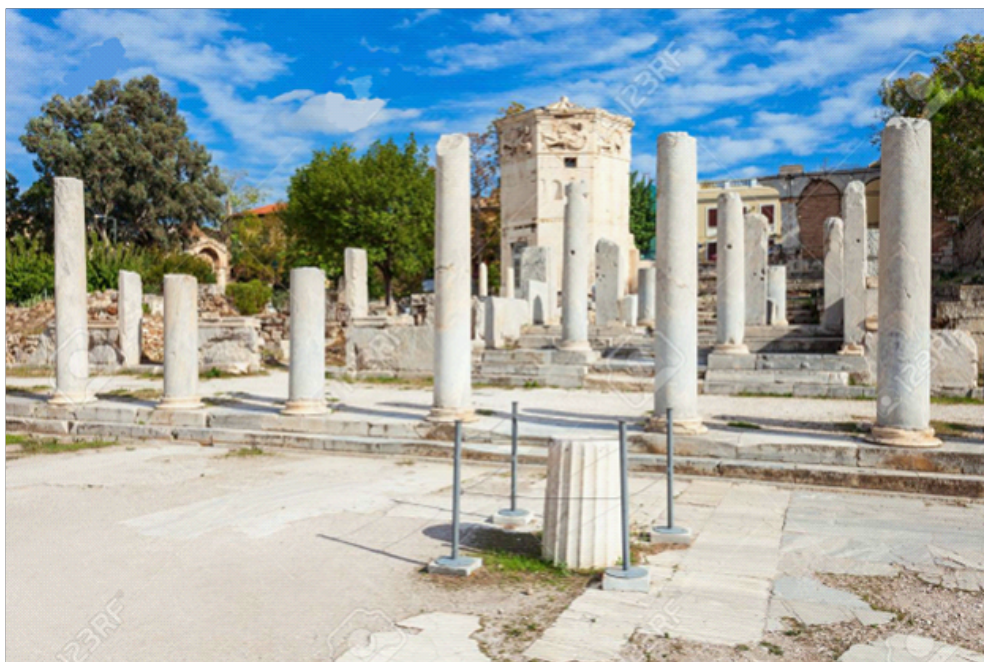


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The magazine of the International Center of Shroud Studies



AGORÀ

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Symposium sur l'histoire du linceul
de Lirey-Chambéry-Turin



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The Troyes Symposium: Synopsis of the research papers

By Mario Latendresse

In March 2020, a symposium on the history of the shroud of Turin was to take place at the Archives of Aube in Troyes, France. The objective of the symposium was to address conflicting historical hypotheses on the shroud of Turin by openly discussing their contradictions. All participants had prepared their talk to be presented at the symposium. However, the symposium was canceled two weeks before it was to take place due to the COVID-19 pandemic that started to spread worldwide. A year later, several authors who were to present at the symposium accepted to write a paper on the subject of their talk. This first issue of *Sindon Agorà* presents six accepted papers.¹

Before introducing each paper, I would like to address a major issue found in historical hypotheses regarding the Shroud: the use of secondary references when primary references are accessible, but not used.

The most prominent hypothesis affected by this issue is the claim that the knight Othon de la Roche was involved with the Shroud. Historically, that claim was initially spread by the first dissertation in manuscript 826 kept at the municipal library of Besançon. It was authored in 1714 by Pierre Joseph Dunod, who claimed to have found references to support the authenticity of the Shroud of Besançon. That manuscript, written in French, was not published until 2015. However, a reading of that manuscript clearly shows that the author is fabricating and that he does not cite the content of his references. As a matter of fact, he has no references supporting his claim that Othon de la Roche received a shroud. Further study shows that Pierre J. Dunod has published other fanciful historical claims. The false claim by Dunod was transformed and adapted for the shroud of Turin without new evidence that Othon de la Roche was involved. In being coherent with this fact, any further hypothesis assuming the involvement of Othon de la Roche, or the presence of the Shroud in Athens, should have provided new strong documental evidence. Unfortunately, that never really happened, even with the supposed copy of a letter presented by Pasquale Rinaldi which stated that the Shroud would have been kept in Athens. That letter appears as a hoax given the naivety of the claim, the muted response from any further comments by Pasquale Rinaldi regarding the discovery of the letter, and the now well-documented fact that the claim that Othon de la Roche received a shroud had been made up. Further details regarding that false hypothesis is presented in the last paper.

Furthermore, two papers presented in this series, by M. Bergeret and C. Barta, show that the spreading of the Othon de la Roche hypothesis created further hypotheses that we can show have no evidence: the hypothesis that Jeanne de Vergy would have received the Shroud from her ancestors, and the presence of a coffer at the castle of Ray-sur-Saône that would have been used in the 13th century to bring the Shroud in France. There is plenty of evidence that that these hypotheses are wrong. The first example shows that historical details can easily be made up to create false hypothesis and the second example shows that some people are

¹Mgr Jacques Suaudeau submitted a very detailed paper comparing the manufacturing of textiles in ancient and medieval time, concluding that the textile of the Shroud was more likely produced around the first century. Due to the complex content of his paper, and our lack of experts to review it, we had suggested to him to submit his paper to a relevant scientific journal. Sadly, in 2022, he passed away before he could do so. In the near future, we plan to submit his paper to such a journal.

ready to create false artifacts to exploit the history of the Shroud to their advantage, financial or self-aggrandizing. A third paper, by M. Latendresse, goes further by showing that there is no valid evidence that Othon de la Roche ever acquired a shroud, but rather that we have more evidence that the Shroud transited through the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris before arriving in Lirey.

In the first paper, **Alain Hourseau** presents the seigneurie of Lirey, where the first known exhibition of the Shroud took place in France in the 14th century, and the discovery of a mold to produce badges for the Shroud at Lirey. The author mentions several noble families as owner of Lirey such as de Villehardouin, de Joinville and de Charny. In 2009, a Shroud badge mold was fortuitously found in Machy, located four kilometers from Lirey. Made in a slate shale and rectangular, it features the representation of two bishops holding the Shroud, and the arms of the families of Charny and Vergy. Traces of metal can still be seen in the tap-holes, but no badge from this mold has yet been found. A few hundred meters away, a medal representing the Shroud and the Virgin, was also discovered. The presence of this medal, probably posterior to that of the mold, raises many questions.

Michel Bergeret addresses the question of the authenticity of the casket kept at the castle of Ray-sur-Saône, which was, until 2017, identified as having been used in the 13th century to transport the Shroud from Athens to France. In order to date the casket, an archeological study by radiocarbon dating showed that the making of the casket cannot be earlier than the sixteenth century. The hypothetical presence of the Shroud in Ray cannot rely on the existence of the casket, since the presence of the Shroud in Lirey is certified from the fourteenth century. This dating is entirely new and takes away all credibility to a possible role of the casket in the Shroud's history.

César Barta and Michel Bergeret show that there is no evidence that Jeanne de Vergy, the second wife of Geoffroy de Charny, would have owned the Shroud and given it to her husband as a dowry. They review the key assumptions previously used by some researchers to conclude that they have no documental support and the second author updated his view on the genealogy of Jeanne de Vergy. Actually, the hypothesis that Jeanne de Vergy would have owned the Shroud had no support from its inception, because that contradicted the statement made in the court of Dôle by Marguerite de Charny that her grandfather, Geoffroy de Charny, had acquired the Shroud. Such a statement excluded her grandmother, Jeanne de Vergy.

Tristan Casabianca analyzes the reasons why many authors may differ widely on the analysis of historical documents. His paper focuses on the possible relationship between the Shroud of Turin and the first illuminated manuscript in Hungarian: the Pray Codex (c. 1192 — c. 1195). An analysis of the recent literature, including a qualitative survey, highlights not only the variety but also the weakness of the reasoning process of the scholars, from less complete and intuitive to extremely detailed and systematic approaches. A new methodological approach excludes the position according to which it is certain that the Turin shroud has no direct or indirect link with the Pray Codex. A better understanding of the historiographical criteria and the Bayesian framework might constitute a precious basis for solving similar interdisciplinary disputes.

Karlheinz Dietz asks about the possible fate of the documents of the de Charny family at Lirey. The first part analyses, once again but in more detail, the information in the chronicle of Cornelius Zantiflet. The second part traces the heirs of Marguerite de Charny and their sometimes adventurous fate. The civil inheritance of the seigneurie of Lirey itself is also shown. The fact that at least Marguerite's Book of Hours has been preserved also makes the accidental transmission of other documents a conceivable possibility. It is therefore possible that the documents related to the Shroud that were in the possession of Marguerite de Charny could still be found. The paper must be read in full to appreciate the research done on that specific but so essential subject of finding new historical documents, specially from the de Charny family, that would bring more light on the origin of the Shroud.

Mario Latendresse presents a comparison of hypotheses for the origin of the Shroud. The historical origin is controversial, because, in most cases, but not always, it implies a statement about the authenticity of the Shroud, which is a controversial subject in itself. Over several centuries, many historical origins were proposed for the Shroud because its origin is still uncertain. Many origins, old and new, have been based on the ownership of the Shroud by the knight Othon de la Roche. Another more recent proposed origin is based on the passage of the Shroud through the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris. We compare these two origins based on their development and the historical documents on which they are established. We show that the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle is based on far more reliable historical documents than the thesis of Othon de la Roche. We also answer several recently published criticisms of the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle, emphasizing its key points, which still appear misunderstood by some authors.

Lirey and the pilgrim badge mold of Machy

By Alain Hourseau

Geographical and historical context

Circa 1357, likely not long after the death of Geoffroy de Charny, the Holy Shroud is exhibited to pilgrims at the wooden chapel of Lirey, a small village in Southern Champagne. What is its geographical and historical context?



Figure 1: Lirey on the 18th century Cassini map.

Figure 1 shows an 18th century map of the region of Lirey. Four generations of Cassini succeeded each other in making this work. This map was a real innovation for the time and a decisive technical advance. It is the first map to be based on a geodetic triangulation which took more than sixty years to establish. The map does not precisely localize dwellings or the limits of marshes and forests, but the level of precision of the road network represented is such that by superimposing orthorectified satellite photos on the sheets of the map of France, one obtains spectacular results.

Geographically, Lirey is located about twenty kilometers south of Troyes, in the department of Aube. We are on the edge of a clay-silica plateau, composed of clay and flint, forming a cuesta that dominates the Troyes plain and the Seine valley. Lirey is located on the border of the Armance Basin region, on a slightly hilly area.

As a consequence of this relief, innumerable springs mark the limit of the cuesta. During their travels, prehistoric men drew a path, called “the trail of the spring” which then gave birth to communities of inhabitants, the origin of the current villages. It is the case of Lirey which is fed, in the north, by the source of Fouyou and the wetlands, in the south, are bathed by the Mogne.

This Neolithic, then Celtic traffic axis was taken up by the Gallo-Roman civilization for the layout and construction of the road axis between Troyes and Auxerre. Probably initiated by Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, around the middle of the first century AD, this important axis is indicated on the itinerary of Antonin, drawn up from 211. It is also found on the Peutinger map, made around 365. It is thus a main axis of communication during all the Middle Ages. The modern road takes up this axis on several places, but the line of the Roman road still persists above Lirey, at the height of a village which has disappeared nowadays: Opterre.

At the height of Lirey, an important branch road branches off towards the south, connecting the village of Pomblin before crossing the Armance. This secondary communication axis was in use until the French Revolution. It is thus by these two ways that the pilgrims arrived at Lirey during the first ostensions.

From a historical point of view, Lirey was attached to the County of Champagne. This *denier* had been absorbed into the royal domain by the marriage of Jeanne de Navarre, Countess of Champagne, to the future Philip IV the Fair, in 1284.

From 1201, the lordship of Lirey belongs to Godin de Courcelles. The whole region experienced a rapid economic development, combined with an important growth of the population. Lirey then had 50 fires, i.e. approximately 250 to 300 inhabitants.

The lordship then passed to the names Milon I and Milon II, father and son, squires. One of the two Milons had married Agnes, lady of Chesley, and sister of Guillaume I of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, and lord of Villy-le-Maréchal. Milon died shortly after. Agnes de Villehardouin, lady of Villy, inherits part of the seigneurie, because at the time of the marriage of her niece, Mabile de Villehardouin, lady of Lézennes, with Erard de Nanteuil, of the house of Châtillon-sur-Marne, she receives an annuity on the possessions of her brothers Erard II and Guillaume II, in Lirey. We also find mention of Agnes' sister-in-law, Marguerite de Mello, widow of Guillaume I of Villehardouin since June 1246, who is suzerain of Lirey.

Mabile de Villehardouin (1240-1307), inherited the lands of Lirey, Villy-le-Maréchal and Souleaux (hamlet of Saint-Pouange) from her father Guillaume. In 1273, Mabile de Villehardouin married Geoffroy de Joinville (1247-1292). The latter gave to his father, Jean de Joinville, their property of Lirey, as an exchange. Jean de Joinville (1224-1317) was therefore lord of Joinville and Lirey. He was the adviser, confidant and famous chronicler of King Louis IX, but also seneschal of Champagne for four generations (with Geoffroy III in 1153). He married Alix, or Adélaïde de Grandpré. Widower, he married in second marriage, Alix de Reynel, daughter of Gauthier. His sister Heloise's husband, Gilles Le Brun de Trazegnies, was Constable of France. Jean de Joinville died in 1317.

One of his daughters, Marguerite de Joinville, born from his second marriage, inherited the seigneurie. She married Jean, sire of Charny. When Jean de Charny died, around 1320, his second son, Geoffroy, born around 1305, received Lirey. A part of the lands of Côte-d'Or belonged to his elder brother. Geoffroy recovered the seigneuries of Savoisy and Montfort. Geoffroy, who often resided in Saint-Pierre-sous-Vézelay (Yonne), moved to the castle of Pierre-Perthuis, and no doubt, sometimes to his castle of Lirey, located at the place called "la Motte". This quadrangular platform, measuring 50 meters by 42 meters, is surrounded by a ditch 13 to 23 meters wide, fed by the waters of the Mogne, through a network of ditches.

This dimension corresponds to the average of the quadrangular sites of the region. They are generally referred to as *domus*, house, or *domus fortis*, fortified house. We do not know how it was built, but certainly in half-timber and cob and perhaps another part in stone, but this is unlikely. This material is not naturally present in the soil of Lirey, as we are in the presence of grey marly chalk, on the Cenomanian stage of the Upper Cretaceous. It certainly included a drawbridge to span the waters of the Mogne. There are numerous mentions of drawbridges for the surrounding fortified houses.

As for the roofing, it was made of local tiles, called "Count Henri's tiles," in memory of the Count of Champagne Henri-le-Libéral (1127-1181). I was personally able to collect many samples of this type of tile from the surrounding mottes, as well as from Lirey. All these tiles are similar. They are about 30 centimeters long and 16 centimeters wide, and 2 centimeters thick. Their nose is off-center and they have a slightly square hole for fixing with a nail.

Around the mottes, the spatial organization generally includes a barn, a dovecote, a stable, a pigsty, a pond, a garden, an orchard and sometimes, a small chapel. There are many examples of surrounding mottes. Jousts and tournaments were probably regularly organized on the immense flat grounds surrounding the castle with the lords of the surrounding fiefs. These jousts served as training for the great equestrian shows that took place in the big cities and in the capital. In Villy-le-Maréchal, the Villehardouin residence is composed of three interlocking platforms with ditches, which offers a unique example for the region, as Michel Bur points out.

The same family, descended from Erard de Villehardouin, also owns the fortified house of Souleaux, on the territory of Saint-Pouange. Flamand I of Landes lived there with his wife,

Marie de Noyers. She was the granddaughter of Isabeau de Villehardouin, the sister of Mabile de Villehardouin. As we can see, many local lords were related to the family of Geoffroy de Charny. This last one has undoubtedly, also, contacts with the religious communities of the close villages, because there are, in the diocese of Troyes, twenty-two religious establishments of men, chapters, abbeys or important priories (Gallia Christiana).

The pilgrim badge mold found at Machy

Located four kilometers from Lirey, we find the village of Machy. About thirty modest houses are located along a stream, the Mogne, which has its source six kilometers away in the territory of Crésantignes. As for Lirey, the collation belonged to the abbey of Montier-la-Celle which collected the tithes. The lordship belonged to the family of “Massi” or “Massy” who lived in a castle, not far from a small chapel.



Figure 2: The mold found at Machy in 2009.

It is on this territory, that in 2009, a pilgrim badge mold was discovered fortuitously in a field, at the place called “Gadouille” (Figure 2). It is an extraordinary discovery since it can only have taken place in a visual way, knowing also that all these fields are upset every year by the ploughings carried out on these arable surfaces and that a few millimeters of earth on their surface are enough to make them invisible!

The archaeological evidence present in this field is numerous and visible on the ground, as is common in this sector. We can notice pieces of tiles and Gallo-Roman ceramics, sign of an important occupation. But we also find pieces of medieval tiles and ceramics. A few meters from the place of the mold, I picked up a spindle whorl probably dating from this same period.

On the other hand, my pedestrian research did not allow me, until today, to find other molds, nor pieces of bluish schist, nor residues of cooking. This is not surprising, since the implementation of this activity leaves few traces. In addition to recycling, the heating structures can be carried out under a small lean-to, on a table, the lead-tin mixture having a low melting point. Nowa-

days, some enthusiasts perform demonstrations at medieval festivals using a simple crucible, a wood heat source and a ladle to pick up the molten metal.

Generally, for badges, the decorated plate and its rings or pin are cast at the same time using a three-valve assembly. The piece can go directly onto the merchant’s stand within minutes, once it has cooled.

This rather simple implementation can meet a wide range of needs, with a low selling price, an adaptation to the demand and a distribution often in large quantities.

The mold characteristics

The mold is made of black slate with a very fine grain. This material is not chosen at random. Its fineness allows us to draw extremely fine lines after having obtained a perfectly flat work surface by polishing. Finally, and this is also very important, it must resist the thermal shocks of the casting.

Rectangular in shape, it measures 92 mm long by 72 mm wide, and 26 mm thick, for a weight of 320 g. The matrix, engraved in negative, is a work of great precision of the line and graphic quality, worthy of a professional engraver. All the surfaces of this parallelepiped have been carefully polished before being engraved.



Figure 3: Side of the mold of Machy showing two holes.

On the side of the mold, the metal vent and pouring holes are clearly visible (Figure 3). One of the casting holes is 6 mm in diameter and still contains lead-tin alloy metal that has solidified since its last use. Three vent holes are between 3 and 3.3 mm in diameter. This clearly shows that it produced badges, with dimensions close to the one preserved in Paris: i.e. about 70 mm high and 62 mm wide.

The craftsman must have two hollowed-out mold valves that he placed in mirror image. These molds are equipped with transverse perforations to hold them in position. The molten metal is then poured into a small cone to fill in the middle gap. It appears likely that the mold was heated during this operation, to reduce thermal shock and allow better penetration of

the metal into the thin inlays of a few millimeters. Once cooled, the two molds are then separated to extract the badge before a deburring operation. The metal used, an alloy of lead and tin, is easy to work with, thanks to its low melting point and also cheap.



Figure 4: An artist reproduction of an approximate appearance of a badge made from the mold of Machy. Details of the appearance of the shroud are unknown.

This mold is very damaged on nearly 30% of its surface. Was it voluntarily damaged by the founder, for whatever reason, or during the destruction of the dispensary (fire, acts of war, and so on)? Has it simply been damaged by the agricultural machinery that has turned the surface of the field over the centuries, as we have seen. The passage of the plow can be fatal. An artist representation of what the original mold looks like is shown in Figure 4.

How many badges were made? At least one, if only in trial, as we can think by the presence of metals in the holes.

Numerous lead badges, fallen into rivers or wetlands, have been found. Those found in the Seine, in Paris or Rouen, were described and studied by Arthur Forgeais in the 19th century. A catalog was made by Denis Bruna.

Among these discoveries is a badge relating to the Holy Shroud and probably coming from Lirey. It testifies to the popular fervor of the pilgrims who converged from all over France and Europe to the shroud of Christ.

This badge was discovered in 1855, in Paris, at the Pont aux Changes, during a dredging operation. It was purchased with the entire Forgeais collection of over 700 pieces in 1861 by the National Museum of Cluny. It bears the inventory number CL4752.

It is obviously interesting to compare the image of the engraved badge with this one. It shows many similarities. First of all, we note the presence of two canons, wearing copes and stoles, inside a religious building. The Shroud is also decorated with cross-hatched bands reproducing the work woven in herringbone with the same detail. The body of Christ is represented from the front and back.

An artisan *bimbelotier* apparently worked for the canons of the collegiate church of Lirey, certainly at their request. As there was only a short distance between them, deliveries could be made on a regular basis, depending on the sales made.

This craft had developed around the sanctuaries which attracted many pilgrims, testifying to the beliefs and fervor of the visitors. The trade of these badges is very widespread towards the end of the Middle Ages. Pilgrims could acquire these souvenirs, and probably even collect them, to show their devotional attachment to a saint, or a sanctuary, to their entourage. For the religious organisations, it was obviously an important source of income that was very interesting to implement.

Other mold discoveries

If a large number of badges have come down to us, as shown by the formidable collection preserved in the National Museum of Cluny, the discovery of these molds is much rarer.

About twenty years ago, two excavation sites revealed the presence of molds with a badge production workshop. The first site is located in the heart of the city of Rennes, on the site of a former hospital complex. The craftsmen made some small cult objects. The second is very interesting. It concerns a workshop specialized in the realization of badges and other souvenirs of pilgrimages, discovered in Mont Saint-Michel, in 2001, on the main street of the “village,” in the former elementary school, below the entrance to the abbey. The excavation campaign during the winter of 2004-2005 delivered an important batch of 200 molds or fragments.

The majority of the pieces are obviously in the effigy of the archangel, but we also find the Virgin and Child, Sainte Anne, a star of David, and a figure in majesty. In addition, rings, bells, clasps, belt decorations and various medals were produced; everything that could be sold to pilgrims visiting this remarkable site, as it is today. It seems to have been in operation between 1386 and 1435, in the same range as that of Lirey.

With these two examples, it is striking to find the same material composing these molds, a slate schist similar to that of Machy.

The discovery of medals

The discovery of medals is the result of research carried out by amateurs using metal detectors. These enthusiasts are numerous. French legislation authorizes them on private land, as is the case with agricultural fields, provided that they have the written authorization of the owner. Unfortunately, in order to build up a collection of archaeological pieces, only made with metals, they destroy our heritage by extracting archaeological evidence from their context. These elements generally do not have the indication of the exact place of their discovery and thus become anonymous. They can be found on the market, on the Internet, or in auction rooms, such as the one in Troyes for a Roman monetary treasure, discovered a few kilometers away, in Roncenay, on a villa that I am studying.

Obviously denouncing this real plundering process, I nevertheless succeeded a few times in learning about certain discoveries, particularly in the different sectors that I study. This is how I was able to intercept various Celtic gold objects, Roman coins and even a Viking jewel.



Figure 5: Three prelates holding a shroud similar to the shroud of Turin, that is, with frontal and dorsal body images.



Figure 6: Three prelates appear to be holding a shroud similar to the shroud of Besançon, but two prelates may not be holding the shroud.



Figure 7: One prelate holding a shroud with a single frontal image. The text identifies it as the shroud of Besançon.

The first medal (Figure 5), with a diameter of 15 mm, made of copper alloy, was discovered in 2006. It is very damaged, and the ring is broken. On the obverse, it represents a shroud, likely the shroud of Turin, with three prelates holding it. The three prelates is a common form for the Chambéry exhibitions started in 1518. On the reverse (not shown), two figures, a man and a woman are kneeling face to face, symbolizing the scene of the Annunciation.

The second medal (Figure 6) is similar and measure 28 mm by 22 mm, but with a shroud similar to the shroud of Besançon with only the frontal image. There are three prelates, but the shroud is too short to really need three prelates. This is unlikely to come from Chambéry because we would expect a double image, that is, the frontal and dorsal images.

On the third medal (Figure 7), there is only one prelate who presents a shroud. The legend clearly indicates that it is the (false) shroud of Besançon. The medal measures 15 mm by 13 mm. Indeed, this is a typical example of the representation of the shroud of Besançon displayed during the period circa 1520 to 1793.

A medal showing a shroud found at Machy

A disturbing and unexpected element completes the visual discovery of the mold in the Machy field, where I had the opportunity to see a batch of Roman coins. Indeed, on closer inspection of that batch: a medal showing a shroud!

This medal (Figures 8 and 9) weighs 3,05 g, with a height of 23 mm, a width of 20,7 mm and a thickness of 2,5 mm. On the obverse, around the Virgin, one can read the inscription, “St. Virgin - Pray for us.”. On the reverse, it is very likely the shroud of Besançon, a copy of the shroud of Turin, destroyed or lost during the French revolution.

One can be surprised by its presence in this field. Indeed, if we consider that the production of the badge could be situated between 1356 and 1418, the full extent of the period during which the presence of the shroud of Turin is possible in Lirey, and that this medal could have been made after the 1500s: how can we explain this gap of almost a century, if we consider the period of Chambéry? How long did the medieval houses exist in this field? Were they still present after 1500, and did they retain the memory of having been a small badge-making center in the past?

If the discovery in this field of a badge mold is unlikely, although it relates to the history of the shroud of Turin, the same is true for this medal which is normally attributed to later periods, either to Chambéry (1502 to 1532), or to Besançon (1520 to 1793), as in the example of the medal above. As we can see, this discovery raises more questions than it answers. The debate is therefore launched to try to find an explanation for the presence of that medal, like the questions that still remain about the presence of the badge mold.



Figure 8: Medal (obverse), Virgin with infant. Found at Machy in the same area as the mold.



Figure 9: Medal (reverse) frontal image of a shroud. It appears to be the copy from Besançon, having only a frontal image.
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The Ray-Sur-Saône’s casket is unrelated to the Shroud

By Michel Bergeret

Introduction

According to the first dissertation of the manuscript 826 of the “Bibliothèque municipale d’étude et de conservation” of Besançon, the shroud of that city had fallen into the hands of the knight Othon de la Roche (but this assertion is no longer accepted), a theory that François Ignace Dunod de Charnage took up in his, “History of the Church, town and diocese of Besançon” (1), as well as by dom François Chamard in his book, “The Shroud of the Christ” (2). The ownership of the Shroud by Othon de la Roche was suggested by a supposed copy of a letter written in 1205 by Theodore Ange Comnène to the pope Innocent III in the name of his brother Michel Ange, despot of Epirus, demanding the return of the Shroud, supposedly in Athens, where Othon de la Roche reigned at that time. The connection has been strongly contested by several authors (e.g., (3)).

The first dissertation of manuscript 826 claims that the Shroud had been sent by Othon to his father Ponce de la Roche. However, this is not possible, Ponce being dead in 1203. A supposed tradition of the Salverte family, former owner of the castle of Ray-sur-Saône (Haute-Saône, France), a former property of Othon de la Roche, tradition often cited without any references, reports that the Shroud would have been in the castle of Ray-sur-Saône. Strangely, the Count Hubert de Salverte, in a brochure that he published in 1936 (4), does not mention the presence of the Shroud in Ray. However, there is in the same castle a relic of the Real Cross, another one being kept in the church of Ray-sur Saône, “brought from the siege of Constantinople by Othon”, writes the Count.



Figure 10: General view of the casket and view of the lid. Photo Catherine Lavier

note a mistake: the date should be 1204 and not 1206. The label has been removed since 2017, that is, when the castle passed to the Department of Haute-Saône.

Several facts generate doubts regarding the casket possible use for carrying or preserving the Shroud: first, in the brochure by Count of Salverte, the casket and its role are not mentioned; moreover, if the label were set in the Count’s lifetime, it does not reflect his opinion, for he was doubtful of the ownership of the Shroud by Othon; no document attests to the supposed role

That assertion is doubtlessly hazardous, for still nowadays, as one does not know whether Othon de la Roche really came back to France or died in Greece, as his burial place is unknown. The fact remains that in the Castle of Ray, until 2017, any visitor could see a small casket which had supposedly contained the Shroud, as mentioned on a modern label affixed on it: “Coffret du XIII siècle dans lequel fut conservé au château de Ray le Linceul du Christ rapporté par Othon de Ray du siège de Constantinople 1206” (sic). We can

of the casket in the transportation of the Shroud; finally, the “family tradition” regarding the casket is not testified by any document, as declared by Jean Richardot, librarian of the Castle of Ray. These informations have been brought by Mario Latendresse in a 2015 article (5). I had a telephone conversation with the Countess Diane de Salverte, the Count’s daughter, but she could not enlighten me about this tradition.

To close the debate, it was decided to obtain a dating of the casket as precise as possible, whose contemporary nature with Othon de la Roche would have constituted a strong argument in favor of its role in the history of the Shroud.

A first dating attempt, based on decorative motifs, by two specialists of the ancient furniture, had been performed on the casket which had been entrusted to Antoine Legrand and myself after our visit in Ray, without bringing to a successful conclusion. Several years later, at the initiative of César Barta and Ian Dickinson, macrophotographies of the bottom of the casket had been done in the Ray castle and submitted to the evaluation of Mrs Catherine Lavier, of the dendrochronology laboratory of the Faculty of Sciences of Besançon. Unfortunately, it was found that the wood of the casket is not suitable to dendrochronological analysis (see the following section).

The Countess Diane de Salverte, last owner of the castle, had donated the castle to the General Council of Haute-Saône, henceforth becoming owner of the casket. I solicited and obtained an interview from Mr Yves Krattinger, president of the General Council, to ask for its definitive datation by other methods, which was granted without difficulties. The datation was performed thanks to Mrs Catherine Lavier and Mrs Victoria Asensi, expert in wood micrography, representative of the International Union of forestry research Institutes. In the following, we expound the essentials results of that datation.

Radiodating the casket



Figure 11: Detailed view of the casket showing the location of the micro sampling for radiocarbon dating. Photo Catherine Lavier.

The components of the casket are in walnut wood – *Juglans Regia* – a too widespread species to specify its origin. It is a wood commonly used for furniture, chests, sculptures, veneers or gun grips, but for very few caskets from the Middle Ages.

Vertical parts of the box, whose every panel is all in one piece, have been put together two by two by interlocking on dovetail.¹ But the vertical planks and the lid’s ones are disjointed, providing a clue in favor of reuse of ancient planks. Sawing marks can be observed: some preparations haven’t been achieved manually but mechanically. Gouge marks can also be observed: they are carried out in a rough way, they seem have been done to give the illusion of an antique manual work. We can notice that the wood growth goes toward the interior of the casket for all the planks. Finally, red polychrome presence can be seen. It could provide informations on

its composition, its possible origin and its use epoch.

Radiocarbon dating appeared the only way to obtain a more precise date, for dendrochronology was not usable for the casket, because it is only possible for wood species which shows annual growth circles, but walnut circles is not representative of their epoch. Since the dating

¹That is, a tenon in a trapezium shape in a first piece and a groove of the same shape in the attached piece.

attempt by macrophotography quoted above was not successful, it was inevitable to resort to radiocarbon dating. A micro-sample was performed on the front plank (Figure 11), without causing any damage to the casket, the sample being invisible. It has been made in the outermost part of the tree wood still present, that is, the closest to the bark, therefore also the nearest to the felling date of the tree.

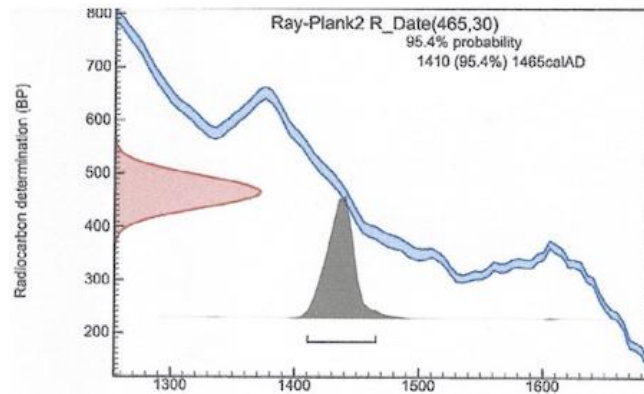


Figure 12: In ordinate, dating in BP years (Before Present), which projected on calibration curve, gives in abscissa the time interval proposed for the dating. Valuation, data and graph: Victoria Asensi.

After cleaning and graphitization, the sample was tested by a mass spectrometry accelerator and the result in raw data is a radiocarbon age of 465 ± 30 BP (Before Present), which projected in calibration curve gives a proposed calendar years of a period going from 1410 to 1465 years with a probability of 95,4% (Figure 12). But no sapwood ring having been observed, considering the annual growth of the sapwood, this one having been able to last 5 or 20 years at the widest, after the addition of these years to the interval obtained by the calibration, suggests a cutting-down of the tree between 1415 and 1490 years.

Conclusion

The final interpretation is that the casket has rather the shape of a shrine or a reliquary than a parallelepiped casket, common in the Middle Ages. The dovetails technique appeared only in the fifteenth century. It has been possible to detect the use of mechanical tools after the Middle Ages, notably from the sixteenth century. It appears as a copy or adaptation of a coffer to which some has wanted to give it a reliquary appearance. The making date cannot be earlier than the sixteenth century. Therefore, the hypothetical presence of the Shroud in Ray cannot rely on the existence of that casket, supposed to have contained it, since the presence of the Shroud in Lirey is certified from the fourteenth century. These facts, once again, cast doubt on the role of Othon de la Roche in the transfer of the Shroud to France.

Acknowledgements

All our thanks to Mrs Catherine Lavier and Mrs Victoria Asensi for their valuation and conclusions in the casket dating.

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1. François Ignace Dunod De Charnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise, ville et Diocèse de Besançon*, 1750.
2. Dom François Chamard, *Le Linceul du Christ, étude critique et historique*, H. Oudin, Paris, 1902.
3. Andrea Nicolotti, *Le Saint Suaire de Besançon et le Chevalier Othon de la Roche*, Ed. Franche – Bourgogne, p. 70, 2015.

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4. Comte Hubert de Salverte, *Historique du château de Ray*, Ed. Sequania, Besançon, 1936.
 5. Mario Latendresse, *L'hypothèse d'Othon de la Roche et le château de Ray-sur-Saône*, Cahier MNTV, no. 55, p. 3–13, December 2016. See also, sindonology.org/chateau-ray-othon-coffre.shtml.

There is no evidence of a transfer of the Shroud from Othon de la Roche to Jeanne de Vergy

By César Barta and Michel Bergeret

Introduction

The hypothesis of the transfer of the Shroud from the knight Othon de la Roche to Jeanne de Vergy, the second wife of Geoffroy de Charny, is as follows: In Constantinople, there would have been a shroud in the Church of Blachernae which would have been brought to Athens by Othon de la Roche as a spoil of the Fourth Crusade. From Athens, the Shroud would have been sent to his family in Ray-sur-Saône, France. One of Othon's descendants would have inherited the Shroud and married Henry I de Vergy, which would have been transmitted from generation to generation until Jeanne de Vergy, who would have offered it to her husband Geoffroy de Charny.

This hypothesis is not supported by reliable documents. Several documents claiming to place the Shroud in Athens, Besançon and Ray-sur-Saône are examined.

Constantinople

In the year 1203, the French knight Robert de Clari¹ who participated in the Fourth Crusade wrote that he saw the *Sydoines* in the church of our Lady of Blachernae in Constantinople:

“..the Church of our Lady of Blachernae where was kept the shroud in which Our Lord had been wrapped, which was raised upright every Friday, so that the figure of Our Lord could be plainly seen on it. And no one ever knew, either Greek or French, what became of this shroud after the city was taken.” [translated from medieval French]

Assessment of the presence of the Shroud in Athens

The main, and only document, that would place the Shroud in Athens is a supposed copy of a letter by Theodore Angel to Pope Innocent III, dated 1205. According to Pasquale Rinaldi², the letter was kept first in the *Chartularium Culisanense* (Cartulary of Collesano), which was copied and then found in 1980 in the church of Saint Catherine in Formiello, Naples³:

“In sharing the booty, the Venetians took the treasures of gold, silver and ivory, the French the relics of the saints and, among them, the most sacred object, the Shroud in which, after his death and before his resurrection, Our Lord Jesus Christ was

¹Clari, Robert de (XI c.), *La Conquête de Constantinople, Croisades et Pèlerinages*, Robert Laffont, Paris, p. 788, 1997.

²Rinaldi, Pasquale. *Un document probant sur la localisation à Athènes du Saint Suaire après le Pillage de Constantinople*. Proceedings of the International Congress of Bologna, 5 June 1981, Proceedings published in 1983.

³*Cartularium Culisanense*, folio CXXVI. For an introduction to its possible documentary value, see Zaccone G. M., *The Shroud from the Charnys to the Savoys. Shroud Symposium: past, present and future*, Turin, Ed. Efata, p. 396-397, 2000.

enveloped. We know that these sacred objects are kept in Venice, France and other places where the looters came from and that the Holy Shroud (Sacrum Linteum) is in Athens.”

This document is questioned by authors who oppose the authenticity of the Shroud of Turin⁴ or by authors supporting hypotheses in conflict with the passage of the Shroud by Athens⁵. But other experts like Barbara Frale⁶ and Gian Maria Zaccone⁷ think it deserves more attention. Frale responded to Nicolotti's objections⁸. According to Frale, there is nothing to prevent the authenticity of the preserved manuscript copy. According to Barbara Frale and Gian Maria Zaccone, the Theodore Ange's letter can be evidence that supports the presence of the Shroud in Athens.

Archaeologist Gérald Barbet gives information that seems decisive. However, we will see that they are not valid: This is a manuscript by Professor George Michaëvides that he would have written between 1940 and 1950 and which would be kept in the library of Athens with the code CCCXIIa⁹. According to this information, the Greek author Michaëvides refers to a document kept by the Orthodox Church on the visit to the Acropolis of Athens by Henry of Hainaut (2nd Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Count of Flanders). In this document from the Orthodox Church, it would be stated that “the greatest of the relics” would be shown to him on this occasion, at the end of June of 1209¹⁰. If the Shroud was in Athens on this date, it confirms that Othon transported it from Constantinople to Athens. In a note¹¹, Barbet specifies that this is an original work, very well documented, typed, undated but written in the forties of the 20th century. The information offered by Michaëvides would have been extracted from archives kept by the Orthodox Church. It would be a parchment written in old French. It would indicate a sort of “program” showing the festivities linked to the coming of Emperor Henry. One sentence would indicate that the “linen of Christ” would be the first thing that would be presented to the emperor upon his arrival. Gérald Barbet gives even more details on the location of the Michaëvides's manuscript¹². It would be an unpublished manuscript on the political, strategic, and military organization in Athens as well as in Greece from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Although it indicates the Greek National Library of Athens, it adds the French School of Athens.

Gérald Barbet was an archaeologist with some prestige. With all the details he gives, one would be encouraged to believe in the existence of this decisive reference. However, the search for the sources mentioned was unsuccessful. Other researchers¹³ and the first author of this paper have consulted the Library and the French School of Athens, but we have not found any of the references indicated by Gérald Barbet. We tried to contact the author, but it was not possible as he passed away in 2014. Despite this disappointment, we did not stop there.

⁴Nicolotti, Andrea, “*Su alcune testimonianze del Chartularium Culisanense, sulle false origini dell'Ordine Costantiniano Angelico di Santa Sofia e su taluni suoi documenti conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli*”, in *Giornale di storia*, 8, 2012.

⁵Latendresse, Mario. *L'hypothèse d'Othon de la Roche et le château de Ray-sur-Saône*, Cahier Montre-Nous Ton Visage (MNTV), n. 55, p. 3-13, December 2016.

⁶Frale, Barbara, *Redeat nobis quod sacrum est. Una lettera sulla presenza della Sindone in Atene all'indomani della quarta crociata*, *Aevum*, 2, Ed. Vita e Pensiero, p. 53-109, 2012.

⁷Barberis, Bruno et Zaccone, Gian Maria, *La Sindone e il suo Museo*, Utet, p. 53-54, 2010.

⁸A summary can be found in *Commentaires sur la lettre de Théodore Ange au Pape Innocence III* by Barbara Frale (Synthesis by Pierre de Riedmatten), Cahier Montre-Nous Ton Visage, MNTV n. 55, p. 14-27, December 2016.

⁹Gérald Barbet. *Othon de La Roche : chroniques sur l'étonnante histoire d'un chevalier comtois devenu seigneur d'Athènes*, Besançon: Fortis, p. 33, 2012.

¹⁰For the date, Jean Girard, *La Roche et l'épopée comtoise de Grèce*, L'Atelier du Grand Tétras, p. 88, 1998.

¹¹Gérald Barbet. *Othon de La Roche : chroniques sur l'étonnante histoire d'un chevalier comtois devenu seigneur d'Athènes*, Besançon: Fortis, Note 30, p. 102, 2012.

¹²Gérald Barbet, *Othon de La Roche : chroniques sur l'étonnante histoire d'un chevalier comtois devenu seigneur d'Athènes*, Besançon: Fortis, Annex Articles, p. 111, 2012.

¹³Alessandro Piana, Mark Osley, José Manuel Orenaga (Centro Español de Sindonología) and Nicolás Dielt (Centro Español de Sindonología).

We therefore contacted Lydie Joan who had written the preface to the book. She contacted Madame Barbet (his widow) to be able to consult her husband's archives. The preliminary files of the publication confirm the same reference. What is the conclusion? Professor Michaëliides actually had a good collection of manuscripts. Emperor Henry existed; his visit to Athens in 1209 is truly recorded. Othon received the emperor there. Everything is true except the code of the National Library of Athens and the paragraph on the Shroud. Could it be a fake reference? While it cannot be assured, we think it is very probably a made up reference because of the following inquiry.

Here is a paragraph that Barbet includes in his book in reference to the Shroud:

“Othon de la Roche showed such courage and such valour during the battles that his fame swelled and aroused the esteem and admiration of his fellow crusaders. They did not hesitate to grant him the most beautiful of relics, the “Holy Shroud” which he offered shortly afterwards to the cathedral of Besançon!”

This paragraph is accompanied by a reference to the Escorial manuscript (see below). It also gives the code T11 of the Escorial Library¹⁴. However, the paragraph shown above is really the evolution through the centuries from different authors of a paragraph written by François Jules Chifflet (1615-1676)¹⁵. Several authors have copied and modified the original paragraph: Pierre Joseph Dunod (1707-1714)¹⁶, Dunod de Charnage (1750)¹⁷, C. Perreiot (1867)¹⁸ and Jean Girard (1998)¹⁹. Gérald Barbet copied Girard's version word for word and added the alleged number T11 from the Escorial Library.

Other Spanish researchers and author Barta searched on site for documents related to the Shroud in the Escorial Library. One of the researchers²⁰ lives in the same village and visits the monastery very often. However, the code indicated for the Escorial manuscript does not exist. In this case, it is certain that Gérald Barbet is not reliable. Although this can be a false clue, it might be worth pursuing the search for the alleged Michaëliides manuscript.

Assessment of the presence of the Shroud in Besançon

Even if the Michaëliides clue is not confirmed, there is in fact a manuscript in the Besançon Library which claims to correlate the Shroud (of Besançon), Othon de la Roche and the Escorial. Like in the case of Barbet, we will see that the Besançon manuscript is not reliable. In this manuscript some authors have thought to find the link between Othon and the Shroud. To our knowledge, this manuscript is the first that directly include Othon in the story of the Shroud. Here is the transcript^{21, 22}:

“We still glimpse this truth in the Chronicle of the monk Alberic when he speaks of the miracles that happened in the family of Othon de la Roche and in the story of the fourth crusade and the siege of Constantinople that Montaner made. We can still see this truth in Jerome Turrita, an Aragonese gentleman, who found himself

¹⁴Gérald Barbet, *Othon de La Roche : chroniques sur l'étonnante histoire d'un chevalier comtois devenu seigneur d'Athènes*, Besançon: Fortis, Note 23, 2012.

¹⁵Manuscript 185 from the Chifflet Collection of the Library of Besançon. François Jules Chifflet does not mention the Shroud. He only mentions Othon and references the document in the Escorial.

¹⁶Manuscript 826 of Besançon. This is the first time in this list of copies that the Shroud is associated with the Crusader Othon.

¹⁷Dunod de Charnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Besançon*, 1750.

¹⁸C. Perreiot, *Princes et seigneurs de Franche-Comté qui se sont distingués dans les Croisades*, 1867.

¹⁹Jean Girard. *La Roche et l'épopée comtoise de Grèce*, 1998.

²⁰Nicolas Dielt, member of the Centro Español de Sindonología.

²¹A. Nicolotti, *Le Saint Suaire de Besançon et le Chevalier Othon de la Roche*, Franche-Bourgogne, p. 116, 2015.

²²Zaccone, G. M., *Le manuscrit 826 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon*, Actes du III Symposium Scientifique International du CIELT, Nice, France, p. 214-215, 1997.

at the siege of Constantinople by the Latins. This historian represents Othon de la Roche as a hero in his handwritten history [note]. He assures, what he saw, that the young lord performed great wonders of value in this siege, that the Crusader princes admired him and that as a reward, after having made him Duke of Athens and Thebes, they gave him the most beautiful relic.”

In this manuscript 826 from the Besançon Library, Othon de la Roche is mentioned as the one who received the Shroud of Christ during the capture of Constantinople. The text mentions Othon de la Roche, the monk Alberic and Montaner. The “handwritten” note, which has been added between the lines and at the margin, says that “*the original handwritten story of Jérôme Turríta is in the Escorial. These facts are cited in a manuscript by M. Chifflet, Abbot of Balerne.*” We therefore find the reference to a manuscript by Jules Chifflet which is based on documents from the Escorial. The Besançon manuscript had been analyzed first by Paul Vignon and then by Gian Maria Zaccone. As one must go to the original sources, Paul Vignon tried to find the Escorial documents at the beginning of the 20th century, but without success. Gian Maria Zaccone identifies Ramon Montaner (1265–1336) as the author of the “Crónicas Catalanas” and Jerónimo Zurita (1512-1580) as the author of the “Anales de la Corona de Aragón” where Montaner is quoted, but he does not reach a conclusion about the veracity of the related facts. Zaccone proposed further investigation.

Our proximity to the Escorial prompted us to search in its library for the referenced manuscripts. The result of our study was published in the journal “La Ciudad de Dios.”²³ Our investigation carried out at the Library of El Escorial confirmed the references used by Chifflet. They can refer to the Annals of the Corona de Aragón by Jerónimo Zurita (Book VI, chapter XIX) and the Catalan Chronicles by Ramón Muntaner (chapters 244 and 261). These paragraphs are the only ones found in the literary works of these authors which are kept at the Escorial in which the conquest of the Duchy of Athens by the French crusaders is described. The first Duke of Athens is mentioned there, but there is no mention of Othon de la Roche or the Shroud of Christ. So, they do not resolve the key point of the relationship with the Shroud. However, the origin of this relationship is trustworthy identified thanks to the work of Andrea Nicolotti on documents in the library of Besançon.

Andrea Nicolotti, Italian professor and historian, research on the Besançon copy identifying the author of manuscript 826 as Pierre Joseph Dunod²⁴ and locating the Jules Chifflet manuscript which provides the key data on the inclusion of Othon de la Roche in the plot of the Shroud. In manuscript 185²⁵ of the Chifflet Collection of the Besançon Library, Jules writes the genealogy of the de la Roche family. On the one hand, he refers to the Chronicle of the monk Alberic, mentions the Luxembourg manuscript and presents the documents from the Escorial which were cited by the clergyman of Besançon. This confirms that this manuscript by Jules Chifflet is indeed the source used by the clergyman for his compositions. These are the Chifflet words:

*“Jerome Çurita in his Annals of Arragon, in the 6th book of the first part, chapter 19, quotes a historian named Montaner, ... and says that this author relates the conquest of the Duchy of Athens”*²⁶

In fact, in these paragraphs of the Annals, the Count of the March is identified as the protagonist of the conquest of Athens. It is Jules Chifflet in this genealogy of the de la Roche family who proposes that the Count de la Marche was Othon de la Roche. Here is the paragraph:

²³Barta, C. Dielt, N et Orenga, J.-M. *El Manuscrito de El Escorial y Othon de La Roche*, “La Ciudad de Dios” N. XXX. p. 783-813.

²⁴Nicolotti, Andrea, *Le Saint Suaire de Besançon et le Chevalier Othon de la Roche*, Franche-Bourgogne, p. 45, 2015.

²⁵Manuscript 185 from the Chifflet Collection of the Besançon Library. *Généalogie de la famille de la Roche*, p. 333-337.

²⁶Nicolotti, Andrea. *Le Saint Suaire de Besançon et le Chevalier Othon de la Roche*. Franche-Bourgogne, p. 51 and 188, 2015.

“... it is very likely that instead of Count de la Marche, he means Count de la Roche: It would be possible attributed to miracle by the monk Alberic.”²⁷

In this manuscript 185, appear the elements of manuscript 826: Chifflet, Alberic, Luxembourg, Zurita, Montaner and Othon de la Roche. But the gift to Othon of the most beautiful relic is a contribution of Pierre Joseph Dunod, but without any evidence.

After the analysis of the documents which associate the Shroud of Constantinople with Othon de la Roche, the only one that can survive is the *Chartularium Culisanense* (letter of Theodore Ange) but it only gives an indirect relationship because it does not mention Othon. It only says that the Shroud is in Athens.

Assessment of the presence of the Shroud in Ray-sur-Saône

At the castle of Ray-sur-Saône, a casket was on display for visitors on which a plastic label was attached that says that it was used in the 13th century to bring the Shroud from Athens to France. We will see that this label has no supporting evidence.

The last owner of the castle, Diane de Salverte, was a descendant of Othon de la Roche by her mother. Her father, the Count of Salverte, wrote a booklet on the history of the castle, and mentioned the hypothesis of Othon de la Roche, but stated that it had been spread by others²⁸. In the castle resided *Othonin* (Othon II), the only one of Othon de la Roche offspring who remained in France. As a matter of fact, the vast majority of the Crusaders who seized a relic in the East sent it to their country to be delivered to the local church or to keep it in their castles. This is what one would expect if Othon had the Shroud. In May 2015, the castle became the property of the Department of Haute-Saône, when Countess Diane de Salverte donated the castle.

In this castle, even today they keep a wooden chest which has the reputation of having been used to store the Shroud when a certain Ponce de Lyon took it to France²⁹. In the label that accompanies it we read: *Box of the 13th century in which was kept at the castle of Ray the Shroud of Christ brought back by Othon de Ray from the siege of Constantinople 1206*. This chest would house the Shroud of Turin when folded in 96 folds. But, in 2013, David Kuijt, with some knowledge of Art History, gave us an analysis of the chest. According to the decoration he found in the Gothic style, he dated the casket from the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century. And he concluded that a chest with such pure and delicate Gothic decoration cannot be of a time around 1300. More recently, the casket of the castle of Ray-sur-Saône was analyzed by dendrochronological, use-wear and by carbon-14 studies. Thanks to the information provided by Marion Lenoir, in charge of promotion of the castle in the Department of Haute-Saône, we can present the conclusions of that study³⁰:

- The boards are made of walnut, from the same tree.
- The dating by C14 of the cut of the tree leads to the 15th century.
- The traces observed show the use of manual and mechanical tools.
- Walnut is used for small furniture, especially for objects made since the 15th century.
- The objects of the few known examples from previous periods are mainly in oak.

Thus, all the studies lead to refuting the use of the box for transporting the Shroud of Athens to France in the 13th century. On the other hand, for transporting a relic from Constantinople to the West would have been most likely in its original Byzantine reliquary.

²⁷Nicolotti, Andrea, *Le Saint Suaire de Besançon et le Chevalier Othon de la Roche*, Franche-Bourgogne, p. 189, 2015.

²⁸De Salverte, H., *Petit Guide pour les Visiteurs du Château et du Parc de Ray*. Ray 1980. p. 3. Also Comte de Salverte. *Historique du Château de Ray*. Sequania. Besançon. 1936. p. 20.

²⁹Scavone, Daniel, *Documenting the Shroud's missing years*, ENEA Frascati, May 2010.

³⁰Personal Communication by e-mail 5 February 2020. See also Bergeret, M. *Invalidation de deux arguments pour l'envoi du Linceul en France par Othon de la Roche*, Cahier MNTV, n.64, p. 50-52, Jun 2021.

The references that there are for reliquaries of this origin tell us about multicolored ornaments of gold and precious stones³¹, very different from the box of Ray sur Saône. Finally, this chest would hardly have housed the Shroud in any time, since in the 15th century the relic was already outside Ray-sur-Saône. The information shown on the label is therefore unreliable.

Michel Bergeret³² researched the archives of the castle of Ray that were inventoried by the Departmental Archives of Haute-Saône in Vesoul in 2004. Unfortunately, the oldest document on the lordship of Ray, is dated 1436 and the first archives concerning the castle are only from the 17th century. No document could be found concerning the casket or the Shroud.

In the same castle, there is also a very small reliquary containing an alleged piece of the True Cross. The label that describes the object reads: “*Piece of the True Cross brought back by Othon de Ray from the 4th Crusade was placed in this reliquary by Pope Pius IX in 1863.*” Although we cannot trust this information, the mention to the Pope and the date gives it some credibility. This would support the hypothesis of a transfer of the relics from the crusader to his family. In the first publication of 1936 by Mr. Hubert, Count of Salverte, he mentions the real cross although he does not mention the casket³³.

Genealogy of Jeanne de Vergy

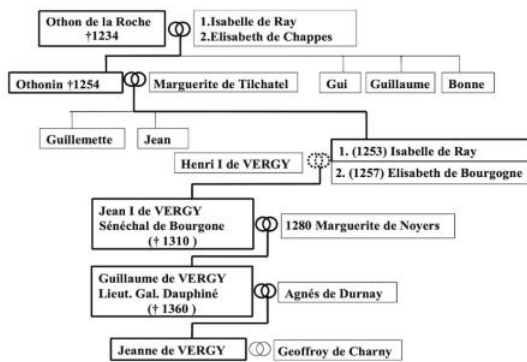


Figure 13: A debatable family tree from Othon de la Roche to Jeanne de Vergy.

The implication of Jeanne de Vergy would come from the assumption that the Shroud, in the possession of the descendants of Othon, will be inherited discreetly by successive generations until Jeanne de Vergy, the second wife of Geoffroy de Charny. Indeed, the genealogy, although uncertain, allows us to suppose a line of transmission: The only descendant in France of the crusader was his son Othonin (Othon II de Ray), who lived at the castle of Ray-sur-Saône. He was married to Marguerite (de Tilchatel) and three children were born from their union. Isabelle († circa 1257), the youngest, would marry Henri de Vergy³⁴ († circa 1263) great-grandfather of Jeanne de Vergy, wife of Geoffroy de Charny who was the first undisputed

owner of the Shroud, now kept in Turin. This transmission was supported in the past by Michel Bergeret³⁵, but now abandoned.

Figure 13 shows a family tree that supposedly supports the transmission of the Shroud from Othon to Jeanne de Vergy. Isabelle’s marriage to Henri I de Vergy is the main debatable point. This union is proposed by André Du Chesne³⁶. However, there are genealogies which do not mention this marriage but the marriage of Henri to Elisabeth of Burgundy (after 1257). We cannot rule out that there is a confusion which says, “Elisabeth of Burgundy” where it should say “Elisabeth de Ray.” A source about Henri I de Vergy³⁷ says that it is actually

³¹Berger, 2013; Berger, Albrecht, *Accounts of medieval Constantinople: the Patria*, Dumbarton Oaks medieval library, Harvard University Press 224-225, 2013. For the reliquary of the icon of Beirut.

³²Bergeret, Michel, *Linceul de Turin le trou historique 1204-1357*, Congress of Roma, 1993. See as well Raffard de Brienne, Daniel, *Enquête sur le Saint Suaire*, Remi-Perrin Paris, p. 40, 1998.

³³Comte de Salverte, *Historique du Château de Ray*, Sequania, Besançon, p. 20, 1936.

³⁴Anselme, P., *Histoire généalogique des maisons de France*, Paris, 1726. Cited by Bergeret op. cit.

³⁵Bergeret, M. *Linceul de Turin le trou historique 1204-1357*, Cited by Bergeret, 1993. See as well Raffard de Brienne Daniel, *Enquête sur le Saint Suaire*, Remi-Perrin, Paris, p. 40, 1998.

³⁶André Du Chesne. *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Vergy. Preuves de l’histoire de la maison de Vergy*, S. Cramoisy, p. 142, 1625.

³⁷Wikipedia in French. Article Henri I de Vergy.

Elisabeth de Salins († 1277), widow of Henri de Vienne. In a doctoral thesis³⁸, it is indicated that it is Elisabeth de Chalon. Aside from these contradictions, if we take the dates into account, we find more inconsistencies. Othon II of Ray writes that *Isabelon* is not “*en âge*” in a letter dated 1251³⁹ to his brother, ceding all his possessions to him in Greece. This meant she was not 12 years old⁴⁰. As a result, Isabelle de Ray had to get married at the earliest when she was 14 or 15 years old around the year 1253. Her husband was around 48 years old at that time. However, they had two children: Guillaume, born in 1248 and Jean, born in 1249. Isabelle would have been 9 years old when she was a mother for the first time. This is not possible. Isabelle’s death is assumed to happen in 1257 and this would be the date of Henri’s remarriage to Elisabeth of Burgundy. The only explanation that could reconcile all these data is that Isabelle is considered Jean’s stepmother⁴¹. In this case, she would not have given birth to Jean. Either there are errors in the genealogy, or the Othon - Vergy connection for the Shroud, does not hold. In fact, M. Bergeret has already abandoned his previous support to this hypothesis⁴².

Testament of Jeanne de Vergy

With all the previous data, we can say that there is no evidence in favor of the thesis of Jeanne de Vergy as the custodian of the Shroud. It seems certain that Othon de la Roche participated in the Fourth Crusader and that he stayed in Athens as its lord. It is quite likely that he brought some relics back to his castle in Ray sur Saone. It also seems possible the passage of the Shroud through Athens if one accepts the *Chartularium Culisanense* as reliable. But Othon’s possession of the Shroud on any date is not supported by any reliable document. And the parentage of Jeanne de Vergy with the La Roche family through unions between her ancestors is very doubtful.

In any case, we are going to analyze the when Jeanne de Vergy could have had the Shroud, at what point in her life, and once married to Geoffroy de Charny. The most reliable clue of how the Shroud came to the Chevalier de Charny father is the almost contemporary statement included in the Pierre d’Arcis affair in the bull of Pope Clement VII of Avignon of July 28, 1389. The Pope said that the Shroud had been offered to Geoffroy’s father as a gift (*Liberaliter sibi oblatam*)⁴³. This expression is still compatible with the donation of the Shroud by Jeanne de Vergy to her husband Geoffroy de Charny. The fact that the Lirey badge has the shield of Vergy shows Jeanne’s involvement with the Shroud. However, the statement from Marguerite de Charny that the Holy Shroud was acquired by her grandfather Geoffroy de Charny, suggests that Geoffroy did not get the Shroud via inheritance or dowry. We do not know at the moment who gave the Shroud to Geoffroy.

It was thought that Jeanne could have mentioned the Shroud in her testament. We have been able to find only an amendment to her testament. Let us recall some key dates regarding the succession of Lirey:

1351 to 1353 Marriage of Jeanne de Vergy with Geoffroy I de Charny.⁴⁴

³⁸Vianney Muller. *Le Patrimoine Fortifié du Lignage de Neufchâtel-Bourgogne (XIIIe-XVIe Siècles)*, p. 96, 2015.

³⁹Girard, J, *La Roche et l’Épopée Comtoise de Grèce*, L’Atelier du grand Tétras, Besançon, 1998. Charte de Nauplie, cited in appendix p. 250.

⁴⁰(Euvres de m. Claude Henrys : ... contenant son recueil d’arrêts, vingt-deux questions posthumes tirées des écrits de l’auteur trouvés après son décès.1 de janvier de 1738 chez Nicolas Gosselin. p. 430.

⁴¹See geni.com.

⁴²Bergeret, M, *Invalidation de deux arguments pour l’envoi du Linceul en France par Othon de la Roche*, Cahier MNTV, no 64, p. 45-53, Jun 2021.

⁴³Ulysse Chevalier, *Autour des origines du suaire de Lirey*, Paris, 1903. Appendix H. Translated into French in de Gail, Paul, *Histoire Religieuse du Linceul du Christ*, France Empire, p. 148, 1974

⁴⁴Laurent Bouzoud. *Le clan des Achaïens et l’Histoire du Linceul de Turin*, p. 190, Savoisy 2020.

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- 1351 (or after)** The birth of her two children, Geoffroy and Charlotte.
- 1356** Death of Geoffroy de Charny who was killed at Maupertuis, near Poitiers. Geoffroy II, his son, would later succeed his father at the head of the seigneurie of Lirey.
- 1358 (or after)** Marriage of Jeanne de Vergy with Aymon of Geneva.
- 1369** Death of Aymon of Geneva. Jeanne de Vergy, his wife is the heiress.
- 1398** Death of Geoffroy II de Charny. He had married Marguerite de Poitiers. From his marriage, he will have two or three daughters, Marguerite, Henriette (and Jeanne). His daughter Marguerite received Montfort, Savoisy and Lirey on the death of her father Geoffroy II.
- 1410** Death of Jeanne de Vergy.

In the amendment of the testament of Jeanne de Vergy, the Castles of Anthon, Colombier and Saint Roman are mentioned and that Jeanne had obtained from her marriage with Aymon of Geneva, and she made Henriette her universal heiress, who must be her granddaughter, sister of Marguerite de Charny. However, in the amendment of the testament there is no mention of the Shroud.

Conclusions

The clues to support the legacy of the Shroud to Geoffroy de Charny through his wife Jeanne de Vergy are very weak. There is the *Chartularium Culisanense* which places the Shroud of the Blachernae in Athens, but its authenticity is contested. The Relic of the True Cross at Ray's Castle is an example of how Othon de Ray brought back a sacred relic during the Fourth Crusade, but there is nothing expressed about the Shroud. The Bull of Pope Clement VII of Avignon of July 28, 1389, says that the Shroud had been offered to Geoffroy. This is hardly compatible with the hypothesis that Jeanne de Vergy's dowry contained the Shroud. If Geoffroy de Charny received the Shroud as a gift made by his wife, the testament of his widow did not have to include the Shroud. The Shroud would have passed to Geoffroy II (his son). There is therefore no evidence that Jeanne de Vergy gave the Shroud to her husband.

The influence of the Pray Codex in the debate about the Shroud of Turin¹

By Tristan Casabianca

Abstract

The Shroud of Turin is a controversial linen cloth thought by some to be a medieval artifact and by others to be the burial cloth of Jesus of Nazareth. To better explain the reasons why reaching a consensus among experts seems highly unlikely, this paper focuses on the possible relationship between the Shroud of Turin and the Pray Codex, the first illuminated manuscript in Hungarian (c. 1192 – c. 1195). An analysis of the recent literature, including a qualitative survey, highlights not only the variety but also the weakness of the reasoning processes of the scholars, from less complete and intuitive to extremely detailed and systematic approaches. A new methodological approach excludes the position according to which it is certain that the Turin shroud has no direct or indirect link with the Pray Codex. A better understanding of the historiographical criteria and of the Bayesian framework might constitute a precious basis for solving similar interdisciplinary disputes.

Introduction

A centenary dispute, fueled annually by new arguments and new techniques. Lost in the bibliographical forest, the reader interested in the Shroud of Turin has an excuse if he feels confused when he wants to increase his knowledge about this simple linen sheet. Who should we trust? On which methodologies to rely? This interdisciplinary controversy, which extends from theology to the physical sciences, continues in academic journals and in the media. It seems one of those “cancerous spots” mentioned in the 1950s by the French historian Henri-Irénée Marrou, when the “bibliography proliferates without any real benefit.”

The essential question of the Turin Shroud dating has never seemed easier to solve. Nowadays we have more indulgence for the eternal return of philosophical disputes like the one opposing nominalism to realism from Plato to the present day, or questions about the existence and nature of time. However, our vision of modern science, attached to the physical world, allows us less to understand this extension of a banal archaeological debate. We dated the parietal art present in the Chauvet cave or attributed with historical certainty some objects to Tutankhamun. The careful study of the STURP in 1978 provided valuable elements but still spoke of the image formation process as an “ongoing mystery,” while the radiocarbon dating ended in an undeniable failure: there is no guaranty about the representativeness of the sample, the statistical analysis based on the raw data showed that the famous calendar interval (A.D. 1260-1390) had no meaning. One can notice, among specialists in archaeology, that this caution about the reliability of the conclusions of *Nature*, once unimaginable, is now in order. The professor of history of primitive Christianity Dale Allison (Princeton), in his book *The Resurrection of Jesus: Apologetics, Polemics, History*, published in 2021 dares to delve at length into the dispute over the authenticity of the Shroud. He is in favor of the thesis of falsehood – but not strongly. This is noticeable. It could well be part of a fundamental

¹tristancasabianca@yahoo.fr. This paper is a simplified and updated presentation of an article published in 2021 in *The Heythrop Journal*, “The Ongoing Historical Debate About the Shroud of Turin: The Case of the Pray Codex,” <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/heyj.13929>. The interested reader will find a detailed bibliography in *The Heythrop Journal*.

movement resulting in large part from the loss of credibility of the results of the radiocarbon dating.

To better understand the reasons for the impossible emergence of a scientific consensus, we will focus on a specific point of the ongoing historical debate: folio XXVIIIr of the Pray Codex, a Hungarian manuscript bearing the name of the Jesuit who rediscovered it in the 18th century, commonly dated around A.D. 1192-1195. This folio presents certain features of the Shroud of Turin: it is a miniature divided into two parts: the upper part representing the anointing of the dead Christ carried out by Joseph of Arimathea with two other people during the setting at the tomb, and the lower scene showing those that tradition identifies as the three Marys arriving on Sunday at the tomb.

The Pray Codex in the historiography of the Shroud of Turin

In 1978, Ian Wilson first tried to show a link between this scene and the Shroud. According to him, certain features of the drawing lead to the conclusion that the artist was familiar with the Shroud of Turin, which Wilson assumes was at least present in Constantinople between the 10th century and A.D. 1204, the year of the sack of the city. The strong relationship between the Byzantine Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary during the second half of the 12th century supported this connection.

In the 2000s, the historical debate concerning the dating of the Turin Shroud still engages with this topic. The Dominican Father André-Marie Dubarle and the geneticist Jérôme Lejeune had already produced, in the 1980s and 1990s, two iconographic analyzes going in the direction of a relationship between the Pray Codex and the Shroud. In 2009, the Italian paleographer Barbara Frale chose the representation of the upper scene of the Pray Codex as the front cover of her book *La Sindone di Gesù Nazareno*. The British art historian Thomas de Wesselow carefully examined the records in 2012 in *The Sign: The Shroud of Turin and the Secret of the Resurrection*, as did in 2015 Andrea Nicolotti in *Sindone. Storia e leggende di una reliquia controversa* (2015 for the Italian edition and 2020 for the updated English translation).

In 2020, the Byzantine art expert Gary Vikan provides a significant counterexample. He does not say a word about the Pray Codex in a popular book sprinkled with personal memories published. Vikan's work is interesting in that it shows, contrary to his thesis, all the difficulties in supporting the hypothesis of a medieval forgery. Not only Vikan does not dwell on historical elements that do not go in his direction, but he also finds himself forced to speculate on the appearance of an ephemeral medieval and immoral "genius" benefiting, in the early 1350s, from the support of the dying anti-Pope Clement VI, then in Avignon. Vikan hypothesizes that this unknown genius having produced one of the most remarkable works in history would be Naddo Ceccarelli, a disciple of Simone Martini, of whom there is no trace of activity in France after the 1340s. The absence of deepening in the historical debate goes with setting aside scientific knowledge: for example, Vikan, in his attempt to reproduce the image, does not consider its extreme superficiality (one-fifth of one-thousandth of a millimeter).

The same year, the Italian art historian Tomaso Montanari, trying to put forward the solution of the medieval fake, also showed, against his will, that it was imperative to discard much data. And the physicist Paolo di Lazzaro rightly worried in *Sindone* about the lightness of treatment and omissions of the scientific chapter of Nicolotti's last book.

Significantly incomplete approaches

The sindonologists recently studied the Pray Codex but how did they talk about it? The considerable number of articles and books leads us to choose a qualitative survey as a starting

11 sources / 11 features	Poullé 2009	Flury Lemberg 2009	Cardini Monte- sano 2015	Wilson 2010	Anto- nacci 2015	Frale 2009	Cataldo Heim- burger 2008	Perrier 2011	Mari- nelli 2011	De Wes- selow 2012	Nico- lotti 2020
Poker holes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decorative holes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Crossed arms	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Total nu- dity	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bloody stain	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Herring- bone weave	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Long fin- gers	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
No thumbs	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
No sign of violence	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
No image on the sheet	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Psalter of Ingeborg	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Total yes	1	3	4	5	5	6	8	9	9	9	10
Probable inspira- tion from the Turin Shroud	95– 100%	95– 100%	50%	80– 95%	95– 100%	95– 100%	50– 80%	50– 80%	95– 100%	95– 100%	0– 5%

Table 1: Qualitative survey of the characteristics of the folio XXVIIIr of the Pray Codex mentioned by some Turin Shroud scholars (2008–2020). A ‘Yes’ means that the feature was mentioned by the source; a ‘No’ means the opposite.

point for our reflection. This sample – which we hope is representative – includes 11 international specialists with a wide variety of fields of expertise and professions (from amateurs to mediaevalists to textile experts), published by academic publishers or aimed at a popular audience (cf. Table 1).

Their conclusions are sometimes contradictory – ranging from the certainty of a representation inspired by the Shroud to the absolute rejection of this possibility. In their assessments, these researchers mentioned 11 miniature features or reflective elements. Significant variations appear between the level of detail reached (from 1/11 to 10/11). This choice might reveal their ways of practicing history and some of their biases.

The Italian mediaevalists Franco Cardini and Marina Montesano are explicitly concerned with this question of prejudice. In a book published for the 2015 ostension, the authors put forward their alleged neutrality. Surprisingly, Cardini and Montesano mentioned four characteristics but ignored the point on which all the other scholars linger: the “poker holes,” these L-shaped holes existing before the 16th century, which marked so many artists representing the Shroud. One can legitimately wonder if this impasse is not the regrettable consequence of the desire to appear as neutral as possible. The best explanation for this absence appears

probably just after their analysis of the Pray Codex. They indicate that the pro and contra arguments regarding the ancient dating of the Shroud, always tend to balance each other out, for the Pray Codex as for the rest.

Conversely, Emmanuel Poulle, French mediaevalist and former director of the Ecole des Chartes, in his academic article published in 2009, explicitly considers only these “poker holes.” For him, the cause seems settled, and this single element seems sufficient to support the link between the Pray Codex and the Shroud of Turin. For the rest, he refers to the topological study conducted by the geneticist Jérôme Lejeune.

Detailed approaches

Detailed approaches are frequent: in the qualitative survey, six authors mention at least six characteristics. Two Frenchmen examine the Pray Codex in detail: the independent researcher Sébastien Cataldo and the journalist Brice Perrier. The same goes for Ian Wilson in 2010. He offers a nuanced conclusion: according to him, the resemblance is “probable.” Thus, we have a spectrum ranging from professional mediaevalists to an independent researcher via a journalist, who produce non-polarized conclusions. Thus, contrary to Nicolotti’s assertion in his book, it is possible, even for researchers interested in the Shroud, to introduce a dose of caution into their historical judgments. The evaluations made by Cardini-Montesano, Cataldo, and Perrier show that it is possible to avoid polarization on a controversial religious topic.

Art historians Thomas de Wesselow and Andrea Nicolotti provide two examples of detailed approaches with polarized conclusions. De Wesselow, clearly influenced by Dubarle’s research, analyzes the Pray Codex over four pages: he undertakes a search for “telling correspondences.” He finds eight of them, with an uneven distribution between the upper part representing the anointing (5) and the lower part (3). His conclusion, considering these points of correspondence, is in favor of a relationship between the Pray Codex and the Turin Shroud. However, De Wesselow does not explicitly engage with scholars opposed to his analysis... unlike the skeptic Andrea Nicolotti, whose analysis may appear as a reply to Frale’s book.

Nicolotti indeed offers the most meticulous analysis: little escapes to his critical gaze. And his opinion is also clear: the Shroud of Turin could not have inspired the artist of Pray Codex. The magisterial tone employed paradoxically emphasizes surprising shortcomings. Here we will mention three of them:

1) Nicolotti does not seem surprised by the nudity of Jesus appearing in the entombment. For him, it frequently appears elsewhere. But he provides no note for his one-sentence claim. Sometimes, artists represented Jesus naked in the 12th century – for example, the depictions of the baptismal scene. In the third and fifth centuries, a couple of Christian Fathers imagined the nakedness of Jesus during or after the Crucifixion (Pietro Savio, *Sindon*, 1960, 3, p. 18-19). However, the pictorial representation of his post-crucifixion nudity does not appear until the end of the 14th century. The main reason is that the authors of the Gospels do not mention Jesus’ nudity during the Passion. So why would a 12th-century artist take this initiative?

2) Nicolotti opposes the interpretation according to which the herringbone fabric appears on the folio. The artist “would have to enlarge it dozens of times,” because these marks are hardly visible to the naked eye. But these enlargements do constitute an ordinary artistic practice, which appears on two mediaeval representations of the Shroud: the Cluny medallion and the Machy mold found in 2009.

3) The third point concerns a dark sign present on the face of Jesus. Was it done voluntarily, and does it correspond to the epsilon on the forehead of the Turin Shroud man? Are we facing a coincidence? According to Nicolotti, we would be here in the presence of “an indistinct smudge, which is not similar to

the epsilon in terms of its shape or its position (on the Shroud, it is at the center of the forehead).” This assertion can only leave one wondering: on the Shroud, the epsilon is not strictly above the nose, so much so that the epsilon “extends” entirely over an eyebrow. Lejeune, who examined in Budapest the Pray Codex, was convinced that this mark was intentional.

Methodological approaches

The threat of hypercriticism

The desire to strive for exhaustiveness does not offer a guarantee of arriving at a shared assessment, as shown by the divergent opinions of Lejeune and Nicolotti. Nicolotti’s stated desire to convince the reader that he will – finally – provide a critical and complete reasonable historical analysis will lead us to wonder about hypercriticism, in the sense that Henri-Irénée Marrou understood it, namely an “obstinacy in disbelief.”

A lack of open-mindedness is often correlated with over-detailed analyses. Mark Guscini, at the end of his thesis on the tradition of the image of Edessa, attacked Andrea Nicolotti. According to Guscini, Nicolotti’s aim “seems to discredit the Shroud of Turin and anyone who does not reject it in the same terms as him, which blinds him to certain other historical facts.” In 2021, Ian Wilson in his review of Nicolotti’s translated book into English made the same kind of critique (Wilson, *The Catholic Historical review*, 108, 2, 2022, p. 391-404), as archaeologist William Meacham in 2022². Emanuela Marinelli amplified this criticism. With an obvious polemical tone, she described Nicolotti’s work as “the sum of extreme negationism.” According to Marinelli, “Nicolotti is against any possibility that there could be a minimal historical indication that the Shroud existed before the fourteenth century, and this conviction is not offered as an alternative hypothesis to the others, but as an absolute certainty.” This accusation of negationism must not fail to remind us that this is a concrete danger especially when experts tackle a theme at the heart of our civilization, as shown by the intellectual trajectory taken by the French journalist and essayist Paul-Eric Blanrue, author of two books supporting the thesis of the mediaeval forgery. Since 2011, Blanrue, mentioned without reservation by Nicolotti as one of the French “leaders among skeptical scholars” in Turin Shroud studies, has appeared won over by the discourse of French negationist Roger Faurisson.

Of course, this hypercritical threat works both ways. It seems difficult to annihilate. To make an overall judgment on the authenticity of the Shroud of Turin requires, in addition to a sure methodological approach, to constantly question oneself during the investigation: “I study, I publish but in the event of contrary evidence, would I be ready to change my mind?” The quarrels of egos and the possibility of benefiting from international media coverage come in addition to this disturbing question, which is sometimes so intimate that it can affect the most rooted religious and philosophical convictions. These elements were already present from the first photography taken by Secondo Pia in 1898. Was the picture faked? Canon Ulysse Chevalier hid among the references some facts once he had obtained all the historical documents from the 14th century. In 1988, the failure of radiocarbon dating seemed unthinkable for laboratories. The experiments made up by Kuznetsov remain in scholars’ minds. In an audio interview with the French-language monthly *Québec Science* in 2021, Andrea Nicolotti mentioned his belief that his opponents, even if they greet him cordially in the street, deep down would not be unhappy if he prematurely passed away. Once this level of intensity has been reached, we realize how difficult it can be to have always enough critical perspective. However, this critical distance is crucial for the reliability of the subjective evaluation. If we can torture a document so that it confesses, we can also force it to be silent.

²See academia.edu/Nicolotti

Intuitive assessments

The subjectivity of the expert plays a significant part in the critical assessment process. Historians and experts frequently rely on a mixture of knowledge of the different artifacts, the period, and relevant prejudices, which come together to develop an opinion. This “expert’s experience” which is an intuitive approach still used in the art world to detect fakes or to make attributions. The confirmation bias limits the efficiency of this method. Hardly reproducible and objective, it only fits a broad definition of the scientific realm. But this approach should not be rejected. It is a perilous treasure, with little power of conviction, which should be used with caution.

In the case of the Pray Codex, this use of an intuitive approach is more perceptible in incomplete approaches. Mechthild Flury-Lemberg refers to “a remarkable source [...] much more significant than any other comparison with an ancient artifact could be, and for the textile historian it is equally powerful.”

More systematical approaches

Even if they are far from avoiding all appeals to personal intuition, more systematic approaches have appeared. A listing of common features can be used. According to art historian Thomas de Wesselow, eight significant similarities between the image on the Turin Shroud and the miniature of the Pray are sufficient. Like a police expert finding common features on two fingerprints, Wesselow wrote that the “only reasonable conclusion is that the artist of the Pray Codex was aware of the Shroud.” Nevertheless, this identification should be immediately nuanced by emphasizing that the miniaturist may not necessarily have ever been in the presence of the Shroud. This comparison does not lead us to think that the medieval artist was only trying to reproduce an artifact and not simply to evoke it. In the latter case, this miniature would then have been a testimony of faith and spiritual support, without ever being thought of as evidence. An evocation does not seek the accumulation of convincing elements.

And why not going further by attributing a probability to each feature? Jacques Bara in 2010, and “O.K.,” an anonymous Polish apologist, in 2014 developed this argument. O.K. attributes a probability, each time extremely low, to six characteristics that he describes as common to the Pray Codex and the Turin Shroud. Those characteristics are proposed as “independent, non-trivial and non-disputed.” This approach not only is systematic but also a minimal facts approach, because it is based on the broadest academic consensus and eliminates some characteristics common to the images and the less consensual features (the stain on the forehead is absent). The probabilities attributed to the various characteristics (nudity, four fingers on each hand, cut legs at the end of the page, the zigzag drawing, two red lines that may refer to the dorsal blood belt of the Turin Shroud, the four L-shaped holes) are each time extremely low. A simple multiplication of those extremely low independent characteristics makes the coincidence infinitesimal. If we adopt this frequentist perspective, the conclusion is obvious: there is link between the Pray Codex and the Turin Shroud.

But this line of reasoning has some inherent weaknesses. First, one can think of some bias selection given the fact that hundreds of images contain two common characteristics and that our brain is looking for them. Secondly, historiography tells us that one or two common characteristics rarely allow a definitive conclusion. In the 1970’s, historian Hans Belting refrained from identifying the Shroud with the byzantine funeral lamentations (*epitaphoi threnoi*).

A Bayesian framework

This frequentist approach has the merit of clarifying the choices, but it is not without significant obstacles. A Bayesian framework seems preferable. As emphasized by epistemologist Christopher Behan McCullagh in 1984 (*Justifying Historical Descriptions*, Cambridge University Press), many researchers have often applied the Bayesian reasoning without even knowing

it. However, its ignorance or absence of practical application has led many philosophers like Hume or top physicians nowadays to erroneous or unjustified conclusions.

This approach insists on the *a priori* evaluation (plausibility) which it re-evaluates in the light of the new pieces of evidence. A Bayesian reasoning explains why an extremely low probability can quickly be counterbalanced by one or more highly probable elements. For example, I know that it is extremely unlikely that I will win the lottery tonight (extremely low plausibility). However, if television news announces my numbers, my belief in my gain becomes justified. It is extremely unlikely that an exceptionally reliable source would be wrong for the first time that very evening. This Bayesian approach is an invitation to be attentive to the general context, and to keep an open mind.

Independent testimonies, however unlikely, are also likely to quickly counterbalance an assessment. In the case of the Pray Codex, one keeps in mind the testimony of Nicholas Mesarites, the sacristan of the imperial palace in Constantinople, who mentions the nudity of Jesus (for three recent translations in French and English: Dubarle, *Histoire ancienne du linceul de Turin*, 1986, p. 39; Guscini, *The Tradition of the Image of Edessa*, 2016, p. 145; Nicolotti, 2020). This nudity is, as mentioned above, difficult to explain if we find ourselves in the presence of a forger. What is the probability that the Pray Codex and Nicholas Mesarites were not influenced by the same object? Robert de Clari's eyewitness testimony is also coherent with the image of a lengthy cloth, which could have been brought, even weekly, from the Pharos Church to the Church of the Blachernae.

Optionally, one may be surprised to see the diocese of Troyes appear in the historical landscape of the translation of relics after 1204. Bishop Garnier brought many relics to his diocese of Troyes: the list is incomplete, but obviously no document allows us to say that the Shroud of Turin figured among them. In a revealing way of the historiography of the Turin Shroud, Ian Wilson evokes this possibility when Andrea Nicolotti rejects it by using a fragile argument from silence.

A general evaluation in the Bayesian framework requires taking into account the elements going in the opposite direction. The Psalter of Ingeborg highlights the similarities and dissimilarities between this folio from the Pray Codex and other models of the time. The layout of the scene of the Psalter of Ingeborg is quite similar, but of higher quality. They are both of Byzantine inspiration, but the latest research shows that it was produced around 20 years later (1214-1218) than the Pray Codex. That said the differences are still obvious: Jesus is dressed in a long sheet with only one hand visible (no thumb), there are no chevrons, no Greek crosses, etc.

Let us take an example to try to better understand the decision-making process. Let us imagine that we find ourselves in front of a drawing produced in the 16th century in the region of Châlons-en-Champagne, about a hundred kilometers from the hamlet of Lirey, showing the burial of Jesus. Jesus is wrapped in a white sheet, completely naked, arms crossed, with traces of blood all over his body, a crown of thorns, a bifid beard, but without an epsilon trace on the forehead, without dorsal image, without marks in the palms, without burn holes. Could we say, based on this iconographic presentation, that it is certain that the Shroud of Turin did not directly or indirectly influence the artist? However, this drawing exists: it is kept in the municipal library of Châlons-en-Champagne (ms. 0336, f. 071). The Pray Codex shares more features with the Shroud of Turin than this 16th century drawing. The parallel between the manuscript of Châlons-en-Champagne and the Pray Codex shows why it is impossible to claim beyond a reasonable doubt that the Shroud had no influence on the folio XXVIIIr of the Pray Codex.

Conclusion

At the end of this simplified presentation, let us first state a hypothesis which should be uncontroversial: the artist of the Pray Codex did not seek to help the sindonologists of the 21st century, whether they are *a priori* for or against the thesis of an antique image. If the

artist referred to a relic of his time, he sought to integrate his work into the artistic framework of his time and he sought more to evoke than to demonstrate, hence the difficulty for our iconographic and historical analysis.

The comparison between the Pray Codex and the Shroud of Turin, reinforced by a credible historical context and combined with a reliable methodological approach, makes the position that the Turin Shroud has absolutely no direct or indirect link with the Pray Codex untenable. The obstacles to certainty remain our incomplete knowledge of this period including artistic practices, the lack of a dorsal image on the Pray Codex, and the absence of definitive testimony. However, it can be said with confidence that the miniaturist of the Pray Codex probably had a direct or indirect link with the Shroud of Turin.

The subjective nature of these analyzes invites us to cautiousness. This caution in front of such a long-lasting controversy is reinforced by the ongoing crisis of reproducibility in science, that is to say by the difficulty of reproducing many results that have yet appeared in leading academic journals. This crisis also concretely affects the research on the Shroud. Given the current difficulty of reproducing the conclusions of some papers dealing with the so-called “hard science,” one should not be surprised by the difficulty of obtaining a wide consensus on the intent of a medieval anonymous artist.

The scientific study of history remains a rational practice, even when dealing with religious topics. To arrive to a wide consensus about endless controversies, discussions should be based on standards of justification including historiographical criteria and a good understanding of a probabilistic reasoning (cf. Behan Mc Cullagh, *The Logic of History*, Routledge, 2003). A Bayesian framework should be privileged to safeguard researchers against important biases and prejudice. A good understanding of the Bayesian mechanism helps to emphasize the importance of common characteristics when they significantly differ from the artistic models of the late 12th century. The ongoing debate about a possible relationship between the Pray Codex and the Turin Shroud illustrates that iconographic analyses are, in essence, subjective. Moreover, the analysis of this specific controversy helps to understand why some historical debates are still difficult to solve, especially when dealing with religious topics. However, a better understanding and use of epistemology, historiographical criteria and probability reasoning by historians might constitute a valuable objective basis for solving difficult interdisciplinary disputes.

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3. Barbara Frale, *La Sindone di Gesù Nazareno*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009, pp. 55–6.
4. E. Poulle, ‘Les sources de l’histoire du linceul de Turin. Revue critique’, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 104, 2009, pp. 747–782 (here pp. 773–4).
5. Ian Wilson, *The Shroud: The 2000-Year-Old Mystery Solved*, London, Bantam Press, 2010, pp. 183–4.
6. Brice Perrier, *Qui a peur du saint suaire ?*, Paris, Florent Massot, 2011, pp. 183–7.
7. E. Marinelli, ‘Wiping the slate clean’, *British Society for the Turin Shroud Newsletter* 74, 2011, pp. 11–2.
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9. Mark Antonacci: *Test the Shroud: At the Atomic and Molecular Levels*, LLC, LE Press, 2015, p. 215.
 10. Franco Cardini and Marina Montesano, *La Sindone di Torino oltre il pregiudizio. La storia, la reliquia, l'enigma*, Milano, Medusa, 2015, p. 120.
 11. Andrea Nicolotti, *The Shroud of Turin: The History and Legends of the World's Most Famous Relic*, Waco, Baylor University Press, 2020, pp. 406–15, translated with minor updates from Andrea Nicolotti, *Sindone. Storia e leggende di una reliquia controversa*, Turin, Giulio Einaudi, 2015.

The difficult legacy of Marguerite de Charny

By Karlheinz Dietz¹

Introduction

The official history of the Shroud of Turin in Europe has been marked by controversy from the very beginning. Even the first public exhibition ended with a ban and the object being hidden away in a safe place. The second exhibition led to a trial of strength between the owner, Geoffroy II de Charny, and the local bishop of Troyes responsible, named Pierre d’Arcis, which the antipope in Avignon had to decide. Clement VII was faced with a difficult task, which can still be seen today in the fact that he changed his mind on the details more than once within a few months.

The tradition is severely thinned out, above all the documents of the Charny family are missing, a fact that has been and continues to be lamented time and again, and rightly so.² Around 1900, Duke Pierre Eugene de Bauffremont searched for meaningful documents in his family’s archives,³ and to this day a ‘legend’ circulating at the time continues to be peddled that the Duke found the confession of the Shroud’s fabricator, but suppressed it at the request of the King of Italy.⁴ Apart from the concrete factual absurdity, this search in the ‘Fonds de Charny’ had to lead in a wrong direction.⁵ This fund had been bought by the Dames de Saint-Cyr on 2 May 1779 and later integrated into the Archives départementales de Seine-et-Oise; from there they were transferred in 1937 to the Archives départementales de la Côte d’Or. Here the signatures 15 F 1-38 contain documents of the seigneurie of Charny in Burgundy, which included the four baronies of Mont-Saint-Jean, Charny, Arnay-le-Duc and Pouilly. Here we can find historically important documents, such as the original will of Pierre de Bauffremont (1397-1472), who was the first Comte de Charny from 9 July 1456.⁶ But neither he nor his step-uncle Jean de Bauffremont, the first husband of Marguerite de Charny who fell at Azincourt in 1415,⁷ descended from Geoffroy I de Charny. Rather, both were offspring from early deceased brother Dreux de Charny, who was also Lord of Vostitza.⁸

¹See ResearchGate/Karlheinz-Dietz.

²For example, *L. Fossati: La Sacra Sindone*. Leumann (Turin) 2000, 35f.; *G.M. Zaccone: The Shroud from the Charnys to the Savoyes*, in: *S. Scannerini u. P. Savarino* (eds.): *The Turin Shroud, past, present and future*. Cantalupa 2000, 379-412; esp. 380; 405; 408; and more. – Abbreviations: AdA = Troyes, Archives départementales de l’Aube; AdCO = Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte-d’Or; AnF = Paris, Archives nationales de France; BnF = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France; Naf = Nouvelles acquisitions françaises.

³*A. Prévost: L’ancienne Collégiale de Lirey*. *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 2,11 (1899-1900) 801-824; 898-936; *ibid.* 2,12, 1900, 37-70; esp. 801; *J. du Teil: Autour du Saint Suaire de Lirey*. Paris, 2nd ed., 1902, 19f.; 22; 25; 44.

⁴*A. Nicolotti: The Shroud of Turin*. Waco 2020, 100f. with note 81; Cf. now again *P. Dor: Sur les traces du Linceul*. Constantinople, Cadouin, Chambéry, Turin. Cholet 2021, 48 note 231.

⁵*K. Dietz: Einführung und Kongressnotizen*, in: *Das Christusbild*. Würzburg 2016, 27-64; esp. 43f. note 76. The truth was already written in the letter from Henri Courteault, head of the information office of the Archives nationales in Paris, to U. Chevalier, edited by *A. Nicolotti: Il processo negato*. Rome 2015, 153f.

⁶AdCO 15 F 2/40. On Pierre de Bauffremont only *M.-T. Caron: La noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne, 1315-1477*. Lille 1987, 315-352; esp. 328-337; *R. de Smedt* (ed.): *Les chevaliers de l’ordre de la Toison d’or au XV^e siècle*. Frankfurt a. M. etc. 1994, 58f. no. 20 (*M.-Th. Caron*).

⁷See only *A. Nicolotti: Marguerite de Charny, François de La Palud e Ludovico di Savoia: due documenti inediti*. *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino* (2018) 200-206; esp. 192f.

⁸He was already dead at Easter 1325 *F. Molard: Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790*, Yonne: Archives hospitalières, Série H, Suppl. Auxerre 1899, 24f., where “Dreux de

Even if the assumption were correct that he originally possessed the Shroud, according to our tradition his descendants never laid claim to it.⁹ Conversely, it cannot be emphasized often enough: The Lords of Lirey were never Lords of the seigneurie of Charny, which had always remained with the descendants of Dreux and his daughter Guillemette de Charny. The two families were very close in the 14th and 15th centuries, which is why many seigneuries reunited with Pierre de Bauffremont, but this has nothing to do with the history of the Shroud and its tradition since the 1350s. The ‘Fonds de Charny’ is a false path, but there are better tracks.

Charny-charters in Chimay

The Benedictine monk Cornelius Menghers, also known as Cornelius Zantfliet († after 1461), gives us a clue. In his prose ‘Chronicle’ of the Netherlands and Europe from the birth of Christ until his death in 1461, he handed down the oldest historiographical text on the Shroud of Turin to date.¹⁰ Menghers came from Zantfliet near Antwerp and entered Saint-Jacques in Liège as a monk before 1430. There he initially copied mainly sacred works before becoming prior in the Priory of Saint-Leonard in 1444 and dean of the Abbey of Stavelot three years later. It is probably only now that he began to work on his chronicle.¹¹ The autograph of the work is unfortunately lost. Although the oldest surviving manuscript comes from the monastery of Saint-Jacques, it was not written until 1479 by five different scribes.¹² From it, in 1729, the Maurists Edmund Martène and Ursin Durand edited the text. They were able to copy it on their second literary journey in September 1718 in the fabulous private library of Mathias-Guillaume de Louvrex (1665-1734), Seigneur de Ramelot, jurist, politician, and historian.¹³ Later, the manuscript was owned by the Belgian bibliophile Xavier de Theux de Montjardin (1838-1896)¹⁴ and was sold in 1903 to the ‘Bibliothèque royale de Belgique’ in Brussels,¹⁵ where it bears the shelf mark KBR II 3025 (6603).¹⁶

The part that interests us concerns the exhibition of the Shroud by Marguerite de Charny in 1449 in Chimay, which belonged to the diocese of Liège. The local bishop, John of Heinsberg,¹⁷ had “the linen on which was painted with marvellous skill the bodily figure of our Lord Jesus Christ, with all the outlines of the individual limbs” examined because it was claimed by

Mello” is to be improved to “Dreux de Charny”; see *du Teil*: Autour (note 2) 43 no. F; *G.M. Zaccone*: Die Geschichte des Grabtuchs von Turin im zweiten Jahrtausend, in: *E. Maier* (ed.): Das Turiner Grabtuch. Vienna 2005, 82-114; esp. 111 note 21.

⁹*G.M. Zaccone*: La Sindone. Storia di una immagine. Milano 2010, 95-100; 133; cf. *Nicolotti*: Shroud (note 3) 212f. History and fantasy mixed *L. Bouzoud*: Le clan des Achaïens et l’histoire du Linceul de Turin (1204-2020). Savoisy, 2nd ed., 2020.

¹⁰*C. Zantfliet*: Chronicon, in: *E. Martène a. U. Durand* (eds.): Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio. V. Paris 1729, 67-504; esp. 461-463.

¹¹*P.-J. de Griek*: Menghers, Cornelius, in: *G. Dunphy* (ed.): The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle. Leiden, Boston 2010, II 1102-1103; cf. *P. Bruyère a. A. Marchandisse* (eds.): Florilège du livre en principauté de Liège du IX^e au XVII^e siècle. Liège 2009, 117; *P.-J. de Griek*: De Benedictijnse geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (ca. 1150-1550): historisch bewustzijn en monastieke identiteit. Turnhout 2010, 204-208; 535.

¹²*S. Balau*: Étude critique des sources de l’histoire du pays de Liège au moyen âge. Brussels 1903, 605-619; esp. 606.

¹³*E. Martène a. U. Durand*: Voyage littéraire de deux religieux benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur. Paris 1724, 182. Cf. *C. Opsomer*: A la recherche des bibliothèques perdues. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des sciences morales et politiques / Académie Royale de Belgique 6, 12 (2001) 201-218; esp. 205f. – On Louvrex *C.M.T. Thys*: Notice généalogique des familles de Louvrex et Loverix. Bulletin de l’Institut Archéologique Liégeois 8 (1866) 245-272.

¹⁴*C. Mortiaux-Denoël a. E. Guillaume*: Le fonds des manuscrits de l’Abbaye Saint-Jacques de Liège: 2. dispersion et localisation actuelle. Revue bénédictine 107 (1997) 352-380; esp. 359 with note 62; 364 no. 37.

¹⁵*O. Grojean*: La bibliothèque du chevalier de Theux de Montjardin. Revue des Bibliothèques et Archives de Belgique 2 (1904) 12-22; esp. 19 no. 872.

¹⁶*J. Van den Gheyn a. F. Lyna* (eds.): Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Brussels 1901-1948, IX 349 no. 6603.

¹⁷Alphonse Le Roy, Jean de Heinsberg (1397-1459), Biographie nationale ... de Belge VIII (1884/5) 874-882. *A. Marchandisse*: Jean de Heinsberg (1419-1455) ou le dilemme d’un prince-évêque de Liège écartelé par des options politiques antagonistes. Publications du Centre Européen d’Etudes Bourguignonnes 38 (1998) 69-88.

some that “this linen was the sudarium in which the precious body of our Lord had been wrapped while he had been laid in the tomb by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea”.¹⁸ The experts were two renowned professors of theology, the Cistercian Jan van Brussel, doctor of theology in Paris, formerly abbot of Creste, Tulley, Bellevaux and now of Aulne, and Magister Henri Backel de Diest, doctor of theology and canon of Saint-Lambert in Liège.¹⁹ After their scrupulous examination, “they requested from the noble lady and her companions, supported by the authority of the Bishop of Liège, to produce the letters or bulls, if they had any, on the basis of which they dared to exhibit this image or linen, and which proved the truth of what they said aloud. When the latter perceived herself constrained, and would not oppose, she showed them three bulls granted to her ancestors by Clement VII, then residing at Avignon, and further by Peter de Luna, then cardinal and legate of the Apostolic See, in which it was expressly stated that the said linen was not the true Sudarium of Jesus Christ, but only his representation or figure.”²⁰

Zantfliet added that he had “taken the trouble to reproduce one of the three bulls here word for word in order to prove the truth of the case”, and transcribed (with minor oversights) the Pope’s *litterae communes* to Geoffroy II de Charny, issued “on the basis of certain knowledge”. Unfortunately, he omitted the final line with the dating. This caused some confusion because Ulysse Chevalier had initially dated the letter erroneously and without reason to 6 January 1390²¹ and only after the discovery of the corresponding entry in the papal register by Guillaume Mollat to 28 July 1389.²² He rather silently corrected his error, which was momentous for the assessment of the course of events and the actions of the disputing parties;²³ therefore, many renowned scholars adopted it, sometimes even until today.²⁴

But let us return to Zantfliet’s text. He speaks of “three bulls” presented by Marguerite de Charny. From this, modern interpreters have repeatedly made four documents three bulls from Pope Clement and one from Cardinal Pierre, and attempts have been made to determine them.²⁵ Now Zantfliet could easily have said “three bulls of Clement and also one of Cardinal Peter”. But he did not repeat the preposition ‘of’ (Latin *a*), which means that there were three documents in all that Marguerite showed.²⁶ The designation of these documents as ‘bulls’ is, according to modern terminology, a casual way of speaking, because the letter transcribed by Zantfliet itself was not a bull in the proper sense, but an ordinary apostolic letter.²⁷ Today, a

¹⁸See for example *U. Chevalier*: *Le Saint-Suaire de Turin. Histoire d’une relique*. Paris 1902, 15f.; *G. Monchamp*: *Liège et Rome. A propos de l’authenticité du Saint Suaire de Turin*. *Leodium* 2 (1903) 6-12; *R. van Haelst*: *The Shroud in Chimay (Belgium)*. *Shroud News* 29 (1985) 9-15; *R. van Haelst*: *Het Gelaat van Kristus; de Lijkwade van Turijn*. Antwerp 1986, 176-181; *H. Dessart*: *Le suaire de Turin à Chimay en 1449*. *Publications de la Société d’Histoire Régionale des Cantons de Beaumont-Chimay à Sivry-Rance* 12 (1990) 191-194; *Fossati*: *Sacra Sindone* (note 1) 47-50; *J. Fraikin*: *Aux origines d’une croyance populaire: le Saint Suaire de Turin et l’hypercritique*. *Tradition Wallonne* 22 (2005) 87-117; esp. 107-109; *Zaccone*: *La Sindone* (note 8) 140f.; *A. Nicolotti*: *Le saint suaire de Turin en Belgique ... à Liège? Trésor de Liège - bulletin trimestriel* 47 (2016) 13-18.

¹⁹Literature on them already in *Monchamp*: *Liège* (note 17) 7f.; then *Nicolotti*: *Belgique* (note 17) 16. Cf. *W. van der Meer* (ed.): *Biografische Index van de Benelux-Länder*. Munich 1997, I 271.

²⁰*Zantfliet*: *Chronicon* (note 12) 462: *petierunt a supradicta matrona et suis auctoritate domini Leodiensis exhiberi sibi litteras aut bullas, si quas haberent, quarum auctoritate praedictam audebant effigiem aut linteum ostendere, et vera esse quae praedicabant comprobarent. Illa se in arcto comperiens, nec tamen valens reniti, ostendit eisdem tres bullas a domino Clemente VII., pro tunc in Avinione residente, necnon et Petro de Luna, pro tunc cardinali et legato sedis apostolicae, suis praedecessoribus concessas, in quibus continebatur expresse, dictum linteum non esse verum sudarium Iesu Christi, sed eius dumtaxat representationem aut figuram.*

²¹Cf. *U. Chevalier*: *Étude critique sur l’origine du Saint Suaire de Lirey-Chambéry-Turin*. Paris 1900, XIX-XXI no. O.

²²*U. Chevalier*: *Autour des origines du Suaire de Lirey*. Paris 1903, 31-33 no. H; cf. *L. Fossati*: *La Santa Sindone*. Turin 1961, 196-198 no. 3.

²³His opponents would have been pilloried for this, see e.g. *Chevalier*: *Étude* (note 20) 27f. note 2.

²⁴*Chevalier*: *Autour* (note 21) 10f. – The wrong dating was used for instance by *A. Loth* 1902, *J. Braun* 1902, *W. Bulst* 1959, *V. Saxer* 1990, *J. Fraikin* 2005, *J. Suaudeau* 2018.

²⁵For example, *Fossati*: *Sindone* (note 21) 88-90; *van Haelst*: *Chimay* (note 17) 11f.; *Fossati*: *Sacra Sindone* (note 1) 47-50; cf. *Nicolotti*: *Shroud* (note 3) 135.

²⁶*Monchamp*: *Liège* (note 17) 10 note 2; *Nicolotti*: *Belgique* (note 17) 17.

²⁷In 1390, of all years, a new type of papal expression of opinion is found, the first *breve*, albeit in the Roman

bull was the most solemn form of papal decree, issued “in perpetual memory of the cause” (*ad perpetuam rei memoriam*). Such a bull was promulgated by Clement VII of Avignon for the Shroud only on 6 January 1390. Of course, Zantfliet knew this legally significant difference and he would certainly have transcribed this bull if it had been shown to Marguerite de Charny. In fact, the original of this bull, which came into the Archives départementales de l’Aube in 1854, did not come into the possession of Marguerite de Charny’s ancestors. It was not granted to her ancestors (*suīs praedecessoribus concessas*).

The second ‘bull’ Zantfliet mentions is said to have come from “Petrus de Luna, then cardinal and legate of the Apostolic See” (*a ... Petro de Luna, pro tunc cardinali et legato sedis apostolicae*). Although this has occasionally been taken at face value,²⁸ Zantfliet was undoubtedly mistaken. In fact, in the spring of 1389, Cardinal Pierre de Thurey authorized the solemn return of the Shroud to Lirey.²⁹ Unfortunately, the wording of this grace (*indultum*) is largely lost, and we can only say by analogy that it must have begun as follows: *Petrus miseratione divina tituli Sancte Susanne sacrosanctae Romane ecclesie presbiter cardinalis, apostolice Sedis nuncius ad regem Francie cum plenaria potestate legati de latere in certis provinciis destinatus universis presentes litteras inspecturis, salutem in Domino*.³⁰ Pope Clement then summarises his permission.

Pedro Martínez de Luna y Pérez de Gotor (1328-1423), since 1394 as successor of Clement VII antipope named Benedict XIII, called himself Cardinal *Petrus miseratione divina tituli Sanctae Mariae in Cosmedin sacrosanctae Romane ecclesie diaconus cardinalis*. It is true that he too was commissioned with a legation to Paris, for which he departed from Avignon on 26 February 1393.³¹ At that time, the Lirey affair had long since been settled by Pope Clement VII, and Pierre d’Arcis could no longer have interfered in this matter according to the Pope’s mandate of 6 January 1389 without being automatically excommunicated and subsequently certainly deprived of his office.³² Since the bull for Lirey had been executed and published, there was nothing more to settle in 1393. On the other hand, Pierre de Thurey’s letter was demonstrably addressed to Geoffroy II de Charny, the father of Marguerite de Charny.

We would have to postulate the same recipient for the third ‘bull’. The letter of indulgence of June 1390, which has already been considered for this purpose,³³ can hardly be considered.

obedience *G. Battelli*: Acta Pontificum. Vatican City, 2nd. ed., 1965, 29 no. 28a; cf. *F.J. de Lasala Claver a. P. Rabikauskas* (eds.): Il documento medievale e moderno: panorama storico della diplomazia generale e pontificia. Rome 2003, 226.

²⁸For example, in *Monchamp*: Liège (note 17) 10; *Fossati*: Sacra Sindone (note 1) 48; 50.

²⁹In the narratio of his letter to Geoffroy II de Charny of 28 July 1389, Clement VII speaks: *Exhibita siquidem tue petitionis series continebat, quod nuper dilecto filio nostro Petro, tituli Sancte Susanne presbytero cardinali, pro parte tua exposito, quod idem cardinalis ... ut figuram seu representationem predictam in prefata ecclesia Sancte Marie, congruo, honorabili et decenti loco poni et collocari facere posses, dioecani vel alterius cuiuscunque non petita vel obtenta licentia, per litteras suas indulsit* In the so-called Memorandum of Bishop Pierre d’Arcis states: *Qui dominus cardinalis, non in totum annuens supplicationi, sed verisimiliter ex certo proposito et quo ad hoc prudenter concessit supplicanti apostolica auctoritate quod, non petita licentia ab ordinario loci vel quocumque alio, huiusmodi representationem seu figuram Sudarii dominici in dicta ecclesia vel alibi in loco honesto ponere vel collocare valeret. Quarum licentiarum pretextu dictus pannus fuit in dicta ecclesia populo exhibitus* This version is a downright brazen or ignorant insinuation. What else could one have done with a *figura seu repraesentatio* measuring almost five square metres than to show it to the faithful? Let it rot in its shrine folded up to the size of a bed sheet? It was no coincidence that the bishop reversed the order to *representatio seu figura*, so that the intellectual imposition was somewhat mitigated.

³⁰Thus on 17 May 1389 in Paris *H. Denifle a. E. Chatelain* (eds.): Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis. Paris 1889-1897, III 480f. no. 1550.

³¹*N. Valois*: La France et le grand schisme d’Occident. II. Paris 1896, 422-427; cf. *É. Baluze a. G. Mollat* (eds.): Vitae paparum Avenionensium. Paris, 2nd ed., 1914-28, II 711. On Pedro de Luna only *Th. Earenfight, E.M. Gerli*, in: *E.M. Gerli* (ed.): Medieval Iberia. An Encyclopedia. London 2003, 157f.; 521f.; *B. von Langen-Monheim*: Un mémoire justificatif du pape Benoît XIII: l’Informatio seriosa. Canet 2008; *B. Müller-Schauenburg*: Benedikts XIII. antihäretische Profilierung einer konservierten Einheitsfiktion, in: *H. Müller* (ed.): Der Verlust der Eindeutigkeit. Berlin, Boston 2017, 147-162.

³²*Chevalier*: Étude (note 20) XVIII-XIX no. N add. *Chevalier*: Autour (note 21) 33 no. I; cf. *Fossati*: Sindone (note 21) 208f. no. 10. The formula *sub excommunicationis pena, quam si secus feceris incurrere te volumus* corresponds to the rather unusual excommunication for bishops as an ‘act penalty’, i. e. as a *poena latae sententiae*.

³³*Fossati*: Sacra Sindone (note 1) 48f.

We still do not have the original, but it was not addressed to the Charny family, but to the pious visitors of the church of Lirey.³⁴ Only there did it make sense. This is the reason why indulgence bulls for Lirey were still partly present in 1791³⁵ and in the early 16th century the indulgences in favour of the collegiate church of Lirey were summarized on a poster (“tableau”).³⁶ In addition to the indulgence bull of Pope Clement VII, there existed – which is almost regularly overlooked – another one, unfortunately also lost, of Cardinal Pierre de Thurey. It was undoubtedly issued at the same time as the indult of 1389. The claim that the cardinal had imitated the pope³⁷ turns the true facts on their head, because the cardinal had granted an indulgence of 40 days for visitors to the church on certain feast days and their octaves, which the pope had increased in June 1390 to one year and forty days, or to 50 days for the octaves. In modern terms, Lirey’s ‘market value’ had increased because of the Shroud affair.

If Marguerite de Charny therefore hardly presented a bull of indulgence in Chimay, the only assumption that remains – if we take seriously the above-mentioned assertion that the ‘bulls’ were granted to her ancestors – is that there was a Pope’s letter to Geoffroy II de Charny, unknown to us, in response to the latter’s second supplication. This second supplication is only known from the above-mentioned mandate of the Pope to Pierre d’Arcis, where it says: “as the petition presented to us on the part of the said Geoffroy” (*sicut exhibita nobis pro parte dicti Gaufridi petitio continebat*). It is possible that the Pope had answered the supplication in summary proceedings by a *fiat* with an addition referring to his action,³⁸ and/or that his letter was not handed down, not found or not registered at all.

In any case, there were three important documents in Marguerite de Charny’s possession in 1449, all of which are unfortunately lost in the original. Only the Pope’s letter of 28 July 1389 to Geoffroy II de Charny has been preserved in the issuing registry, as already mentioned. It has very rarely been asked where these documents came from. Luigi Fossati assumed³⁹ that they could have been handed over to the Savoys with the Shroud. But he himself argued that the Savoys did not make any announcement about it. One rather has the impression that the French past of the object illegally acquired by an excommunicate lady was rather a hindrance to them.⁴⁰ Therefore, it was quickly suppressed and so thoroughly forgotten. It was only Jean-Jacques Chifflet’s fundamental work on the burial linens of Christ, published in 1624, that brought the early stay of the Shroud in Lirey to the attention of Savoy historiography.⁴¹

The stubbornness of Marguerite de Charny towards the canons of Lirey is known to us in

³⁴ *Chevalier*: Autour (note 21) 37-39 no. L; *Fossati*: Sindone (note 21) 211-213 no. 12.

³⁵ AdA 9 G 2: *Etat des titres du chapitre de Notre Dame de Lirey fondé en 1353 par Messire Geoffroy de Charny Seigneur dudit Lirey. - Première liace contenantante trente pièces. ... 4 Bulle d’indulgence adressée au roy de France pour le chapitre. - Seconde liace contenantante vingttrois pièces.... 21 Bulle d’indulgence pour les réparations. 22 Bulle d’indulgence du temps der Mr. De Charny. 23 Bulle du pape Innocent VI en faveur du patron.*

³⁶ It was copied in 1518-II-21 for Bishop Jacques Raguier of Troyes (1484-1518): AdA I 17/8 (olim 9 G 4); partially edited by *du Teil*: Autour (note 2) 32-33 no. B; cf. *ibid.* 4-6.

³⁷ *Prévost*: Lirey (note 2) 819.

³⁸ Cf. *R.C. Logoz*: Clément VII (Robert de Genève). Sa chancellerie et le clergé romand au début du grand schisme (1378-1394). Lausanne 1974, 204f.; *J. Serra Estellés*: Los registros de súplicas y letras pontificias de Clemente VII en Avinon (1378-1394). Estudio diplomático. Rome 1988, 92-98; 150-153; generally *E. von Boeselager*: *fiat ut petitur*. Päpstliche Kurie und deutsche Benefizien im 15. Jahrhundert. Düsseldorf 1999; *T. Frenz*: Lexikon der Papstdiplomatik. Passau 2019, s. v. fiat; etc.

³⁹ *Fossati*: Sacra Sindone (note 1) 49f.

⁴⁰ *L. Ripart*: Le Saint Suaire, les Savoie et Chambéry (1453-1515), in: *P. Cozzo, A. Merlotti, a. A. Nicolotti* (eds.): The Shroud at Court: History, usages, places and images of a dynastic Relic. Leiden, Boston 2019, 57-74. On the transfer of 1453, most recently *A. Nicolotti*: The acquisition of the Shroud by the House of Savoy: Documentary evidence, in: *ibid.* 20-56.

⁴¹ *A. Solaro*: Sindone evangelica, storica e teologica. Torino 1627, 69-75. On Monod and Solaro *G.M. Zaccone*: Contributo allo studio delle fonti edite sulla Sindone nel XVI e XVII secolo, in: *P. Coero-Borga a. G. Intrigillo* (eds.): La Sindone. Nuovi studi e ricerche. Cinisello Balsamo 1986, 35-73; esp. 43f.; 50f.; 54-56; La Sindone da Lirey a Torino, in: *B. Barberis a. G.M. Zaccone* (eds.): Sindone. Cento anni di ricerca. Roma 1998, 87-105; 98; cf. *L. Giachino*: Sindonic panegyrics in the 17th century, in: *Cozzo* (note 39) 185-213; esp. 186.

many details,⁴² admittedly not at all from originals, which are all lost with two exceptions,⁴³ but from a single collection of copies notarized on 1519.⁴⁴ The formerly highly respected countess and wife of a knight of the Savoy ‘Orde du Collier’ was a driven woman in the last years of her life. She died childless and in excommunication on 7 October 1460. The archives of the Charny of Lirey must have ended up in her estate, if they had survived until then.

The legacy

First, one must see that the inheritance of Marguerite de Charny consists of two parts. Her will apparently dates from July 1460. It is still mentioned in the early 18th century⁴⁵ but has not yet been found again. According to André DuChesne, Marguerite appointed her biological cousin Béatrix de Poitiers and the husband of this cousin Gabriel de Roussillon, Seigneur de Bouchage, as universal heirs.⁴⁶ This was not a particularly happy decision. But more on that in a moment.

The seignury of Lirey

For now it should be noted that Marguerite de Charny must have largely excluded the seignury of Lirey in her will. For this had already been given on 20 April 1460 to her cousin Antoine Guerry (Guérin) des Essar(t)s († 1474). She had baptized him which, according to the medieval view, established a spiritual kinship that was hardly inferior to the bodily one.⁴⁷ Although Antoine had to defend official decisions against his godmother several times,⁴⁸ he had received from her already on 24 October 1455 the dominions of Roffey, Ligny-le-Châtel and her share of Ricey (today Les Riceys), and shortly before her death also Lirey. Since the original documents are missing, we must rely on the second edition of the genealogies of Père Anselme de Sainte Marie alias Pierre de Guibours (1625-1694).⁴⁹ According to the blanket source information in this edition supervised by Honoré Caille du Fourny (1630-1730), one would have to look for the originals in Paris if they survived.⁵⁰

That cannot be done here. But even so, Antoine I Guerry is good for several surprises. First, he is said to have come from a Breton family, but was one of the most important

⁴²Details *Chevalier*: Étude (note 20) 37-40.

⁴³This exceptions are AdA I 19/3-2 and 19/3-3; see *P. Piétrisson de Saint-Aubin*: Documents sur le Tonnerrois. Inventaire du Fonds Contassot aux Archives de l’Aube. Bulletin de la Société des Sciences de historiques et naturelles l’Yonne 80 (1926) 131-167; esp. 138-140.

⁴⁴AdA I 19/4-7, f. 2-25v; cf. BnF Coll. de Champagne 154, f. 146-172; BnF Naf 7454, f. 131-142; cf. *Chevalier*: Étude (note 20) XXII.

⁴⁵*P. Anselme de Sainte Marie*: Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la Maison royale de France ... II. Paris, 3rd ed., 1726, 202f., possibly after *DuChesne* (next note).

⁴⁶*A. DuChesne*: Histoire généalogique des comtes de Valentinois et de Diois. Paris 1628, 87f.; 97f. with Preuves 98f. He speaks explicitly of “heredes” and “ses heritiers universaux”. Marguerite’s younger sister Henriette de Charny was apparently not considered, although she may still have been alive. She was last married to Pierre de Grancey, seigneur de Ravières and Pisy. The marriage certainly existed in 1435: Nicolotti: Marguerite (note 6) 194; 202.

⁴⁷*M. Mitterauer*: Geistliche Verwandtschaft im Kontext mittelalterlicher Verwandtschaftssysteme, in: *K.-H. Spieß* (ed.): Die Familie in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters. Ostfildern 2009, 171-194; *J. Schmid*: Gesinde, Patrone, Patenkinder und “freunde” als Vermächtnisnehmer, in: *M. Häberlein* (ed.): Testamente Bamberger Frauen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Bamberg 2018, 125-161; esp. 145. generally *S. Patzold a. K. Ubl* (eds.): Verwandtschaft, Name und soziale Ordnung (300-1000). Berlin, Boston 2014.

⁴⁸1449 and 1459 *Chevalier*: Étude (note 20) XXXI-XXXIII no. V; XXXVI-XXXIX no. Y.

⁴⁹*P. Anselme de Sainte Marie*: Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la Maison royale de France II. Paris, 2nd ed., 1712, 1110; VIII. Paris, 3rd ed., 1733, 203.

⁵⁰The title page of the 1712 edition reads: “Le tout dresse sur les titres originaux; Registres des Chartes du Roy, du Parlement, de la Chambre des Comptes, et du Châtelet de Paris, Cartulaires d’Eglises; Manuscrits et Mémoires qui sont dans la Bibliothèque du Roy, et autres.” Pierre de Guibours and Honoré Caille lived and researched in their home city of Paris all their lives.

personalities in Troyes at his days.⁵¹ A licensed lawyer, he held the office of royal ‘prévôt’⁵² in Troyes from 1429 to 1461, during which time he was also a councilor on several occasions (1430-1433, 1445, 1458). He was sent to the French Estates-General of 1468 as the first delegate from his city. He undoubtedly owed his rise to his marriage to Jeanne (Mahaut) Hennequin on 19 October 1428, for she came from one of the most distinguished families of Troyes, which together with the Maroy and the Huyart set the tone socially and politically.⁵³ Antoine was called to the army of the Bailliage in 1473 as Seigneur of Lirey and Roffey with the rank of Écuyer. He had two sons and two daughters (compare, also for the following text, the “Stemma: Descendants of Aymar V de Poitiers” at the end of this paper in Figure 17).

Guillaume Guerry was in possession of the lordship of Lirey in 1484 and still in 1528,⁵⁴ which he passed on to Antoine II in 1533 at the latest. This Antoine II († 1555) was as important a man as his grandfather. He was lieutenant-general of the bailliage of Chaumont-en-Bassigny in 1542⁵⁵ and became a civil lieutenant in the prévôté of Paris in 1548.⁵⁶ Although married three times,⁵⁷ he had only one daughter, from his second marriage to Jeanne d’Averly, Lady of Saint-Benoît-sur-Vanne. This daughter, Louise Guerry des Essarts, still had a guardian for Lirey, Saint-Benoît-sur-Vanne and the Motte-Philippe of the Château de Saint-Phal at the 1558 army-rising.⁵⁸ She married Laurent de Saint Marcel, and their daughter Anne de Saint Marcel in turn married Balthasar de Simiane. Thus Lirey came into the possession of one of the oldest and most respected families in Provence. Balthasar’s son Guillaume de Simiane († 1642), who was orphaned by the heroic death of his father on 30 May 1686 in Monestier-lès-Clermont,⁵⁹ was under guardianship until 1602⁶⁰, married in 1612 and became Marquis

⁵¹The following according to *N. Bulst*: Die französischen Generalstände von 1468 und 1484: Prosopographische Untersuchungen zu den Delegierten 1992, 73 with note 89. On the family, cf. the remarks in *L. Le Clerc*: Carrelages vernissés, incrustés, historiés et faïencé du musée de Troyes. Mémoires de la Société académique d’agriculture, des sciences, arts et belles-lettres du Département de l’Aube 29 (1892) 5-102; esp. 58; *T. Sullivan*: Parisian licentiate in Theology, A.D. 1373-1500. A biographical register: Vol. II. The secular clergy, in. Leiden, Boston 2011, 267f.; on this studium.univ-paris1.fr/individus/13163-anthoniusguerry2. *L. Le Clerc*: Armorial historique de l’Aube. Mémoires de la Société d’agriculture, sciences et arts du département de l’Aube 75 (1911) 65-421; esp. 190f.; 222f. There was no direct connection between the Guerry des Essarts (arms: *une bande, au lambel de trois pendants brochant*) and des Essarts in Paris of the 14th century (arms: *de gueules à trois croissants d’or*; see *J.-M.B.C. Kervyn de Lettenhove* (ed.): Jean Froissart, Oeuvres. Brussels 1867-77, I 90 note 1; 93-97; 209) and the early 15th century, see only *L.B. Ross*: Anger and the City: Who was in charge of the Paris cabochien Revolt of 1413?, in: *A. Classen* (ed.): Urban space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. Berlin, Boston 2009, 433-462.

⁵²*G. Dupont-Ferrier*: Gallia Regia ou État des officiers royaux des bailliages et sénéchausées de 1328 à 1515. Paris 1942-66, VI 82 N. 22638; Also *R.-H. Bautier*: L’exercice de la juridiction gracieuse en Champagne du milieu du XIII^e siècle à la fin du XV^e. Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes 116 (1958) 29-106; esp. 92; *Bulst*: Generalstände (note 50) 73 note 89.

⁵³*Bulst*: Generalstände (note 50) 285-287.

⁵⁴Except for the evidence given by *A. Roserot*: Lirey, in: Dictionnaire historique de la Champagne meridionale (Aube) des origines à 1790. II. Langres, Angers, Troyes 1943-45, 796-801. There are sources from about the year 1490 *A. Roserot*: Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Aube. Archives civiles. Série E. I. Troyes 1884, 54f. E 211; in 1493 *C.A. Bourdot de Richebourg*: Nouveau coutumier general, ou Corps des coutumes generales et particulieres de France, et des provinces connues sous le nom des Gaules. III. Paris 1724, 168; in 1495 Isabeau des Guerry des Essarts is allegedly named as dame de Lirey: *Le Clerc*: Carrelages (note 50) 58 (without reference). The circumstances in Lirey around 1500 are not yet entirely clear.

⁵⁵*Roserot*: IS Série E (note 53) 2 E 4.

⁵⁶*A. Tuetey*: Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris. Paris 1899, 38f. no. 2672f.

⁵⁷On the first marriage to Guillemette Le Genevoise in 1538 *Anselme de Sainte Marie*: Histoire (note 44) II 434; on the third marriage to Mahaut (Marie) Hennequin in 1548 *A. de Mauroy*: Les Hennequin. Revue de Champagne et de Brie 23 (1898) 161-215; esp. 172.

⁵⁸*C. Soccard*: Rôle du ban et arrière-ban du bailliage de Troyes en 1558. Mémoires de la société d’agriculture, sciences et arts de l’Aube 54 (1890) 231-295; esp. 242 no. 26.

⁵⁹See also *Anselme de Sainte Marie*: Histoire (see note 44) II 246f.; *F.-A. Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois and J. Badier* (eds.): Dictionnaire de la noblesse, contenant les généalogies, l’histoire et la chronologie des familles nobles de France. Paris, 3rd ed., 1863-76 XVIII 605-608; *J. Taulier*: Notice historique sur Bertrand-Raymbaud Simiane, Baron de Gordes. Grenoble 1859, 12; 112.

⁶⁰*Roserot*: IS Série E (note 53) 55 E 211: 127 E 482; 151 E 544.

of Gordes (1615) and captain of the king's bodyguard.⁶¹ The Centre of life of this family with its ten children had long since ceased to be in Champagne; therefore, on 21 July 1624, Guillaume sold the lands and seigneurie of Lirey, with the right of patronage, presentation and appointment of the dean, chapter and benefices of the church of Lirey, to Gabriel des Réaulx, which his wife ratified four years later.⁶² With the transfer to the Réaulx family, who sold Lirey on to the Piot in 1748, any distant family connection to Marguerite de Charnys naturally came to an end. By now at the latest, even old documents, and those of a forgotten family at that, would probably have become obsolete.

Unfortunately, the situation in Lirey itself is no better. It is true that in the decades between 1504 and 1540 we have the hopeful situation that the secular family was closely related to that of the dean. It almost amounts to a staircase joke in world history that at the time when the Shroud was longed for in Lirey, both leading figures were descendants of Bishop Henri de Poitiers. This warlike Bishop of Troyes liberated the Benedictine convent of Paraclet in Nogent-sur-Seine, which had been sacked by the English in 1359, and had it rebuilt several years later.⁶³ In the process, he apparently became quite close to a nun of the convent named Jeanne de Chenery; for on 9 October 1370, a few weeks after his early death, a son and three daughters from this "forbidden union" were legitimized by the king.⁶⁴ Antoine, Batard de Poitiers, is attested as *Écuyer* in the 1380s⁶⁵ and the second daughter named Guillemette de Poitiers apparently married Guyot Guerry des Essarts († 1413). With him she had as son Antoine I Guerry des Essarts, thus the heir of Marguerite de Charny in Lirey (see the Stemma at the end of this paper).

As we have heard, Antoine I Guerry had passed on this seigneurie to his son and grandson. But he was also the grandfather of Jean Huyart, called *le Jeune*, through the marriage of his daughter Isabeau.⁶⁶ Jean Huyart led the college in Lirey as dean from 28 October 1504 until his death on 14 June 1540. He was undoubtedly one of the most distinctive figures in this function. He not only reformed the chapter, built a church in stone that was only replaced in 1897, and decorated it with two retables of great artistic value.⁶⁷ He was also interested in the historical tradition. Although the Shroud had long been in Chambéry, he published an account of the acquisition of the Shroud by Geoffroy I de Charny in his new church. It represents the 'true story' as it is not infrequently found at pilgrimage sites: a mixture of tradition and partly anachronistic construction. It is certainly based on "the old chronicles of France" (as Froissart) and also "on the documents and other information in this church",⁶⁸ but to what extent is debatable.

Historically impeccable and invaluable is the source dossier of eleven documents initiated by Huyart on the dispute over the Shroud between the canons of Lirey and Marguerite de Charny, which has been copied several times (Table 2).

He had the copies collated "on the originals" (*ad originalia*) on 4 October 1519 and thus

⁶¹ S. Lamoral le Pippre de Noeuville: *Abrégé chronologique et historique de l'origine, du progrès et de l'état actuel de la Maison du roi et de toutes les troupes de France*. I. Liège 1734, 35.

⁶² *Roserot*: IS Série E (note 53) 51 E 204.

⁶³ H. Denifle: *La désolation des églises, monastères & hôpitaux en France pendant la guerre de cent ans*. Paris 1897, 241f.

⁶⁴ AnF JJ 100 f. 183v-184 no. 616-619: ... *Anthonius filius* (or *Johanna filia, Guillemeta filia, Margareta filia*) *Johanne de Cheneryo religiosa in monasterio paraclleti iuxta Nogentum super Secanam ex prohibito copula videlicet ex Henrico quondam episcopo Trecensi et ex dicta religiosa ortum habuisse dicantur*. Cf. *Anselme de Sainte Marie*: *Histoire* (note 44) II 191f.; T. Boutiot: *Histoire de la ville de Troyes et de la Champagne méridionale*. Troyes, Paris 1875, II 224f.

⁶⁵ J. Roman: *Description des sceaux des familles seigneuriales du Dauphiné*. Grenoble, 2nd ed., 1913, 277 no. 683.

⁶⁶ A. Roserot: *Les Marisy*. *Mémoires de la Société Académique d'Agriculture des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres du Département de l'Aube* 40 (1876) 199-289; esp. 216; 236.

⁶⁷ For the retable in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London see Ch. Avery: *Sculpture from Troyes in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London 1974; more in collections.vam.ac.uk. In addition A. Hourseau: *Autour du Saint Suaire et de la collégiale de Lirey*. Paris, Norderstedt 2012, 171-184; *About the Holy Shroud and the collegiate church of Lirey (Aube)*. Paris, Norderstedt 2020, 168-181.

⁶⁸ Only A.-M. Dubarle a. H. Leynen: *Histoire ancienne du linceul de Turin*. II: 944-1356. Paris 1998, 113-138 (*Leynen*); M. Latendresse: *La notice "Pour Sçavoir la Vérité"* (2019): linceul.org.

Table 2: Documents related to the dispute between the canons of Lirey and Marguerite de Charny.

Date	Chevalier 1900	Sanno Solaro	AdA I 19/4-7	BnF Coll. de Champ. 154	BnF Naf 7454
1442-VIII-07			f. 2 (frag.)	f. 146-147v	f. 131-132
1443-V-08	R	O	f. 3v-7v	f. 147v-153v	f. 132v-137
1443-V-09	S	P	f. 8-9	f. 154-155v	f. 137v-138v
1447-VII-18	T	Q	f. 9-13	f. 155v-160	f. 138v-142
1449-XI-06	V	R	f. 21-22v	f. 170-172	
1457-V-29	W	S	f. 16-16v	f. 163-163v	
1457-V-30	X	T	f. 13-15v	f. 160-163	
1459-I-19	Y		f. 23-25v		
1464-II-06	Z	A	f. 16v-18v	f. 163v-166v	
1464-V-23	AA	V	f. 19	f. 167	
1473-V-14	BB	X	f. 19v-21	f. 167v-169v	

notarized. The original entry of the tabellions is in the Contassot fonds.⁶⁹ The entry of the dean Galland below it shows that the booklet measuring about 30 × 21 cm was still present in 1727, but the opening page was missing (Figure 14).⁷⁰

Not much seems to have remained of the originals by the beginning of the 18th century.⁷¹ Only the request of the parliament of Dole for the return of the Shroud of 9 May 1443 reappeared when Huyart’s register was found in 1855.⁷² But neither this original nor any other document copied by Huyart points compellingly to the origin of Marguerite de Charny or her successors in title in Lirey. In fact, they could all have come from the chapter archives themselves. This is even more likely as Antoine I Guerry, also Seigneur of Essarts, Roffey, Ligny-le-Chastel etc., did indeed fight a legal battle with the canons of Lirey,⁷³ but it by no means follows from this that he at some point lived in the manor house on the motte of Lirey.⁷⁴ Even Marguerite de Charny had moved with her second husband from Lirey to Saint-Hippolyte sur le Doubs after 1418, and her prolonged return to Lirey is not likely. Apparently, during the 15th century, the secular settlement at Lirey fell quite into disrepair. On 11 November 1449, the cornered Marguerite had offered before the Prévôt of Troyes (her godson Antoine I Guerry) the canons that she would “specially create a fortified place (*une forte place*) in

⁶⁹AdA I 19/4-7, f. 25v: “Collatio facta est de preinserta copia ad originalia eiusdem per nos notarios publicos, curie Trecensis tabelliones subsignatos, anno Domini millo quingentesimo decimo nono, die quarta mensis octobris. H. Venel, Guille [?]”. Humbert Venel is elsewhere as *tabellio* of the officiality of Troyes: AdA G 4194 (*H. d’Arbois de Jubainville a. F. André: Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790: Aube. Archives ecclésiastiques – Série G. II. Paris, Troyes 1896, 381*). He also appears in the Estates General of 1506: *Société académique de l’Aube (ed.): Collection de documents inédits relatifs à la ville de Troyes et à la Champagne méridionale. I. Troyes 1878, 13*.

⁷⁰AdA I 19/4-7, f. 25v: “Cecy est vne coppie de toutes les autres pieces estantes en parchemin, ou il y manque quelques feuillets au commencement; et sert pour faire foy desdis originaux.” The same writing *ibid.* f. 2: “Manque ici au moins un feuillet en 1727; j’ai cotté le tout et comencé par 2”. Charles-Hugues Galland’s writing is clearly identifiable by I 19/4-1 no. 3; on Galland apart from *Prévost*: Lirey (note 2) 820 note 3; 935f.; *F. André, J.-J. Vernier, a. P. Piétrésson de Saint-Aubin: Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790: Aube. Archives ecclésiastiques. Série G. III. Troyes 1930, 91; 182; Hourseau: Suaire (note 66) 195f.; 198f.*

⁷¹An inventory of Lirey’s documents from 1672, which is difficult to read, has not been edited, nor has that of 7 February 1791; both in AdA 9 G 2.

⁷²AdA I 19/3-3.

⁷³*Piétrésson de Saint-Aubin: Documents (note 42) 140; Hourseau: Suaire (note 66) 172.*

⁷⁴On this ‘Maison-forte’ *Roserot*: Lirey (note 53) 800f. Furthermore *F. Cayot: Les maisons seigneuriales rurales à la fin du Moyen Age (XIVe-XVIe s.) dans l’Yonne. Annales de Bourgogne 75 (2002) 259-288; esp. 263f.*

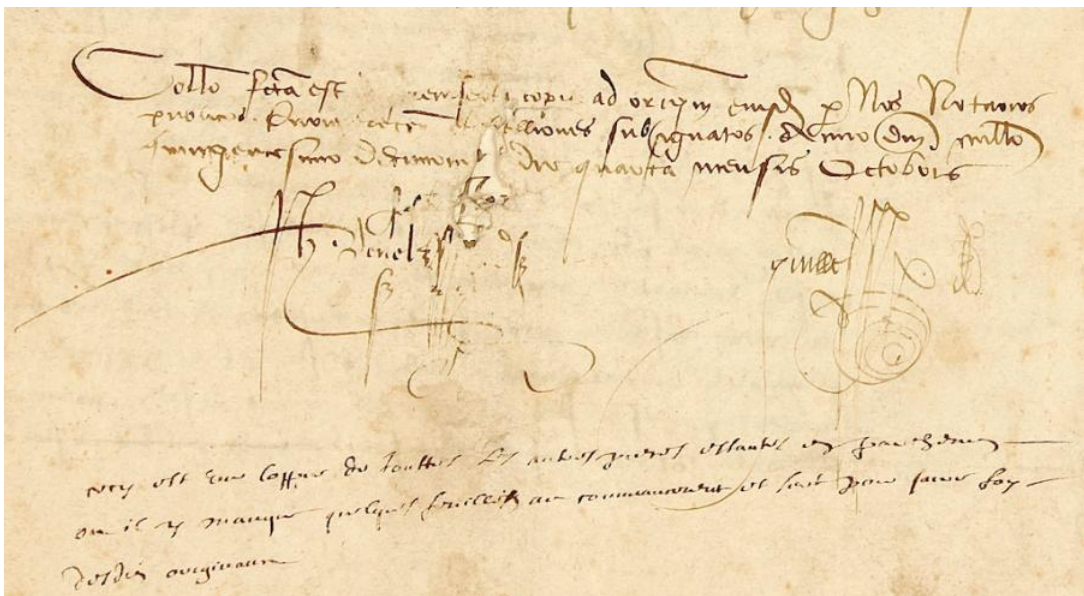


Figure 14: The notarization of the copies from dean Huyart in 1519 and the confirmation by dean Galland in 1727 (AdA I 19/4-7, f. 25v).

Lirey to keep the Shroud and the other things”.⁷⁵ For it says in a fief list from 1504 that the manor used to have a house fortified with moats and a drawbridge.⁷⁶ The remaining part was “plundered, burnt and destroyed by the enemies of the kingdom” in 1536.⁷⁷ Thus the probability that documents of the Charny could have survived there is close to zero.

Charles of Noyers

Not everything from Lirey had gone to Antoine I Guerry. Marguerite’s stepbrother Charles de Noyers, Seigneur of Watefale and Signy-le-Petit, also deserved at least a large bequest. For he had stood by his stepsister several times in her dispute with the canons;⁷⁸ finally, he had become so deeply involved in the turbulence surrounding the Shroud that he was threatened with excommunication on 1st October 1459.⁷⁹ Whether it was ever carried out, we do not know. Charles de Noyers had apparently been second chamberlain to the Count of Étampes, Nevers and Rethel since at least 1439. Eight years later, he sold to him the land of Montcornet-les-Ardennes brought as a dowry by his wife Jeanne de Murchain (Murtin).⁸⁰ He was almost certainly Charles de Noyers, who was arrested in Brussels for magical practices soon after Marguerite’s death and died in prison around 1470.⁸¹

⁷⁵ *Chevalier*: Étude (note 20) XXXI-XXXIII no. V.

⁷⁶ BnF Franç. 5378, f. 179; quoted in *Roserot*: Lirey (note 53) 801: “... jadis souloit avoir maison et place forte à pont levis, fermée de fossez ...”.

⁷⁷ AdA E 4; quoted in *Roserot*: IS Série E (note 53) 2: “... une mothe close de fossez, où jadis estoit une forteresse ou maison fort, à pont-levis. qui a esté pillée, bruslée et ruynée par les ennemis du royaume l’an mil cinq cens trente six ou environ ; tenant ladicte mothe avec lesdicts fossez environ six quartiers (de terre) ...”.

⁷⁸ *Chevalier*: Étude (note 20) XXIII-XXV no. R; XXXI-XXXIII no. V; XXXIV-XXXVI no. X; XXXVI-XXXIX no. Y; AdA I 19/3-2.

⁷⁹ *Chevalier*: Étude (note 20) XXXVI-XXXIX no. Y; AdA I 19/3-2.

⁸⁰ G. Saige, H. Lacaille, a. L.-H. Labande: *Trésor des chartes du comté de Rethel*. Monaco 1902-1914, III 235f. no. 1080; IV 289.

⁸¹ Cf. A. Berlin: *Magie am Hof der Herzöge von Burgund: Aufstieg und Fall des Grafen von Étampes*. Constance, Munich 2016, 72-74.

Béatrix de Poitiers

One of Marguerite's principal heirs was, as already mentioned, her cousin Béatrix de Poitiers, daughter of Louis de Poitiers, Seigneur de Saint-Vallier. She was married to the other universal heir, Gabriel de Roussillon, Seigneur of Bouchage, etc., formerly perhaps Marshall of the Dauphiné.⁸² Both were very rich, already old, and equally childless. Béatrix survived her husband and in 1863 she appointed Aymar de Poitiers, the son of her elder brother Charles II de Poitiers, as her heir.⁸³ Aymar was Count of Saint Vallier and Valentinois from 1454 to 1510, and Great Seneschal of Provence.⁸⁴ His most powerful descendant was his granddaughter Diane de Poitiers (1500-1566). She achieved fame and wealth as the mistress of King Henri II.⁸⁵ She had been Duchess of Valentinois since 1548, but all her power could not prevent the ancestral house of Saint-Vallier from passing to the La Croix-Chevrières family in 1584.⁸⁶ The centuries-old documents remained with them and were inventoried in 1681 by Pierre Richard, notary of Saint-Vallier, on behalf of Jean-Baptiste de la Croix-Chevrières de Saint-Vallier (1653-1727).⁸⁷ Although Jean-Baptiste was Bishop of Québec from 1685/88 until his death,⁸⁸ the archive apparently remained in Europe and was located in Grenoble around 1870.⁸⁹ It also contained the lost will of Béatrix de Poitiers,⁹⁰ which must undoubtedly have included instructions concerning Lirey. For Aymar de Poitiers, the heir of his aunt Béatrix, had all the rights, shares and actions that he had and could have in the land, lordship and possessions of Lirey sold and transferred forever to the noble knight Artus de Vaudrey, Seigneur of Mouy and Saint-Phal, advisor and chamberlain to the king, by the royal court in Tours on 27 November 1473.⁹¹ Unfortunately, we know nothing more about this, but at least this much, that it could only have been a part of the land of Lirey, which was apparently later reunited with the rest by the Guerry-family.⁹²

Gabriel de Roussillon and Falco de Montchenu

Gabriel de Roussillon⁹³ had very resolutely supported the interests of King Charles VII against his son, the Dauphin Louis. The latter took terrible revenge. After he ascended the throne as King Louis XI, he had Gabriel de Roussillon accused of high treason, arrested and put in prison.⁹⁴ There he died as early as 27 December 1461, having assigned Brangues Castle to his wife Béatrix de Poitiers in his will, but appointing his nephew Falco de Montchenu,

⁸² *Dupont-Ferrier*: Gallia Regia (note 51) II II 396 no. 8214,4; perhaps confusion with his father Guillaume (ibid. No. 8214,3; 8215), who was also Bailli of Mâcon (ibid. V 11 no. 14545). This office is also repeatedly attributed to Gabriel.

⁸³ *DuChesne*: Valentinois (note 45) 99.

⁸⁴ *Dupont-Ferrier*: Gallia Regia (note 51) V 10–12 no. 18170; cf. *A. Caise*: Histoire de Saint-Vallier, de son abbaye, de ses seigneurs et de ses habitants. Paris 1867, 62-64. Cf. only fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/provvaldi.htm.

⁸⁵ *S. Ruby*: Connected with Power. Images of the Favourite in Renaissance France. Heidelberg 2017, 123-349; es 136f.

⁸⁶ *Fundamental G. Allard*: Histoire généalogique des familles de La Croix de Chevrières, de Portier, d'Arzac, de Chissé, de Sayve et de Rouvroy (et de Lattier). Grenoble 1678, 1-23; *Caise*: Saint-Vallier (note 83) 124-190.

⁸⁷ *A. Caise*: Cartulaire de Saint-Vallier. Paris, Valence 1870, 94-130.

⁸⁸ *J.-G. Lavallée*: L'Église dans l'État au Canada sous Mgr de Saint-Vallier (1685/88-1727). Sessions d'étude - Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique 39 (1972) 29-40.

⁸⁹ *Caise*: Cartulaire (note 86) 94 note 2: "Les pièces mentionnées au présent inventaire étaient conservées à Grenoble, dans l'hôtel M. le président de Chevrières, rue Chenoise."

⁹⁰ *Caise*: Cartulaire (note 86) 116: "Dans le second étage de ladite grande armoire du milieu, à côté gauche en entrant dans lesdites archives, s'est trouvé plusieurs autres papiers et titres concernant ladite famille de Poitiers."

⁹¹ *DuChesne*: Valentinois (see note 45) Preuves 100. On Vaudrey, for example, *C. de Bréban*: Le château de Saint-Phal. Annuaire administratif et statistique du département de l'Aube 32 (1857) 93-123.

⁹² For the following, always *Roserot*: Lirey (note 53) 800 with references. Unfortunately, these are almost entirely missing in *Hourseau*: Suaire (note 66) 160; 172f.; 184; Shroud (note 66) 157; 169; 180.

⁹³ *J. Brun-Durand*: Dictionnaire biographique et biblio-iconographique de la Drôme. II. Grenoble 1900-1901, II 163f.

⁹⁴ On the revenge of the Dauphin, summarized by *A. Dussert*: Les États du Dauphiné de la guerre de Cent ans aux guerres de religion. Bulletin de l'Académie delphinale 5,13,2 (1922) 1-355; esp. 22-24.

Seigneur de Chateaufort-de-Galaure, as his universal heir.⁹⁵ This was a very bad choice, but it was prejudiced by Gabriel's father's will. The vengeful monarch confiscated the enormous estate and, on top of that, forced Falco to marry his daughter Georgette, who was sought after for her beauty, to the equally power-hungry and unscrupulous Ymbert de Batarnay (1438-1523),⁹⁶ until then Falco's vassal, and to give her Roussillon's goods as a dowry. In a courageous struggle, Falco tried to oppose this injustice: but after repeated imprisonment and deception, fleeing to Savoy and Burgundy, he finally agreed to the forced marriage in 1476, was able to return to his hereditary estates and secure royal favour for his son Geoffroy.⁹⁷



Figure 15: Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 5142, f. 1 (detail).

Whether and, if so, how Marguerite de Charny's estate survived during this time, we do not know. All was certainly not lost, because Falco's great-great-grandson François de Montchenu⁹⁸ still possessed the Countess de La Roche's Book of Hours in 1600. This so-called "Livre d'heures à l'usage de Soissons" (184 parchment leaves, 220 × 155 mm, 15 miniatures) had presumably come from the Montchenu family estate into the collection of Cardinal Louis-Jacques-Maurice de Bonald, who was Archbishop of Lyon from 1839 to 1870, and after his death had passed into the library of the chapter of Saint-Jean Cathedral.⁹⁹ Since 1913 it has been in the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon and bears the signature Ms 5142.¹⁰⁰

On folios 1, 13, 28v, 44 and 75v, the divided coat of arms of Marguerite de Charny is found in the middle of the floral tendrils. The left half shows the stretched coat of arms of Humbert de Villersexel, Count of La Roche-en-Montagne, which has been interpreted as *d'or à la croix d'azur*, but which is to be understood as *cinq points d'or équipolés à quatre d'azur*.¹⁰¹ In the right half the coat of arms of Geoffroy de Charny: *de gueules à trois écussons d'argent* (Figures 15–16).¹⁰²

Of course, the survival of a book of hours that had value¹⁰³ does not also mean the survival of family documents, especially when these are inherited in a double sense. But it cannot be ruled out. The Montchenu held their own as one of the most famous feudal families of the Dauphiné until the Revolution. Their archives in Châteaufort-en-Galaure were partially burnt

⁹⁵ A. *Auvergne: Histoire de Morestel* [1901]. Grenoble 1985, 72-78. Further M. *Deroux: Le mariage d'Ymbert de Batarnay et Georgette de Montchenu (1462): image de la pratique du pouvoir royal sous Louis XI*. La Pierre et l'Écrit 24 (2013) 41-59; esp. 44 with note 20f.

⁹⁶ Brun-Durand: Dictionnaire (note 92) I 77-79.

⁹⁷ Deroux: Mariage (note 94) passim; C. Zeile: Les origines d'Anne de la Queille et sa relation avec les Stuart. Une noble française du XVI^{ème} siècle et son réseau familial et social. Francia : research on Western European history 44 (2017) 271-294; esp. 274.

⁹⁸ Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois a. Badier (eds.): Dictionnaire (note 58) XIV 155-158; supplementary F. De Lambert Bregnot du Lut: Laurent de Montchenu (1726-1802), commandant en second pour le Roi en Vivarais et Velay: introduction à l'édition commentée de sa correspondance administrative pour les années 1788 et 1789. Thèse Lyon. 3rd ed., 2015, I 33-35 with Stemma.

⁹⁹ G.R. de Soultrait: Notice sur les manuscrits de trésor de l'église métropolitaine de Lyon. Revue Lyonnaise 5 (1883) 323-337; esp. 332. A note by the banker and collector Henry Morin-Pons (1831-1905) is recorded in A. Molinier and F. Desvernay: Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements. XXX: Lyon. Paris 1900, II 1111.

¹⁰⁰ M. Bernard: Les manuscrits médiévaux, du trésor à l'usage. Lyon 2011, 114; 122-125. François de Montchenu recorded or signed the births and baptisms of his eight children in the paper endpapers of the book; the youngest child was born in 1600 (ibid. 123). Vgl. pleade.bm-lyon.fr.

¹⁰¹ On the family coat of arms of La Roche-en-Montagne, see R. de Lurion: Nobiliaire de Franche-Comté. Besançon 1890, 682f.; M. Prinnet: [Communication]. Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France (1913) 149-157; esp. 153. For the same ambivalence in the coat of arms of the Genève family, see A. Besse a. G. Cassina: Dauphiné - Savoie: joute ou combat au château de Valère, à Sion? Journal of the Swiss Castles Association - Middle Ages 19 (2014) 15-25; esp. 19.

¹⁰² See M. Semeraro: Una committenza di Goffredo I di Charny, il "Cavaliere della Sindone", in Santa Maria del Casale Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia 72 (2019) 405-433; esp. 410-413.

¹⁰³ See for example the liturgical books in the will of Aymar de Poitiers, comte de Saint-Vallier, dated 9 September 1510: pleade.bm-lyon.fr.

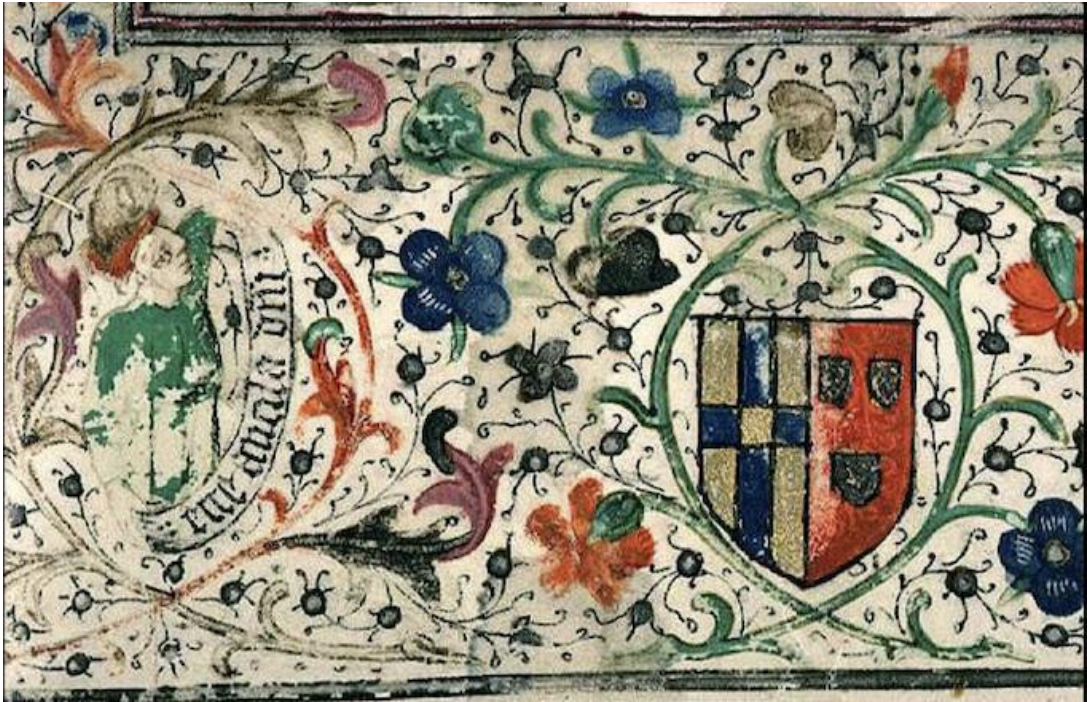


Figure 16: Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 5142, f. 13 (detail).

in 1792, and when the château and its furniture were sold to several owners in 1817, one of the new owners had the archives that had fallen to him destroyed. The part that was saved was evacuated to the castle of Montchenu and kept at least until around 1900.¹⁰⁴ There are still impressive private archives in this context today.¹⁰⁵

Documents of the Charny family are most likely to have survived in the Dauphiné and around Lyon. Whether a search will be successful remains to be seen.

¹⁰⁴ J. Bordas: *La commune de Châteauneuf-de-Galaure et son château*. Valence 1896, 22f.

¹⁰⁵ De Lambert Bregnot du Lut, *Laurent de Montchenu* (note 97) I 15.

Stemma: Descendants of Aymer V de Poitiers

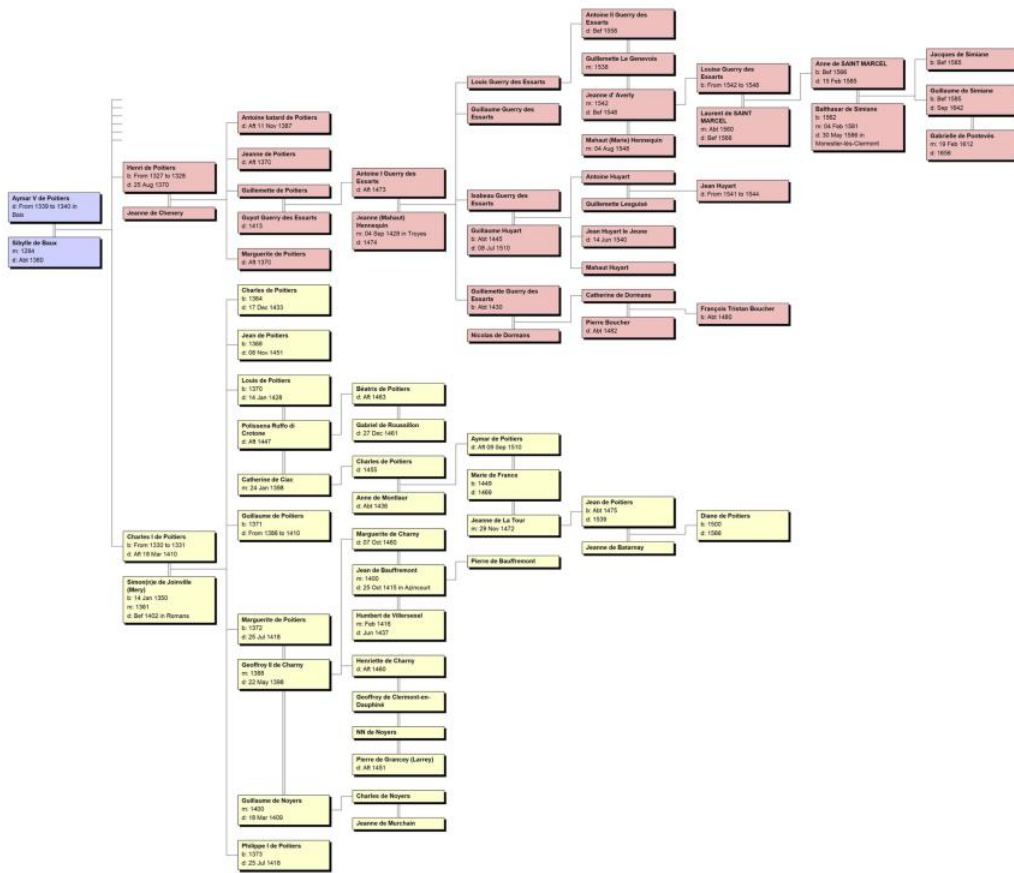


Figure 17: Descendants of Aymer V de Poitiers.

The origin of the shroud of Turin

By Mario Latendresse¹

Introduction

The historical origin of the shroud of Turin has been controversial since its appearance, in the second half of the 14th century, at the collegiate church of Lirey, France. In 1353, the knight Geoffroy de Charny founded the collegiate with the financial help of two kings of France, Philip VI and his son John.

The son of Geoffroy de Charny clearly stated that his father had received the Shroud as a “freely given gift,” but without stating by whom, when or where. The granddaughter of Geoffroy de Charny, Margaret de Charny, stated that his grandfather had “acquired” the Shroud, without stating when or in which circumstances. Some authors have interpreted the statement of Marguerite as involving a military expedition or battle, but this is unlikely as the French text recorded in court does not imply a military operation. It is possible that both of them were unaware of the details of the origin of the Shroud, although knowing enough to state that it came from the founder of the collegiate. Yet, we do not have evidence that Geoffroy founded the collegiate with the aim of housing the Shroud.

We also have a late statement around 1525, in the notice “Pour sçavoir la vérité,” most likely written by the dean of the collegiate of Lirey, Jean Huyard l’Ainé, that the Shroud had been gifted by King Philip VI to Geoffroy de Charny. That statement is uncertain because the notice contains inaccuracies on the location and the date of such a gift. It may also be partially true, because the author of the notice may have confused which king, between Philip VI and John II, was the real donor. Indeed, it appears that the author has partial knowledge of events and the exact dates and duration of them, but retained the high-level descriptions. However, it is a plausible statement given that other details in the notice are known to be true and exact. Moreover, as it will be shown, this is also plausible based on the well-documented fact that the king of France owned the most prestigious relics that came from Constantinople. An origin coherent with this statement is preferable to an origin that contradicts it, everything else being equal. In other words, it is preferable to have an origin that is coherent with the largest number of historical facts and documents that are considered true or plausibly true. Further discussion about this notice is presented in the section answering remarks recently made by Ian Wilson.

However, we have no statements by Geoffroy de Charny, or his family, on when, how and from whom the Shroud was acquired, which leaves no clear origin of the Shroud. This lack of statements open the possibility that Geoffroy de Charny was not even aware of the true nature of that relic, before his death at the battle of Poitiers in September 1356. For example, he may have received the Shroud not long before his death and not have yet taken the time to find out the true nature of the relic.

Numerous historical hypotheses for the origin of the Shroud, with different levels of certainty, have been proposed over several centuries. Establishing a clear origin of the Shroud is controversial because that raises the question of its authenticity.

The origin of the Shroud encompasses several different aspects depending on its authenticity. If the Shroud is inauthentic, its origin would likely be man-made, in which case its author

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and technique of fabrication would be two major aspects of its origin. If it is authentic, the route taken from the tomb of Christ to Lirey, and the protagonists that would have allowed such a route, would be the major aspect of its origin.

Assuming that the Shroud is inauthentic, several hypotheses have been proposed for its origin. The radiocarbon dating of 1988 of the Shroud, giving a medieval date, which has been considered by many as correct, is the primary argument to support the inauthenticity of the Shroud. However, it appears that this conclusion is an impasse for an historical origin of the Shroud. Indeed, as far as we know, the proposed hypotheses compatible with inauthenticity are mostly speculative. The lack of origin to the Shroud when assumed inauthentic is a real and tangible challenge to the radiocarbon dating of 1988. That observation is for many the reason to believe that the Shroud could be authentic, despite the radiocarbon dating. It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze in detail the proposed hypotheses compatible with inauthenticity².

Assuming that the Shroud is authentic, several hypotheses of the origin of the Shroud have been proposed. One hypothesis stands out among them because it has many variations. It is based on Othon de la Roche that would have acquired the Shroud from Constantinople, that is, all these hypotheses depend on the supposed acquisition of the Shroud by Othon de la Roche who would have brought it to Athens. The Shroud would have been at the church of St. Mary of Blachernae, and it would have been openly given to Othon after the sack of Constantinople, in 1204. However, as it will be discussed, there is no evidence that Othon de la Roche received the Shroud. Quite the contrary, it will be shown that the origin of such a hypothesis has been fabricated with false references, documents, and artifacts.

Another more recent proposed origin is the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris. That thesis proposes that the Shroud went incognito through the Sainte-Chapelle and that King Philip VI or his son John directly or indirectly gave the Shroud to Geoffroy de Charny. This gift would have occurred most probably without the king noticing the preciousness of the relic. It is a direct route since it involves the relics transferred from Constantinople to Paris, then to Geoffroy de Charny who was a close counselor of Kings Philip VI and his son John.

The primary aim of this paper is to compare the hypotheses based on Othon de la Roche and the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle by considering the relevant historical documents. By doing so, we will summarize the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle, answer several objections to that thesis, and analyze the most relevant historical documents.

For each historical document, we also need to consider its authenticity, historical exactitude and bias. These characteristics are independent. In the case of the present study, two historical documents are of particular concern. The first one is the supposed letter of Theodore Comnene Doukas to Pope Innocent III and the notice 'Pour sçavoir la vérité'. In the first case its authenticity is in doubt, in the second its historical contents is contestable. Almost any historical document may have a bias, that is, report events or points of view that have a tendency to hide or modify historical events.

The hypotheses based on Othon de la Roche

Several hypotheses for the origin of the Shroud are based on the knight Othon de la Roche, who supposedly would have received the Shroud after the sack of Constantinople in 1204. The diversity of such hypotheses stem from several authors spread over several centuries. It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze all these hypotheses, but these hypotheses are essentially based on a few historical documents, which we summarize in the following.

²For example, Nicholas Allen proposed that the Shroud is a 14th-century proto-photograph. Besides the fact that the Shroud has no traces of the chemicals used for such a photograph, such a hypothesis is very difficult to put into an historical context because photography emerges several centuries later. See Nicholas P. L. Allen, *Verification of the Nature and Causes of the Photo-negative Images on the Shroud of Lirey-Chambery-Turin, de Arte*, vol. 30, issue 51, p. 21-35, 1995.

The hypothesis that Othon de la Roche would have received the Shroud has already been critically analyzed and found to be untenable. However, in the following we have gathered recent developments that have further shown that this basis has no valid evidence. Furthermore, we would like to put in contrast the weakness of the historical documents of that basis compared to the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris presented later. We will also look into a repetitive phenomenon and cycle references that occurred over the centuries.

Cyclic references

There is a repetitive phenomenon that occurred for the hypothesis of Othon de la Roche which we can identify as “cyclic references”: based on the acceptance of the hypothesis, someone creates further references to the hypothesis, which is further used by others to enhance the hypothesis. Obviously, such references provide no support to the hypothesis. In some cases it is an artifact that was fraudulently created, but in some other cases the artifact was only intended as informative. We provide two examples, the first one has definitely been shown to be an artifact unrelated to Othon de la Roche, but that was used to support the hypothesis by some authors, and the second one is likely a possible fraudulent cycle reference, which is still used today to support hypotheses based on Othon de la Roche.

The castle of Ray-sur-Saône

The castle of Ray-sur-Saône presents a typical example of a cyclic reference: based on the spread of the Othon de la Roche hypothesis, the owners of the castle added memorabilia related to Othon de la Roche to enhance the visits to the castle, in particular a casket that would have been used to carry or keep the shroud of Turin from Athens. However, the sole evidence was a modern plastic inscription on top of the casket. No historical documents had been known to support such a claim. In a private communication, the librarian of the castle, Jean Richardot, confirmed that no historical documents were found in the archives of the family to support the claim made about the casket.

When the department of the Haute-Saône became the owner of the castle, after the passing away of the last owner, Diane Régina de Salverte, the casket inscription was removed, because it was indeed recognized that no historical document could ascertain the claim attached to the casket. Furthermore, a radiocarbon dating showed that the wood of the casket dates from the 16th century³.

More importantly, there was clear evidence that the casket had no valid family tradition, because in 1936, Hubert de Salverte, husband of Gabrielle de Salverte, owner of the castle then, had published a booklet stating that others were saying that Othon de la Roche had received the Shroud. In other words, the last family owning the castle had no evidence that Othon de la Roche had acquired the Shroud. Diane de Salverte kept reprinting that booklet for visitors of the castle, contradicting the casket provenance and use. There was confusion created by the spread of the Othon de la Roche hypothesis and no family tradition to support the apparently ill-conceived description of that casket. The casket became a cyclic reference: the casket was created because others claim that Othon had received the Shroud, and some other people used that casket as evidence to support the hypothesis that Othon had received the Shroud.

The supposed letter of Theodore Komnene to Pope Innocent III

The supposed copy of a letter of Theodore Doukas Komnene to Pope Innocent III is another likely example of a cyclic reference. This copy of a letter was presented by Don Pasquale Rinaldi in 1981 at a symposium in Bologna, and supposedly found in 1980 in the church

³The radiocarbon dating has been confirmed by a private communication of Michel Bergeret with the director of a French national radiocarbon dating lab.

of Saint Catherine in Formiello, Naples.⁴ This example is important because it is the only supposed evidence to support all the hypotheses based on Othon de la Roche. All other older evidence can be shown to be made-up. Indeed, no other historical document supports the ownership of Othon de la Roche, or its presence in Athens when Othon was Duke of Athens. That letter has been discussed at length by several authors⁵.

In a complex analysis to the authenticity of the copy of the letter, Andrea Nicolotti argued that it was fabricated in the 19th century. However, there is no need to go into such complex argumentation to readily raise serious doubts on the authenticity of the copy of that letter.

First, there is no trace of that document in the supposed location where it would have been found. This is a major issue. The supposed finding is such that it could have been fabricated by Pasquale Rinaldi himself or somebody else who would have given it to him. Indeed, it is presented as a 19th-century copy of a supposed letter of 1205, written in Rome. Such a late copy would have greatly facilitated its fabrication since there is no need to rely on ancient techniques to create it.

Second, its content has a very naive presentation by claiming that Theodore was accepting the loss of everything that has been taken from Constantinople, even the loss of the entire control of the city, except for the “Shroud of Christ.” This statement is inconceivable from Theodore Doukas Komnene. Moreover afterward, Theodore never openly pursued the subject with the Pope or attempted to regain the supposed shroud that was in Athens.

Fourth, after his presentation, Pasquale Rinaldi never participated to any further discussion of that letter, which put his finding even more dubious. His behavior put in doubt the veracity of his account on where and how that copy of a letter was found. Essentially, we can only rely on his words that this letter was found where it has been claimed to have been found. Further discussion with P. Rinaldi should have been possible. Sadly, Don Pasquale Rinaldi passed away in 2016. However, he never publicly commented on his supposed discovery of 1981, even after major critics raised doubts on his finding. By itself, such a muted attitude cast a major shadow on his discovery. His silence strongly reinforced the conclusion that the letter is a hoax. Andrea Nicolotti apparently met Pasquale Rinaldi around 2015, who would have revealed the true nature of this letter. We are awaiting for the publication of the details revealed by Rinaldi by Nicolotti.⁶

Lastly, when that supposed copy of the letter was presented in 1981 by Rinaldi, the hypothesis of Othon de la Roche was well accepted by many sindonologists, although there was no evidence to support it. That is, before 1981, the Othon de la Roche hypothesis had been made-up from false references initially spread by Pierre Joseph Dunod in his unpublished dissertation kept in Besançon. A made-up story that would coincide with a true document discovered afterward requires that this document be without any doubtful provenance, otherwise it appears as a cyclic reference, which has been a frequent scenario for the hypothesis of Othon de la Roche.

In summary, there is a single dubious document, the copy of a letter of Theodore Komnene, to support all the hypotheses based on Othon de la Roche. And that document was presented only after many of these hypotheses were falsely fabricated, which put further in doubt the already dubious document.

⁴Pasquale Rinaldi, *Un documento probante sulla localizzazione in Atene della Santa Sindone dopo il saccheggio di Costantinopoli*, La Sindone : Scienza e Fede, Proceedings of the symposium in Bologna, 1981, published in 1983.

⁵Andrea Nicolotti, *Su alcune testimonianze del Chartularium Culisanense, sulle false origini dell'Ordine Costantiniano Angelico di Santa Sofia e su taluni suoi documenti conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli*, Gionarle di Storia, August 2012. Gian Maria Zaccone, *The Shroud from the Charnys to the Savoyes. Shroud Symposium: past, present and future*, Turin, Ed. Efata, p. 396-397, 2000

⁶Personal communication, 23 June 2023, in Turin.

The thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris

The thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle was first presented by Hilda Leynen⁷ and later with more details and to a larger audience by Father André-Marie Dubarle and Hilda Leynen⁸. It is a direct route from the relics kept in the imperial palace of Constantinople to Paris, then to Geoffroy de Charny, most likely by an “accidental event,” which we further discuss below.



Figure 18: The interior of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris. In the center is a reproduction of an elevated platform on which the Grande Châsse was deposited. ©Mario Latendresse, 2017.

It is well documented that 22 relics from the Pharos chapel of Constantinople were transferred to Paris from 1239 to 1242. These relics were ceded by Baudouin II, Latin emperor of Constantinople, to King Louis IX, cousin of Baudouin II. An official letter signed by Baudouin in June 1247 lists these relics with short descriptions. Among them, as the 8th item in the list, is a “Sanctam toellam, tabulae insertam,” a Holy Cloth inserted in a table. That relic has been identified by many researchers as the Mandylion⁹. This identification is first supported by the description just given, that is, as a cloth inserted in a table, but more clearly by the inventories of the reliquaries and relics in the Grande Châsse of the Sainte-Chapelle.¹⁰

The inventories state the presence of a portrait of Christ surrounded by golden plates on the inside bottom of the reliquary of the Holy Cloth, the 8th item. It is not stated that the portrait is on a cloth. The legend of Abgar states that the Mandylion had a similar setting in its reliquary. The identification of the 8th item can only be the reliquary of the Mandylion with or without the Mandylion itself.

In the inventories, the reliquary of the 8th item is described as similar to another reliquary with a sliding cover in the collection of the reliquaries received from Constantinople. That

⁷Hilda Leynen, *À propos du Mandilion*, Soudarion, Bruges, 1992.

⁸André-Marie Dubarle et Hilda Leynen, *Histoire ancienne du linceul de Turin*, Tome 2, 944-1356, François-Xavier de Guibert, 1998.

⁹Jannic Durand, *L'image d'Abgar à la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris*, in *Das Christusbild, Zu Herkunft und Entwicklung in Ost und West*, Würzburg 2016, p 336–359. Andrea Nicolotti, *From the Mandylion of Edessa to the Shroud of Turin*, Brill 2014, p 188f. Averil Cameron, *The Byzantines*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2006, p 71. Emmanuel Pouille, *À propos des reliques de la Passion à la Sainte-Chapelle*, *Revue Internationale du Linceul de Turin*, No. 23, April 2002. A. M. Dubarle, Hilda Leynen, *Histoire ancienne du linceul de Turin*, II, 1998. Werner Bulst, *Das Turiner Grabtuch und das Christusbild*. I, Frankfurt a. M. 1987, 142. Karlheinz Dietz, *Das Turiner Grabtuch und die historische Kritik*, in: Walter Brandmüller (ed.): *Wer ist Jesus Christus?* Aachen 1995, 97–170, esp. 141f. Idem, *Probleme der Geschichte des Grabtuchs von Turin*, in: Elisabeth Maier (ed.), *Das Turiner Grabtuch*. Wien 2005, 226–247, esp. 242. Karen Gould, *The sequences de sanctis reliquiis as Sainte-Chapelle inventories*, *Mediaeval Studies* 43, 1981, p 331. Steven Runciman, *Some remarks on the image of Edessa*, *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 3, p 238-252, 1931. André Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon — Le Mandylion dans l'art Orthodox*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 1931, p 17, n 5. Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, Leipzig, 1899, I, p 178f.

¹⁰See the annex for an excerpt of the inventories of the relics of the Grande Châsse for the 8th item of the letter of Baudouin II. Notice that there is no image mentioned on the Holy Cloth. This observation supports the hypothesis that the cloth was folded when formulating that description and that the image, actually a portrait described as a Veronica or Holy Face, which is described many centuries later in the inventories of the relics, is not mentioned on that cloth. This support the most likely hypothesis of a portrait in the reliquary, but of another one, probably not at the same size, inside the folded cloth as expected from the description of the Mandylion in Constantinople.

other reliquary contained a piece of the tomb of Christ. A pair of similar-looking reliquaries hanging from the ceiling of the chapel of the imperial palace of Constantinople were mentioned by Robert de Clari.

What happened to that Holy Cloth inserted in this reliquary after it was placed in the Grande Châsse of the Sainte-Chapelle in 1248? The cloth, and table in which it was inserted, are mentioned in the hymns for the festivities of the reception of the relics from Constantinople. The cloth is described as a 'mappa' and 'mapula,' as if the author of the hymns did not know the exact size of the cloth. However, an analysis of all the inventories of the relics reveals that the cloth likely disappeared from the Sainte-Chapelle at some time before 1534.

Indeed, and surprisingly, from all the inventories of the Grande Châsse starting from 1534, there is no mention of any cloth in the reliquary of the Holy Cloth. There is no known inventory of the Grande Châsse before that date, although inventory A, done on or before 1315, is suspected to refer to the reliquary and of the Holy Cloth itself, in which there is a mention of a large relic, but without referring to the relic as a cloth. From these observations one suspects that the cloth disappeared between 1315 and 1534.

The disappearance is also supported by a detailed analysis of the inventory of 1534. In that inventory, the relic is no longer referred to as a cloth ('toile' in French) but as a trellis ('trelle' in French). This is quite surprising. The word 'trelle' is used three times in that inventory. Most importantly, and remarkably, the officials doing the inventory wrote a comment that stated that they had great difficulties finding the relic. This is a rare comment among all inventories of the relics. Reporting the loss of a relic would have raised a major issue as it would have implied a probable theft and a need for an investigation. The relentless search for the relic can only mean that there were no cloth or parts of a cloth in the reliquary. The comment made by the officials describing the 'trelle' becomes very obscure, as if forced to explain that there used to be a 'trelle' but that it also disappeared. Indeed, the comment says that the 'trelle' was consumed in and around the portrait in the reliquary. The word 'consumed' essentially means that the 'trelle' disappeared but left a trace around the portrait. What the officials likely saw is a trellis painted around the portrait. That corresponds to some artistic representations of the Mandylion. The trellis is not an essential part of the portrait, and indeed the 'trelle' is never mentioned again in the following inventories, which laconically state that there is a portrait of Christ at the bottom of the reliquary, without mentioning a 'trelle' (or a cloth). One can conclude that the officials convinced themselves that the previous description of the content of the reliquary¹¹ should have been a trellis and not a cloth, because the two words are spelled in a similar way in French, although the text they were consulting, describing the content of the reliquary, was likely written in Latin, but could also have been a translation into French of the official letter of Baudouin II ceding the relics to Louis IX.

It is also important to consider the inventory II of 1793, in which all the relics have been removed from their reliquary. Remarkably, for the reliquary of the Holy Cloth, there is still a portrait mentioned in it. Because the portrait was left in the reliquary, it was not considered a relic, but as part of the reliquary. That shows that the portrait seen in the reliquary, as reported by all inventories of the Grande Châsse was unlikely painted on a cloth, but painted directly on a wood panel as a part of the reliquary.

Emmanuel Poulle¹² as well as Andrea Nicolotti¹³ gave different interpretations of the inventory of 1534, but as we will see, these interpretations are contradictory. E. Poulle explains the use of the word 'trelle' as a reading error by the officials of the word 'toellam' or 'toelle' from the text on which is based the inventory of the reliquaries and relics. According to E. Poulle, there would have been a portrait on a damaged cloth in the reliquary, which would

¹¹An inventory is always based on an older text that describes the relics and reliquaries of a previous inventory. For the first inventory, it should be based on the text describing the relics and reliquaries when they were received at the Sainte-Chapelle. For the inventory of 1534, it could be the official Latin text of June 1247 ceding the relics or a later translation of that text into French.

¹²Emmanuel Poulle, *À propos des reliques de la Passion à la Sainte-Chapelle*, RILT 23, 2002.

¹³Andrea Nicolotti, *From the Mandylion of Edessa to the Shroud of Turin, the Metamorphosis and Manipulation of a Legend*, Brill, 2014.

explain the use of the word ‘consumed’ in the commentary, and another portrait of the same size underneath that cloth. It is a contradictory explanation, because if the official had misread ‘trelle’ they would have searched a ‘trelle,’ not a cloth. It also implies that the officials were very clumsy writing three times that they found a trellis instead of a cloth. And that can hardly explain the great difficulty encountered. Nicolotti essentially modified this interpretation by removing the existence of a second image. Such a modified interpretation has the added oddity that the portrait remained clearly visible for another two centuries even though the cloth would have been highly damaged to the point that the officials could hardly locate it. The simplest explanation, as described above, is the complete cloth disappearance, without a trace, because no cloth is ever mentioned in all inventories, and there was a single portrait of Christ painted in the reliquary. The cloth may have had an image, but it was not discovered at the Sainte-Chapelle.

Other recent objections to the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle have been raised by some researchers. We respond to them in the following and present some new details.

Answers to the objections raised by Barta, Sabe and Orenga

César Barta et al. published a short analysis of the inventories of the Sainte-Chapelle concluding that “The reliquary in Paris was not empty. The content was a ‘Veronica.’”¹⁴ The authors supposedly corrected a previous presentation made at a conference in Pasco¹⁵, Washington state, which had claimed that the reliquary of the Mandylion arrived empty at the Sainte-Chapelle. Unfortunately, their analysis is still erroneous by ignoring some key documents and misreading the inventories of the relics at the Sainte-Chapelle.

Indeed, the authors wrote: “The reliquary had a face in [sic] a cloth surrounded by a gold plate decorated with a ‘trellis’” and “It is a canvas of the face of Christ mounted on wood and surrounded by a gold plate with rhomboid reliefs”. This is incorrect for a major reason, because the inventories they are referring to do not mention a cloth in the reliquary. The authors simply imagined that such a cloth was present. However, the absence or presence of the cloth in the reliquary is the essential point to argue and cannot be simply assumed without evidence. The authors presented no arguments to support their statement that there was a cloth still present in the reliquary in the inventory of 1534. And there was a cloth in that reliquary when it was ceded by Baudoin II to Louis IX. In essence, the authors misunderstood the basic arguments of the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle and misread the inventories of the relics and reliquaries of the Grande Châsse.

Answers to Ian Wilson’s objections

In a recent note published in the BSTS newsletter, Ian Wilson responded to an essay published in the same issue detailing some aspects of the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle¹⁶. In particular, the essay mentioned the scarce analysis of that thesis by Wilson. This specific remark about Wilson’s response shows a current symptom about the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle because three decades have elapsed for an open response about that thesis from many researchers. This lack of openness has been presented in a previous talk at the Ancaster Conference, where it was shown that several well-known researchers privately wrote about that thesis to Father Dubarle, but never publicly wrote about their criticisms¹⁷.

¹⁴César Barta, Pedro Sabe, José Manuel Orenga, *The Beirut Icon and the Shroud*, BSTS Newsletter, No. 88, p. 49–71, Winter 2018/19.

¹⁵César Barta and Jorge Manuel Rodríguez Almenar, *The image of Edessa included the whole body but only its empty reliquary arrived at Paris*, International Conference on the Shroud of Turin, Pasco, Washington, July 19–22, 2017.

¹⁶Mario Latendresse and Karlheinz Dietz, *The accidental arrival of the Shroud at Lirey*, BSTS newsletter, no. 93, p. 19–33, Summer 2021.

¹⁷Mario Latendresse, *The archives of Father André-Marie Dubarle reveal the development of the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris*, Science, Theology and the Turin Shroud, Ancaster, ON, Canada, August 2019. Accessible at ResearchGate.

In Wilson's response, two of his comments derive from a misunderstanding. It was assumed by Wilson that the transfer of the Shroud to Geoffroy de Charny implies a full knowledge by Geoffroy of the nature of the relic such as the presence of a full body image on the cloth. As far as all historical documents show, Geoffroy does not appear to have known of the details about that relic. The overall assessment of the historical documents even support an accidental arrival of the Shroud at the collegiate of Lirey. That would explain the overall silence about the Shroud from him.

In another comment, Wilson argued that the Mandylion was well known in the West, and that its arrival in Paris would have been openly stated as such, but because it was not, it cannot be the Mandylion. The knowledge of the Mandylion was not in general well established in the West in the 13th century, because a similar legend surrounding the Mandylion, based on Veronica instead of King Abgar, was emerging in the west. However, because no connection had been made between the Veronica and the Mandylion, that shows that the Mandylion was not well known in the West in the 13th century. Moreover, the description of the Holy Cloth and its reliquary, which contained a portrait of Christ readily visible, was not even connected to the Mandylion when it arrived in Paris. That shows that the officials in Paris and the Latin in Constantinople were unaware of the Mandylion. But most importantly, the description of the reliquary and the content of that reliquary, leaves little doubt that it was the reliquary of the Mandylion, and that a cloth was in that reliquary when it arrived in Paris. The knowledge of the clerics in Paris, and of the Latin in Constantinople, is largely irrelevant when considering these facts.

Wilson's response ended by a reference to the notice "Pour Sçavoir la vérité" (to know the truth), qualifying its content by "there is barely a word of truth in it," and referring to a paper by the late Dorothy Crispino¹⁸. The content of the notice cannot be dismissed so easily, as Wilson so conveniently do. Indeed, Crispino published the first English translation of the notice in *Shroud Spectrum*¹⁹.

The notice is the only known historical document from the collegiate church of Lirey that explicitly mentioned the manner in which Geoffroy de Charny supposedly received the shroud of Turin. At a minimum, the general statement of that document is a potential clue to the origin of the Shroud, and cannot be completely dismissed.

The notice does have several inaccuracies, but "barely a word of truth in it" is an impressive exaggeration. Numerous true historical details are presented by the notice: the attempt by Geoffroy de Charny to retake the city of Calais with the lord of Montmorency; the overall battle that took place during that attempt; the Shroud owned by the Savoy family; the details of the foundation of the collegiate church at Lirey; and many details of the battle of Poitiers where Geoffroy died holding the oriflamme.

It is possible that the author of the notice was made aware of the great festivities that occurred on January 6–8, 1352, for the inauguration of the Order of the Star, where Geoffroy de Charny was clearly present, as the festivities occurring right after his liberation. Indeed, the festivity occurred two months after the liberation of Geoffroy. Moreover, during that festivity, Humbert II de Viennois was present, and an apparent gift was given to him, from King John II, that resembles a folded cloth, and for which Geoffroy de Charny was a witness. Was this a hidden relic from the Sainte-Chapelle? This is uncertain, but the description is very similar to a large folded cloth of the size of the Shroud. This very interesting hypothesis was recently proposed by Karlheinz Dietz. It is the only known situation where Geoffroy de Charny is

¹⁸Dorothy Crispino, *To know the truth*, a sixteenth-century document with excursus, *Shroud Spectrum International* (SSI), Vol. 28, Sept/Dec, 1988. The late Crispino summarily qualified the notice with "scarcely a word of truth in it" and listed a very succinct series of its errors. However, she did not list what we know to be true in that notice, which would have tipped the balance in favor of the notice. Unfortunately, her paper barely analyzed the content of the notice. There is still a need for a more complete analysis of its content.

¹⁹Not to be confused with another paper published by Dorothy Crispino in the *Actes du IIIième Symposium Scientifique International du CIELT*, Nice, France, 1997, entitled "Pour savoir la vérité," with the obvious pun to refer to the notice, but describing her own point of view. Crispino presented the hypothesis suggested by Pietro Savio that Guillaume de Baserne de Toucy would be the intermediary between the Shroud and Geoffroy, but that hypothesis has no documentary evidence.

named and a gift similar to the folded Shroud is given in the presence of Geoffroy. That festivity matches well the comment of the notice that Geoffroy received the Shroud after his liberation during a festivity, but he may have confused King Philip VI with King John II and the location, as Amiens whereas the festivity of the Order of the Star occurred at St-Denis, outside of Paris.²⁰

The author of the notice had a partial knowledge of some historical facts, but it is possible that the royal gift was transmitted by hearsay among the family and canons of Lirey. One cannot dismiss entirely such a royal gift without considering the possibility that it comes from the Sainte-Chapelle. And indeed a simple but detailed analysis of the inventories of the relics at the Sainte-Chapelle reveals that the Mandylion most probably arrived and disappear in the appropriate time frame. The late Crispino nor Wilson has commented the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle with its detailed analysis including the two major points just mentioned.

In his response, Wilson believes that the reliquary that arrived in Paris had previously contained the Shroud, but that the reliquary arrived empty, because the Shroud was supposedly removed of its reliquary three-quarter of a century before. However, such a statement is contradicted by the historical documents which state that the reliquary contained a cloth when ceded to Louis IX in 1247 and Wilson provided no evidence to the contrary or even mentioned these documents.

In summary, Wilson has so far ignored the documents describing the arrival of the relics in Paris, from Constantinople, and the inventories of these relics at the Sainte-Chapelle. So far, no evidence has been published by Wilson supporting the absence of the cloth in the reliquary. Therefore, we can only conclude, at this point, that the notice is coherent with many other historical documents for a French royal origin of the Shroud.

The accidental transfer of the Shroud to Geoffroy de Charny

When considering the preciousness of the Shroud as a relic, its uniqueness, and the humble status of Geoffroy de Charny, we are immediately struck by Geoffroy's limited ability to protect the Shroud and properly exhibit it. Geoffroy needed the financial help from the kings of France to fund the collegiate church at Lirey, and Jeanne de Vergy sought further financial help from King John II after the death of her husband Geoffroy. From all historical documents, the collegiate church does not appear to have been founded to receive the Shroud, but its arrival appeared to have been a fortuitous and unplanned event.

It appears as if Geoffroy received the Shroud by some accident, such as the Shroud being given to him, but without the full knowledge of the preciousness of the Shroud by its previous owner. From all the knowledge we have from the relics of the Sainte-Chapelle, such was the status of the Holy Cloth when it is received and ceded to Louis IX in 1241. It is conceivable that that status did not change down to King Philip VI or John II, which were often in close contact with Geoffroy de Charny.

Conclusion

When compared to hypotheses based on Othon de la Roche, the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle has a much greater historical support. The published criticisms of that thesis by researchers contained many basic errors of interpretation of the historical documents, in particular the inventories of the relics of the Grande Châsse. These inventories require a detailed analysis to be properly interpreted. Their interpretation must also be combined to other historical documents, among them the letter of Baudoin II, the chronicle of Gérard de Saint-Quentin-en-l'Isle on the transfer of the relics, and the hymn of the Sainte-Chapelle mentioning the presence of a cloth in a "tabula." The thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle appears most promising as

²⁰For more details, see Latendresse and Dietz, *The Accidental Arrival of the Shroud at Lirey*, BSTS newsletter, No. 93, p. 15–29, Summer 2021.

a direct route of the Shroud from the East to France, then in the hands of Geoffroy de Charny, the first well-attested owner of the Shroud. Future research may still reveal more definitive answers on how and when the Shroud was transferred from the Sainte-Chapelle to Geoffroy de Charny.

Annex

This annex lists the entries of the reliquary of the Holy Cloth for all the inventories of the Grande Châsse of the Sainte-Chapelle, plus inventory A, which lists some relics of the Sainte-Chapelle, and inventories done at the Abbey of Saint-Denis where the relics of the Grande Châsse were brought for a short time during the French Revolution.

This list is presented to justify the arguments presented in this paper supporting the apparent disappearance of the Holy Cloth from the Sainte-Chapelle, which many have identified as the Mandylion. The original French text is given with a translation in English. The French texts were taken from Vidier²¹, with an addition from Félibien²² for inventory L.

For each inventory, the position of the reliquary of the Holy Cloth in the list of the inventory is given. For example, in inventory L, “8/22” means that the reliquary was item 8 among 22 relics of that inventory. This information is important because the position of a reliquary, and possibly its relic, in the list is related to its perceived preciousness by the clerics of the Sainte-Chapelle. Indeed, except for inventory A, the first relic listed is always the Crown of Thorns, which was considered the most precious relic at the Sainte-Chapelle.

At the inventory L, that is, the first inventory of the Grande Châsse, the order is the same as the letter of Baudoin II, of 1247. The reliquary of the Holy Cloth is listed at position 8 in the Golden Bull, but then drops at the end of the list at position 19 for the inventory M, as the least precious relic, to essentially stay at the end or near the end of the list until the French Revolution. This is a sign that something major in the perception of that relic occurred at inventory M which coincides with the apparent disappearance of the Holy Cloth. Starting with the inventory CC (March 10, 1791), the last four inventories, done during the French Revolution, were ordered for the transfer of the relics and reliquaries from the Sainte-Chapelle to the Abbey of Saint-Denis and back. Vidier published two inventories, DD and EE, where the Holy Cloth is listed but these inventories were done at the Abbey Saint-Denis when the relics from the Sainte-Chapelle were received. These two late inventories were not done at the Sainte-Chapelle but they were included here, for the reliquary of the Holy Cloth, because they were inventories of the relics and reliquaries that had been in the Grande Châsse.

Excerpts from the inventories of the relics of the Sainte-Chapelle mentioning the Holy Cloth or its reliquary in the Grande Châsse.

Inventory A, 1256–1315. BnF, français 2833, fol. 139v–140 (15th century). BnF, français 4426, fol. 269–270 (17th century). [Vidier 1907, p. 200]

11/24. *Item ung escrin de fust peint où il y a ung grant saintuaire sans escript.*
(A painted box where there is a large holy relic without identification.)

Inventory L, March 22, 1534. AnF, P 2309, fol. 103–110. [Vidier 1908, p. 189–192].

8/22. *La sainte trelle inserée à la table [où est la face de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ].*
(The holy trellis inserted in a box [where there is the face of Our Lord Jesus Christ])

²¹Alexandre Vidier, *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle, Mémoire de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, Ed. H. Champion, tomes 34–36, 1907–1909.

²²Michel Félibien, *Recueil des Pièces Justificatives pour servir de preuves à l'Histoire de la Ville de Paris*, tome 3, Ed. G. Desprez et J. Desessartz, 1725.

The following essential comment is added after the list of relics.

Et au regard du huitième article, contenant la trelle inserée à la table, après plusieurs difficultés, a esté finalement trouvée en un grand reliquaire et tableau garny d'argent surdoré, où y a apparence d'une effigie, ladite trelle comme consommée contre ledit tableau, autour, environ et dans ladite effigie.

(Regarding the eighth item, containing the trellis inserted in a box, after many difficulties, it was finally found in a large reliquary and panel decorated with gilded silver, where there is the appearance of a portrait, the trellis like transformed against the said panel, around, by and into the said portrait.) From Félibien, p. 150, VIII. La sainte Treille, inserée à la table où est la face de N.S.J.C. (The holy trellis inserted in a box where there is the face of N.S.J.C.)

The following comment comes after the list of relics:

Et au regard du huitième article, contenant la treille inserée à la table, après plusieurs difficultés, a esté finalement trouvée en un grand reliquaire ou tableau garni d'argent surdoré, où il y a apparence d'une effigie.

(Regarding the eighth item, containing the trellis inserted in a box, after many difficulties, it was finally found in a large reliquary or panel decorated with gilded silver, where there is the appearance of a portrait.)

Inventory M, between 1534 and 1573. [Vidier 1908, p. 192–193].

19/19. *La Veronique, où il y a faute de dix pierres. (The Veronica, where ten stones are missing.)*

Inventory O, October 8, 1575. BnF, Nouv. Acqu. Fr., NAF 10698, fol. 2. [Vidier 1908, p. 278–279]

19/19. *La Veronicque, où y a faulte de dix pierres. (The Veronica, where ten stones are missing.)*

Inventory R, August 30, 1740. AnF, L 620, no. 28. [Vidier 1908, p. 293–298].

19/21. *Une autre boette, de vingt deux pouces de long sur quinze pouces de large, aussy couverte de lames d'argent et garnye de quelques pierres précieuses; au dedans de la ditte boette, le fond est revêtu de lames d'or dans tout le contour, et dans le milieu est la représentation de la sainte face de Notre Seigneur, ou la Véronique.*

(Another box, of twenty-two inches long by fifteen inches wide, also covered by silver plates and decorated by a few precious stones; inside the said box, the bottom is covered by golden plates in all its contour and in the center is the representation of the holy face of Our Lord, or the Veronica.)

Inventory CC, March 10, 1791. [Vidier 1908, p. 324–325].

18/20. *Une sainte face.* (A holy face.)

Inventory DD, March 12, 1791. [Vidier 1908, p. 328–331].

This inventory was not done at the Sainte-Chapelle, but at the Abbey of Saint-Denis when the items from inventory CC were received. This inventory lists the relics of the Grande Châsse up to number 20 as in CC, but then add a list of other relics probably all coming from the lower chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle.

18/55. *Une sainte face.* (A holy face.)

Inventory EE. [Vidier, 1908, p. 332–333]

This inventory is undated but similar to inventory DD and done at the Abbey of Saint-Denis. The text is also very similar to inventory R.

18/20. *Une autre boîte de 22 pouces de long [etc. R 19]*

(Another box of twenty-two inches long [etc. R 19])

Inventory II, November 18, 1793. [Vidier 1908, p. 338–339].

This last inventory was done at the Sainte-Chapelle when the relics from the Abbey of Saint-Denis were transferred back to the Sainte-Chapelle. It is the only inventory that describes the box of the Holy Cloth with a sliding cover. This inventory is remarkable because it was done after all relics were removed from their reliquary. The reliquary of the Holy Cloth is described still containing the portrait (a Veronica). That means that the portrait was not considered a relic, but part of the reliquary. This points to the Holy Cloth to have disappeared.

18/35. *Une autre boîte à coulisse contenant un portrait.*
(Another box with a sliding cover containing a portrait.)

This issue inaugurates the first volume of *Sindon Agora*. It is a spin off of *Sindon* with no fixed issue dates, on which we will publish, at the sole discretion of the Scientific Committee, texts or topics whose contents do not necessarily reflect the views of the CISS. The aim is stimulating discussion on open problems deemed to be of interest without intending to fix the state of the art on the subject.

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