

“Missing years” of the Holy Shroud

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Abstract

The Holy Shroud disappear from Constantinople during the Crusade in 1204. Two elements confirm the presence of the Shroud in Athens since 1205 when, after the splitting up of the Byzantine Empire, Otho de La Roche, baron of Ray-sur-Saône, became Lord of Athens. Many tracks suggest that, after 1225, Otho come back in France with the Shroud. After his death, in 1234, the Shroud remaine in Ray-sur-Saône family hands until its handing over to the de Vergy family. Thanks to Jeanne de Vergy, related in the fifth generation with Otho, the Shroud would have been shown in public in Lirey.

Keyword: Constantinople, Otho de La Roche, Athens, Ray-sur-Saône, Jeanne de Vergy.

1. INTRODUCTION

Even if it is accepted that the Turin Shroud and the cloth observed in Constantinople by the crusader knight Robert de Clary (“Among other astonishing things there is a church called Saint Mary of Blacherne, where there is the sydoine (*Shroud*), in which Our Lord Jesus was wrapped and that every Holy Friday is lifted up vertically, so that the shape of Our Lord could be seen very well” [1].) were one and the same object, there still remain difficulties in establishing a chronology for the relic during the historical gap of more or less one hundred and fifty years, from 1204 in Constantinople to its re-appearance in Lirey in the fourteenth century. Different hypotheses have been formulated about these “Missing Years” [2].

In this paper, the author presents an additional hypothesis in an attempt to explain that intervening period during which the Shroud completely disappeared.

2. A TRACE IN ATHENS

Two elements confirm the presence of the Shroud in Athens in the summer of 1205.

First of all a letter written on August 1st 1205 by Theodor Angel Comnenus, nephew of Isaac II, Byzantine Emperor, during the plunder of 1204, to Pope Innocent III. In this missive Theodor begged the Holy Father to retrieve as soon as possible precious relics that had been missing for over a year and wrote about the presence of the Christ’s shroud in Athens [3].

Moreover, the papal legate Benedict of Santa Susanna, in the summer of 1205 was in Athens, with his interpreter and counselor Nicolas of Otranto, abbot of Casole, to attend an inter-religious meeting. Then, Nicolas, wrote in 1207 about relics stolen in 1204 that he saw subsequently with his own eyes. Nicolas of Otranto was indeed in Athens and so it is possible that he saw the Shroud [4].

3. OTHO DE LA ROCHE, MÉGASKYR OF ATHENS

After the splitting up of the Byzantine empire came the birth of the Eastern Latin Empire, Otho de La Roche, baron of Ray-sur-Saône, become Lord of Athens [5]. Among the Burgundy knights taking part in the siege of Constantinople was [6] Otho de La Roche [7], counsellor for Marquis Boniface of Monferrato, knight commander of the Fourth Crusade. He was gifted of a great strategic and organizational skill as well as a hard perseverance; he certainly was one of the high profiler character of the whole crusade arm.

Born around 1170 into a branch of the noble family of Ray [8] enthusiastic about liberating the Holy Land, Otho, giving a good example to many of his compatriots “took the cross” at the Cistercian abbey of Cîteaux in 1201 [9]. Various sources state that in 1205 Otho married his cousin Isabelle, the last heiress of the principal branch of the family [10]. A few years later Otho was widowed and married Elisabeth de Chappes in Greece [11].

Considering the route and the battles faced, we hypothesise that Otho arrived in Attica, and afterwards in Athens, around the end of 1204 or the beginning of 1205 [12]. Otho, with some faithful friends, stayed there to domesticate the fief, while the remaining platoon set off for the Peloponnese. Among the opposition the new lord of Athens had to face was the local church, especially Metropolitan Michael Coniatus who, after a long negotiation, agreed to participate in a religious meeting in Athens in the summer of 1205. After the meeting, considering Otho’s steadiness and perseverance Michael left the site where he had lived for thirty years and went into exile on the island of Kos in the Dodecannese [13].

It is at about this time that, as already noted, Theodor Angel Comnenus mentioned, in a letter to Innocent III, that Christ’s shroud was present in Athens.

Otho organised his lands on the strength of the French feudal model. Athens became the nominal capital and for

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this reason Otho built his house on the Acropolis while Thebes became the political and military capital. We still have a picture representing the tower of Otho *château-fort*, destroyed in 1879. It was square, about twenty-eight meters high with a base of seven meters on the side and was erected on the southern side of the Propylei [14].

Otho, as a crusader, did not ignore religion in his lands and mainly monks “colonised” his new properties. In 1207, orthodox monks were banned from Daphni monastery, dedicated to the “Dormition of the Virgin”, which was assigned to monks from the French abbey of Bellevaux [15]. They converted the monastery into a Cistercian abbey that remained Cistercian until 1458 when, after the Turkish invasion, it returned to Orthodox monks.

The abbey of Bellevaux, founded by Pons de La Roche on March 22nd 1119, was the referent point for all travels between East and West after 1204 [16]. The de La Roche family would preserve always importance in events of the religious complex, through donations and members of the family obtained the right of being buried there [17]. After Otho's father died (1203) Bellevaux and La Charité abbeys contended his mortal remains; they went to La Charité abbey, while Bellevaux obtained an economical indemnity [18].

4. BLOOD-LINE OF OTHO DE LA ROCHE

Extending his properties, the lord of Athens parcelled out his land to his offspring. Guy, designated successor, settled in Beocia, assisted by Nicolas de Saint-Omer, righthand man of his father. Guillaume, son of his second wedding, was elected governor of Argolide. Otho II received Argos and Nauplie, but he let his brothers control his lands while he devoted himself to Ray-sur-Saône. On his father's death Otho II reached an agreement with his cousin Pons de Cicon and gave up his rights over La Roche-sur-l'Ognon fief. In the “Nauplie Charter”, dated April 19th 1251, Otho II gave up his fiefs of Argos and Nauplie for some money and some rights of Guy over family properties in Burgundy and Champagne, thus centralising power in Ray-sur-Saône [19].

King Louis IX of France, in 1258, confirmed what he had obtained from Otho during the crusade, admitting the Lordship and the noble title for his descendants. Other Lords of Athens were: Guy (1225-1263); Jean (1263-1280); Guillaume (1280-1287); Guy II (1287-1308); Gauthier V de Brienne (1308-1311). The reigning branch of the dukedom was extinguished after more or less one century, in 1311, when the fifth generation married into to the Brienne family. Guy II, in fact, died without male heirs. Gauthier de Brienne, sixth and last duke of Athens, was killed during a battle near lake Copais.

For our interest, Otho II is very important, in fact he is the son who controlled Ray-sur-Saône, the place to which the Shroud was allegedly taken by his father [20].

5. RAY-SUR-SAÔNE CASTLE

Ray-sur-Saône castle is today in a small village of around two hundred people. In this place, restructured in eighteenth century, lives Countess Diane-Régina de Salverte, direct descendent of Otho de La Roche [21].

In the ancient tower of the castle are preserved numerous family treasures. Among these they have objects from the Fourth Crusade, taken there directly by Otho de La Roche [22]. Our attention is immediately caught by some cross shaped relics. One of these contains a fragment of the True Cross, taken by the first Lord of Athens in 1204 [23] and placed in a relic container from Pope Pius IX in 1863. Another two relic containers, shaped like a Greek cross, preserve a fragment of the True Cross with soil from the Holy Land, while the other contains only soil from where Christ had stepped. These relic containers could prove the direct origin from Constantinople.

Behind these objects there is a wooden coffer with a label, put on it in the twentieth century, on which there is written:

13th century coffer in which was preserved in Ray Castle the Shroud of Christ brought by Otho de Ray from Constantinople. 1206.



Figure 1. The wooden coffer preserved in Ray-sur-Saône castle (Ph. © Alessandro Piana).

The front side of the coffer is simply chiselled, while in the middle of the sides there are inlaid shields. It is parallelepiped, 45 centimetres long, 25 wide and 30 deep. It is on a base and closed by a lid. A hole in the lid and four on the front side could be the place for a padlock. At present, it is not possible to pinpoint for how long the coffer presence can be documented in the castle, even if we have a lot of data on it.

Examining the coffer we can see that the cut is characteristic of the second half of fourteenth century. Actually we know that the only original part of it is the bottom [24]. A superficial examination of the coffer has been carried out. Illuminating it with ultraviolet light they did not see traces of human blood [25]. There did seem to

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be some traces of textile fibres, however these may only be the residue from a sheet that was put inside the coffer some years ago by Antoine Legrand, to see how the coffer would match the dimensions of the Turin Shroud [26].

It would be of interest to widen researches, looking particularly at the bottom, searching for other tracks, for example pollens. It could be also useful a carbon-dating, just to confirm that the only original part of the coffer is the bottom.

As far as the label put on the coffer, according to which the Shroud was in Ray-sur-Saône castle in 1206, it refers to an hypothesis guessed years ago from local historians, Dunod de Charnage and Perreiot. They stated that Otho, after appropriating of the Shroud, would have gifted it to the Besançon cathedral just in that year [27]. Besides Perreiot adds that Otho would have sent the Shroud to his father who, in 1206, gifted it. Clash with this belief is the fact that, as described below, Pons de La Roche died in 1203. It is therefore impossible that he received the Shroud in 1206. Moreover, it is unlikely that de La Roche family deprived itself of a relic stolen in Constantinople, gifting it to the local Church. In this way they would have proven the ownership of a relic, that was a punishable fact.

All these things make this hypothesis unreliable and thus suggest that the Shroud could have reached Ray-sur-Saône castle after 1206.

6. HOW, WHEN AND WHY THE SHROUD ARRIVED IN RAY-SUR-SAÔNE

We have to answer three questions. First of all how the Shroud came to Otho's hands and was then transferred to France; then, when did it arrive in France and finally if the folded Shroud could be kept in the coffer just described.

As far as the first question, during the siege of April 14th 1204, Othon was among the Burgundians following Henry of Flanders in the Blachernes Palace [28]. In my opinion it is not sustainable that in the days of savage depredation Otho went to the church in Blacherne, where Robert de Clary attested and took the Shroud. In fact, there were numerous death warrants against people who plundered [29]. It is more plausible that during the sharing out of the plunder, Otho de la Roche was given the Shroud [30]. This could explain how the pious Otho obtained the most important treasure of Christendom without illegal acts. Unfortunately, the Shroud is not mentioned in the inventories of relics taken from Constantinople and distributed among French crusaders, but Theodor's letter about the Christ's Shroud in Athens in 1205 (discussed below) does indicate Otho's possession.

Where could the Shroud have been kept during its stay in Athens? The most logical place seems to be in the fortress on the Acropolis, a well guarded place. In the period immediately after its arrival in Athens it was certainly kept somewhere else as the tower had not yet been built

probably in a religious building [31].

When was it taken to France [32]? We have a lot of data regarding this fact.

The latest record signalling the presence of Otho in Athens is a papal bull of Honorius III dated February 12th 1225 [33]. It is interesting to note that just from this year the Lordship was transferred to Otho's son Guy and the first Lord of Athens returned to France and contributed to the enrichment of Bellevaux abbey [34]. It is plausible that Otho took the Shroud with him when he returned home. It is highly unlikely that he would have left such a valuable piece of loot in Greece when he could easily take it during his cruise back home. Even if the father would not have brought it with him and the Shroud was still in Athens, it is not plausible that Otho II, his heir on Ray-sur-Saône feud, would have left in Greece a so important object.

Otho died some years after. In a paper kept in Charlieu abbey, dated 1234, his son Otho II stated:

"Notum fit omnibus presentes litteras inspecturis, quod Otto de Roca, Dominus de Rayi, filius quondam Domini Ottonis, Ducis Athenarum" [35].

But this confirm only that in 1234 he was already dead. To understand if Otho was in France at the time of his death we have to consider a document in the archives of the diocese of Langres. This states that Otho died in 1234, while his second wife Elisabeth died two years later [36]. In that period Langres was part of the county of Burgundy, in the region of Fouvent-Dampierre-Baujeu, west of Saône, part of the ecclesiastical ward where the Ray family had their properties [37].

The fact that this paper is kept in Langres diocese could prove that Otho and Elisabeth lived in France to the end of their lives.

Despite that, some studies state that after having obtained the Lordship of Athens, Otho de La Roche never returned to France [38] but no one should explain, if he remained in Athens why he was not buried, as his successors were, in Daphne monastery.

Otho was not buried in Athens or in his own town but in the church of *Saint Laurent* in Seveux [39], a small village near Ray-sur-Saône, where his headstone is.

A close replica of this is can be seen in Ray castle, in the middle of the tower floor, near to the case. The plate reproduces Otho's arms. He is represented with hands joined in prayer, wearing an ermine gown, a sign of royalty. The plate has the following epitaph:

*MOLA SUB ISTA CI PREMISTUR OM(ni)S RAIANI
OTHO ROGATE DEUM NE PREMAT HOSTIS EUM*

The translation is: *Under this rock is buried Otho of Ray, pray God that the enemy will never surprise him again.*



Figure 2. Reproduction of the tomb headstone of Otho de La Roche,, Baron of Ray and Lord of Athens, present on the floor of Ray-sur-Saône castle tower (Ph. © Alessandro Piana).

It has been suggested that this plate does not represent Otho but his nephew Othenin, who lived almost one century later; because we can not imagine why on his plate there is not written “Lord of Athens” [40]. Instead Bergeret thinks that this is Otho II’s tomb [41], but this is not possible because till the end of his days Otho II was armed as de la Roche, so it is strange that there is not a reference to the la Roche family. Another fact is very important. Seveux is in the region of Fouvent-Dampierre-Baujeu where Otho and his wife should have spent their last days.

Now we come to the last question: could the Shroud have been kept in the coffer present in Ray-sur-Saône castle and which is described below? Once opened its inner dimensions are more or less 37.5 centimetres long, 16.5 wide and 25 deep. The most suitable folding pattern for the coffer dimensions is in 96 [42]. This can be obtained with twelve folds in the length and eight in the width. So we obtain ninety-six rectangles, 36.33 centimetres long and 13.75 wide.

We have a lot of witnesses regarding the existence of coffers in which the Shroud was preserved during its movements in different centuries. At the Shroud Museum, in Turin, we can see the coffer used for moving the Shroud from Chambéry to Turin in 1578. Its shape and dimensions are very similar to that of the one found in Ray-sur-Saône castle [43].

It is likely that the two coffers could have preserved the Shroud in different historical periods.

7. A COPY OF THE SHROUD IN RAY CASTLE

Further proof supporting the hypothesis of a link between Lords of Ray-sur-Saône and the Shroud is the fact that the family’s show cabinet which contains the coffer also features a drape, 50 centimetres long and 30 wide, with floral ornaments. On the fabric is painted the frontal part of a male human being, extremely similar to the man of the Shroud.



Figure 3. Painting on canvas preserved in Ray-sur-Saône castle (Ph. © Alessandro Piana).

This piece look a lot like the painting of the “Besançon Shroud” [44]. It would be interesting to know the epoch of the painting to understand if it is coeval to the transit of the Shroud in Ray-sur-Saône, otherwise is a subsequent attestation.



Figure 4. The “Besançon Shroud”. From: J. J. Chifflet, (1624), quoted in References.

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In any case, it is striking that this object is really in the castle of Ray-sur-Saône with the coffer, and could be a further connection between the Shroud and de La Roche family.

Papal sanctions on traffic of relics stolen in Constantinople could justify absence of documents regarding this period. Moreover, among decisions made during twelfth Ecumenical Council, the fourth Lateran, started on November 11th 1215 [45], they stated that: “*Saint relics should be shown in reliquaries and new ones could not be venerated without Roman church authorization*” [46].

Basing on this statement, it would have been difficult to explain, to ecclesiastic authorities, the presence in the family hands of this important relic stolen in Constantinople.

This aspect should be studied with further researches.

8. THE SHROUD AND THE DE VERGY FAMILY

After one hundred and fifty years the Shroud was kept in a collegiate church not far from Ray-sur-Saône castle. Geoffroi I de Charny is considered the first owner of the Shroud in Lirey in the fourteenth century. Different elements make us think this was not completely true. It is quite strange that de Charny family did not publicly show this precious treasure until the middle of the fourteenth century. It was not by chance that Geoffroi I, a well-known knight in France for his bravery, a friend of kings and popes, waited until his wedding with Jeanne de Vergy, before Shroud exhibition [47].

We need to point out that if Otho de La Roche had descendants, one of them was Jeanne de Vergy and not Geoffroi I. Jeanne probably brought the Shroud for the wedding with this personality. In fact Geoffroi I became Lord of Lirey and Savoisy only after his marriage to Jeanne. Moreover, on the brass plaque found in the Seine in the nineteenth century, there are coats of arms of both families, not only de Charny [48]. Besides, in not even one document about Geoffroi I de Charny was the Shroud mentioned. In fact, his son, Geoffroi II, did not inherit a Shroud when his father died [49], as in documents related to the foundation of the collegiate church a lot of relics are mentioned but not the Shroud [50]. In the end, the chance that the Shroud was property of Jeanne de Vergy is supported by the fact that in the period between 1360 and 1389 the Shroud was preserved in Monfort-en-Auxois, a de Vergy property [51].

It is plausible that the decision to exhibit the Shroud in Lirey was made in the period after that in which Geoffroi I obtained the Shroud, that is after his wedding with Jeanne de Vergy.

To prove the relationship between Jeanne de Vergy and Otho de La Roche we have to analyse family trees of some noble families from Franc-County and Burgundy between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

9. FAMILY TREES

Otho de La Roche married his cousin Isabelle, latest heiress of the principal branch of the family and, in this way, he obtained the title of Baron of Ray. From their marriage three heirs were born: Guy, Bonne and Otho II. From the marriage with Elisabeth de Chappes Guillaume was born.

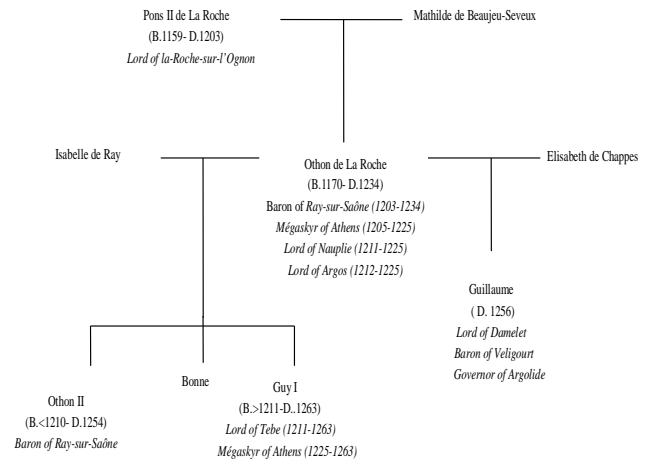


Figure 5. Otho's family tree (Ph. © Alessandro Piana).

As said below, for our interest Otho II is important. He died in 1254 leaving two daughters, Guillermette and Isabelle (or Elisabeth) [52], who would marry into the family of Oiselay and de Vergy respectively [53], and a son, Jean, who would become Baron of Ray-sur-Saône [54].

Let see now the de Vergy family [55]. Jeanne de Vergy was Guillaume's and Agnès de Durnay's daughter. Her father was the son of Jean I and Marguerite de Noyers. Jean I was son of Henry I de Vergy and Isabelle de Ray, daughter of Otho II de la Roche and sister of Jean, Lord of Ray [56]. These genealogical trees show how Jeanne de Vergy was related, in the fifth generation, to Otho de la Roche.

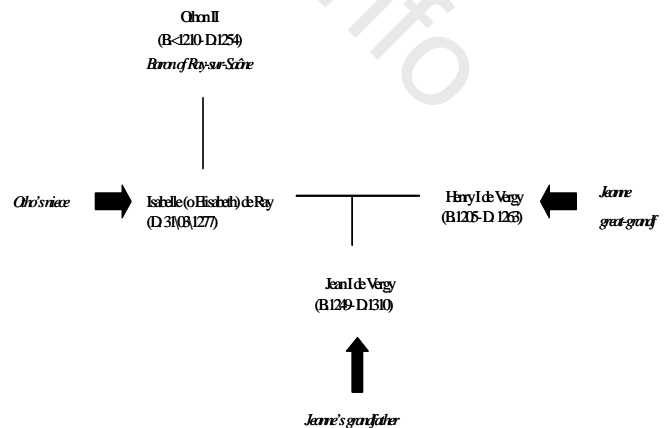


Figure 6. Family tie between Lords of Ray-sur-Saône and de Vergy (Ph. © Alessandro Piana).

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It was this woman, descendant of the first Lord of Athens, who married Geoffroi I de Charny. It is through this wedding that “the most loyal and valorous of all knights”, obtained the Shroud that, through different generations, we can suppose came in the hands of the de Vergy from the de La Roche family.

But this relationship on its own does not explain when, how or why the Shroud changed ownership from Ray-sur-Saône to de Vergy. At the moment we can just hypothesize.

We can start considering destiny of families involved in these events. While the de La Roche family declined, in 1386 we do not find any trace of la Roche sur- l’Ognon in genealogies [57], the Lords of Ray-sur-Saône, descendant of Otho de La Roche, were prospering. Their apogee was in the XIV century when two barons, Gauthier (who died in 1357) and Jean II (died in 1394), became “Guardian of Burgundy County”, that is they were the people in charge during the king’s succession or during the king’s absence.

The transfer of the Shroud from the Lords of Ray could be linked to the murder of the sixth and last Duke of Athens, Gauthier V de Brienne, that took place on May 13th 1311, around lake Copais. This event ended the history of the French dukedom of Athens that the Ray family had maintained for a long time. This was certainly a difficult period for the family, a period in which they needed money to fortify dukedom. Most simple way to obtain a good amount was to give up a valuable thing.

In this period the Lord of Ray-sur-Saône was Aymé; the heiress of Ray and Henry I de Vergy were already married, so the link between the two families was already established, as described below. The fact that the Shroud arrived in the hands of the de Vergy family, rather than in other families’ related with de La Roche, could be linked to the fact that in 1191 the de Vergy family became *Senechal* of Burgundy [58], a very important political position. The transfer could also have taken place while Jeanne was going to marry Geoffroi I de Charny, a well known and trustworthy man in France.

It is so possible that, in a difficult period, de La Roche family, was compelled to give up the Shroud in hands of a trustworthy family and particularly of a family able to guard the secret regarding the origin of this object.

10. CONCLUSIONS

What I have tried to prove in these pages about the “Shroud’s Missing Years” would be one more piece in the puzzle of the history of the Shroud.

A set of elements make suppose transit of the Shroud in Athens, thank to Otho de La Roche, at the beginning of thirteenth century. To this Burgundy noble family are linked a series of attestations that, if further confirmed, would help to set Shroud arrival in Europe a long time before the middle of fourteenth century.

At present this hypothesis appears the most likely, well-documented and able to give a series of ideas for further

researches that other hypothesis can not suggest.

I do not think we can say that the missing period is definitely solved as we still have a lot of research to do, as suggested in the paper. This work has to be considered as the seeds of ongoing research, not the end but just the beginning.

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4. D.C. Scavone, *The Shroud in Constantinople: The documentary evidence*, pp. 35-38, in R. F. Jr. Sutton, *Daidalikon*, Bolchazy-Carducci, Wauconda (IL) (1989).
5. Monk Aubry de Trois-Fontaines, in his *Chronicon*, addressed Otho de la Roche as Duke of Athens (Aubry *Chronicon* is mentioned from: P. Vignon, *Le Saint Suaire de Turin devant la science, l’archéologie, l’histoire, l’iconographie, la logique*, Masson, Paris, p. 107-108 (1938)). Really it is from Jean de la Roche

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- (1263-1280) that the title of Duke is used as an alternative to *Mégaskyr*. Under Guillaume (1280-1287), his successor, only the title Duke of Athens was used.
6. G. de Villehardouin, *Histoire de la conquête de Constantinople*, N. de Wailly, ed., Librairie Hachette, Paris, pp. 146-149 (1872).
 7. Lord of La Roche-sur-l'Ognon, village located around Ognon river, not far away from Besançon.
 8. Noble family of Ray-sur-Saône, village of Franc-County in department of Haute-Saône.
 9. H. de Salverte, *Historique du Château de Ray*, Ed. Sequania, Besançon, p. 15 (1999).
 10. F. I. Dunod de Charnage, *Histoire des Séquanais*, eighteenth century. Quoted also in family trees.
 11. Born from Clérembault IV de Chappes and Elissande de Trainel, coming from the noble families of Bar-sur-Aube region, related to Guarnieri of Trainel, bishop of Troyes, took part in the Fourth Crusade as a spiritual leader.
 12. According to Scavone (D. C. Scavone, *La Sindone di Torino, Otho de la Roche, Besançon, e il Memorandum d'Arcis: Un'elaborazione e una sintesi*, in *Collegamento Pro Sindone*, p. 37 (January-February 1993)) he arrived in Athens between the end of October and the beginning of November 1204.
 13. J. Girard, *La Roche et l'épopée comtoise de Grèce*, L'Atelier du Grand Tétras, Mont-de-Laval, p. 73 (1998). Major problems for Othon came from local clergy. Both Othon and Geoffroi de Villehardouin were against the papal policy wanting to stitch the beach with the Byzantine Church. In 1219, after a report of John Colonna (cardinal of Saint Prassede), a papal bull excommunicate both Otho and Geoffroi (January 21st). Another excommunication was on April the 1st 1222 that was removed on September 14th 1223. See: P. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, Reprinting of Rome edition, t. I, p.59, n. 332; p. 168, n. 986; p. 302, n. 1819; t. II, p. 62, n. 3924; p.163, n. 4503; p. 165, n. 4514 (1888-95).
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 15. F. Lenormant, *Le monastère de Daphni, pres d'Athènes, sous la domination des Princes croisés*, Revue Archéologique XXIV, pp. 232-245 (July-December 1872).
 16. J. Girard, *op. cit.*, p. 119 (1998).
 17. J. Gauthier, *Pierres tombales de l'abbaye de Bellevaux*, Academie de Besançon, Besançon (1882).
 18. Departmental Archives of Doubs, 58 H2.
 19. J. Longnon, *Les premiers ducs d'Athènes et leur famille*, in *Journal des Savants*, n. 1, pp. 79-80 (1973).
 20. In order to obtain more information on Otho the author visit his castle, during the summer of 2006, to look for new clues.
 21. The name of de Ray disappeared in 1623 on the death of Claude François de Ray, who did not have male heirs. Women from the family married into the Marmier family and, thereafter, with de Salverte.
 22. F. Chamard (Dom.), *Le linceul du Christ, étude critique et historique*, Oudin, Paris, (1902).
 23. Based on de Salverte (H. de Salverte, *Petit Guide pour les Visiteurs du Château et du Parc de Ray*, Gray, p. 3 (1980)) fragments of True Cross were found in Blacherne palace.
 24. M. Oxley, *The challenge of the Shroud*, Author House, Milton Keynes, p. 106 (2010).
 25. *Ibidem*.
 26. *Ibidem*.
 27. F. I. Dunod de Charnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise, Ville et Diocèse de Besançon*, Besançon, (1750). C. Perreciot, *Princes et seigneurs de Franche-Comté qui se sont distingués dans les Croisades*, (1867).
 28. F. Chamard (Dom.), *op. cit.*, Oudin, Paris, pp. 40-41 (1902).
 29. G. de Villehardouin, *op. cit.* N. de Wailly, ed., Librairie Hachette, Paris, (1872).
 30. F. I. Dunod, *Histoire de l'église, ville et diocèse de Besançon*, volume I, p. 408 (1750).
 31. Religious buildings probably are: a church in Athens, Parthenon and Daphni monastery (D. Raffard de Brienne, *Le ducs d'Athènes et le Linceul*, in *Actes du IIIème Symposium Scientifique International du CIELT*, Nice, 12-13 May 1997, p. 171 (1997)).
 32. F. I. Dunod, *op. cit.*, (1750); C.J. Perreciot, *Princes et seigneurs de Franche-Comté qui se sont distingués dans les Croisades*, inedit, (1867); G. M. Zaccone, *Le manuscrit 826 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon*, in *Actes du IIIème Symposium Scientifique International du CIELT*, Nice, 12-13 May 1997, pp. 211-217 (1997); G.M. Zaccone, *The Shroud from the Charnys to the Savoy*, in *The Turin Shroud past, present and future*, International Scientific Symposium, Turin, 2-5 March 2000, Effatà Editrice, Cantalupa, p. 395, note 35 (2000).
 33. P. Pressutti, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 304, n. 5304 (1888-95).
 34. C. Hopf, *Chronique gréco-romaine inédites ou peu connues*, Weidman, Berlin, p. 473 (1873); K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere zeit* in *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, J. S. Ersch & J.G. Gruber eds., vol. 85, Leipzig, p. 275 (1867).

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35. J.B. Guillaume, *Histoire généalogique des sires de Salins au comté de Bourgogne*, Vieille, Besançon, 1757, t. I, pp. 66-67 (1757). *Quondam*, is a Latin adverb that if used before a name means “late”.
36. J. Vignier: *Décade historique du diocèse de Langres* – t. III, f. 16.
37. Lands dowry of Othon’s mother, Mathilde of Baujeu-Seveux. J. Girard, *op. cit.*, note 41, p. 25 (1998).
38. D. Raffard de Brienne, *op.cit.*, p. 171 (1997).
39. Clapotin, *Le Bulletin de la Communauté de Communes des 4 Rivières*, n.31, p.6 (January 2009).
40. *Mémoires de la Commission Archéologique de la Haute-Saône*, 3-4, Per. 257.
41. M. Bergeret, *Linceul de Turin- le trou historique: 1204-1357*, in *L’identification scientifique de l’homme du Linceul, Actes du Symposium Scientifique International du CIELT*, Rome 10-12 June 1993, p. 347 (1993).
42. *Ibidem*. And also: C. Barta, *Hipótesis para el vacío histórico de Constantinopla a Lirey*, in *Linteum* n. 36, p. 32 (June 2004).
43. The dimensions are: 46 cm X 27 cm X 32 cm. P. Baima Bollone, *Sindone. Storia e Scienza 2010*, La Stampa – Priuli & Verlucca, Turin, p. 93 (2010).
44. J.J. Chifflet, *De Linteis Sepulcralibus Christi*, Antwerp, (1624).
45. C. Rendina, *I Papi. Storia e segreti*, Newton & Compton, Rome, p. 448 (2005).
46. List of saints, LXII.
47. Certificate of foundation is dated January 30th, 1354 (Vatican Archive, *Registra Avenionensis*, 147, f. 542^v, ff. 541^v-542 e ff. 542-543, reg.). We do not know for sure date of the completion of the building construction. We just have a letter, dated May 28th 1356, in which Henri de Poitiers, bishop of Troyes, congratulate de Charny on successfully completing building of collegiate church (Departmental Archives of Aube, Troyes, 1, 17). Depending on these remarks it is probable that the Shroud was exhibited for the first time in Lirey between May 28th and September 19th 1356, day of death of Geoffroi I de Charny.
48. Musée National du Moyen-Age Thermes et hôtel de Cluny, Paris.
49. The Shroud is not mentioned in the funeral memorial written by the Dean of the collegiate church. A. Legrand, *Le Linceul de Turin*, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, (1985).
50. P. de Gail, *Histoire religieuse du Linceul du Christ*, Editions France-Empire, Paris, (1973).
51. M. Bergeret, *op. cit.*, p. 347 (1993). It seems that on the initiative of Jeanne de Vergy, in 1360 the Shroud was moved to Monfort-en-Auxois castle where it stayed until 1389: *Pays de Bourgogne*, n. 199, (March 2003).
52. In the Middle Ages the names of Elisabeth and Isabelle were equivalent: M. Bergeret, *op.cit.*, p. 348 (1993).
53. J. Girard, *op.cit.*, p. 225 (1998).
54. H. de Salvete, *op. cit.*, see following genealogical table, (1999).
55. Piana A., *Sindone gli anni perduti*, Sugarco, Milan, pp. 90-91 (2007). Jeanne was born from the second wedding of the father. He married in first wedding Isabelle de Choiseul, while his third wife was Jeanne de Montfaucon. Jeanne had a sister (died in 1370), a stepbrother and two stepsisters.
56. Père Anselme de Sainte-Marie (Pierre de Guibours), *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, des pairs, grands officiers de la couronne et de la maison du roy et des anciens barons du royaume*, Reprod. Estienne Loyson, Paris, (1674).
57. Departmental Archives of Doubs, B 435.
58. N. Curren-Briggs, *The Shroud and the Grail*, St. Martin’s Press, New York, (1987).