

Scott B. Montgomery

St. Ursula

and the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne

*Relics, Reliquaries and the Visual Culture of Group Sanctity
in Late Medieval Europe*



PETER LANG

Oxford · Bern · Berlin · Bruxelles · Frankfurt am Main · New York · Wien

Contents

List of Figures	vii
Gratia Undecima Mille – Acknowledgements	xiii
I. Heads and Tales: Envisioning the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne	1
II. An Archaeology of Texts and Bones: The Legend of the Eleven Thousand Virgins	9
III. Bones and More Bones: Relics and the Spread of the Cult	19
IV. <i>Ecclesia sanctorum undecim milium virginum</i> : The Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins and its Decoration	47
V. The Face of Sanctity: Reliquary Busts of the Eleven Thousand Virgins	59
VI. Golden Visions: Altarpieces with Relics	83
VII. The Protective Mantle: The Holy Virgins as Patron Saints of Cologne	99
VIII. Picturing the Pilgrimage: Images and Narrative Cycles in Cologne	117
IX. A Peregrinatious Tale: Images and Narrative Cycles beyond the Rhineland	137
X. Golden Bones: The <i>Goldene Kammer</i> of St. Ursula and Early Modern Developments	165
XI. From Slight to Light: Concluding Thoughts	175
Bibliography	185
Index	203

List of Figures

- Fig. 1: Clematius Inscription. Early fifth century. South wall of choir, Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Cologne. Photo: author.
- Fig. 2: Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Cologne. Exterior from east, showing thirteenth-century choir. Photo: author.
- Fig. 3: Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Cologne. Interior of nave looking east toward the main altar. Photo: author.
- Fig. 4: Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Cologne. Interior of choir showing relic niches. Photo: author.
- Fig. 5: Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Cologne. Relic niches in choir. Photo: author.
- Fig. 6: Janiform Reliquary Bust of the Holy Virgins. Circa 1500. Cologne workshop. Polychromed and gilded wood. Church of St. Ursula, Cologne. Photo: author.
- Fig. 7: Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Cologne. Interior view of nave and aisle showing janiform reliquary busts in the gallery. Photo: author.
- Fig. 8: Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Cologne. Fourteenth-century altar with *Ursula Schutzmantelheilige* and companion saints. Photo: author.
- Fig. 9: Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Cologne. Detail of choir showing relic niches and late fifteenth century window with *Ursula Schutzmantelheilige*. Photo: author.

Fig. 10: Reliquary Bust of a Holy Virgin. Circa 1340. Cologne. Wood. Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, A974. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Fig. 11: Reliquary Bust of a Holy Virgin. Circa 1330–40. Cologne. Wood. Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, A175. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Fig. 12: Reliquary Bust of a Holy Virgin. Circa 1330–40. Cologne. Wood. Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, A162. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Fig. 13: Reliquary Bust of a Holy Virgin, Companion of St. Ursula. Late thirteenth century. Limoges. Copper, gilt. Amiens, Musée Picardie, Inv #357.189.51. Photo: Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library.

Fig. 14: Reliquary Bust of St. Ursula. Late fourteenth century. Siena. Wood, polychromed and gilded. Florence, Museo di Santa Maria Novella, A1. Photo: author.

Fig. 15: Reliquary Bust of a Holy Virgin. Late fourteenth century. Siena. Wood, polychromed and gilded. Florence, Museo di Santa Maria Novella, A3. Photo: author.

Fig. 16: Detail of frontispiece of Hermann Crombach, *S. Ursula vindicata. Vita et martyrium S. Ursulae et sociarum undecim millium virginum*, Cologne: Hermann Mylii Birckmann, 1647. Photo: author, from Crombach.

Fig. 17: Group of fourteenth-century reliquary busts of the holy Virgins in a contemporary display in St. Kunibert, Cologne. Photo: author.

Fig. 18: Fourteenth-century reliquary busts of the holy Virgins in a contemporary display in St. Kunibert, Cologne. Photo: author.

Fig. 19: *Clarenaltar*. Circa 1347. Closed position. Cologne, Cathedral. Photo: Dombau, Köln.

Fig. 20: *Clarenaltar*. Circa 1347. First open position. Cologne, Cathedral. Photo: Dombau, Köln.

Fig. 21: *Clarenaltar*. Circa 1347. Second open position (fully open). Cologne, Cathedral. Photo: Dombau, Köln.

Fig. 22: *Clarenaltar*. Circa 1347. Second open position (fully open). Detail with reliquary busts. Cologne, Cathedral. Photo: Dombau, Köln.

Fig. 23: Marienstatt Altar. Circa 1350. Open position. Marienstatt Abbey. Photo: author.

Fig. 24: Relief Commemorating the Defense of Cologne on October 14–15, 1268. Circa 1378. Cologne, Stadtmuseum. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Fig. 25: Relief Commemorating the Defense of Cologne on October 14–15, 1268. Circa 1378. Modern copy in situ on the south wall of Cologne near the Ulrepforte. Photo: author.

Fig. 26: *Martyrdom of the Holy Virgins of Cologne*. 1499. Woodcut from Johann Koelhoff, *Cronica von der hilliger Stat van Coellen*. Photo: author, from Koelhoff.

Fig. 27: *Defense of Cologne on October 14–15, 1268*. 1499. Woodcut from Johann Koelhoff, *Cronica von der hilliger Stat van Coellen*. Photo: author, from Koelhoff.

Fig. 28: Civic Arms of Cologne. Circa 1500. Photo: author.

Fig. 29: Ursula Schutzmantelheilige. Altar antependium from a Church in Cologne. 1550. Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, Inv. Nr. P33. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Fig. 30: Altar Antependium from the Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, Cologne. Antependium – circa 1170; Figures – fourteenth century. Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, Inv. G564. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Fig. 31: *Pope Cyriakus Praying and Baptism of the Companions of St. Ursula*. Scene 12 from the Cycle of the Eleven Thousand Virgins from the Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Cologne. 1456. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Inv. Nr. WRM0718. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Fig. 32: *Arrival in Cologne and Dream of St. Ursula*. Scene 9 from the Cycle of the Eleven Thousand Virgins from the Church of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Cologne. 1456. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Inv. Nr. WRM0715. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Fig. 33: *Martyrdom of the Eleven Thousand Virgins*. Master of the Small Passion. 1411. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Inv. Nr. WRM0051. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Fig. 34: *Burial of the Eleven Thousand Virgins*. Master of the St. Ursula Legend and workshop. Circa 1492–96. Oil on panel. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Inv. Nr. WRM849. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Fig. 35: *Veneration of the Shrine of St. Ursula*. Master of the Ursula Legend. Before 1482. Altarpiece for the Black Sisters of St. Augustine in Bruges. Oil on panel. Bruges, Groeningemuseum. Photo: Peter Willi/The Bridgeman Art Library.

Fig. 36: Hans Memling. *Shrine of St. Ursula*. 1489. Long side with narrative of pilgrimage to Rome. Oil on panel. Bruges, Memling Museum. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 37: Hans Memling. *Shrine of St. Ursula*. 1489. Long side with narrative of martyrdom in Cologne. Oil on panel. Bruges, Memling Museum. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 38: Hans Memling. *Shrine of St. Ursula*. 1489. Short side with *Ursula Schutzmantelheilige*. Oil on panel. Bruges, Memling Museum. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 39: Reliquary Bust of St. Ursula. Circa 1326. Silver gilt. Basel, Historisches Museum. Photo: Historisches Museum, Basel.

Fig. 40: Reliquary Bust of St. Pantalus. Circa 1270. Silver gilt. Basel, Historisches Museum. Photo: Historisches Museum, Basel.

Fig. 41: Vittore Carpaccio. *Reception of Ambassadors*. Detail from the *Cycle of St. Ursula* for the Scuola Piccola di Sant'Orsola, Venice. 1490–1500. Oil on canvas. Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. Photo: Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice.

Fig. 42: Vittore Carpaccio. *Martyrdom of the Eleven Thousand Virgins and Funeral of St. Ursula*. Detail from the *Cycle of St. Ursula* for the Scuola Piccola di Sant'Orsola, Venice. 1490–1500. Oil on canvas. Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. Photo: Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice.

Fig. 43: Vittore Carpaccio. *Apotheosis of St. Ursula*. Detail from the *Cycle of St. Ursula* for the Scuola Piccola di Sant'Orsola, Venice. 1490–1500. Oil on canvas. Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. Photo: Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice.

Fig. 44: *Goldene Kammer* of St. Ursula – general view showing east wall. 1643. Cologne, St. Ursula. Photo: author.

Fig. 45: *Goldene Kammer* of St. Ursula – detail of upper portion of east wall. 1643. Cologne, St. Ursula. Photo: author.

Fig. 46: *Goldene Kammer* of St. Ursula – detail of north wall with two fourteenth-century reliquary busts. 1643. Cologne, St. Ursula. Photo: author.