



A. GLASS FROM COLOGNE : UPLANDS, FAREHAM



B. SHRINE OF ST. ALBINUS : COLOGNE, ST. PANTALEON

THE CULT OF ST. ALBAN AT COLOGNE

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On the outskirts of Fareham, Hampshire, there is a small country house known as 'Uplands,' which was erected about 1780 by an ancestor of Lord Jellicoe. Just a century ago it was acquired by John Beardmore (1816-1867), a gentleman of independent means, who proceeded three years later to make additions to the structure in order to accommodate some miscellaneous antiquities, which he had begun to assemble within its walls. The house remained as he had left it until recent years when his collection of pictures and armour was dispersed,¹ and the only evidence that remains to-day of his antiquarian zeal is a quantity of ancient stained glass, which fills the windows of the ball-room. It comprises numerous fragments of heraldic glass, mainly foreign and domestic, typical of collections formed at this period, when the destructive influence of the wars of the Revolution had flung into the market much of the precious contents of ancient buildings on the Continent. It would be a task of extreme difficulty to elucidate the history of many of these fragments, but among them there is one panel which immediately strikes the eye of the antiquary as disclosing a clue to its identity (Pl. IA).

This panel (28 × 23 cms.) displays a red shield, bearing a device in black and supported by figures of three saints, whose names most conveniently for us are inscribed upon the base. It is the collocation of these three names that enables us to identify the provenance of the glass, for, as we shall see, it must have had a close connection with the church of St. Pantaleon at Cologne. Let us now examine in turn the three saintly figures.²

¹ *Christie's Catalogue*, July 5, 1921.

² I am indebted to the present owner of Uplands, Captain G. A. Miller, R.N., for kind permission to

reproduce the glass, and for the photograph my grateful acknowledgements are due to the vicar of Fareham, the Rev. A. Cory.

Behind the shield, in cope and mitre with his pastoral staff in his left hand and the model of a church in his right, stands Archbishop Bruno (925-965), a prominent figure in German history.¹ The fourth son of Henry the Fowler and brother of Otto the Great, he was trained for the Church, showing evidence at an early age of piety and learning. He had also an innate capacity for affairs, so that at a time when a bishopric carried with it secular responsibilities as exacting as were its spiritual obligations, he won high distinction for himself both as a statesman and as a churchman. At the age of fourteen his brother appointed him Chancellor and in 953 he was raised to the archbishopric of Cologne and created Duke of Lorraine. His career exemplifies Otto's policy of endeavouring to bring order into his unwieldy dominions by entrusting great offices of state to ecclesiastics, who with no family interests of their own to serve were more likely to prove loyal to their master than the hereditary magnates of the realm. Bruno rendered priceless service to his brother in the long task of subduing the revolts which troubled his reign, but it is not as a statesman that we are concerned with him here. His devotion to the Church was as profound as his loyalty to the State. He was continuously active in reforming monasteries and in building churches, which he endowed profusely with precious vessels and those other sacred treasures, which stood so high in the estimation of his contemporaries, the relics of the holy saints. These spiritual enterprises are symbolised by the model in Bruno's hand, representing the church of St. Pantaleon at Cologne.²

There is evidence that a church dedicated to this saint was existing in the ninth century upon the hill outside the walls of the city, but it was not until the

¹ There is an admirable contemporary biography by Ruotger, a monk of St. Pantaleon, *Migne P.L.* cxxxiv, cols. 937 ff. A brief but convenient account of his life is given in J. Weyer, *Der heilige Bruno, Erzbischof von Köln* (Cologne, 1935). For an estimate of his character and career see A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte*

Deutschlands iii (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 41 ff.

² *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Köln* ii, Part ii (Düsseldorf, 1926), pp. 52 ff. Frequent reference will be made to this publication, which will henceforth be abbreviated to *K.S.K.*

time of Bruno that it emerged into the light of history, when Abbot Hadamar of Fulda arrived from Rome in 955 with the archiepiscopal pallium, together with some relics of St. Pantaleon, the physician of Nicomedia. It may have been this gift which drew the attention of Bruno to the convenient position of the church in the fields without the walls, for, after bestowing upon it the relics of its patron saint, he proceeded to endow it as the church of a new foundation of Benedictine monks. It was in this church that Bruno was buried after his death at Rheims in 965, and in his will he made liberal provision for the benefit of his favourite monastery.

Flanking the shield in our panel of glass are two saints, Albinus and Quirinus, habited as Roman soldiers. Both these saints were connected with the monastery of St. Pantaleon, and we shall meet other examples of their appearance as companions in the art of Cologne, for the acquisition by Bruno of a relic of St. Quirinus had added his name to the patrons of the church. According to the legend he was a Roman official in charge of the prison where Pope Alexander was confined in the reign of Hadrian.¹ Converted by the Pope, he was subsequently tortured and beheaded, and his body was conveyed in the eleventh century from Rome to Neuss, where an important church is dedicated in his honour. He is frequently represented in the art of the Rhineland, bearing as his attribute a shield of nine roundels. It is curious that in the glass he wears upon his breast a crutched cross, of which we shall see further examples, and though the enamel has largely worn away it would seem that his banner was emblazoned with the same device (red on blue field). This cross is a common attribute of the military saints venerated at Cologne (e.g. St. Gereon),²

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, March iii, pp. 807 ff.; K. Kunstle, *Ikographie der Heiligen* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1926), p. 508.

² The late Professor Fritz Witte assured me that there was no special significance in this type of cross. Though frequently borne by saints of the Theban Legion its use is not

limited to them. It is occasionally found associated with St. George. Thus there is no cause for suspecting any connection between St. Albinus and the Theban Legion, though there was a prevalent tendency to enrol in it the names of obscure and little known saints. cf. H. Delehaye, *Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs* (Brussels, 1912), p. 404.

but I fail to surmise why the familiar roundels should have been omitted in this instance.

St. Albinus is resting his right hand upon a shield, of which only half is shown us, but sufficient to identify the device, which, as will be seen, is to play an important part in our thesis. It takes the form of a golden crutched cross with a letter 'A' in the four blue cantons of the shield.¹ In his left hand he supports a lance, but no banner is visible.

Since this saint is to be the subject of the paper it will be opportune to conclude immediately our investigation of the glass. It is clearly of Renaissance character, and the central shield displays upon a field of orange red two small blue lozenges and a bold merchant's mark. That is to say, the device is not an heraldic achievement, but the badge of a citizen who was not entitled to a coat of arms. The glass is not ecclesiastical but domestic. It must have hung in the window of some good burgher of Cologne, who had a veneration for the church of St. Pantaleon, whose three saints stand guardian round his shield. No doubt he lived in the vicinity and worshipped in the church, but his identity eludes detection. The device is composed of the familiar 4, which appeared sporadically in the early Middle Ages and was employed abundantly and universally in the later centuries, combined with the initials of the owner.² The two lozenges are decorative and have no heraldic significance. The 4 sign became prevalent in Cologne

¹ A similar use of a letter 'A' to identify a sacred personage can be seen in the fifteenth-century tapestry from Tournai, representing the Sacrament of Holy Communion, which belongs to Sir William Burrell, and is now on loan to Salisbury Cathedral. Here Abraham kneels to receive 'Communion' from Melchisedech. He is habited as a medieval knight and has letters 'A' embroidered upon his surcoat and emblazoned on the ailettes upon his shoulders. Burlington Fine Arts Club: *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Gothic Art in Europe* (1936), p. 15; *Archaeological Journal* xciii (1936), pp. 45 ff, Pl. i.

² The fullest treatment of the development and history of the merchant's mark is to be found in C. G. Homeyer, *Die Haus- und Hofmarken* (Berlin, 1890). The use of the mark was most widely spread at the end of the sixteenth century, but the tradition was considerably shaken by the Thirty Years' War, *op. cit.* p. 343. Homeyer offers no specific explanation of the 4 sign, and it seems reasonable to regard it as a convenient and symmetrical combination of elementary strokes. Some fanciful theories are recorded in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* lxii (1916), pp. 30 f.

towards the end of the fifteenth century, fading out of use again at the beginning of the eighteenth century. We should probably be not far wrong in assigning the glass to the middle or latter part of the seventeenth century.¹

We are now free to pursue the identity of St. Albinus. Like Quirinus he is delineated as a Roman soldier, and he was similarly venerated for his relics, which made their appearance in the monastery a few years after the death of Bruno. The Empress Theophano,² wife of Bruno's nephew, Otto II, was a Greek princess, who may have owed her attachment to St. Pantaleon's to the fact that the patron saint was an oriental, a physician who was reputed to have been martyred at Nicomedia in the beginning of the fourth century. Returning from Rome, probably in 984, she brought with her the relics of St. Albinus as a gift to the monastery, and on her death in 991, she was buried in the church before the altar on which the relics were conserved.³

The earliest surviving account of the story of the saint and Theophano's gift is related by a writer with a fine minuscule hand in a twelfth-century manuscript now belonging to the Library at Wolfenbüttel.⁴ It may be convenient to attempt here in full a translation of the original document.

'As a result of the Pelagian heresy and continued infidelity to the Catholic faith the people of Britain were punished by God in the attacks of their neighbours, at whose hands they suffered for a long period a series of manifold disasters. So a letter was dis-

¹ I have benefited by a consultation with Dr. Wilhelm Baumeister, the specialist on this subject in Cologne. In his collection of drawings there is a mark very similar in character to the one we are considering, dated 1659.

² *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 37 (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 717 ff.

³ G. Waitz (ed.), *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* (Hanover, 1880), p. 31.

⁴ Aug. 76, 14. fol. 48¹. O. v.

Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Part ii, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften* iii (Wolfenbüttel, 1896), pp. 396 ff. (The MS. contains lives of several saints connected with St. Pantaleon's and must have emanated from that monastery.) The life of St. Albinus has been omitted from the catalogue. It has been printed in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum* xv (1888), pp. 686 ff.

patched expressing their dire distress to Aetius, who was then the commander of the Roman forces, but no help was vouchsafed to them. Eventually coming to their right mind, they recognised that it was for their infidelity that they were being visited by God, and in the reign of Marcian and Valentinian, when Simplicius was bishop of Rome, in answer to a request for defenders of the apostolic faith the bishops of Gaul sent them Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes. These priests preached the true gospel and confirmed the Catholic faith with signs and wonders. A joint invasion of Saxons, Scots and Picts was repulsed by supernatural means, for Germanus assumed the command and put the enemy to panic and rout not by the blast of trumpets but by alleluias ringing out from the throats of the whole army.

'When they had stablished the Britons in purity of faith, the blessed priests hastened to return, taking with them as a gift the relics of the holy martyr Albinus. Directing their way to Rome, they reached Ravenna, where they were honourably received by the Emperor Valentinian, but St. Germanus then departed to Christ. The relics of the aforesaid martyr were taken to Rome and preserved with great veneration, until Otto III ascended the throne, when still a boy, and shared the government of the Empire with his mother Theophano.

'This divine Empress held the monastery of St. Pantaleon in high esteem, and endowed it with relics of the saints, because she intended to have her own bodily remains buried there to await the day of the Lord. She therefore procured the relics of the aforesaid martyr from the bishop of Rome and crossed the borders of Italy. When, however, she was undertaking the passage of the Alps, the horse that was bearing the holy relics across the highest ranges suddenly fell and tumbled headlong to the foot of the mountain. But when the Empress and all her company had sought it in great anxiety, believing it to have been by now shattered into a thousand fragments, they discovered it in the valley beneath safe and sound, and even the shrine, which contained the relics, un-

damaged.¹ When, therefore, they had rendered an act of thanksgiving for the miracle they had witnessed, they hastened their steps and after a favourable journey arrived at Mainz.

'The bishop of the see received the Empress and the holy relics with veneration, yet he was apprehensive lest the reputation of the martyr might reflect upon the honour of his own martyr Alban, through the identity of the names—for each of them was called Albanus. He therefore made urgent entreaty that this martyr of ours might be called Albinus, and with the support of the magnates of the realm he procured his request.

'And so the pious Empress at last reached Cologne, as she had long desired, and deposited the sacred relics in the place where they are venerated to this day, placing upon them her own diadem and giving orders that after her death her tomb was to be constructed before this altar, where it can be seen to-day.

'Later on when litanies were solemnly chanted at Cologne before the relics of the saints in the presence of Pope Leo and the Emperor Henry and Herimann bishop of the see, we heard him of whom we are treating called by the Romans their own saint, and we ourselves heard these same things from the sacristan of the apostolic church at Rome.'

Before examining the credentials of this strange story it may be of benefit to recall what is known of our British protomartyr St. Alban.² That a Christian martyr Alban perished upon the hill outside the Roman city of Verulam is scarcely to be doubted. The legend as it has come down to us in the text of Bede relates of a citizen (his antecedents and calling are not given), converted by the precept and example of a Christian priest, who had taken refuge in his house. Alban showed his gratitude by assisting his friend to escape his persecutors and by offering himself in his stead, disguised in his cloak. Arraigned before the Roman governor, to whom he proclaimed in no

¹ This incident has been treated separately in Appendix i.

² *A.A. S.S.* June v, pp. 148 ff.; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book 1, ch. vii.

uncertain tone his Christian profession, he was scourged and condemned to execution. His death was attended by such miraculous events as usually embellished the stories of saints in the time of Bede.¹ The course of the river dried up to enable the crowds to follow him to his martyrdom and in answer to his prayer a stream of water gushed from the hillside to slake his thirst. Converted by these supernatural signs the executioner flung away his sword to become his companion in the faith, while the soldier who took his place was punished by the loss of his eyes.

A conjecture of Gildas assigned this event to the persecution of Diocletian,² a date adopted by Bede and subsequently accepted by the medieval writers, but the narrative as we have it is fictitious in character, bearing stylistic affinity with similar legends of the saints. The oldest account of the *Passio*, to which both Bede and Gildas had access,³ was composed in the first half of the sixth century in Central France, and this may be related in some way to an event of the previous century described in our German document, for it was a Frenchman, St. German, who crossed to Britain in 429 with the object of suppressing the Pelagian heresy.⁴ After his mission had issued in success, we are told by Bede that he visited the tomb of St. Alban at Verulam, deposited therein some relics of all the apostles and of several martyrs, and took away with him a parcel of dust ('massam pulveris') from the place where the martyr's blood had been shed.⁵ Indeed it is not unlikely that St. German may have

¹ These supernatural portents provoked the derision of post-Reformation writers. 'Monkish miracles and gross fables, wherewith these abbey-monks were wont in times past to deceive the church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their advantage,' *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe* i (ed. J. Pratt), p. 258. 'The story of Alban's martyrdom, soiled, and worse martyred with the fabling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of miracles than apprehensive of truth, deserves not longer digression.' J. Milton, *The History of Britain* v (ed. Bohn, 1853), p. 228.

² T. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* 3, Part i. Gildas, *De Excidia et Conquesta Britanniae*, ch. x, p. 31.

³ Bury in the *English Historical Review* xx (1905), p. 346, doubts whether Gildas had any written source before him.

⁴ W. Meyer, 'Die Legende des hl. Albanus des Protomartyr Angliae in Texten von Beda' in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, N.F.* viii (1904). The argument is summarised in *Analecta Bollandiana* xxiv (1905), p. 397.

⁵ Bede, *op. cit.* ch. xviii-xxi.

been rewarded with some memento of the saint, and may even have bestowed it upon the church which he built to the honour of St. Alban in his episcopal city of Auxerre.¹ As we have seen, the legend of St. Alban was current in France early in the sixth century, and to this day there are existing in France a number of villages and churches, which take their name from the English protomartyr,² exceeding in number the comparatively sparse dedications to be found in England itself.³ Several of these survive in remote villages in the mountains of Savoy, as if stranded high and dry by an ancient tide of traffic that flowed between France and Italy. Yet although we may reasonably connect the spread of a cult of St. Alban in France with the visit of St. German in 429, the suggestion that he actually conveyed bones of the martyr to Italy some twenty years later is beyond the bounds of possibility. The custom of translating bodies of saints from place to place was not practised in western Christendom before the seventh century and did not win general favour until the eighth.⁴ In the earlier centuries the devout had contented themselves with what are known as 'representative relics,' that is, objects that had been in close contact with the bones or tombs of the martyrs. It might be a scrap of oil from a lamp that had burned before the shrine, a piece of moss that had grown on the sarcophagus or a handful of dust from the tomb itself. It was a relic of this character which, as we learn from Bede, St. German carried off from the tomb of St. Alban, and no doubt similar relics comprised the meagre objects, including a reliquary round his neck, which Galla Placidia seized for herself on his death at Ravenna in 449.⁵ The event described by the German chronicler is an anachronism and we may conclude that the

¹ Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* x (Paris, 1760), p. 172. Reference to a document of 1025; Hericus, 'Vita S. Germani' in Migne, *P L.* cxxiv, col. 1173.

² W. R. L. Lowe in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* xxvii (1915), pp. 58 ff.

³ F. Arnold Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications* ii (1899), pp. 294 ff. Only nine pre-Reformation churches widely scattered over the country.

⁴ Article 'Reliques' in *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*.

⁵ L. Prunel, *Saint Germain d'Auxerre* (Paris, 1929), p. 162.

story is no more than an ingenious fabrication. How then are we to account for it?

The author refers to a personal recollection of the visit of Pope Leo IX and the Emperor Henry II to the Rhineland in 1049,¹ so that we may reasonably trace the story back to the third quarter of the eleventh century, that is, within a hundred years of the translation of the relics to Cologne. That the Empress Theophano brought the relics of a St. Albinus from Rome as a gift to the monks of St. Pantaleon may be accepted as historically certain.² We may conjecture that originally little or nothing was known of him beyond the bare fact that he was an early Christian martyr. At this period, when the cult of relics had assumed enormous proportions, the demand stimulated by the abbeys and churches of Germany was met by a continuous supply from Rome that poured northwards across the Alps. From the seventh century onwards, when the bodies of SS. Benedict and Scholastica were brought from Monte Cassino to Fleury, the traffic had increased by leaps and bounds.³ The catacombs and cemeteries of Rome yielded a rich harvest of human remains, which, on the evidence of misinterpreted inscriptions, were garnered and venerated as the relics of early Christian martyrs.⁴ It may be that originally Albinus was one of these phantom saints, whose arrival in Cologne with the attestation of Pope and Empress was welcomed with all due honour by the monks of St. Pantaleon. Yet relics failed to retain their

¹ They celebrated the festival of SS. Peter and Paul and spent the first few days of July in Cologne. C. Steindorff, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich iii*, ii (Leipzig, 1881), p. 83.

² W. v. Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* i (Brunswick, 1873), pp. 624 ff.

³ S. Beissel, *Die Verehrung der Heiligen und ihrer Reliquien in Deutschland bis zum Beginne des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1890), pp. 345 ff.; W. Hotzelt, 'Translationen von Märtyrerreliquien aus Rom nach Bayern im 8. Jahrhundert' in *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Bene-*

diktinen Ordens und seinen Zweige 53 (1935), pp. 286 ff.

⁴ F. Grosso Gondi, *Trattato di Epigrafia Cristiana Latina e Greca* (Rome, 1920), pp. 56 f. The misreading of Roman inscriptions in the Middle Ages led to many hagiographical errors. 'B.M.' [= B(onae) M(emoria)] was often interpreted as B(eato) M(artyri). The names Albanus and Albinus were easily interchangeable. In the Berne MS. of the Hieronymian Martyrology the British saint is given as 'Albinus.' H. Delehaye in *Proceedings of the British Academy* xvii (1931), p. 298; *A.A.S.S.* November 2, ii, pp. 330 f.

sanctity and to attract the devotions of the multitude when unfurnished with the appeal of a picturesque story, so what can be more likely than that at an early date the monks should set to work to provide a legend for the relics entrusted to their keeping. The English St. Alban was already well known through the writings of Bede, and it is not impossible that his cult had been widely diffused by the English missionaries in central and western Germany¹. His name differed by one letter only from that of the Roman martyr, so that it would not be difficult to identify the two by an ingenious manipulation of the story of St. German's visit to Britain. By a slight alteration of the text of Bede it was taught that he had carried to Italy the actual relics of the famous protomartyr of Britain, and these relics, long treasured in the Holy City, were now by the gracious gift of Pope and Empress, in the possession of the monks of St. Pantaleon. The discrepancy in the name could be easily explained. There was another sainted Alban, a sixth-century martyr of the city of Mainz,² whose festival was celebrated on June 21st, one day in advance of that of St. Alban of Verulam.³ His authenticity is doubtful, but, whatever his origin, it seems not unlikely that it was his influence which expelled the cult of the English martyr from Germany by assimilating it to his own. In order to prevent assimilation, it was alleged, the name of Albanus was changed to Albinus, at the request of

¹ The possibility of a cult of the English St. Alban in Germany is discussed in Appendix I (p. 253).

² *A.A.S.S.* June v, pp. 75 ff.

³ The first mention of the festival of St. Albinus occurs in an early twelfth-century missal, where it falls on June 22, the day of St. Alban of Verulam. From the thirteenth century the Translation of St. Albinus was observed on April 16. G. Zilliken, 'Der Kölner Festkalender' in *Bonner Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande* 119 (Bonn, 1910), pp. 62 and 76. St. Albinus may have occasionally found his way into calendars outside the diocese of Cologne. He appears to be mentioned in a thirteenth-century calendar from a Franconian

monastery. A. Lechner, *Mittelalterliche Kirchenfeste und Kalendaren in Bayern* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1891), p. 268. Two church dedications in the archdiocese of Cologne have been ascribed to our St. Albinus: Bellevaux and Hinderhausen, in territory transferred to Belgium in 1919. L. Korth, *Die Patrocimen der Kirchen und Kapellen im Erzbistum Köln* (Düsseldorf, 1904), p. 9. However, the connection seems doubtful since at Bellevaux there are figures of the patron saint habited as a bishop, who is presumably to be taken for St. Albinus of Angers. H. Reiners, *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Eupen-Malmedy* (Düsseldorf, 1936), pp. 202 ff., Figs. 142-3 and pp. 254 f.

the archbishop of Mainz. Thus it came about that the unknown Albinus was identified with the celebrated Alban of Verulam, so that henceforth for the purpose of the cult Albinus and Alban were one and the same individual. A rival set of relics to those possessed by the abbey church of St. Albans laid claim to represent the genuine remains of the English martyr, and we may venture to assume that the German relics were actually no more and no less genuine than those discovered by King Offa. At any rate, it is notable that in this ancient city abounding in historic and famous relics, the Three Kings, St. Gereon and the Theban Legion, St. Ursula with her eleven thousand maidens and a company innumerable of other holy persons, the English St. Alban took his place. It will be our task to trace the fortunes of the relics and to inquire into the history of the cult, observing what impression it may have left upon the artistic imagery of the city.¹

The relics remained by the tomb of the Empress in the chapel of St. Paul in the south choir aisle until the close of the twelfth century, when they were removed to the spacious narthex at the western entrance of the church to fill the reliquary in which they have made their home down to the present day.² 'We considered,' it was related, 'that the holy body of the martyr was kept in a place that ill accorded with his renown, so we took counsel together for its improvement and a new shrine such as could be devoutly venerated was prepared with the offerings of the faithful, silver and gold and precious stones.'³ Thus, in the year 1186, the relics were consigned to one of those costly shrines, of which that of the Three Kings in the Cathedral remains to us pre-eminently as the most gorgeous specimen of the goldsmith's art. Those few that survive to-day in museums and

¹ So far as I am aware this cult of the British protomartyr at Cologne has never been investigated by any German scholar. One English writer only, the Rev. Dr. Nicholson, who was rector of St. Albans nearly a century ago, has interested himself in the subject; cf. H. J. B. Nicholson, 'Some Account of the Relics preserved in a Church at Cologne,

considered to be part of the body of St. Alban, Protomartyr of Britain,' in *St. Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society* (1851), pp. 1 ff.

² *K.S.K.* p. 331. It has been suggested that the narthex was itself constructed as a kind of shrine as receptacle for the relics.

³ *K.S.K.*, p. 332.

cathedral treasures are but a sorry remnant of the matchless wealth of precious vessels that were poured out from the workshops of Cologne at this period. The twelfth century witnessed a notable enhancement of the wealth and culture of the city. The Crusades had generated a new religious fervour that quickened the spirit of the Western world. Fresh stores of relics filtered across Europe from the East, stimulating in churches and monasteries an insatiable appetite for these holy tokens. The supply was increased by new finds at home, such as the spectacular excavation in 1106 of an ancient cemetery, which yielded the bones of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand companions for the benefit of popular devotion. All these precious remains were deemed worthy of embellishment and a glance at any surviving sacred treasure will reveal the preponderating influence of relics in the fashioning of church utensils. Nearly every piece in the Guelph Treasure at Berlin, for instance, is in some form or kind a reliquary.

At the same time the growing prosperity of Cologne as a great metropolis of European trade enriched the citizens and their churches, so that there was wealth enough and to spare for lavishing upon the bodies of the saints and for indulging an innate love of colour and magnificence. At one time it was customary to identify the monasteries themselves with the workshops in which these treasures were fashioned, and a quite peculiar status has been accorded to the monastery of St. Pantaleon, but direct evidence for this is entirely lacking and names of lay craftsmen find frequent reference in the records. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the monks made their influence felt upon the splendid achievements of the twelfth century.¹

¹The classical treatise on this subject is O. v. Falke and H. Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt, 1904). This is a pioneer work covering the whole field, published with a wealth of learning and illustrative material after the exhibition at Düsseldorf in 1902. Some of the theories there enumerated have since been modified or abandoned in the light of subsequent research.

Cf. *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 59. Jahrg. (1925/6), pp. 246 ff. The most recent and authoritative survey of the subject is F. Witte, 'Die Blütezeit der Romanischen Schreinskunst in der Rheinlanden 1130-1264' in *Tausend Jahre Deutscher Kunst am Rhein* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 47 ff. Witte's views are expressed in English within very brief compass in his *Treasury of Cologne Cathedral* (Augsburg, 1927).

Characteristic of the work of this period is the lavish use of *champlevé* enamel on copper, which in the early years of the century largely displaced the process of *cloisonné* enamelling previously in fashion. Whether activity at Cologne was affected by work already proceeding in the valley of the Meuse it is not quite clear, and it has even been suggested that the northern schools of copper *champlevé* enamelling may have been brought into being through inspiration provided by enamels made in Spain.¹ But we are on firm ground with a craftsman of Cologne, who left his name Eilbertus inscribed upon a portable altar in the Guelph Treasure. From him the school of Cologne, so far as we are acquainted with it, took its rise, and a number of pieces, including the shrine of St. Victor at Xanten (about 1130) have been identified as his work. As the century progressed the goldsmith's craft at Cologne, which had formerly confined itself to colour and pictorial effect, became increasingly influenced by architecture. Technical processes were no longer used for their own sake, but were relegated to an auxiliary place for building up a clear architectural structure, a process which culminates both in scale and magnificence with the shrine of the Three Kings. An imposing series of architectural shrines was produced for the churches of Cologne and neighbouring monasteries, many of which have been associated with the work of a supposed craftsman known as Fridericus, and it is most likely to a master of this school that we should attribute the shrine of St. Albinus. A close analogy of style shows that the same master must have executed three years earlier in 1183 the very similar shrine of Archbishop Anno for the monks of the Michaelsberg at Siegburg near Bonn, which is now preserved within the altar of the parish church and is exposed to view once in every five years.²

¹ W. L. Hildburgh, *Medieval Spanish Enamels* (1936), pp. 70 ff.

² A good deal has been written about the activity of Nicholas of Verdun in Cologne at this time, but it should be remembered that the evidence is entirely indirect. All we

know of him is that he finished the retable at Klosterneuburg in 1181, and the shrine at Tournai in 1205. Stylistic analogy almost certainly proves that he had some share in the shrine of the Three Kings. Cf. J. Braun in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon* xxv (1931), pp. 452 f.

The shrine now rests upon a stand on the south side of the chancel of St. Pantaleon¹ (Pl. I B). About five feet in length it is constructed in the shape of an aisleless basilica with sloping roofs, which are supported on either side by six trefoiled arches raised upon coupled shafts, richly enamelled in a great variety of patterns. The spandrels between the arches contain allegorical figures of the Virtues and of doves as the Gifts of the Spirit. The spaces beneath the gables at either end are similarly filled with arches. Originally the whole shrine was surrounded with figures of repoussé silver, set within the arches, representing patron saints of Cologne, but the precious metal failed to survive the stormy days of the French occupation at the end of the eighteenth century, and at a later date the gaps were filled in with painted panels of the ejected saints. At one end of the shrine St. Albinus himself is depicted with the Empress Theophano and St. German on either side. To this figure of our saint we shall return at a later opportunity. Around the horseshoe arch above him a strip of metal bears the following inscription:—

Hunc cui se donat dilectu vera coronat.

Other strips beneath the gables and at the base record:—

Primi Martyris florentis in orbe Britanno
Nobilis Albani quem sanguis candidat Agni.²

Iste decens locus claudit venerabile corpus
Anglia quod Romae quod Roma remisit Agrippae.

This is no place for an exhaustive description of the shrine, so we shall content ourselves with enumerat-

¹ The shrine has been described a number of times as follows:—Nicholson *op. cit.*; F. Bock, *Das Heilige Köln* (Leipzig, 1858), pp. 3 ff.; v. Falke and Frauberger *op. cit.* pp. 51 f., Pl. 53-4 and xvii-xxii; K.S.K. ii, Part i (Düsseldorf, 1911), pp. 333 ff., Figs. 234-5, Pl. xxvi; J. Braun, *Meisterwerke der deutschen Goldschmiedekunst der Vorgotischen Zeit* i (Munich, 1922), p. 17, Figs. 83-4.

'albanus' may have been a stock-in-trade of medieval homiletics. The suggestion of his being 'made white in the blood of the Lamb' is found in a sermon attributed to William of Newbury, T. Hearne (ed.) *Gulielmi Neubrigensis Historia* iii (1719), p. 875, as well as in a fourteenth-century Cologne MS. *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicarum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis* i (Brussels, 1886), p. 201. It also occurs in a Béziers missal of 1534. W. H. J. Weale, *Analecta Liturgica* ii (Bruges, 1892), p. 346.

² This play upon the word

ing its main features. The frame is of wood upon which plaques of metal have been nailed so as to cover the whole surface and lend it the appearance of a precious casket richly adorned by the craftsman's skill. Colour is imparted by the use of champlevé enamels in floral and geometrical designs of great variety, and, in places, mythical beasts and human heads, derived from the antique. Most notable are the strips with a ground of blue enamel surrounding figures in gilded metal. On the gables and the eaves of the roof the enamel is applied in short plaques alternating with similar plaques of filigree work enclosing precious stones. Above all superb is the metal cresting which crowns the apex of the roof, interspersed with knobs of enamelled copper and rock crystal alternately. It is a tendril of lithe foliage in the loops of which a fantasy of beasts and birds disport themselves, a marvel of spirited and exquisite technique.¹ With all this richness of adornment is the scene laid for the copper plates, which portray in relief upon one side of the roof, the Nativity, Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension, and upon the other the story of St. Alban of Verulam, where lies for us the focus of interest. Each of these four scenes is annotated by a metrical inscription upon metal strips above and below the panel. We will examine them in turn.²

I. *The Conversion* (Pl. II A).

Hic informatur Cristi et fide solidatur
Et baptizatus fit agendo juxta beatus.³

¹ We are reminded of the cresting projected by Master Anketyl for the inner shrine at St. Albans in 1129. 'Proposuerat tamen illam cristam adeo nobilem et sumptuosam proculdubio facere, ut ex ea totius operis series venustatem sortiretur et plures foret quam totius feretri coopertura residua.' *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Rolls Series) i (1867), p. 83.

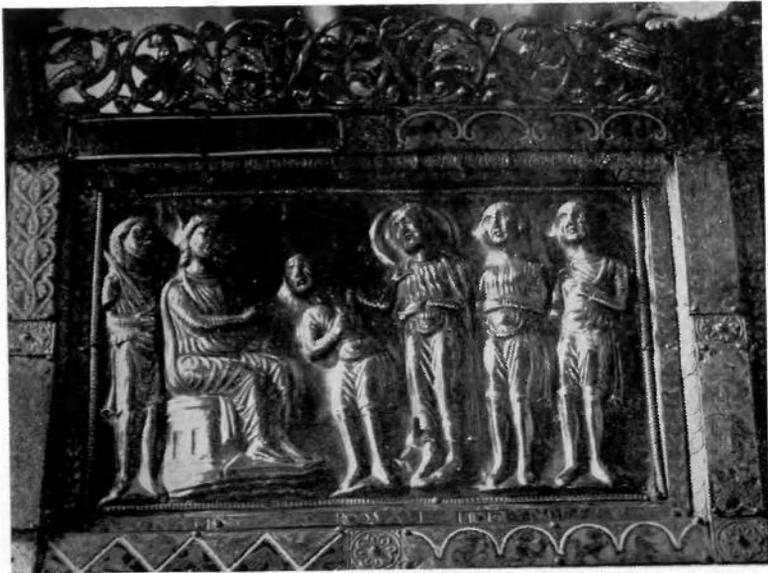
² Scenes from the life of the martyr were also embossed upon the sides of the outer shrine, begun by Master John in 1170. 'In circuitu autem

feretri, videlicet duobus lateribus, fecit victae Beati Martyris seriem, quae fecit arrha et preparatio passionis suae, eminentibus imaginibus de argento et auro, opere propulsato, quod vulgariter levatura dicitur, evidenter effigari.' *Gesta Abbatum*, *op. cit.* p. 189. Cf. C. C. Oman in *Burlington Magazine* lxii (1933), pp. 238 ff.

³ Nicholson exchanges the second line of the first inscription with the first of the second. They were evidently reversed in a restoration.



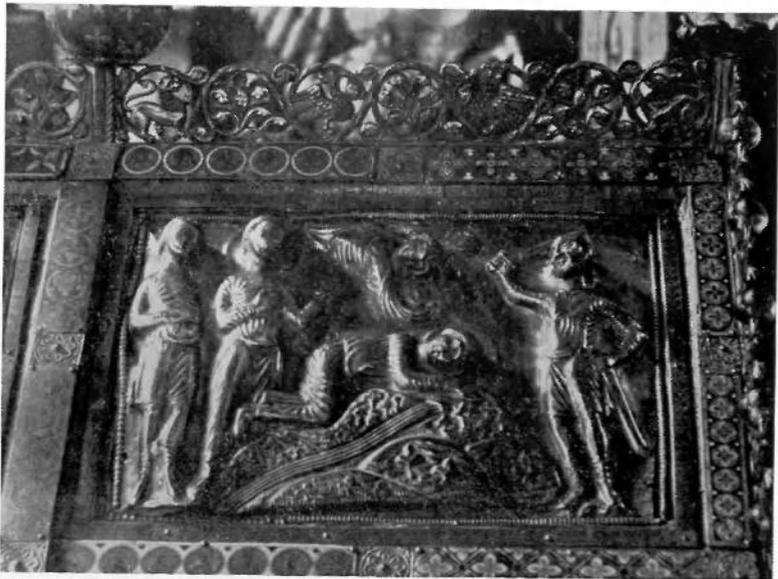
A. SHRINE OF ST. ALBINUS : CONVERSION AND BAPTISM



B. SHRINE OF ST. ALBINUS : TRIAL



A. SHRINE OF ST. ALBINUS : SCOURGING



B. SHRINE OF ST. ALBINUS : MARTYRDOM

The action is divided into two parts. In the first we see Alban seated on a stool, with his hand raised to express wonder and conviction as he listens to the priest, who is reciting from a book. The priest is wearing a rough cloak, possibly to indicate the disguise which led to Alban's arrest, but, if that is so, it is curious that he is not shown wearing it in the following scene of the trial.¹

The Conversion is completed by Baptism. Alban, almost totally immersed in a tub, is receiving baptism from the priest, while an attendant holds up a garment in readiness to enfold him when he emerges from the font.

2. *The Trial* (Pl. II B).

Martyr discussus et nomen dicere jussus
Quenam sectetur qualis sit et unde fatetur.

Alban, now distinguished with a halo, is accused before the governor by an informer.² The latter is seated and behind him stands a guard resting a sword upon his shoulder. Two other men are drawn up behind the saint.

3. *The Scourging* (Pl. III A).

Letetur cesus fit et protectio Ihesus
Fert plagus mitis illatas a parasitis.

Seated as before the governor now gives directions for the scourging, which takes place in his presence. Alban stands with bare back and hands tied to a pillar, while a soldier on either side raises his hand to lay about him with a thong. The disposition is obviously based upon the familiar scene of the flagellation of our Lord.³

4. *The Martyrdom* (Pl. III B).

Impius insontem precepit scandere montem
Ense cruentatur et in aetheris arca locatur.

¹ In the great picture book of the life of St. Alban (probably by Matthew Paris), at Trinity College, Dublin, the priest is clothed in a hairy mantle, which is subsequently worn by St. Alban. M. R. James, *Illustrations to the Life of St. Alban* (1924).

² The informer is figured in the Dublin MS.

³ K. Kunstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1928), pp. 434 f.

Alban kneels prostrate upon a conventional hillock about half the height of the human figures. The man immediately behind him is given a halo to indicate, no doubt, the first executioner, who was converted and refused to inflict the sentence.¹ On the right is the second executioner in the act of striking with his sword, while an angel hovers above to gather up the martyr's soul into heaven. Streaming from the hillside we see the miraculous spring of water, which gushed out in answer to Alban's prayer.²

These four scenes are freely and vigorously expressed. There is an ease and naturalness in the disposition of the drapery, and the characters of the protagonists are vividly conveyed by their gestures, so that these brief transcripts of the story are infused with an emotional and dramatic content. They are based, of course, upon the legend as it is related by Bede, and they offer tangible evidence of the cult of our English martyr at Cologne in the twelfth century.

The next mention of the relics occurs in the fourteenth century, when it appears that the claim of the abbey of St. Albans to possess the authentic remains of the saint came to the ears of the monks of Cologne. Disturbed by rumours brought by travellers from across the sea, they entreated the abbot to open the shrine, not for the mere satisfaction of curiosity, but to vindicate their relics by an ocular demonstration of its contents.³ The details of anatomy that were discovered were recorded: the head with beard,

¹ Known in the later legend as Aracle. R. Atkinson, *Vie de Saint Auban* (1876), p. 29.

² The earliest surviving representation of the martyrdom of St. Alban in art is about half a century older than the one before us. It is the magnificent illumination in the Psalter from St. Albans abbey, now the property of the church of St. Godehard, Hildesheim, and conserved in the Bischofliches General-Vikariat of that city. The scene is laid immediately after the execution. The angel is receiving the soul from

the martyr's severed head, while the eyes of the executioner are falling to the ground. A. Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim* (Berlin, 1895), p. 145, Pl. vii.

³ The account of this elevation of the relic is printed in *A.A.S.S.*, June v, *loc. cit.*; *Catalogus Codicum . . . Bruxellensis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 f.; L. Surius, *De Probatis Sanctorum Historia* iii (Cologne, 1573), p. 732. Surius, followed by Nicholson, ascribes the construction of the shrine to this date.



A. MARTYRDOM OF ST. ALBINUS : ROYAL LIBRARY,
BRUSSELS



B. SHRINE OF ST. ALBINUS : ROYAL LIBRARY,
BRUSSELS

the neck still stained with blood, the arms and hands, the shoulders still partly covered with flesh, the breast with the ribs, and the spine and kidneys. The rest of the body, they asserted, they had never possessed nor had ever claimed to possess. Many miracles were wrought on the exposition of the bones as a guarantee of their authenticity, and it was doubtless hoped that the English monks would be satisfied by a renunciation of the lower half of the martyred body. This, of course, was preserved in the monastic church at St. Albans, which could now share on equal terms with St. Pantaleon the honour of lodging the remains of the English saint.

It must have been soon after this event in 1327 that the story was committed to writing in the MS. now belonging to the Royal Library at Brussels, which contains the two illuminated miniatures of the saint here reproduced.¹

(1) The martyrdom of St. Alban is framed in a letter C. The executioner clad in red, with green hose, swings his sword over his head to cleave the neck of the saint, who kneels bowed before him, his hands clasped in front. His cloak is grey, a red liripipe buttoned in front depending from the neck, and the ends of the red undergarment emerge at the elbow. A grey coif encloses his head leaving the neck open (Pl. IV A).

(2) The shrine is being carried on poles by two monks clad in white, while two of their black-gowned brethren walk at the side, apparently conversing. The shrine is somewhat obliterated. It bears only an approximate resemblance to the original (Pl. IV B).

For another two hundred years the shrine remained in the narthex of the church, and there is no further mention of the relics until the beginning of the sixteenth century, a period in which they seem to have enjoyed their highest reputation. During the later Middle Ages the monastery had fallen into a condition of

¹ J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* v (Brussels, 1905), pp. 74 f.

Initial letters on fol. 133 and 143 of the MS.

decay, from which it was resuscitated in large measure by the efforts of John Lüninck, who was abbot from 1502 to 1514.¹ The son of a noble family he had entered the community at an early age, but timely transference to another monastery removed him providentially from the evil influence of the monks of St. Pantaleon. Disciplined to a strict observance of the rule and matured in wisdom as well as years, he returned to serve as cellarer, and in 1486 was given charge of the parish church of St. Maurice, attached to the abbey, where he showed the qualities which marked him for promotion in 1502. Under his direction the community revived, discipline was restored, the revenues raised to their former scale and buildings were repaired. It is during his rule that we meet with an increased devotion to the relics of St. Albinus.

Apparently the legend of the saint had already been printed in Cologne in a *Historia Sanctorum*, issued in 1483, and this was followed in 1502 by the publication of a neat little volume containing the story of St. Alban, as we have already learned it, prefaced by a dedication from the abbot and monks of St. Pantaleon to Henry VII of England.² In this they are careful to avoid offence to English susceptibilities. They had never claimed to possess the relics of St. Alban in their entirety, so that there was no ground for envy or conflict between Cologne and Britain. On the contrary, the rival claimants should join in offering thanksgiving to Almighty God.

Significant of the interest taken at this time in St. Albinus is the simultaneous removal of the shrine from the narthex, where it had rested since 1186.³ In the place of an altar of the Holy Cross a new altar

¹ A. Thomas, *Geschichte der Pfarrei St. Mauritius zu Köln* (Cologne, 1878), p. 144. Lüninck was apparently a son of Diederich von Lüninck, Chancellor of the Duchy of Jülich. A. Fahre, *Geschichte des Kolnischen, Jülichischen und Bergischen Geschlechter* i (Cologne and Bonn, 1848), p. 63.

² The printer was probably Martin of Werden (fl. 1497-1516). R. Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum* Pt. ii, Sec. i,

Germany (1903), p. 62. This is not to be confused with the *Historia S. Albani*, another Cologne book of the period, discussed by H. Bradshaw in *Collected Papers* (1889), pp. 149 ff. The book has previously been claimed as the work of Ulrich Zell. L. Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln* iii (Cologne and Neuss, 1869), p. 1036.

The dedication to Henry vii has been printed below in Appendix ii.

³ K.S.K., p. 125.

of St. Albinus was erected in the centre of the church, where in 1503 the shrine was set, and spanning the altar a new screen was constructed, which was removed in 1696 to serve as a gallery for the organ at the west end of the church where it remains to this day (Pl. V A).¹

The screen is an elaborate and exquisitely beautiful example of late Gothic art, borne upon five ogee arches, and crowned by a parapet pierced with complicated open-work tracery. The spandrels are patterned with unpierced tracery of similar type, and the backs of the arches are festooned with tendrils of naturalistic foliage. The face of the gallery is enriched with statuary set under canopies, while the two outer supporting columns are graced with figures of St. John Baptist and St. Quirinus, a warrior bearing a shield semé with roundels. Enshrined in the central compartment are two hooded monks, each with a taper in his hand, surmounting the columns on either side, and between them, raised higher than her companions, the Virgin and Child, escorted on either hand by two saints, all contained in canopied niches. St. Pantaleon can be easily recognised on the right, a youth habited as a physician, with a cylindrical vessel in his left hand. The opposite figure does not so readily reveal his identity. He is clad in full armour except for his bare head, while his flowing locks fall profusely over his shoulders, from which a light cloak is hanging. In his right hand he holds a lance, to which a banner may once have been attached, as is the case with St. Quirinus, and his left rests upon his shield at his side, which bears the device of a crutched cross and four letters 'A' in the cantons. Of this device no earlier example seems to be known, and an ingenious explanation of it has been offered. Close to St. Pantaleon's was the church of St. Maurice, erected in 1140 to relieve the monks of their parochial respon-

¹ *K.S.K.*, pp. 129 ff, Figs. 84-7. O. Ispording, *Zur Kölner Plastik des xv. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn, 1912), pp. 148 ff. On stylistic grounds the screen is here dated a few years later, c. 1510. North French influence has been suggested and a resemblance

noted with the screen at S. Madeleine, Troyes. H. Reiners in *Zeitschrift für christlichen Kunst* xxiv (1911), p. 182. This latter work was constructed between 1508 and 1517. *Congrès Archéologique de France* lxxix (1903), p. 11.

sibilities. In the fourteenth century it had been appropriated by the monastery, and one of the members of the community was usually appointed to the cure, as we have seen that Lüninck had been himself.¹ The close connection of this church with the abbey has given rise to the suggestion that the emblem alludes to St. Maurice, for the crutched cross was commonly borne in Cologne by military saints of the Theban Legion, of whom St. Maurice was a leader, and the letter 'A,' it is maintained, points to Agaunum, the scene of their martyrdom. The theory is not unreasonable, but in the light of the evidence provided by Captain Miller's glass at Fareham, from which this paper has sprung, we may safely discard the attribution to St. Maurice, and claim this figure for St. Albinus.² Later on we shall produce further testimony

¹ A. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 and 84 f.

² In the original story Alban was a citizen of Verulam, no more and no less. Nothing was reported either of his family or vocation. But medieval legend could not rest content with a confession of ignorance, and according to regular practice Alban was discovered to have sprung from aristocratic lineage; cf. G. Schreiber, *Deutschland und Spanien* (Dusseldorf, 1936), pp. 19 ff. In this spirit William the Monk, a St. Alban's chronicler of the twelfth century, amplifies the portrait: 'Erat civis Verolamius, vir eminent in civitate, ex illustri Romanorum, prosapia originem ducens; in quo divitiarum gloria et dignitas secularis, nobilitati generis respondentes, honorabilem virum omni populo reddiderunt,' *A.A.S.S.*, June v, p. 149. No doubt he was generally pictured in the thirteenth century corresponding to his appearance in a vision as described by Matthew Paris:—'Apparuit ei Beatus Anglorum Protomartyr Albanus, statura procerus, capillis et barba proluxa, more antiquorum nobilium Britonum, venerabilis, veste, gestu, et facie, compositus et reverendus,' *Gesta Abbatum* i, p. 14. The figure in the Dublin MS. tallies with this description. Later development of the legend portrayed him as a knight (as we see him at Cologne), a paragon

of medieval chivalry. This aspect of the story is illustrated par excellence in Caxton's *Golden Legend* (Temple Classics) iii, pp. 236 ff., an account probably derived from an English source, as it is not to be found in the Latin text of Jacobus de Voragine, cf. *op. cit.* i, p. 2. There are several examples in art representing St. Alban as a knight of princely lineage. The most resplendent, perhaps, is the figure in the glass of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, where he wears a mantle with a pearl and jewelled border over armour and tabard. On his head is a low coronet with an ermine cushion. *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, lii (1928), p. 161, Pl. viii. Another example in glass occurs in the east window of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, where St. Alban is a 'very richly dressed figure wearing a coronet,' C. Woodforde, *The Medieval Glass of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich* (1934), p. 52. In an English Book of Hours of 1490 at Cambridge, he wears a gold and ermine robe and carries a gold sceptre, M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (1895), p. 144. He is represented as a prince carrying a cross on an English gold rosary of about 1500, *Archaeologia* lxxxv (1935), p. 5, Pl. iv, and he appears crowned in *Queen Mary's Psalter* (ed. G. Warner, 1912), p. 49, Pl. 255.

of a conclusive character, but at this point we may content ourselves with reflecting upon the logic of this hypothesis. St. Albinus was among those saints most venerated at St. Pantaleon's, as was St. Quirinus in whose company he usually appears. When the screen was erected, the shrine had just recently been removed from the narthex, where it had rested for over three hundred years, to a most prominent position in the church, immediately beneath the screen itself. It would indeed be strange if the monks had omitted to honour St. Albinus with a niche upon their new screen. There is no evidence of any special cult of St. Maurice, apart from the neighbouring church, while the relics of St. Albinus were among the most historic in the monastery, a possession of which the monks were proud to boast, as is suggested by the treatise so elaborately dedicated to Henry VII. There can remain, I venture to think, no shadow of doubt that this figure represents St. Albinus, and it is highly possible that this new device was invented for the occasion by Lüninck himself. Now that we have secured for our English St. Alban this delicate piece of carving, we naturally inquire whether any other examples of this emblem survive in the art of Cologne.

It was not until the nineteenth century that the long history of the construction of Cologne Cathedral was rounded off with the completion of the nave, though one section at least of the latter had been built in the Middle Ages. The north aisle of the nave with five windows of immense size was erected as early as the fourteenth century,¹ gaunt and unadorned until the first decade of the sixteenth, when through the generosity of two Archbishops and the City Council these windows were filled with the stained glass, which remains in them to-day.² Masterpieces both in breadth and boldness of design and in the wealth and

¹ H. Rosenau, *Der Kölner Dom* (Cologne, 1931), p. 89.

² There is no need to cite the extensive bibliography on these windows. The more important are listed in Professor Paul Clemen's

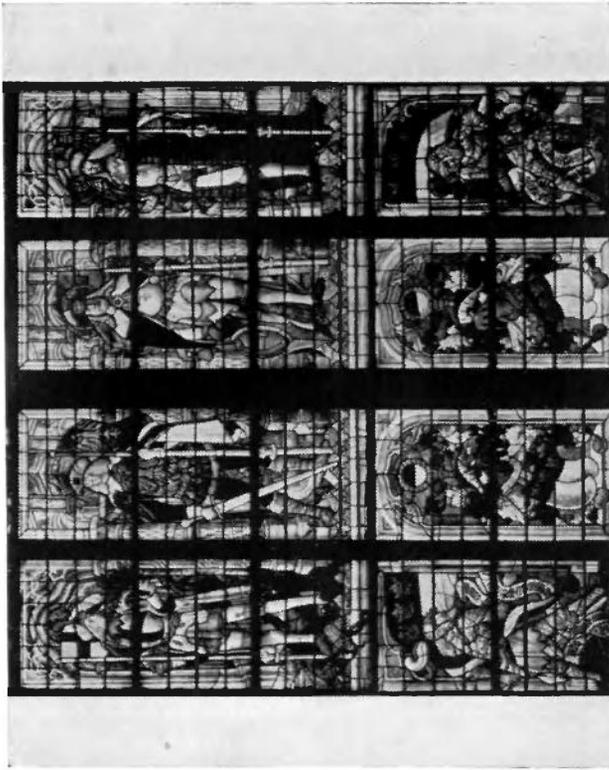
elaborate monograph, *Der Dom zu Köln* (Dusseldorf, 1937) [K.S.K. i, Pt. iii], pp. 193 ff. The most authoritative account is contained in H. Oidtmann, *Die rheinischen Glasmalereien vom 12. bis 16. Jahrhundert* ii (Dusseldorf, 1929), pp. 349 ff.

depth of the colours in which they are executed, they constitute a marvel of the glass-painters' art at a moment when the medieval tradition had reached its culminating point and was ready to merge in the swelling tide of the Renaissance. All five are products of the same workshop, where the influence of the artists known as the Master of the Holy Kindred and the Master of St. Severin was strong and may account for the impression that the windows give of designs for panel pictures transferred to glass. In each case one subject occupies the upper half and sweeps across the whole expanse of the window; no longer controlled by the fenestration, it bursts its fetters and triumphs in the boldness of its fine pictorial effect. In the words of Mr. Bernard Rackham: 'in wealth of details and balanced richness of colour the windows perhaps represent the limit of achievement in German glass-painting.'¹

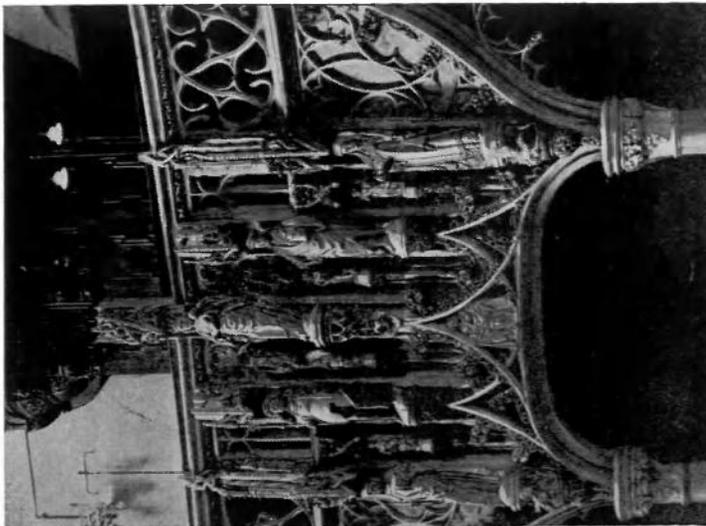
The window with which we are immediately concerned is the third from the west, presented by the City Council by virtue of a resolution passed in 1567 and defrayed by a vote of 960 marks in March 1508, of which the arms of the City at the base bear proud and grateful witness² (Pl. V B). The scheme is clear and simple. The upper half displays the Adoration of the Shepherds to balance the Adoration of the Magi in the next of the series. The architectural framework and the details of ornament are Gothic in character, but the spirit of the conception, the forceful modelling of the figures and the mastery of perspective all speak of the Renaissance. Below the sacred scene is a row of four saints set in niches, representing, we may presume, four patrons of the city of Cologne. On the right hand side we at once observe a figure signalled by an emblem now familiar to us. He is St. Albinus (Pl. VI A). A gorgeous crimson cloak lined with fur and trailing to the ground hangs loosely to his shoulders revealing the suit of armour in which he is clad. His face is that of a portrait with hard features and prominent

¹ *A Guide to the Collection of Stained Glass in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (1936), p. 81.

² Clemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 f., Fig. 140; Oidtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 357, Pl. xxxvii-xxxviii.



B. COLOGNE CATHEDRAL
(Photo: F. Stodtner, Berlin)



A. SCREEN : COLOGNE, ST. PANTALEON



B. ST. ALBINUS: COLOGNE, ST. MARY LYS



A. ST. ALBINUS: COLOGNE, CATHEDRAL
(Photo: Staatl. Bildstelle, Berlin)

cheek bones and long flaxen hair falling thick and straight upon his shoulders. His head is covered by a red cap with fur-lined brim turned up around it. His sheathed sword hangs from a belt in front of him and a golden chain of oak leaves spans his breast. The sleeve of a green doublet can be seen on his left arm which supports a lance. The banner unfurls behind his head, twisting to a tasselled point and emblazoned with a golden cross and four letters 'A' upon a blue ground.

Strange to say there has been no consensus of opinion as to the identity of these four military saints, and so far as I am aware, no one has ever conjectured that the fourth is St. Albinus. The most usual attributions, found in numberless accounts, are (from left to right): SS. George, Reinold, Gereon and Maurice.¹ Presumably St. Albinus was identified with the statue claimed for St. Maurice which we have already examined upon the screen at St. Pantaleon's. Of these four St. George alone has been invariably accepted for whom he obviously is. He bears the usual red cross on a white field and at his feet lies the slain dragon. Of the other identifications which have been hazarded there is only one that we need consider.

C. Aldenhoven² maintained that it was inappropriate to assign the second knightly figure to St. Reinold, a tenth-century monk of St. Pantaleon, whose relics were venerated at Dortmund. The deduction was incorrect as St. Reinold was a soldier in earlier life, and he is usually represented as a soldier in German art,³ yet the alternative suggestion of St. Maurice is attractive. The latter was a more popular saint than St. Reinold, he was one of the leaders of the Theban Legion, and he is frequently

¹ The earliest mention of these saints I have discovered in the literature of Cologne Cathedral occurs in A. E. d'H., *Historische Beschreibung der berühmten Hohen Erz-Domkirche zu Coln am Rhein* (Cologne, 1821). Here the names are given as George, Gereon, Maurice and Reinold. (One wonders whether the order has not been confused.)

² *Geschichte der Kölner Malerschule* (Lübeck, 1902), pp. 251 and 418.

³ K. Künstle, *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* p. 512. He is figured on the English gold rosary mentioned above as 'a saint in armour holding a skull or a sword with another skull at his feet.'

represented, as here, displaying the imperial eagle.¹ With the remaining two figures Aldenhoven went astray. For the fourth saint, who was now no longer St. Maurice, another identification had to be found, and in the conviction that he represented a martyr of the Theban Legion he transferred to him the character of St. Gereon. Not that the letter 'A' stood for Agaunum, be it observed, but interpreting the device as the letters 'L.T.,' denoting Legio Thebaica. Once again the simple initial letter was subjected to the Procrustean bed of the Theban Legion. The third saint was now left forlorn and nameless, and for him the title of St. Gregory the Moor, another companion in the Legion, was produced. St. Gregory had previously been associated with this group in local art, but his insertion here is purest conjecture.² However, both Oidtmann and Clemen have adopted Aldenhoven's theory, which is the reason that we have been at some pains to examine and reject it.

The clue to the enigma lies in the identity of the fourth saint, which we claim at last to have established. We may now safely return the third figure to St. Gereon, bearing as he does the crutched cross so frequently associated with this martyr, as supremely exemplified in the great Dombild of Stephan Lochner. It is remarkable that the failure to recognise St. Albinus has baffled every previous attempt to identify the champions of the City in a window of such high importance, and we may hope that they have been finally and satisfactorily assigned to SS. George, Maurice, Gereon and Albinus.

The first three of these are favourite saints in the art and cultus of Cologne, and their presence here would be readily understood, but it is clear that the appearance of St. Albinus among them is so unusual and unexpected as to elude recognition. How are we to explain it? We have already discussed the translation of the relics at St. Pantaleon's in 1503, the

¹ cf. illustrations in A. J. Herzberg, *Der heilige Mauritius* (Düsseldorf, 1936).

² E.g., in twelfth-century wall-paintings in the church of St. Gereon.

P. Clemen, *Die Romanische Monumentalmalerei in der Rheinlanden* (Düsseldorf, 1916), pp. 411 ff., Fig. 291, Pl. xxviii, and pp. 535 f., Fig. 329.

figure upon the screen erected shortly afterwards by John Lüninck, and the publication of the legend in 1502. These facts all point to a revived interest in the cult of our saint, an interest that must have spread beyond the walls of St. Pantaleon's and redounded to his credit throughout the city. It is only upon an assumption of this kind that we can explain the inclusion of St. Albinus among the patron saints of Cologne in the window erected at the expense of the City Council within a few years of these events. No longer confined within the precincts of the monastery, our English St. Alban now takes his place among that select hierarchy of saints who keep watch and ward over the venerable city of Cologne.

One more example of St. Albinus in sixteenth-century glass survives to remind us of the reputation enjoyed by our saint at this period in the history of Cologne. The thirteenth-century church of S. Maria Lys, a few yards from the bank of the Rhine, is notable for a series of superb medieval wall-paintings, but it also possesses in the late windows of the north aisle some specimens of early Renaissance glass. Among these is an exquisite figure of St. Albinus, hitherto identified as St. Gereon¹ (Pl. VI B).

The glass has been attributed to the same school as that responsible for the Cathedral windows, though some ten or fifteen years later in date, as is suggested by the classical columns framing the panel and the elegant suit of armour worn by the saint. His face is delicately featured with well-shaped nose and beard, and on his head he wears a scarlet barette with a white feather curling around it. His brown hair is cut to a fringe above the forehead and behind the head. The details of the armour are beautifully reproduced and its joints are gilded. His left arm in a green puffed sleeve rests upon a deep blue shield emblazoned with a golden cross and four letters 'A,' which are repeated upon his breast and upon the blue banner that falls in folds from the lance in his right hand.

¹ Oidtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 408, *Lyskirchen zu Köln* (Cologne, 1932), Pl. xlix; *K.S.K.* ii, Pt. i, pp. 303 f.; p. 10.
T. Paas, *Die Pfarre St. Maria-*

The importance which the cult of St. Alban had assumed in the religious life of Cologne is reflected by an allusion to the relics as late as 1578.¹ The struggle between Spain and the Low Countries was at its height, and in that year the Emperor summoned a congress at Cologne to attempt a settlement of the dispute. A desire was expressed by the Archbishop that the delegates should embark upon their difficult task with the blessing of heaven, and to that end a great procession of the Blessed Sacrament was arranged, in which the magnates could take their share. Twelve candles and thirty torches adorned with the arms of the city were made ready at the public cost to be carried before the Blessed Sacrament and the shrines of the saints. The latter are specified. The shrines of St. Evergisil and St. Agilulf, early bishops of the see, were borne, as was the custom, by the painters and the furriers, whilst those of St. Albinus, St. Cunibert and St. Severin, were carried by citizens in long cloaks, which were provided by the aldermen and counsellors of certain wards. Members of the various guilds turned out in gala dress, and the long procession of magnates, including the Papal Legate, the Electors of Cologne and Trier, the Spanish Ambassador and Prince Philip of Croy, wended its way through the crowded streets to S. Maria im Capitol, where mass was celebrated. Despite, however, this act of devotion and the honour paid to the saints, the conference proved abortive and dispersed after several months of profitless discussion. Notable for us is the choice of relics made from the countless sacred treasures in the possession of the city. That St. Albinus kept company with four early bishops of Cologne suggests that he was held in peculiar regard at this time by the municipal authorities.

We have already alluded to the contention engendered by the two rival sets of relics between the monks of St. Pantaleon's and St. Albans. The shrine at Cologne was opened in 1327 in order to set at rest the doubts that had been cast upon the bones by monks

¹ L. Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln* v (Düsseldorf, 1880), pp. 23 f.

from England, and we have seen that Cologne was satisfied with a compromise by which the two monasteries divided the spoils on equal terms, claiming that the authenticity of their own was proved by the miracles that attended the elevation. It is unlikely, however, that St. Albans would rest content with anything less than a complete repudiation of the claims of Cologne, and we find the dispute breaking out again in the sixteenth century.

The treatise published by the abbot and monks of St. Pantaleon's in 1502 constituted a direct challenge to St. Albans. In order to enhance the renown of their St. Albinus, the Cologne monks prefaced their book with a dedicatory epistle to Henry VII of England, and, although no direct evidence has come to my notice, it would seem that a deputation actually visited England and presented the volume to the king in person. What interest Henry VII may have shown in this gift we do not know, but we can imagine that a furore was created in monastic circles at St. Albans, as is suggested by the following passage from Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue Concerning Tyndale*, published in 1529.¹

'As I remember me that I have heard my father tell of a beggar that in King Henry, his days, the sixth, came with his wife to St. Albans, and there was walking about the town begging a five or six days before the King's coming thither, saying that he was born blind and never saw in his life. And was warned in his dream that he should come out of Berwyke, where he said he had ever dwelled, to seek saint Alban, and that he had been at his shrine and not been holpen. And therefore he would go seek him at some other place. For he had heard some say since he came that saint Alban's body should be at Cologne, and indeed such a contention hath there been. But of truth, as I am surely informed, he lieth here at saint Albans, saving some relics of him which they there show shrined.'

The stake at issue is significantly brought out. The existence of the rival relics at Cologne tended to wean

¹ W. E. Campbell and A. W. Read (ed.), *The English Works of Sir Thomas More* ii (1931), p. 51. This story, omitting the reference to the Cologne relics, is also related in Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Pt. 2, Act 2.

pilgrims from their allegiance to St. Albans, and thus to diminish the revenues of the English monastery.

The art of printing was practised within the precincts of the abbey during its last years, under the patronage of Abbot Robert Cotton, by John Hertford, who later removed to London and continued in business there until his death about 1548.¹ He issued in 1534 under the title, '*The lyfe and passion of saint Alban prothomartyr of England,*' embellished with three woodcuts, a poem composed by Lydgate ('*S. Alban and Amphabel*') nearly a century earlier.² In this printed edition, however, there is a significant appendix to the original, which related at length the whole history of St. Alban and his converter, Amphibalus,³ for the opportunity was seized by the English monks to launch an effective and final rejoinder to the presumptuous claims of Cologne. In narrating the visit of St. German to the martyr's tomb Lydgate had not failed to relate, quite correctly, that he had carried off with him to France a portion of 'the powdre rubified with bloode,' the 'massam pulveris' of Bede. The editor of 1534 was, therefore, resolved to explode the whole story of the translation of the relics to Italy, and to reply point by point to the Cologne treatise of 1502. This appendix we propose to reproduce substantially.

' Perceyve nowe, good reders, and gyve true jugement
Betwene the monkes of Colen and of blessed Albon !
The Coloners wryteth after theyr entent,
To cause the pylgryms to withdraw theyr devotion
From Verolamy and to folowe theyr affection,

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon* ii (1819), p. 107. E. G. Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (1905), p. 70. E. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535* (1935), p. 406.

² This has been edited by C. Horstmann, *S. Alban und Amphabel, ein Legendenpros in 3 Büchern von Lydgate, nach der Editio von St. Albans 1534* (Berlin, 1882). The British Museum is said to possess the only surviving copy. It contains a remark-

able illustration of St. Alban habited as an aristocrat of the time of Henry VIII, which was first reproduced in *Middlesex and Hertfordshire Notes and Queries* ii (1896), p. 101. In the text he is described as 'A lorde's sonne, excelling in beautie. Born in the cite of Verolamy.'

³ The name given to the anonymous priest by Geoffrey of Monmouth, with allusion to the cloak in which St. Alban disguised himself.

Sayinge that they have the very body,
To theyr shame and rebuke defendyng suche foly.¹

‘ Tyll Otto themperour with his mother Theophano
Brought it to Colen to tharchbyshop Brunon
In to the monastery of holy Panthaleon.
Also at the tyme of this translation in dede
Adrian was pope, and that they confesse
And whan Valentiniane to thempyre did procede
Liberious was pope in his xii yere doubtlesse
As diverse Historiographers playnly do expresse ;
So that of the sees spirituall nor temporall
Agreeth with theyr accomptes after theyr memoriall.
They say also that the body is yet incorrupt
From the thyes upwarde, they have in possession
Whiche saynge me semeth of trouthe be interrupte
Onles they wyll graunt any unsemyng division
Of a corporall body to be cut in pertision.
Yet I can not knowe what parte they shulde have :
For kynge Offa founde nothyng but the bones in his
grave.

They say also that kyng Offa and saynt Germayne
Was both at one time at this translation,²
Whan therisies was destroyde of false pelagian.
In whose tymes is a great altercation ;
Who best accompt by just comptation
Shall fynde .ccc. yeares .XLIIII. also
That kynge Offa came after saynt Germayn was go.
They say also that themperour Valentiniane
Shulde mete S. Germain whan he came to Ravenne
Whiche can not be trewe but all spoken in vayne ;
When Valentiniane fyrst began to reigne

¹ These opening lines betray the main point at issue, which we have just detected in Sir Thomas More. Relics were of value in so far as they attracted pilgrims to the church or monastery which possessed them. Any reflection upon their authenticity would discourage the flow of pilgrims and the material advantages they brought with them. St. Albans could

not afford any suspicion of rival relics at Cologne, and so their claims must be annihilated. They had indulged in a similar squabble with the monks of Ely in the twelfth century. cf. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* xxvi (1870), pp. 318 ff.

² The German writer had confused the visit of St. German with the invention of the relics by King Offa.

That was .LXXXIII. yeres before that Germayne
 Came to distroye theresies of pelagiane.¹
 Therefore, good bretherne of holy saynt Benet,
 Monks of Colen, leve this your bablynge !

' Ye be so ferr hense, in dede ye can not let
 Ony devote persons for to do theyr offryng
 I wyll not denie but your untrewre surmysyng
 May brynge some people, pucyll and innocent,
 For lacke of trewe knowlege in a wrong jugement ;
 But they that be lerned can rede as well as ye,
 Conferre histories and also accompte the yeres,
 Can well perceyve how craftely ye do flye
 From trouthe—thistories so playnly apperes.
 And are not they accursed that false witnessse beares,
 And specyally in writing to the derogation
 Of theyr bretherne in god of a nother nation ?
 Remembre ye ware in Englande but late
 With the vii. Henry, that myghty ryall kynge,
 Where covertly ye sought meanes with many a noble
 estate

To stave and aide you in this untrewre lesing :²
 But ye durst not abyde thende of the rekenyng,
 For fear of afterclappes that myght have ensued,
 Ye were afrayde to drynke of suche as ye brewed !
 Wherefore reduse your selfe, false wrytyng revoke,
 Knowlege your offense—of wyll more than dede,
 For if ye continue, ye shall have but a mocke—
 Men knoweth how ye can in any wyse procede.
 But if that other ye leve god or drede,
 Followe the trouthe, so shall ye do best
 And in lytle medlynge ye shall fynde moche rest.

The poem concludes with prayer to St. Alban for
 Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn ('his spouse, his lovyng
 lady dere, His riall queene Anna, notable and famous,
 Indowed with grace and vertu without fere'!) and for
 the Princess Elizabeth.

¹The editor (or his 'historiographers') is here at sea. He is alluding to Valentinian I, while the Cologne legend, quite correctly as far as it goes, connects the translation of the relics with the reign of Valentinian

III. This attempt to confute Cologne on the grounds of historial criticism falls very flat.

²Here we have evidence that the Cologne monks had actually presented their claims at the court of Henry VII.

The verbal triumph of the St. Albans chronicler reads ironically in the light of subsequent history. Within a few brief years the monastery was dissolved and the bones of the martyr were scattered to the winds, while the spurious relics of Cologne were to survive the vicissitudes of time and to remain the centre of a cult for centuries to come.

Advancing chronologically in the story of St. Albinus, we must now leave Cologne in favour of Namedy, a village on the left bank of the Rhine about three miles north of Andernach. We find here a small church dating from the thirteenth century but considerably altered about 1520 in the time of Hildegard Husmann, abbess of the convent of Cistercian nuns which subsisted there until 1579.¹ Subsequently the church served as a chapel under Andernach, until it regained its independence in 1906, and during this period the Archbishops of Trier and Cologne were respectively the spiritual and temporal protectors of the cure.

Our interest in Namedy is confined to the pulpit, of which the history remains an unsolved enigma. Apparently it has never been described and never investigated, but we may at any rate rest assured that it was not constructed for Namedy. Not only is it a much more elaborate piece of work than we should expect to find in a small parochial chapel, but one side of it has been lodged in a recess in the wall of the church (scarcely visible in the illustration), as if it had been considered too large for the building, and had been set back to avoid concealing the side-altar immediately behind it. This results in one of the carved panels of the octagonal pulpit being entirely obscured by the wall, while another is barely visible as one peers at it through the gap (Pl. VII).

Now let us examine it a little more closely. It is a handsome example of early Baroque woodwork of the

¹ P. Lehfeldt, *Die Bau und Kunstdenkmäler der Regierungsbezirks Coblenz* (Dusseldorf, 1886), pp. 425 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Josef Boymann of Cologne for first drawing my

attention to the Namedy pulpit, and to Herr Pfarrer Laurent for his genial welcome and assistance, on my visiting his church.

first part of the seventeenth century, strongly reminiscent of our own contemporary Jacobean style, but the stem is missing. In the central panel we see the Crucifixion, while monks kneel on either side at the foot of the cross with folded hands and dangling rosaries. The remaining panels are occupied by saints, whose names are most conveniently inscribed beneath them, in conjunction with the words 'ora pro nobis,' as if the pulpit were girdled with a litany. Reading in order from left to right, they are—SS. Peter and Paul, Albinus, Quirinus, Benedict, Maurinus and Damian. It may be observed at once that all these saints are connected with the Benedictine monastery of St. Pantaleon at Cologne, and we may even surmise that the panel covered by the wall contains a figure of St. Pantaleon himself. Around the sounding-board runs the text, 'Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei et custodiunt illud' (Luke xi. 28), but the words are in confusion as if the board had at one time been taken to pieces and carelessly re-set. Here we also find a further clue to the provenance of the pulpit, a shield crossed by an abbot's staff, upon which is imposed a small plaque displaying two bendlets sinister, with the date 1612, and above it the three letters H.S.A. There can be no doubt that these initials stand for Henricus Spichernagel Abbas, who ruled over St. Pantaleon's from 1606 to 1641, as we find the same initials and the same type of shield upon a screen of very similar workmanship, erected in 1625 in front of the door in the south aisle of St. Pantaleon's.¹ We may then conclude with high probability that this is the original seventeenth-century pulpit of St. Pantaleon's, which was perhaps ejected after 1750, when the present pulpit was constructed, and was transported by some unknown benefactor to the little church at Namedy, where it has remained unrecognised ever since.

However, our main purpose is not to describe or identify the Namedy pulpit, but to examine the figure of St. Albinus carved upon it (Pl. VIII A). It is a rather naïve representation of a soldier of the period, an exact replica of the companion figure of St. Quirinus.

¹ *K.S.K.*, pp. 134 ff., Fig. 88.



NAMEDY

(Photo: Rhein. Bildarchiv, Cologne)



A. ST. ALBINUS : PULPIT, NAMEDY



B. S.S. ALBINUS, PANTALEON AND QUIRINUS : COLOGNE,
ST. PANTALEON

To face page 241.

Like Quirinus, he carries banner and shield resplendent with his emblem, the cross and four letters 'A.' The pedestal upon which he stands is inscribed with :—

S : ALBINE
ORA . PRO . NOBIS

Thus we are supplied with finally convincing evidence to demonstrate this emblem as the emblem of St. Albinus and no other saint. Hitherto, we have based our argument upon Captain Miller's glass, where the emblem is fragmentary (and possibly open to challenge in view of the unusual device there given to St. Quirinus), and upon the general probabilities that led us to identify the figure upon the screen at St. Pantaleon's with our English saint. With this splendid example from Namedy before our eyes there can remain no room for doubt, and we can confidently claim for St. Alban his niche in the iconography of Cologne.

Henry Spichernagel, abbot of St. Pantaleon's at the time of its highest prosperity, was himself buried before the altar of St. Albinus.¹ He was responsible for extensive work upon the fabric of the church, and between 1618 and 1622 the upper part of the walls of the nave were reconstructed and a new polygonal choir was added of equal height to the nave.² The windows of the apse were filled with glass, the work of the Cologne glass-painter, Heinrich Braun or Bruin, which is notable at this late period for continuing, despite Renaissance detail, the great tradition of Gothic glass-painting down into the seventeenth century and for proving that the art was still being practised in the service of the Church.³ Each window is divided into three lights, each containing the figure of a saint. In that on the north side (Pl. VIII B), they are set upon a pedestal, below which are displayed the arms of Archbishop Ferdinand of Bavaria.⁴ St. Pantaleon occupies the central light,

¹ A. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 f.

² K.S.K., pp. 59 f.

³ K.S.K., pp. 120 ff., Pl. v ;
Oidtmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 456 ff.

⁴ K.S.K., Fig. 74 ; Oidtmann,
op. cit., Pl. 59.

while on his left stands St. Quirinus, fully habited in armour with emblazoned shield and banner. The third figure is St. Albinus, also equipped with shield and banner, bearing the familiar emblem. His head is bare and his bearded face expressively benign. A red cloak with a broad fur collar, clasped at the neck, falls around his armed figure. His right hand supports a lance from which streams a blue banner, agreeing with the shield at his side. A sword in a long blue hilt is attached to his side by a green belt. The armour is attractively gilded. The glass is clear and brilliant in quality and is set off effectively by the uncoloured background. It testifies to the continual regard in which our saint was held by the community.

It might be supposed that the relics of St. Alban would have provided an attraction for the numerous travellers from England on business or pleasure bent, but a search through the relevant literature has revealed only two allusions to them. The Cathedral, the Jesuit's church and St. Ursula (of obvious interest to English people), were the regular sights which foreigners visited, while St. Pantaleon's appears to have attracted very limited attention.¹

During his wanderings as an exile on the Continent Charles II reached Cologne, where he was destined to spend two years, at the end of September, 1654, and was received with all the pomp and circumstance that he could expect and the city provide.² The days cannot have hung too heavily on his hands as he occupied his time by visiting the churches and enjoying the honours that were paid him wherever he called. In the Cathedral 'two cannons of the church in their robes of crimson velvett (which were earles) opened the tombe of the three kings, a burgemaster and another lord of the towne being present.' At the Jesuits' he was welcomed with pageantry and festival. 'Several boys richly habited held in their hands seven shields with the letters CAROLUS, every one congratulating his

¹ J. Giesen, 'Köln im Spiegel ein 18 (Cologne, 1936), pp. 201 ff. englischer Reiseschriftsteller vom Mittelalter zur Romantik' in *Jahrbuch der Kolnischen Geschichtsvers-*

² J. Thurloe, *State Papers* ii (1742), pp. 661 f.

majestie's welcome thither, and, in an instant turning them the word COLONIA appeared. There were after this many other pretty entertainments of voices and musick and speches and a banquet after all of the fruites in season.' At the Carmelites' he was met by the Papal Nunrio and treated to another 'banquet of fruits and excellent musick in the church, it being their great festival.' In this round of visits the Benedictines of St. Pantaleon's were not omitted, and we are expressly told both in German and English sources that he was shown the body of St. Alban.¹ But no more than the bare fact is recorded. Unfortunately we are told nothing of the reception which this wealthy community must have given him nor the remarks of the Merry Monarch when invited to venerate his native saint.

One traveller only has left us the record of his visit to the relics, the obscure and mysterious Monsieur de Blainville. Born in Picardy, he took refuge in Holland after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and in 1693 was sent to Spain as secretary to the Embassy of the States-General at Madrid, whence after four years he made his way to London. There he resided for some years without employment, until in 1705 he was engaged by Blathwayt, the Secretary for War, as tutor for his two sons, with a commission to accompany them on the Grand Tour of Europe. Nothing more of his history is known, except that he died about 1733 after some years of broken health. However, he turned his travels to good purpose by committing to paper his impressions of all that he experienced for the benefit of a correspondent in England. The manuscript remained untouched until after his death when it was translated into English and published in three stout volumes in 1743.² De Blainville was a polished sceptic of the eighteenth century with an observant eye for the practices and superstitions of the Church, as well

¹ Thurloe, *op. cit.*; B. Hilliger, *Rheimsche Urbare* i (Bonn, 1902), p. 532:—'Hiscie diebus fuit in Civitate rex Scotiae, visitavit reliquias et inter alias S. Albinum.'

² De Blainville, *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland and*

other Parts of Europe but especially Italy. Translated from the Author's own manuscript by George Turnbull and William Guthrie i (London, 1743), pp. 90 ff. The few known facts of his life are related in the introduction.

as for the customs of the people and the objects of artistic and antiquarian value he encountered. He possessed a poignant sense of humour allied to keen historical acumen, which renders his chronicle one of the most entertaining and informative in the literature of travel. The tour extended over four years and the party naturally spent some days at Cologne, where we are given an invaluable account of a visit to St. Pantaleon's on March 20th, 1705. We will quote in full the passages relevant to our theme.

' Our Conductor, who was a *Benedictin*, having led us behind the great Altar of this Church, and having received from a Brother who attended him an embroidered Stole, which he flung about his Neck, mumbling some Words of Conjunction, a pair of white Gloves which he stretched on his Hands, continuing all the while in his *Oremus*, a Silver Fork a Foot and a half long, and at last a Holy Water Sprinkle and the holy Water, he bedewed us with it as copiously as if he had taken us for *Parpaillots*,¹ out of whose Bodies he was to drive by Force of Prayers and Holy Water *Beelzebub* and *Belphegor*. But as these villainous Tyrants rather possess the Bodies of such *Heretics* as you and your Friends, who laugh at Miracles, than of poor Travelers who take upon Content whatever they are told, I took Courage. And in truth the Holy Water was only to purify and so prepare us for seeing the most holy Corpse of my Lord St. *Alban*, who reposes in a fine silver Shrine behind this great Altar, and the Fork of Silver was only for moving about a little his Legs and Arms, but principally his Head, which was separated from his Body by you wicked Britons, in the year 293 of Christ; and they were condignly punished for it: For our *Benedictin* assured us, that it was for having cruelly put to Death this brave St. *Alban*, that God sent some Hundreds of Years afterwards the *Saxons*, yet more reprobate than themselves, upon them; who, under the Pretence of assisting them against the *Picts* or *Scots* their Enemies, made themselves Masters of *Great Britain*, and lived there at Discretion for many Ages, as you *English* and the *German Reisters* do at

¹ A term of opprobrium applied to heretics.

present in *Bavaria*,¹ of which they have now taken Possession. What do you think, are not we mightily edified in our Travels by the Opportunities we have of seeing such holy Fragments? This good *Benedictin* promised to send us to-morrow an Abridgement of this Worthy's History. But lest he should forget, I'll tell you all I have picked up concerning him.

' This glorious Martyr was the first who suffered Death in your *Island* for the Cause of *Christ*. After having firmly refused to offer Incense to Idols, his Head was struck off, as great a *Lord* as he was,² under the reign of *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian* in a Town not far from *London* which I need not describe to you, built upon the Ruins of the ancient *Verulamium*, and that now takes its Name from this Saint who was murdered there. Many years after the good *St. Germain* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and the good *St. Loup* Bishop of *Troye* in *Champagne*, transported his Body from *Great-Britain* to *Ravenna*, in recompense for the Trouble they had taken to preach the Gospel in your *Island*, whither Pope *St. Gregory* the Great had detached them, with the Celebrated *St. Augustin*, called the Apostle of *Kent*.³ From *Ravenna* this body was brought to *Rome*, and a long Time after the Empress *Theophania*, Wife of the Emperor *Otho* II, sent it from *Rome* to *Cologne*, and made a Present of it to the Church of *St. Pantaleon*, where she ordered it to be interred. For Proof of this, they shewed us the Coffin in which the Body of *St. Alban* was laid, with the Litter upon which it was transported from *Rome* hither. And which is indeed marvellous, the Coffin is at this Day as sound as when it was first made, whereas the Litter is quite destroyed by Worms. 'Tis true, the Former is of good hard Oak, and the Latter is but of Fir.

' Another Relick we saw here, is the Ashes of the great *St. Pantaleon*, which are kept in a Box of Gold; and they told us, while they shewed them to us, that his Body was burnt at *Nicomedia* after cutting off his

¹ This is in the year after *Blenheim*.

³ *De Blainville*, or his source, is confusing the visit of *St. German* and *St. Lupus* in 429 with the mission of *St. Augustine* in 597.

² Note that *St. Alban* is described as an aristocrat.

Head. This puts me in mind that I had forgot to tell you, that the Conversion and Martyrdom of St. *Alban* are painted upon the Wall to the right in this Church, in twelve Capital Pictures,¹ as well as the History of the other in eighteen

'The last Curiosity that was shown to us in this Church, was the Diadem of the Empress *Theophania*,² which is nothing but a simple Circle of Gold very thin, and set with Pearls and Emeralds of very little Value. He who presented it to us told us, that since that Empress put it upon the Head of the Dead St. Alban out of Respect to him, in his Journey from *Rome* to *Cologne*, it had contracted the Virtue of curing all Distempers of the Head however violent. But having no Head-ach, I had not an Opportunity of making a Trial.'³

The eighteenth century brings to our notice one more figure of the martyr in St. Pantaleon's. In 1749, under Abbot Schallenberg, the church was further embellished in harmony with the phase of Baroque taste in fashion at the time. The nave was furnished with a new pulpit, while panneling and statuary were added to the choir and a new high altar was erected. A pompous reredos in stucco occupied the centre of the apse, flanked on either side by statues of saints, who surmount the imposts of the doors admitting to

¹ The sole allusion I have found to this notable series of paintings. If they had survived they would have stood second only to the Dublin picture-book in the artistic record of St. Alban. They were probably the paintings executed by the Cologne artist Petrus in 1622. *K.S.K.*, p. 60.

² This is the only mention I know of the 'umbraculum capitis' bestowed upon the relics by the Empress Theophano. Here we are given an interesting side-light upon the cult, which, as we shall see, has endured into the twentieth century.

³ Saints who had suffered martyrdom by decapitation were often credited with powers of sympathetic intercession against maladies of the head. Numerous saints, whose prayers are efficacious in this respect,

are listed in D. H. Kerler, *Die Patronate der Heiligen* (Ulm, 1905), pp. 205 ff. Dr. W. L. Hildburgh in the *Antiquaries Journal* xvii (1937), p. 422, alludes to the use in Germany of carved heads of St. John Baptist for the cure of headaches, cf. F. Witte, *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schmütgen in Coln* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 50 ff. He also quotes from R. Andree, *Votive und Weihegaben des katholischen Volks in Süddeutschland* (Brunswick, 1904), 'a practice at Plessnitz, in accordance with which people afflicted with chronic headaches set their hats upon a St. John's Head, which is kept in the church there, in order that when, on leaving the church, they put the hats on their own heads, their headaches may be cured.'



A. SHRINE OF ST. ALBINUS : COLOGNE,
ST. PANTALEON



B. ST. ALBINUS : COLOGNE, ST. PANTALEON

To face page 247.

the back of the altar.¹ The outer figures are SS. Benedict and Sebastian, while the inner are SS. Albinus and Quirinus in companionship once again. These two, though not exactly identical, are habited as Roman soldiers and are as usual to be identified by the devices on their shields. Entirely conventional in character they remind us of those represented in Captain Miller's glass, from which we took our start (Pl. IX A).

We are now approaching the end of our story. The fate of innumerable religious houses befell St. Pantaleon's in the French occupation of 1794, when the troops stabled their horses in the church. In 1802, when the monastery was finally dissolved, the church was degraded to parochial status, and in 1819 was transformed into a garrison chapel of the Protestant persuasion.² The ancient shrines of St. Albinus and St. Maurinus were then removed to the neighbouring church of S. Maria in der Schnurgasse, until they were returned to their original home a century later when St. Pantaleon's was restored to full Catholic worship in 1922. None of the great shrines of Cologne escaped unimpaired from the ravages of the Napoleonic wars, and as we have already seen that of St. Albinus was robbed of its silver statuary, later replaced by painted panels at the cost of a Brotherhood. It is at this point we must pause to consider the figure of St. Alban, flanked by St. German and Theophano, at the end of the shrine (Pl. IX B). It is immediately evident that this is a different type from the one we have now so frequently observed, and from this we may deduce that the tradition had been broken and the identity of the emblem of the cross and the four letters 'A' had passed from living memory. This explains the strange fact that the figure of St. Albinus in the Cathedral window was unrecognised by writers of the early nineteenth century. Presumably there survived in Cologne no example of the traditional figure with an inscription to identify it. The sixteenth-century pulpit reposed unnoticed

¹ *K.S.K.*, pp. 62 and 125, Pl. V.

² *K.S.K.*, pp. 62 f.

in the church at Namedy, and Captain Miller's glass may have already crossed the Channel.

However, the artist did not intrude a figure of his own invention. He based his delineation upon an early fourteenth-century picture of the Cologne School, formerly in the possession of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum¹ (Pl. XI A). Nothing is known of its history nor of the date of its entry into the gallery, and I am informed that it was recently sold to a dealer, so that its present whereabouts has not been ascertained. It displays four saints, John the Baptist, Catherine, Quirinus and Margaret. St. Quirinus is identified by a small shield upon his breast, around which his nine roundels are painted.² There is no need to detail the close resemblances between this picture and the panel on the shrine, which suggest that the one served as model to the other. The main differences to be discerned are the long hair and beardless face and the red cap upon the head of the latter figure, whilst his right hand grasps a small cross instead of a lance. The shield is *per fesse or and sable*, perhaps intended as a distinction from the original of St. Quirinus.

Curiously this figure is again repeated in Cologne. A series of local saints was painted during the nineteenth century upon the piers of the nave in the church of St. Cecilia.³ Among them is St. Albinus, with his name conveniently inscribed (Pl. X). The resemblance is even closer to the prototype than the painting on the shrine. The head is almost identical except that the diadem is omitted. In all three cases the folds of the cloak, the sword and its belt, the prominent right leg, which is thrust forward and protected by exactly similar armour, and the long pointed sollerets are in close agreement. At St. Cecilia's also we find the lance with its pennon, and the shield has a suggestion of the roundels in the bordure, while the blue field is occupied

¹ *Verzeichnis der Gemälde der städtischen Museums Wallraf-Richartz zu Köln* (Cologne, 1914), No. 14; H. Brockmann, *Die Spätzeit der Kölner Malerschule* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1924), Pl. 79.

² A late fourteenth-century statue of St. Quirinus upon the Cathedral

represents the roundels arranged in this fashion on the shield. Rosenau, *op. cit.*, p. 144, Fig. 56.

³ P. Clemen, *Die gotischen Monumentalmalereien der Rheinlande I* (Düsseldorf, 1930), p. 142; K.S.K. I, Pt. iv (Düsseldorf, 1916), p. 189, Pl. xvi.



ST. ALBINUS : COLOGNE, ST. CECILIA



A. ST. QUIRINUS AND ST. MARGARET :
COLOGNE, WALLRAF-RICHARTZ MUSEUM
(FORMERLY)
(Photo : Rhein. Bildarchiv, Cologne)



B. SILENEN

by a cross saltire, the arms of the abbey of St. Alban, traditionally ascribed to the saint himself.¹

Our final illustration brings us down to the present day (Pl. XII). It is the last Sunday in June, immediately following the festival of St. Alban.² At an early hour the sacred relic of the martyr's head is abstracted from its glowing shrine and is displayed with reverent care upon a side-altar, richly decked with flowers and candles. Draped in a veil of embroidered velvet, it is surmounted by a circlet of gold, a copy of that diadem of Theophano's, which perished at the dissolution. As each successive mass comes to its end the faithful press forward, falling upon their knees at the altar steps to receive the benefits made available for them through the medium of the English saint. Removing the circlet from the relic the priest places it in turn upon the bowed heads of those who kneel before him, reciting as he does so the words of a time-honoured prayer:—

' Per intercessionem sancti Albani martyris liberet te Deus a malo capitis et a quolibet alio malo. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.'

In the course of the morning some thousand souls avail themselves of this spiritual privilege, for faith in the prayers of St. Alban is yet alive in the parish of St. Pantaleon, and the symbol of a thousand years' devotion is still evocative of faith. Thus the memory of the English martyr, borne upon strange channels of tradition, still eddies in an Alpine valley and yet flows upon the stream of human experience in a foreign land.

APPENDIX I

THE CULT OF ST. ALBAN AT SILENEN

An incident in the story of the translation of the relics from Rome to Cologne is worthy of separate treatment. As we have seen, it was related that when the Empress Theophano was crossing the Alps in her journey northwards the horse with the precious burden

¹ Caxton, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 238.

² I am informed by Herr Pfarrer Diefenbach that St. Albinus has only

recently disappeared from the Cologne Breviary. The authorities are looking askance at local saints.

of the relics slipped and fell headlong over a cliff, but was discovered by its anxious mistress safe and sound in the valley beneath with the shrine upon its back undamaged. This miraculous event would scarcely call for comment were it not that the early printed edition of the legend, published by the monks of St. Pantaleon in 1502, contains a significant addition to the narrative at this point. In the original story the Empress hastily resumed her journey to Cologne after rendering thanks for the miracle, but in the edition of 1502 yet another detail is recorded :—

'Ibi ecclesia in honorem S. Albani constructa, digno honore festivitas nunc colitur, et martyrium celebri memoria celebratur, quae vulgariter *selynon* dicitur.'

It seems strange that the sixteenth-century writer should be more precisely informed than his predecessor of the eleventh, who lived so much closer to the events narrated, and we are surprised to find mentioned the name of the locality in which the miracle took place. Curiosity is increased when we discover that in the village of Silenen in Switzerland there survives to this day a church with the dedication of St. Albinus.

Silenen lies a few miles above the town of Altdorf in the valley leading up from the Lake of Lucerne to the St. Gotthard Pass. As we ascend the line in the swiftly moving train we catch a glimpse on the left of a group of scattered dwellings and a little white-walled church embowered among the orchards, an insignificant hamlet, though a thousand souls are living within the far-flung boundaries of the parish. Behind, a vast wall of cliff, gashed and rent by the watercourses, with sparse clumps of trees clinging here and there to its face, stands as a bastion of the Windgalle, while far above the austere summit of the Breitenstock flings its snowy crest into the sky. It is a far cry from here to Cologne, and to Verulam, but, as we shall see, this enchanting spot has held to its bosom for many centuries strange memories of our English protomartyr (Pl. XI B).

The church is an eighteenth-century structure, a charming example of village Baroque art with its white walls, painted ceiling and elaborate gilded altars, fresh, tasteful and inviting. There has been a church at Silenen¹ since the ninth century at least, for we are told that in 857 Louis the German granted the chapel at Silenen to the convent of SS. Felix and Regula at Zürich, but avalanches and landslides have necessitated more than one rebuilding. There is evidence of the dedication of a church here in 1347 to the honour of the Holy Trinity and SS. Mary, Albinus, Jodokus and Catherine, but the first recorded mention of St. Albinus in connection with Silenen occurs a few years earlier in a grant of indulgence dated, July 28,

¹ A short account of Silenen is given in M. Godet, *Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Suisse* vi (Neuchâtel, 1932), pp. 188 f. The church is briefly noticed in A. Nuscheler, 'Die Gotteshauser der Schweiz,' in *Der Geschichtsfreund* (Mittheilungen des historischen

Vereins der fünf Orte Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden und Zug), xlvii (Einsiedeln, 1892), pp. 122 f.

For information about Silenen I am indebted to the kindness of Hochwürden Dr. Eduard Wymann, of Altdorf.



THE RELIC OF ST. ALBINUS : COLOGNE, ST. PANTALEON



HIGH ALTAR: SILENEN

1318,—‘Ecclesia Sancti Albini Martyris in Silenen.’ The present building dates from 1754, but the altars were preserved from the previous structure, where they were erected in 1726 by Johann Jost Ritz, a member of a family of local craftsmen.¹ Born at Selkingen in 1697, the son of an artist in whose steps he followed, he married a girl from Amsteg, adjoining Silenen, so that he enjoyed a very close relationship with the neighbourhood, where he lived most of his days until his death between 1770 and 1780. Ritz must have established a good local connection for his work, as he has left his name upon a number of churches in Wallis.² His style was naturally influenced by Italy, so close at hand across the mountain barrier, yet his art is not an exotic importation but one that had become domiciled in the little village communities that nestle in the valley. It expresses in contemporary idiom the simple piety of this mountain folk.

The high altar at Silenen is an elaborate structure in three tiers, borne up by twisted columns and ascending in diminishing scale. For us the interest lies in the lowest tier, which contains an oil painting of the patron saint of the church, representing the apotheosis of a victorious martyr. A Roman soldier on his knees with a red shield at his side and a palm branch in his hand gazes into heaven, whence an angel descends to crown his head with a wreath of flowers. It is a conventional painting of a conventional subject, yet of significance for us as it displays our English St. Alban receiving ‘the crown of life which God has promised to those who love him’ (Bede) (Pl. XIII).

Conclusive evidence of the connection of St. Alban with Silenen is provided by a small volume in the parish archives printed in 1713.³ This treatise is a version in German of the story published by the monks of St. Pantaleon, though Silenen is not mentioned as the scene of the miraculous preservation of the relics. We have no need to quote it as it follows closely the Latin original, but it witnesses to a cult, which in these days perhaps has sunk from a living experience to a memory of the past. Few of the parishioners, I am told, are acquainted with the legend of their saint, though the priest may still employ it for purposes of edification on the patronal festival,⁴ and

¹ Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon* xxviii (1934), p. 392; C. Brun, *Schweizerisches Künstler-Lexikon* iv (Supplement), (Frauenfeld, 1917), p. 368. A full account of the Ritz family and their activities is given in J. Lauber and E. Wymann, ‘Die Künstler-Familie Ritz von Selkingen im Wallis,’ in *XX Historisches Neujahrsblatt*, published by the Verein für Geschichte und Altertümer von Uri (Altdorf, 1914), pp. 69 ff. Dr. Wymann would now make two corrections to his article. The altar was completed in 1726 (not 1715, as therein stated), and the wooden statue formerly attributed to St. Albinus actually represents St. Maurice.

² He was responsible for altars at Schattdorf, Wassen, Goschenen, Wattingen, Fernigen, Erstfeld, Realp, Wiler and Zumdorf.

³ The title-page is missing. Possibly it was published at Cologne. The opening words run as follows:—‘EXORDIUM oder Anfang von dem Leben und Todt des heyligen Engelländischen Erz-Martyrers ALBINI. *Albanus* nunmehr *Albinus*, ein edler Held und tapfferer Ritter Christi, aus dem furnehmsten Engelländischen Adel zu *Verolamo* gebohren.’

⁴ We may note that in 1713 the patronal festival was still celebrated on the correct day, June 22. It is now kept on the first Sunday in July.

children of the parish are occasionally christened with the name 'Albin.' We must now turn to investigate this strange connection, which binds Silenen with Verulam and Cologne, and determine, if it be possible, the integrity of the story which the church at Silenen claims to commemorate.

In the early Middle Ages communication between Italy and western Germany was effected by two main arteries of traffic traversing the barrier of the Alps.¹ There was the ascent from Chiavenna, which offered the choice of the Splügen and Septimer passes, leading down through Chur to Lake Constance, where Germany was entered. But this route was regarded with less favour than the alternative passage of the Great St. Bernard, where the traveller descended into the Rhone valley near the great monastery of St. Maurice,² the shrine of the Theban Legion, skirted the Lake of Geneva and struck across country to Basle, where he embarked upon the Rhine for the next stage of his journey northwards. This undoubtedly was the favourite route for trade and travel as late as the thirteenth century, for until then the Great St. Bernard suffered no competition from its later rival the St. Gotthard. Leo IX, whom we have already encountered at Cologne, traversed this pass on at least four occasions on his visits to Germany. The St. Gotthard, however, was handicapped by peculiar difficulties, although in contrast to the other passes it could offer easy access from the Italian side and the pass itself caused the traveller no serious inconvenience. The critical point occurs on the far side of the summit, where the river Reuss, after traversing a level valley, penetrates a wall of mountains and discharges its waters northwards through a narrow gorge (the Schöllenen), vividly described by Samuel Butler:—'He who has crossed the St. Gotthard, will remember that below Andermatt there is one of those Alpine gorges which reach the very utmost limits of the sublime and terrible. The feelings of the traveller have become more and more highly wrought at every step, until at last the naked and overhanging cliffs seem to close above his head, as he crosses a bridge hung in mid-air over a roaring waterfall, and enters on the darkness of a tunnel, hewn out of the rock.'³ Until the coming of the railway this bridge, the Teufelsbrücke, formed the one connecting link between the summit of the pass and the descending valley below, but in the early Middle Ages no one had yet ventured to sling a bridge across the wild torrent of the Reuss and, in consequence, the route remained impassable for centuries. We need not here enter into the controversy about the date of the opening up of the St. Gott-

¹ Most conveniently presented in J. E. Tyler, *The Alpine Passes in the Middle Ages (962-1250)* (1930); see also W. W. Hyde, 'Roman Alpine Passes,' in *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, ii (1935).

² The significance of this geographical position for the spread of the cult of St. Maurice is explained in Herzberg, *op. cit.* Names of some of

the more important travellers who used this pass between the eighth and the eleventh centuries are given on pp. 24 f.

³ *Erewhon*, ch. xxviii. The passage continues by describing the striking contrast of scene which meets the eye when emerging at the further end of the tunnel.

hard.¹ The earliest documentary evidence for a crossing of the pass is given in 1234, but it is probable that the route had been employed for some time previously in the twelfth century, as is suggested by the increasing size and importance of the town of Lucerne at this period. The incident, however, with which we are concerned occurred in the tenth century, possibly in the year 984, so that we are forced to conclude that a crossing of the St. Gotthard by the Empress was impossible. In all likelihood it was by the Great St. Bernard that she crossed the Alps on her journey to Cologne, and the miracle must have been effected at some point in the vicinity of that pass, not at Silenen.² If the story be genuine historical reminiscence it can originally have had no connection with Silenen, so we must now address ourselves to inquire the reason for the precise geographical knowledge of the sixteenth-century writer and the origin of the cult of our English St. Alban at Silenen.

As we have already observed, a series of church dedications affords evidence that St. Alban was known and honoured in France, but in Germany and Switzerland numerous churches bearing his name are invariably associated with the martyr of Mainz, and not of Verulam.³ It is not impossible, of course, that the English St. Alban originally enjoyed some reputation in Germany, but that his cult was assimilated under the predominating influence of St. Alban of Mainz. This possibility is suggested by an isolated example of a St. Alban dedication, which survives at Bettbur in Alsace and is claimed for the English saint, deriving perhaps from the Celtic monks at the neighbouring monastery of Maursmünster.⁴ This

¹ The older view which assigned the opening of the St. Gotthard to the thirteenth century is given by A. Schulte, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels und Verkehrs zwischen Westdeutschland und Italien* i (Karlsruhe, 1900), pp. 169 ff, and R. Lauer-Belart, *Studien zur Eröffnungsgeschichte des Gotthardpasses, mit einer Untersuchung über Stiebende Brücke und Teufelsbrücke* (1924). This last work is effectively criticised by K. Meyer in *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Geschichte* ix (1929), pp. 218 ff. Meyer has further developed his thesis on the twelfth-century development of the pass in his *Geschichte des Kantons Luzern* (Lucerne, 1932), pp. 191 ff.

² H. J. B. Nicholson, *op. cit.*, for some unknown reason locates the miracle at 'Octodurus near Martigny.' He is probably nearer the truth than the actual tradition.

³ The cult of St. Alban at Odensee, Denmark, was local and failed to spread to other parts of the country. E. Jorgensen, *Helgendyrkelse i Danmark* (Copenhagen, 1909), pp. 17 ff.

The relics of St. Alban in the cathedral of Namur belong to St. Alban of Mainz. A. Raisse, *Hierogazophylacium Belgicum* (Douai, 1628), p. 4.

⁴ L. Pflieger in *Archiv für elsassische Kirchengeschichte* iv (Strassburg, 1929), p. 46; also his *Die elsassische Pfarrei ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung* (Strassburg, 1936), p. 48. In the Carolingian period the same dedication was enjoyed by the church at Schweinheim, later changed to SS. Vincent and Anastasius. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* N.F. 46 (Karlsruhe, 1932), p. 181. There are numerous Alban dedications in Württemberg all ascribed to St. Alban of Mainz. G. Hoffmann, *Kirchenheilige in Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1932), p. 260.

In K. Künstle, *op. cit.*, p. 44, two examples are given of St. Alban of Verulam in German medieval art. (1) A fifteenth-century statue in the church at Oberschaffhausen not far from Freiburg, which, as I am assured by Professor J. Sauer, represents St. Alban of Mainz. Cf. *Die Kunst-*

dedication at the gate of Germany may be the last trace of a more widespread cult of St. Alban of Verulam, which has since been merged and lost in that of his German rival. The situation is similar in Switzerland, where the cult of St. Alban of Mainz prevails. That the English protomartyr may once have been venerated in Switzerland is indicated by the fact that the granting of civic rights to the town of Winthertur by Rudolph III of Habsburg was celebrated in the twelfth century on June 22nd, though not long after the festival was put forward to June 21st, the day of St. Alban of Mainz.¹ This latter saint was already well known in Switzerland, no doubt through the influence of the metropolitan see of Mainz, for relics of his may have been conserved at St. Gall, Rheinau and Muri, as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries.² The monastery of St. Alban at Basle was founded in 1083 by Bishop Burckard, previously chamberlain to the Archbishop of Mainz, perhaps supplanting a dedication to yet another St. Alban, who is thought to have been venerated on this spot since Roman times.³ No doubt through the medium of this foundation the renown of the German saint was widely spread throughout Switzerland. As far as Silenen is concerned, we have no reason for assuming any continuity with an original cult of St. Alban of Verulam, which has left scarcely a trace in the country as a whole.

In western Switzerland, however, where French culture was stronger, we find the name of Albinus. Three churches are dedicated in honour of the saint, not the martyr of Cologne, but St. Albinus or Aubin, a sixth-century bishop of Angers.⁴ Further, it seems that interest in this saint was not confined to French Switzerland, for he is found in the calendar of the diocese of Chur, and he was traditionally associated with the chapel at Garschenna bei Hohenrealta, which later succumbed to the claims of St. Alban of Mainz. He is also to this day the patron of the church at Ermatingen on the Untersee close to Constance.

Is it not then a reasonable hypothesis to suppose that at Silenen, though admittedly within the territory denoted as German Switzerland, there originally existed another of these stray dedications to the French St. Albinus of Angers? Let us now give rein to speculation. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards the St. Gotthard pass assumed importance as an international highway from the north to Italy, competing on very favourable terms with the

denkmaler des Grossherzogtums Baden vi, Pt. 1 (Tubingen, 1904), p. 203.

(2) In a wall-painting at Zell bei Oberstaufen in the Bavarian Allgau. A personal inspection of the late medieval paintings in this fascinating little Alpine church has shown that the martyr of Mainz is once again the subject. Cf. *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* xvii (Stuttgart, 1894), pp. 344 ff.

¹ M. Godet, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 139 f.

² E. A. Stückelberg, *Geschichte der*

Reliquien in der Schweiz (Zürich, 1902).

³ E. A. Stückelberg, *Aus der christlichen Altertumskunde* (Zürich, 1904), pp. 29 ff.; C. H. Baer in *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde* xxxviii (Zürich, 1936), pp. 82 ff. and 225.

⁴ St. Aubin (Vully), Vufflens-le-Chateau and St. Aubin (Neuchâtel). *Freiburger (Schweiz) Geschichtsblätter* xx (1913), p. 118.

⁵ A.A.S.S. March i, pp. 54 ff.

Great St. Bernard, as it was now the most direct of all the routes. We may assume that the abbots and monks of St. Pantaleon travelled by this road on their frequent visits to Rome, and that they must have remarked the singularity of the dedication of the church at Silenen. This was the only church they passed on their long journey which boasted the name of Albinus, a name already familiar to them. They recollected the traditional story of the relics and of the miraculous deliverance among the fastnesses of the Alps, and as they observed the mighty cliff that towered above Silenen and heard tell, perhaps, of the landslides that came tumbling from time to time upon the village below, they may well, in ignorance of the history of the pass, have drawn the obvious conclusion that this must be the actual spot where the miracle had taken place. The relics had crashed from the summit of that stupendous cliff, and the little church of St. Albinus must have been erected in commemoration of the wonder. We have already commented upon the facility with which an interchange of dedications between saints of the same or similar names could be effected. Once these rumours had been let loose in Silenen, it is possible that St. Albinus of Angers, a stranger in this locality, may have yielded to the more pressing claims of St. Albinus of Cologne. The priest and his flock, we may suppose, would have been gratified to accept this relevant and exciting story, told upon the authority of the monks of St. Pantaleon, as the story of their own patron saint. In some such way as this the legend may have struck root in this delectable valley, where it has continued to thrive obscure and unnoticed, yet sufficiently retentive to endure into the twentieth century.¹

APPENDIX II

THE DEDICATION TO HENRY VII FROM THE LEGEND OF ST. ALBINUS PUBLISHED AT COLOGNE IN 1502

Illustrissimo Principi, Domini Henrico, Angliae, Franciae, Regi invictissimo, ac Hiberniae Domino nostro semper Domino gratiosissimo.

Serenissime maximeque Rex, cum jam ex multis retro temporibus in civitate Coloniensi monasterio nostri S. Pantaleonis, ex Britannia, quam nunc Angliam vocamus, oriundus in natali solo ad martyrium usque perductus, beatus Angliae Protomartyr Albanus, celebri veneratione colatur, ac pia populi devotione tam pro sacri corporis Reliquiarum, quam virtutem ipsius praesentia frequentetur; quemadmodum praeter alios multi quoque praeclari viri, ex vestrae Celsitudinis regno, Ecclesiastici et seculares, et saepe antea et nuper qui hac forte transierunt, intuiti sunt; animum subiit, quidquid ejus vitae, miraculorum, translationis, veris nobis testimoniis innotuit, breviter colligere atque edere, quo ejus nomen, sicut etiam gratia, latius diffundatur; atque hoc ipsum vestrae Regiae Celsitudini

¹ I am deeply obliged to Dr. Marcel Beck, of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, for many facts and suggestions that he has generously brought to my notice.

obsequentissimo animo offerre, ut ex ejusdem gratia, venia et permissu, de quo bonam spem habemus, in vestro regno vulgari possit. Nam sicut ejus martyrium et alia nonnulla ex vestris scriptoribus, praecipue venerabili Beda didicimus; non absurdum videbitur, si, velut gratiam referenter, quae a nostris accepimus, illorum scriptis adjungeremus; ut quemadmodum una in coelis anima Martyris gloriosa, corporis sui Reliquias disjungi passa est, e diverso una iterum historia in animos hominum totam ejus, quantum per nos ipsius zelatores licet, laudem gloriamque connectat. Quod felici faustoque homini contigisse nobis, vestri regni temporibus, Serenissime Rex, non ambigimus; cujus non minor est erga Deum et Sanctos religio, quam in imperio prudentia et equitas, adversum hostes feliciter et fortitudo. Accipiat ergo, Serenissime Rex, vestra Celsitudo ab humilibus et devotis vestris hujus sancti Martyris Albani connexam historiam; ut ad ea quae in ipsius patria comperta sunt qualis quantusque hic (ubi sui quoque partem esse voluit) habeatur, pia mente Vestra Celsitudo condiscat.

Ex Colonia Anno Domini MD II Idibus Januarii. Vestrae Regiae Celsitudine deditissimi; Abbas et Conventus monasterii S. Pantaleonis in Colonia Agrippinensi.

APPENDIX III

I have suggested that the monks of St. Pantaleon created the cult of St. Alban at Cologne by transforming an otherwise obscure Albinus into Albanus of Verulam. A curious parallel from the twelfth-century *Guide for the Compostella Pilgrim*, where the monks of Corbigny (Nievre) are accused of identifying a St. Leotard with the better-known St. Leonard of Limoges, is worthy of quotation:—

‘The monks of Corbigny should blush with shame, for they claim to have the body of St. Leonard, although no particle of his bones or of his dust could possibly have been carried away, as we have already explained. The monks of Corbigny, like many other people, have benefited by his blessings and his miracles, but they have been deprived of the possession of his body. And so, since they could not have his, they venerate as St. Leonard’s the body of a certain Leotard, which, they say, was brought to them from Anjou in a silver shrine. They have even changed his own name after his death as if he had been baptised a second time. They imposed upon him the name of St. Leonard, in order that the renown of so celebrated a name (that of St. Leonard of Limoges) might attract pilgrims, who would bring them their offerings.’
J. Vielliard, *Le Guide du Pelerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle* (Mâcon, 1938), pp. 52 ff.

APPENDIX IV

It has recently come to my notice that an English fifteenth-century Roll of Arms printed in *The Ancestor*, Vol. iv, p. 180, includes the following blazon: ‘Azure a silver cross fitchy between four golden As, Sanctus Albynus Anglya.’