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DÉPARTEMENT DU DOUBS.

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PROCÈS-VERBAL

DE RECONNOISSANCE

DU PRÉTENDU SUAIRE DE JESUS,

EXPOSÉ

*Pendant plusieurs siècles à la vénération du peuple, dans la ci-devant église métropole de Besançon, comme une relique précieuse qui s'étoit conservée miraculeusement jusqu'à ce jour.*

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CE JOURD'HUI 27 ventôse, l'an second de la république française, une et indivisible, à Besançon :

Nous Pierre-Henri Roland, Jean-Baptiste Dangel, Claude-Louis Quirot, Henri-Joseph Calamard, Joseph-Gouvernet, Pierre-Marie Blondeau l'aîné, et Charles-Joseph Battandier, administrateurs du département ; Jacques Brégand, président du district ; Jean-François Barrey, Louis Rambour, Joly, administrateurs du district de Besançon ; Jean-Claude Marrelier, maire ; Robert et Jean Détrey, officiers municipaux de cette commune ; Melchior Proudhon aîné, et François Olivier, membres du comité de surveillance, tous commissaires nommés pour, en présence des citoyens, comparer le poncis

Fig. 1: Official Report of the "Recognition of the so-called Shroud of Jesus"; Department of the Doubs. Document in the National Archives of Paris, photocopied by Edward Wuenschel, C.S.S.R.

## DOUBTS ALONG THE DOUBS

DOROTHY CRISPINO

In the Introduction to his masterly article, "Copies of the Holy Shroud" (Spectrum #12 & 13), Don Luigi Fossati wrote: "Many aspects of Shroud history can be better understood by a study of the copies made in past centuries." Indeed, his impressive catalogue of copies is but a façade of many entries, behind which lie rich stores of information waiting to be brought out by the historian, the scientist, the liturgist, the artist .

Several single aspects recur time and again in the many copies and the cumulative effect of any one of them constitutes material for special study. Obvious to anyone is what would invariably happen every time a copy fresh with paint was laid upon the Original; perhaps today we are less convinced than people were in former centuries that an object became "holy" or "authentic" by contact with a true relic.

Don Fossati addressed himself only to copies depicting both frontal and dorsal imprints; in a Note, he explains his omission of those famous copies which showed only the frontal figure: for example, the shroud of Besançon. The story of this copy is curious and confused and, for a time, was controversial. It is still a fabulous footnote to the fame of the Turin Shroud. The following is a modest attempt to review previous studies and to contribute additional documentation hitherto unpublished in this context.

**Introduction**

In 1794, the shroud of Besançon was found to be the work of an artist and for this reason it was destroyed by Order of the French Convention. So much is certain, for historical records are quite explicit. What intrigues us in this particular case is the curious assertion that the true Shroud, now in Turin, had been kept in Besançon, probably in secret (for no contemporary evidence has been found) for almost 150 years before it turned up in Lirey in the possession of Geoffroy de Charny, Seigneur of Savoisy, Lirey and Montfort, Counselor to the King. The confusion of the Besançon shroud with the Turin Shroud resolved the nagging question of how the Shroud of Christ came to France from Constantinople, where it had been seen by crusaders in 1203-1204, and indeed by other Europeans as early as the XII century.

Caesar describes Visontio (Besançon) as a formidable town within an almost complete circle of the River Doubs; in the space between the converging arms was a mountain of such great height that its base reached the river banks on both sides. The most important town of the Sequani then, by medieval times it was the capital of the Franche-Comté, no longer confined within the circle of the Doubs but spread out across the farther banks. Some 260 kms to the south-east lay the tiny Burgundian hamlet of Lirey, where the Shroud, now in Turin, first became famous. A papal Bull of 1390 permitted the Lirey church to hold expositions of the Shroud "whenever opportune," and these occasions attracted pilgrims from many realms.<sup>1</sup>

The exact date of the Shroud's arrival to Lirey is not known. It was surely there before Geoffroy de Charny's death on the battlefield of Poitiers on 19 September 1356; and unlikely that it was there much before 1355.<sup>2</sup> The earliest date that could be seriously considered for Geoffroy's acquisition of the Shroud is 1346. The conjecture that he obtained it on the Smyrna crusade of 1345-1346 hinges on the extent of his participation in that campaign; raises the questions of who gave it to him, where it was given to him, and how it got to that place; and completely annuls the hypothesis that the Shroud was ever in Besançon.

For according to the Besançon tradition, the Shroud was in that city until 1349. But before examining the theory, let us have a look at the Besançon shroud.

### **The Shroud of Besançon**

Figure 1 shows the first page of a document in the National Archives of Paris, drawn up at Besançon on 17 March of the Second Year of the Republic. The document reports that this cloth "considered miraculous" was by no means old. It goes on to tell how an envelope was found, on which was a sketch of the shroud image. Inside the envelope was a stencil. Placing the stencil upon the "cloth called a shroud," the members of the Committee ascertained that the figures matched perfectly "in length, breadth, design, nuances and every detail." All those present saw clearly the traces of pencil used for registering the stencil upon the cloth.<sup>3</sup> The telltale marks were especially evident around the arms, hands and feet. The image was produced on the cloth by a pounce of some substance "like wax or gum". The Committee pronounced the shroud a work of human hands.

Some of those on the Committee hastened to declare that they had never given credence to their local relic anyway. One even remarked, "The citizens have always been really silly to believe a stupidity like that." But when a priest was asked why he had allowed the populace to be duped for so long, he retorted, "Take it easy, citizen! In those days I would have gotten a [swift kick]."

On 24 May 1794, the shroud was taken to Paris where it was announced that the cloth would be converted to lint for the hospitals.<sup>4</sup>

Some authors have remarked that the loss is not to be regretted. On whatever criterion they may have judged, they somehow overlooked the shroud's value as probative evidence in future investigations. Fortunately, numerous copies still exist, from which we can see what the Besançon copy was like. An engraving on silk, signed "Petrus de Loisy," shows a frontal image on a stiff panel held up by three prelates. A decorative border frames the picture (Fig. 2). Almost identical to this is another engraving with the flowery border, the three prelates solemnly holding the stiff panel on which lies a pitifully crude frontal figure. Beneath the picture is written, in French, the opening prayer in the Office of the Mass of the Holy Shroud, requested by

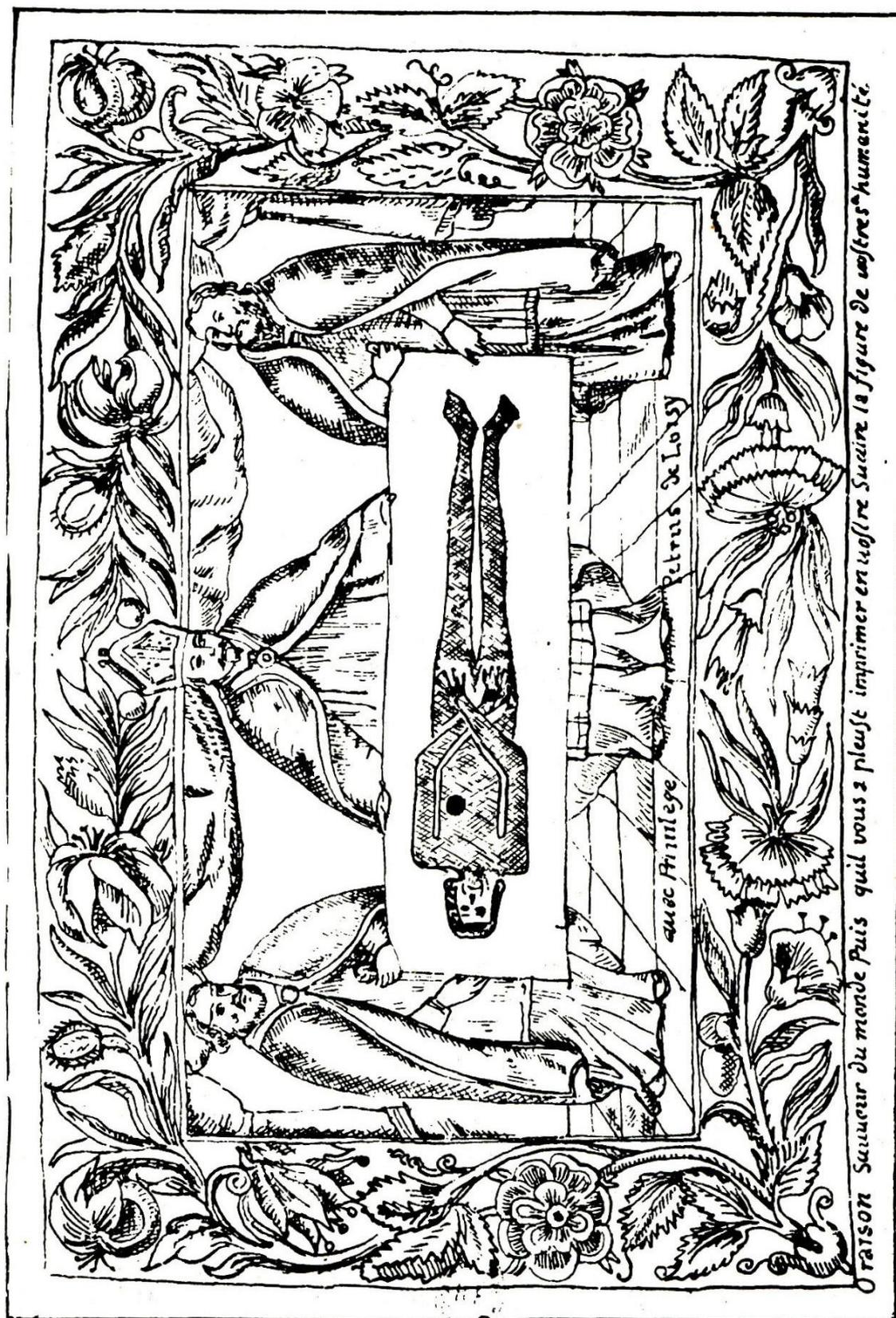
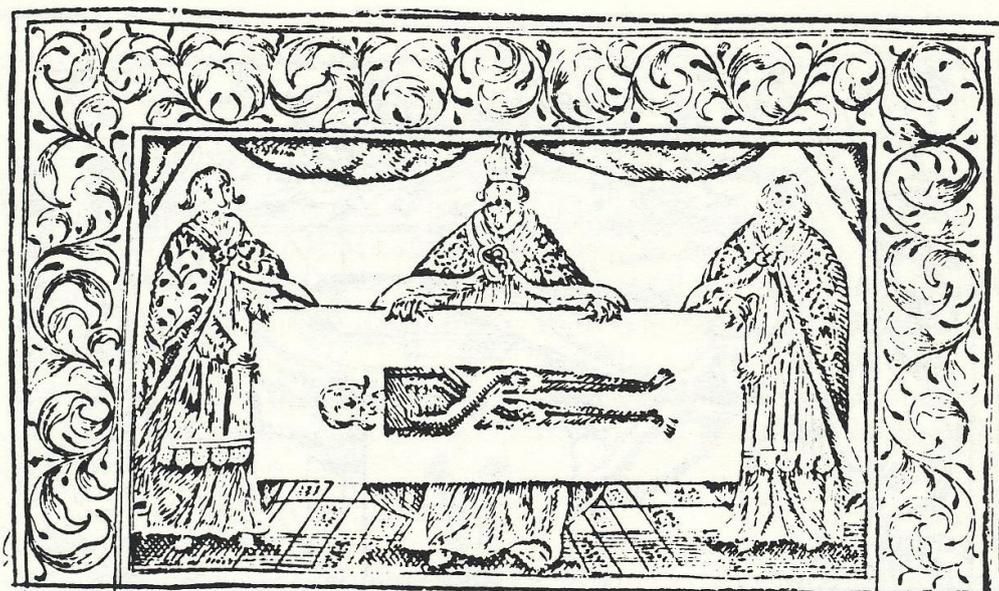


Fig. 2: Pilgrimage souvenir by Petrus de Loisy, 1660.



O DIEU QUIDANS LE SAINT SVAIRE AV QUEL VOSTRE  
 SACRE CORPS OSTÉ DE LA CROIX FVT ENVELOPPE PAR  
 IOSEPH DARIMATIE NOVVS AVEZ LAISSE LES MARQUES  
 DE VOSTRE SANCTE PASSION CONCEDEZ NOVVS MISERICOR-  
 DIEUSEMENT QVE PAR VOSTRE MORT & SEPULTVRE NOVVS  
 PVESIONS ARRIVERA LA GLOIRE DE LA RESVRRECTION QUI  
 VIVEZ & REGNEZ AVEC LE PERE & LE SAINT ESPRIT  
 EZ SIE CLES DES SIE CLES *pour tous ceux & celle qui diront*  
 la susdicte oraison deliurance d'une ANNE DE PURGATOIRE  
 F. Clerc. fecit 1678

Fig. 3: Pilgrimage souvenir by F. Clerc, 1688.

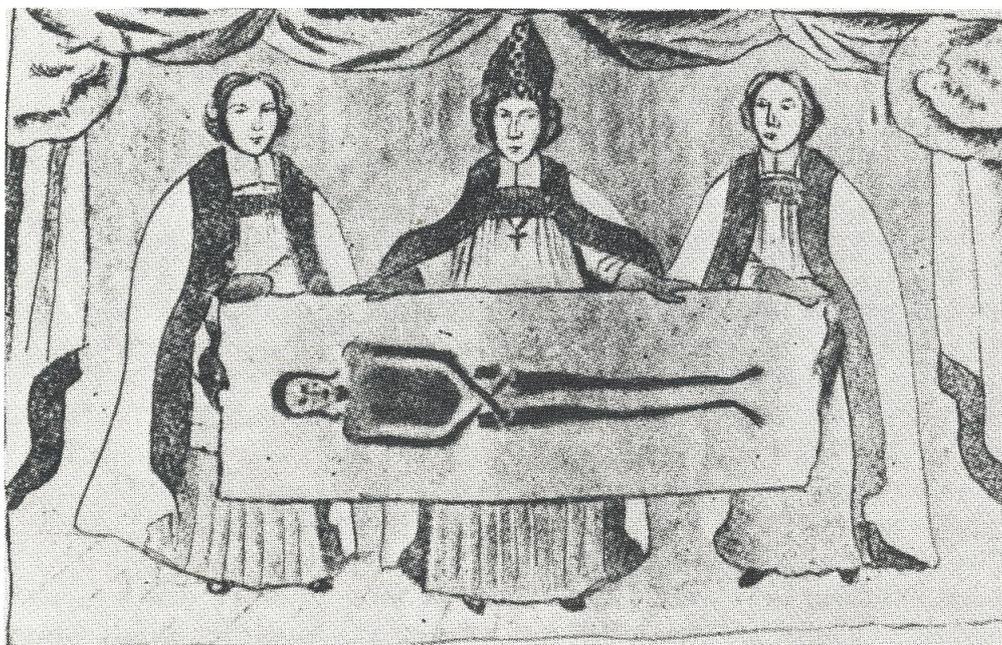


Fig. 4: Pilgrimage souvenir. Photo Masson.

Carlo, Duke of Savoy, and approved by Pope Julius II in May 1506. At the end of the prayer we see that "F. Clerc fecit 1688" (Fig. 3). The design of the pictures seems to have been standard (Fig. 4). Many such souvenirs were made on the occasion of expositions, which always drew a multitude of pilgrims.

In an age of mass pilgrimages, the shroud of Besançon had its share of renown. On 22 May 1535, thirty thousand pilgrims came to the city on the Doubs on the day of an exposition. One is surprised, if not a trifle embarrassed, to read that St. Francis de Sales venerated and kissed and wept over the Besançon shroud, then did the same in Turin in 1609 and again in 1613 when, as Bishop of Geneva, he himself was one of the three prelates holding up the Shroud for the awe and admiration of the crowds.<sup>5</sup> Other saints also performed this double homage, and all in perfectly good faith, for it was believed that both relics were authentic; indeed the tradition was inscribed on an engraving in the book of Jean-Jacques Chifflet (Fig. 6):

*Sindon Taurinensis refert Corpus Christi cruentum et recens de Cruce depositum; Sudarium vero Bisontinum exhibit illud jam lotus ac perunctum, et in Sepulchro compositum*

(The Turin Shroud shows the bloody body of Christ just taken down from the Cross; the sudarium of Besançon shows the same, already washed and anointed and composed in the tomb.)

This neat explanation precluded any rivalry between the two shrouds, and indeed made them complementary.

### **Artists' Copies**

As we see on the souvenir engravings of Clerc and de Loisy, the Besançon shroud showed only the frontal figure. Written descriptions inform us that the Besançon shroud was 8 ft. long, a bit more than half the length of the Turin Shroud (14'3"). It was of two pieces of natural linen sewn very delicately together lengthwise down the center. We can safely conclude that there was only a frontal image on the linen destroyed by the French Convention in 1794.

In confirmation of this, we have the works of two native Bisontines. The artist Pierre Dargent (second half of the XVI c.), under the patronage of the rich family of Grandvelle, specialized in making copies of the shroud preserved in his city (Fig. 5). And in 1624, the historian Jean-Jacques Chifflet published *De Linteis sepulchralibus Christi Servatoris crisis historica*. The engravings which illustrate the text are reproductions of paintings made directly from the Besançon shroud by an artist who accompanied Chifflet when he examined it. The anonymous translator who rendered Chifflet's Latin text into French assures the reader that Chifflet's close observations and careful measurements of the shroud figure made it possible to obtain a faithful copy. To compare the Besançon shroud with the Turin Shroud (Fig. 6), Chifflet relied on information from Turin, as neither he nor his painter saw the authentic Shroud.<sup>6</sup>



Chifflet's sincerity in studying the Besançon treasure surely reflects the sentiments of the majority of the populace, who must have been sorely grieved in their hearts by the rash decision of the New Iconoclasts of the Age of Reason. In fact, the Rev. Charles Foley relates that the memory of the devotion lingers on in Besançon; that in every home, in every hospital ward, the Dargent copy has a place of honor; and every wedding ring is engraved with the familiar figure.<sup>7</sup> Does this persistent souvenir stem from the shroud which finally fluffed upon the wounds of hospital patients? Is the ever-present Dargent version somehow a ghostly reminiscence of a sojourn there of the authentic Shroud, before its mysterious emergence in Lirey? Does the Besançon shroud confirm the Besançon theory? Does the Besançon theory explain the whereabouts of the Turin Shroud between Constantinople and Lirey? And what is the Besançon theory?

### **The Besançon Theory**

Stripped of all its arabesques, the Besançon theory reads like this: After Constantinople fell to the armies of the Fourth Crusade (1204), the crusader Othon de la Roche obtained the Shroud of Christ and sent it to his father, Ponce de la Roche, who gave it to Amedeus de Tramelai, Archbishop of Besançon, who placed it in the Cathedral of St. Etienne.

Fig. 5: The Dargent copy.

In 1349, there really was a fire in the Cathedral of St. Etienne. Historical records inform us that the church was almost totally destroyed. In this calamity, the theory explains, the Shroud disappeared, only to turn up in Lirey in the possession of Geoffroy de Charny, knight. A painted copy of the frontal image was sent to Besançon to recompense the faithful for their loss. The Bisontines "recognized" their former treasure (no date is given for the copy or the recognition).

The Besançon theory was not born all at once, all of a piece; its genesis and development are not easy to trace. But it took flight, from all appearances, from a query by the Count Paul-Edouard-Didier Riant (1836-1888). In tome I of his *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (1875), Riant had written of a Golden Bull<sup>8</sup> dated 6 April 1208. The Bull concerned certain relics entrusted to Ponce de Lyon for delivery to Rainald de Foret, Archbishop of Lyon. Riant remarks: "Should we not consider this mission in relation to the arrival in France of the Shroud of Besançon, as well as some relics of Troyes whose exact date and mode of arrival are not known?"

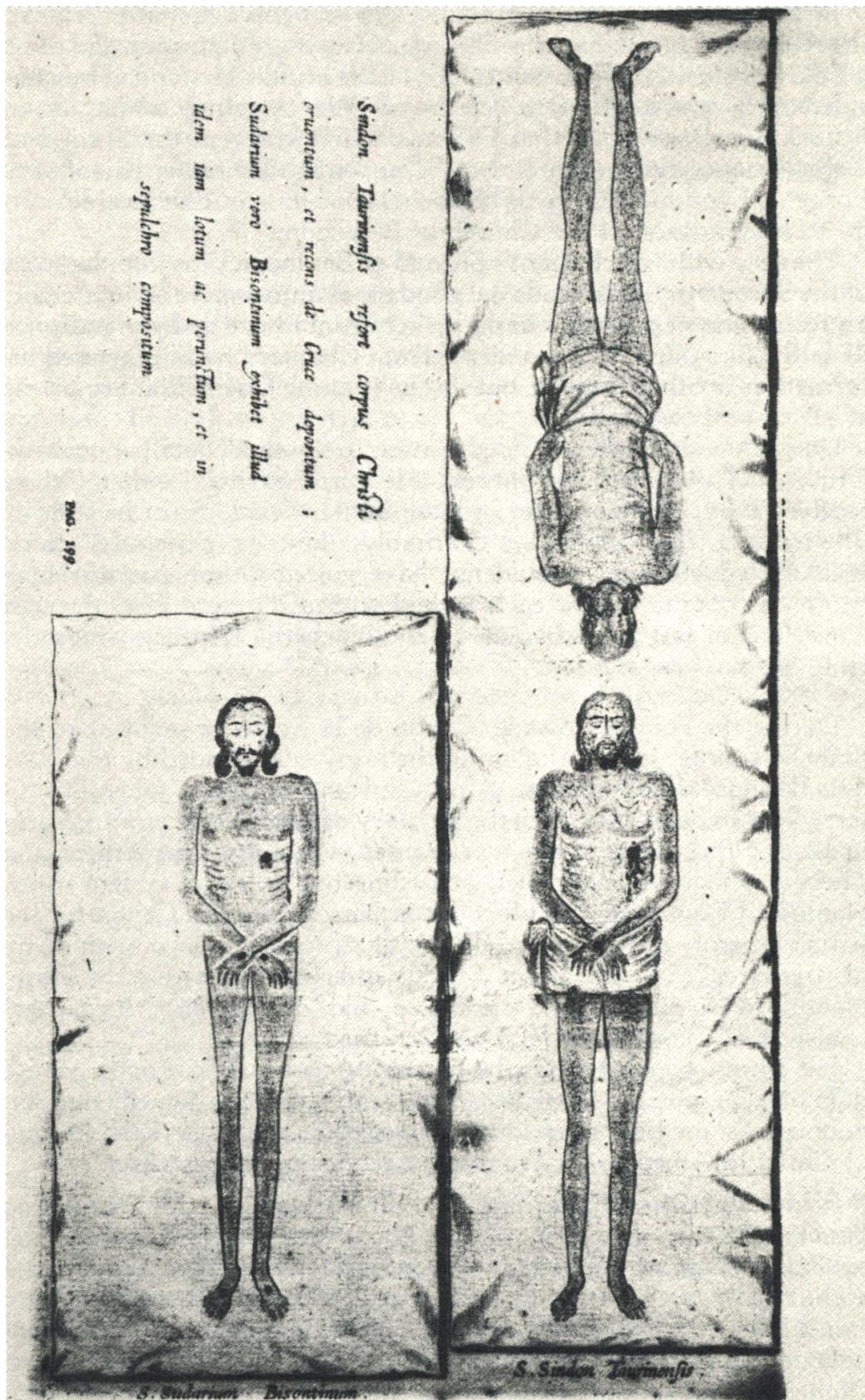


Fig. 6: Chifflet's comparison of the *S. Sudarium Bisontinum* with the *S. Sindon Taurinensis*, 1624. Private collection, reproduced here by permission.

In 1902, a Benedictine historian, Dom Francois Chamard, prior of the Abbey of Liguge, near Poitiers, seized upon this question and drew a bold conclusion: "This conjecture of the erudite writer can be considered, it seems, a *moral certitude*. We therefore admit as an historically proven fact that Othon de la Roche sent the Shroud of Christ [Riant says the Shroud of Besançon] to his father [Riant says Ponce de Lyon, not Ponce de la Roche] sometime in 1208 in conformity to the tradition of the Church of Besançon."

The ease with which Riant's Shroud of Besançon slips into the folds of the Shroud of Christ leads the good monk into a more serious error, a substitution of paternity in the switch from Ponce de Lyon to Ponce de la Roche. One might wonder if Dom Chamard had discovered information in other sources; but no, he is citing Count Riant to arrive at his "moral certitude."

Dom Chamard also addressed himself to the small detail about how Othon had obtained the Shroud. He surmises that "either Othon received it as recompense for brilliant military exploits, or he stole it. The truth is," the monk says charitably, "he took it secretly." Such sneaking covetousness would not have gotten Othon past the nine enormous copper doors, each locked with a different key, through which one at last gained access to the Blacherna treasury where the Holy Shroud was secured.<sup>9</sup>

During the Fourth Crusade, Othon de la Roche, a seigneur of the Franche-Comte, led a battalion in the army commanded by the Marquis Boniface de Montferrat. After Constantinople was taken, Montferrat had to be content with the territory of Thessalonika;<sup>10</sup> and early in 1208, Othon de la Roche was granted suzerainty over Athens and Thebes, which he held in fief, according to the feudal system transplanted to Romania. This duchy was bestowed upon Othon by the Latin emperor, Henri I, who, on that occasion, was accompanied by his treasurer, Ponce de Lyon. Shortly afterwards, bearing the aforementioned Golden Bull of 6 April 1208, and "certain relics" for the Archbishop of Lyon, Ponce de Lyon returned to Lyon.

But Dom Chamard sends the Shroud to Ponce de la Roche, whose domain was not far from Besançon; and then, the Benedictine announces, "some time after 1206", Ponce de la Roche gave the Shroud of Christ to Amedeus de Tramelai, Archbishop of Besançon.

Regrettably, the Charter of Donation is missing. In his *Histoire de Besançon* (1750), an explanation had been offered for this misfortune by Francois-Ignace Dunod de Charnage (1679-1752), a lawyer and author of several works on ancient law. "The Charter," he wrote, "must have perished in the fire of St. Etienne in 1349 or in the frequent pillaging of the archbishop's property by the citizens of Besançon." Dunod opines that the Besançon shroud was sent to France in 1204; in that same year of 1204, according to Dunod, another Shroud was transferred to Geoffroy de Charny (who was not born until a century later, about 1305-1307) by the crusader Guillaume de Champlitte.

Thus in one fell flourish of his plume, Dunod gets two shrouds to France, acknowledging thereby that there were, indeed, two shrouds. However, Dunod believed that both were originally only white cloths and that "the churches could have decided to imprint upon them the image as they imagined it at that time."

Never was the birth of a theory so entangled in its own umbilical cord. There were just too many meddling midwives.

### **Documents**

In 1253, an inventory was compiled of all the possessions, relics and treasures of the churches of St. Etienne and St. Jean when these two were united. This inventory is preserved in the Municipal Archives of Besançon. While many relics are listed, there is no mention of a shroud.<sup>11</sup> In 1932, at the request of Paul Vignon, the custodian of the Besançon Archives hunted assiduously through all the documents, then replied: "If a relic of that importance had existed at Besançon in the XIII century, how do we explain the silence of all the inventories, which insistently mention the arm of St. Etienne, the relics of St. Epiphanius and others ... And how can we explain the fact that the matter of a Shroud of Christ never came up in our capitulary deliberations before 1523?" (We will see what happened in 1523.) Later research by Canon Mennie, chancellor of the archbishopric of Besançon, again failed to turn up any reference to a passage of the Holy Shroud in Besançon.

In the *Acts of the Archbishop Amedeus de Tramelai* (National Archives, Paris, Latin MS 5683), there is no word about a Shroud, no mention of Ponce de la Roche.

The obituaries of the Cathedral of St. Etienne date from the XIII century, decades before the fateful fire. Obituaries are a primary source of information; for it was the custom for people to make important donations to churches so that Masses would be said for them in perpetuity on the anniversary of their death. The donor's name, date of death and a description of his gift were all diligently recorded. There is no mention of a Shroud. The customary Charter of Donation, if ever there was one, is missing.

In this void, a logical question echoes over and over: If the Holy Shroud had been in Besançon, was pilfered and taken to Lirey, "How is it possible that the Bisontines did not notice that their Shroud was at Lirey?" How is it possible that no one recognized their Shroud in the thirty-four years between 1418 and 1452, when Marguerite de Charny was living at Hippolyte-sur-Doubs, only 60 kms away, and was exposing the Shroud quite openly, on a meadow on the banks of the Doubs?<sup>12</sup> And for decades, the canons of the Lirey church were prosecuting Marguerite for not returning the Shroud to them, summoning her to the court at Dole, on the Doubs, not 45 kms from Besançon; yet

no Bisontine came forward with a claim of prior ownership. In 1447, a hearing was held in court at Besançon. Surely, if the Bisontines believed the Shroud was really theirs, this was their chance to speak up.

### **The Paschal Mystery Play**

In medieval times, many churches presented mystery plays based on the major events of salvation history. A text dated 1253 gives the stage directions for the Resurrection tableau as it was presented in St. Etienne: Three priests represent the three Marys at the tomb; each priest carries a vessel of gold representing the ointments. At the proper moment, the second priest holds up a linen cloth and says: 'I saw the angels ... I saw the shroud and sudarium ...' The dialogue had already been set in the XI century hymn, *Victimae paschali*:

*Dic nobis Maria, quid vidisti in via?  
Sepulcrum Christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis.  
Angelicos testes, sudarium et vestes ...*

In art since at least the IX century, the scene of the three Marys at the tomb, the angel and the two burial cloths, *sudarium et vestes*, illustrated the theme of the Resurrection.

The linen cloth which the priest held up as a symbol of the Resurrection, was a plain unfigured cloth about a yard long; one priest only held it, not three; and afterwards the faithful were permitted to kiss it. At some time or other, this traditional Easter drama had lapsed into desuetude at St. Etienne.

Then in 1523, there was a flurry of excitement in Besançon. On March 18 of that year, the chapter of St. Etienne sent a Monsieur Garnier to Dijon to inquire how the Paschal Mystery was currently being played, as they wished to present a performance at the next Easter.

There was no time to lose, as Resurrection Sunday that year fell on April 5. On March 27, the chapter made a formal decision that "the shroud" should be secured in a chest with three locks and three keys. And thus at Easter, 1523, the Mystery Play of the Resurrection was reinstated at the Cathedral of St. Etienne. Paul de Gail sees in this event the recent acquisition by the church of what came to be called the Besançon shroud, the stencil-copy which enjoyed fame for more than two hundred years, until it met a wretched fate in Paris.

If the supposition of the scrupulous Jesuit is correct, then the Bisontines were not entirely deceived, despite the Committee's scoffing that "since centuries it was the object of our stupid veneration". What the citizens believed to be a "true shroud" had almost certainly been touched to the True Shroud (at that time in Chambéry), as so many copies were. Going even farther back in time, it is not unreasonable to imagine that the cloth used in the mystery plays in St. Etienne before the fire of 1349, the plain, unfigured linen known to Dunod, had likewise been touched to the Holy Shroud (when it was in Constantinople) and had, indeed, been sent by Othon de la Roche to his father, "according to the tradition of the Besançon church".

Chifflet (in 1624) recounts an intriguing event. He says that after the fire of 1349, a linen cloth was found, safe in a recess. "They" (persons unidentified) thought it was probably the cloth used in the mystery plays; but they were not sure. So, to find out, they touched the cloth to a dead man who thereupon sprang back to life; proving that this was, indeed, the cloth used to symbolize the Resurrection. Obviously, if the cloth used before the fire had had an image upon it, there would have been no need for this drastic test.

### **Reflections**

It frightens me to see how often ignorance is covered by calumny. Othon de la Roche is still suspected of being a thief, though he was an honorable man, valiant in battle, loyal to his superiors and conscientious in his duties; for given the duchy of Athens to rule, he did not return to his home, his wife and son, until 1225. The Bisontines were accused of the frequent scandalous pillaging of ecclesiastical property, while Archbishop de Tramelai and his successors were accused of keeping the True Shroud hidden—for a hundred and fifty years.

And how did the Shroud get from Besançon to Lirey? Isolated from the world in his monastery at Ligure—or perhaps in consequence of his vow of poverty—Dom Chamard had a very slim bag of tricks. Theft was his only trump. Othon de la Roche stole the Shroud, Geoffroy de Charny stole the Shroud.

That Geoffroy should just happen to be in Besançon when lightning struck the great stone cathedral, wrapping it in flames, and that he should suddenly conceive the idea that now is his chance to get the relic for his own little wooden church in Lirey, was all so blatantly implausible that it was next suggested that the "perfect knight" deliberately put God's house to the torch to camouflage his evil deed. When documents were exhibited showing that in January of 1349 he was in council with King Philip VI at Melun; that by March, the month St. Etienne burned, he was already camped at the frontiers of Flanders; and that he was warring with the English there until, in the night of 31 December 1349/1 January 1350, he was betrayed and captured at Calais; and that therefore he could not have been either in Besançon or Lirey;<sup>13</sup> then the blame for the sacrilege reverted, ungallantly, to his wife, Jeanne de Vergy, a noblewoman of ancient and proud lineage.

It would have been a foolish risk on her part, since the Black Plague was rampant in Besançon in 1349. She would have pounded in vain upon the city gates, for they were kept shut against contagion. It seems more likely that Jeanne was at home minding the castle, as medieval wives were wont to do.

Authors resorting to theft and arson to defend their groundless guesswork suppose that they can point accusing fingers with impunity, as the dead cannot rise to bring suit against them. But in the tribunal of history, we have ample evidence to vouch for the innocence and unblemished integrity of Othon de la Roche, Geoffroy de Charny and Jeanne de Vergy.

## Conclusion

The provenance of the cloth known as the shroud of Besançon is unknown. The cloth bearing a frontal image only, destroyed in 1794, seems to have appeared in the city in 1523. Traditions of an earlier shroud probably refer to a small, unfigured cloth used in the Paschal mystery plays. The Besançon theory does not explain how the Turin Shroud came to Europe. On that point, there is as yet no information.

## NOTES

1. See LUIGI FOSSATTI: "The Lirey Controversy", *Spectrum* # 8.
2. A few authors repeat the XVI c. story that the Shroud was given to Geoffroy by Philip VI in reward for saving the King's life at the Battle of Crécy, 26 Aug. 1346. There is every reason to doubt that Geoffroy took part in that disaster: 1) On 2 Aug. 1346 he gave a receipt for military pay at Porte Ste. Marie, on the Garonne river, where the French forces under John, Duke of Normandy and heir to the throne, defeated the English. John then led his army the 10 kms to Aiguillon where, according to Piaget, Geoffroy was knighted. On 20 Aug. John left Aiguillon, perhaps notified of the troubles at Crécy. However, a glance at the map of France will show that it would not have been possible for him to march from Aiguillon (in SW France near Agen) to Crécy (near Abbéville in the NE, 19 kms from the English Channel). 2) Geoffroy is not named in the list of those who took part in the Crécy disaster, nor in the catalogue of rewards given afterwards (Viard). 3) According to other sources, Philip was saved by Jacques de Bourbon, Comte de la Marche. On the other hand, Le Bel remarks that Philip and his men never came near the fighting at Crécy.
3. Cf. FOSSATI, "Copies of the Shroud" *Spectrum* 13 p. 29 under Gallipoli: which "derives from a sort of copy-model of the Shroud which Emanuele Filiberto had made when he transferred to Turin (1578). This copy-model was at the disposition of artists who could copy the figures from it." Stencils, models and other copy-apparatus were commonly available.
4. No support has been found for Count Riant's statement that the shroud had passed into a private collection in Great Britain.
5. All his life, St. Francis was ardently devoted to the Shroud. Before he was born, his mother had tearfully prayed for a son, promising him to the Church, as she knelt before the Holy Shroud when it was privately shown in Annecy on 21 July 1566. Francis was born the next year. His biographer tells us that the saint had pictures of the Shroud executed in every imaginable technic; he had them on every wall and every table in every room, in his oratory and chapel. (CHARLES-AUGUSTE DE SALES, *Histoire du Bienheureux François-de-Sales, évêque et prince de Genève-Lyon*, 1634).
6. In 1833, LAZZARO GIUSEPPE PIANO included the studies of Chifflet and Filiberto Pingonio in his book, *Comentarii Critico-Archeologici sopra la Santissima Sindon de NS Gesu Cristo venerata in Torino*.
7. Correspondence from Rev. Charles Foley.
8. The Golden Bull was a document from the imperial chancery of Constantinople.
9. Unpublished notes of Rev. Edward Wuenschel, C.S.S.R., then Director of the Redemptorist Institute of Higher Studies, Rome; and author of *Self Portrait of Christ*, 1957. The information about the nine copper doors was quoted from Riant's *Exuviae*.
10. Montferrat was disappointed in his higher expectations.

11. In support of authenticity of the Besançon shroud, some authors cite MS 826, in the Besançon Municipal Archives. This manuscript is in two parts, Pro and Contra authenticity, both composed in the XVIII century. The anonymous author of "Pro" lists three papers (lost, and no copies extant) showing that Othon de la Roche sent the Shroud to his father. The author claims that these papers were from the Abbey of Acey. However, the Cartulaire of the Abbey of Acey (National Archives, Latin MS 5683), which includes the Acts of the Archbishop de Tramelai, does not mention Othon or the Shroud. Recognizing that the Shroud was not mentioned, the author suggests "intrepidly," as Vignon observes, that profiting from the quarrels between St. Etienne and St. Jean before they were united (1253) and the inventory made, the Shroud could have been seized and kept secretly in the possession of the archbishops who succeeded de Tramelai. (See VIGNON, *Le Saint Suaire de Turin*, 1938, p. 107).
12. No mention was made of a prior sojourn of the Shroud in Besançon by members of the Academie de Besançon. The Bulletin of the meeting of 15 March 1883 reports: "[Concerning] the Holy Shroud of Turin . . . we know of its sojourn in Franche-Comte in the town of St. Hippolyte from 1418-1453, and later [it] was at Chambery then Turin."
13. Just to be sure of this, I did a little calculating. A man on horseback could make 45 to 65 kms a day, depending on terrain, weather, road conditions, changes of horses etc. On today's good roads it is 560 kms from St. Omer to Besançon, in the Jura mountains—and the month of the "theft" was March! Twelve days would be a brilliant feat. He sets the fire, snatches the Shroud and gallops from Besançon to Lirey, 262 kms, nine days. If he drops the Shroud off there without taking time to explain or to kiss his wife, he would have been riding hard for twenty-one days. If the whole round-trip was non-stop, he could have made it back to St. Omer in forty-two days. It does not result from the records that Geoffroy was absent at any time from his post at St. Omer.

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