother,⁵⁸ Andrew II of the Árpád dynasty of Hungary. Having spent nineteen years of her life at Constantinople's imperial palace, Mary-Margaret would of course have known its treasures better than any Crusader. Since it was her husband Bonifae, who took command of the palace complex at Bukoleon (systematically despoiling it, as implied by de Villehardouin),⁵⁹ Mary-Margaret would

⁴⁹ WERTNER 1903, p. 593.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 594; VILLEHARDOUIN p. 84; BRÉHIER p. 299.

⁵¹ VILLEHARDOUIN p. 92.

⁵² According to the Révai Nagy Lexikon (Volume XIII, Budapest 1915, p. 396) Mary-Margaret was proposed to by Boniface de Montferrat on the 13th of April 1204. However, according to the study quoted by the article in question (WERTNER 1892, p. 395) that was the day, when the Marquis de Montferrat took control of the Bukoleon Palace.

⁵³ VILLEHARDOUIN p. 96.

⁵⁴ MORAVCSIK 1970, genealogical table after p. 147.

⁵⁵ King Béla III was born in 1148. He lived in the court of Emperor Manuel Comnenos between 1163 and 1173, when he became the King of Hungary. Before the birth of Manuel's only son, Alexios in 1169, Béla was engaged to Manuel's daughter Mary, and at that time he was proclaimed Byzantine heir apparent (see MORAVCSIK 1970, pp 89-90; KINNAMOS pp. 214-215; CHONIATES pp. 147, 179-180, 219-221).

⁵⁶ MORAVCSIK 1970 genealogical table after page 147; CHONIATES p. 220.

⁵⁷ WERTNER 1903, p. 593; CHONIATES p. 481, lines 17-21.

⁵⁸ «The marquis, seeing him so ready and willing to keep his word, asked him, whether, in exchange for those lands, he would grant him the kingdom of Salonika, because it lay near the territory of the King of Hungary, whose sister he had married.» (VILLEHARDOUIN p. 97).

⁵⁹ «The Marquis de Montferrat rode straight along the shore to the palace of Bucoleon. As soon as he arrived there, the place was surrendered to him, on condition, that the lives of all the people in it

have had every incentive and facility to take the Mandyllion/Shroud with her to Thessalonica, with or without her husband's knowledge, who in any case was bound to oblige her during their engagement. It is indeed remarkable that while in 1201 Nicholas Mesarites noted that the Shroud was in the Pharos Chapel at that time, after the departure of Mary-Margaret from the «Bukoleon Palace» the Crusaders could not find the Shroud anymore, as was pointed out by Robert de Clari.⁶⁰

In fact there are two significant clues that Margaret had the Shroud with her during her reign in Thessalonica. The first is that although Thessalonica's Church of the Virgin had been built in the fifth century, following the rule of Mary-Margaret in Thessalonica, this church was renamed the «Church of the Acheiropoietos»:⁶¹ *acheiropoietos* («not made by hands») a Greek name given to the Mandyllion, with no obvious reference to the Virgin.

Mary-Margaret undeniably took a strong interest in this church, holding the courts of justice there, according to Demetrios Chomatianos.⁶² Interestingly this same church has another, as yet unexplained, name associated with it: *Katafyge*,⁶³ a Greek word occurring in the Psalm 18 passage recited by the Byzantine rite clergy, when they kiss the liturgical *aer* before the Creed.⁶⁴ In the usual liturgies

should be spared [...]. Words fail me, when it comes to describing *the treasures found in that palace*, for there was such store of precious things *that one could not possibly count them* [...].

The Marquis de Montferrat and Henri de Flandre each garrisoned the castle surrendered to him, and set guard over the treasure.» (VILLEHARDOUIN p. 92).

⁶⁰ «[...] the syndoine in which Our Lord had been wrapped, which stood up straight every Friday so that the features of Our Lord could be plainly seen there. And no one either Greek or Frank ever knew what became of this syndoine after the city was taken [...]» (CLARI p. 112).

The words used by de Clari show that he obtained his information in 1203, according to which at that time the Shroud was in the church of Saint Mary of Blachernae. Unless de Clari had confused the churches of Saint Mary of Blachernae with the church of Saint Mary of the Pharos, this implies that Empress Mary-Margaret took the Shroud with her to the Blachernai Palace on the restoration of her blinded consort from the Chapel of the Pharos, and it remained with her afterwards.

According to de Clari (p. 113) the Marquis de Montferrat vacated the «Bukoleon Palace» before the election of the Latin Emperor on the 9th of May 1204 (therefore, before his marriage on the 15th of May). It follows from our conclusions that Mary-Margaret must have taken the Shroud with her at that time.

⁶¹ It was in the XIVth Century that the name of the «Theotokos» was finally changed into «Acheiropoietos» according to JANIN 1975, p. 375, footnote 6 (cf.: p. 370).

⁶² PITRA column 454.

⁶³ JANIN 1975, p. 377. The oldest known reference to this expression as well comes from a period following Mary-Margaret's stay in Thessalonica, namely from the XIVth Century, and the scholars are just as puzzled by it (cf.: CABROL DACL, column 654).

⁶⁴ [...] ἀγαπήσω σε Κύριε ἢ ἰσχύς μου στερέωμά μου καὶ καταφυγή μου. The Greek text

however, the aer symbolizes the *epitaphios*, the veil directly representing Christ's shroud used on Good Friday and at Easter time.⁶⁵ Today the mentioned Church in

stopped here still in the XVIIth Century, see SWAINSON pp. 127, 158.

The text stops at the corresponding word in the Old Slavonic liturgical translations as well, which demonstrates again that originally the passage used stopped at the word *καταφυγή μου*.

The just quoted Greek passage constitutes the first verses of Psalm 18, and these are the words recited by the Byzantine rite priests, while they are kissing the aer, the cover of the chalice three times just before the Creed.

It is obvious, however that the passage quoted in Grek inevitably hints at the verses of the same Psalm just following, which refer to the burial Shroud of Christ, as well as to the earthquake following the death of Jesus mentioned by Matthew 27⁵¹.

Occasionally there are only very slight differences in the wording of this Psalm between the SEPTUAGINTA pp. 100 f used by the Byzantine Church and the modern translations based on the Massoretic Hebrew text, but these do not effect the fundamental meaning of the passage quoted:

1. I love Thee, O Lord, my strength.
2. The Lord is my rock and my fortress and deliverer, my God, my rock, in whom I take refuge, my shield, and the horn of my salvation, my stronghold.
3. I call upon the Lord, who is worthy to be praised, and I am saved from my enemies.
4. *The cords of death encompassed me*, the torrents of perdition assailed me;
5. the cords of Sheol entangled me, the snares of death confronted me.
6. In my distress I called upon the Lord; to my God I cried for help. From his temple he heard my voice, and my cry to him reached his ears.
7. *Then the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations also of the mountains trembled and quaked, because he was angry.* (The numbering of the psalms and also the numbering of the verses differ in the Greek and in the Western usage).

Therefore the context of the Words used by the Byzantine priests while kissing the aer taken from the 18 (17)th Psalm gives the real reason and the meaning of the entire rite of the kissing of the aer. At the same time these words also demonstrate that the aer is symbolic of Christ's Shroud and that the expression «Katafyge» has been deeply connected with the veneration of the Shroud.

⁶⁵ The procession carrying the bread and the wine to the altar is called the «Great Entrance» in the Byzantine liturgy. During this procession the Greek priests carry the aer on their shoulders precisely in the same way as the *epitaphios* is carried at the Good Friday entombment ceremony, at least in those churches, where the *epitaphios* had been made in the original form from textile. It was indeed explained already by St. Germanos I, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who died around 730 A.D., that the Great Entrance corresponds to the burial of Christ «wrapped in clean shroud» (TAFT p. 55; cf.: BOULANGER p. 341). This is the reason of the recital of the Good Friday hymn by the priest on arrival at the altar, because while placing the bread and the wine on the altar the priest says: «Taking your most pure body from the rood, the pious Joseph wrapped it in a shroud with ointments and placed it into a new grave». (See SWAINSON p. 124, where the footnote shows that in some manuscripts there are further verses referring to the tomb of Christ, and the fact that they belonged to the ancient practice is shown by their Old Slavonic translations. It follows from these liturgical texts that the interpretation of the Great Entrance as the Palm Sunday entry of Jesus into Jerusalem

Thessalonica carries the name «Holy Friday»: «Ἁγία Παρασκευή church, a throw-back from its old Turkish name «Eski Cuma Cami» (literally «Ancient Friday Mosque»),⁶⁶ which appears to refer to the Friday veneration of the Shroud already observed by Robert de Clari in Constantinople in 1203.⁶⁷ It is also highly relevant that the attribute of Saint Parasceve is precisely the image named «King of Glory»,⁶⁸ as its significance will be explained immediately below. As far as this Church of the Virgin in Thessalonica is concerned, the only plausible explanation of the various names which it obtained subsequently, could be the fact that Mary-Margaret guarded the Shroud in that building, to which these names refer.

by CABASILAS p. 65 is purely a metaphor).

The previous conclusions also imply that the aer is symbolic of the epitaphios and by consequence it is symbolic of Christ's shroud. They also imply that the *πλάκες πνευματικοί* the «spiritual pictures» (see DUCCELLIER p. 37; WILSON tenth page after p. 82) must have served as aers; that is to say that the «Veronica images» originally served as aers (chalice covers) in the East, and the aers used to be painted with the «Veronica» image of Christ.

This is the reason that the Orthodox priests prostrate before the altar just at the end of the Great Entrance after the bread and the wine has been covered by the aer, (*ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης προσκυνῶσι τρίς* SWAINSON p. 125) as these prostrations can refer only to Christ's image on the Shroud as represented by the aer, as the prostrations in question precede the consecration of the bread and wine considerably.

This is also the reason that the Cherubicon hymn sung during the Great Entrance states, that we receive the King of All: *ὡς τῶν Βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑποδεξόμενοι*, that is to say in the form as He is on the Shroud, because before the consecration this Cherubicon hymn can refer only to the Shroud represented by the aer (cf.: SWAINSON p. 121 footnote (c) and p. 129).

It should be noted that according to Georgios Cedrenos the Cherubic hymn was introduced by Emperor Justin II (565-578 A.D. *ἐτυπώθη δὲ φάλλεσθαι καὶ ὁ χερουβικὸς ὕμνος*, CEDRENUS Vol. I, p. 685, lines 3-4) and this is confirmed by the Easter homily of Eutychus patriarch of Constantinople (553-656, 577-582), who has objected that such reverence was given to the unconsecrated species (PATRALOGIA columns 2400-2401) implying in this way that this was a new custom.

Nonetheless the Cherubic hymn has spread into the entire Byzantine world, and such a change suggests that it was induced by the discovery of the Edessa Mandylion somewhat earlier, as it must have taken time that this custom could spread from Edessa east of the Euphrates to Constantinople west of the Bosphorus.

⁶⁶ CABROL DACL column 651; JANIN 1975, p. 377.

⁶⁷ «Among the rest there was another of the churches, which they called My Lady Saint Mary of Blachernae, where was kept the sydoine in which Our Lord had been wrapped which stood upright every Friday, so that the features of Our Lord could be plainly seen there. And no one, either Greek or Frank, ever knew what became of this sydoine after the city was taken.» (CLARI p. 112).

⁶⁸ TALBOT RICE; GUNNIS; TALBOT RICE Plate XLV, pictures 130-133; PAPAGEORGIOU pp. 38 (32), 59 (52).

There may be a second clue, that the Shroud was in Thessalonica during Mary-Margaret's reign, as it was claimed: that the fresco shown on picture 9 has been preserved apparently in the region of Thessalonica.⁶⁹ It seems to originate from around Mary-Margaret's time in Thessalonica or possibly somewhat later, and it shows the body of Jesus rising from the tomb. This type of representation is known in the West as Christ of Pity or humility, but ancient Greek mosaics preserved in the Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome and in the Monastery of Tartana in Eurytania in Greece preserved its original Greek name Βασιλεύς τῆς δόξης.⁷⁰ This expression «King of Glory» has been taken from the prayer of the

⁶⁹ This photograph was taken before 1979 in a church of Thessalonica - perhaps the Church of St. Demetrius - according to its photographer, Mrs. Beth Abraham of St. Paul's Lodge, Salisbury Road, Great Yarmouth in England. In her description the wall-painting is in the northern side chapel of the Prothesis, and it is above the altar of the Proskomedia. (This information is based on Ian Wilson's letters dated in Bristol, on the 30th of January 1979 and on the 27th of February 1979). It was impossible to locate the whereabouts of the church with the wall-painting more precisely by the time this study had to be sent to the press. However it isn't any more visible. Nonetheless it should be observed, that on this same wall-painting shown on picture 9, the representation of the chest has been formed by darkened stripes of the ribs and by an overextended epigastric region with a markedly asymmetric outline. These peculiarities of this wall-painting in question do not seem to return on later paintings in the same combination, but they are also shared by the paintings of Christ's Baptism in the Church of Panagia Mavriotissa on Lake Kastoria, which has been dated by Manolis Chatzidakis to the XIIIth Century. (PELEKANIDES; CHATZIDAKIS pp.80-81; cf. p.79 picture 13). It also should be noticed, that in the later versions of the representation, known in the West as «Imago pietatis», Christ's hands are not joined anymore over the abdomen, but became raised in various forms. On the painting shown on picture 9 however, the hands are still in a similar position as they appear on the Turin Shroud. This indicates, that it was painted at an early stage of the development of this iconographic type.

⁷⁰ On the iconography see BERTELLI pp. 40-55, pictures VII. 1-8 after p. 284. Bertelli, however, failed to recognize that the attribute on the reverse side of the Santa Croce mosaic (being precisely the Image of Pity) identifies the saint as Saint Parasceve. The mosaic of Tartana is reproduced in WEITZMAN 1968 picture 48, cf.: p. LXXXIII.

Hans Belting calls the same type of image as «Man of Sorrows», but he does not specify its liturgical use (p. 4). As it is clear from Robert de Clari's description (see notes 67, 60) that the Shroud venerated by the Byzantines on Fridays was hanged perpendicularly, it is obvious that the iconographic type in question mirrors this veneration which in turn corresponds to the Good Friday Byzantine veneration of the cross. Secondly all the known Byzantine examples of this type of icon have the inscription ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΘC ΔΟΞΗC, which must have been the proper name of this iconographic representation and this necessarily demonstrates its connection with the Great Entrance of the Byzantine everyday liturgy (see note 70). Thirdly the same type of icon is in liturgical use at the service of the Bridegroom, (for example in Athens' cathedral) the Byzantine rite matins of the three first days of the Holy Week, usually anticipated on the previous evenings. During this service while the Hymn of the Bridegroom is sung, the image of the ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΘC

Cherubic hymn,⁷¹ which in turn is strongly connected with the Good Friday epitaphios ceremony. The fresco just mentioned in Thessalonica, however, differs from most of the representations in this type that the proportions of Jesus' face on it are very close to those on the Shroud, and the hands are crossed in identical manner as on the Turin Shroud. This seems to imply that these features were based on observations made in Thessalonica, because such close resemblances are quite exceptional, and as such they indicate that the Shroud was in Thessalonica in the related period or just preceding it.

Boniface and Mary-Margaret had scarcely celebrated the third anniversary of their marriage, when King Boniface was killed in a skirmish with the Bulgarians. As a consequence Mary-Margaret became the sole ruler of the Kingdom of Thessalonica in the name of her son King Demetrios de Montferrat.⁷² Subsequently she married another «Frank», Nicholas de St. Omer,⁷³ from the same family as the Princess of Galilee⁷⁴ and from the same family as Geoffrey de St. Omer, one of the two main founders of the Order of Knights Templar.⁷⁵

ΔΟΞΗC is carried through the entire congregation, because this picture symbolizes the epitaphios and therefore the Shroud, as during the Holy Week the Bridegroom is coming and from his side-wound his Bride, the Church will be born on Good Friday, just as Eva was born from the side of Adam.

Unfortunately Belting assumes, that the Byzantine «aer» and the «epitaphios» differ only in their name, but refer to the same liturgical object (pp. 3, 14) and that the «epitaphios» as such was used to cover the offertory after the Great Entrance (ibidem). This is hardly conceivable because of its very large size, which distinguishes it from the smaller «aer». Belting mentions that the epitaphios is used on Holy Saturday (p. 15) but he does not notice it that the epitaphios is used already on Good Friday, when it is placed in the tomb, and that after the epitaphios was carried by the priest in the Resurrection procession on the night of Easter, it is placed as a kind of altar cover over the altar, where it remains during the entire Eastertide. Therefore in that period the offertory is placed *above* the epitaphios. It was indeed explained already by St. Germanos I, the Patriarch of Constantinople, (who died around 730 A.D.) that the «eiliton», the cover placed on the altar and opened just before the Great Entrance, corresponds to the Shroud of Christ. (TAFT p. 55).

It should be acknowledged however, that although the «epitaphios» is not identical with the «aer», in the liturgical practice the «aer» does symbolize the «epitaphios», and therefore the Shroud of Christ, or at least the acheiropoietos image on the Shroud, because the aer is carried in the same way by the celebrating priest in every liturgy (for example in Athens' cathedral) as the epitaphios is carried on Holy Saturday and because it is also demonstrated by the texts of the hymn and psalm recited by the priest quoted above in notes 64-65, which facts however were not noticed by Belting.

See TAFT p. 55.

⁷¹ SWAINSON p. 122.

⁷² WERTNER 1892, pp. 392, 396-405.

⁷³ WERTNER 1903, pp. 602-605.

⁷⁴ RUNCIMAN Vol. II, the third pedigree at p. 533.

⁷⁵ WILCKE page 9 with sources in the footnote; LUNDGREEN pp. 48, 51.

After a rule of eighteen years, however, in 1222 Mary-Margaret lost control in Thessalonica, thereupon moving to the Duchy of Sirmium, a part of Hungary that time, and a territory given to her by her bother Andrew of Hungary. According to the Hungarian historian Mór Wertner, this was in fact no more, than Mary-Margaret's due, the area south of the river Sava having been part of her dowry at the time of her marriage to Emperor Isaac II Angelos in 1185.⁷⁶ Although Mary-Margaret is mentioned in historical records of 1229,⁷⁷ she must have died by 1233, but the exact date of her death is unknown.⁷⁸ One event we do know something about, however, is that in 1242 her son William de St. Omer, who became Duke of Macsó inheriting her mother's territories south of the river Sava,⁷⁹ together with other members of the Hungarian royal family took refuge in the Templars' castle of Clissa, close to Spalato on the Dalmatian coast, at the time of the Tartar invasion of Hungary.⁸⁰ William has died during these events on the 21st of April 1242, and his epitaph was originally in the Cathedral of Trau on an island in the neighbourhood, where he was buried.

One passage from this is strangely evocative of the Shroud. It reads:

«[...] qualia Ecclesie tulit ornamenta
ex Imperialibus pannis vestimenta,
patent intuentibus lucem et supernam
eius postulent requiem eternam.»⁸¹

⁷⁶ WERTNER 1903, p. 595; MORAVCSIK 1970, p. 93 (cf.: p. 94).

⁷⁷ In the letter of Pope Gregory IXth dated 3rd March 1229 (see FEJÉR CD, pp. 157-158).

⁷⁸ In a letter to King Andrew II written in 1233, the Duke of Sirmium is named as «Gyletus» (FEJÉR CD, p. 366) and not Mary-Margaret any more. According to WERTNER this «Gyletus» was in fact Calo-Johannes Angelus, the son of Mary-Margaret, to whom Sirmium belonged as stated in the letter of King Béla IV written two years later in 1235 (FEJÉR CD, Tom. quartus, Vol. I, p. 27; cf.: WERTNER 1903, pp. 594-595).

⁷⁹ WERTNER 1903, pp. 607-609.

⁸⁰ The fact that the Royal Family was in the castle of Clissa before the arrival of the Tartars there is best demonstrated by the epitaph of the King's daughters, who died in Clissa on the 13th of March 1242. The epitaph has been preserved by LUCIO 1666, p. 473.

The date of their death has been preserved by an other inscription in the cathedral of Spalato over their tomb, which has been reproduced also by JACKSON p. 71, cf.: pp. 75-76; SZLÁGYI p. 497.

According to his own epitaph, William de Saint Omer followed the King into Dalmatia:

«Quartam Bellam prosequens eius consobrinum,
Ad mare pervenerat usque Dalmatinum,
Ubi ad comercia vite celsioris
Mortis solvit debitum [...]»

⁸¹ This epitaph, too, was preserved by LUCIO 1673, p. 43. The date of William's death was recorded in the same epitaph:

«Aprilis vigesima die iam transacta,
Qua Gulielmi spiritus reddidit ad astra [...]»

Investigating the terms used in this text, it becomes clear that apart from the Shroud, it is difficult to think of any other sheet (*pannis*),⁸² which could give light from above (*lucem supernam*) and intercede for William de St. Omer's eternal rest (*requiem eternam*). The inscription therefore indicates that the Shroud was in William's possession, when he died, having been brought, as the inscription states from the Imperial treasures in Constantinople,⁸³ which could only have been done

Concerning this epitaph Lucio has remarked: «[...] mori in Trau Guglielmo nipote del Rè e fù sepolto nella Catedrale avanti l'Altar maggiore, sopra la sepoltura del quale via era l'iscrizione: mà quando fù lastricata di nuovo la Chiesa, e postavi la piana grande di marmo, che hora si vede fù trascurato di farui intagliare l'iscrizione, della quale trovarsi varie copie, et era del sequenti tenore [...]»

It should be noted that the Cathedral of Trau was built in the years 1180-1250, therefore in a period, when the city of Trau was under direct Hungarian rule (JACKSON pp. 102-103).

⁸² Concerning these textiles LUCIO 1673, p. 43, remarked: «[...] ma di quelli panni Imperiali, che fa mentione restassero alla Chiesa, ne è testimonio un richissimo Piuiale di panno riccio supra riccio d'oro, che solevano usare gl'Imperatori, che si vede nella Catedrale, e si conosce essere stato d'altra sorte di vestito, che di verij pezzi guiditiosamente riuniti con gionta d'una lita di panno d'oro, e capuccio riccamata à oro fattone il piu ricco che sia in Provincia [...]»

It should be pointed out, however, that these vestments, even if they had belonged to an Emperor, could not have given light from above to anyone, nor could they give eternal rest to the Duke of Macsó, and being secular vestments, could not have been really described as *Ecclesiae ornamenta*; «the ornaments of the Church». Furthermore the fact that they were still in the XVIIth Century in the Cathedral of Trau, shows that they have not been distributed to the poor, contrary to the epitaph according to which

«Nam cuncta que moriens ita vir legavit
Dispergens pauperibus prorsus erogavit
Qualia Ecclesie tulit ornamenta [...]»

Therefore even if the textiles seen by Lucio had belonged to the Duke of Macsó, there must have been a much more important textile, to which the epitaph referred and only the Shroud could correspond to its specifications.

It has to be taken into consideration that Lucio wrote 430 years after the event and could not realize the full meaning of the epitaph in the absence of the Shroud. In any case the cap mentioned by Lucio among these textiles was decorated with the figure of Saint Martin, a very Western saint and it was actually made in the XVth Century. Therefore it could not have been the gift of William de St. Omer and it hardly originated in Byzantium (see BANFI pp. 269-279; RÉVAY p. 606).

⁸³ «Iacet sub hoc lapide Nobilis Gulielmus

Iacet heros inclitus operit quem tellus
Nepos Belle tertij Regis Ungarorum
Margarite genitus Domine Grecorum
Dicti Regis filie Grecis Dominatrix
Constantinopoleos sceptris Imperatrix

[...]

by William's mother, Mary-Margaret. Indeed it seems to be inconceivable that William fleeing from the Tartars for his life several hundreds of miles on horseback could have taken any other sheet as the vital item with him.

In this context it also should be noticed that according to the quoted Trau inscription, the Shroud was in the possession of the Duke of Macsó, which he could have included into his will «nam cuncta quae moriens ita vir legavit [...]», while William was the youngest known son of Mary-Margaret. This might appear strange in the modern Western legal system, but according to the ancient Hungarian inheritance laws, it was precisely the youngest son,⁸⁴ like William de St. Omer, who inherited the parents' house and by consequence its content.

Meanwhile the Trau inscription is not the only item of evidence that the Shroud was with Mary-Margaret, when she moved her court from Thessalonica to Sirmium. Preserved in the Cathedral in Laon, France, is an early XIIIth Century icon of the Mandylion usually called the «Holy Face of Laon».⁸⁵ The face on this

Qualia Ecclesie tulit ornamenta

Ex imperialibus pannis vestimenta [...].»

LUCIO 1673, p. 43.

⁸⁴ This legal practice is testified in the confirmation of the will of Count Nicholaus de genere Chak, the brother of Ugrinus the Archbishop of Esztergom, by King Andrew II issued in 1231. It is stated on this document: «Iterum habeo alia predia: que mihi Archiepiscopus Vgrinus, qui me filio habebat dimisit: quorum nomina sunt hec: primum predium ad sanctam crucem, ubi domum edificauerat; cuius terra communis erit omnibus filiis meis, quos nunc habeo, vel habebo: quia locus est specialis, quod vulgo dicitur Wduorhel [= place of the court] sed edificia vel cetera necessaria, que super ea sunt, vt mos est in Hungaria, iunior habebit [...].» FEJÉR CD, Tom. tertius, Vol. II, p. 228.

This legal practice prevailing in Hungary was later incorporated into the codification of the Hungarian customary law by Stephen Werbőczy (Stephanus de Werbewcz de Kerepes): «[...] inter filios eorundem dominorum et nobilium fratres scilicet camales aequaliter dividatur; et quot sunt fratres tot sequestratur partes. Domus autem paterna filio iuniori deputatur ad residendum et habitandum: Ita tamen ut caeteris quoque filiis seu fratribus de communi proventu huius modi bonorum et iuniori possessionarium aliae domus, illi paternae similis in loco communi (ubi videlicet quilibet voluerit) extruantur et aedificentur habitandae [...].» (WERBŐCZY Pars I, Titulus 40).

⁸⁵ In the years 1247-1249 Jacques Pantaleon was papal legate in Silesia, Polonia and Prussia (ENCYCLOPEDIA column 907) and as such he was bound to cross Hungary on his way from Italy. The icon of Laon was sent by Jacques Pantaleon (later Pope Urban IV in the years 1261-1264) to the convent of the Cistercian nuns in Montreuil-les-Dames in 1249 (see GRABAR 1935, pp. 7-10; TALBOT RICE; TALBOT RICE p. 55, picture 41).

According to a pamphlet published by Susanne Martinet the icon of Laon had been in an orthodox monastery in Bari, before it was sent to Montreuil-les-Dames. Bari of course in that period belonged to the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, and William de Saint Omer did spend a period of his life at the court of Emperor Frederic II in Southern Italy. He had estates there; for example, Marigliano in the region of Aversa, which was given to him, or perhaps already earlier, to his brother King Demetrios de Montferrat by Frederic II (see WERTNER 1903, pp. 607, 609). Such a connection could

icon has an uncanny resemblance to that on the Shroud (see picture 10).⁸⁶ In this respect it is also highly relevant that contrary to the contemporary Byzantine practice using at least green and yellow tints, virtually the entire Holy Face of Laon consist of brown colour, just as the image on the Shroud of Turin.

Perhaps the most intriguing features of the icon in Laon is its inscription:

OBRAZ G[O]SP[O]DI' [N] NA UBRUSE

This inscription in Church Slavonic written with Cyrillic letters provides the strongest indication that the icon was painted, while the Shroud was at Sirmium, because it was there at the Byzantine monastery of Szávaszentdemeter, that Hungarian, Greek and Slavonic monks had a joint community living in separate mansions, (a fact which we know from a letter of Pope Clement VI).⁸⁷ Painted at any other place where the Shroud could have been, the inscription would have been either in Greek or in Latin or in Glagolitic.

Curiously out of the three words used in the inscription two are also used in Hungarian. The meaning of the first word is image, and it is still used in Hungarian as in «ábrázol» = to portray, or in «ábra» = figure; «ábrázat» = face.⁸⁸ The last word of the inscription is specially significant, because it appears just at Jn 20:7 as Christ's burial cloth in the Gospels of the Bulgarians,⁸⁹ who have lost their Ural-Altai language, and it was also used by the Ottoman Turks as well. The cor-

explain the presence of the Laon icon in Southern Italy, if it was there. It is more likely, however, that Jacques Pantaleon has found this icon while travelling as papal legate in East-Central Europe in the years 1247-49.

⁸⁶ The length of the nose from the eyebrows is 1.3 of the distance of the eyes on the Holy Face of Laon, which is not significantly different from the proportions on the Turin Shroud where the corresponding proportion is approximately 1.4:1.

⁸⁷ «[...] Nuper quidem ad notitiam apostolatus nostri pervenit, quod in confinibus Regni Ungarie iuxta Scismaticos Rasie versus Greciam in diocesi Colocensi quoddam Monasterium sancti Demetrii nuncupatum, in quo ex primaria institutione ipsius Greci, Ungari et Sclavi servire debebant, et cuilibet nationum huiusmodi fuerunt inibi distincte ac disposite mansiones, et ibi ponebatur Abbas Grecus per Patriarcham Grecorum: qui abbas non obediebat in Regno Ungarie alicui prelatorum, sed solum Patriarche predicto [...]» (Pope Clement VI in 1344. See THEINER pp. 667-668).

The fact that this Abbey was known commonly as Száva Szent Demeter is shown by George Szerémi (Georgius Sirmiensis), who incorporated this term in this form «Zaua zent Demeter» into his Latin text (SZERÉMI chapter XXXI, p. 107, cf.: chapter CCCIV, p. 115).

György Györffy has shown that the Abbey of Szávaszentdemeter was in communion with the Pope in Rome at least from around 1216 until the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in 1261 (GYÖRFFY Szávaszentdemeter, pp. 30, 73). This explains well, how the icon of Laon arrived at Rome and got into the possession of Jacques Pantaleon, who was in papal service at that time, because as it was shown by György Györffy, the Popes used to be in correspondence with the monastery and confirmed the monastery's possessions and privileges.

⁸⁸ ORSZÁGH p. 3; BENKÓ p. 90.

⁸⁹ Jn 20:7; see DOGRAMADZHIEVA; RAYKOV p. 438; ZHIVKOVA Tablica LXII, picture 357 (268).

responding term in other Slavonic Gospels is *soudarion*.⁹⁰

This difference in the terms used again pinpoints Szávaszentdemeter as the place where the «Holy Face of Laon» was painted. Namely the Banat of Macsó alongside the river Sava up to the river Drina at the time of the Hungarian Conquest in 896 belonged to the Bulgarian Empire,⁹¹ and in the period of the Árpád dynasty it was still inhabited by Bulgarians. This is very clear from the Hungarian medieval chronicles preserved in the *Képes Krónika* (Illuminated Chronicle formerly in Vienna), which states that in 1701 (the Hungarian) «*rex autem et dux imposuerunt crimen traditionis Albe Bulgarice [...]. Inde castra moventes descenderunt in directo Nandorfeivar [...]. Exiit autem edictum a rege et duce, ut universus exercitus Hungarorum transiret fluvium Zauam in Bulgariam.*» Therefore, by crossing the river Sava, from Sirmium in Hungary the army already entered Bulgaria. «*Greci autem et Bulgari navigantes in celonibus suis per ingenia sufflabant ignes sulphureos in naves Hungarorum et eas in ipsis aquis incendebant. Victi sunt autem ignivomi Greci ab Ungaris pre multitudine navium, quibus flumen operuerant. Fugientibus autem Grecis ac Bulgaris transierunt Hungari et terminos Bulgariorum occupaverunt.*»⁹²

This record therefore clearly indicates that the right bank of the river Sava was inhabited by Bulgarians in the period of the Árpád dynasty,⁹³ and this is the reason, that the inscription on the Holy Face of Laon is in Bulgarian form, because the Abbey of Szávaszentdemeter, where it was painted, was just across the river at an important crossing point of the Sava.

Meanwhile «*abrosz*» in Hungarian means tablecloth,⁹⁴ and it is highly relevant, that precisely the epitaphs is used as the tablecloth over the altar-table by the Byzantine church during the entire Easter season.⁹⁵

The term *soudarion* in the other Slavonic Gospels was clearly taken from the original Greek *σουδάριον* in Saint John's gospel. Saint John used two words referring to burial clothes of Jesus, namely *τὸ οὐδόνιον* and *τὸ σουδάριον*.

However in 1940 Saint John has clearly stated that the *δδόνια* were used to bind the buried, and significantly he uses this word in plural, which shows that

⁹⁰ ALTBAUER Volume I, Tablica CCCCIII, p. 403.

⁹¹ TREHARNE; FULLARD p. 9: «Europe c. 900 A.D.»

⁹² SRH pp. 369 (line 18) - 370 (line 13). As the following lines of the Chronicle go on to describe the siege of Belgrad called «Bulgarian White Castle» (Nándorfehérvár) in Hungarian, these lines mean that the territory on the Southern side of the river Sava was the land of the Bulgarians, as there was the region occupied by the Hungarian army before the capture of that Bulgarian city.

Incidentally the following passage referring to the same area repeatedly mentions Bulgarians and Greeks there, but not a single Serb.

⁹³ GYÖRFFY Tanulmányok, pp. 64, 131.

⁹⁴ ORSZÁGH p. 3; BENKÓ p. 92 («*abrosz*», like «*ábráz*» can be documented from surviving Hungarian records since 1372).

⁹⁵ MELLES; SZÁNTAY-SZÉMÁN; KOZMA p. 143, cf.: p. 145.

they could have been only small pieces. On the other hand in Jn 20⁷ he distinguishes the ὀθόνια clearly from σουδάριον, which covered the head of Jesus at the burial and which was so large that it has to be folded to be placed in one place. It obviously follows from this that the σουδάριον could not have been a small towel.

This also follows from the way the Greeks represented the resurrection of Lazarus. Namely according to Jn 11⁴⁴ Lazarus was buried bandaged by κειρίαι, and his face was wrapped by the σουδάριον. In the corresponding Byzantine representations, however, the same linen seems to cover both the face and the entire body of Lazarus below the bandages spanning the whole length of the Byzantine period from the San Appollinare Nuovo in Ravenna dated by art historians around 520⁹⁶ to the painting in the Pantanassa in Mistra executed in 1428.⁹⁷ Therefore, according to the Greeks' understanding, the σουδάριον mentioned by chapters 11, 19 and 20 of Saint John was large enough to cover the entire human body.

According to Saint John, Jesus was not bandaged by αἱ κειρίαι, but by τὰ ὀθόνια, which may mean that Jesus was not bandaged in the same way, as Lazarus, but on the Reliquary of Bessarion now in Venice the buried Christ is shown bandaged just as Lazarus is on the paintings of the Catacomb and in the Byzantine iconography.⁹⁸ Meanwhile the same expression τὰ ὀθόνια appears not only in the text of Saint John, but also at least in some variants in the text of Sainte Luke 24¹² among the synoptics as well; and here again the word appears in plural. Therefore it follows from this, that ἡ σινδών mentioned by Saint Luke in 23⁵³ has to differ from his ὀθόνια in 24¹² and it could only correspond to Saint John's τὸ σουδάριον, (which is in singular, like the σινδών), as Saint John has mentioned only these two types of textiles at the burial of Christ, and Saint John was an eyewitness both of his entombment and of the empty tomb.

It is therefore more remarkable that precisely Saint John used the expression sudarium for the shroud, because - as it was pointed out by Ian Wilson -, the person, who was buried into the Turin Shroud, was not washed before the entombment,⁹⁹ and the proper meaning of the sudarium is something used to mop up perspiration,¹⁰⁰ in this case the perspiration ensuing death.

⁹⁶ TALBOT RICE 1968, pp. 156-157.

⁹⁷ TALBOT RICE 1963, p. 261, picture 243. In the Catacomb of Jordani on the Via Salaria the sheet used to constitute the hood, which covered Lazar's head already in the IVth century (BOURGUET picture 44).

⁹⁸ WEITZMANN 1968, picture 76, p. LXXXV. The Reliquary originally belonged to an Eirene «sister of a Palaiologos Emperor» thought to be Michael IX, which would date the reliquary about 1295-1320, but the covering icon might be later.

⁹⁹ WILSON p. 40.

¹⁰⁰ «[...] sudarium a sudo [...] linteum, quo sudor faciei detergetur et nares purgantur [...]» FORCELLINUS p. 727.

Therefore the vernacular translations, which made 'napkin' out of the σουδάριον completely distorted its size, and it is better approximated by the Hungarian term «abrosz» = tablecloth, as far as its size is concerned.

The reason that the synoptics have not used the term το σουδάριον, but ἡ σινδών, might not be only that they were not eyewitnesses, but also because they might have tried to gloss it over that Jesus was not washed before his burial, as required by the Jewish laws, probably because of the shortage of time at the incoming Sabbath and because Providence wanted to preserve Jesus' image.

In any case the identity of the word UBRUSE in the inscription of the Laon icon and the Hungarian term «aborsz» shows that the Laon icon was based on a large sheet of linen, and as according to the linguists this Hungarian term was borrowed from the Slavonic, it also demonstrates that originally, before the Hungarian borrowing, it was a large sheet in Slavonic as well, just as the Turin Shroud.

The fact that in the period, when the Laon icon was painted, the term «sudarium» was used to indicate the large burial shroud of Christ is well demonstrated by the letter of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Balduin II to King Saint Louis IX of France dated June 1247. This mentions a part of the sudarium, into which the body of Jesus was wrapped in the tomb: «partem sudarii, quo involutum fuit corpus eius in sepulchro.»¹⁰¹

Therefore, the inscription on the icon of Laon can be best translated as «the image of the Lord on the sudarium-shroud». By consequence this inscription also shows that the Shroud was there, where the picture was painted, and we have already seen it above that because of the alphabet used in the inscription in question, it could have been executed only at Sirmium, where Mary-Margaret of the Árpád dynasty resided after 1222.

It also follows from the above considerations that the Holy Face of Laon was painted between 1222, when Empress Mary-Margaret moved to Sirmium, and 1242, when the Shroud was brought to Clissa by her son the Duke of Macsó.

This time interval cannot be shortened by the establishment of the Latin bishopric of Sirmium in 1229 into the period of 1222-1229, because the Latin bishops of this see which was set up on the initiative of Ugrin the Archbishop of Kalocsa to spread the Latin rite in the Duchy of both Sirmiums (on both sides of the Sava), had to reside on the northern border of their territory at Kő (the modern Bánmonostor), and could not move to the capital of the Duchy, namely the city of Sirmium until after the Tartar incursion in 1247, when Pope Innocent IV authorized them to take up residence either in the monastery of Saint Gregory or in the Abbey of Saint Demeter.¹⁰²

It seems remarkable that just two years after this document the Holy Face of Laon was sent by Jacques Pantaleon, the papal legate of Innocent IV in East-Cen-

¹⁰¹ RIANT Vol. II, p. 134.

¹⁰² GYÖRFFY Szávaszentdemeter, p. 72.

tral Europe in 1247-1249 to the nuns of Montreuil in 1249 and that eventually the Latin bishops of Sirmium have not moved to Szávaszentdemeter, but they chose the Church of Saint Ireneus (Szent Ernye) as their cathedral and they resided in the castle on the island of the Sava at Sirmium.¹⁰³

Jacques Pantaleon even later as Pope Urban IV was deeply interested in the union with the Byzantine Churches and his intervention as a papal legate might have saved Szávaszentdemeter from the takeover by the latin bishops of Sirmium. Apparently in return he obtained the Holy Face of Laon from the Byzantine monks of Szávaszentdemeter.

We might also observe that just as according to the testimony of Demetrios Chomatianos Empress Mary-Margaret chose the Byzantine-rite bishops to be her judges, while she ruled in Thessalonica, according to Pope Gregory IX she used as the main church in Sirmium as well the one, which followed the Greek rite «*quae Graecorum ritum tenet*».¹⁰⁴

These observations firstly indicate the reason, why the latin rite bishops of Sirmium could not move their see to that city, where Mary-Margaret resided. Secondly they also explain that the inscription of the Holy Face of Laon was not written in Latin and that the establishment of the Latin bishopric of Sirmium in 1229 could not have any bearing on the date of this icon, as the bishopric could not have exerted any significant Latin influence in the city, into which the bishops were unable to move. Thirdly, the same observations might also account for the fact that the rites, by which the Templars venerated the Shroud before their dissolution, were virtually identical with the Good Friday service of the Byzantine Church,¹⁰⁵ because if Mary-Margaret kept the Shroud both in Thessalonica and at

¹⁰³ Ibidem, p. 72f.

¹⁰⁴ «[...] Venerabilis frater noster Colocensis Archiepiscopus in nostra fecit praesentia recitari, quod dilecta in Christo filia, nobilis mulier, soror illustris Regis Vngariae, aquisiuit quamdam terram, quae appellatur vltior Sirmia, ratione cuiusdam partis Hungariae, quae citerior Sirmia nuncupatur, ac ad nutum et dispositionem praefatae sororis regitur terra praedicta, adeo quod quidam de Clericis Archiepiscopo ipsi subiectis, per eam in maiori Ecclesia, quam terrae illius homines episcopalem appellant, prouisor est deputatus ad tempus, donec de ipsa, quae Graecorum ritum tenet, et nondum sedi Apostolicae obediuit, prout disponendum fuerit, disponamus [...]» The letter of Pope Gregory IX dated in Perugia on the 3rd of March 1229 (FEJÉR CD, Tom. tertius, Vol. II, pp. 157-158). According to Fejér the church mentioned in this passage was the church of Saint Ireneus (ibidem in the footnote).

¹⁰⁵ The Templars prostrated before their image in the Byzantine manner according to the testimony of Radulphus de Gysi (Raoul de Gizi). See MICHELET Vol. II, p. 364.

On Good Friday the Greek Church erects a cross in the middle of the church below the dome with an image of Christ on it, which is later removed in the ceremony corresponding to the entombment and brought to the altar. Previously, however, the entire congregation prostrates before this image precisely as the Templars did in their rites.

According to Robert de Clari the «*sydoine*» was hung perpendicularly on the Friday, when

Sirmium in a church left in the care of the Byzantine clergy, it implies that she too was impressed by the beauty of the Byzantine Good Friday service of the Shroud-epitaphios, and it was Mary-Margaret, who brought this cult with the Shroud to the West.

The third evidence that the Shroud was brought to Hungary by Empress Mary-Margaret is the Pray codex written between 1192 and 1195,¹⁰⁶ and famous because it contains practically the oldest known record of a continuous Hungarian text,¹⁰⁷ and as it happens, the oldest such Finno-Ugrian text as well. There are no pictures in this manuscript except five drawings referring to the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ, all on folios XXVII and XXVIII.¹⁰⁸ The drawings themselves are preceded by an inscription datable to the years 1203-1216,¹⁰⁹ and this implies that the pages occupied by the pictures now used to be empty at that date, and that these drawings in question must have originated in the following years.

Referring to the picture on folio XXVII^{verso} Ian Wilson observed that the «attitude of the hands in the Christ figure suggests that the Shroud's full length image was known by this period»,¹¹⁰ as on the earlier representations of the Mandylion only Christ's face alone was portrayed. Furthermore, the proportion of the length of the nose compared with the apparent distance of the eyes on this drawing of the Pray codex is 1.4:1, therefore it is among the very few images, which match the true proportions of the Shroud properly. Finally, the picture of the Pray codex seems to be completely unique in the European Christian art, at least at this early date, because it portrays Christ without any loin cloth, and in this it can reflect only the Turin Shroud (see picture 11).¹¹¹

he observed its veneration by the Greeks, he in fact might have witnessed the Byzantine Good Friday service, which was simply copied and adopted by the Templars, when the Shroud passed into their possession. These Byzantine rites, however, must have been unknown and very suspicious, if not very dangerous, in the eyes of the Latin clergy, who considered the Byzantines openly Schismatic and implicitly Heretic as well. This can explain well the Templars' secrecy in these rites and even their eventual downfall.

¹⁰⁶ Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Codex «Nyelvmélekek 1.»

This codex was written after 1192, because it already mentions the canonisation of King Saint Ladislaus (László), and it was finished before 1195, because it does not refer to the death of King Béla III (see RADÓ pp. 40-41).

¹⁰⁷ National Széchényi Library, Codex «Nyelvmélekek 1.», folio 136^{recto} (see RADÓ p. 75).

¹⁰⁸ RADÓ p. 40. All five pictures have been reproduced in colour by BERKOVITS Plates I-IV.

¹⁰⁹ Confering the inscriptions on folio XXVI and on folio 144, Radó concluded that the codex in question was in the Abbey of Saint Giles in Somogyvár between 1203 and 1216, after that it was written originally in a Benedictine Abbey dedicated to Saint John the Baptist.

An other inscription on folio 10^{recto} indicates, that by 1228 the same codex was transferred to the Benedictine Church of Deáki on the river Vág (see RADÓ pp. 42-43).

¹¹⁰ WILSON the picture before page 83.

¹¹¹ Significantly even the epitaphios-embroideries have a loin cloth on all the pictures reproduced in

In the mentioned peculiarities the drawing of the Pray codex mirrors the Shroud so exceptionally well and so closely that it could not have been executed without its close examination, and by consequence without the Shroud's presence in Hungary.

All historians agree that as the result of the Tartar invasion and even after their withdrawal, the land of Hungary was in a very poor state, with widespread famine because agriculture was effectively halted during the years 1241-42 by the Tartars' presence.¹¹² The Hungarian royal family was as badly off as anyone. King Béla IV has inherited a bankrupt treasury,¹¹³ and after fleeing from the battle of Mohi in 1241, he was obliged to ransom his own person, when he was detained by the Duke of Austria,¹¹⁴ just as Richard the Lionhearted was detained before him.

Arguably it was in such straightened circumstances that, as indicated by the Trau epitaph, the widow of William de St. Omer distributed to the poor, whatever she could obtain for the Shroud, (possibly by pawning it):

«Nam cuncte que moriens ita vir legavit
Dispergens pauperibus prorsus erogavit
Qualia ecclesiae tulit ornament [...].»¹¹⁵

The crucial question, of course, is to whom the Shroud was given or pawned by the Saint Omers.

As Ian Wilson has already shown, the Shroud must have been in the possession of the Templars, and this assumption is very strongly corroborated by the testimony of the Templar Hugo de Pairaud.¹¹⁶ It seems to be obvious that it was at this point in time that the Order of the Temple acquired the Shroud, because after the Tartars' withdrawal in April 1242 the Hungarian royal family returned to the Templars' castle of Clissa,¹¹⁷ where they had resided already before the Tartar's

JOHNSTONE.

¹¹² THOMAS SPALATENSIS p. 595, lines 10-22; ROGERIUS pp. 586 (line 23) - 588 (line 18); MARCZALI pp. 501-502 quoting further sources: HÓMAN;SZEKFC p. 556.

¹¹³ MARCZALI pp. 444, 373-393; HÓMAN;SZEKFC pp. 717-519, 475-477, 504-505; FEJÉR CD, Tom. quartus, Vol. II, pp. 466-504.

¹¹⁴ ROGERIUS pp. 574 (line 28) - 575 (line 30). This passage shows that Béla had to pay 7000-10000 markas, gold and silver vessels and three border counties to Austria, virtually the same area, that the Austrians took again in similar circumstances in 1920.

¹¹⁵ LUCIO 1673, p. 43.

¹¹⁶ WILSON pp. 153-166. In fact at the Inquisition of 1307 Hugo de Pairaud declared that the Templar «head» at Montpellier «had four legs, two in front and two in back». (Dixit quod dictum caput habebat quattuor pedes, duos ante ex parte faciei et duos retro. See MITCHELET Vol II, p. 363). This is the precise description of the image on the Turin Shroud.

¹¹⁷ Clissa was given to the Templars by King Andrew II after he arrived at Spalato on the 23rd of August 1217 on his way to the Holy Land during his crusade (THOMAS SPALATENSIS p. 578, lines 23-26).

arrival. According to the Archdeacon Thomas of Spalato, Queen Mary Lascaris and the royal child(ren) remained there until September 1242.¹¹⁸ It is also obvious that in the given circumstances after the devastation of Hungary by the Tartars, only the international financial resources of the Templars could provide the help needed by the poor and the needy including the royal family itself. It also should be taken into consideration that the family de Saint Omer was very closely linked to the Order of the Temple from its very foundations, as one of the two main founders was Geoffrey de St. Omer. The uncle of Empress Mary-Margaret's consort, Otto de St. Omer, too, was a Knight Templar.¹¹⁹ This very intimate connection between the St. Omers and the Templars must have also contributed to the fact, that eventually it was the order of the Knights Templar, who obtained the possession of the Shroud from the St. Omers.¹²⁰

Finally it must not be forgotten that Clissa was but one of the Templars' castles along the coast of the Adriatic, another being at Aurana or Vrana,¹²¹ yet another at Segnia or Zengg (Senj)¹²² in Croatia, a town that at that time served as Hungary's main port. The significance of these castles of the Knights Templar was indicated by Dante, who was born 23 years after the death of the Duke of

In 1255 the Templars exchanged Clissa for the city of Sebenico (see PESTY pp. 48-49; DUJNOVIĆ p. 119).

¹¹⁸ «[...] regina autem cum regio puero in Clisse castro remansit, fuitque ibi usque ad mensem Septembris [...]» (THOMAS SPALATENSIS p. 595 lines 7-8).

¹¹⁹ WERTNER 1903, p. 606.

¹²⁰ It would be conceivable that the Shroud had been left as a surety against a loan given by the Templars to the Hungarian Royal family, however, the terms used in the epitaph of William de Saint Omer seem to imply this clearly:

«Nam cuncta quae moriens ita vir legavit,
Dispergens pauperibus prorsus erogavit
Qualia Ecclesiae tulit ornamenta
Ex imperialibus pannis vestimenta.»

(LUCIO 1673, p. 43).

¹²¹ Aurana, in Hungarian often Auránia, or Vrana in Croatian was already the Templars' castle in 1169 (PESTY p. 74). In 1203 the Templars of Aurana lent money to Bernard, the Archbishop of Spalato for the fight to free Zara from the Venetians (THOMAS SPALATENSIS p. 577, line 9) using money, that King Imre (Emery) deposited with them. This shows that the Templars in Aurana acted as a bank, but this also implies that the Templars were not involved in the IVth Crusade, which took Zara from the King of Hungary.

¹²² Segnia or Zengg with a county «Puschke» was in the Templars' possession until 1269, when they exchanged it for the castle and the county of Dubicza, a strategic castle on the river Una and close to the river Sava at the very centre of Medieval Croatia (PESTY pp. 50, 75).

This change follows the year 1265, the earliest date, when the Shroud might have been moved to Montpellier by the Templars. King Béla IV might have taken Segnia, the main port of Hungary from them because of this.

Macsó. In Dante's XXXIst canto of the Paradiso Saint Bernard, the spiritual father of the Knights Templar, remarks: «like one, that comes perhaps from Croatia, to see our Veronica, and whose old hunger is never satisfied, but says within himself, as long as it is shown: 'My Lord Jesus, very God, was this then your true semblance?'»¹²³

These lines of Dante can be best understood, if we realize that the Templars must have removed the Shroud from the shores of the Adriatic,¹²⁴ because it was at Montpellier certainly before 1307, but perhaps already by 1270s. Therefore by 1317-1321, when Dante wrote the Paradiso, the Croats could not see the true Face on the Shroud anymore, as they became accustomed, while it was in Croatia for decades. Because of this their desire to see it became an old and unsatisfied hunger, which the various Veronica pictures could not really satisfy either. By consequence the above quoted lines of Dante indicate it indirectly that the Shroud was earlier in Croatia.

It seems to be highly relevant and corroborating our previous conclusions that apparently a fragment of the Shroud or a fragment belonging to the Shroud

¹²³ «[...] però ch' i' sono il suo fedel Bernardo.»

103 Qual è colui, che forse fi Croazia
viene a veder la Veronica nostra
che per l'antica fame non sen sazia

106 ma dice nel pensier, fin che si mostra:
'Signor mio Gesù Cristo, Dio verace,
or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?'

Dante: Paradiso, Canto XXXI (DANTE p. 450).

¹²⁴ One of the reasons that the Templars removed the Shroud from Hungary might have been the insecurity caused by the struggles for the Hungarian throne after the extinction of the main line of the Árpád dynasty in 1301. However the conditions were already disturbed under the rule of King Ladislaus IV the Cuman during the years 1272-1290, and the Anjous of Naples have disputed the right to the throne of his successor, Andrew III. These uncertainties in Hungary might have induced the Templars to move the Shroud to Montpellier.

It should also be noticed that a side-line of the Árpád dynasty used to live near Amiens in France, but by the time the question of the Hungarian succession developed, they apparently left the French territory and the branch known as the Crouy family moved near to Savoy (see WERTNER 1914, pp. 26-42, 55-62, 109-127; cf.: NAGY pp. 49-54). They might have been easily established there and supported in their efforts to succeed in the Hungarian succession by the very Templars, as it is most unlikely that the Templars could have supported the Angevin claims of the Capetings in Naples on the Hungarian throne, while their Capeting cousins in France embarked on the final destruction of their Order. Perhaps Philip le Beau has turned against the Templars, because they could not support his cousin's (Charles Robert's) succession in Hungary, as they knew that the male line of the Árpáds had not become extinct. It should be realized that the Temple kept one of the most important archives in Hungary, to which, for example, one of the originals of the 1222 Golden Bull, the Hungarian Magna Charta, had to be deposited.

actually remained in Dalmatia, because a small part of this was offered to King Sigismund by the Rector of Ragusa on the King's return from the battle of Nicopolis on the 26th of December 1396: «Sotto il 26 Dec. fu parte di dar al Re del pannicello in casu quo velit extoto in forma qua exponit Dominus Rector», according to the extracts from the minutes of the Ragusan Senat.¹²⁵

It is remarkable that his record used the expression «pannicello», which is virtually the same term as used by the epitaph of the Duke of Macsó: «pannis» but in diminutive form, as indeed only small fractions of the Turin Shroud could have remained by 1396 in Dalmatia, although this «pannicello» in question might have been the remain of the οθόνη, by which the Shroud was bandaged according to Jn 1940 and Jn 207 and which also appear on Cardinal Bessarion's Reliquary in Venice.

It is at least just as remarkable that there seems to have been only one known «Imago pietatis» representing the entire body of Christ covered with bloody scourging-wounds¹²⁶ just as on the Turin Shroud. Moreover it was painted in Trau (see picture 14) according to art historians, therefore precisely in the place, where William de Saint Omer, the Duke of Macsó was buried, and this painting has been preserved in Curzola (Korcula) on the enormous Dalmatian island ever since.¹²⁷ It should be realized that the representation of the scourging marks on Christ's body are exceptional, that they are missing from virtually all the pictures of the crucifixion and even from Michelangelo's Pietas.

It is perhaps even more astonishing that on the painting in Curzola in question the sixteen donors worshipping the King of Glory, who very significantly appears just als long-nosed as the Image on the Turin Shroud, are all dressed in the white hooded habit of the Templars¹²⁸ marked with the red cross known from the Templars' authentic seals,¹²⁹ and from the crosses worn by the Templars, as it

¹²⁵ ENGEL p. 231.

¹²⁶ There is no sign of the scourging marks on the «Imago pietatis» representations shown for example by WEITZMANN 1968 picture no. 48, 63, 167; or by PIGNATTI Tavolas III, V, VI, XIV, XVII, XX, XXI.

¹²⁷ This «Imago pietatis» constituted the central panel of the Polyptych of all Saints' Church in Curzola (see PRUATELJ pictures 17, 15).

This painting was painted by (Magistro) Blaxio pictori de Tragurio, therefore by Magister Blasius Georgii de Tragurio (the artist, who painted a flag for King Sigismund in 1419) in the years 1438-1439 in Trau according to GAMULIN pp. 137-138 No XIX (cf.: pp. 29, 137).

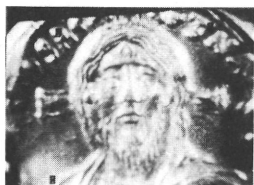
¹²⁸ Saint Bernard «[...] thought of Hugues (de Payens)'s new brethren as military Cistercians. Significantly, brother-knights wrote a white hooded habit in the cloister, like Cistercian choir monks, while lesser brethren wore brown, as did Cistercian lay brothers [...].» (SEWARD p. 22).

The form of the old Cistercian habit was well preserved on the paintings showing the vision of Saint Bernard by Filippino Lippi and by Perugino (see MURRAY on pp. 228-229).

¹²⁹ The Templars' seal in the Archives Nationales in Paris has been reproduced in NEUBECKER p. 66. The cross worn by the Templars can be seen on the frescoes of the Templars' chapel in Cressac

was already shown above that the worship of the Imago pietatis was a peculiar devotion of the Templars. Therefore this painting in the Church of All Saints in Korcula demonstrates it most forcefully that the Templars' devotion to the Shroud of Christ remained very strong in Dalmatia, just as it has been observed by Dante.

List of pictures with supplementary explanations



1 a



1 b



1 c



2



3 a



3 b



3 c

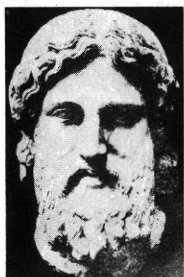
3 f

(Charente) dating from circa 1170-1180 (see BOASE p. 85).

The fact, that the Templars' cross on their habit was red is mentioned by SEWARD p. 23, however the illustration given by him there was published by HELYOT in 1714-1721, four hundred years after the Templars have been abolished.

It should be noticed, however, that the cross of the Order of the Knights of Christ, in which from the Order of the Knights Templar survived in Portugal, is a slightly modified and embellished form of the Templars' cross, and it is also red, as it can be seen on the emblem of the Portuguese airforce and on the coat-of-arms of the Brazilian Empire.

The donors of the Polyptych in Curzola were the members of the Confraternity of All Saints, which was established in 1301 (FORETIĆ p. 114), therefore years before the Templars were abolished.



3 d



3 e



3 g



4 a



4 b



5 a



5 b



5 c



6 b

6 a



6 c





7 a



7 b



7 d



7 c

8 a



8 b



9

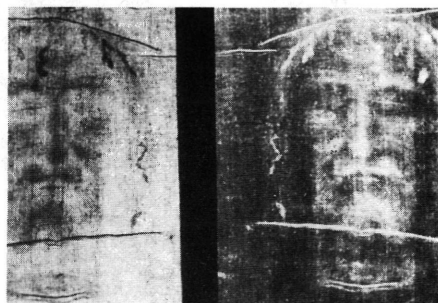


10



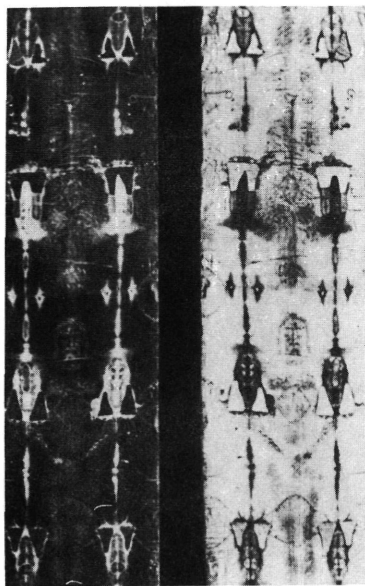


11



12

13



14



(Some pictures were unfortunately developed the wrong way. We desisted from correcting them, because of time shortage and because in this case only the proportions are relevant.)

Supplementary explanations

1a - 8b: The iconographic types of Christ's face on byzantine coins.

1. Before iconoclasm.

- a - Solidus of Justinian II from his first reign, 692-695. See notes 5, 7, 9, 12a.
- b - The same issue as it appears on the undamaged piece [0.8 : 1]¹³⁰ (diameter of original 19 mm, see note 8).
- c - Solidus of Justinian II from his second reign, 705 [1:1] (diameter of original 20 mm, see BRECKENRIDGE 1959, picture 38). The introduction of this Syrian type image indicates that Justinian and his court still tried to find the real image of Christ in the East and did not attribute overall importance to the image of Christ appearing on the coins of his first reign.

2. After the fall of the iconoclasm.

Solidus of Michael III from 856-867 [1.5:1]. The eyebrows rise, reaching the highest point at the nose, unlike the Turin Shroud. (Diameter of original 20 mm, see BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 1, Plate XXVIII 3.3 and note 9).

3. Under the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos in association with the Lakapenoi.

- a - Solidus of Constantine VII in the years 914-931 showing Christ enthroned in the Chrysotriklinos (see GREGORY 1974, Plate XIX, 1. Its diameter is 21 mm according BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume II, Part 2, Plate XXXVI, 2.2, p. 542).
- b - Solidus of Leo VI, 908-919, on which the letters $\chi\rho$ formed by Christ's fingers can be better recognized than on the otherwise virtually identical representation (see BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXIV 2.3, its diameter is 21 mm according to p. 513. See notes 14, 16, 17).
- c - Enlargement of Christ's head from the coin 3.a [0.8 : 1]. See note 12 - f.
- d - Zeus head from Mylasia in Caria based on Pheidias proportions [0.9 : 1] (46 cm high. Now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, E.L. Pierce Fund 04.12; see BRECKENRIDGE, 1959, picture 37).

¹³⁰ The proportions in squared brackets give the length of the nose as expressed in the distance of the eyes. See note 8.

- e - Solidus of Constantine VII probably from 945, which seems to reflect exceptionally well the appearance of the Pheidian type head [0.9 : 1] (plaster cast made by the British Museum 21 mm; see WROTH 1908, Volume 2, Plate LIII, 14 and p. 465). This coin does not belong to this period, but it might show a better picture of Christ's head in the Chrysotriklinos, as it seems to originate from a highly accomplished period of Constantine Porphyrogenetos' coins in 945. It could have marked the enthronement of Constantine's son Romanos in the Chrysotriklinos in that year, if it is genuine. The photograph of the plaster cast, however, reveals Christ's thumb on the Gospel, following in this the Byzantine iconography of the Pantocrator properly, and on this account its authenticity cannot be rejected.
- f - Solidus of Constantine VII in the years 931-944 (see GREGORY 1974, Plate XIX, 2. Its diameter is 21 mm according to BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI, 10.1, p. 549).
- g - Enlargement of Christ's head from coin 3.f [1.02 : 1.00] (*ibidem*).

4. *Under Constantine VII in 945 after the removal of the Lakapenoi.*

This period is marked by the first appearance of the «Pantocrator» image on the Byzantine coins. The representation of the Pantocrator usually occupied the central dome of the later Byzantine churches, and on this type of representation only the upper part of Christ's body appears while his left hand holds the Gospel and his blessing right hand is approximately at «8 o'clock position» just close to the circular frame of the picture. This change in the iconography just in 945 certainly reflects a renewed interest in the facial features of Christ's image, as it enlarges the face considerably in comparison with the enthroned representation of Christ shown on the earlier Macedonian coinage. Corresponding, however, to Constantine Porphyrogenetos' encyclopaedic and artistic interests, his coins show at least three different types in the representation of Christ within this short period. One seems to be closer to the proportions appearing on the coin 3.f. Different new types appear on the following coins (see also note 12):

- a - Solidus of Constantine VII from 945, showing the Emmanuel type Christ (BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI, 13a.2, diameter 21 mm according to p. 551. See note 12-b).
- b - Solidus of Constantine VII from 945 showing the first long-nosed type Christ on the Macedonian coins [1.3 : 1] (*ibidem* 13a.1, diameter 21 mm according to p. 551).

5. *Under Constantine VII following the coronation of his son Romanos II (7th April 945)*

- a - Solidus of Constantine VII, 945-959, [1.3 : 1] (BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVII, 15.9, diameter 20 mm. See notes 10, 12 - d, 12 - e, 34).

- b - Solidus of Constantine VII, 945-959, [1.4 : 1] (ibidem, 15.23, diameter 19 mm. See note 12 - c).
 - c - Solidus of Constantine VII, 945-959, [1.27 : 1] (ibidem, 15.28, diameter 20 mm).
6. a - Ivory coronation plaque of Leo VI the Wise from 886 [1.18 : 1]. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung, 10 x 9,5 cm. See note 21.
- b - Solidus of Leo VI from the years 886-908 [1.25-1.14 : 1] (see GREGORY 1974, Plate XX. 13. The diameter of the corresponding coin is 20 mm according to BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, p. 512. See note 20).
 - c - Votive crown of Leo VI [1 : 1]. Venice, Treasury of Saint Marc. The diameter of this enamel is 3.5 mm. See notes 22 and 25.
7. a - Solidus of Constantine VII from 945, [1.4 : 1] (BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate XXXVI.13.1, diameter 21 mm according to p. 551. See note 25).
- b - Detail of the mosaic above the central or royal entrance gate of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Grabar, 1953, p. 92, the entire mosaic is 2.10 m high, and 4.70 m wide. See note 25).
 - c - Histamenon of Constantine VIII from 1025-1028 [1.1 : 1] (BELLINGER; GRIERSON Volume III, Part 2, Plate LVI.2.1, diameter 25 mm. See note 25).
 - d - Detail of the ivory coronation plaque in Moscow, probably Constantine VIII. (The picture of the entire plaque: TALBOT RICE 1959 picture 96. Its size is 18.6 x 9.5 cm. See note 25).
8. *After the death of Constantine VII.* The long-nosed Christ image disappeared from the known Byzantine coins in general.
- a - Histamenon of Emperor Basil II from the years 1005-1025 showing the typical short-nosed Christ appearing on Byzantine coins in general after the death of Constantine Porphyrogenetos [0.7 : 1].
 - b - This histamenon of Basil II from the years 989-1001 in the Historical Museum in Heraklion in Crete (no. 2131), however, reflects the proportions of the Face on the Turin Shroud exceptionally well [1.4 : 1]. See note 40.
9. *The Fresco in Thessalonica* representing the King of Glory Βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης.
10. *The Holy Face of Laon* [1.25 : 1], icon of 44 x 40 cm. Laon, Cathedral.
11. *The Entombment of Christ in the Pray Codex* (National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Magyar Nyelvelmékek [Monuments of the Hungarian Language]. No 1, folio XXVII^{verso} [1.4 : 1] identical with the Turin Shroud, just as the position of the hands and the absence of the loin cloth, what is unparalleled in

the previous Christian art. See notes 106-109.

12. *The Holy Face of the Turin Shroud.*

13. *The Turin Shroud.* See Appendix I.

14. *Imago pietatis showing the King of Glory*, 45 x 47 cm (incorporated into a polyptych of 173 x 165 cm), painted by «Magistro Blaxio pictore de Tragurio» also called Magister Blasius Georgii de Tragurio in 1438-1439. All Saints' Church in Curzola (Korčula). See notes 127-128.

Appendix I: Description of the Turin Shroud

The Turin Shroud is a 4.36 m x 1.10 m large sheet of linen¹³¹ made of a single piece except for an 8-9 cm wide stripe, which runs alongside almost the entire left edge of the sheet.¹³² The sheet contains the imprint of the body of a man, who was 178-181 cm high,¹³³ and who must have been buried in it after his death, as the marks on the sheet show that the same person was crucified by nailings into his hands and feet. The Shroud also reveals that the victim was previously heavily scourged, crowned with thorns and finally his chest perforated on the right between the fifth and the sixth ribs, but his legs were not broken.¹³⁴ Therefore the Turin Shroud closely mirrors Jesus' sufferings in the Gospels (Jn 20²⁵, Mt 27²⁶⁻²⁹, Mk 15¹⁷, Jn 19³⁴⁽³¹⁻³⁷⁾).

The sheet contains not only the frontal, but also the dorsal image of the victim, whose legs therefore appear twice on the Shroud, once on the front side and once on the rear side. On the dorsal image the scourgings are especially heavy. They cover virtually the entire body. The rear-side picture also indicates

¹³¹ Gambaro p. 837.

According to Wilson p. 9 the Turin Shroud is 14 feet 3 inches long and 3 feet 7 inches wide, which would correspond to 4.34 m and to 1.09 m respectively.

¹³² According to Ian Wilson (ibidem) this stripe is 3 1/2 inches wide, which would correspond to 8.89 cm. However, calculating from the photographs appearing at his page 50, the size of this stripe is usually less than 8 cm.

¹³³ According to Prof. Angiolo Gambaro p. 837 the man buried in the Shroud was 178 cm. According to Wilson p. 21 summarizing more recent medical research, he was 181 cm high (approximately 5 feet 11 inches).

¹³⁴ See photographs at page 50 in Wilson; cf.: his pp. 36-37.

that the victim wore a pigtail in a contemporary Jewish fashion,¹³⁵ as the Greek Orthodox priests in Greece continue this custom in imitation of Christ.

It is remarkable, that all these and other crucially important details are still distinguishable on the Turin Shroud, because the impact of a fire, which occurred on the 4th of December 1532,¹³⁶ and which caused larger holes at eight places on the linen, where it was folded, has not destroyed the imprinted image, except at the edges of the shoulders. Meanwhile, the process by which the image was imprinted on the sheet has never been satisfactorily explained.

In this context it is very important that the provenance of the Shroud can be fully documented back to the 1350's, when it was first shown publicly at Lirey. At that time it was in the possession of Jeanne de Vergy, the widow of Geoffrey de Chamy (I), as it can be demonstrated by a pilgrim's medallion found in the Seine at the Pont au Change and preserved in the Musée de Cluny.¹³⁷ This is highly relevant, because this necessarily predates the Shroud into a period, when anatomy was completely unknown, and it was only more than a hundred years later, that Leonardo da Vinci started anatomical investigations. Nonetheless, the Turin Shroud very clearly shows that the nails of the crucifixation were inserted into the wrists and not into the palms,¹³⁸ a fact that the entire Christian art has forgotten until it was realized by the anatomical investigations in the 1930's that the crucifixation by nailing cannot be carried out otherwise, because the flesh of the palms would tear, as it is not strong enough to carry the weight of the body.¹³⁹

After Constantine the Great abolished the penalty of crucifixation, this crucial anatomical detail was completely forgotten, as it is demonstrated by fifteen centuries of European painting and sculpture. Therefore, the correctness of this anatomical detail, as indeed the anatomical consistency of the entire imprinted image of the Turin Shroud, with all its anatomical details demonstrates that it could not have been forged by an artist before the development of anatomy following the renaissance. It is also remarkable that unlike other man-made

¹³⁵ *Ibidem* and also pp. 32, 199. It should be mentioned that Christ wears similar high-style just on the Anastasis mosaic in Chios where his face is turned at about 45° making the rear-side of his head appear partially. It is remarkable, that the mosaics of Chios were executed by imperial patronage under the reign of Emperor Constantine Monomachos, therefore after a sufficiently long period, while the Edessa Mandylion was already in Constantinople and its representation could have been studied there in detail.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 191.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 168, pictures after p. 146. This pilgrim's medallion shows both the frontal and the dorsal image as imprinted on the Shroud and in this way it identifies it unquestionably. Furthermore, it also displays the coats-of-arms of both, Jean de Vergy and her husband, Geoffrey de Chamy. The significance of these representations on the medallion was not recognized for many decades after it was found in the Seine.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, pictures before p. 51.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 26-27, 34-36.

pictures including photographs, the image imprinted on the Shroud produces a consistent three dimensional portrait if processed properly through a computer.¹⁴⁰ It should also be mentioned, that Dr. Max Fei, a Swiss criminologist has found Palestinian and Anatolian pollens in significant numbers in the dust samples taken from the Turin Shroud on the 4th October 1974.¹⁴¹ These Palestinian and Anatolian pollens could not have been on the Shroud, if it was forged in France in the XIVth Century, and they necessarily indicate the places where the Shroud was before it was taken to France.

In October 1980 Peter Freeland, a Fellow of the Institute of Biology has observed that the victim buried into the Turin Shroud was circumcised,¹⁴² as indeed it was recorded in the Gospel, that Jesus was circumcised according to the custom of the Jews (Lc 211). This again excludes the possibility that it could have been made in the Middle Ages, when it was unconceivable to make such representations in the portrayal of Christ.¹⁴³ It has to be added that this fact can be observed only on the photographic negatives of the Shroud, as it cannot be really distinguished on the Shroud itself. This again demonstrates that it could not have been designed intentionally by an artist, because previous to the second half of the XIXth Century no one could envisage and calculate the invention of photography and even less the various steps or stages required by the photographic procedure.

Because of the same reasons and, as a matter of fact, for all the previous centuries until Secundo Pia had photographed the Turin Shroud for the first time on the 25th of May 1898, it was not realized that the image imprinted into the Shroud in fact corresponds to a photographic negative,¹⁴⁴ and it is the photographic negative of this imprint on the Shroud showing a much more sublime face, which gives the much more real appearance of the person buried into the Shroud.

One of the main differences between these two versions of the image is that the face on the photographic negatives seems to be older than it appears on the Shroud itself. In this connection it should be remembered that Christ was born before King Herod the Great died in the spring of 4 B.C.¹⁴⁵ and according to Mt 22 the magi saw the star of the newborn King of the Jews around the time when Jesus was born. This seems to have happened in the year 7 B.C., when Saturn and

¹⁴⁰ Ibidem, pp. 198-199.

¹⁴¹ Ibidem, pp. 60-64.

¹⁴² FREELAND p. 1.

¹⁴³ Even in late Antiquity such representations were very rare and very discreet as on the Baptism of Christ in the Arian Baptistery in Ravenna dated to the end of the Vth Century. (See VON MATT p. 47, picture 18. The same mosaic was dated to A.D. 520 by TALBOT RICE 1968, p. 155). After late Antiquity such representations seem to have completely disappeared.

¹⁴⁴ WILSON p. 14. Apparently the best photographs of the Turin Shroud were taken by Commander Guiseppe Enrie in 1931. See *ibidem*, pp. 15, 49.

¹⁴⁵ FINEGAN point 389; KEPPLERUS p. 80.

Jupiter were in conjunction and appeared as a single star in the sign of Pisces on three occasions: in May, on the 15th of September and on the 4th of December. Furthermore, for the entire period between the end of April and the end of December in that year these two planets remained in close proximity of less than 30°, in fact, with the exception of July and August, they stayed within the range of 20°, and always in the constellation of Pisces.¹⁴⁶ Apparently Saturn was considered to have been the protector of the Jews, Jupiter the star of the kings and the Pisces the sign of Palestine.¹⁴⁷ In any case the messianic prophecy of Balaam foretold the appearance of a star (Num 24¹⁷), and in Kapharnaum, where Jesus taught, the ancient synagogue has been decorated by a five and by a six pointed star. Furthermore, in antiquity the center of several Palestinian synagogues was decorated with the mosaic of the zodiac.¹⁴⁸

The date of 7 B.C. as the year of Christ's birth is also implied by the census ordered by the governor of Syria and mentioned by Saint Luke in connection with the nativity of Jesus (Lc 2¹⁻³), because this census was actually ordered by Sentius Saturnius, who was the governor of Syria in the years 9-6 B.C.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ TUCKERMAN p. 330.

¹⁴⁷ See PRENTICE p. 1. According to KEPLERUS p. 135 the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn signified a new Era.

¹⁴⁸ SHANKS p. 68, 67, 61. The latest rebuilding of the synagogue in Kapharnaum is variously dated from the IInd to the Vth Century (ibidem, p. 70-72), however, the stars must reflect much older tradition as some of them are in completely different styles. Zodiacs were found in the synagogues of Beth Alpha, Hammath Tiberias, Na'aran and in two more places (ibidem, pp. 112-114, 125-130, 149). Therefore, they represent a tradition, which could be explained only by Balaam's messianic prophecy (Num 24¹⁷), even if these mosaics have been rightly dated to the IVth-Vth Century.

¹⁴⁹ «Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judaea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus eius inquirere potuisset», TERTULLIANUS p. 362. In the footnotes on p. 363 Evans has marked, that Sentius Saturninus was the legat of Syria in the years 9-6 B.C.

Meanwhile Saturninus has not been mentioned anywhere in the Bible, therefore Tertullian must have learned about his census from other sources. Publius Sulpicius Quirinius mentioned by Lc 2² did not become the governor of Syria before 6 A.D. according to Iosephus Flavius, nonetheless he was in the region fighting the Homonachensi of Cilicia in the years 9-6. B.C. (cf.: TACITUS III. 48; STRABO XIII. 6,3)

Though it would be possible to think that the star mentioned by Mt 2² was the appearance of Halley's comet in 11 B.C. (see SCHÖVE p. 132; PINGRÉ pp. 280-281).

However, the Roman census was taken at fourteen years' intervals (see BARCLAY p. 20) and because of this the appearance of Halley's comet could not have been associated with a census taking in Syria, as it should not have started until 9 B.C. By consequence it could not have indicated the birth of Christ, which was connected with a census taking.

Furthermore, the appearance of Halley's comet could have been noticed by anyone because of its magnificent large tail, as indeed it was noticed and recorded both in Rome and in China. However, according to Mt 2⁷ and Mt 2¹⁶, Herodes had to inquire the time of the appearance of the

Finally the 2000-year-old records of the Babylonian observatory of Sippar deciphered by P. Schnabel in 1925 show that the three conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of Pisces were forecast for the year 7 B.C. and they also reveal that they were considered of considerable consequence in the Near East at that time.¹⁵⁰ In the meantime the comparison of Lc 2345, Jn 1931 and Act 220 seems to indicate that there was an eclipse of the Moon on the day Christ died, and the only lunar eclipse visible during Passover in Jerusalem while Pontius Pilate was the governor of Judea occurred on the 3rd of April 33 A.D.¹⁵¹ According to Dr. Richard Stephenson's calculations, it became visible at (approximately) 6.20 p.m. in Jerusalem, while about one fifth of the Moon's disc «turned into blood» in the words used by Act 220 as the result of the Earth's shadow, lasting for half an hour.¹⁵²

These considerations imply that Jesus Christ was 40 years old, when he died¹⁵³ and this could be reconciled with the reversed image of the Turin Shroud as appearing on the photographic negative, taking into consideration the enormous and inhuman sufferings on the cross and that the Shroud itself is not a photograph, however extraordinary the imprint on the sheet is. In fact, the impression that the Face on the reversed image might seem to be older is mainly caused by the hair and the beard, which on a negative is bound to appear in white, creating an illusion of old age.¹⁵⁴

The above considerations would also imply that the Turin Shroud ought to be dated at 33 A.D. This dating should be confirmed by radio carbon dating, which could not have been carried out earlier, because it would have required the

star of Bethlehem from the magi, which clearly demonstrates that it could not have been Halley's comet noticed by anybody, but only «a» star, which could be observed only by star watchers, astronomers who in those days did not differ from astrologers.

¹⁵⁰ FINEGAN point 389.

¹⁵¹ OPPOLZER p. 344.

¹⁵² See STEPHENSON p. 4.

¹⁵³ The above chronology could be reconciled with Lc 31 and 323 according to which Christ was approximately «quasi» thirty years old in the fifteenth year of Emperor Tiberius, assuming that Saint Luke has not counted these years from the death of Augustus, but from the time Tiberius became joint emperor, because in 26 A.D. Christ was 33 years old accepting our calculations.

It is obvious from the context, that it was an ironic overstatement by the Jews, when they said to Jesus that «you are not yet fifty years old» (Jn 857). However, as it was already explained by Saint Ireneus this question in itself shows that by that time (in his last year) Christ passed his fortieth birthday, because otherwise he would have been told «you are not yet forty years old» (IRENEUS II.XXII. 6; in fact according to St. Ireneus, Christ was well in his forties by that time, but that cannot be reconciled with Lc 31 and 323).

¹⁵⁴ This also applies to the apparently computer-processed coloured picture, which appeared on the front-cover of the Radio Times issued for the week 7-13 April 1979, as the hair and the beard remained white on that picture as well.

destruction of too large portion of the Shroud. More recently newer methods of radio carbon dating requiring only minute samples have been developed, but their calibration is not yet sufficiently reliable.

*Appendix II: Epitaph of William de Saint Omer, the Duke of Macsó*¹⁵⁵

Jacet sub lapide Nobilis Gulielmus
Jacet heros inclitus operit quem tellus
Nepos Belle tertij Regis Vngarorum
Margarite genitus Domine Grecorum
Dicti Regis filie Grecis Dominatrix,
Constantinopoleos sceptris Imperatrix
Arcente denique Barbero perverso
Infinitis Tartaris Marte sub aduerso
Quartam Bellam prosequens eivs Consobrinum
Ad mare pervenerat usque Dalmatinum
Vbi ad comercia vite celsioris
Mortis solvit debitum Iussu Creatoris
Anni Christi fluxerant Millicum ducentis
Quadraginta duo plus computo legentis
Aprilis vigesima die iam transacta
Qua Gulielmi spiritus reddidit ad astra
Heu accedit inclita Sposa Margarita
Sanctum gerens spiritum Moribus et vita
Nam cuncte que moriens ita Vir legavit
Dispergens pauperibus prorsus erogavit
Qualia Ecclesie tulit ornamenta
Ex Imperialibus pannis vestimenta
Patent intuentibus lucem et supernam
Eius postulent requiem eternam

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¹⁵⁵ LUCIO 1673, p. 43.

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