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Cephalophoric female saints and the performativity of images : Three case studies

### **In:**

Schüppel, Katharina Christa (Hrsg.), Weibliche Heiligkeit in Spätantike und Mittelalter : visuelle und materielle Kulturen, Bamberg : University of Bamberg Press, S. 29-36. 2025. DOI: 10.20378/irb-107196

### **Beitrag im Sammelwerk - Verlagsversion**

DOI des Beitrags: 10.20378/irb-108871

Datum der Veröffentlichung: 07.07.2025

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## Cephalophoric female saints and the performativity of images

### Three case studies



Fig. 1: Lectionnaire de Saint-Arnoul de Crépy, 12th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. 162, fol. 220 (Saint Denis cephalophore)

Despite their limited presence in the medieval world, cephalophoric female saints are a recurring theme in the art of the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. To date, they have mainly been the subject of hagiographic studies. The following article, however, takes a different approach by focusing on the objects most closely associated with the cephalophoric saints: their reliquaries. I am working from the assumption that the reliquaries as material objects provide a unique frame for visual narratives about the cephalophoric act and that they are key objects for the perception of female gender in the Middle Ages.

First, I would like to underline the basic principles of the cephalophoric act: a decapitated saint carrying his or her own head in hands. Although the gesture may find its roots in antique legends, the cephalophoric act appears in Western Christianity around the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, first in the life of Saint Just of Beauvais, then in that of Saint Denis (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Even if seen as a real triumph of sanctity over martyrdom, this act is above all a gift by the saint of their own relic to the place of their choice.

Among female saints, this hagiographic feature only appears between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, or four

centuries after Just and Denis. As already mentioned, only a few hagiographic studies had been carried out on them – Philippe Gablet's text from the early 1980s remains the fundamental hagiographic study to this day – but their iconography had never been the subject of any particular, dedicated study.<sup>2</sup>

Of particular interest from an art-historical perspective are the depictions of cephalophoric saints in medieval gold and silversmith works. Their representations raise questions of an iconographic and artistic nature, as well as religious, liturgical, historical and anthropological ones. Many of these questions can only be briefly touched upon here. But we can already say with confidence that answering them will require a methodological approach that combines classical art historical analysis with the research perspectives of Gender Studies and Material and Visual Culture Studies.

The present essay analyses what it is that makes the representation of cephalophores so unique, specifically in the material context of a reliquary which had a specific function at the time it was created. The offering of the saint's head will be discussed as a performative act which had an effect on the faithful and may have legitimised the saint's worship at a specific place – a question closely related to the spatial and ritual staging of the reliquaries.

I will be drawing upon three case studies on the reliquaries of female cephalophoric saints to illustrate this topic: Libaire of Grand (East of France), a little-known saint whose cult has remained confined to eastern France; Valerie of Limoges (South of France), whose representations are often associated with those of the famous Saint Martial, raising the question of the gendered relationship between the two figures; and Saint Bone of Auchy-lez-la-Bassée (North of France), who is not a proper cephalophoric saint in her legend but is nevertheless represented as such on a reliquary with an original shape.



Fig. 2: Reliquary shrine of Saint Libaire, Sainte-Libaire de Grand (Vosges), cephalophoric act. Bourbonnais © Ministère de la Culture (France), Médiathèque du patrimoine et de la photographie, diffusion GrandPalaisRmn Photo

**Sainte Libaire (Grand): a shrine in the image of a religious building dedicated to the saint?**

The saint's casket, made in Grand in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, on one of its two long sides offers a representation of the cephalophoric act (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> As previously mentioned, the decapitated saint often gives their head to a certain place for it to rest, and this is the case on Libaire's shrine. This object, in the form of a micro-architecture, is similar to a church. In the shrine's

narrative, we assist to the martyrdom of the saint. First, the executioner is pulling her by the hair, then the saint is represented holding her head against her chest: she has been decapitated. Even if this is a typical scene of cephalophory, what is patent in this iconography is the presence of imposing buttresses at the four corners of the object and of a double lancet bay represented as part of the narrative scenes, right next to Saint Libaire. This correlation between the motif and the object needs to be reconsidered, as well as the object and its destination.



Fig. 3: Aisles of the church of Sainte-Libaire de Rambervillers (Vosges), consecrated in 1516

The end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries matched with the construction of several buildings linked to the flourishing cult of Libaire. A chapel was built on the presumed site of her martyrdom in Grand, at the same time as the village church that was erected under her patronage.<sup>4</sup> The church of Saint-Libaire of Rambervillers (located in the south of Toul and in the east of Grand, consecrated in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, fig. 3) would seem to be a building whose style could be one of the keys to understand the form and destination of our reliquary. This late Gothic building is interesting for its exterior elevation. The building has large buttresses on the side aisles, extended by stone abutments with pointed arches. According to Marie-Claire Burnand, who extensively researched medieval churches in this region, the presence of these powerful buttresses is unknown in other churches in the south of the Lorraine region at this time, but they can be found on our reliquary shrine in a reduced form.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, it would seem that in the medieval period the choir of the church was lit by large windows with two broken lancets topped by a flamboyant grid, which is partly represented on the gables of our shrine.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, rather than just following a common church-like design, this object could correspond to the micro-architecture of a church in Saint Libaire's region,

even if it is not necessarily the Rambervillers one. The fact that this church was dedicated to the saint at the same time as the reliquary was created, could eventually explain why the powerful buttresses are highlighted on the shrine. Whether it can be linked to the church of Rambervillers, because of the powerful buttresses, or to another building in Lorraine – the iconography of the cephalophoric miracle can be used to demonstrate a fact: through her sacrifice, Saint Libaire in person offers the relic of her head to a specific place, represented by an architecturally striking and recognizable building – with not only the four buttresses but also the double lancet bay beside her, as architectural 'reminders' of a religious setting. Only through Libaire's gesture can the relics be found within the object, itself perhaps referring to the building that features the precious reliquary in its choir, or in one of its chapels. These time and space correlations across bodily, spatial and temporal borders, form a crucial aspect of the cephalophoric performativity.

### **The ambivalence of the cephalophoric iconography of Saint Valerie (Limoges): the valorization of Saint Martial**

Valerie is one of France's most famous cephalophoric saints, whose iconography has been truly multiplied. Her life and passion stories, and mostly her cephalophoric act, were immensely represented in precious objects of the Limousin. The large number of objects produced in a region renowned for its production led to it being studied extensively from the 1950s onwards.<sup>7</sup> However, its iconography hasn't been studied yet from any other angle than that of Limousin goldsmiths works. The goal here is to not to retrace the entire history of the saint's legend, or even all the particularities of her iconography, but just one aspect of her cephalophoric performativity that is worthy of mention: the association of Valerie with Martial.

As Martial was the one who baptized Valerie, it seems reasonably logical that the saint once decapitated should offer her head to him as a gift. We can indeed observe that from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards a certain dynamic began to emerge in the cult of Saint Martial. It would appear that his position as a confessor or a bishop was no longer sufficient, as Richard Landes and Catherine Paupter have pointed out: "The case – because there was a case, bolstered by Limousin patriotism, by the zeal of the monks for the glory of their monastery, by the hope of a people to see the warlike ardor of the feudal lords softened by evangelical virtues – soon found



Fig. 4: Reliquary shrine of Saint Valérie, circa 1170 (?), champlévé enamel on copper, gilded and engraved, 29.2 x 16.8 x 12.3 cm, London, The British Museum, Inv. WB.19

its champion in the person of a talented young monk, Adhémar de Chabannes: Saint Martial could no longer remain content with being the apostle of Aquitaine, the ‘confessor’ who had until then been celebrated in the liturgy; he was the equal of the Twelve, the Apostles.”<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, from this date onwards, there was a real struggle to make Martial’s apostolicity credible, as particularly emphasized in Adhémar de Chabannes’s sermons.<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the accounts of the life of Saint Valerie can be dated from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, but that the introduction of the peculiarity of the ambulatory cephalophoric motif appears in the text of Adhémar de Chabannes between 1030 and 1034. Therefore, is this enhancement also to be seen in the context of the iconographic development of Valerie, who is systematically associated with him?

By analysing the geometric composition of some objects, we can see that in most of the reliquary shrines, Valerie is at the centre of a chiasmic (“x”-shaped) composition, whether on the roof or on the body of the object, leading from the decapitation to the cephalophoric miracle, just like in a comic strip (fig. 4). As Cynthia Hahn indicates, this type of composition enabled the faithful to grasp at a glance, sometimes from a distance, the unfolding of the narrative from the roof to the box, emphasizing the central place of the saint and the cephalophoric miracle.<sup>10</sup>

However, this chiasmic composition is not found on several shrines from the mid 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In fact, these shrines highlight rather the miracles performed by Saint Martial himself both on the obverse and the reverse (such as the resurrection of Hildebert,



Fig. 5: Reliquary-monstrance, said phylactery of Saint Valérie, Saint Martial, Saint Claire of Assisi and Saint Francis, circa 1270, engraved copper, chiseled, gilded, 16.7 x 10.7 cm, Brive-la-Gaillarde (Corrèze, France), Trésor de la collégiale Saint-Martin-de-Brive

the deliverance of the possessed, the conversion of Duke Stephen). We can therefore observe that the shrines are no longer entirely dedicated to Valerie.<sup>11</sup>

In other object contexts, the pairing of Valerie and Martial already seems to have become a matter of course. One example is the so called “burette”-reliquary, the foot of which is dated between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries and depicts, in several medallions, a Virgin with the Child, a Crucifixion, the offering of the head of Valerie to Martial, and finally Saint Étienne de Muret, founder of the order of Grandmont and very famous in the Limousin region.<sup>12</sup> On a reliquary-monstrance in the treasure of the Collégiale Saint-Martin-de-Brive (last third of the 12<sup>th</sup> century), the gesture of Valerie offering her head to Saint Martial is staged as a counterpart to the representation of Saint Claire and Saint Francis of Assisi. Valerie and Martial are depicted in the upper register, Claire raising her arms to Saint Francis receiving the stigmata in the lower and a little bit smaller register. Francis appears to Claire’s right in a frontal position, while Martial is shown to the left of Valerie and in a side view (fig. 5).<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, objects dated from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards placed Martial on the same level as the saint herself. On the Bruges crosier, it is the head and hands of the two figures that are the focal point of the composition. If it was held by a bishop, then Valerie was flanked by

Martial and the officiating bishop. If it was held by an abbot, then the latter was following Martial's footsteps and also was symbolically receiving the saint's head.<sup>14</sup>

This 14<sup>th</sup>-century clevis bit is even more revealing of this emphasis on Saint Martial.<sup>15</sup> This time, he is depicted directly at the centre of the composition, and his figure is much more imposing than that of Valerie, who is kneeling facing him. In fact, in addition to its central place in the composition, the "X" shape formed by the fabric of the cope, held on the front of the bishop's chest by the bit, further reinforces this focus on the saint. This arrangement of the figures could symbolise two things: worn on the chest of an ecclesiastic, it could serve as a reminder of the way in which the saint was holding her head against her chest, or alternatively, the focus on Martial could genuinely associate the officiant with the saintly figure. In addition, the angel rising from the clouds seems to be moving towards Martial rather than helping Valerie. The small deacon in profile, on the right of the composition, is adopting a position similar to that of the bishop blessing the saint; in particular, he reproduces the gesture that the bishop makes with his right arm as he holds up his book. His position is not unimportant. According to François Garnier, the imitation of the behaviour of an 'inferior' figure to a 'superior' figure is ambivalent. It signifies both understanding and acceptance of his teaching, but also and above all obedience and submission.<sup>16</sup> In this way, the faithful, faced with the bit of the cope, reproduce the same behaviour as the deacon accompanying Martial.

Thus, among all these objects dating from 1170 to the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the story of Valerie's life is gradually reduced to reach only one image: that of the offering of her head to Saint Martial, to whom she is now inseparable.

Ultimately, the cephalophoric act in this case has a very different value to that of the saint studied above. It is not a question of legitimizing her cult and her relics in a specific place (especially as her relics were spread over many places), but rather it would seem that this motif is more of an attribute to the saint, becoming almost anecdotal, part of the list of Saint Martial's many miracles. The performativity of the female saint's acts seems to be highlighting a key figure in the sacred and political history of Limoges.

### **Saint Bone. Reconsideration of the cephalophoric attribute of one of Saint Ursula's presumed companions**

Finally, studies on iconography have left out an essential point for the understanding of cephalophoric images: even some holy figures whose passions do not state that they carried their heads after their beheading are represented this way. That is the case of Saint Bone, depicted holding her head against her chest on a 14<sup>th</sup>-century skull-reliquary (fig. 6). The inscriptions on the reliquary identify her as one of the eleven thousand companions of Saint Ursula, whose passion and iconography specify that they were all beheaded, but not performing the cephalophoric act afterwards.<sup>17</sup> However, Saint Bone does not own an official legend and it is thus impossible to know whether she held her head after the beheading, as the image engraved on the reliquary depicts.

The reliquary comes from the small town of Auchy-lez-La-Bassée (now Auchy-les-Mines, Pas-de-Calais). The town, which belonged to the former diocese of Arras, is located thirteen kilometres north of Lens, thirty kilometres west of Lille, Arras and Marchiennes to the south, where we know that lots of cranial relics were preserved.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, there are no surviving records from the medieval period on the circumstances surrounding the commissioning of the Saint Bone reliquary. The inscription engraved on the reliquary reveals the name of "Bona", designated as one of the eleven thousand virgins. Through the hagiographic databases consulted, the archives of the Bollandists, and the visions of Elisabeth of Schönau, revealed only one name close to that of the saint, mentioned in two forms: "Bonina" and "Boninam", in an Ursuline calendar, in the midst of very long lists of female first names, and without any particular details about her life. The fact that there is no specific story dedicated to our saint poses a problem for understanding the image that is represented on the reliquary.

There might be one aspect that could help explain why the cephalophoric iconography was adopted. The relationship between the image and the object and the object and its function must be reconsidered. In the case of cephalophoric saints, this relationship between the reliquary form and iconography, and the cult scenography is crucial. The fact that the saints hold their heads means that the shape of the reliquaries can change. On shrines, the cephalophoric narrative is often represented in various stages and is not just composed of the ambulatory cephalophoria, which is



Fig. 6: Skull-reliquary of Saint Bone, second half of the 14th century, engraved copper, chiseled, gilt and rock crystals, H. 17.3 cm, Diam. 19.5 cm, Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille (North France), Inv. A 81

then included in a given space/time. Since these saints themselves institute their cults by depositing their heads in a specific place, some reliquaries take the form of the saint literally depositing their head, as in the aforementioned busts of Saint Just and Saint Denis. Because of their three-dimensional nature, their preciousness and the close relationship they create with the faithful, reliquary busts are much more striking devotional objects than the painted images or sculpted reliefs. Indeed, as Jean-Claude Schmitt points out, the social and institutional recognition due to saints' relics "requires a

material, pictorial and ritual setting": this is precisely the role of these reliquary busts.<sup>19</sup>

The missing reliquary bust of Saint Denis,<sup>20</sup> made around 1281 under the abbatiage of Matthieu de Vendôme (1258–1287), depicted a golden mitred head carried by two angels, preceded by another one. Here, the saint does not put his head forward himself, but the angels offer it to the gaze of the faithful. In a way, this bust is more sacred and solemn than the reliquary bust of Saint Just, made between 1450 and 1500 and kept in the Landesmuseum in Zurich (Inv. 33904).<sup>21</sup> Dressed



Fig. 7: Skull-reliquary of Saint Bone, Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille (North France), detail

in a golden robe, the bust rests on an octagonal base that is supported by four seated lions. The reliquary bust of Saint Just is an almost theatrical embodiment of the story of his ambulatory cephalophoria; he holds his head with half-closed eyes in front of his bust. Although in a less spectacular way, the skull reliquary of Saint Bone seems to reflect the same relationship between image/object and object/function (fig. 7). Its primitive function is to contain the skull, and it visually determines its shape. By depicting it from the front, holding her head, the function of the relic is similar to that of a cephalophoric saint: the saint offers their head both to the church that possesses the relic and to the faithful who come to pray.

The marks of wear and tear, caused by the touch of the faithful, clearly shows that it was embraced and venerated. By holding her decapitated head on the image (with the head contained within the reliquary), the saint herself invites the faithful to venerate and embrace her. We know that the practice of elevating the head was common in the Middle Ages. For instance, we know that saint Bertha's head, brought back from Erstein in Alsace to the abbey of Blangy-sur-Ternoise (near Lille) in 1032, was carried out by a crowd of monks, men and

women, to a hill top so that it could be seen by all after the relic restored the light to the eyes of a blind girl. More than that, we know that the bishop of Cambrai held the saint's head aloft while all bowed in wonder.<sup>22</sup>

Therefore, in the case of Bone, the faithful could bend down to kiss the relic, they prostrate themselves in front of the saint, with a tiny part of her skull showing the image of her head being worn. This clearly is a *mise-en-abîme* of the sacred object. The engraved figure is part of the devotional phenomenon, as it is set against a guilloché background, under a pointed arch that forms a niche, just like the figures painted or sculpted on church walls. Moreover, the goldsmith placed it above a small glazed window through which the relic can be seen, reminiscent of a Carolingian *fenestella*. Rather than a reliquary box, we could be dealing here with a kind of micro-architecture, the box symbolizing the apse around which we turn to see the relics, and the image of the saint as one of her sacred representations within which she hands us her relic. It is also a question of the phenomenon of the presentification of the saint, made by herself directly.

Ultimately, the adoption of the cephalophoric motif and its performativity could convey a more understandable iconographic message to the faithful, and, by the same token, legitimized the place of the relics in a given location. These three forms of reliquary underline the narrative of the cephalophoric act, but above all the power of the reliquary presence in the place where it is displayed, and its direct interaction with the faithful through the images of the saint addressing their heads to them.

These three examples reveal that medieval iconography can be manipulated in many aspects in order to develop the idea of performance in female sanctity. As the act seems to be originating from a male legend, the female cephalophoric saint tends to be used as a political tool attributing dominance to them, and dominance over women in general. This phenomenon of performance could be further examined in the case of these specific saints, as the bearing of their heads remains a feature of considerable symbolic significance throughout this period.

- We would like to thank Robert Craig (Bamberg) for his attentive linguistic editing of this text.
- 1 Martin Heinzlmann, *La passion ‚Gloriosae’ de saint Denis* (BHL 2171), in: *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 172.1/2 (2014), pp. 13–28; BHL 49990.
  - 2 Philippe Gabet, *Recherches sur les Saintes Céphalophores. Filiations et familles de textes*, in: *Société de Mythologie Française* 119 (1980), pp. 131–147.
  - 3 Shrine-reliquary of Saint Libaire, between late 15<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (?), silver engraved, gilded, rock crystal, 25 x 15 x 10 cm, church of Sainte-Libaire de Grand (Vosges, France). On the reliquary see Catherine Guyon/Frédéric Tixier/Anne Adrian (ed.), *Splendeurs du christianisme. Art et dévotions, de Liège à Turin, Xe–XVIIIe siècles*, exhibition catalogue Metz, Musée de la Cour d’Or 2018/2019, Paris 2018, p. 62; Ludovic Nys, *Libaire de Grand, de l’Antiquité Tardive à l’époque moderne. Survivance d’un culte, discontinuité d’une tradition hagiographique*, in: François De Vriendt (ed.), *Les saints anciens au temps de la Réforme catholique (Europe occidentale, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles). Déclin ou renouveau?* Brussels 2020, pp. 96–116; *Reliquaire de sainte Libaire, Plateforme ouverte du Patrimoine*, REF. PM88000416 (URL: <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/palissy/PM88000416>; 13 March 2024).
  - 4 Nys 2020 (as in n. 3), p. 118.
  - 5 Marie-Claire Burnand, *La Lorraine gothique*, Paris 1989, p. 345.
  - 6 Burnand 1989 (as in n. 5), p. 344.
  - 7 Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *La légende de sainte Valérie et les émaux champlevés de Limoges*, in: *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin* 86 (1955), pp. 35–80; Véronique Notin (ed.), *Valérie et Thomas Becket. De l’influence des princes Plantagenêt dans l’Oeuvre de Limoges*, exhibition catalogue Limoges, Musée municipal de l’Évêché 1999, Limoges 1999.
  - 8 Richard Landes/Catherine Paupert, *Naissance d’Apôtre. La vie de saint Martial de Limoges; un apocryphe de l’an Mil*, Paris 1991, p. 42.
  - 9 Edina Bozóky, *Le culte des saints et des reliques dans la politique des premiers rois Plantagenêt*, in: Martin Aurell (ed.), *La cour des Plantagenêt (1154–1204), Actes de Colloque (Thouars, 30 avril au 2 mai 1999)*, Poitiers 2000 (*Civilisation médiévale* 8), pp. 277–291.
  - 10 “The overall oppositional composition, the depiction of movement, and the chiasmic structure of the narrative. That is, themes of conversion, action, sacrifice, and gift-giving function as comprehensive organizing principles.” Cynthia Hahn, *Valerie’s Gift. A Narrative Enamel Chasse from Limoges*, in: Elizabeth Sears/Thelma K. Thomas (ed.), *Reading Medieval Images. The Art Historian and the Object*, Ann Arbor, MI, 2002, p. 194.
  - 11 See shrine-reliquary of Saint Valerie and Saint Martial, around the third quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, champlevé and enamelled copper, 17 x 1 x 5.9 cm, Limoges, Fine Arts Museum, and shrine-reliquary of Saint Valerie and Saint Martial, 13<sup>th</sup> century, champlevé and enamelled copper, 15.24 x 17.7 cm, Toledo (Ohio, USA), Toledo Museum of Art, Inv. 1950.249. See Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *La légende de sainte Valérie et les émaux champlevés de Limoges*, in: *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin* 86 (1955), pp. 35–80; Notin 1999 (as in n. 7).
  - 12 Burette-reliquary (detail of the foot), circa 1250, rock crystal, cut, engraved, gilded copper, niellated silver, 28.5 cm (total height); 18 cm (single burette, crystal and silver frame), depth 11 cm (foot), Marval (Haute-Vienne, France), parish church of the Assumption of the Most Blessed Virgin of Milhaguet, stolen in 1980. See Notin 1999 (as in n. 7), pp. 96–97.
  - 13 See the POP (Plateforme Ouverte du Patrimoine ; <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/palissy/PM19000491>).
  - 14 See Saint Valerie crosier, circa 1230, copper engraved, chased, stamped, champlevé, enamelled, gilded, 30.5 x 15.5 x 7 cm, Treasure of Saint-Sauveur Cathedral (Bruges, Belgium). According to Charles Cahier, the scroll of the stick was usually turned outward for a bishop, and inward (towards himself) for an abbot. Charles Cahier, *Caractéristiques des saints dans l’art populaire*, Paris 1867, p. 294.
  - 15 Reliquary-monstrance (walrus ivory) of Saint Valerie, circa 1350, copper engraved, chased, stamped, champlevé, enameled, gilded, 33 x 14 x 14 cm, parish church Saint-Antoine-Ermitte Notre-Dame d’Égletons (Corrèze, France).
  - 16 François Garnier, *Le langage de l’image au Moyen Âge*, vol. 2, *Grammaire des gestes*, Paris 1995, p. 94.
  - 17 CAPUT SANCTE : BONE : VIRGINIS : ET : / MARTIRIS : DE COLLEGIO / S(an)C(t)E : URSULE : ET : UNDECI(m) : MILIUM : VIRGINU(m).
  - 18 See Henri Pirenne, *Le livre de l’abbé Guillaume de Ryckel (1249–1272). Polyptyque et comptes de l’abbaye de Saint-Trond au milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Geneva 1896, p. 16; Ursmer Berlière, *Guillaume de Ryckel abbé de Saint-Trond et les reliques des Saints de Cologne*, in: *Revue bénédictine* 16 (1899), pp. 270–277; Philippe George, *A Saint-Trond, un import-export de reliques des Onze Mille Vierges dans la seconde moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: *Bulletin de la Société Royale Le Vieux-Liège* 12 (1990/93), pp. 209–228.
  - 19 Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Le corps des images. Essais sur la culture visuelle au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2002 (*Le temps des images*), p. 284.
  - 20 Bust-reliquary of Saint Denis, circa 1281. Source: History of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis by Dom Michel Félibien (1665–1719), plate III, Paris, Frédéric Leonard, 1706, king’s printer, rue Saint-Jacques.
  - 21 Bust-reliquary of Saint Just, circa 1450–1500, engraved and gilded copper, h 35 cm, Zurich, Swiss National Museum, inv. 33904. See Scott B. Montgomery, *Mittite capud meum... ad matrem meam ut osculetur eum. The Form and Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Just*, in: *Gesta* 36 (1997), p. 48–64.
  - 22 Godefridus J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist. A Process of Mutual Interaction*, Leiden 1995 (*Studies in the History of Christian Thought* 63), p. 279.