

Stitching Sanctity and Sculpting Bones
The Materiality of Cologne's 11,000 Holy Virgins and their
Textile Skull Reliquaries

Two Volumes

Volume II

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October 2021

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Table 1: List of Skull Reliquaries

This table organizes information about the skull reliquary case studies investigated in this project. It provides an accessible platform to compare and contrast skulls, which come from various sites across Europe. This table is intended to work in tandem with references to skulls across the thesis, but especially with the detailed images used in Chapter 2. Below is a key for the table.

Key

C.SMA : Cologne, Schnütgen Museum Archives

C.GK : Cologne, Goldene Kammer (Golden Chamber in the Church of the Holy Virgins)

C.SG : Cologne, St Gereon (Church)



L.HVA : Ląd, Holy Virgins Altar




L.AA : Ląd Abbey Archives




O.A : Oliwa (Cathedral) Altar




SQ:HA : Saint Quentin (Cathedral), Herkenrode Abbey



M.CC : Marienfeld, Cloister Church



Skull	Location	Inv. No	Figure #	Date	Image	
C.SMA.1	Cologne, Schnütgen Museum Archives	N 1425	Figures 1a-k	?13-14 th century		
C.SMA.2	Cologne, Schnütgen Museum Archives	N 1426	Figures 2.31a-k	?13-14 th century		



C.GK.1	Cologne, Golden Chamber (Church of the Holy Virgins)	N Gebälk unten 3e	Figures 2.37a-j	?inner 13- 14 th century ?outer 15 th century	
C.GK.2	Cologne, Golden Chamber (Church of the Holy Virgins)	W Gebälk oben links e	Figures 2.32a-k	?14-15 th century	
C.GK.3	Cologne, Golden Chamber (Church of the Holy Virgins)	W Gebälk unten links e	Figures 2.33a-k	?14-15 th century	



C.GK.4	Cologne, Golden Chamber (Church of the Holy Virgins)	W Gebälk oben links h	Figures 2.38	?13-16 th century	
C.GK.4.a		(1 of 2)	2.39a-h		
C.GK.4.b		(2 of 2)	2.40a-d		 


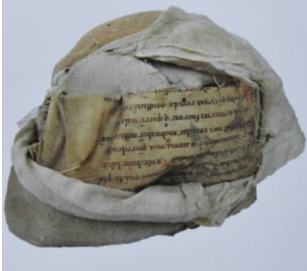

C.GK.5	Cologne, Golden Chamber (Church of the Holy Virgins)	W Gebälk oben links c	Figures 2.34a-f	?13-15 th century	
C.GK.6	Cologne, Golden Chamber (Church of the Holy Virgins)	W Gebälk oben links f	Figures 2.41a-i	?13-16 th century	
C.GK.7	Cologne, Golden Chamber (Church of the Holy Virgins)	W Gebälk unten links b	Figures 2.42a-c	?14-15 th century	



C.GK.8	Cologne, Golden Chamber (Church of the Holy Virgins)	W Gebälk oben links g	Figures 2.35a-f	?13-15 th century	
C.GK.9	Cologne, Golden Chamber (Church of the Holy Virgins)	S Gebälk oben 3c	Figures 2.36a-g	?14 th century	




C.GK.10	Cologne, Golden Chamber (Church of the Holy Virgins)	?	Figures 2.43a-b	?15-16 th century	
C.SG.1	Cologne, St Gereon, Institut für historische Textilien	n/a	Figures 2.44a-e	late 14 th /early 15 th century (Cologne)	


C.SG.2	Cologne, St Gereon, Institut für historische Textilien	n/a	Figures 2.45a-d	late 14 th /early 15 th century (Cologne)	
C.SG.3	Cologne, St Gereon, Institut für historische Textilien	n/a	Figures 2.46a-h	late 14 th century (Cologne)	

L.HVA.1	Lād, Holy Virgins' altar, Lād abbey church	n/a	Figures 2.49a-g	13 th century (Cologne)	
L.HVA.2	Lād, Holy Virgins' altar, Lād abbey church	n/a	Figures 2.50a-h	13 th century (Cologne)	

L.AA.1	Ląd, Abbey Archives; previously: Holy Virgins' altar, Ląd abbey church	n/a	Figures 2.48a-g	inner: 12-13 th century / outer: 16 th century	 
O.A.1	Oliwa, Cathedral north side chapel altar; previously: high altar	N/A	Figure 3 2.55a-g	inner: ?13 th century	

O.A.2	Oliwa, Cathedral north side chapel altar; previously: high altar	N/A	Figures 2.56a-d	?13 th -15 th century	
SQ.HA.1	St Quinten Cathedral Hasselt, Belgium; previously: Herkenrode Abbey	15	Figures 2.51a-e	13-18 th century	

SQ.HA.2	St Quinten Cathedral Hasselt, Belgium; previously: Herkenrode Abbey	30	2.25a-h			
M.CC.1	Marienfeld, (formerly in cloister church)	Inv. 53	Figures 2.53a-c	Late 13 th -17 th C		
M.CC.2	Marienfeld (formerly in cloister church)	Inv. 89 (left)	Figure 2.54	12 th -14 th C		

A.SA.1	Aachen Cathedral Treasury Archives	Inv. ?	Figures 2.47a-e	?14 th -15 th century	
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ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1

Skull reliquary C.SMA.1 (Inv. Nr. N 1425), c. thirteenth-fourteenth century, Schnütgen Museum Archives, Cologne, Germany; originally from the Cologne Cathedral relic cabinet



1a View of front/left



1b View of front/right



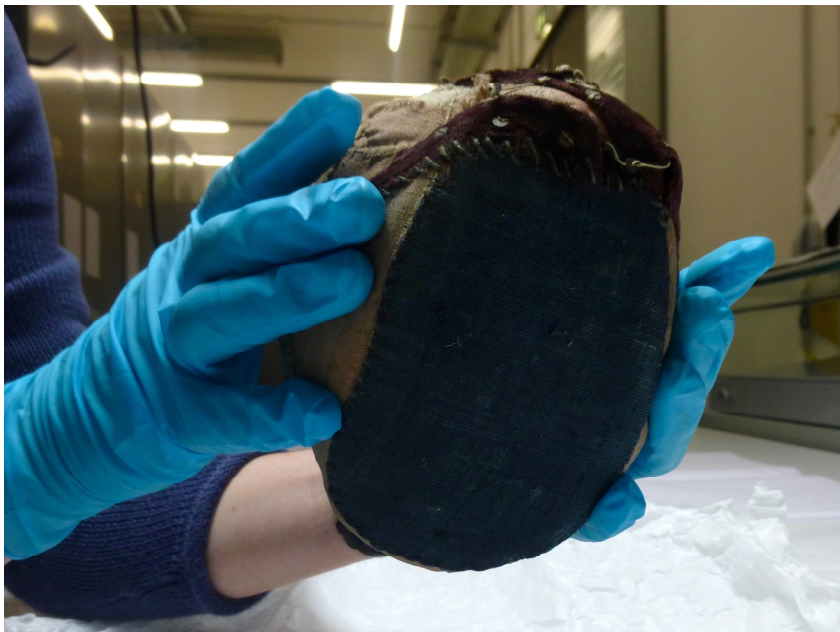
1c View of back



1d View of left side



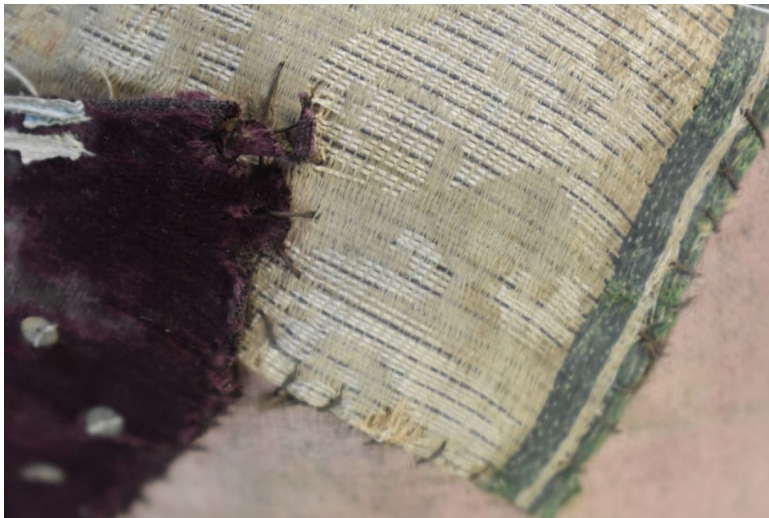
1e View of right side



1f View of base



1g Detail of parchment *cedula*



1h Detail of silk and left side stitching



1i Detail of mask interior and the stitches securing the sequins and ribbon



1j Detail of layered construction



1k Detail of mask decoration



1l Detail of front base stitching

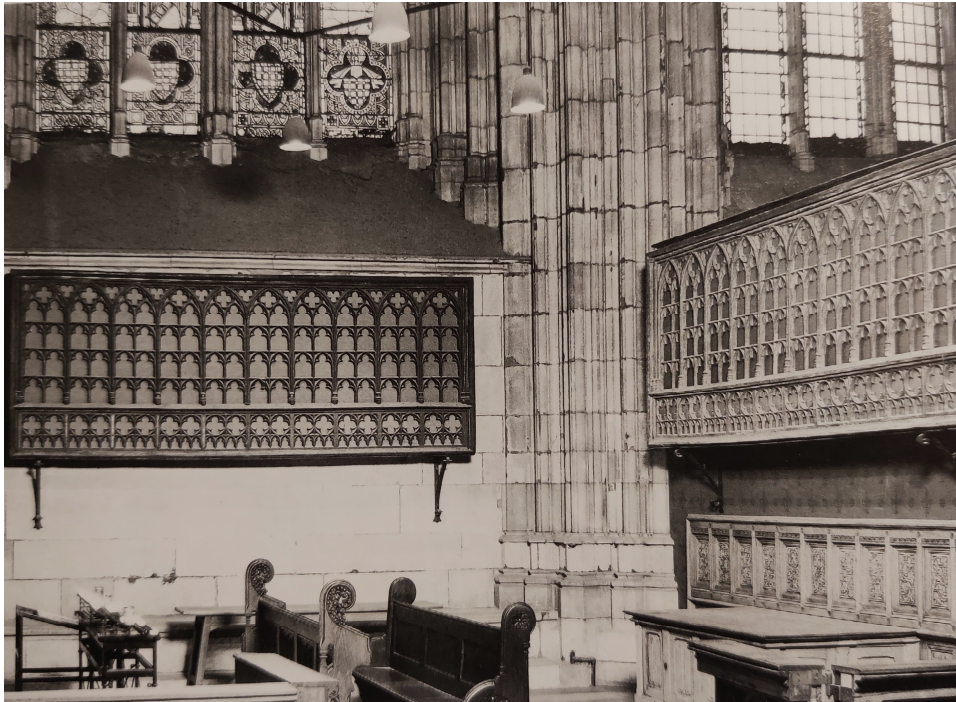


Figure 2
Historic photograph of monumental relic cabinets in south tower,
Cologne Cathedral, Germany



Figure 3
Smaller of three monumental relic cabinets after 1986 restoration, c. 1280,
Cologne Cathedral Treasury

Figure 4
Monumental relic cabinets as installed in the Treasury, c. 1280), Cologne Cathedral
Treasury



4a. Large cabinet no.1



4b. Large cabinet no. 2



4c. Smaller cabinet

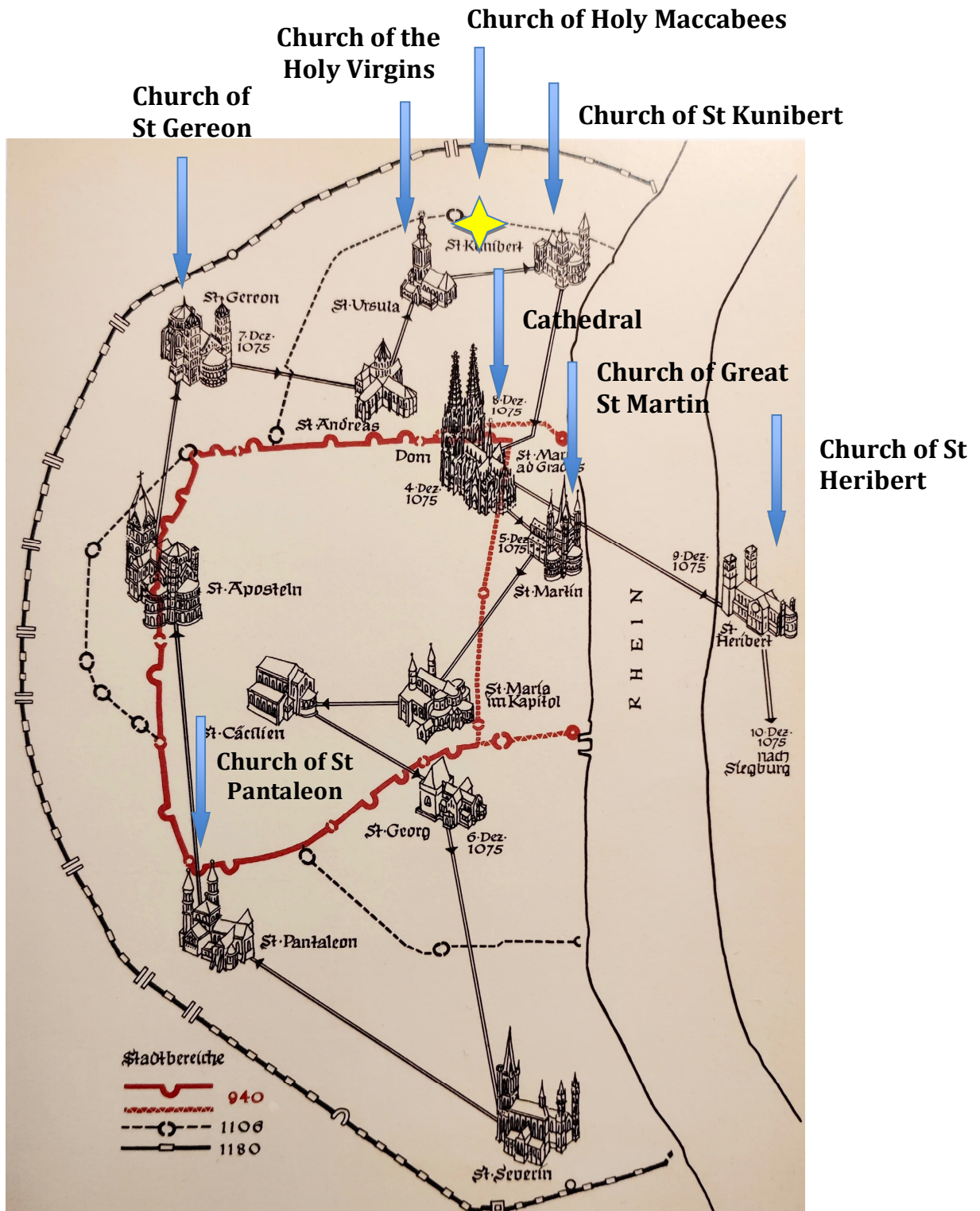


Figure 5
Map of Cologne's key institutions included in this study and identifying the three pertinent city walls: Roman, 1106 expansion, and 1180 expansion. Key medieval religious institutions indicated by author

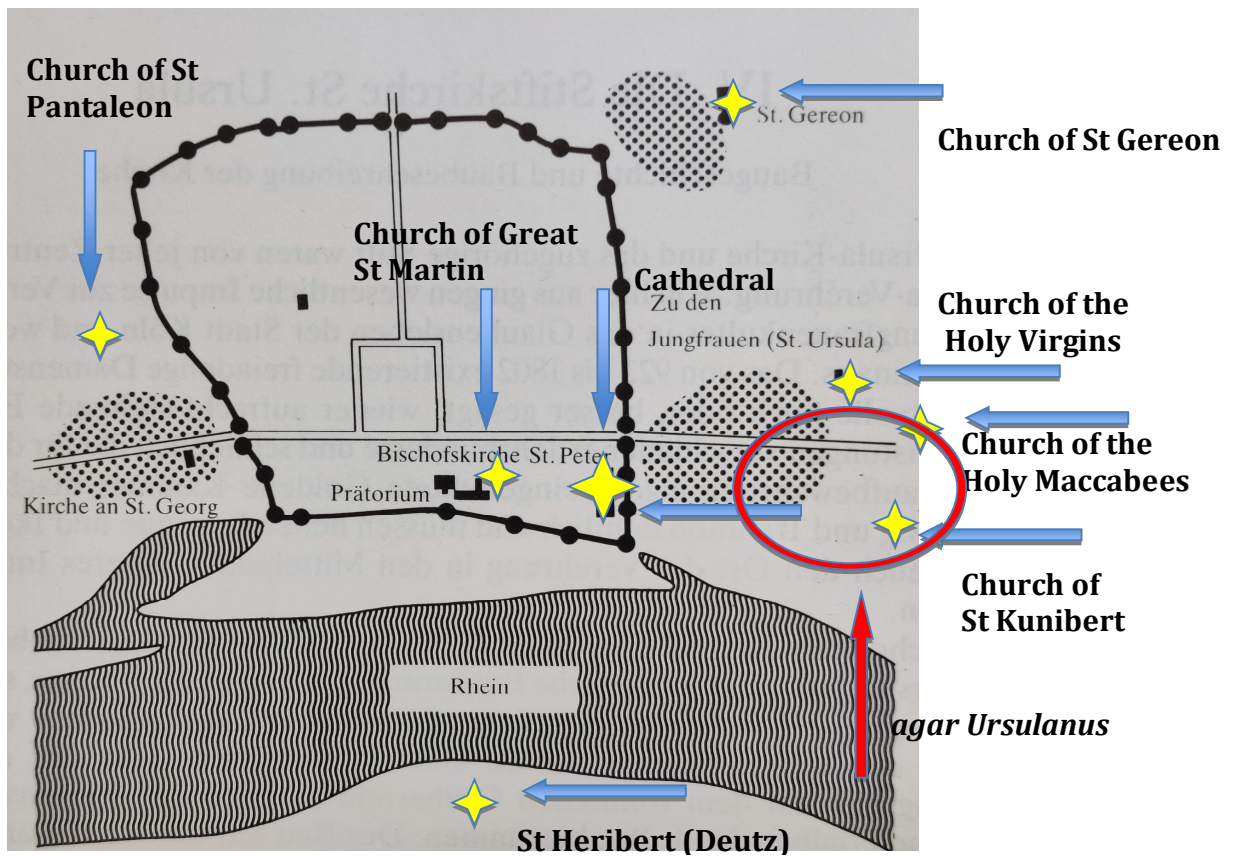


Figure 6
Map of Cologne's Roman burial grounds, c. fifth-sixth century,
Winfrid Migge. Key medieval religious institutions and
approximate location of the *agar Ursulanus* indicated by author

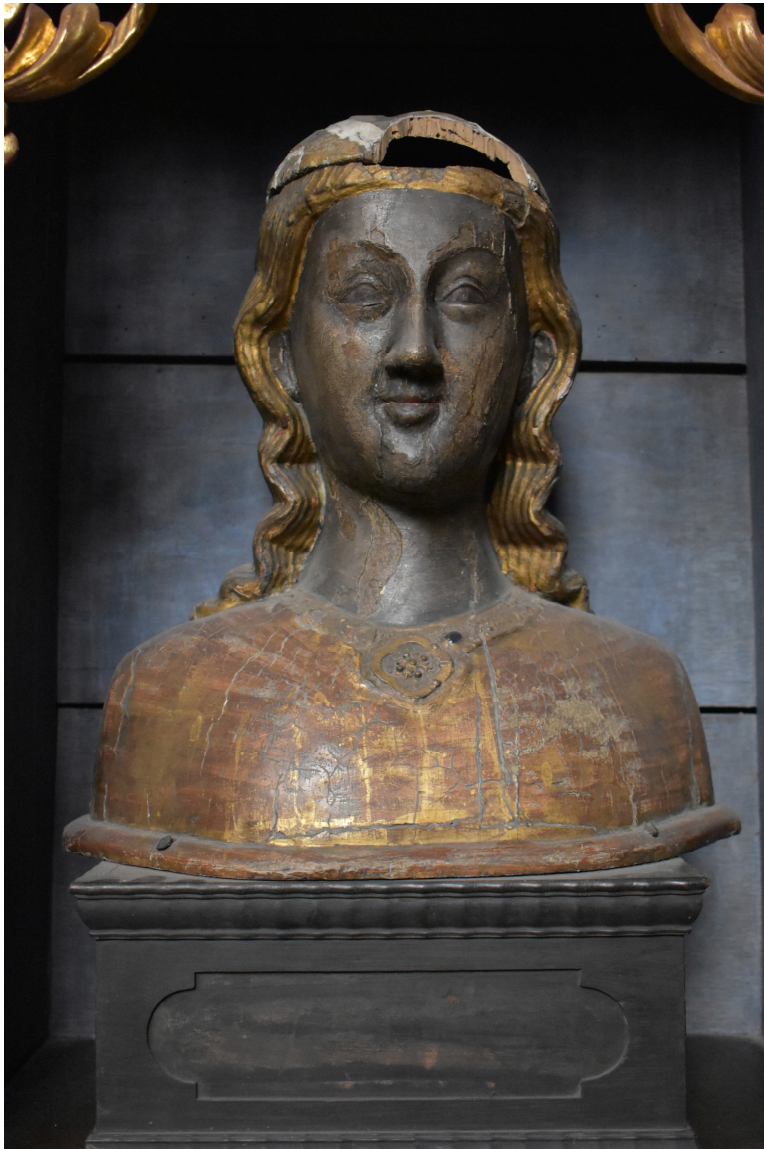


Figure 7
Painted wooden bust reliquary, 1270, Golden Chamber,
Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne

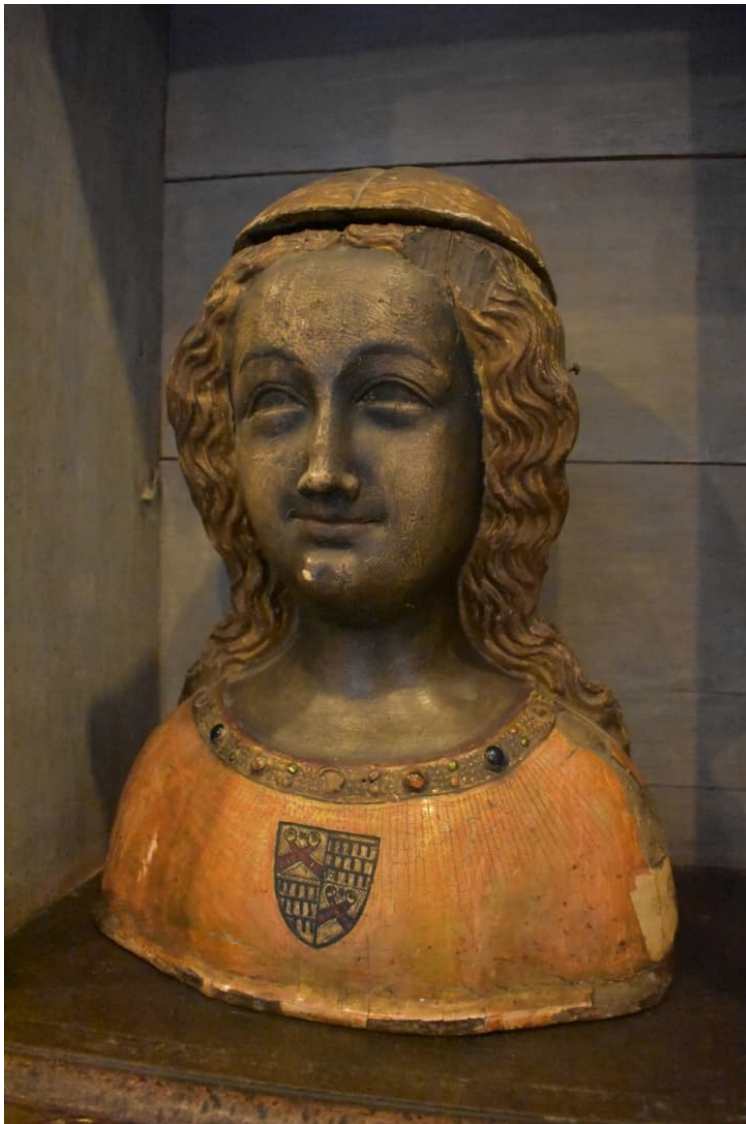


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Painted wooden bust reliquary, 1320/30, Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy
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Figure 9
Display of wooden busts, Schnütgen Museum, Cologne



Figure 10
Display of wooden busts, 1997, Church of St Kunibert, Cologne



Figure 11
Display of wooden busts (installed in 2005), south wall, upper choir treasury,
Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 12
Display of wooden busts, (installed in 2005), north wall, upper choir treasury,
Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 13
Display of wooden busts, MET Cloisters Museum, New York

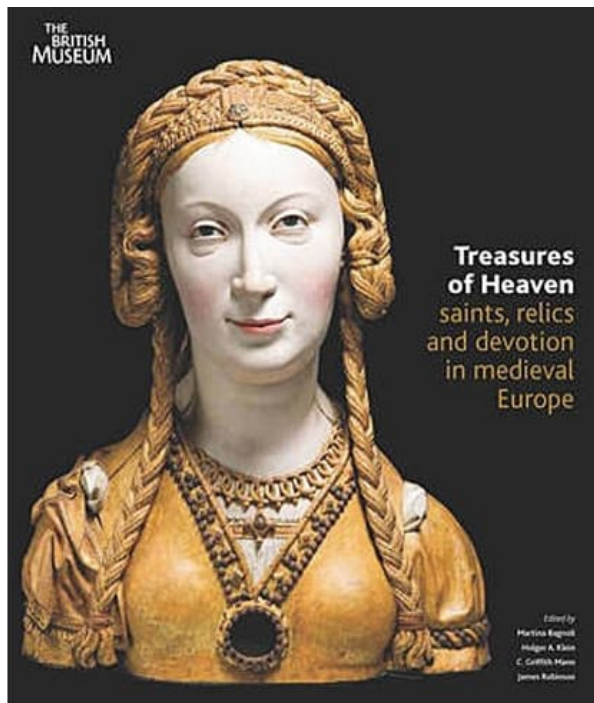


Figure 14
Cover image of Treasures of Heaven, British Museum Press, London (2011)



Figure 15
 Medieval and early modern monumental relic cabinets in decagon and choir, 1886,
 Church of St Gereon, Cologne



Figure 16
 Medieval monumental relic cabinets, 1899, choir, Church of St Gereon, Cologne



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Wooden busts of (possible) St Gereon (front right with crown) and Theban Soldiers, c. 1300-1350, sacristy, Church of St Gereon, Cologne



Figure 18
Wooden bust of Theban Legion soldier (possibly St Gereon), open cranial cavity, c. 1300-1310, sacristy, Church of St Gereon, Cologne

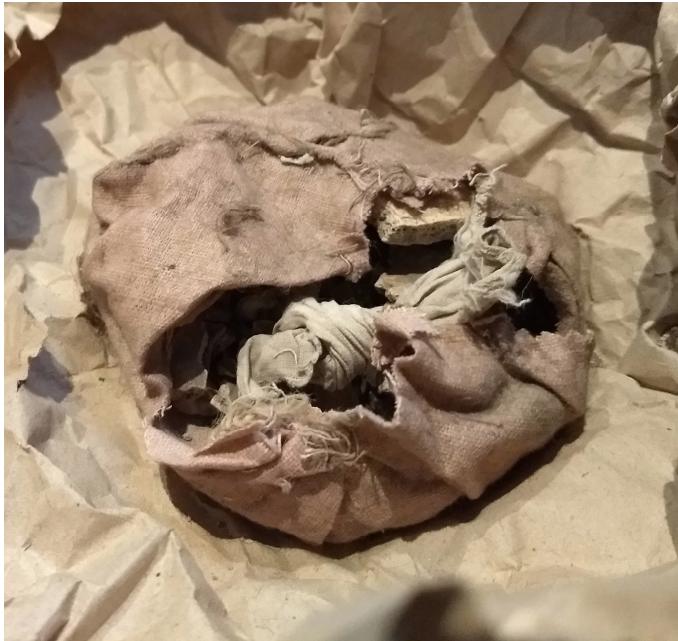


Figure 19
Linen skull reliquary, sacristy, Church of St Gereon, Cologne



Figure 20
Exhibition of skull reliquaries and associated materials from Łąd Abbey,
(2014), Royal Castle, Warsaw, Poland



Figure 21
Digital reconstruction of Marienfeld altarpiece, (fifteenth century)



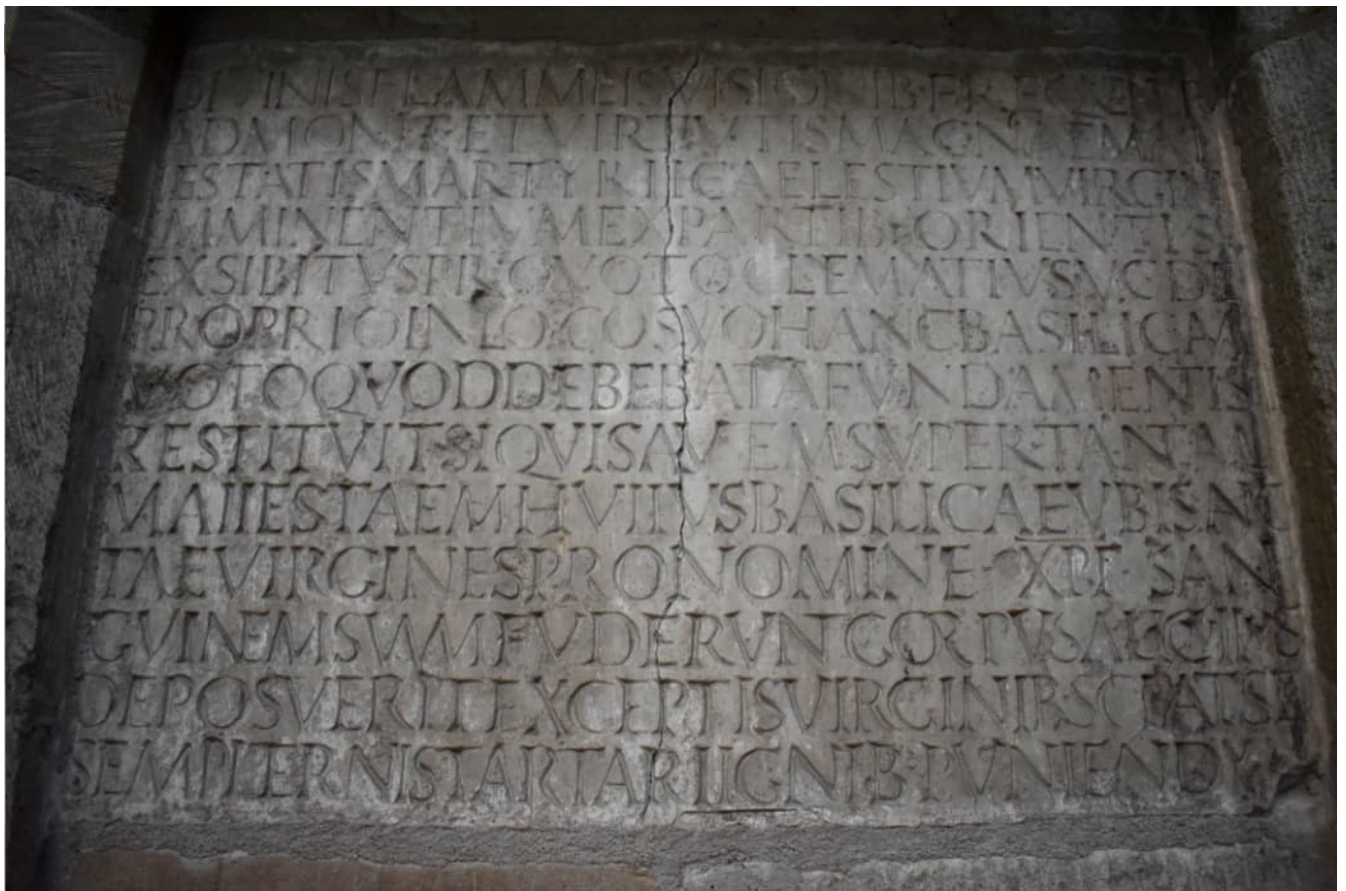
Figure 22
Marienfeld skull reliquaries, exhibition: “Die Zisterzienser: Das Europa Der Klöster”, 2017-2018, LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, Germany



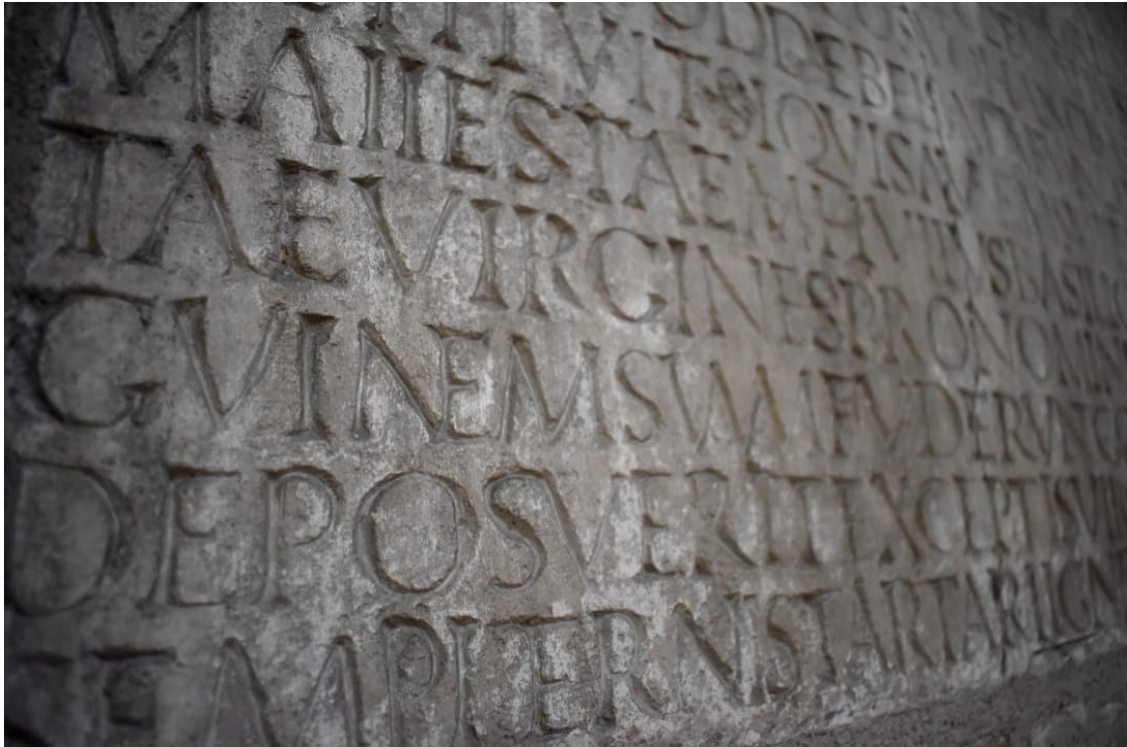
Figure 23
Marienfeld skull reliquaries, exhibition: “Die Zisterzienser: Das Europa Der Klöster”, 2017-2018, LVR-Landesmuseum, Bonn, Germany

Figure 1.1

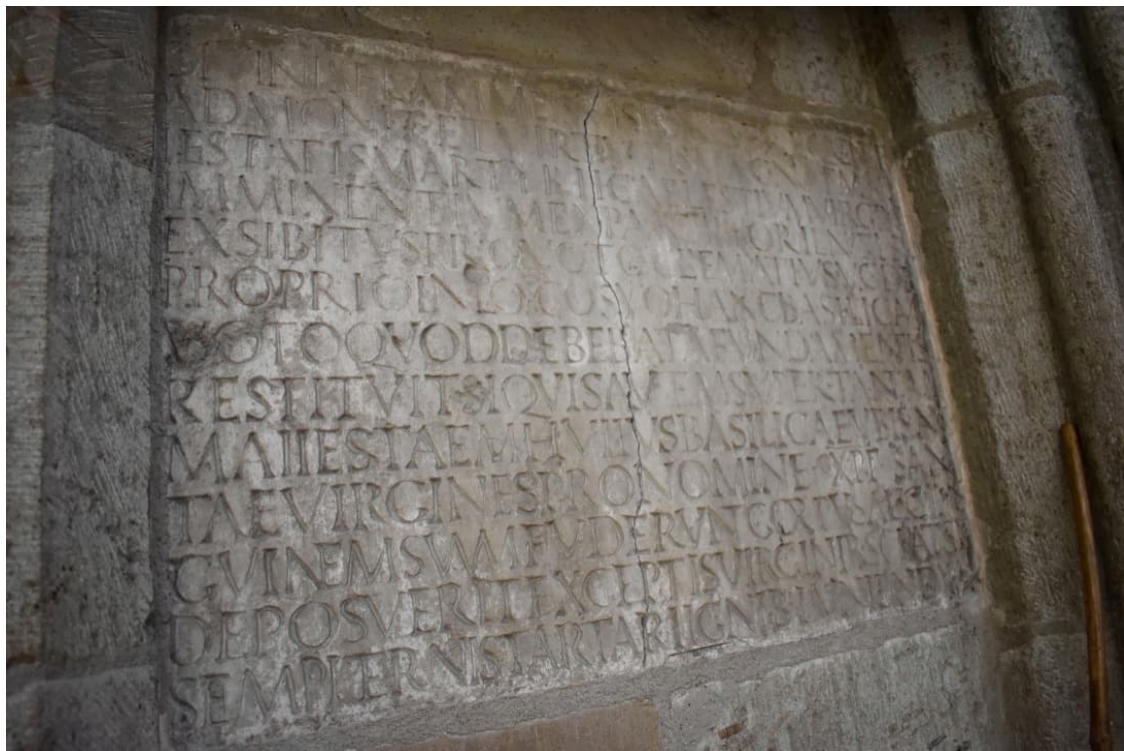
Clematius Inscription, c. mid-fourth century?, limestone, 49-51cm x 71cm x, 10 cm thick,
Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



1.1a The inscription



1.1b Detail of surface and depth of engraving



1.1c Detail of text and mounted position within wall

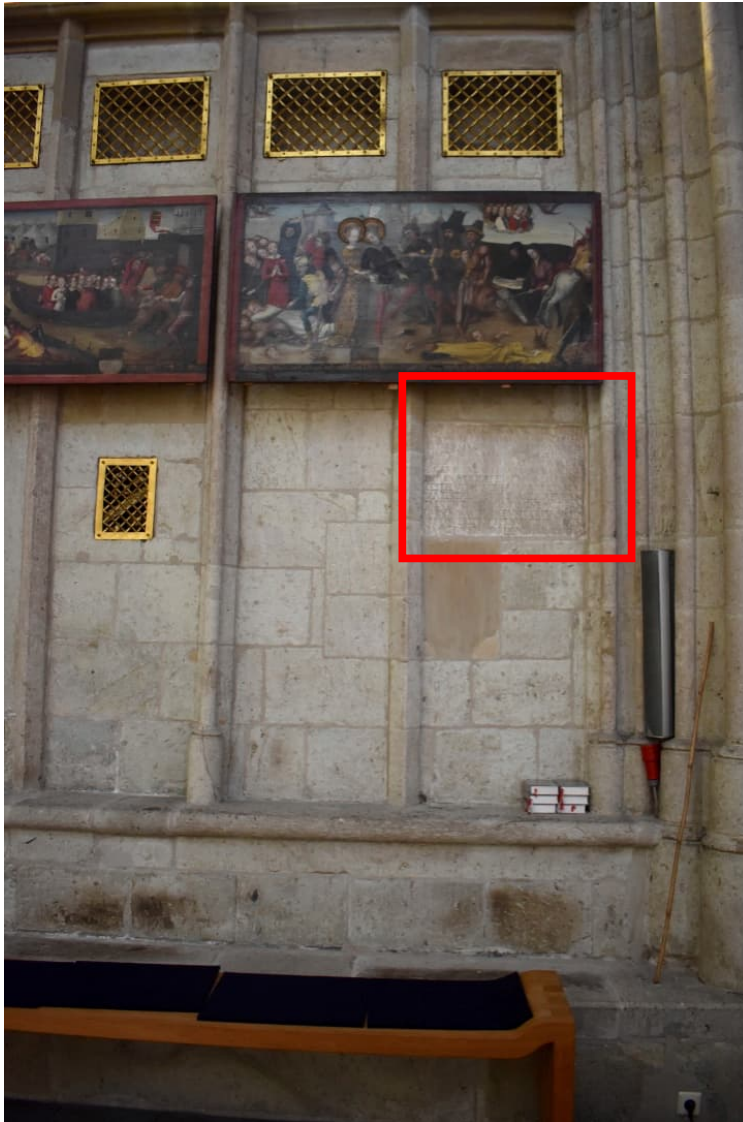


Figure 1.2
The inscription set in the southern wall of the choir, Church of the Holy Virgins,
Cologne



Figure 1.3
The setting of the inscription in relation to the architectural frames, niches, and windows, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne

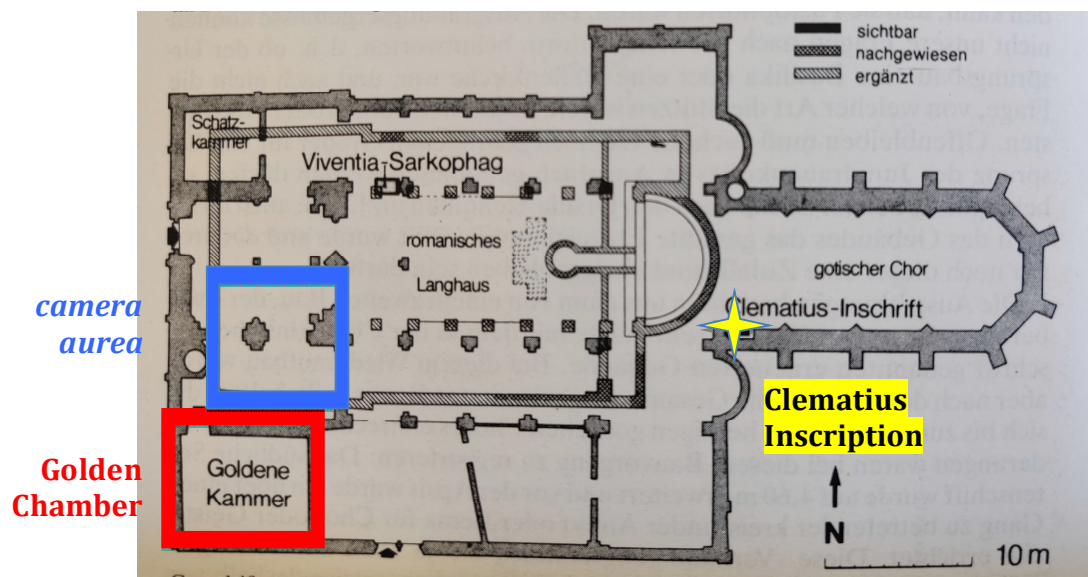


Figure 1.4
Church of Holy Virgins floor plan identifying building phases; key locations indicated by author

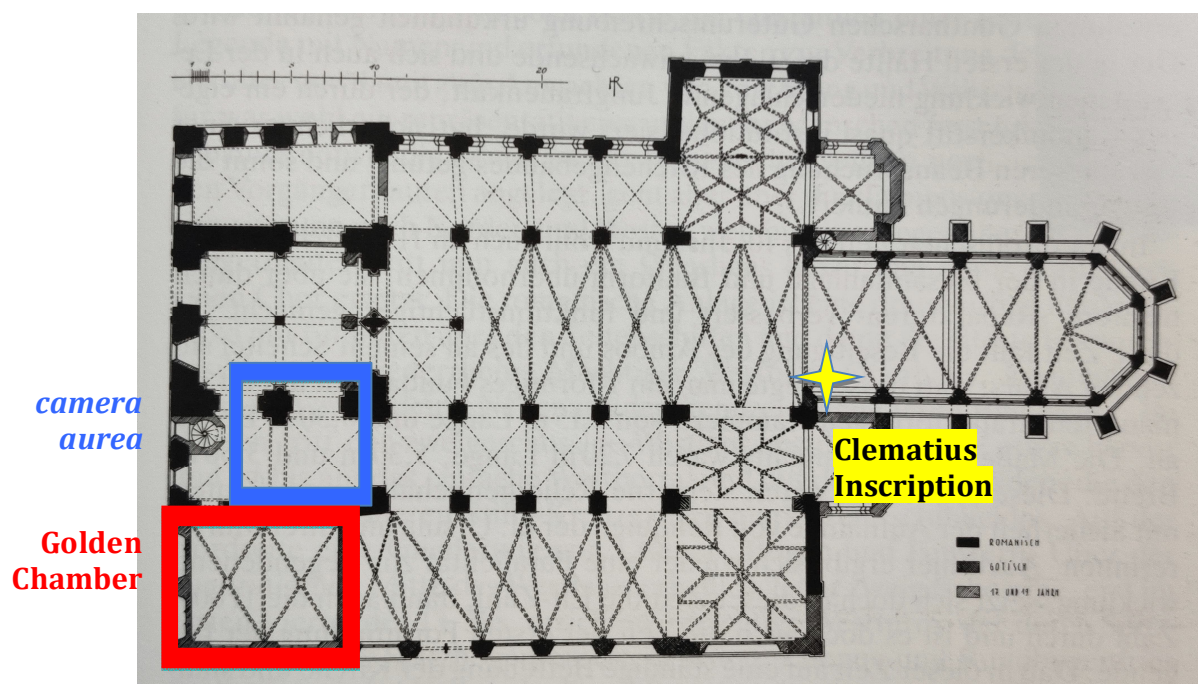
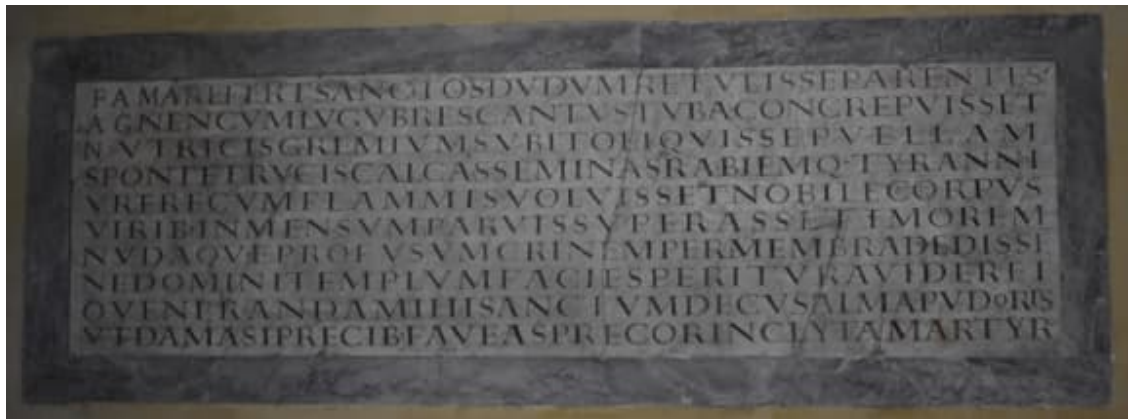


Figure 1.5
Church of Holy Virgins floor plan outlining current structure; key locations indicated by author

Figure 1.6
Damasus Stone c. late fourth century, marble, Saint Agnes Outside the Walls,
Rome, Italy



1.6a Entire inscription *in situ*



1.6b Detail of surface and depth of engraving



Figure 1.7
View of the nave, chancel, and nuns' gallery, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne

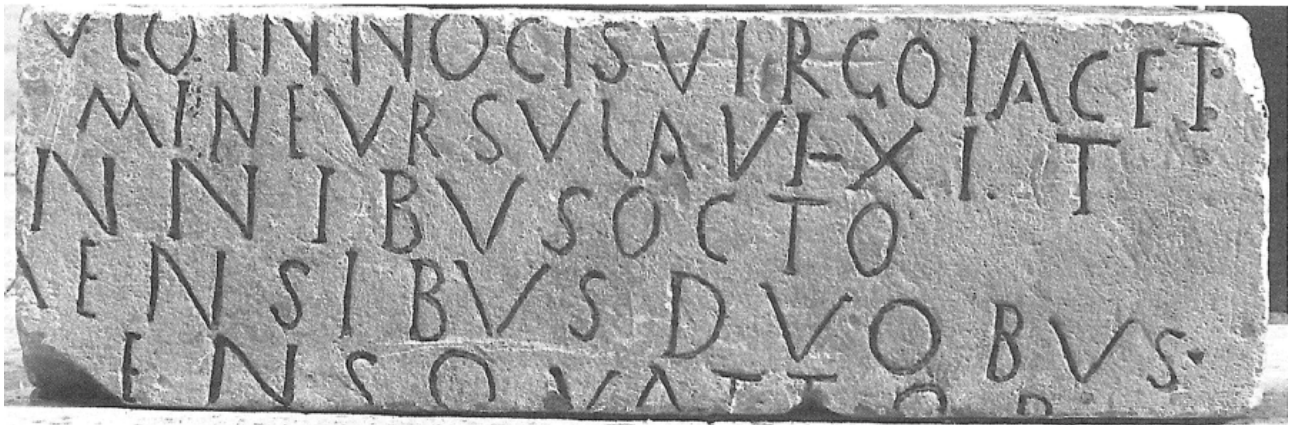


Figure 1.8
Ursula grave inscription (Inv. Nr. 29.313), fifth-sixth century, limestone, Church of the Holy
Virgins, Cologne



Figure 1.10
Detail of the gilded cover for the Gospel of Abbess Theophanu, *c.* mid-tenth century, Cathedral Treasury, Essen, Germany

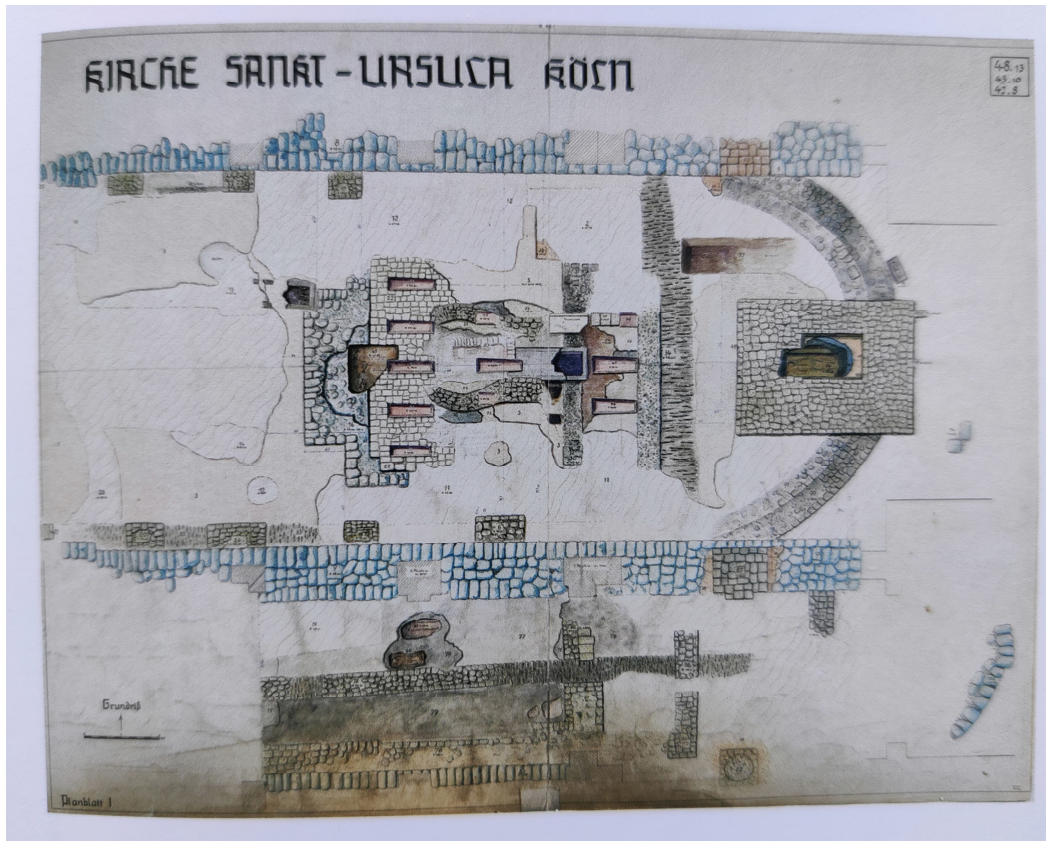


Figure 1.11
Drawing of eleven relic sarcophagi within the tenth-century foundation, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne, Kühnemann, Römisch-Germanisches Museum

Figure 1.13

Marian page in the (lost) *Deutzer Codex*, mid-twelfth century, Deutz Abbey, Germany, (Rheinisches Bildarchiv PL-Nr. 13053) fol. 2r (now lost)



1.13a Complete page



1.113b Detail of Thiodericus and his *titulus* (THIODERIC CVSTOS)



Figure 1.14
Inscription of St Ursu-maria *titulus* (lost), twelfth century?, limestone, 11
cm x 26 cm x 9.5 cm



Figure 1.15
Fragment of St Albina *titulus* (lost), twelfth century?, limestone, 8 cm x
12.5 cm x 6.5 cm

Figure 1.16

Legend of St Ursula bowl (1 of 2) (accession nr. 53.69), eleventh/twelfth century, copper alloy, 28.7cm x 6.5cm x, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland



Figure 1.16a

Entire bowl, view from side



Figure 1.16b Interior of bowl



Figure 1.16c Detail of Ursula's vision

Figure 17

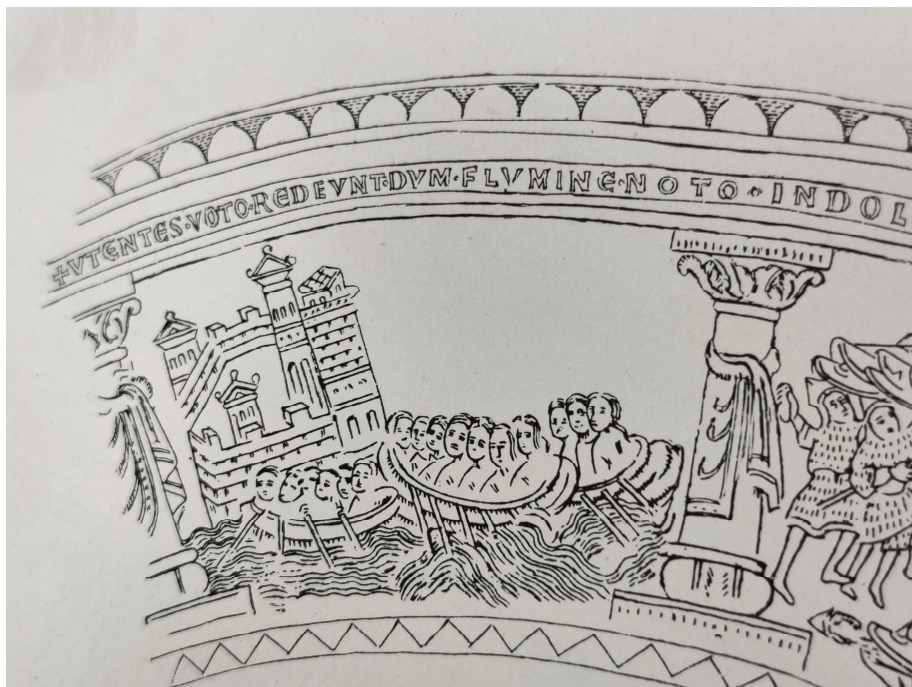
Legend of St Ursula (bowl 2 of 2) (Catalogue: KK1010), eleventh-twelfth century, 28cm across 8cm high, Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, Germany



1.17a Interior of bowl



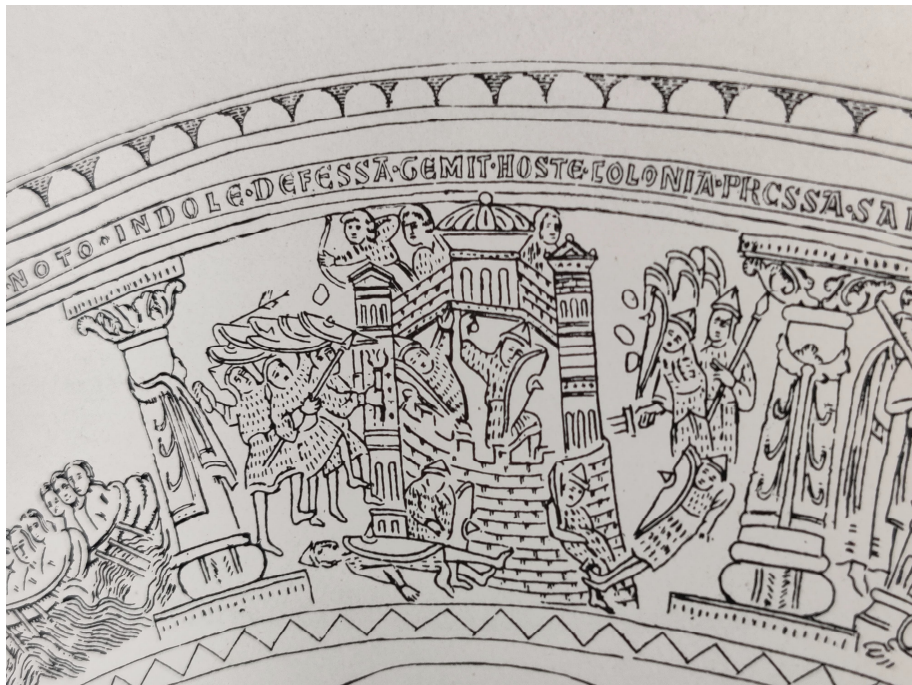
1.17b Detail of Virgins in boats on the Rhine



1.17c Illustrated detail of Virgins in boats on the Rhine



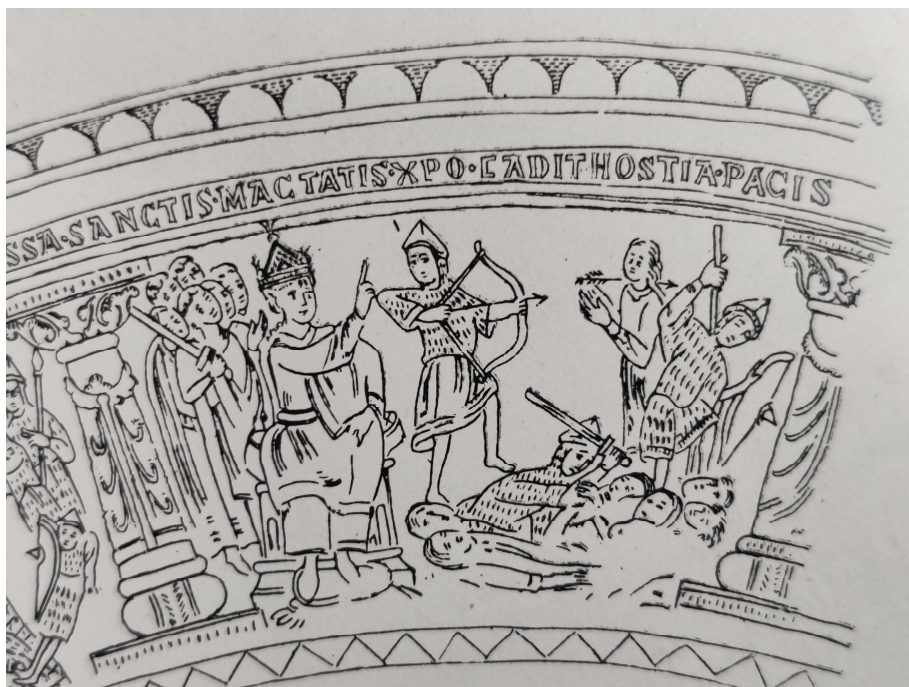
1.17d Detail of Huns' attack of Cologne



1.17e Illustrated detail of Huns' attack of Cologne



1.17f Detail of Virgins' martyrdom



1.17g Illustrated detail of Virgins' martyrdom



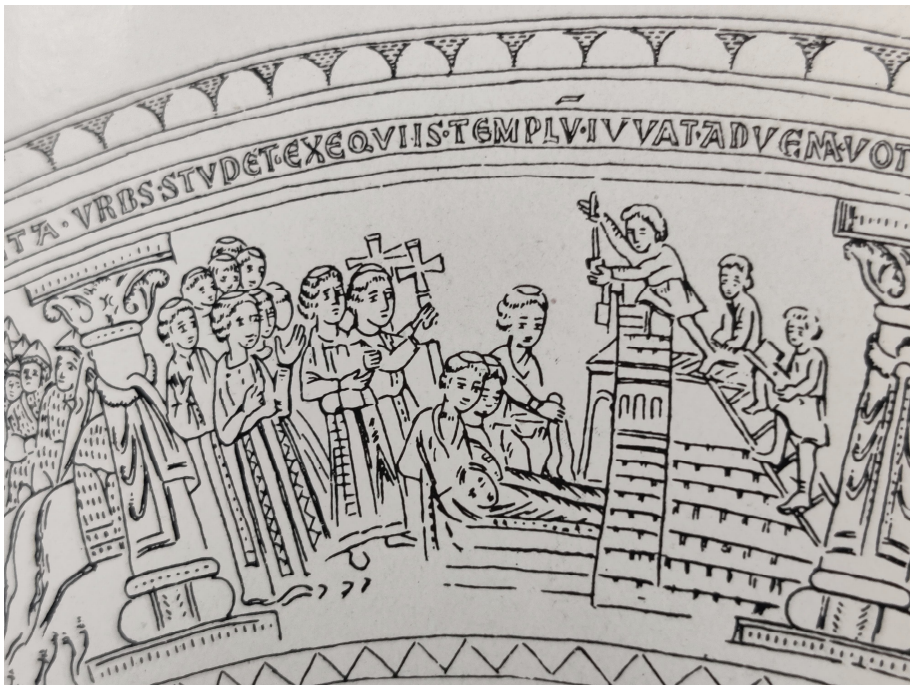
1.17h Detail of the Holy Virgins defending Cologne from the Huns



1.17i Illustrated detail of the Holy Virgins defending Cologne from the Huns



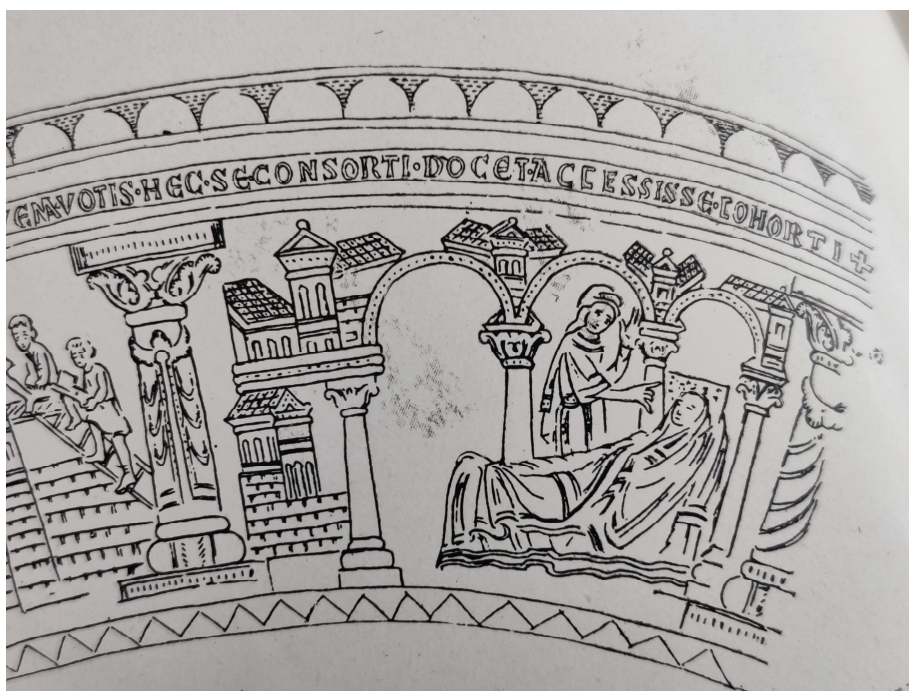
1.17j Detail of Cologne's citizens building the Holy Virgins' church



1.17k Illustrated detail of Cologne's citizens building the Holy Virgins' church



1.17l Detail of Helmdrude's vision of St Cordula



1.17m Illustrated detail of Helmdrude's vision of St Cordula

Figure 1.18

Calendar page: October, c. 1162, Zwiefalten Abbey, Germany

Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. hist. fol. 415, fol. 69v



1.18a Complete page showing Cologne's city patrons: St Gereon with Theban Legion and St Ursula with the Holy Virgins



1.18b Detail of Enthroned St Ursula and the Holy Virgins of Cologne



Figure 2.1
South and west walls, old sacristy, Cologne
Cathedral



Figure 2.2
West and north walls, old sacristy, Cologne
Cathedral

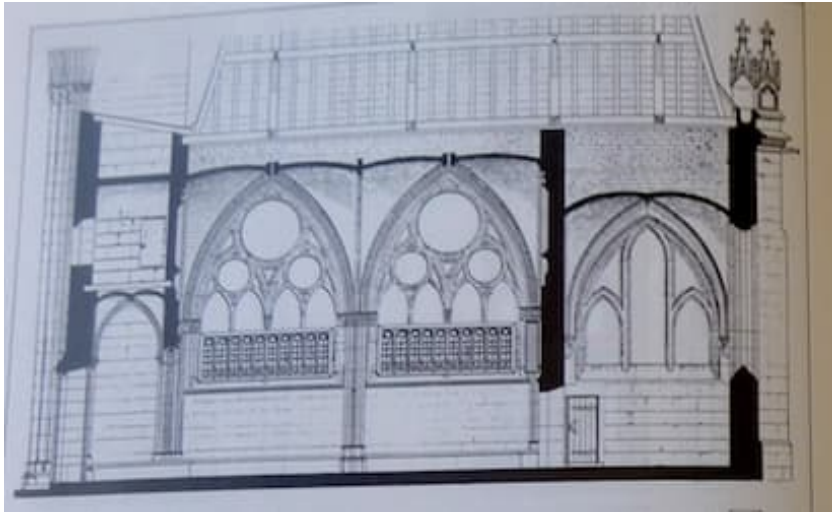


Figure 2.3
Anton Legner's hypothetical position of relic cabinets on west wall of the old sacristy in Cologne Cathedral, as drawn on Richard Voigtel's architectural plan, 1866

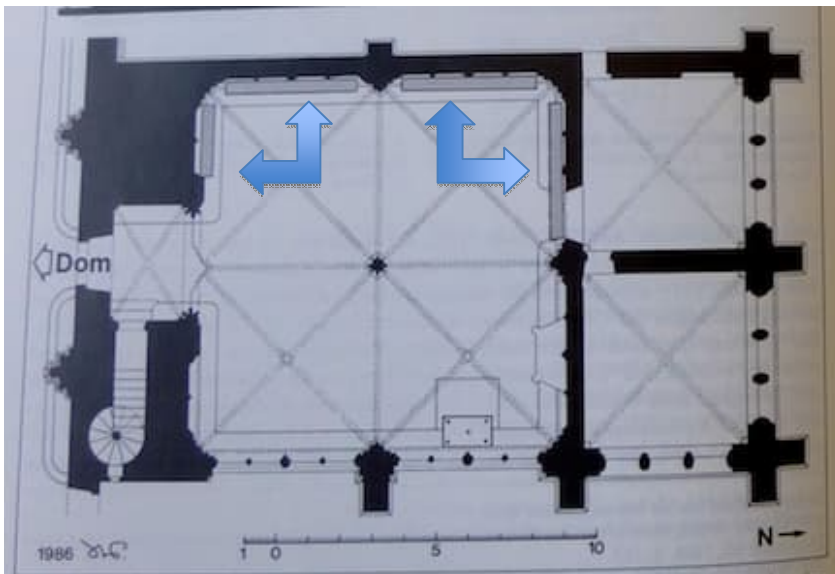


Figure 2.4
Anton Legner's hypothetical position of relic cabinets in the old sacristy of Cologne Cathedral, as drawn on Richard Voigtel's floor plan, 1866



Figure 2.5
High altar and relic wall niches, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.6
High altar and relic wall niches, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne

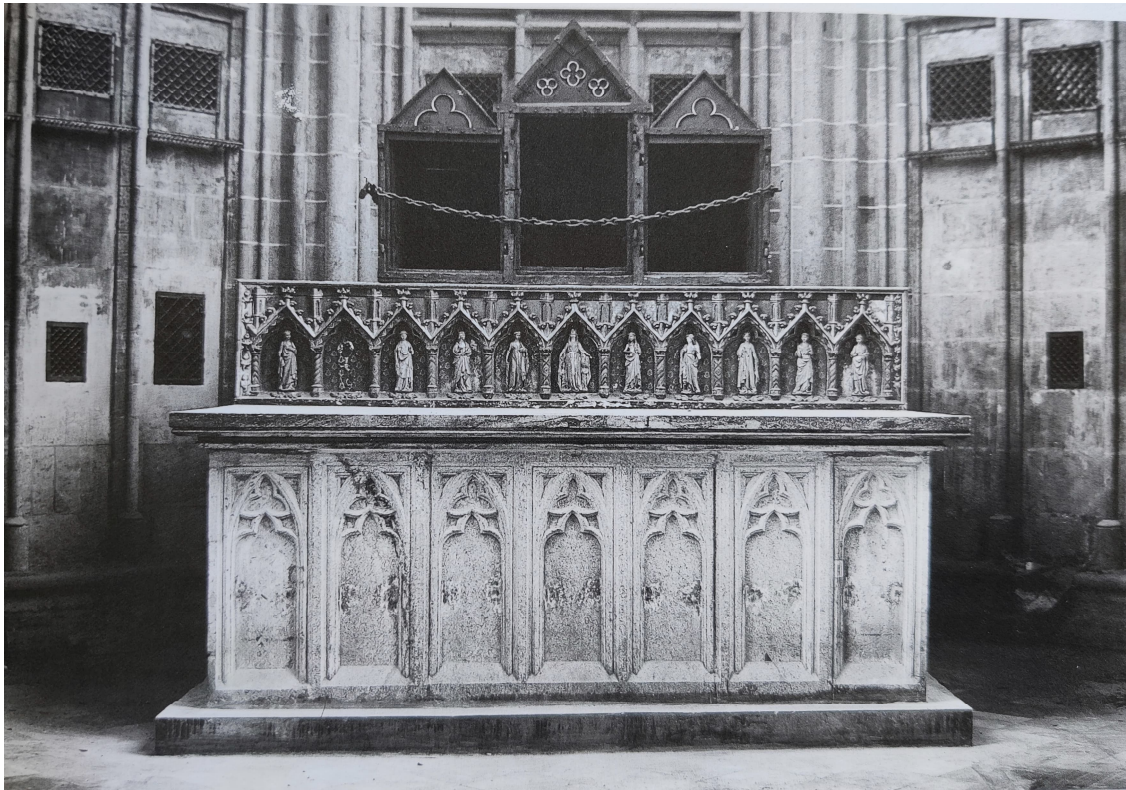


Figure 2.7
Medieval high altar arrangement and relic wall niches (pre-Second World War),
Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.8
High altar and relic wall niches, north choir wall, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.9
View of niches and windows behind high altar (pictured from under shrine reliquaries), Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.10
Relic wall niche, choir, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.11
Detail of relic wall niche exposing bones within walls, choir, Church of the Holy
Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.12
Behind shrine reliquaries at high altar, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.13
Reliquary wall shelves on the northwest side of Marian Chapel, Church of the Holy
Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.14
Wall reliquary shelves, view from the south entrance, Church of the Holy Virgins,
Cologne

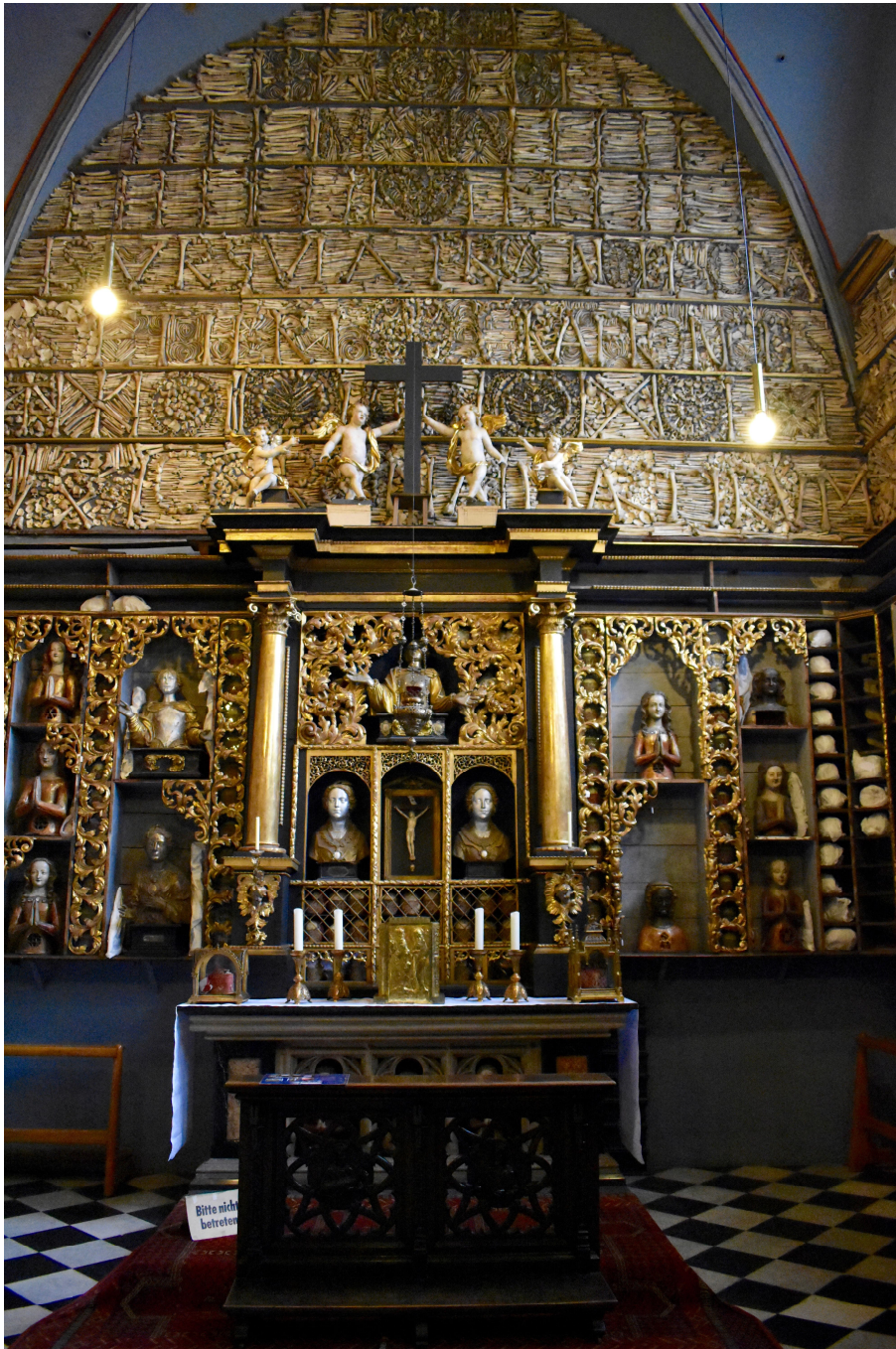


Figure 2.15
Relic display and altar, west wall, mid-seventeenth century, Golden Chamber, Church
of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.16
Relic display, north and west walls, mid-seventeenth century, Golden Chamber, Church of Holy Virgins, Cologne

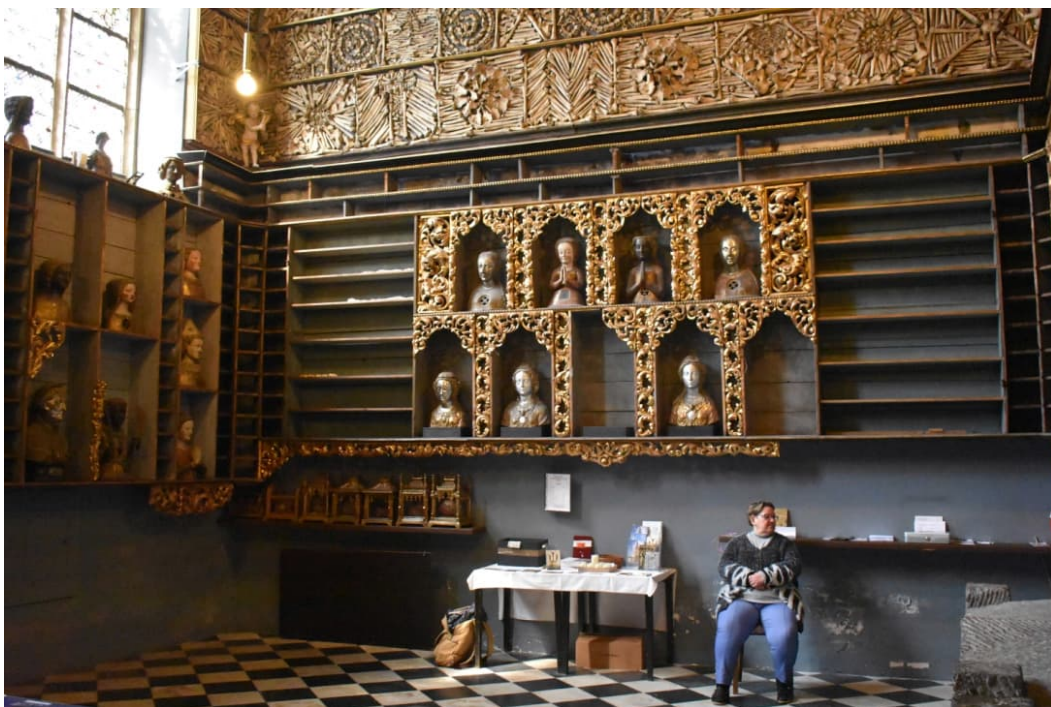


Figure 2.17
Relic display, east wall, mid-seventeenth century, Golden Chamber, Church of Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.18
Relic display, south wall, mid-seventeenth century, Golden Chamber, Church of Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.19
Relic display, detailing skulls and wooden bust reliquaries, mid-seventeenth century,
north west corner, Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.20
Relic display, detailing skulls and wooden bust reliquaries, north west corner, mid-seventeenth century, Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.21
Interior of medieval door to the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.22
Reliquary montage shelf (destroyed), late gothic, Heimann'sche Chapel, St Kunibert Church, Cologne



Figure 2.23
Reliquary montage shelf (destroyed), late gothic, Heimann'sche Chapel, St Kunibert Church, Cologne

Figure 2.24

Clarenaltar, polyptych altarpiece, c. 1347, originally in Poor Clares' abbey, Cologne;
now in Cologne Cathedral



2.24a Altarpiece in open position



2.24b Opening altarpiece wings to reveal the innermost display



2.24c Detail of *praedella* and wooden busts, interior display



2.24d Detail of *praedella* for relics, likely wrapped skulls

Figure 2.25
Marienstatt Abbey polyptych altarpiece, c.1350, Marienstatt, Germany



2.25a Open position



2.25b Detail of central and right panel of open altar, displaying textile skull reliquaries in *praedella* and wooden busts



2.25c Detail of textile skull reliquaries in *praedella* and wooden busts



Figure 2.26
Skull reliquary display, mid-seventeenth century, Golden Chamber, Church of
Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.27
Skull reliquaries at altar, mid-seventeenth century, Golden Chamber,
Church of Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.28
Skull reliquaries displaying baroque covers, (mid-seventeenth century), north wall, Golden Chamber, Church of Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.29
Textile skull reliquary, displaying baroque cover, mid-seventeenth century, Golden Chamber,
Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.30
Textile skull reliquaries displaying baroque covers, mid-seventeenth
century, Church of Mary's Assumption, Cologne

Figure 2.31
Skull C.SMA.2 (Inv. Nr. N 1426), c. thirteenth-fourteenth century, Schnütgen
Museum Archives, Cologne; originally from the Cologne Cathedral relic cabinet



2.31a View of front



2.31b View of back



2.31c View of left side



2.31d View of right side



2.31e View of base



2.31f Detail of base stabilizer, mask ornament, and base stitches



2.31g Detail of *fenestella* from above with cross bands



2.31h Detail of *fenestella* (right side)



2.31i Detail of *fenestella* (left side)



2.31j Detail of mask (right side)



2.31k Detail of linen quality and tailored stitching on back

Figure 2.32

Skull C.GK.2, Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



2.32a View of front



2.32b View of left side



2.32c View of right side



2.32d View of base



2.32e View of top/back



2.32f Detail of layers in back



2.32g Detail of *fenestella*



2.32h Left side, detail of *fenestella* showing use of two different bones to make the forehead



2.32i Detail of mask, revealing paper layer, 'nose', and ornamentation



2.32j Detail of paper overlay under textile cover, 'chin' area



2.32k Union of hood and mask, detailing under layers

Figure 2.33

Skull C.GK.3 Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



2.33a View of front



2.33b View of left side



2.33c View of right side



2.33d View of back



2.33e View of top



2.33f View of base



2.33g View of top/left detailing textile arrangement



2.33h Detail of *fenestella*



2.33i Detail of *fenestella* and ornamentation



2.33j Detail of mask showing 'cheek bones' and 'nose'



2.33k Detail of mask showing fine linen patterned textile

Figure 2.34

Skull C.GK.5, Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



2.34a View of front



2.34b View of left side



2.34c View of back



2.34d View of bottom detailing stabilizing cushion



2.34e Detail of Small stabilizing cushion #2



2.34f Detail of stabilizing cushion #1 (unfolded)

Figure 2.35

Skull C.GK.8, Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



2.35a View of front/left side



2.35b View of left side



2.35c Detail of stitches (left side)



2.35d View of front



2.35e View of top

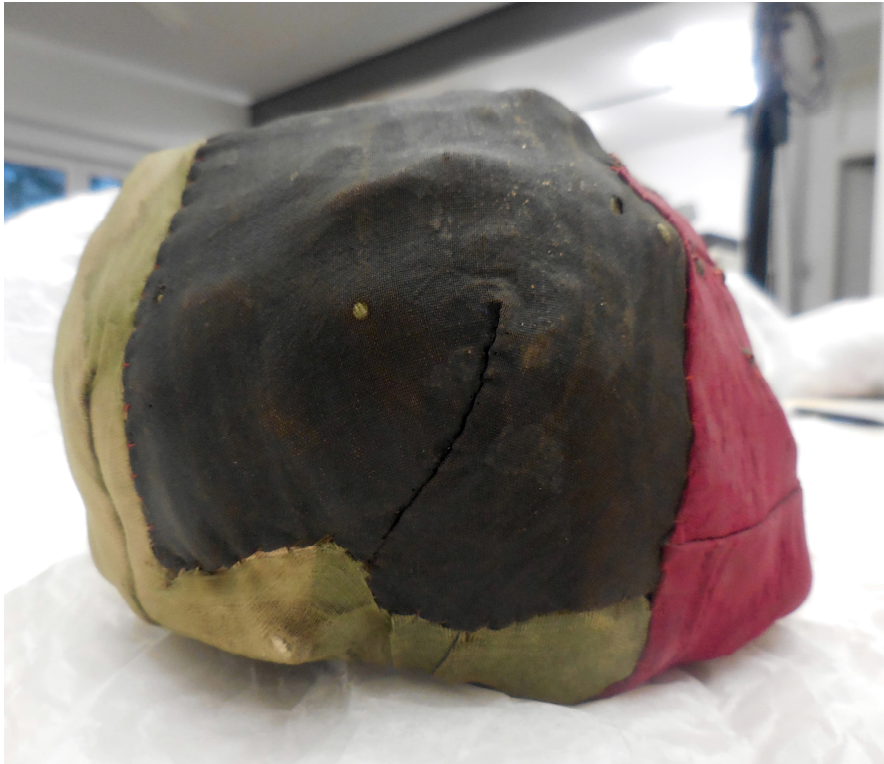


2.35f Detail of back showing supportive cushion

Figure 2.36
Skull C.GK.9, Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from the
Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



2.36a View of front



2.36b View of left side



2.36c View of right side



2.36d View of back/left side



2.36e View of base



2.36f Detail of *fenestella*



2.36g Detail of mask ornamentation

Figure 2.37
Skull C.GK.1, Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from the
Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



2.37a View of top/left side



2.37b View of top/right side



2.37c Detail of layered decoration and padding on the 'mask'



2.37d Detail of velvet fragment at back of reliquary



2.37e Detail of large bone under linen



2.37f Detail of small bones inside/under skull



2.37g Detail of Adoration of the Magi embroidery, originally part of reliquary decoration



2.37h Detail of Mary and child



2.37i Detail of embroidery frame and gold thread



2.37j Detail of embroidery



Figure 2.38
Skull C.G.K.4 'assembled' reliquary, Ulrike Reichert's unpublished
restoration records

Figure 2.39

Skull C.GK.4a (part 1 of 2), Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



2.39a View of right side and base, showing layered construction



2.39b Detail of internal layers



2.39c Detail of internal layers and enclosed stabilizing pillow



2.39d View of top



2.39e View of top detailing the fabric and sequins



2.39f Detail of printed fabric, red ribbon, and sequins



2.39g Front, detail of yellow silk mask layer



2.39h Front, detail of red velvet and sequin mask layer

Figure 2.40

Skull C.GK.4b (part 2 of 2), Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



2.40a 'naked' skull upside down, showing interior cranial cavity



2.40b Detail of skull interior



2.40c Detail of interior showing parchment/paper and linen

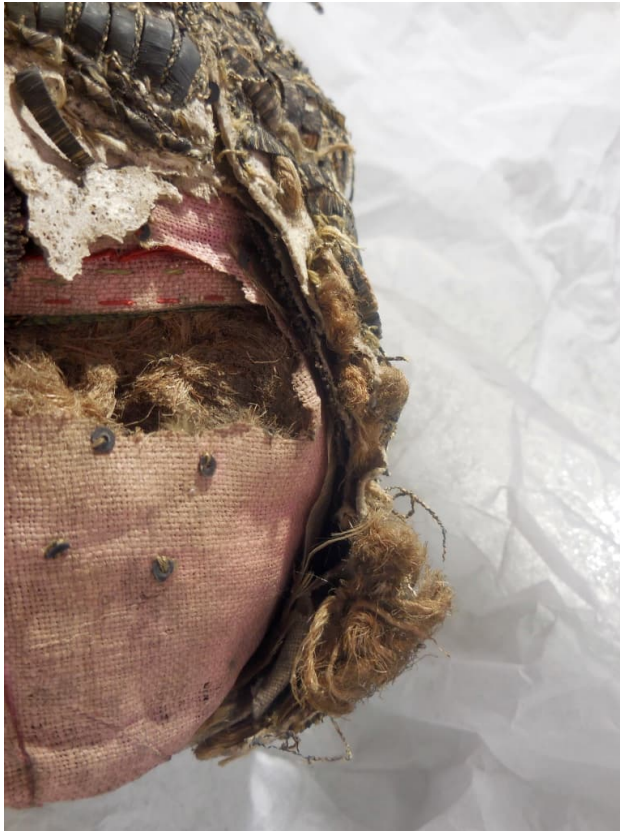


2.40d Detail of interior showing fine (Persian?) textile

Figure 2.41
Skull C.GK.6, Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from
the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



2.41a View of front



2.41b Detail of front with layers



2.41c View of left side



2.41d View of back detailing tailored stitching



2.41e Detail of mask and internal layers



2.41f Detail of mask and internal layers



2.41g Detail of mask and internal layers



2.41h Detail of base, revealing internal layers, stitching, and linen stability cushion



2.41i Detail of base right side, eternal layer lifted to reveal internal layers, stitching, and linen interior

Figure 2.42

Skull C.GK.7 Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



2.42a View of front



2.42b View of back/right side, detail of tailoring



2.42c View of base, exposing upper jawbone and teeth

Figure 2.43

Skull C.GK.10, Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop, Cologne; originally from the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



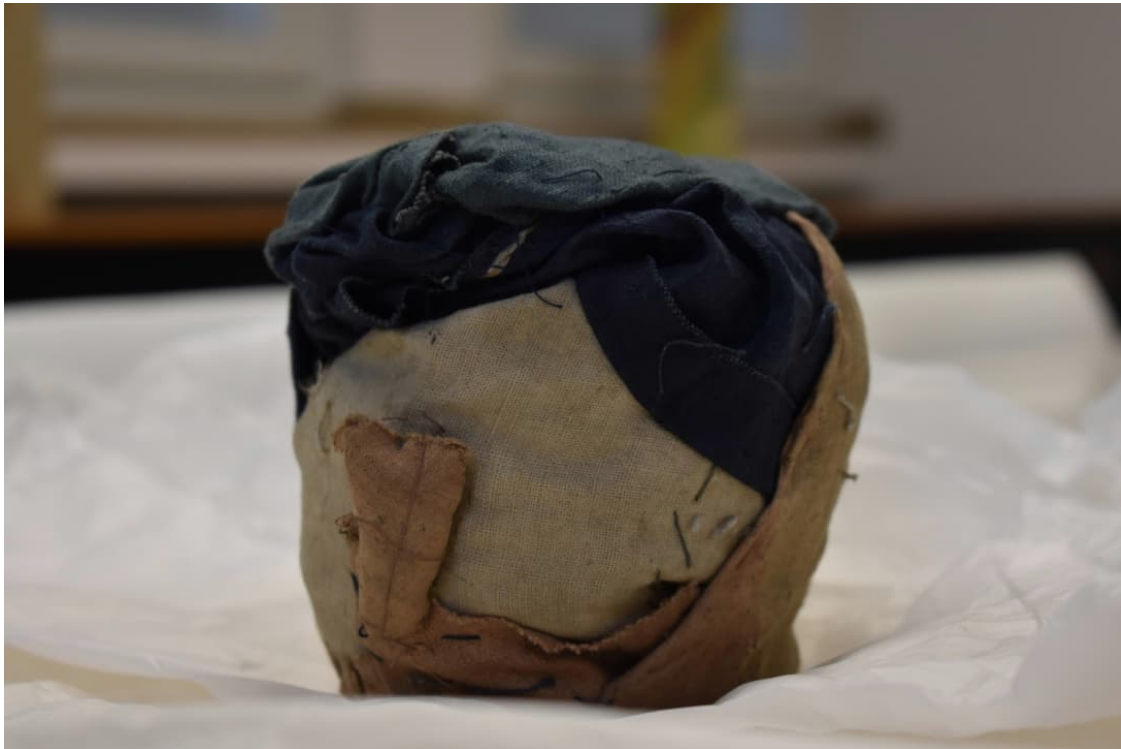
2.43a View of front



2.43b View from top left/side

Figure 2.44

Skull C.SG.1, Institute für historisches Textilien, Cologne (Gudrun Strake-Sporbeck);
originally from the Church of St Gereon, Cologne



2.44a View of front



2.44b View of left side



2.44c View of front, detailing 'nose'



2.44d View of base, right side



2.44e View of back

Figure 2.45
Skull C.SG.2, Institute für historisches Textilien, Cologne (Gudrun Strake-Sporbeck);
originally from the Church of St Gereon, Cologne



2.45a View of front/left side



2.45 b View of left side



2.45c View of top/front



2.45d View of base, revealing white linen interior

Figure 2.46
Skull C.SG.3, Institute für historisches Textilien, Cologne (Gudrun Strake-Sporbeck);
originally from the Church of St Gereon, Cologne



2.46a View of front



2.46b View of left side



2.46c View of right side



2.46d View of back



2.46e View of base



2.46f Detail of base, revealing white linen interior



2.46g Detail of *fenestella* with white silk standing in for the forehead



2.46h Detail of mask, detailing ornamentation and silk standing in for the forehead (shown laying on left side)

Figure 2.47
Skull A.SA.1, Cathedral Treasury Archives, Aachen



2.47a View of front



2.47b View of right side



2.47c View of back



2.47d View of base/right side



2.47e Detail of ornament and inner linen (right side)

Figure 2.48
Skull L.AA.1, Łąd Abbey Archives; originally from Altar of St Ursula,
Łąd Abbey Church, Łąd, Poland



2.48a View of front, displayed in the sixteenth-century decoration



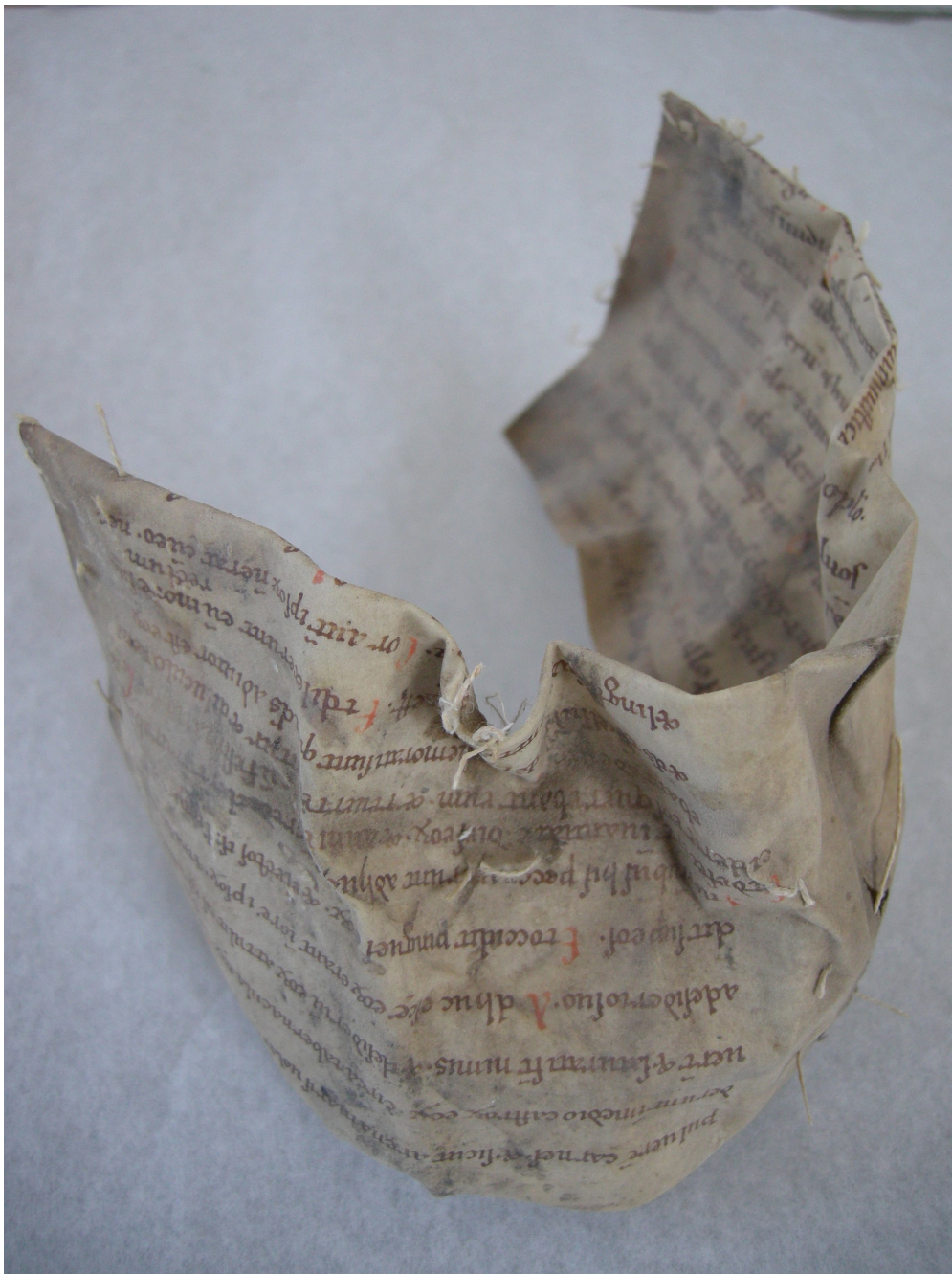
2.48b Detail of holes in 'forehead'



2.48c Detail of skull reliquary interior with parchment, white linen, and linen covered bones



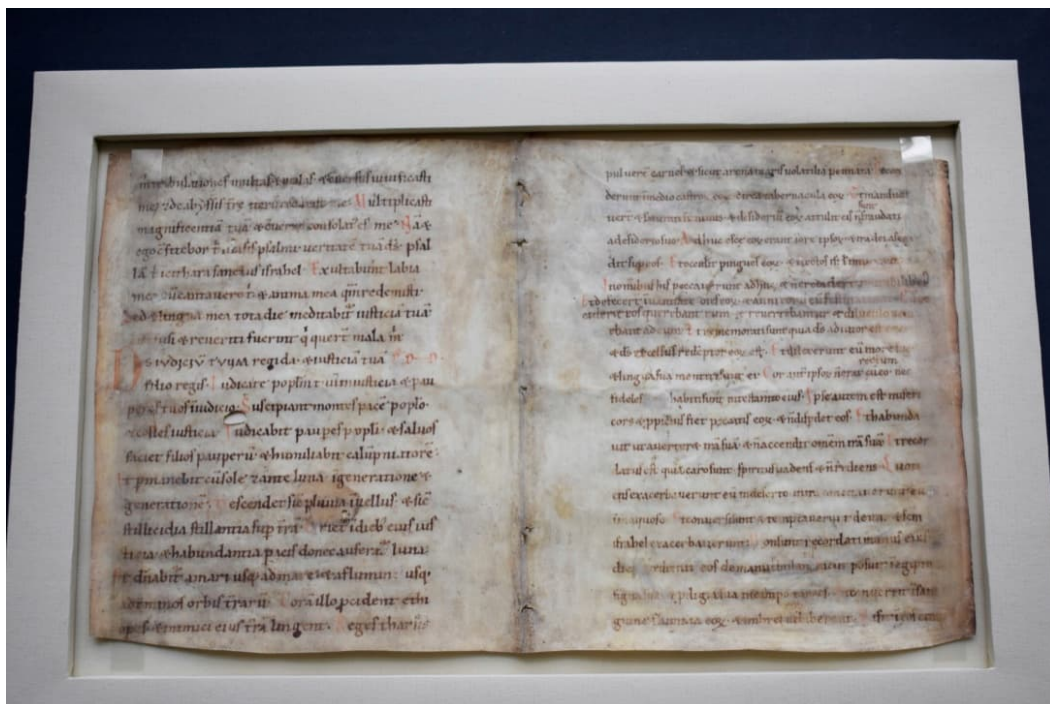
2.48d Detail of skull reliquary interior with parchment, white linen, and linen covered bones



2.48e Detail of removed parchment



2.48f Detail of twelfth-century Psalms, parchment with stitching

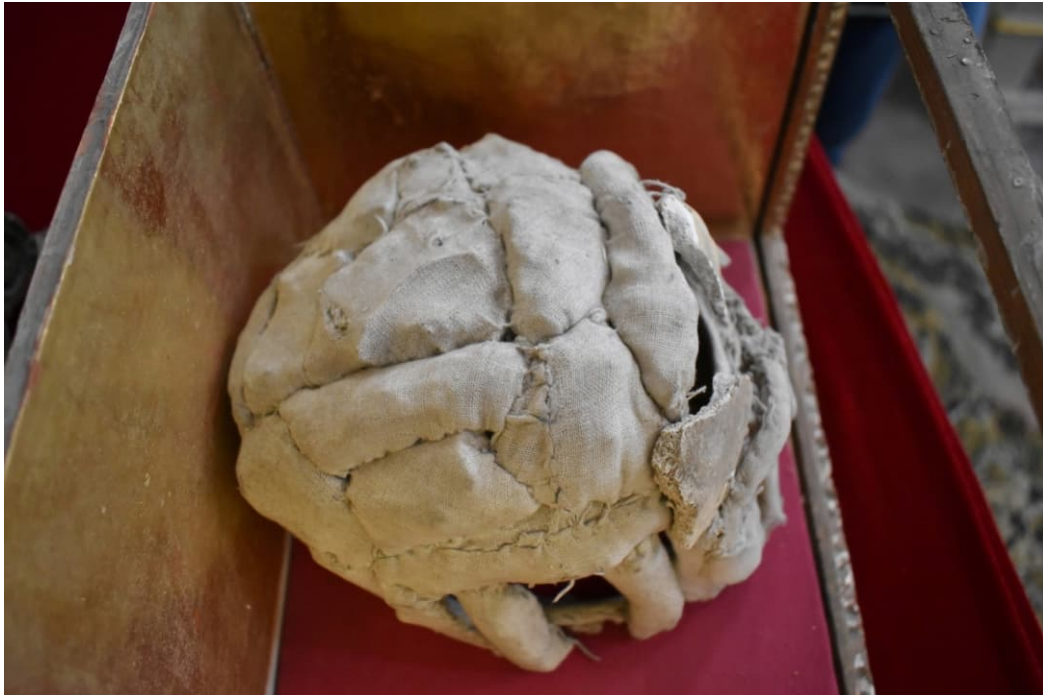


2.48g Detail of parchment page unfolded

Figure 2.49
Skull L.HVA.1, Altar of St Ursula, Łąd Abbey Church, Łąd, Poland



2.49a View of front



2.49b View of top/right side



2.49c View of top/left side



2.49d View of front/left/base, skull in lifted position



2.49e Detail of forehead bone, attached with stitching



2.49f Detail of sculpted face including the 'chin' and 'nose'



2.49g Detail of interior

Figure 2.50
Skull L.HVA.2, Altar of St Ursula, Łąd Abbey Church, Łąd, Poland



2.50a View of front



2.50b View of left side



2.50c View of right side



2.50d View of back/right side



2.50e View of base



2.50f Detail of forehead bone from above



2.50g Detail of *fenestella*



2.50h Detail of mask and 'nose'

Figure 2.51

Skull SQ.HA.1, (Inv. Nr. 15), St Quentin Cathedral, Hasselt, Belgium; originally from collection in Herkenrode Abbey, Belgium



2.51a View of front



2.51b View of left side



2.51c View of right side



2.51d View of top, detail of silk forehead



2.51e View of base, detailing Psalm folio

Figure 2.52

Skull SQ.HA.2, (Inv. Nr. 30), St Quentin Cathedral, Hasselt, Belgium; originally from collection in Herkenrode Abbey, Belgium



2.52a View of front



2.52b View of left side



2.52c View of right side



2.52d View of back



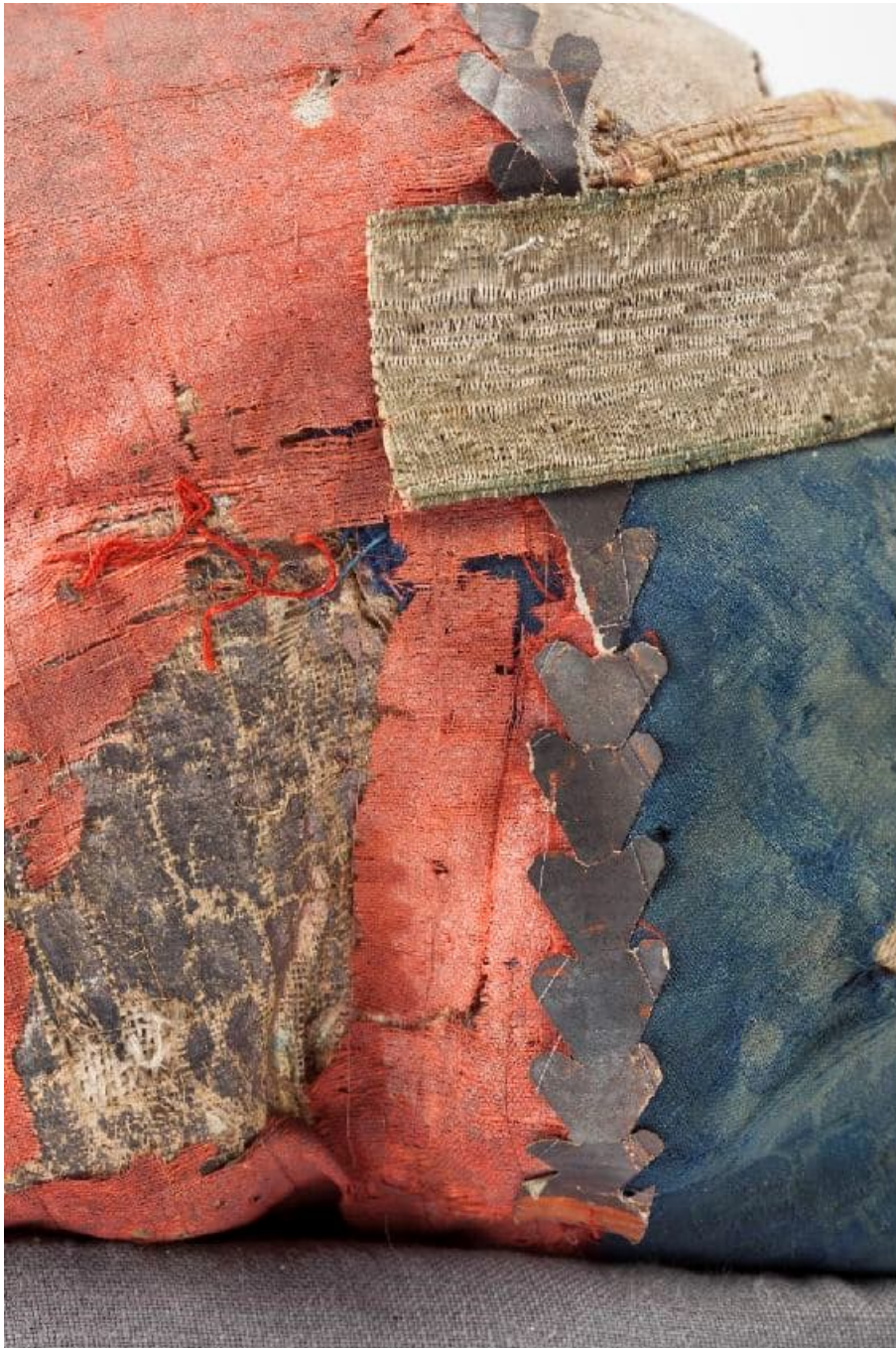
2.52e View of base



2.52f Detail of *fenestella*



2.52g Detail of layers



2.52h Detail of left side layers

Figure 2.53

Skull M.CC.1, exhibited in “Die Zisterzienser: Das Europa Der Klöster” at the LVR-Landesmuseum in Bonn in 2017-2018; otherwise held in Marienfeld Abbey, Harsewinkel, Germany



2.53a View of front



2.53b View of right side



2.53c View of back/right side



Figure 2.54
Skulls M.CC.2 exhibited in “Die Zisterzienser: Das Europa Der Klöster” at the LVR-
Landesmuseum in Bonn in 2017-2018; otherwise held in Marienfeld Abbey, Harsewinkel,
Germany

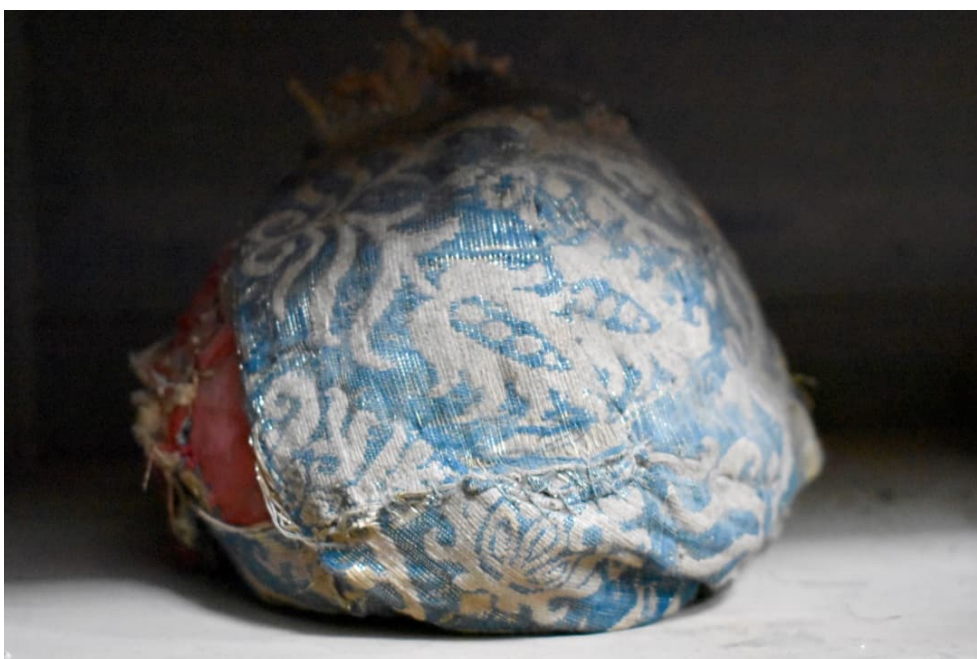
Figure 2.55
Skull O.A.1, Oliwa Cathedral, Gdańsk, Poland



2.55a View of front



2.55b View of front/right side



2.55c View of back



2.55d View from front/top



2.55e Detail of front, revealing layers and internal stuffing



2.55f View of the back/right side



2.55g View of base/right side

Figure 2.56
Skull O.A.2, Oliwa Cathedral, Gdańsk, Poland



2.56a View of front/left side



2.56b View of front/right side



2.56c View of back



2.56d Detail of right side, revealing internal linen



Figure 2.57
Skull reliquary (Inv. S-Gebälk oben 2e), view of front revealing teeth, Ulrike Reichert's restoration workshop; originally from the Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins



2.57a
Detail of skull reliquary base



Figure 2.58
Skull reliquary fixed to a cushion wrapped in eighteenth-century silks, St
Gereon Church, Cologne, Germany



Figure 2.59
Relics within (concealed) altarpiece, Oliwa Cathedral, Gdańsk, Poland



Figure 2.60
Skull reliquary displaying a 'nose', Oliwa Cathedral, Gdańsk, Poland



Figure 2.61
Skull reliquary displaying a 'nose', Oliwa Cathedral, Gdańsk, Poland



Figure 2.62
Skull reliquary displaying hole in forehead, Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.63
Skull reliquary displaying holes on right side, Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.64
Skull reliquary displaying hole on right side (Inv. Nr. 39), St Quentin Cathedral,
Hasselt, Belgium; originally from Herkenrode Abbey, Belgium



Figure 2.65
Detail of hole and its surrounding ornamentation (Inv. Nr 38), St Quentin Cathedral,
Hasselt, Belgium; originally from Herkenrode Abbey, Belgium



Figure 2.66
 Pilgrim booklet promoting relics of the Holy Virgins, printed 1517 by Arnt of
 Aich, Cologne

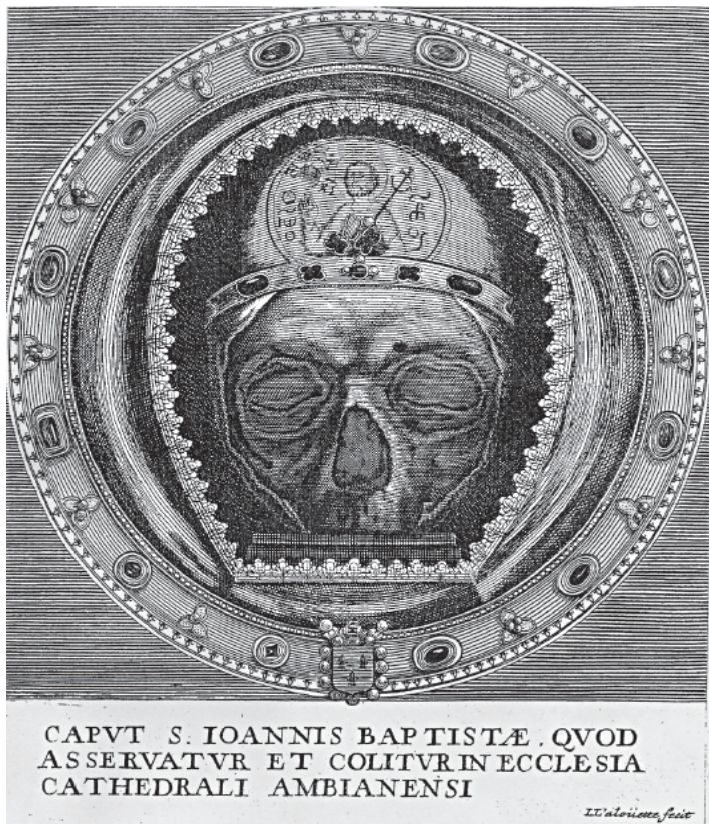


Figure 2.67
Drawing of St John the Baptist's head reliquary, Du Crange, 1665



Figure 2.68
Reconstructed reliquary of St John the Baptist, Amiens Cathedral, Amiens,
France



Figure 2.69
Painted wooden *Johannesschüssel*, thirteenth century (head),
fifteenth century (plate), Cathedral Treasury, Naumburg, Germany



Figure 2.70
Silk *Filetstickerei* fragment from the Holy Virgins' skull reliquaries in Cologne Cathedral, (Inv. Nr. P 98), thirteenth-fourteenth century, Schnütgen Museum Archives, Cologne



Figure 2.71
Silk *Filetstickerei* fragment from the Holy Virgins' skull reliquaries in Cologne Cathedral, (Inv. Nr. P 103), thirteenth-fourteenth century, Schnütgen Museum Archives, Cologne



Figure 2.72
Detail of Inv. Nr. P 103



Figure 2.73
Silk *Filetstickerei* fragment from the Holy Virgins' skull reliquaries in Cologne Cathedral, (Inv. Nr. P 107), twelfth-fourteenth century, Schnütgen Museum Archives, Cologne



Figure 2.74
Silk *Filetstickerei* fragment from the Holy Virgins' skull reliquaries in Cologne Cathedral, (Inv. Nr. P 101), 8.5 cm x 6.5 cm, thirteenth-fourteenth century, Schnütgen Museum Archives, Cologne



Figure 2.75
Detail of Inv. Nr. P 101



Figure 2.76
Silk *Filetstickerei* fragment from the Holy Virgins' skull reliquaries in Cologne Cathedral, (Inv. Nr. P 102), thirteenth-fourteenth century, Schnütgen Museum Archives, Cologne



Figure 2.77
Detail of Inv. Nr. P 102



Figure 2.78
 Silk *Filetstickerei* fragment from the Holy Virgins' skull reliquaries in Cologne Cathedral, (Inv. Nr. P 96), thirteenth-fourteenth century, Schnütgen Museum Archives, Cologne



Figure 2.79
Skull reliquary with embroidered 'Coat of Arms Cloth', thirteenth century, Łąd Abbey archives, originally from the Altar of St Ursula, Łąd Abbey Church, Łąd, Poland



Figure 2.80
"Coat of arms Cloth" wrapped around base of reliquary, thirteenth century, Łąd Abbey archives, Łąd, Poland



Figure 2.81
 "Coat of Arms Cloth", detail of restored section, thirteenth century, Łąd Abbey archives,
 Łąd, Poland



Figure 2.82
 "Coat of Arms Cloth", detail of restored section, thirteenth century, Łąd Abbey archives,
 Łąd, Poland



Figure 2.83
 “Coat of Arms Cloth”, detail of restored section, thirteenth century, Łąd Abbey archives,
 Łąd, Poland



Figure 2.84
 Detail of heraldry on “Coat of Arms Cloth”, thirteenth century, Łąd Abbey archives, Łąd,
 Poland

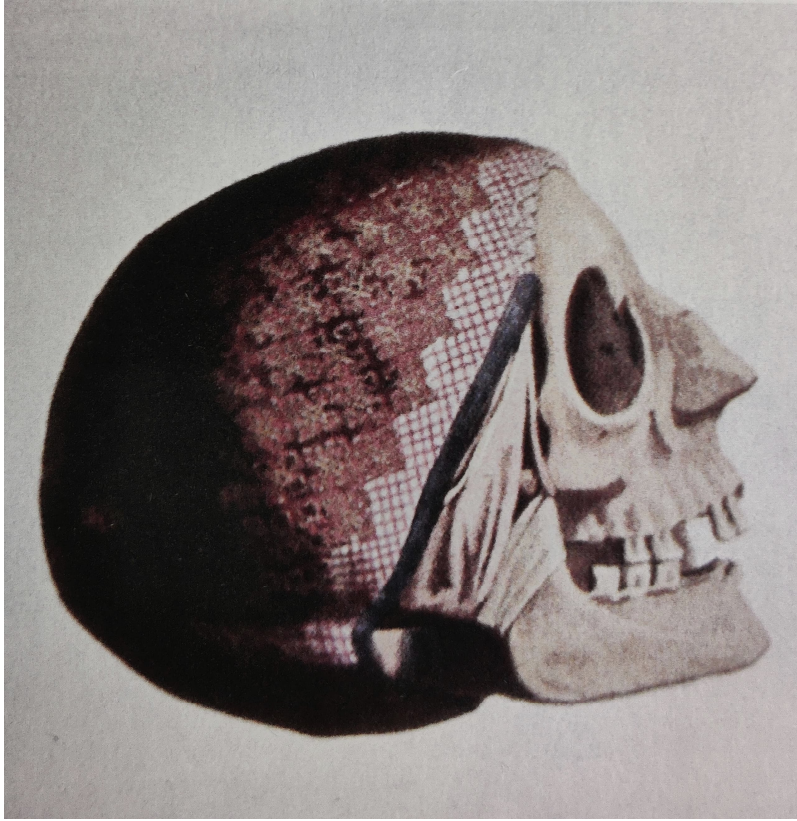


Figure 2.85
Skull relic of Queen Richeza, color lithography, 1852, enshrined within Cologne Cathedral, Germany



Figure 2.86
Alb fragment with rhombus design, bleached linen, *c.* thirteenth century, likely
Cologne provenance, Łąd Abbey Archives, Łąd, Poland

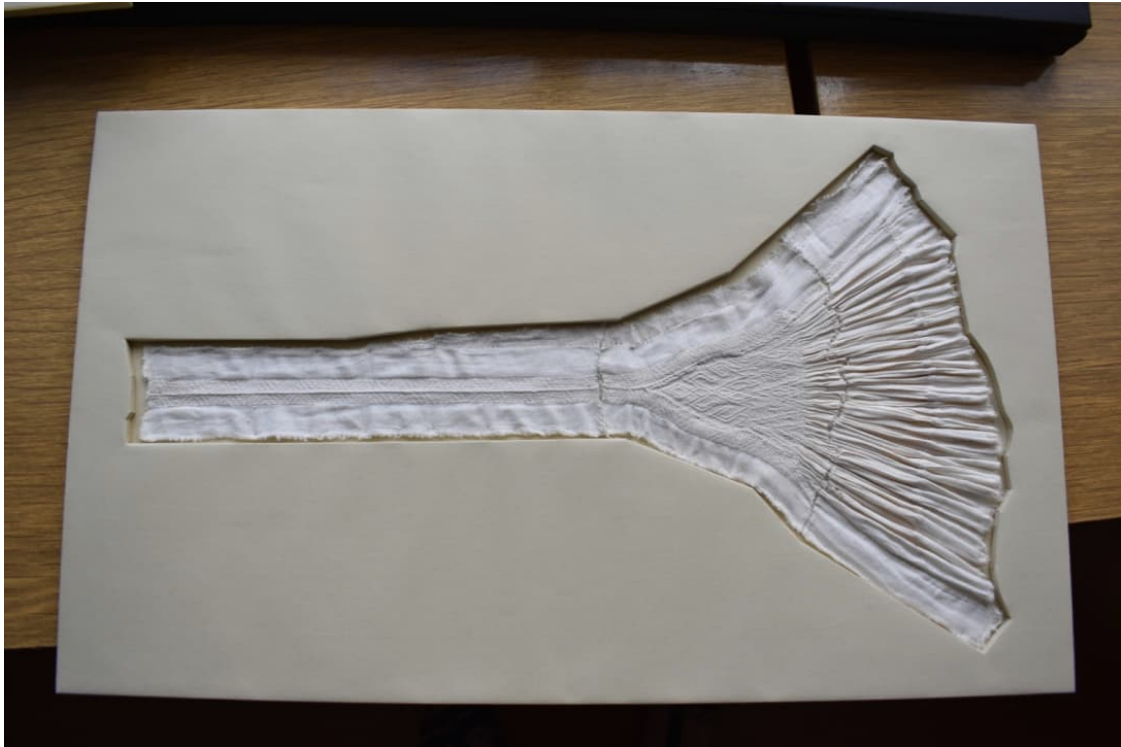


Figure 2.87
Woven alb ornament, bleached linen, *c.* thirteenth century, likely Cologne
provenance, Łąd Abbey Archives, Łąd, Poland



Figure 2.88
Detail of woven alb ornament bleached linen, *c.* thirteenth century, likely
Cologne provenance, Łąd Abbey Archives, Łąd, Poland



Figure 2.89
Altar relic cavity, thirteenth century, St Michael's Chapel, Łąd Abbey, Łąd, Poland



Figure 2.90
Detail of altar relic cavity, thirteenth century, St Michael's Chapel, Łąd Abbey, Łąd, Poland

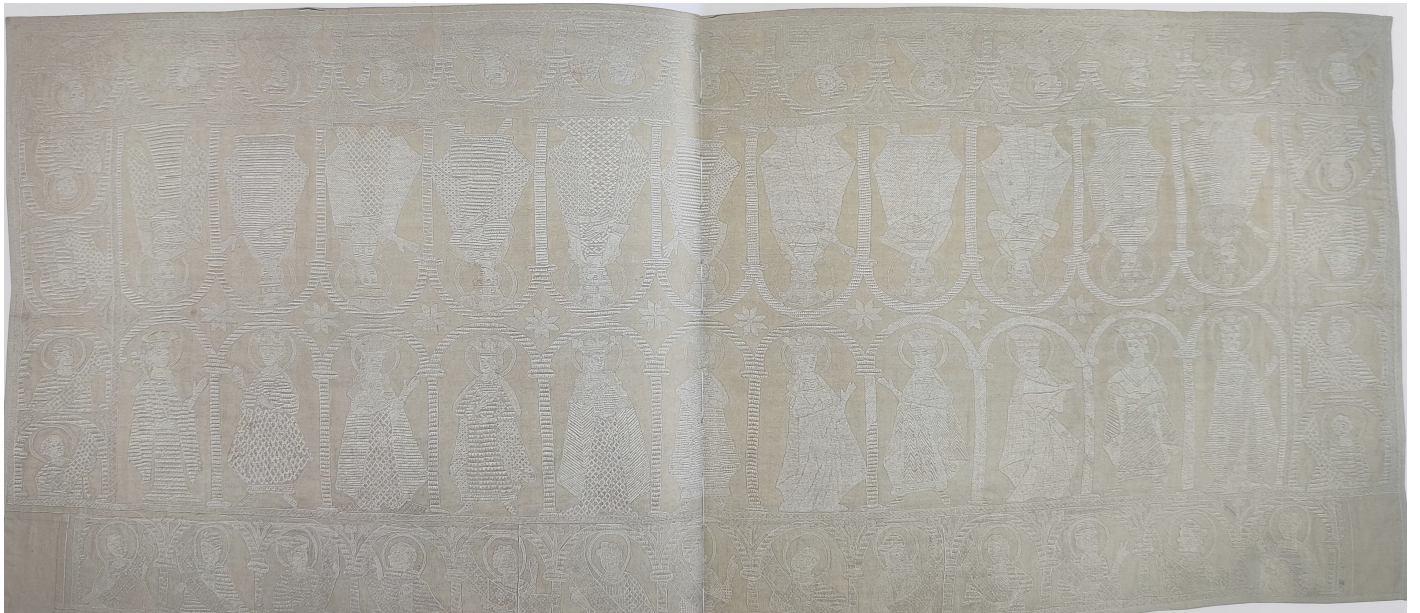


Figure 2.91
Linen catafalque cover from Altenberg/Lahn Cloister, c. 1270, likely created by local nuns, Museum of Applied Arts, Frankfurt/Main

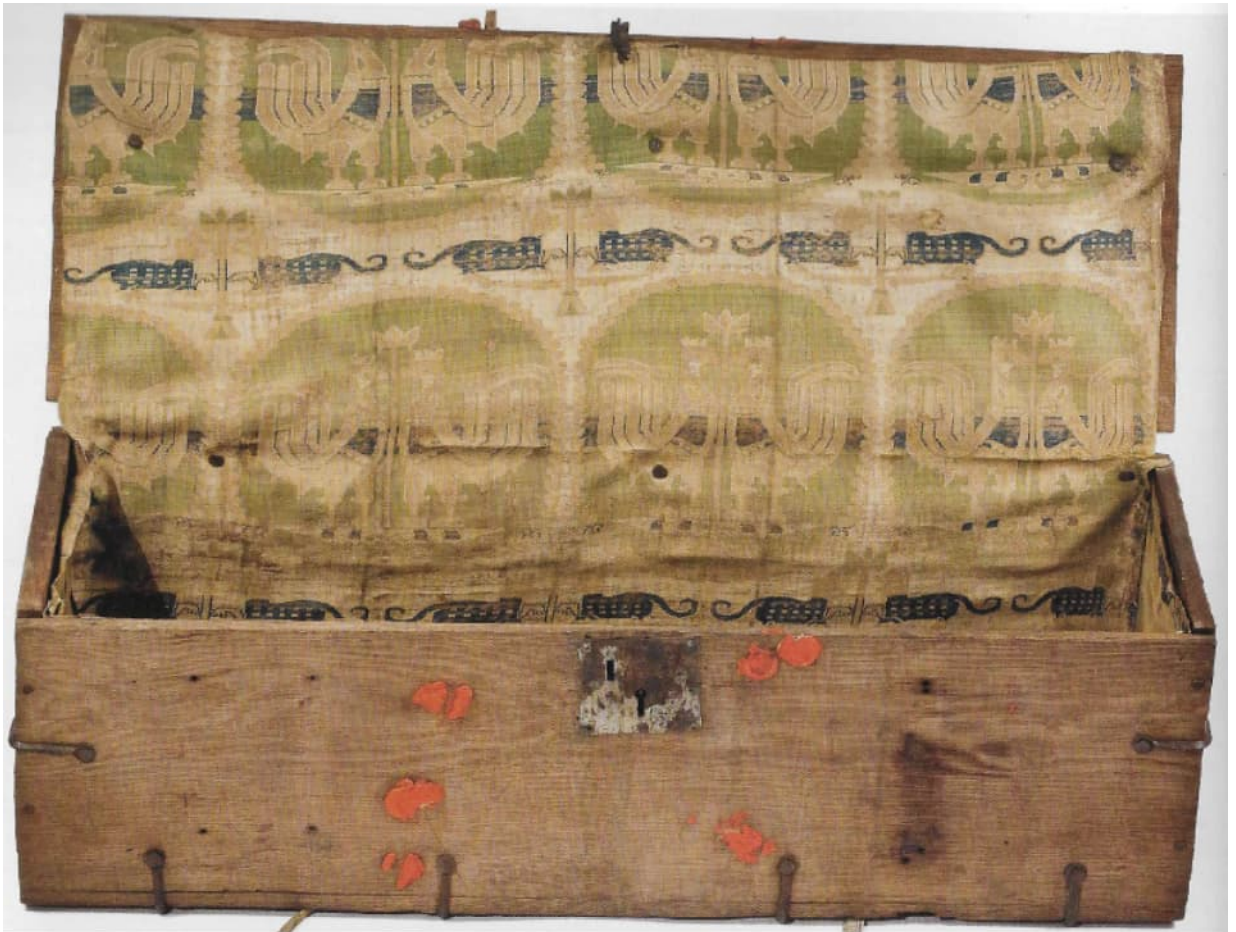


Figure 2.92
Shrine of St Severin, frontal view with open lid displaying the tenth-century Italian
“chicken silk”, Church of St Severin, Cologne



Figure 2.93
Detail of shrine interior, illustrating the extent of linen lining. Church of St Severin, Cologne



Figure 2.94
Detail of shrine interior (from above) illustrating the extent of linen lining, Church of St Severin, Cologne



Figure 2.95
Silk textile reliquary, c. thirteenth century, 20.5x15 x 14.5cm, Treasury, Church of
the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.96 Detail of reliquary lid



Figure 2.97
Shrine of the Three Kings, 1180-1225, front/right side showing reliquary with *Trapezplatte* removed to expose the Three Kings' skull relics, partially designed by Nicholas of Verdun, Cathedral, Cologne

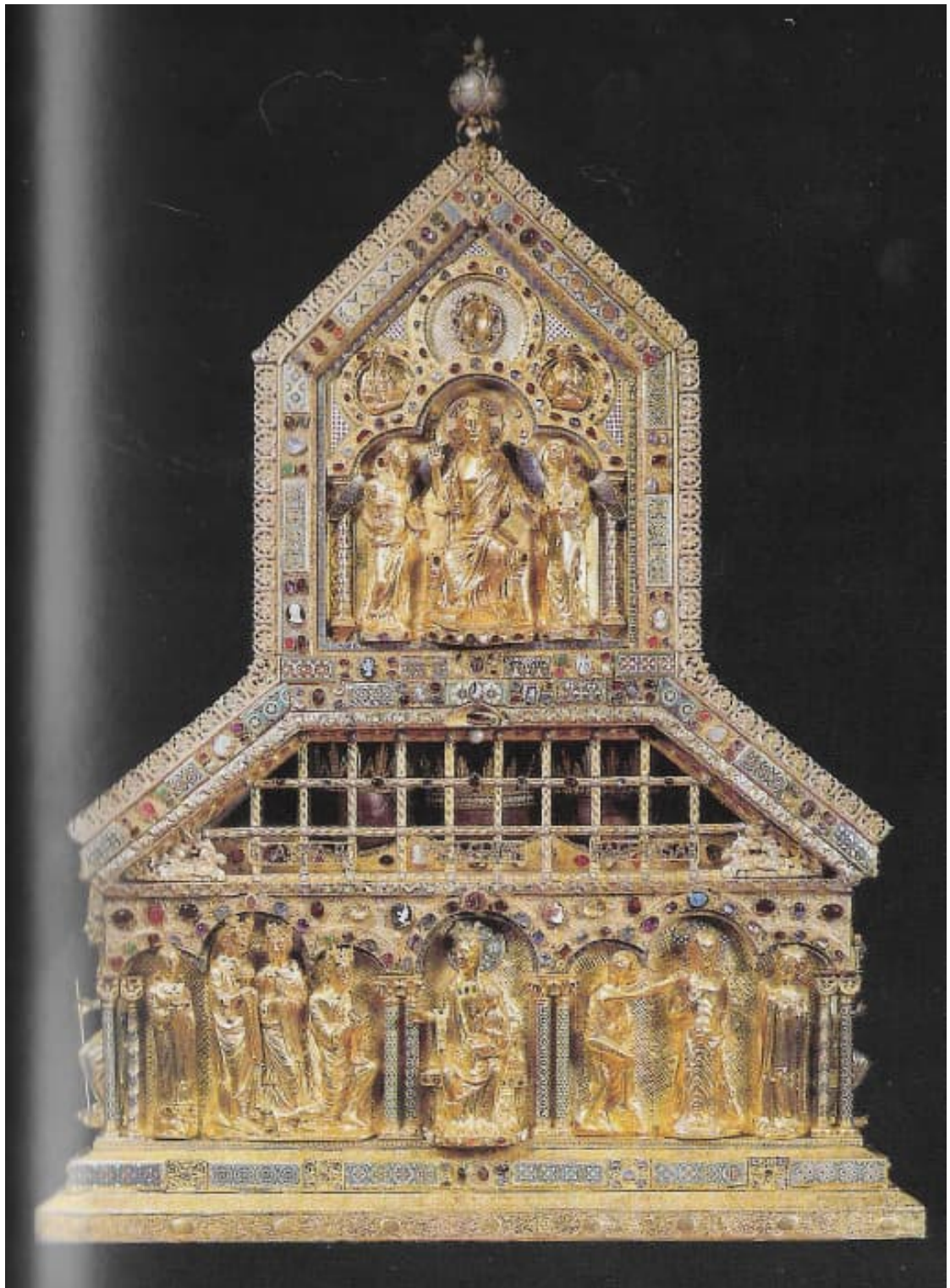


Figure 2.98
Shrine of the Three Kings, 1180-1225, showing reliquary with *Trapezplatte* removed to expose the Three Kings' skull relics, partially designed by Nicholas of Verdun, Cathedral, Cologne



Figure 2.99
Rock crystal reliquary, thirteenth century, Treasury, Church of Holy Virgins,
Cologne



Figure 2.100
Detail of reliquary side revealing relics and *authenticae*



Figure 2.101
Icon of Christ, open position, seventh century icon; twelfth century *riza*, Sancta Sanctorum, Rome



Figure 2.102
Detail of central icon and silver *riza* exposing Christ's face



Figure 2.103
Relic chest, c. 1194, oak with ironwork, Marienfeld Abbey, Harsewinkel, Germany
(Pictured on display in Cistercian exhibition in Bonn 2016-2017)



Figure 2.104
Detail of iron rivets and hinges on relic chest

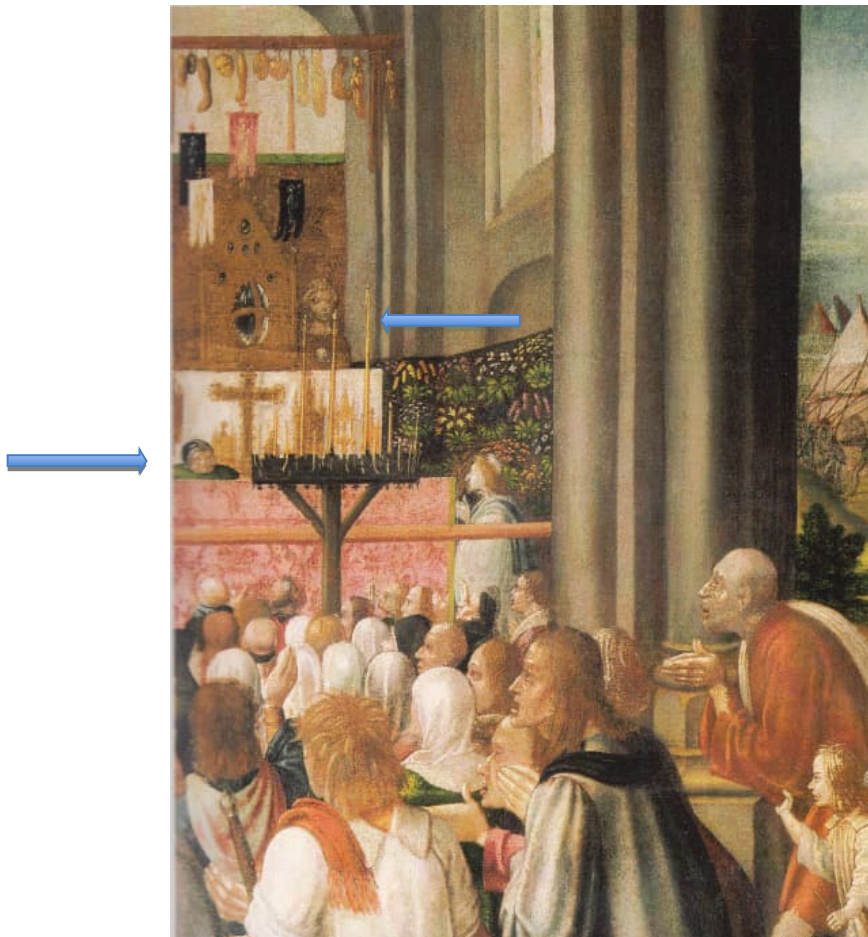


Figure 2.105
Veneration of the relics, detail of image 14 of the St Severin Cycle, 1499-
1501, St Severin Church, Cologne



Figure 2.106
Painted wooden bust reliquary, open position revealing textile skull reliquary, c. fifteenth century, Treasury archives, Aachen



Figure 2.107
Aerial view of cranial cavity, lid, and textile skull reliquary



Figure 2.108 Detail of textile reliquary and *authenticae*

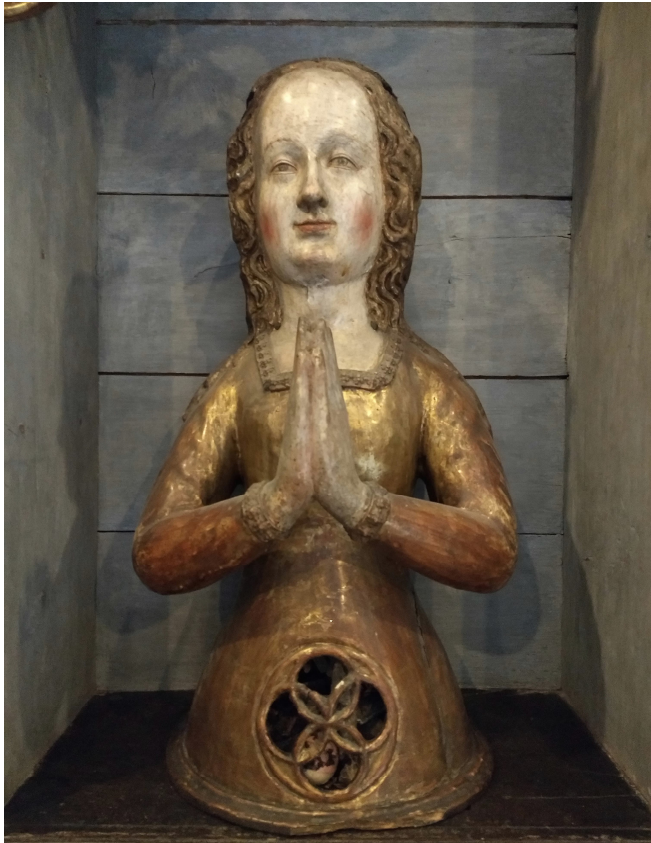


Figure 2.109
Wooden reliquary bust, 1380/1390, Golden Chamber, Church of the
Holy Virgins



Figure 2.110
Detail of body cavity revealing wrapped relics



Figure 2.111
Bust containing textile wrapped skull, Bust 37/W5, Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.112
Textile skull reliquary and padded vessel, Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins, Cologne



Figure 2.113
Wooden bust reliquary, open position revealing textile reliquary in cranial cavity, *c.*
1350, Church of St Kunibert, Cologne



Figure 2.114
Textile skull reliquary and padded vessel removed from wooden bust, Golden Chamber, Church of the Holy Virgins

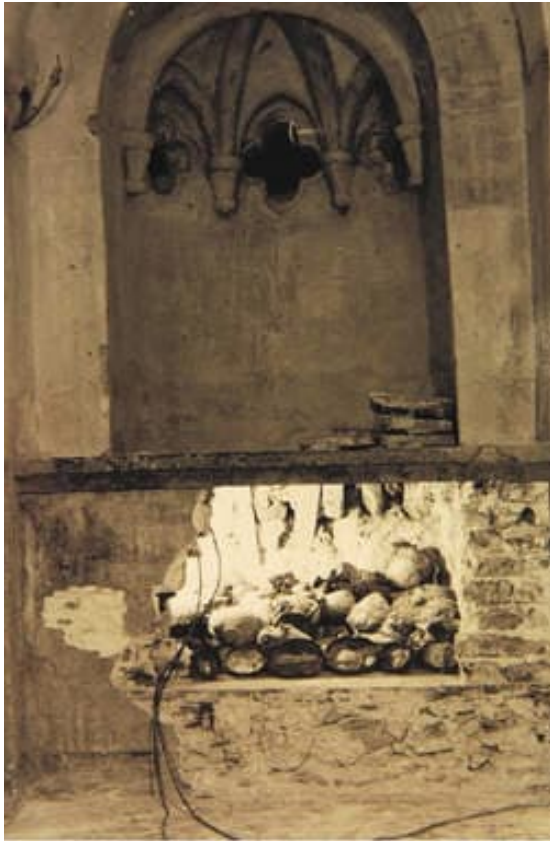


Figure 2.115
Relic discovery in northwest altar, 1964, sacristy of Munsterkerk, Roermond,
Netherlands



Figure 2.116
Detail of relics hidden within church wall



Figure 2.117
Anthropomorphic relic figure #1 Munsterkerk Roermond, Netherlands

Figure 2.118
Detail of restored anthropomorphic relic figure #1 and x-ray
revealing arrangements of bone (top of body)

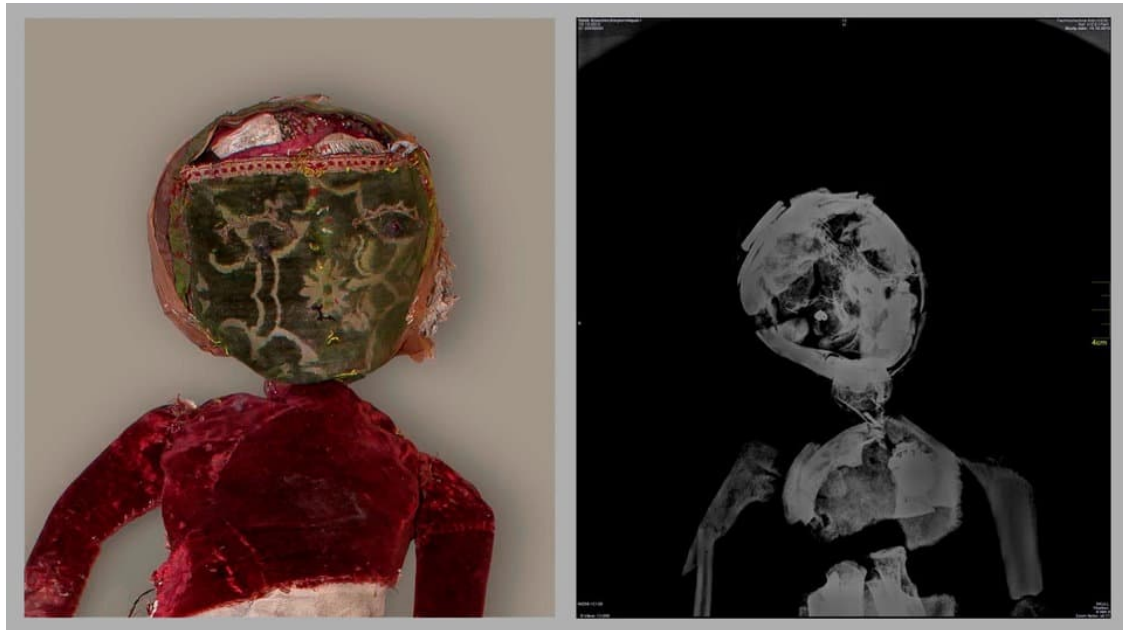


Figure 2.119
Detail of restored anthropomorphic relic figure #1 and x-ray
revealing arrangements of bone (bottom of body)



Figure 2.120
Restoration of anthropomorphic relic figure #1



Figure 2.121
Anthropomorphic relic figure #2, Roermond Abbey, the Netherlands

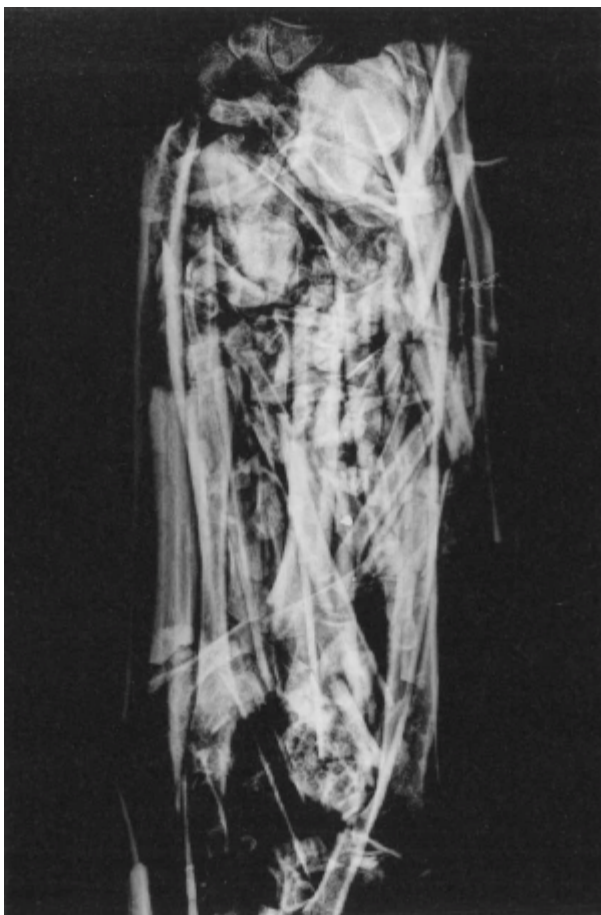


Figure 2.122
X-ray revealing assemblage of bone and textile, anthropomorphic relic figure #2

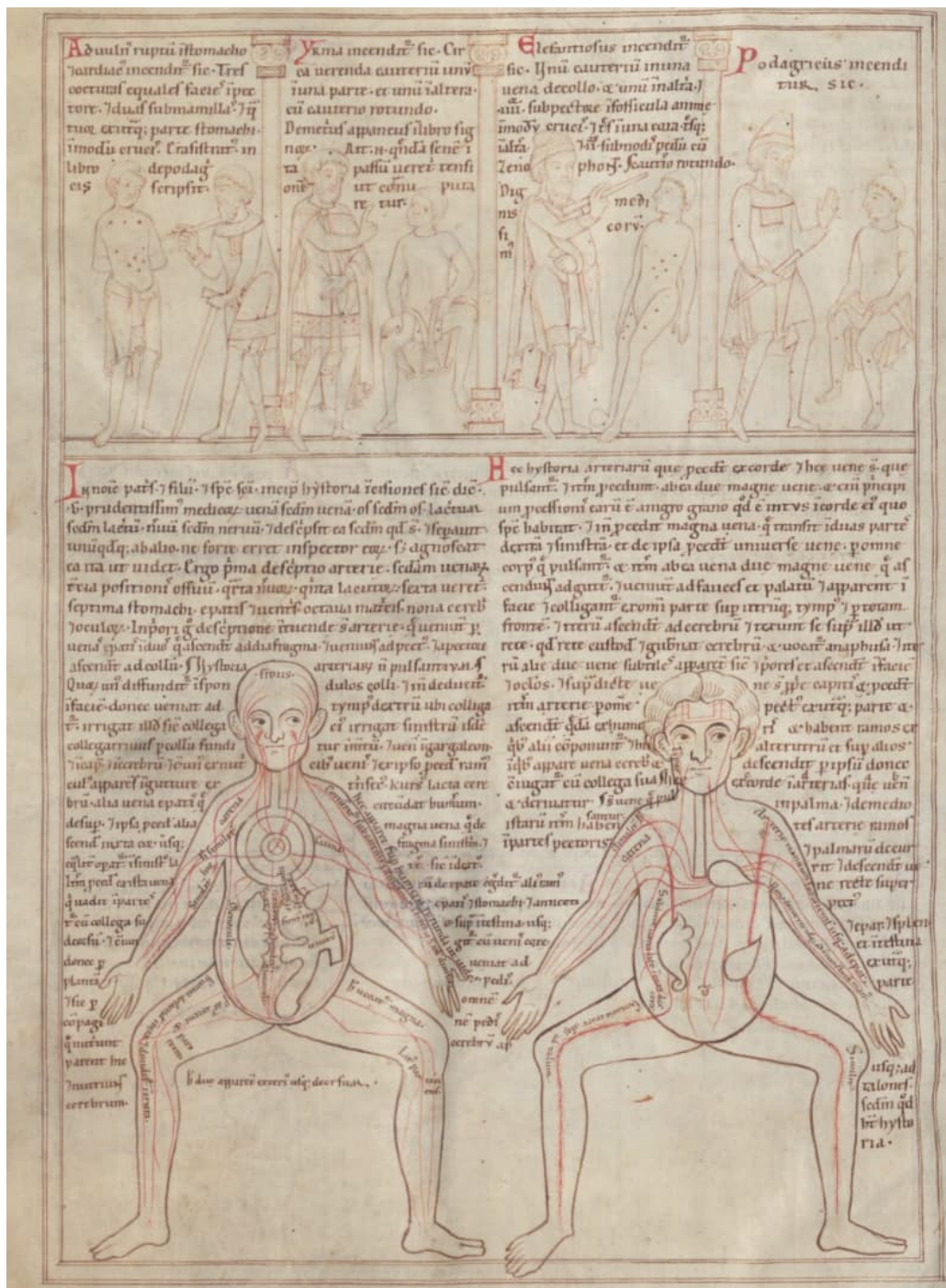


Figure 2.123
Anthropomorphic relic figure #3, Munsterkerk Roermond, Netherlands



Figure 3.1
 Diagram of the cranial anatomy, mid-fifteenth century transcription of Jehan
 Yperman, *Chirurgia* (1328); Ghent, Universiteits Bibliotheek, MS 1263, fol. 3v

Figure 3.2
Anatomical figures displaying the venous (left) and arterial (right) systems, c. 1165, Prüfening Abbey, Bavaria, Munich: Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 13002, fol. 2v

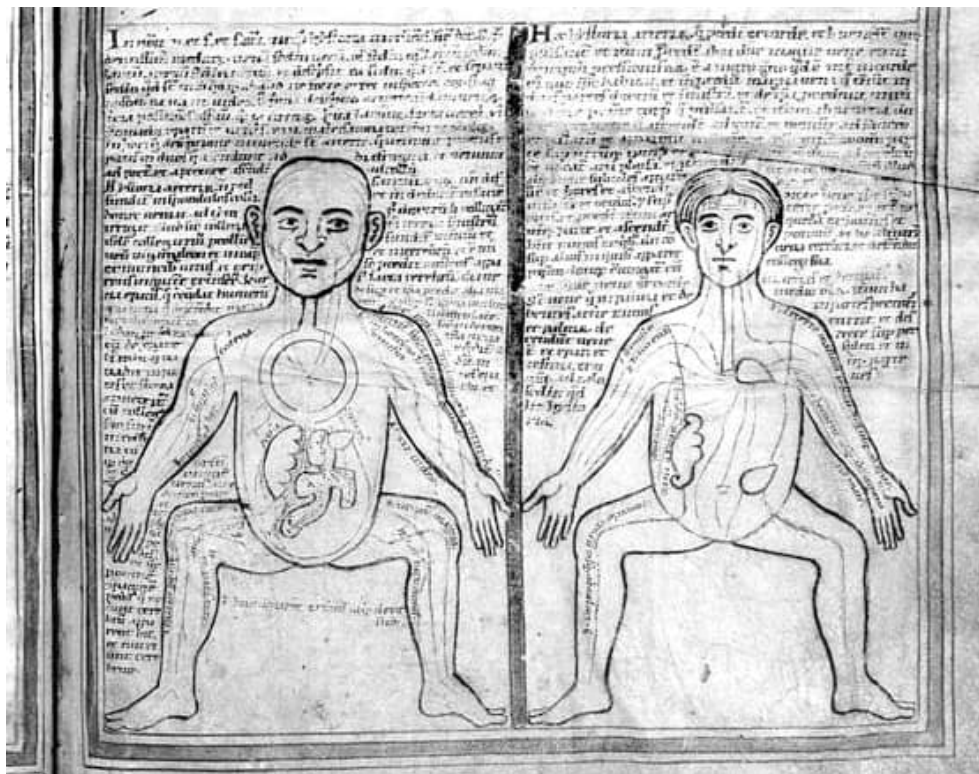


3.2a Complete page



3.2b Detail of head displaying the *rete mirabile*

Figure 3.3
Anatomical figures displaying Venous (left) and Arterial (right) systems, c.
1240, Scheyern Abbey, Bavaria, Munich: Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, CLM
17403, fol. 4r

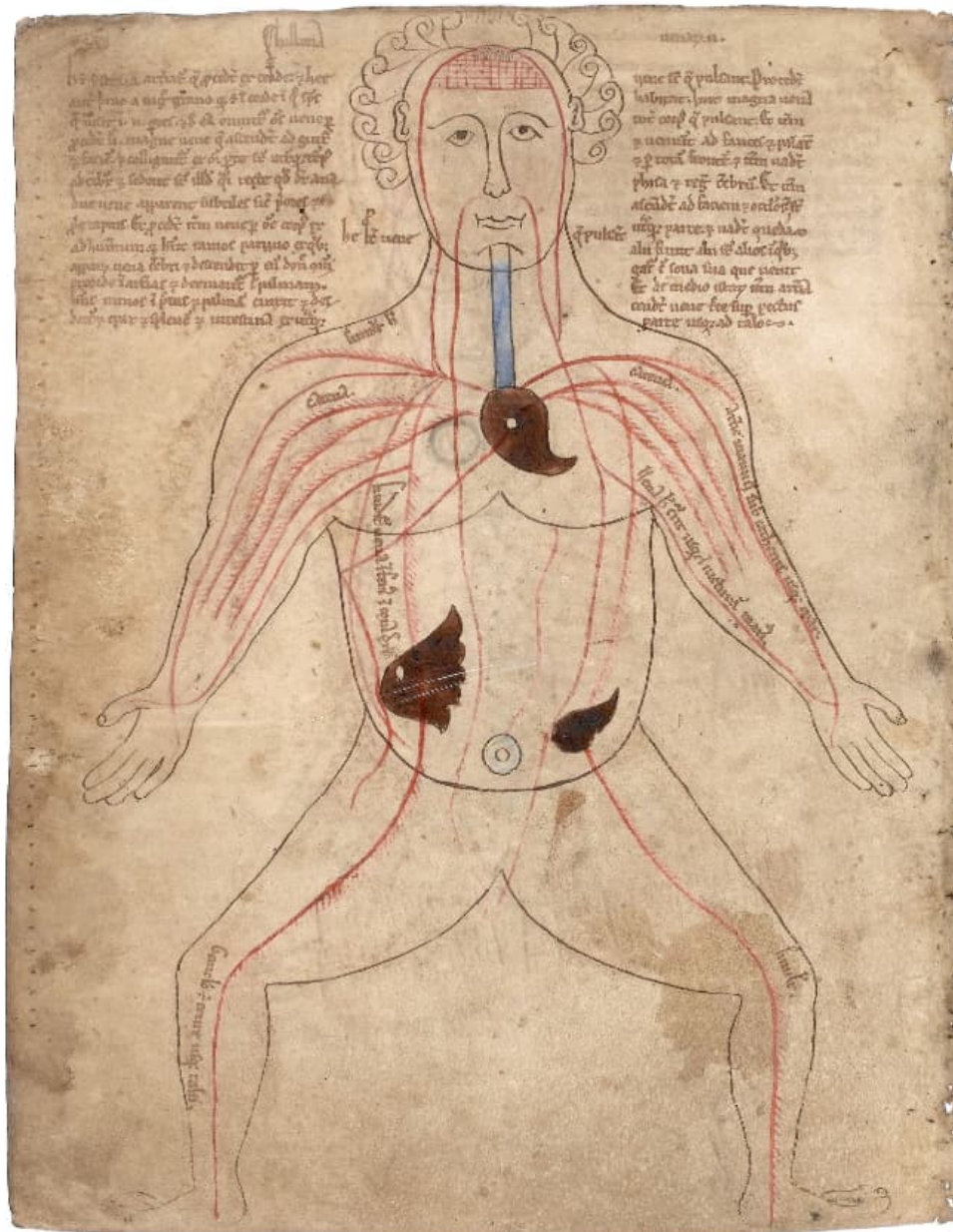


3.3a Complete page



3.3b Detail of head displaying the *rete mirabile*

Figure 3.4
Arterial system ('Vein Man'), c. 1200, Cambridge: Gonville and Caius College Library, MS 190/223, fol. 3r

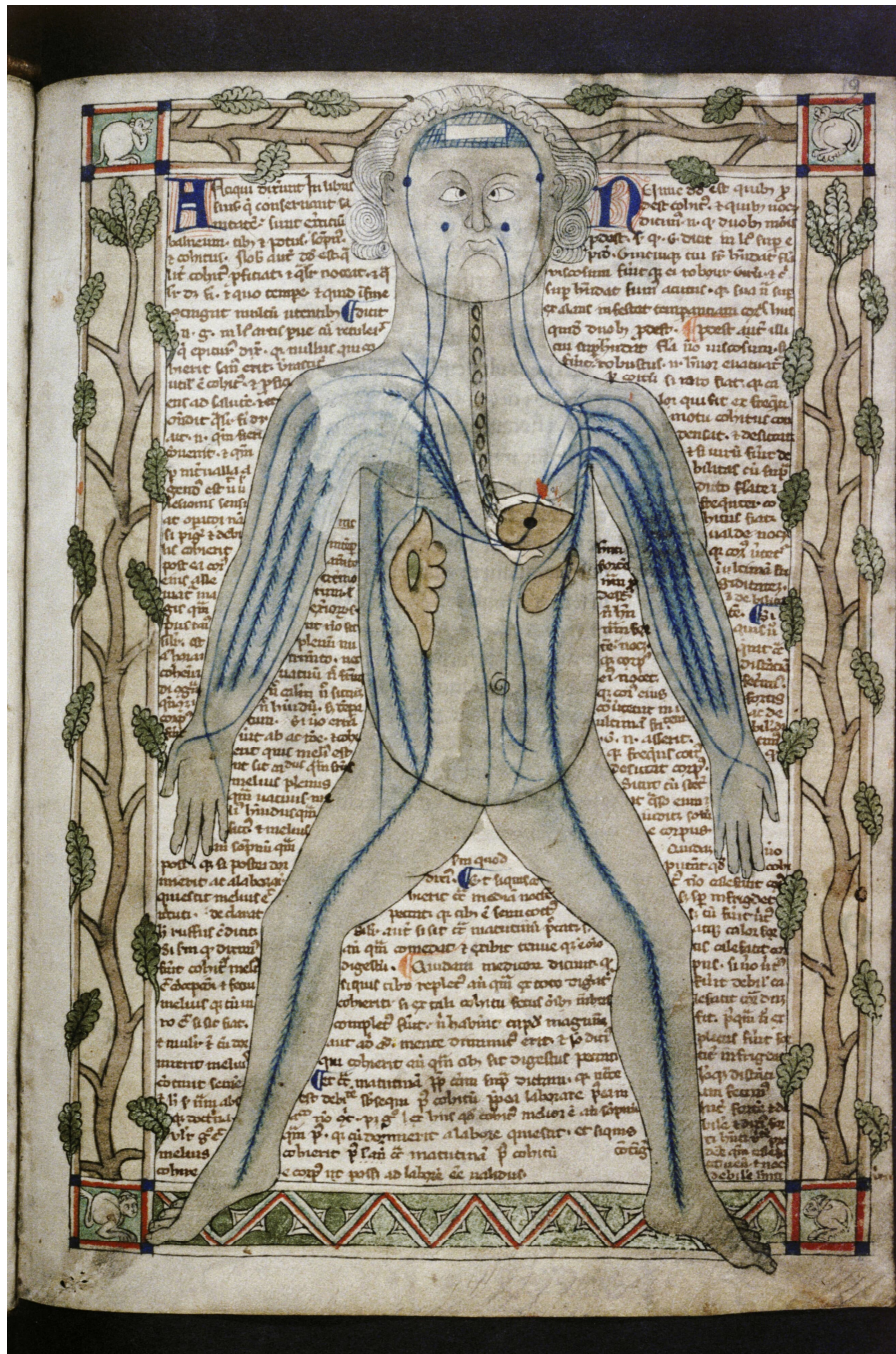


3.4a Complete page



3.4b Detail of head displaying the *rete mirabile*

Figure 3.5
Arterial system, 1292, Oxford: Bodleian Library, Ashmolean Codex 399, fol. 17v



3.5a Complete page



3.5b Detail of head displaying the *rete mirabile*

Figure 3.6

Treating head wounds, opening page of surgery series, c. 1300, French vernacular transcription of Roger (of Parma), *Surgery* (1180), London: British Library, MS Sloane 1977, fol. 2r



3.6a Complete page



3.6b Detail of cranial surgery

Figure 3.7

Treating head wounds, second page of surgery series, c. 1300, French vernacular transcription of Roger (of Parma), *Surgery* (1180), London: British Library, MS Sloane 1977, fol. 2v



3.7a Complete page



3.7b Detail of cranial surgery



3.7c Detail of surgeon binding head in a cloth bandage



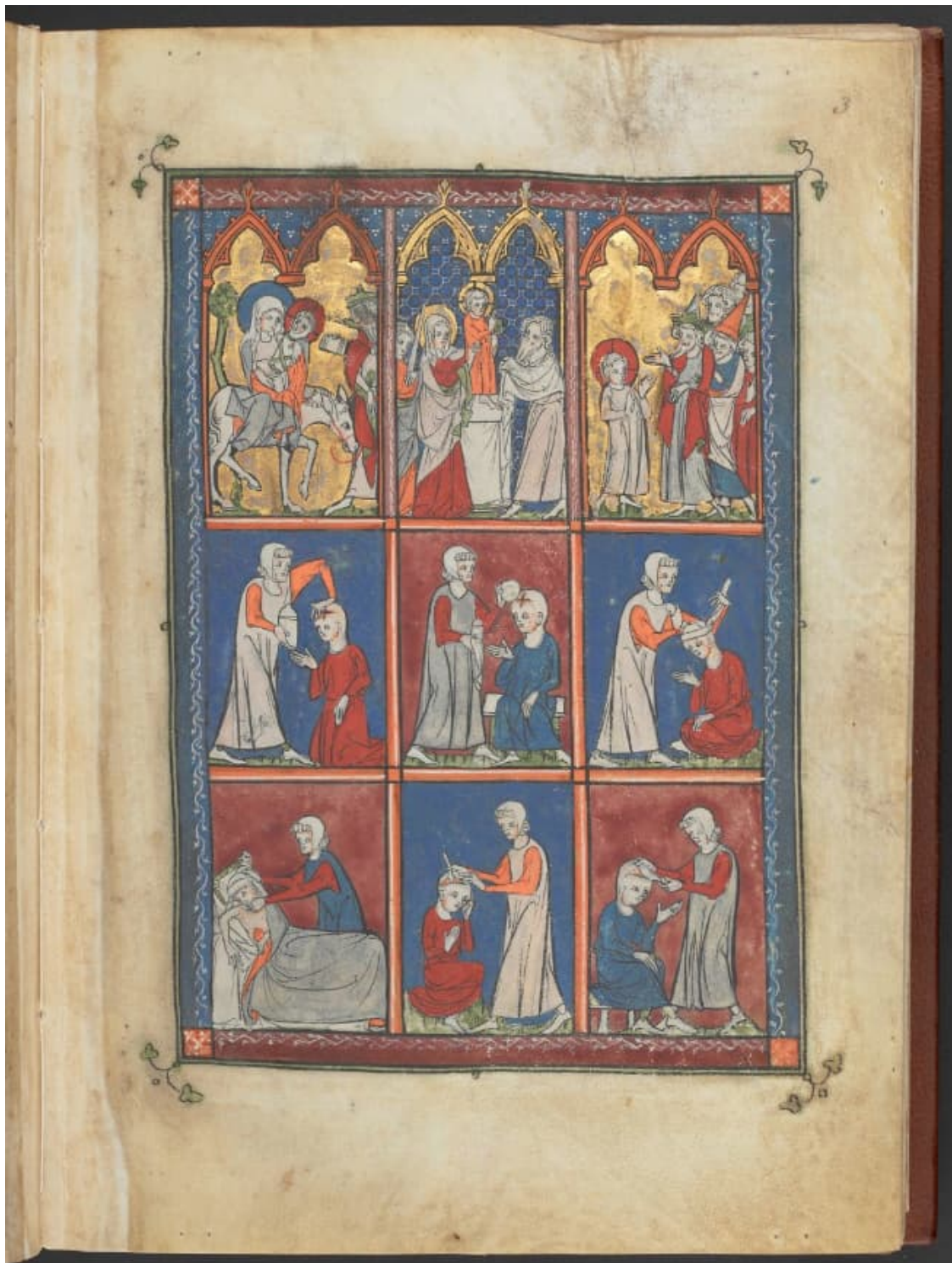
3.7d Detail of surgeon removing cloth bandage



3.7e Detail of surgeon incising forehead and removing object

Figure 3.8

Treating head wounds, third page of surgery series, c. 1300, French vernacular transcription of Roger (of Parma), *Surgery* (1180), London: British Library, MS Sloane 1977, fol. 3r



3.8a Complete page



3.8b Detail of cranial surgery



3.8c Detail of surgeon applying ointment on head wound



3.8d Detail of surgeon binding head in a cloth bandage



3.8e Detail of head injury and cloth bandage



3.8f Detail of bed-ridden patient with elaborate head bandages



3.8g Detail of surgeon incising forehead

Figure 3.9

Treating head wounds, fourth page of surgery series, c. 1300, French vernacular transcription of Roger (of Parma), *Surgery* (1180), London: British Library, MS Sloane 1977, fol. 3v



3.9a Complete page



3.9b Detail of cranial surgery



3.9c Detail of surgeon binding head in cloth bandage



Figure 3.10
Monk treating patient, final illustration of surgical treatise, c. 1300, French vernacular transcription of Roger (of Parma), *Surgery* (1180), London: British Library, MS Sloane 1977, fol. 47v

Figure 3.11

'The Glosses of the Four Masters' (of Salerno), early fourteenth century, London: Wellcome Library, MS 544, fol. 17r (p. 22)



3.11a Detail of surgeon suturing head wound



3.11b Detail of surgeon suturing head wound and bust onlooker