

Saint Odilia of Cologne

An Engraving by Johann Schott and Johann Heinrich Löffler the Younger

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Summary

An engraving with sixteen scenes concerning Saint Odilia and her relics is preserved in Liège (Belgium). The print was designed by Johann Schott and engraved by Johann Heinrich Löffler the Younger, both working (at least temporarily) in Cologne. Only very few copies remain, including one in Cuijk (the Netherlands) and as many as three in the Kölnisches Stadtmuseum. While the 1621 Latin edition of Johannes Banelius' life of Saint Odilia served as a literary source for the engraving, the 1648 Chronicon of Godefridus van Lith is, in turn, based on the Saint Odilia print. If Schott created the preparatory drawings in Cologne, where a fragment of the print design is conserved, the first edition must date from no earlier than 1632, the year he was registered as a master in this city. This aligns with the potential involvement of Clamor Averkamp, who became prior of the Cologne Crosiers in 1636 and seems to have played a role in the production of the print.

Zusammenfassung

In Lüttich (Belgien) wird ein Kupferstich mit sechzehn Szenen zur heiligen Odilia und ihren Reliquien aufbewahrt. Das Blatt nach einem Entwurf von Johann Schott ist von Johann Heinrich Löffler d. J. gestochen worden, die beide (zumindest zeitweise) in Köln tätig waren. Es haben sich nur wenige Exemplare erhalten, darunter eines in Cuijk (Niederlande) und allein drei im Kölnischen Stadtmuseum. Als literarische Quelle diente Schott die lateinische Ausgabe von Johannes Banelius' Leben der heiligen Odilia von 1621, wohingegen das 1648 erschienene »Chronicon« von Godefridus van Lith den Kupferstich schon voraussetzt. Wenn Schott die Vorzeichnungen in Köln anfertigte, wo sich ein Fragment davon erhalten hat, kann die Erstausgabe des Drucks frühestens 1632 erschienen sein, als Schott in Köln als Meister eingetragen wurde. Dies deckt sich mit einer möglichen Beteiligung Clamor Averkamps, der 1636 Prior der Kölner Kreuzherren wurde und bei der Entstehung des Drucks eine Rolle gespielt zu haben scheint.



Over the centuries, Saint Odilia of Cologne has been venerated in several Belgian cities. An active cult of this saint once existed in Huy and Liège, in the Belgian and Dutch provinces of Limburg (Limburg and North Brabant), and in other places where monasteries of the Crosiers (Order of the Holy Cross) were founded.¹ To this day, Saint Odilia remains the patron saint of this order. The life of Saint Odilia has been depicted a number of times, with the oldest example found on a painted wooden reliquary shrine dating from 1292, kept in the Church of Saint Odulphus in Borgloon, Belgium.² In the abbey of Marienlof in Kerniel, near Borgloon, scenes from the life of Saint Odilia are located above the choir stalls of the church. These paintings on canvas were made by the Liège painter Martin Aubée (°1729–†1806) in the second half of the eighteenth century.³ A lesser-known example in Belgium is hidden in the presbytery of the Church of Saint James in Liège, where a framed engraving depicting the life of Saint Odilia hangs on a wall (fig. 1). It might have come from a convent of the Crosiers in Liège, which has since disappeared.⁴ Although hundreds of copies of this Saint Odilia engraving were once printed, only a few have survived. In addition to the example in Liège, there is one in the ‘Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven’ in Cuijk, the Netherlands. Significantly, as many as three are preserved in the Museum of the History of Cologne (Kölnisches Stadtmuseum).⁵ With the exception of two brief contributions in the exhibition catalogues of Huy (1984)⁶ and Bentlage (2010)⁷, there has been no in-depth study of this important engraving. This article provides a *status quaestionis*. It analyses the specific iconography of the print and identifies its literary source. Furthermore, it considers the date and place of creation, as well as the artists involved.

The legend of Saint Odilia as depicted in the engraving

The engraving (measuring 521 by 355 mm) shows sixteen scenes from the legend of Saint Odilia (fig. 2). The central part of the print depicts a standing woman and a kneeling man. The text below them helps to identify the saint: S. ODILIAE VRSVLANI COLLEGII CHILIIARCHAE DVCTRICIS / ORDINIS S. CRVCIS CAELITVS DATAE PATRONAE MIRACVLOSA / INVENTIO, ELEVATIO, TRANSLATIO (Saint Odilia, one of the leading ladies of Ursula’s group, given from heaven as patroness to the Order of the Holy



2
Reading order
indication

Cross. Her miraculous discovery, excavation, and translation). Saint Odilia holds a palm branch in her left hand, symbolising her martyrdom, and the arrow that was used to kill her. In her right hand, she holds a banner which, along with the urn at her feet, forms an important attribute of Saint Odilia of Cologne. In front of her kneels a Crosier, recognisable by the clothing of his order and a Maltese cross on his chest (the same cross which is depicted on Saint Odilia's banner). The figure, holding a shovel between his arms, represents John of Eppa, a brother of the Order of the Holy Cross from Paris who rediscovered the relics of Saint Odilia in Cologne in 1287. After excavating her bones, John brought the relics to the Crosiers in Huy.⁸ The scene with Saint Odilia and the kneeling John of Eppa was also popular as a separate representation in prints, paintings, and textiles (figs. 3, 4).⁹

At the top of the engraving, there is a depiction of Christ carrying his Cross (fig. 5). Several additional elements adjacent to Christ also reference the Holy Cross, serving as significant symbols of the veneration associated with the Order of the Holy Cross. The blood of Christ flows over two coats of arms, one of which belongs to the Order of the Holy Cross. These shields are held by two angels who carry instruments of Christ's Passion (*Arma Christi*): the nails and the Holy Sponge. They also display a Tau cross and a snake around a crucifix (this latter element referring to the Brazen Serpent). There are six saints depicted full-length, flanking Christ and the angels. On the left: Saints Quiriacus, Peter, and Philip. On the right: Saints Helena, Andrew, and Augustine of Hippo. These saints are associated, once again, with the Holy Cross and the Order, as the apostles Peter, Philip, and Andrew all died on the cross, while Helena was the first patron of the Crosiers when the order was founded at the beginning of the thirteenth century and remains important to the order to this day. According to the legend, she was able to locate and identify the True Cross of Christ

3
 Gerhard Altzenbach
 after Johann Toussijn,
 John of Eppa
 kneeling before Saint
 Odilia, ca. 1650,
 engraving,
 440 × 340 mm,
 Cologne, Kölnisches
 Stadtmuseum,
 inv. no. G-16135

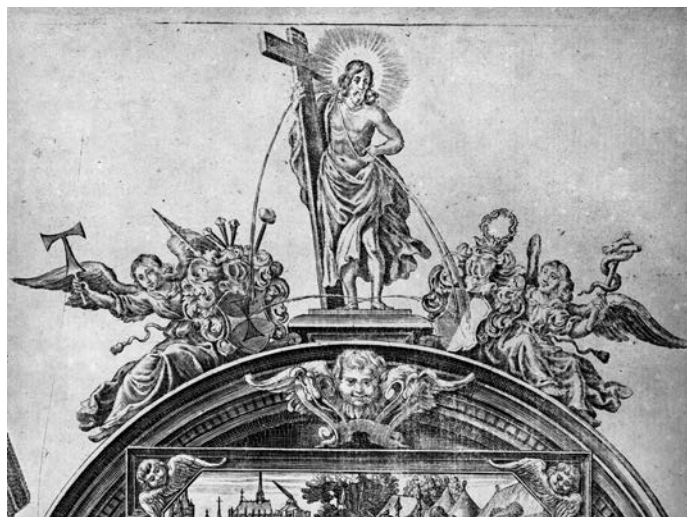


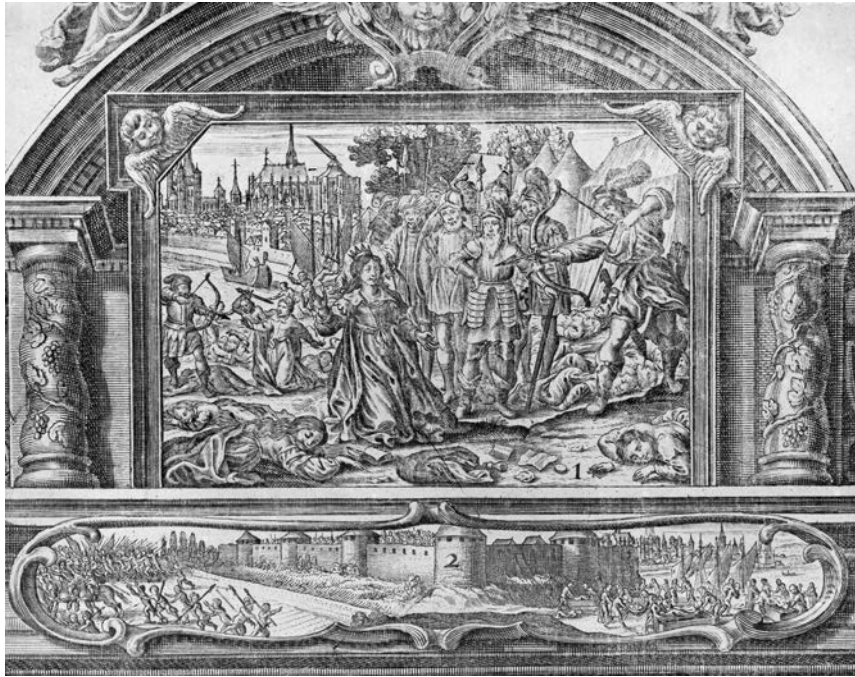
4
 Maria Elisabeth
 Wyon, married Lam-
 blotte, John of Eppa
 kneeling before Saint
 Odilia (S. Odilia Ora
 Pro Nobis),
 ca. 1750, engraved
 copper plate,
 144 × 72 mm,
 signed 'Lamblotte',
 Cologne, Kölnisches
 Stadtmuseum, inv.
 no. HM-1907-100

in Jerusalem during her lifetime, together with Quiriacus. On the far right we see Augustine, whose rule is still followed by the Crosiers today. From 1600 onwards, Saints Odilia, Quiriacus, Helena, and Augustine have been indicated as the main (patron) saints of the Order.¹⁰

The sixteen scenes surrounding the central depiction represent the death of Saint Odilia, John of Eppa's visions of her, the discovery of her relics, and the transfer (*translatio*) to the city of Huy. They might be read like a comic strip, although not from left to right, but from top to bottom (fig. 2): The scenes are numbered and the

5
 Legend of Saint
 Odilia, Christ with his
 Cross and two angels
 at the top of the
 print (detail of fig. 1)





6
Legend of Saint Odilia, Scenes 1 and 2: Saint Odilia in Cologne, similar to the story of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins (detail of fig. 1)

story begins at the top (fig. 6). As indicated by the Latin inscription quoted above, Odilia was a figure from the popular legend of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins. During the Middle Ages, this story aroused great interest not only in Cologne and Liège, but throughout Europe.¹¹ As is well known, Ursula's fiancé granted her a three-year delay before the wedding, and eleven thousand virgins accompanied her on an extended journey. The arrival of the virgins in Cologne, besieged by the king of the Huns, is the first representation in the print (scene 1). Saint Odilia was the only virgin given a 'last chance' by the king¹²: By accepting the kings' proposal of marriage, she would have saved her life. Yet she refused and was killed like the other virgins. Below this scene we see the continuation of the story (scene 2): After the massacre, the Huns were said to have been struck by a divinely inspired madness and fled the city, allowing the inhabitants to bury the martyred virgins.

The narrative proceeds to the left and below Saints Quiriacus, Peter, and Philip (fig. 7). In 1287, Saint Odilia appeared in a vision to Crosier John of Eppa in Paris (scene 3), asking him to exhume her remains in Cologne, under the pear tree in the garden of a certain Arnulfus whose house was near the church of Saint Gereon. John reported his vision to his prior the next day, but was not permitted to leave. Unwilling to let the matter rest, Saint Odilia appeared to him again, up to three times (scenes 4, 5, and 6: figs. 7, 8). The occurrence of three apparitions, rather than two, does not appear in earlier sources but emerges in the Odilia legend edited by Johannes Banelius in the seventeenth century.¹³ Banelius was a Crosier at the monastery of Huy who published his new version of the Odilia legend after recovering from a serious illness, attributing his recovery to the saint's intercession. His initial work was published in French, followed by an extended Latin version in 1621, and finally a Dutch edition in 1674.¹⁴ The third apparition of Saint Odilia is already present in Banelius' first book.¹⁵ It seems plausible, though, that Schott followed the Latin version when

7
Legend of Saint Odilia, Scenes 3 and 4:
first and second
appearance of Saint
Odilia before John of
Eppa (detail of fig. 1)



8
Legend of Saint Odilia, Scenes 5 and 6:
Demand for departure to
Cologne and
third appearance of
Saint Odilia before
John of Eppa (detail
of fig. 1)



conceiving the engraving, since the French edition did not gain popularity outside the Low Countries and the Dutch version had yet to be published.

During Saint Odilia's last apparition, she took the devil with her and beat John of Eppa with his scourging belt. The visible evidence of this whipping on his back persuaded the prior to allow John to go to Cologne. John then received the necessary approvals (scenes 7, 8, and 9: figs. 9, 10) and left for Cologne with a companion

9
Legend of Saint Odilia, Scenes 7 and 8:
Obtaining the
authorisations to
leave for Cologne
detail of fig. 1)



10
Legend of Saint Odilia, Scenes 9 and 10:
Departure for
Cologne and arrival
at the house of Lord
Amulfus
(detail of fig. 1)





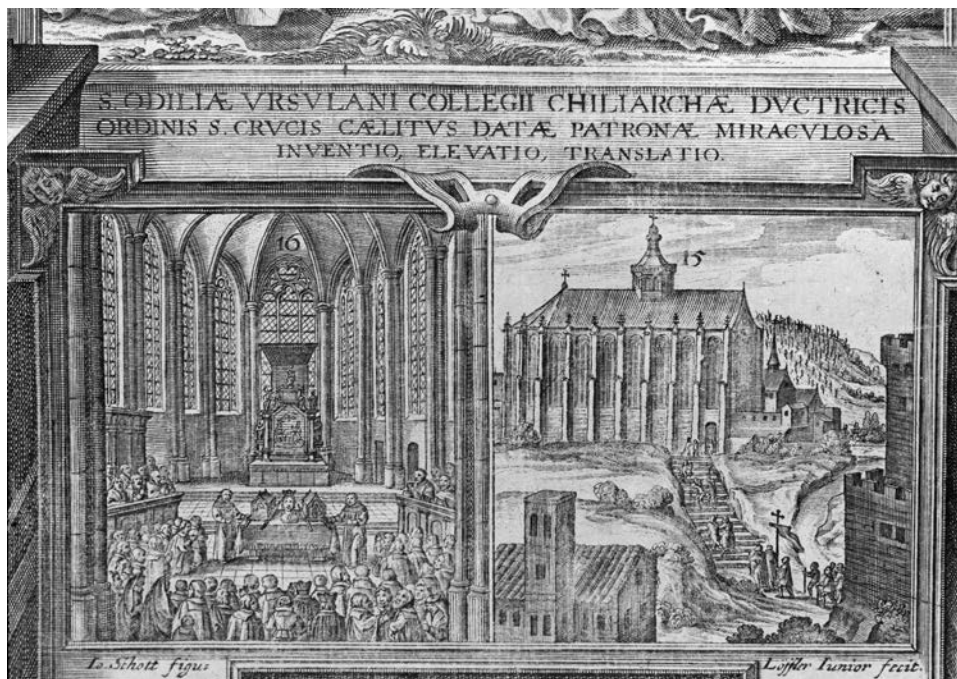
who plays a notable role in this print. The name of the companion does not appear in the oldest legend of Saint Odilia,¹⁶ but in Banelius' Latin edition of 1621 this man is given a more active role, being identified as Ludovicus a Campis for the first time.¹⁷

When the two brothers arrived in Cologne, they knocked on Arnulfus' door (scene 10). Arnulfus was sitting in his garden under the pear tree and the brothers asked him to dig there. Initially, the landowner did not agree, but Arnulfus' wife managed to persuade her husband (scene 11: fig. 11). Their trust was rewarded, as a tomb was soon revealed (scene 12), or actually two in this case. While the old documents and legends concerning Saint Odilia just report that Saint Odilia was exhumed, the print shows two sarcophagi. Only the Latin legend of Banelius mentions that the bones of Odilia's sister, Ida, were also found.¹⁸ Soon, Archbishop Sigfridus and his entourage visited the cemetery. When the two coffins were opened, a sweet odour was released, which, according to the legend, immediately cured a woman in a neighbouring house. The bones were then transferred to Saint Peter's Church in Cologne—as depicted in the background of scene 12.

A few days later, John of Eppa and Ludovicus a Campis left the city with the relics for Huy (scene 13: fig. 12). They spent the night at the Cistercian abbey of Vetus Vinetum in Vivegnis, near Herstal, Belgium, where they placed the relics in the abbey church. The right part of scene 13 depicts a miracle that occurred when a sister suffering from an illness was brought to the relics and was miraculously healed after touching the shrine—a further confirmation of the authenticity of the relics. The next day, the two brothers continued their journey and arrived at Huy after a long walk. In scene 14, a procession is shown with the relics being carried into the city through the main entrance gate. The last two scenes, situated below the central representation of Saint Odilia and the kneeling John of Eppa, depict the final episodes of the *translatio* (fig. 13), when the bones were carried in a procession to the Crosiers'

11
Legend of Saint
Odilia, Scenes 11
and 12: Discovery
and excavation of
the relics in Cologne
(detail of fig. 1)

12
Legend of Saint
Odilia, Scenes 13
and 14: Departure
from Cologne with
the relics, the stop-
over in Vivegnis and
the arrival in Huy
(detail of fig. 1)



13 Legend of Saint Odilia, Scenes 15 and 16: Transfer of the relics to the Crosier monastery in Huy (detail of fig. 1)

monastery, located just outside the walls of Huy. In scene 15, we are shown the seventeenth century convent, featuring a Gothic single-nave church without a transept. When the relics arrived in 1287, the monastery must have been significantly smaller. Scene 16 provides a view of the monastery's choir. After the demolition of the church in the wake of the French Revolution, this print was the only representation of its interior. Its accuracy, however, is uncertain. It might be a fanciful interpretation by the Cologne artists, who probably never visited the monastery. Van Lieshout has identified the elaborate high altar retable in the print, featuring two figures, as a painting of Saint Odilia and John of Eppa. According to his research, the painting was commissioned by Prior General Neerius in 1622.¹⁹ However, from an iconographic point of view, this identification seems incorrect, since the inclusion of a dove suggests a representation of the Holy Trinity instead.²⁰

In this scene, the Crosiers are seated in the choir stalls, while John of Eppa and Ludovicus a Campis present two reliquaries and a reliquary bust to the other brothers. Like the depiction of the church building in scene 15, this representation deviates from the original medieval context, since the skull of the saint had not yet been removed from the shrine in 1287 (this event probably occurred before 1446). The bust might represent the silver reliquary crafted by the silversmith Jean Goersin in 1627.²¹ Since 1482, the monastery of the Crosiers of Huy has possessed two reliquaries: one of Saint Odilia and the other of Saints Ida and Imma. In 1630, both reliquaries were placed in new silver shrines, which are likely pictured in the print. (Unfortunately, both the bust and the two silver shrines were lost after the French Revolution, at the end of the eighteenth century.) Beneath the final scene, the story ends with the Latin phrase: *Corporis exuuijs quos martyr Odilia ditas, / Hos prece continua Virgo Patrona foue. (With the remains of the body, which you enrich, O martyr Odilia, Virgin Patroness, protect them with constant prayer.)*

The artists and the date of production

The names of the artists involved are indicated at the bottom of the print, under scenes 15 and 16: *Io. Schott figu[ravit]* and *Löffler Junior fecit* (fig. 13). The inscription indicates that the story was drawn by Johann Schott, a painter in Freiburg in the seventeenth century and registered as a master in Cologne in 1632²², and engraved by Johann Heinrich Löffler the Younger (°1615–†1683) from Cologne.²³ The upper section of a design drawing by Schott, executed in pen and ink, brush, and brown and gray wash on paper, has survived in the collection of the Kölnisches Stadtmuseum (fig. 14). It was purchased from Wilhelm H. Volck (Cologne-Lindenthal) in 1910.²⁴ Closer comparison reveals no differences between the drawing by Schott and Löffler the Younger's execution.

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14
Johann Schott, Martyrdom of Saint Ursula at Cologne (fragment of a design for the engraving 'Saint Odilia surrounded by scenes of the discovery of her bones'), before 1654, pen and ink, brush, and brown and gray wash on paper, 215 × 166 mm, Cologne, Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, inv. no. HM 1910/199a



15
 Johann Schott and
 Johann Heinrich Löff-
 ler the Younger, Saint
 Odilia surrounded by
 scenes of the disco-
 very of her bones,
 1654, engraving,
 52 × 360 mm,
 detail: additional
 description at the top
 of the print, Cologne,
 Kölnisches Stadt-
 museum, inv. no.
 A 1 2/54

A *terminus ante quem* for the production of the Saint Odilia engraving has been repeatedly proposed.²⁵ It must have been made before 1665, the year in which the Crosier Aegidius de Vrese published his collection of poems, including an ode based on the engraving.²⁶ One of the copies in the Kölnisches Stadtmuseum confirms this supposition (fig. 15). At the top, an additional textual description mentions Crosier's Prior General Nicholas de Hanneffe²⁷ and the year 1654: REVERENDISSIMO PATRI AC DOMINO / NICOLAO DE HANNEFFE / CANONICI ORD. CRVCIS MAGISTRO GEN. AC PRIMARIAE DOMVS CLARI LOCI / *apud Huyum PRIORI hanc D. Odiliae Virginis et Martyris tutelararis Patronae historicam imaginem reuerenter O.D.C. / FF. Clamor Auerkamp Ordinis S. + Prouinc., et Prior Colon. et Gerhardus à Lendt eiusdem Ordinis Definitor et Prior Embricensis. / Anno D[omi]ni MDCLIII.*²⁸ Crosier Van Lieshout suggested an earlier year of production, namely 1648, pointing out that the 'Chronicon' of Godefridus van Lith (Prior of the Venlo Crosiers) from that very year was based on the Saint Odilia print.²⁹ Mieke van Zanten and Roger Janssen, without providing further explanation, opine that it is even older than 1648 and probably dates from 1645.³⁰ In the absence of further evidence, the exact date of the first print remains uncertain. If Schott made the drawing in Cologne, the earliest date would be 1632, the year he was registered as a master in Cologne. If the print was commissioned by the Prior General in Huy, we might ask why it was produced in Cologne. More likely, the work was commissioned by an individual or a convent in Cologne, where Saint Odilia was venerated in several churches.³¹ The Crosiers and the Augustinian nuns at Saint Mary Magdalen ('Zu den Weißfrauen') possessed relics of her. Saint Odilia was one of the patrons of the high altar of the Cologne Crosiers, consecrated in 1561, while in the same church a side altar was dedicated to the saint around 1614. On June 3, 1663, a bell named 'Odilia' was consecrated by the Cologne Crosiers.³² Might Clamor Averkamp (†1669), mentioned in the inscription, have been involved in the commission of the engraving? He was conventual of the monastery in Beyenburg before



16
 Johann Schott and
 Johann Heinrich Löff-
 ler the Younger, Saint
 Odilia surrounded by
 scenes of the disco-
 very of her bones,
 (with additional text
 'Theses ex universa
 Philosophia'), 1717,
 engraving, 800 ×
 400 mm (sheet),
 printed by Anna Mar-
 garetta (?), widow of
 Peter Theodor Hilden,
 Cologne, Kölnisches
 Stadtmuseum,
 inv. no. HM A 12/55

starting a career as prior of several convents—Brüggen (1623), Marienfrede (1630), and Cologne (1636)³³—, and the veneration of Saint Odilia was of great importance to him. In 1656, together with Gerardus van Lendt, he would publish a sixteen-page Latin work on Saint Odilia, the 'Synopsis Historiae S. Odiliae'.³⁴ In any case, the production of the print continued even after his death, as evidenced by a copy in the Kölnisches Stadtmuseum datable to 1717 (fig. 16).³⁵

- 1 André VER ELST, *Folkloristische tijdspiegel voor België*, Brussels, 1962, p. 199; Yves MOREAU, Le culte de Sainte Odile en Wallonie, particulièrement à Liège, *Enquêtes du Musée de la vie Wallonne*, 14, 1975, pp. 45–73; Peter Jan MARGRY / Charles M. A. CASPERS (ed.), *Bede-vaartplaatsen in Nederland · Noord-Brabant*, vol. 2, Amsterdam/Hilversum, 1997, pp. 765–769; Peter Jan MARGRY / Charles M. A. CASPERS (ed.), *Bede-vaartplaatsen in Nederland · Limburg*, vol. 3, Amsterdam/Hilversum 2000, pp. 73–77 (Baarlo), pp. 631–633 (Nieuwenhagen), pp. 865–869 (Sint-Odiliënberg), pp. 1016–1020 (Sweikhuizen); Philippe GEORGE, *Reliques & arts précieux en pays mosan*, Liège, 2002, pp. 53–54; Alain COLIGNON, *Dictionnaire des saints et des cultes populaires de Wallonie*, Liège, 2003, pp. 468–469.
- 2 Jeroen REYNIERS, An Iconographic Approach to the Study of the Saint Odilia Shrine (1292), *IKON · Journal of Iconographic Studies*, 14, 2021, pp. 97–108. (<https://doi.org/10.1484/J.IKON.5.128295>). See: <https://balat.kikirpa.be>, object number 87548.
- 3 E. VANDEPLAS, *De Luikse schilder Martin Aubée in ballingschap te Borgloon*, in: *Album Dr. M. Bussels*, Hasselt, 1967, pp. 565–569; Jacques STIENNON, Martin Aubée et la légende de sainte Odile à Kerniel, in: Pierre-Yves KAIRIS (ed.), *La peinture liégeoise des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (= Cahiers du CACEF, vol. 127), Liège, 1987, pp. 36–38; *Martin Aubée · Schilder in het land van Loon*, Kerniel, 1996. <https://balat.kikirpa.be>, object numbers 87576, 87585, 89404 to 89418 and 11048348.
- 4 *Monasticon belge*, vol. 2: *Province de Liège*, Liège 1955, pp. 415–422. There are also two polychrome statues of Saint Odilia in the Church of Saint James that are remembrances of a cult for the saint in this city. One of these sculptures is included in the Belgian national database of cultural heritage: <https://balat.kikirpa.be>, object number 10073180. The *Monasticon belge* refers to other objects kept in the church of Saint James, which came from the Crosiers monastery in Liège. They are now part of the collection of the Grand Curtius Museum in the same city.
- 5 Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, inv. no. VW-P017-Ag0755; Kölnisches Stadtmuseum: inv. no. KSM A I 2/54, KSM A I 2/55 and HM-1923/470. A fifth copy appeared on the market a few years ago. According to Artnet, it must have been sold on 20 October 2000 at an untraced auction house.
- 6 *Huy · Trésors d'art religieux*, exhibition catalogue, Huy, Collégiale Notre-Dame, 13 July–26 August 1984, with Albert Lemeunier, Huy 1984, pp. 77–78.
- 7 *In Crucis salus 1210–2010, in het kruis ons heil · 800 jaar kloosterleven*, exhibition catalogue, Museum Kloster Bentlage, Bentlage, Sint-Agatha 2010, pp. 316–317.
- 8 This religious figure is shrouded in mystery and there is very little information available about him. Historical records indicate that he was in Paris in 1259 and travelled to Cologne in 1286. He returned to Cologne for the third time in 1294. C. R. HERMANS, *Annales canonicorum regularium S. Augustini, ordinis S. Crucis*, I.1, Silvaeducis 1858, p. 55; Roger JANSSEN / Piet WINKELMOLEN, *Repertorium Canonicorum Regularium Ordinis Sanctae Crucis 1248–1840*, vol. 6, Maaseik, 2002, p. 1210.
- 9 Another similar representation in printed form is preserved in the Franciscan Museum De Mindere in Sint-Truiden, Belgium: inv. no. MVM/OFM/GRAFIEK784. The Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven in Cuijk, the Netherlands, has a painting by Father H. IJzermans o.s.c., a copy after the print from around 1900: inv. no. VW-P017-Ag0116. A stola from the monastery of Saint Agatha and a seal stamp also depict these two figures in the same way: Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, inv. no. VW-P017-Ag0366 and VW-P017-Ud0489. In the night chapel of the Onze-Lieve-Vrouw ter Linde monastery in Uden, the Netherlands, this depiction is part of a series of stained glass windows dedicated to eight key figures in the history of the Order of the Holy Cross. The stained glass window in the monastery church of the Crosiers in Maaseik, Belgium, executed in a neo-Renaissance style, dates from 1872. It may possibly have been made after the print by Schott and Löffler the Younger: <https://balat.kikirpa.be>, object number 88029. The copy with the inv. no. HM 1907/100 came to the Kölnisches Stadtmuseum in 1907. It was acquired from its owner Franz Halm in Cologne.
- 10 Roger JANSSEN, *Oord van helder licht · 800 jaar Orde van het Heilig Kruis 1210–2010*, Sint-Agatha-Cuijk 2010, p. 96.
- 11 Anton LEGNER, *Kölner Heilige und Heiligtümer · Ein Jahrtausend europäischer Reliquienkultur*, Cologne 2003; Philippe GEORGE, *Reliques · Le Quatrième Pouvoir*, Nice, 2013, pp. 360–366.
- 12 Note that in the original legend of Saint Ursula, the King of the Huns only gave Saint Ursula one last chance.
- 13 The oldest preserved legend of Saint Odilia dates back to 1467. It describes how and when Saint Odilia appeared twice to John of Eppa; Liège, University Library, Ms. 135C: *Historia de translatione beatae virginis et martyris Odiliae*, 1467, fol. 131r–134r.

- 14 Johannes BANELIUS, *Petit discours de la translation du corps de madame S. Odile, vierge et martyre, & patronesse des frères croisiers*, Liège, 1616 (a new version was released in 1664); Johannes BANELIUS, *Gloriosi corporis S. Odiliae Virginis et Martyris [...] Translatio*, Cologne 1621; Johannes BANELIUS, *Kort verhael van de miraculeuse translatie van het lichaem der H. Odilia, maget ende martelaresse, patronesse van het canonijcke ordre des H. Cruys*, Roermond, 1674.
- 15 BANELIUS, *Petit discours* [note 14], no page numbers (chapter 3).
- 16 See [note 13].
- 17 In Banelius' first edition of 1616, he is still mentioned as *Frère Ian [...] et son Compaignon* (Brother John and his companion): BANELIUS, *Petit discours* [note 14], no page numbers. In the 1621 edition, he is identified as Ludovico Campensi: BANELIUS, *Gloriosi* [note 14], p. 69.
- 18 BANELIUS, *Gloriosi* [note 14], pp. 75–76.
- 19 Henri VAN LIESHOUT, Rond het reliëschrijn van Sint Odilia, *Verzamelde Opstellen. Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Hasselt*, 11, 1, 1935, p. 54.
- 20 This depiction may also have been edited as a separate print, see: Huy · Trésors [note 6], p. 80 (no. 110).
- 21 Pierre Colman, *L'orfèvrerie religieuse Liégeoise · Du XV^e siècle à la révolution*, vol. 1, Liège, 1966, pp. 62–63.
- 22 Huy · Trésors [note 6], p. 78.
- 23 For a good overview of the life and work of Löffler the Younger, read: Johann Jakob MERLO, *Kölnische Künstler in alter und neuer Zeit, herausgegeben von Eduard Firmenich Richartz*, Nieuwkoop, 1966, col. 548–555; HOLLSTEIN, *German engravings, etchings and woodcuts*, Fedja ANZELEWSKY (ed.), vol. 22, Amsterdam, 1978, pp. 151–168; Werner SAURE (ed.), *Zwei Meister ihres Faches, die Kupferstecher Johann Eckhard Löffler d. Ä. und Johann Heinrich Löffler d. J.* (=Oelinghauser Beiträge, vol. 5), Arnsberg, 2010.
- 24 In the catalogue that accompanied Ralf König's exhibition, the drawing was dated 1654: *Ralf König · Das Ursula-Projekt · Elftausend Jungfrauen*, exhibition catalogue, Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, 13 October 2012–9 February 2013, ed. by Mario KRAMP, Cologne, 2012, p. 114. The author wishes to thank Volker Hille of the Kölnisches Stadtmuseum for his research concerning the provenance of the drawing and the Saint Odilia prints in the museum.
- 25 *Monasticon belge* [note 4], p. 407; Anton VAN DE PASCH, Het klooster Clairlieu te Hoei en zijn prioren-generaal 1210–1796, *Clairlieu · Tijdschrift gewijd aan de geschiedenis der kruissheren*, 17, 1959, p. 78; Huy · Trésors [note 6], p. 77; *In Crucis salus* [note 7], p. 317; JANSSEN [note 10], p. 188.
- 26 Aegidius DE VRESE, *Aegis Aegidio Vresana: sive Poemata*, Cologne, 1665, pp. 350–355.
- 27 Nicholas de Hanneffe was elected on 28 February 1654 and remained Prior General of the Crosiers until his death on 13 July 1677; *Monasticon belge* [note 4], p. 412.
- 28 MERLO [note 23], col. 548; Bernadette SCHÖLLER, *Religiöse Drucke aus Kölner Produktion · Flugblätter und Wandbilder des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts aus den Beständen des Kölnischen Stadtmuseums*, Cologne, 1995, pp. 79–82; SAURE [note 23], p. 71 (no. 510).
- 29 VAN LIESHOUT [note 19], p. 54. At that time, Van Lieshout noted that the Liège print was displayed near the statue of Saint Odilia in the Saint James' Church.
- 30 See the contributions of Mieke van Zanten to the illustrations in Janssen's book: JANSSEN [note 10], pp. 188–189, 380.
- 31 The relics are mentioned in the Churches of Saint Kunibert, Saint Cäcilia, the Cistercian monastery Mariengarten, Saint Apern, the Church of Saint Boniface and Willibrord and an unknown Cellite monastery. See: Hans-Joachim KRACHT / Jakob TORSY, *Reliquarium Coloniaense* (=Studien zur Kölner Kirchengeschichte, vol. 34), Siegburg, 2003, p. 409. During my visit on 6 February 2013, I also found a relic of Saint Odilia in the Church of Saint Gereon in Cologne.
- 32 KRACHT / TORSY [note 31], p. 409.
- 33 Anton VAN DEN PASCH, *Definities der generale kapitels van de Orde van het H. Kruis 1410–1786*, Brussels, 1969, p. 452; JANSSEN / WINKELMOLEN [note 8], vol. 4, p. 271.
- 34 A reference to this publication is given in: JANSSEN / WINKELMOLEN [note 8], vol. 4, p. 271.
- 35 Inv. no. HM 1923/470. Special thanks to Rita Wagner (Kölnisches Stadtmuseum) for this additional information and exchange of views on the Saint Odilia prints in Cologne. See also: SCHÖLLER [note 28], p. 82 (inv. no. 63). The Saint Odilia print inv. no. HM A I 2/55 in the Kölnisches Stadtmuseum is believed to have been made in 1717: SCHÖLLER [note 28], p. 83 (inv. no. 64).