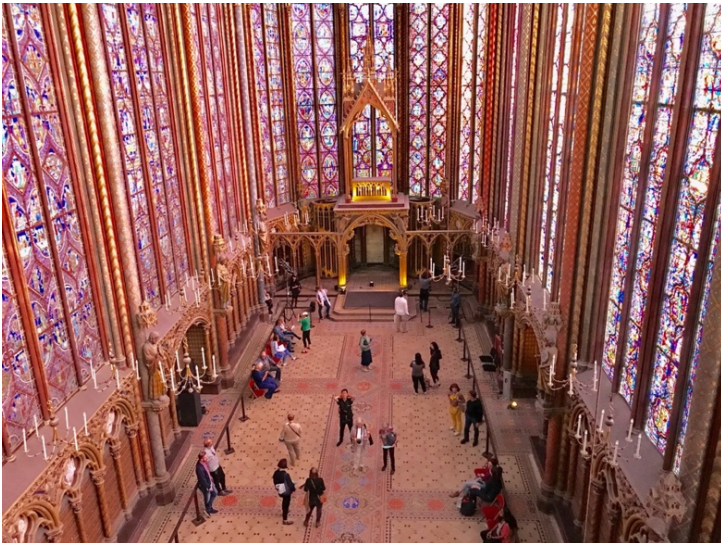


The Accidental Arrival of the Shroud at Lirey

Mario Latendresse and Karlheinz Dietz



Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, France

Summary

Our thesis is that the Shroud arrived at Lirey by an accident of History. It seems unlikely that the Shroud would have been deliberately given to Geoffroy de Charny had the donor realised the precious image it contained. This observation alone excludes several hypotheses proposed to explain the transfer of the Shroud from the Middle East to the South of France.

We point out that any transfer of the Shroud from the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris must have been by accident and in no other way. We thus agree with those scholars who say that no King would have parted with such a precious relic deliberately. Our new hypothesis is that the transfer took place by accident and could have occurred during the Festivities of the Order of the Star in 1352.

We summarise the thesis concerning the Shroud's presence in Sainte-Chapelle, referring to key aspects of the story, such as the arrival of the Mandylion in Paris and its probable disappearance from the Sainte-Chapelle before 1534 and we answer critics on those important matters. We also show evidence that the use of an image clipeata [an image in a rounded shield] partly explains the face-only artistic representations of the Mandylion.

The accidental arrival of the Shroud at Lirey

Today we have the privilege to have a perspective view on the events that occurred at Lirey in the second half of the 14th century up to the presence of the Shroud in Turin. It is clear for us today that the Shroud is a unique and precious relic which no monarch would have given away without a major compensation. It is hardly conceivable that such a precious relic would have been given to a knight, such as Geoffroy de Charny, with so little financial means to protect and exhibit it.

Accordingly, it is likely that the gift to Geoffroy had to have happened by an accidental event such as the giver being unaware of the presence of the image on the cloth, or Geoffroy being a messenger of the relic but whose death brought him as the owner.

The Mandylion at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris

In the list of twenty-two relics¹ deposited in 1248 at the Sainte-Chapelle, the 8th relic described as *sanctam toellam tabulae insertam*, a holy cloth inserted in a table, has been identified as likely the Mandylion by many researchers². This identification is further supported by many details in the nine inventories, from 1534 to 1793, of the relics at the Sainte-Chapelle. Some of these details are: 1) a portrait of Christ on the inside bottom of its reliquary, which is described as a ‘Veronica’ or ‘Holy Face’; 2) a trellis can be seen around the portrait, similar to the depictions of the Mandylion found in Byzantium; 3) the inside bottom of the reliquary has sheets of gold, similarly described as in the legend of Abgar; and 4) the 8th reliquary is similar to another reliquary³ containing a stone of the tomb of Christ. This last point relates to the Mandylion because

¹ The list of relics is given by the official letter of June 1247 from Baudoin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, to King Louis IX.

² Jannic 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 of 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.

³ Two wooden parts of that reliquary have been preserved and are kept at the Louvre museum in Paris. The Keramion (or Keramidion) has often been described as a tile with an imprinted portrait of Christ after it came in contact with the Mandylion.

two similar reliquaries could be seen in the chapel of the Imperial palace, one containing the Mandylion the other the Keramion⁴. These two similar looking reliquaries can be put directly in relation to the 8th and 9th reliquaries and relics in the official letter of Baudoin II ceding the twenty-two relics to Saint Louis, one containing a cloth, the Mandylion, and the other containing what is described as a stone in the official letter but as a tile with a miraculous image on it, for the Keramion⁵.

However, in the world of Sindonology, two researchers stand out rejecting that this 8th item is likely the Mandylion: Ian Wilson and Mark Guscin. They have asserted that the Mandylion and the Shroud are the same, but that the reception of the Mandylion at the Sainte-Chapelle is unlikely. Unfortunately, we will see that neither have openly analyzed the inventories of the Sainte-Chapelle which makes their arguments against the arrival of the Mandylion at the Sainte-Chapelle incomplete and not compelling.

Mark Guscin's identification of the *sancta toella*

Mark Guscin proposed that the *sancta toella tabulae inserta* was not the Mandylion but that it probably was the *titulus crucis*⁶. However, no explanation is given by Guscin for such a choice, and he qualified the suggestion as ‘obscure’.

Indeed, this identification by Guscin to the *titulus crucis* is hardly comprehensible given that the reliquary of the *sancta toella* that corresponds to item 8 in the first well established inventory of the *Grande Châsse* in 1534 contains a portrait of Christ. This portrait is also described as a ‘Véronique’ (‘Veronica’) or a ‘Sainte Face’ (‘Holy Face’), in the following inventories of the *Grande Châsse*. And the reliquary contains a cloth according to the letter of Baudoin II of June 1247, when the Constantinople relics were ceded to Saint Louis. This description is much closer to the Mandylion than the *titulus crucis*.

Guscin did not analyze the texts of the inventories of the *Grande Châsse* describing the item 8 reliquary and its content. It is as if the historical documents were ignored to avoid getting close to the statement that the Mandylion did reach the Sainte-Chapelle, and that the relics, including the would-be Mandylion, were supposedly either destroyed or lost during the French Revolution. Obviously, the Mandylion would also have had to disappear from the Sainte-Chapelle, before the 15th century, to have been the Shroud, because it appeared in Lirey in the 14th century. Guscin did not consider the

⁴ Old-French text: Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople* § 83, ed. Philippe Lauer, Paris 1924, p 82f.; English translation and commentary: Edgar H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, New York 1936, p 104f.

⁵ This could explain the “disappearance” of that relic from Constantinople: it made its way to the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris and it was not described according to its Byzantine tradition. It became “lost” purely on the ignorance of the tradition of that relic by the West.

⁶ Mark Guscin, *The Tradition of the Image of Edessa*, Cambridge 2016, p 66f.

disappearance as a possibility despite the well-known published work of Father A. M. Dubarle.

The analysis of the *sancta toella* at the Sainte-Chapelle by Ian Wilson

Ian Wilson wrote the following in the Cahier MNTV regarding the arrival of the *sancta toella* at the Sainte-Chapelle⁷:

“Some scholars have supposed that the Image of Edessa was the ‘*sanctam toellam*’, acquired by King Saint Louis in 1247 and destroyed during the French Revolution. But this object remained totally unknown in its time, whereas the Veronica of Rome attracted several thousand pilgrims. Its identification with the famous Image of Edessa appears incredible ...”

First, Wilson states that "some scholars have supposed," ignoring that there has been evidence presented by several researchers to support the arrival of the Image of Edessa at the Sainte-Chapelle. In other words, the arrival of the Mandylicon in Paris is not a "supposition". Among these researchers, Father André Marie Dubarle with Hilda Leynen, published in 1998, evidence in his book second volume of "*Histoire ancienne du linceul de Turin*". Wilson most certainly knew the existence of that work, but decided not to reference or discuss it.

Second, that statement assumes that the clerics at the Sainte-Chapelle, or King Saint Louis, were aware of the existence of the Image of Edessa in Constantinople, but they were not. Also, they clearly were not seeking the Mandylicon that was in the imperial palace of Constantinople. Saint Louis gave most of its attention to one relic, the Crown of Thorns. It goes even further. When the *sancta toella* is described in the official letter of Baudouin II ceding the relics to Saint Louis, all relics are described with a function, **except** the *sancta toella*. The image, whichever its size, is not even mentioned in that letter, but we know from the inventories of the relics of the Sainte-Chapelle that a portrait of Christ was inside the reliquary. It shows how little attention the Latins took in examining the relics and probably missed their most important features⁸.

⁷ Translated from the French text, "Certains érudits ont supposé que l'Image d'Édesse était la « *sanctam toellam* », acquise par le roi saint Louis en 1247 et détruite pendant la Révolution Française. Mais cet objet est demeuré totalement inconnu à cette époque, tandis que la Véronique de Rome attirait plusieurs milliers de pèlerins. Son identification avec la si fameuse Image d'Édesse semble incroyable... ", dans *Le Linceul est-il l'image d'Édesse disparue de Constantinople au XIII^{ème} siècle*, Cahier MNTV, vol. 46, June 2012.

⁸ The Latins, especially in France and Venice, were not primarily interested in material goods, but “to activate the newly won sacredness for the benefit of the communalization of the commune or the dynastic stabilization of the royal house”. See Stefan Burkhardt, *Mediterranes Kaisertum und imperiale Ordnungen: Das lateinische Kaiserreich von Konstantinopel*, Berlin 2014, p 259–263.

Third, from the perspective of extensive studies done in the last fifty years on the Image of Edessa, the legend of Abgar and the Mandyllion, one could get the false impression that the Image of Edessa was a very important relic in Constantinople and should have been widely known in the West, but on the contrary, these studies show that the Mandyllion was kept away from public eye and was not a major relic in Constantinople. For example, the Mandyllion was never shown to the worshippers in Constantinople⁹. The Mandyllion was indeed very secret: In the spring of 1171, the Byzantine Emperor opened his relics for the Latin King of Jerusalem for inspection, but not the Mandyllion.¹⁰ Already in the last quarter of the 11th century, a northern Spanish pilgrim was told in Constantinople that the Mandyllion was "hidden away and hidden from human sight" (*clausum occultaretur et ab humanis obtutibus absentaretur*).¹¹ Protected by the imperial seal it was always closed in a golden shrine (*in vase aureo, in capsula aurea*). While all the other palace relics are shown to the faithful at all possible times, this linen (*linteum; linteamen, linteolum*) with the image of Christ's face (*figura vultus; vultus figuratus; figurata facies in linteo*), was not presented to anyone, and not opened to anyone, not even for the emperor himself (*nulli demonstratur, nulli aperitur, nec ipsi Constantinopolitano imperatori*). It was claimed that opening the shrine would cause an earthquake. This was, of course, a story as they tell by tourist guides. But one wonders about such secrecy, and questions the affirmation that the shrine contains only a small image on linen, which Abgar had glued to a board (*epi sanidos kollésas*).¹² During the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the Mandyllion still hung in the Pharos Chapel, from the ceiling of which two powerful silver chains (*II rikes vaissiaux d'or*) hung down in the middle, which according to Robert de Clari contained a brick (*une tuile*) and a cloth (*une touaille*).¹³ Robert does not even mention the picture anymore, not even the term 'Mandyllion'. Of course, he also repeated what he was told. Obviously, the pictorial character had already receded more and more into the background in Constantinople itself.

The general ignorance of the Mandyllion in the West in the 13th century is further supported by the description of the monk Gérard de Saint-Quentin-en-l'Isle who instead of the *sancta toella tabulae inserta* spoke only of a *tabula* that the head of Christ

⁹ The reliquary of the Mandyllion was readily visible to the public in the imperial Chapel, but not the Mandyllion itself.

¹⁰ William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 20,23, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, *Willelmi Tyrensis archiepiscopi chronicon*, Turnhout 1986, p 944f.

¹¹ Krijnie N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers in Constantinople*, Leiden 1996, p 120f.; Paul Magdalino, *L'église du Phare et les reliques de la Passion à Constantinople (VIIe/VIIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, in: *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*. Paris 2004, p 15–30, esp. p 30.

¹² *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanum* 11, ed. Mark Guscini, *The Image of Edessa*, Leiden 2009, p 100 line 7f.; cfr. *Narratio de imagine Edessena* XV 25, ed. Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, Leipzig 1899, p 59** line 19f.

¹³ See above note 4.

touched when he was brought down from the cross. In his chronicle of the transfer of the relics from Constantinople, and Syria, to France, written around 1250¹⁴, Gérard de Saint-Quentin succinctly identified the relics, which we can relate to the relics ceded to Saint Louis as given in the official letter of Baudoin II of June 1247.

It is remarkable that the order of the relics given by Gérard in his Chronicle is essentially the same as in the letter of Baudoin II (see Table 1). We can infer that it is likely that Gérard had access either to the letter of Baudoin II or to a common source. We can see that what Gérard described as a ‘tabula that touched the head of Christ’ must correspond to the *sancta toella* because there is no other plausible choice once other clearly described relics are related. However, why did Gérard describe item 8 so differently than the letter of Baudoin II? It is also the only relic that he decided to do so. The letter of Baudoin mentions a cloth, but not Gérard. Did Gérard have a description from another source? Or perhaps he had access to the reliquary? One thing is clear: the description of that reliquary in the inventories of the relics of the *Grande Châsse* mention a portrait of Christ inside that reliquary, which would explain the description of Gérard thinking that the face of Christ touched that reliquary.

Gérard did not make any connection with the Mandylion even when viewing an image that was explicitly described as a Veronica later in the inventories. From Gérard's description, we can conclude that it is unlikely that he saw the cloth in the reliquary. In the inventory of the Sainte-Chapelle, the reliquary is described as having a sliding cover. We propose that the description provided by Gérard came from sliding open the cover to observe the portrait inside the reliquary and not opening the reliquary¹⁵. This portrait is described multiple times in the inventories. If there were a cloth of a substantial size, it would have been underneath the portrait probably painted on a panel covering the cloth. That panel would have been vertically mobile, protecting from view

¹⁴ M.C. Gaposchkin: *Between historical narration and liturgical celebrations. Gautier Cornut and the reception of the Crown of Thorns in France*. *Revue Mabillon* 20, 2019, p 91-145.

¹⁵ The sliding cover is explicitly mentioned for item 18 in the inventory II, done in 1793 at the Sainte-Chapelle, mixed with reliquaries from the Abbey of Saint-Denis. The French text reads "Une autre boîte à coulisse contenant un portrait" (Another box with a sliding cover containing a portrait). It is most likely the reliquary of the Holy Cloth, because a portrait is mentioned and this description, as for all late inventories of the Grande Châsse, precedes item 19, the reliquary of the stone from the tomb of Christ. It is also remarkable that this inventory lists the **reliquaries and not the relics**. For example, for Item 19, we have "Une autre boîte fermant à coulisse, dans laquel il y avait une pierre" (Another box with a sliding cover, in which there was a stone). The stone had been removed and only the reliquary was left. All other items are described as reliquary, not as reliquary containing relics. **The 18th century officials of the Sainte-Chapelle did not consider Christ's portrait as a relic but part of the reliquary, otherwise they would have removed the portrait before taking that inventory.** Alexandre Vidier, *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle (suite), Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 35, 1908, p 189–339, esp. p 338f.

the relic itself, the holy cloth. If the cloth were removed, the panel would slide down to the bottom of the reliquary. This description was first proposed by Hilda Leynen¹⁶.

Table 1. *The relationship between the list of relics in the letter of Baudoin II and the list of relics in the chronicle of Gérard de Saint-Quentin. The numbers on the far left column give the order of the relics in the letter, and the numbers in the middle column are the order in the chronicle of Saint-Quentin. Note that the order is the same with the exception of the four last relics of the letter moved as a group between relics 10 and 11. That exception is due to the grouping of relics coming from Syria, vs the relics coming from Constantinople, done by Gérard. An asterisk (*) means that they were pledged to Syria.*

Letter of Baudoin II (June 1247)		Gérard de Saint-Quentin-en-l'Isle (1250)	
1	<i>praedictam sacro sanctam spineam coronam</i>	1	<i>gloriosissimam Domini coronam</i>
2	<i>crucem sanctam</i>	2	<i>* sublato ... ligno dominico</i>
3	<i>de sanguine domini nostri Jesu Christi</i>	3	<i>* sacrosanctus sanguis Domini et salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi</i>
4	<i>pannos infantie Salvatoris, quibus fuit in cunabulis involutus</i>	4	<i>* vestimenta infancie ipsius</i>
5	<i>aliam magnam partem de ligno sancte crucis</i>	5	<i>* frustum magnum crucis dominice, non tamen ad formam crucis redactum, de quo imperatores Constantinopolitani amicis et familiaribus suis dare consueverant</i>
6	<i>sanguinem qui de quadam imagine Domini ab infideli percussa, stupendo miraculo, distillavit</i>	6	<i>* sanguis etiam qui mirabili prodigio de ymagine Domini percussa effluxit</i>
7	<i>catenam etiam, sive vinculum ferreum, quasi in modum annuli factum, quo creditur idem Dominus fuisse ligatus</i>	7	<i>* cathena qua Salvator ligatus fuit</i>
8	<i>sanctam toellam, tabulae insertam</i>	8	<i>* tabula quedam quam, cum deponeretur Dominus de cruce, eius facies tetigit</i>
9	<i>magnam partem de lapide sepulcri domini nostri Jesu Christi</i>	9	<i>* lapis quidam magnus de sepulcro ipsius</i>
10	<i>de lacte beatae Mariae Virginis</i>	10	<i>* de lacte quoque gloriosissime Virginis matris eius</i>

¹⁶ Hilda Leynen, *À propos du Mandilion, Brügge 1992.*

Letter of Baudouin II (June 1247)		Gérard de Saint-Quentin-en-l'Isle (1250)	
11	<i>item ferrum sacrae lanceae quo perforatum fuit in cruce latus domini nostri Jesu Christi</i>	15	<i>gloriosissimum lanceae ferrum omnibus tremendum, omnibus reverendum, in Christi latere consecratum, immaculati agni sanguine rubricatum, quo ipsius in cruce pendentis latere perforato, redemptionis humane exivit precium</i>
12	<i>crucem aliam mediocrem, quam crucem triumphalem veteres appellabant, quia ipsam in spemvictoriae consueverant imperatores ad bella deferre</i>	16	<i>quedam crux mediocris, sed non modice virtutis, que propter causas inferius annotatas dicitur triumphalis</i>
13	<i>clamidem coccineam quam circumdederunt milites domino nostro Jesu Christo in illusionem ipsius</i>	17	<i>imperialis illa trabea, vestis videlicet coccinea, qua, iuxta ... milites illudentes induerunt Dominum</i>
14	<i>arundinem quam pro sceptro posuerunt in manu ipsius</i>	18	<i>arundo preciosa quam in eius posuerunt dextra in sceptri similitudinem</i>
15	<i>spongiam quam porrexerunt ei sitienti in cruce, aceto plenam</i>	19	<i>de spongia que Salvatori in cruce salutem nostram sitienti fuit porrecta</i>
16	<i>partem sudarii quo involutum fuit corpus eius in sepulchro</i>	20	<i>pars quedam sudarii quo in sepulchro positum corpus Christi obvolutum fuit</i>
17	<i>lintheum etiam quo praecinxit se quando lavit pedes discipulorum, et quo eorum pedes extersit</i>	21	<i>preciosum lintheum quo precinctus in cena Dominus, peracto humilitatis obsequio pedes discipulorum extersit</i>
		22	<i>pars quedam de peplo gloriosissime Virginis</i>
18	<i>virgam Moysi</i>	23	<i>virga Moysi qua eduxit aquam le vena silicis</i>
19	<i>superiorem partem capitis beati Johannis Baptiste</i>	11	<i>* superior pars capitis Baptiste et precursoris Christi</i>
20	<i>capita sanctorum Blasii, Clementis et Simeonis</i>	12	<i>* caput sancti Blasii,</i>
		13	<i>* caput etiam sancti Clementis,</i>
		14	<i>* cum capite beatissimi Symeonis</i>

Third, Wilson disregards all the detailed descriptions of that relic and its reliquary in the inventories of the Sainte-Chapelle as if the term *sancta toella* was the sole description of that relic at our disposal from these historical documents. This is a major shortcoming in his analysis. The inventories present a much clearer connection between the Mandylion and the *sancta toella*. Which relic from the chapel of the Imperial palace of Constantinople could the 8th item correspond to? There is no better candidate than the Mandylion.

The Mandylyon's face-only showing by Ian Wilson

The traditional artistic representations of the Mandylyon present only a face of Christ, whereas the Shroud shows a double image, front and back, of a full human body. This major dichotomy between the image of the Mandylyon and the image of the Shroud has led many researchers to conclude that they cannot be the same object. This observation though misses the essential historical fact that the artists reproducing the Mandylyon likely never saw the real Mandylyon but based their models on hearsay and the legend of Abgar.

Ian Wilson proposed that the Mandylyon was folded to show only the face of what is known today as the Shroud of Turin. This proposition is an attempt to explain the difference between the representations of the Mandylyon and the Shroud, whilst maintaining that they are the same object. However, this proposition contradicts the historical documents stating that the Mandylyon was not shown publicly. It is even difficult to conceive that the clergy at Edessa and Constantinople would have shown such little reverence to this relic by displaying only the face given the extreme secrecy with which that relic was kept. The behavior of the clergy to hide the Mandylyon from the worshippers is comprehensible if its view would have been very controversial. That would be the case if it were an image as can be seen on the Shroud.

However, what could have been shown, on some occasions, is the painting of the face of Christ as described by the inventories of the relics in the *Grande Châsse* at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris that was part of the reliquary of the Mandylyon. That painting could hardly have been the Mandylyon itself as will be explained. In other words, the historical documents related to the relics at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris explain the centuries-old confusion between a face only representation of the Mandylyon on a solid surface, and the Mandylyon itself as a cloth. Unfortunately, Wilson has been mostly silent about these documents and the thesis that was proposed by Hilda Leynen and Father Marie-André Dubarle in the 1990s.

A more natural explanation for the artistic representation of the Mandylyon, in particular of the face-only Christ representation, has been with us for over three decades. This explanation is provided by observations from many researchers regarding the use of *imago clipeata* in Byzantine artistic representations, including miniatures and paintings¹⁷. Essentially, a *clipeum* was used to reference the presence of a person in a depicted scene, for example in a psalter, and was not intended to represent a painting or an image as part of that scene. Most of these *clipea* were in rounded form and could

¹⁷ Josef Engemann, *Imago clipeata*, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 17, 1994, p 1016-1041. Robert Grigg, *The cross-and-bust image: some tests of a recent explanation*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 72, 1979, p 16–33. Christopher Walter, 'Latter-Day' saints and the *Image of Christ in the ninth-century Byzantine Marginal Psalters*, *Revue des études byzantines* 45, 1987, p 205–222.

clearly be understood as *clipea* and not literally as a painting in the scene. However, that aspect has been confusing for the Mandylion, because it was known to have an imprinted image of Christ.

Herbert Kessler described in details the use of an *imago clipeata*¹⁸ in the icon of the Mandylion at the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. Kessler points out that the portrait of Christ we can see on the Mandylion in that icon, with Constantine VII as Abgar, should not be taken as if that image appeared as shown, but rather that the artist used an *imago clipeata* to state that Christ was present in the Mandylion. If there was an image on the Mandylion, it was not that small Christ portrait, but would be a different image that was not readily visible in that representation. Similarly, in the *imago clipeata* of the Roman insignia, of course, the whole person of the emperor was present, and not only his head. This observation is coherent with a real image that was inside the cloth, as if it were folded, and not directly represented to the observer. Indeed, the cloth that Constantine VII is holding appears thick, which could only be folded, because it stands firmly in his arms.

The thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris

The thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle was first developed by Hilda Leynen¹⁹, and expanded by Father André-Marie Dubarle²⁰. Previously, Werner Bulst and Karlheinz Dietz mentioned this possibility²¹. Unfortunately, the work of Leynen and Dubarle was not translated into English²², which probably prevented its broader diffusion and acceptance. Recently that thesis has been presented with more details, in English²³. In the following we succinctly present one of the inventories of the relics in the *Grande Châsse* to focus our attention to one central question to the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris.

¹⁸ Herbert L. Kessler, *Configuring the invisible by copying the Holy Face*, in: *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, Bologna 1998, p 129–151, esp. p 143. H. Kessler has not proposed that the Mandylion is or could be the Shroud. However, he has proposed that the portrait of Christ on the cloth in the artistic depictions of the Mandylion does not mean that the image is as shown on the cloth, but that it is an *imago clipeata*. The *clipeum* announces the person or character involved in the scene.

¹⁹ Hilda Leynen, *À propos du Mandilion*, Brügge 1992.

²⁰ André-Marie Dubarle et Hilda Leynen, *Histoire ancienne du linceul de Turin*, Tome 2, Paris 1998, p 59–61; 93–95.

²¹ See Bulst, and Dietz in note 2.

²² We know of no translation into English of the two volumes on the history of the Shroud by Father Dubarle. Daniel Scavone proposed to Father Dubarle translating his first French book on the history of the Shroud published in 1985, but that project was not completed (Letter of November 23rd, 1987 from D. Scavone to Father Dubarle. Archives of Father Dubarle, Saulchoir de Paris.)

²³ Mario Latendresse, *The Shroud of Turin and the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris*, BSTS, No. 87, Summer 2018, p 3-18.

From 1534, was there a cloth in the Mandyliion reliquary at the Sainte-Chapelle?

The 1534 inventory of the *Grande Châsse* is a turning point in the arguments for the thesis of the Sainte-Chapelle, because at that date, it is indisputable that the Shroud was in Chambéry. The interpretation of the French text for the 8th relic of that particular inventory is challenging but crucial for an overall understanding of what might have happened with that relic.

The key question to ask: **According to the inventory of the relics of the *Grande Châsse* at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris in March 1534, was there still a cloth in the reliquary of item 8?**

The question safely presumes that when the reliquary of item 8 arrived in Paris in 1241 (or 1242) there was a cloth in it, because the historical documents clearly state it. The first complete inventory of the *Grande Châsse* was in March 1534. The relics were listed in the same order as the list given in the official letter of June 1247, signed by Baudoin II, ceding the relics to Saint-Louis.

The inventory of the *Grande Châsse* of 1534 is unique in a major way because it reports the great difficulty to locate item 8 in the *Grande Châsse*, which contains the relics from Constantinople. The difficulty to locate a relic happens only once for all inventories of the *Grande Châsse* until its destruction during the French Revolution. The text does not explicitly state that the relic was lost, but it becomes apparent from the forceful explanation by the officials that they are covering up that loss.

The coverup used by officials is to replace what should have been a ‘toelle’ by claiming that a ‘trelle’ was found²⁴. As observed by Emmanuel Poulle²⁵, the gothic letter ‘o’ could be confused with the letters ‘re’. The officials could have concluded that the 8th item in the list of 1247 should have had the word ‘trella’ and not ‘toella’, they would then have translated ‘trella’ to ‘trelle’. In Godefroy's dictionary²⁶, ‘trelle’ is used as an orthographic variant of ‘treille’, since the spelling of ‘trelle’ is close to ‘treille’, which means ‘trellis’, and this is the meaning that has been retained by most researchers. Apparently, the officials saw a trellis surrounding the portrait of Christ painted on the bottom of the reliquary. The presence of a trellis is coherent with several Byzantine

²⁴ The eight officials at the Sainte-Chapelle are doing the inventory based on the list of relics described in the official letter of June 1247, which is written in Latin. However, since the inventory of 1534 is written in French, the secretary writing down this inventory is also translating the descriptions of the relics and reliquaries from Latin to French.

²⁵ See note 2, E. Poulle, Footnotes 6 and 14. Available at Linceul.org in the CIELT section. Unfortunately, unlike many other articles in this journal, there is no English version of that article.

²⁶ Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes*, du IXe au XVe siècle, Paris 1895, VIII 36.

artistic representations of the Mandylion.

All the inventories of the *Grande Châsse* after 1534 do not mention either a cloth or a 'trelle' for the 8th item. The officials described the clear presence of a portrait on the inside bottom of the reliquary without mentioning a cloth. This is coherent with the observation that in 1534, no cloth could be found in the reliquary of the 8th item. Could a cloth²⁷ in a table, mentioned in 1247, become a portrait of Christ (described in inventories as either a 'Holy Face' or a 'Veronica') without any mention of a cloth afterwards? The most likely conclusion is that item 8 was a cloth inserted in a table, a portrait was painted inside the reliquary, but the cloth disappeared before 1534 leaving only the portrait.

Furthermore, it has been previously shown that item 8 is likely the Mandylion, which from ancient historical documents bears an image of Christ. This connection makes the Mandylion the primary candidate relic that a king of France would have, directly or indirectly, given to Geoffroy de Charny.

A few remarks about the meaning of 'toelle' describing the 8th relic. The ancient French chronicles of Gilles Corrozet and Jacques du Breul described the 8th relic, not only as a 'toelle', but also as a 'nappe', a word describing a large piece of cloth. Corrozet translated the letter of Baudoin II into French, and for 'Sanctam toellam tabula insertam', wrote "la Sainte touaille ou nappe en un tableau"²⁸. Du Breul translated the same text in essentially the same way²⁹. Jacques Collin de Plancy goes further by speculating that the 8th relic was used to cover the table of the 'last supper'³⁰. In other words, these authors considered that the word 'toelle' (ou 'touaille') was not of small size.

The statements of the de Charny family on the Shroud at Lirey

When some short statements are analyzed in detail in their context, they may give more information that are not explicitly stated, but that are implied. Such are the statements made by Geoffroy II de Charny and his daughter Marguerite.

From a letter of 1389 by Pope Clement VII, we can conclude that Geoffroy II de Charny stated that the Shroud was freely given (*sibi liberaliter oblatam*) to his father. His daughter adds that his grandfather had 'acquired' it ("fut conquis").³¹

²⁷ The translation of 'toella' to 'cloth' is further supported by the hymns of the Sainte-Chapelle describing this relic as 'mappa' and 'mapula' (also as 'tabula').

²⁸ Gilles Corrozet, *Les antiquitez, histoires, et singularitez de Paris*, 1550, p 70.

²⁹ Jacques du Breul, *Le Théâtre des antiquités de Paris*, 1639, p 104.

³⁰ Jacques Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire critique des reliques et des images miraculeuses*, Tome II, 1821, p 60.

³¹ The text in French in Troyes, ADA I 19, fol. 3v-4r; Paris, BNF Collection de Champagne 154, fol. 148r; Paris, BNF NAF 7454, fol. 132v: « au regard dud. saint Suaire, lequel pieca fut

From these two statements we can conclude that the Shroud did not come to Geoffroy by heritage nor from his first or second wife, because the term "conquis" does not apply to such scenarios.

When and where the Holy Cloth could have been transferred to Geoffroy de Charny?

We do have the notice "Pour sçavoir la vérité", written after 1525, most likely by the dean of the collegiate church of Lirey, stating that the Shroud was given by King Philip VI to Geoffroy. However, that notice contains incoherent facts, including the circumstances of that gift³². On the other hand, the author of the notice may have the main point right: A King of France would have given the Shroud to Geoffroy. The Holy Cloth would be a likely candidate because it was readily accessible by the King.

In the BSTS No. 87, the first author suggested a hypothesis regarding the time and place for this transfer, with circumstantial evidence³³. We are proposing a second hypothesis which would at least be more consistent with the time of the notice "Pour sçavoir la vérité". The following events may have created an "accidental event" where Geoffroy de Charny is an intermediate in a transaction of a gift from the King of France and where the object thought to be a "square of nappes" was actually a relic from the Sainte-Chapelle.

King John the Good organized the opening celebration of the Order of the Star (*L'Ordre de l'Étoile*) at the Noble House in Saint-Ouen, outside Paris, on January 5-6th, 1352³⁴. The creation of the Order had been planned since 1343 by John, but it became a reality only eight years later in November 1351. Probably one hundred knights had been invited for the festivity that lasted two days. It was a lavish reunion where each member had to adorn a mantle emblazoned with a silver star with eight rays (see Figures 1 and 2). On this occasion, Humbert II of Viennois and Geoffroy de Charny were present. Three years before 1352, Humbert II had agreed to pass ownership and authority of the Dauphiné to King Philip VI, obviously a major transaction in favor of the kingdom of

conquis par feu messire Geoffroy de Charny, mon grant père »; ed. Ulysse Chevalier, *Étude critique sur l'origine du Saint Suaire de Lirey-Chambéry-Turin*, Paris 1900, p XXIII.

³² The notice says that the gift would have occurred after Geoffroy was freed from his English prison, but this is not possible because Philip VI died in August 1350 and Geoffroy was freed in 1351. On that date, John the elder son of Philip VI was King of France.

³³ Some relics from the Sainte-Chapelle were brought to King Philip VI in April 1349 near Melun with a likely encounter with Geoffroy de Charny who at the same time wrote to the Pope for more indulgences for his church in Lirey.

³⁴ Léopold Pannier, *La Noble-Maison de Saint-Ouen, la villa Clippiacum et l'Ordre de l'Étoile*, Paris 1872, p 84-106.

France.³⁵ Humbert II was considered the most important guest of the celebration.³⁶

The celebration required extravagant spending, among them, squares (“*quarreaux*”) made of textiles. The most common square is stuffed with down (“*quarreaux emplis*”) and used as a cushion for sitting or kneeling during the banquet (see Figure 1). Three kinds of squares were ordered for the King: 1. A stuffed square; 2. A smaller square for the King’s crown; 3. And a “large square of nappes”, without further description³⁷.



Figure 1. The banquet of the Order of the Star. Notice on the left one of the guests kneeling on a square while dining.

³⁵ Transfer of the Dauphiné to France: Anne Lemonde, *Le temps des libertés en Dauphiné: l'intégration d'une principauté à la Couronne de France (1349-1408)*, Grenoble 2002, p 13-46. To the resulting war between France and Savoy, which was ended by the Peace of Paris in 1355 January 5: Daniel Chaubet, *Le traité de Paris (1355) entre la Savoie et la France: fin de guerres récurrentes et nouvelles perspectives*, in Michel Sot (ed.), *Médiation, paix et guerre au Moyen Âge*, Perpignan 2012, p 29–36.

³⁶ Humbert was the only living leader of a crusade: Constantinos Georgiou, *Ordinavi armatam sancte unionis. Clement VI's Sermon on the Dauphin Humbert II of Viennois' Leadership of the Christian Armada Against the Turks, 1345*, *Crusades* 15, 2016, p 157–177.

³⁷ See Paris, AnF, KK 8, fol. 3v; ed. Pannier: *Noble-Maison*, preuves p 63-74 Nr. LIII, esp. p 66; cfr. C. Leber: *Collection des meilleurs dissertations et traités particulières relatifs à l'histoire de France*. XIX. Paris 1838, p 89f: “[...] baillées au dit Thomas pour faire III quarreaus pour le Roy à la dicte feste: c’est assavoir un grant pour nappes, l’autre pour séoir en son oratoire, et le tiers plus petit et garni de III gros boutons de perles pour mettre et soutenir la couronne.”



Figure 2. John the Good arbitrating a dispute between the duke of Lancaster and the duke of Brunswick. Notice the red mantles with the silver stars with eight branches (or rays), the designated attire of the Order of the Star.

After the festivities, the precious accessories used for the banquet were returned to the “argenterie” with the exception of a “large square of nappes” (“*grant quarrel de nappes*”), covered with a silver Damask cloth, that was given to Humbert II by an order of the King for which Geoffroy de Charny was a witness³⁸. From the French text, it is not clear why Geoffroy de Charny is mentioned as a witness, but for some reason it is possible that Geoffroy had to personally bring the gift to Humbert II.

Was the “square of nappes” a hidden gift to Humbert II from the Sainte-Chapelle? Could it be the content of the reliquary of item 8, the Holy Cloth? Perhaps Geoffroy became the legitimate owner of this gift, by a decision of the King³⁹, after Humbert II passed away? These questions are speculative at this point and further research is needed. Coincidentally, Humbert II passed away on May 4th of 1355, the feast day of the Shroud of Turin⁴⁰ adopted in Chambéry around 1495 by the House of Savoy and approved by Pope Julius II in 1506.

³⁸ Ibid. p 66f. : “[...] les quarræux emplis en la manière que dit est dessus, furent rapportéz de la dicte Noble Maison et mis en garnisons de l’argenterie, excepté un grant quarrel de nappes, couvert de drap d’argent de damas, lequel, du commandement du Roy, et en la présence de **monseigneur Giuffroi de Charni**, fu baillé et délivré aux viel Dauphin, si comme il apert par la relacion du dit Thomas de Challons faite et contenue vers la fin de son compte.”

³⁹ John the Good was the executor of the testament of Humbert II. This is confirmed by a dispute that erupted between the King and the Pope on its execution.

⁴⁰ The 4th of May is the day after the festivity of the discovery of the cross by St-Helen on May 3rd 326.