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**The Anna Selbdritt in Late Medieval Germany:
Meaning and Function of a Religious Image**

Virginia Nixon

A Thesis

in

The Special Individualized Program

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

March 1997

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ABSTRACT

The Anna Selbdritt in Late Medieval Germany: Meaning and Function of a Religious Image

Virginia Nixon, Ph.D.
Concordia University, 1997

In the decades between 1480 and 1520 the production of images of Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child increased in Germany and the Netherlands in an unprecedented manner. This increase followed on the extensive promotion of the saint's cult by Netherlandish and Rheinland German humanists and reforming clerics that began in the 1480s, manifesting itself in the founding of confraternities dedicated to her and in the writing of lives and other texts. These texts, which were republished elsewhere in Germany, were of crucial importance in heightening Anne's popularity for they attributed to her a power unprecedented in saints' lives, the power to help souls achieve salvation. This power which Anne enjoyed thanks to her fleshly relationship with the Redeemer and his mother, had special appeal for German Christians, who in the fifteenth century were showing a heightened concern over individual salvation. This attempt to encourage membership in St. Anne confraternities was part of a larger clerical program to control and shape lay piety in the late medieval North, in part in response to anxieties over lay, especially lay women's, religious activities, in part in response to financial pressures. Not only did the texts ascribe salvific power to Anne. The images, both the Anna Selbdritt which depicts Anne with Mary and the Child Jesus, and the Holy Kinship which shows her with her extended family, also link Saint Anne with salvation, first by compositions which

emphasize her role as the source of the flesh of Mary and Jesus, and second by the directions of the gazes. The hooded gaze of the fifteenth-century madonna, which is directed either downwards at her son or into the distance towards his coming crucifixion, and which aligns her with the role of co-redemptrix (merited by her fore-known humility) that some fifteenth-century theologians ascribed to her, is repeated in the figure of Anne. Thus Anne, as well as Mary, is compositionally linked with the redemptive sacrifice. This type of composition is found where texts ascribe salvific power to Anne, in Germany and Flanders, but it is not found where this motif is absent, for example in England and Italy.

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of the thesis

This thesis is a study of an image type, the image known in German as the Anna Selbdritt, the depiction of Saint Anne with her daughter Mary and her grandson Jesus. It is a study not only of the compositional types, iconography, and underlying theological meanings of the Anna Selbdritt, but also of the circumstances that gave rise to its proliferation in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and of the way it was perceived and used by late medieval German Christians.

No-one who has explored churches and museums in Germany can have failed to notice these curious compositions in which Saint Anne holds her daughter, often depicted as a disproportionately small child, and her grandson in the crook of her arm or seated on her knees. It was an encounter with just such an image, a sculpted Anna Selbdritt from the workshop of Jörg Syrlin the Younger (fig. 1) in the Lorenzkapelle Museum in Rottweil, that gave rise to this thesis. Why was the normal age progression disrupted? Why was such a strong emphasis placed on the figure of Anne? What messages did an image like this convey to the people who used it? What in fact did they do with it, and how did they perceive it? What were the reasons that sculptors in Germany, Flanders and Holland produced such enormous quantities of sculptures, paintings and prints of the Anna Selbdritt during the years between 1480 and 1530? These questions did not seem to be adequately answered in the available literature that treated the subject. The most frequent explanations, that the Anna Selbdritt represented the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and that the flowering of the cult of Saint Anne was the result of popular

devotional enthusiasm, were supported neither by evidence nor by adequate methodological foundations. As I was shortly to learn, some scholars had already begun to approach certain aspects of the cult and imagery of Saint Anne from more viable points of view, but their works were either unpublished or had not yet come to my notice.

The work that follows analyzes the Anna Selbdritt both in terms of its visual structure and in terms of its role in religious practice. A number of points are argued. One complex of arguments however stands out above the others: in late medieval Germany Saint Anne was promoted as able to help the worshipper achieve salvation. She had the power not merely to intercede as other saints did, but to exercise direct power of her own, a power that arose out of her flesh and blood connection with Jesus and Mary. Not only is this special power evident in contemporary texts, but as I show in an analysis of the art works, Saint Anne's role in the economy of salvation is also alluded to pictorially.

On a more mundane level, the promotion of Anne's cult aligned itself with clerical efforts to shape and control lay piety. On still another level, it functioned as a means of raising funds in an increasingly competitive ecclesiastical landscape. Beautiful art works, powerful relics, confraternities and indulgences all drew people into churches; the cult of Saint Anne was bound up with all three.

A number of points are argued in this attempt to answer these questions. One complex of arguments however stands out above the others: in late medieval Germany Saint Anne was promoted as able to help the worshipper achieve salvation. She had the power not merely to intercede as other saints might, but to exercise direct power of her

own, a power that arose out of her flesh and blood connection with Jesus and Mary. Not only is this special power evident in texts, but as I show in an analysis of the art works, Saint Anne's role in the economy of salvation is also alluded to pictorially.

On a more mundane level, the promotion of Anne's cult aligned itself with late medieval clerical efforts to shape and control lay piety. On still another level, it functioned as an effective means of raising funds in an increasingly competitive ecclesiastical landscape. Beautiful art works, powerful relics, confraternities, and indulgences all drew people into churches, and the cult of Saint Anne was bound up with all three.

The scholarship on Saint Anne

The cult of Mary's mother flourished in many parts of Christian Europe and in the Americas at different times in the past two millennia. The thesis is concerned with the form it took in Germany, Flanders and Holland in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹ Saint Anne's cult has attracted considerable if sporadic attention from scholars over the past hundred years. The oldest studies, those by E. Schaumkell, Paul-Victor Charland, and Beda Kleinschmidt, connected the late fifteenth-century northern flourishing with the contemporaneous publication of the lives of Saint Anne written by Netherlandish

¹ Unless otherwise noted it is this Northern phase of the cult that is discussed in this thesis. It should also be noted that within this region there are differences. Holland in particular shows features which are not found in Germany and Flanders. It is to be hoped that context and wording will make it clear when the broader region, and when the narrower territories, are the subject of discussion.

and German humanists and clerics.² In this they were correct. However their explanations of its popularity, based either on generalized notions of lay piety or on the postulation of a causal connection with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception), did not adequately explain the sudden and spectacular expansion of the cult that took place beginning around 1480. Subsequent articles treating individual Anna Selbdritts shed little light on the circumstances surrounding the cult's expansion as they tended by and large to accept Kleinschmidt's association with the Immaculate Conception.

In the 1980s a new generation of scholars turned their attention to Saint Anne. Working simultaneously, and independently, in Germany, Holland and the United States, these researchers were interested in and influenced by new findings and methodologies arising out of anthropology, sociology, cultural studies and women's studies, as well as by new research on the meaning and functions of images. The variety of the newer approaches, the wide range of themes discernable in the cult of Saint Anne, and the geographic diversity that characterized it, are illustrated by Interpreting Cultural Symbols, a collection of papers presented at the 1988 International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and published several years later by Kathleen Ashley and

² E. Schaumkell, Der Kultus der heiligen Anna am Ausgang des Mittelalters, Freiburg: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J.C.B. Mohr, 1893; P.-V. Charland, Les trois légendes de Madame Sainte Anne: I. Légende hagiographique (la Vie), Québec, 1898; II Légende historique (le Culte) Histoire de la Dévotion à Sainte-Anne, Lévis: Mercier et Cie, 1904; III Légende iconographique (les Arts) Madame Sainte Anne et son culte au moyen âge, 2 vols., Paris: Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1911 & 1913; Le culte de sainte Anne en Occident, second période, 1400 (environ) à nos jours, Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1921; Patronage de Sainte Anne en arts, 2 vols; Beda Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna: Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1930.

Pamela Sheingorn.³ These essays shed important new light on many aspects of the cult, even though some of them continue to draw on Kleinschmidt's interpretation of its origins.⁴

Around the same time that these papers were being published in the United States, some European scholars were undertaking more comprehensive examinations of Saint Anne's cult. In Holland, Ton Brandenburg was examining the late fifteenth-century lives written in the Netherlands and Rheinland Germany and analyzing their role in the promotion of the cult in this region. Brandenburg's book Heilig Familieleven concluded that the association with the Immaculate Conception asserted by Kleinschmidt and others had not been an integral aspect of the cult.⁵ Brandenburg found important connections with the growth of middle class mores and family structure. In Germany, Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, whose research on the Saint Anne confraternities and texts constituted a major contribution to understanding the scope of her cult, also rejected the idea of an essential connection with the Immaculate Conception.⁶

³ Kathleen Ashley & Pamela Sheingorn, ed. Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990.

⁴ The same is true of some other recent studies, among them Meret Lindgren's article on the promotion and use of Saint Anne by Bridget of Sweden and her followers "De heliga änkorna: S. Annakultens framväxt, speglad i birgittinsk ikonografi," Konsthistorisk tidskrift, 59 (1990), pp. 52-75.

⁵ Ton Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven. Verspreiding en waardering van de Historie van Sint-Anna in de stedelijke cultuur in de Nederlanden en het Rijnland aan het begin van de moderne tijd, Nijmegen: Sun, 1990.

⁶ Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Die Verehrung der heiligen Anna in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992; Vorreformatorsche Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992.

New research was also underway in the field of art history in the 1980s and '90s. In 1986 Werner Esser completed a dissertation on the Holy Kinship, an expanded version of the Anna Selbdritt which depicts Saint Anne with the three husbands, three daughters and six, mostly apostle, grandchildren, ascribed to her by medieval writers.⁷ While Esser did not attempt to compile a complete catalogue of the Holy Kinship images, he did illustrate a large number of them, broken down by region. In Amsterdam Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen catalogued the Dutch sculptures of the Anna Selbdritt, while in Passau, Bernadette Mangold did the same for Lower Bavaria.⁸ Art and history were brought together in Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, the catalogue of an exhibition of images of Saint Anne organized for the Museum for Religious Art in Uden, Holland, by Brandenburg, Deeelman-van Tyen and Lène Dresen-Coenders. Several earlier works by the last-named treat the relationship of Anne's cult with changing social factors in early modern culture.⁹ Many of the above projects, as well as the present thesis, made use of the extensive data on Saint Anne's cult collected over many decades by the Bonn Volkskunde scholar, the late Matthias Zender.

The new scholarship on Saint Anne comprised one set of sources of information

⁷ Werner Esser, Die Heilige Sippe: Studien zu einem spätmittelalterlichen Bildthema in Deutschland und den Niederlanden, Ph.D diss. Bonn: Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1986.

⁸ Willemien Deeelman-Van Tyen, Sint Anna-te-Drieen: een onderzoek naar vorm, inhoud en functioneren van het thema St Anna-te-drieen in de nederlandse beeldhouwkunst der late middeleeuwen, 2 vols. M.A. thesis, Amsterdam: Free University, 1990; Bernadette Mangold, Die Darstellung der heiligen Anna selbdritt in der gotischen Plastik Niederbayerns (1380-1540), M.A. thesis, University of Passau, 1990.

⁹ Ton Brandenburg, Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen, Lène Dresen-Coenders, and Léon van Liebergen, Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, Nijmegen: Sun, 1992.

and questions for the research on this thesis. A second set consisted of the lives, offices and other late medieval texts pertaining to the cult. The citations in Charland, Schaumkell, Kleinschmidt and Brandenburg provided the titles of many of these late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century texts, while others were uncovered in libraries and archives in Brussels, Augsburg, Munich, Dresden, Cologne and elsewhere.¹⁰ A third source consisted of the art works - the hundreds of sculptures, paintings and prints representing Saint Anne and her numerous family.

These images and texts connected with the cult formed the essential body of source material. A wide range of other primary material including saints lives, treatises, devotional texts, poems, and city chronicles, was also studied in order to situate Saint Anne within her contexts, and to note patterns of temporal and regional variation. Texts and images were not assumed to be transparent; patrons, intended audiences, and local circumstances were kept in mind, while recurring - or absent - emphases, attitudes and themes were noted.

The conclusions of the thesis

The thesis shares many of the concerns of the scholars mentioned above. In some areas it arrives at the same conclusions as they do. In other areas it develops new paths of inquiry into the cult. A number of my observations confirm those already reported by Brandenburg and Dörfler-Dierken, among them the rejection of the idea of an integral

¹⁰ Brandenburg's analysis of the Rheinland texts helped me to identify other texts I came across. Dörfler-Dierken's extensive and nearly comprehensive list of Anne texts (in Die Verehrung der heiligen Anna) appeared after I had assembled my texts.

connection between the cult of Saint Anne with the Immaculate Conception, and the agreement that the cult is intricately bound up with urban middle class life. In the case of certain themes developed by Brandenburg and Dörfler-Dierken I draw additional conclusions. A case in point is the late medieval lives' presentation of Anne's sexuality, which Brandenburg argues was intended as a model for restrained middle class female behaviour, and which Dörfler-Dierken interprets as presenting a new model of sanctified marriage. While agreeing wholeheartedly with both, I relate Anne's sexuality in addition to long-standing perceptions of the incompatibility of sexual activity and holiness in German hagiography.

In some cases I develop themes that are mentioned in passing by other scholars. The role of the cult as a means of generating income is an example. In my discussion of the economic factors in the development of Anne's cult in Augsburg I draw on Rolf Kiessling's analysis of the changing social structure of this South German city as a foundation from which to develop proposals about the pressures and motivations behind the installation of the cult in the city's Carmelite Convent. Another theme which I develop further is the role of the cult in the shaping of lay piety, an investigation in which I make use of Carol Schuler's work on the Cult of the Seven Sorrows and Anne Winston-Allen's on the cult of the Rosary, pointing out that the similarities in the organization of these three suggest a larger pattern of purposeful clerical activity.¹¹

Most important, I advance and support hypotheses which have not to my

¹¹ Carol M. Schuler, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin," *Simiolus*, 21, 1/2 (1992), pp. 5-28; Anne Winston-Allen, The Sacred Narrative of the Rose: The Rosary and Popular Piety in Late Medieval Germany, forthcoming.

knowledge been presented elsewhere. Of particular significance is my argument linking Saint Anne with the growing concern over salvation in late medieval Germany. I show that the new texts used Saint Anne to simultaneously encourage and assuage salvation anxiety. I argue that this role, in which Anne exercised active power due to her physical link with the Redeemer, was made possible by the metonymic (magical) form of piety that prevailed in Germany and Flanders in the late medieval period. The presence of the metonymic principle in late medieval German culture is frequently discussed in historical literature, and it is sometimes mentioned in art historical writing. However I do not believe its role in the perception of art works has been expounded elsewhere as fully as it is in this thesis. My study of late medieval German images and texts leads me to reject the idea that those ideas and practices that appear most strange to a modern view arose out of the lower or popular levels of society, levels characterized by superstitions abandoned by the more enlightened. Though it is clear that a variety of different ideas and perceptions operated in late medieval Germany, I have concluded, as Peter Brown did for the Early Christian cult of the saints, that the metonymic characteristics that mark the late medieval German cult of Saint Anne are evident at all levels of society, and indeed were propagated in writings and practises produced and encouraged at elite levels.¹²

In another chapter I go on to argue on the basis of formal properties and iconographic evidence that just as the texts link Anne with salvation, so the composition of the late medieval Anna Selbdritt images conveys analogous messages implicating Anne

¹² Peter Brown, The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, esp. chaps. one & two.

in the economy of salvation. Artists drew on the visual language of the Marian images to draw Anne into the orbit the former shared with her son. Here, as with the texts, correspondences of time support the argument.

Regional and local specificity are another area where the thesis presents new findings. Anne images made in England, where the cult emphasised different themes than in Germany, depict her differently. I argue that these variations are part of differences in broader cultural patterns, Germany being a culture in which power is readily ascribed to objects and images conflated with referents, whereas in England (and Holland) images are more likely to be perceived as representing rather than embodying their referents.

The thesis shows also that Saint Anne's cult functioned differently in different parts of Germany, its ideological aspect being most important in the Rheinland, its fund-raising aspect being greater in Augsburg and in the Saxon mining town of Annaberg.

As well as advancing the arguments mentioned above, the thesis draws on the Anne lives and other primary sources to present information on how the Anna Selbdritt (and by extension other art works) were used in late medieval German religious practice. As well it discusses the iconographic details of art works depicting Saint Anne, providing new information on some, and cautioning that the meaning of a medieval image can never be assumed to be either self-evident or constant. Medieval images were in a sense common property. Although artists and writers chose the meanings they wanted to ascribe, they were never able to shake off the accumulated residues of other meanings. What viewers or readers saw might be something else again.

Like Werner Esser's Holy Kinship thesis, this thesis too finds the sheer quantity

of images too large to catalogue, but nonetheless offers a typology of compositional formats with a breakdown of geographical frequency.

The thesis closes with a discussion of the functions of the participant donor in the Anna Selbdritt and in other late medieval art works? I present evidence to support hints put forward by other art historians to the effect that these images may have played a role in manipulating spiritual power for the purpose of securing the patron's salvation. However further research will be necessary before such a thesis can be proved or disproved.

The assumptions underlying the research

The above are the conclusions of the thesis. How were they arrived at? What were the paths taken to reach them? A fundamental assumption that shapes this study is the view that art works are not transcendental objects with mysterious powers. Works of art, both works of genius and ones of more modest achievement, are social artifacts whose functions and means of signifying can be analyzed and to a certain extent understood. At the same time I am all too aware of the ease with which present conceptions can be unwittingly imposed on the past. In particular I have been cautious not to apply nineteenth and twentieth-century ideas of what constitutes piety or the lack of it, in assessing fifteenth-century religious practice. Instead I have tried to listen to what contemporary texts and images reveal about religious experience. I have tried to remember too that the people who lived in the midst of the discourses of the Reformation - or of the Immaculate Conception - did not "see" these laid out in the neat formulations

that the modern historian has been able to extract from the untidiness of experience.

The relationship of a work of art to its culture is not a simple case of the one being influenced, whatever that might mean, by the other. A work of art is best understood not by setting it against its cultural or historical backgrounds, but by looking at it as part of the dialectics of its culture.¹³ In this regard the work of Clifford Geertz remains a model of sympathetic attention to the detail, complexity and semiological meaning structures of the objects and activities of a given culture.¹⁴

My research confirms an observation made by Geertz (and before him by Roland Barthes and Claude Levi-Strauss) that the structure of a culture appears in all of its products:

The feeling a people has for life appears, of course, in a great many other places than in their art. It appears in their religion, their morality, their science, their commerce, their technology, their politics, their amusements, their law, even in the way they organize their everyday practical existence.¹⁵

Indeed, the substratum of the feelings of medieval people about images surfaces whenever they talk about them, even when they are trying to say something else.

New methods and theories do not decrease the potential of the text and the image

¹³ Clifford Geertz, "Art as a Cultural System," Modern Language Notes, 91, 6, 2 (1976) pp. 1473-1499; The Interpretation of Cultures, New York: Basic Books, 1973. See also Lynn Hughes's remarks on Geertz's work in "Introduction," The New Cultural History, ed. Lynn Hunt, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, pp. 12-13; Aletta Biersack, "Local Knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond," *ibid.*, pp. 72-96.

¹⁴ "Works of art," says Geertz, "are elaborate mechanisms for defining social relationships, sustaining social rules, and strengthening social values....They materialize a way of experiencing; bring a particular cast of mind out into the world of objects, where men can look at it." Geertz, "Art as a Cultural System," p. 1478.

¹⁵ Geertz, *ibid.*, p. 1475.

for releasing meaning. They increase it. Gabrielle Spiegel may be right when she remarks in an essay on new theory and medieval studies, that the text's "inevitable clash of codes" may defer "the material presence towards which it appears to be destined but at which it never arrives" but this presents no handicap for the researcher, for the "différences" along the way are endlessly revealing.¹⁶ The fact that the author may not be in conscious control, as Spiegel notes, means that he or she speaks not less but more clearly.¹⁷ At any rate he is assuredly not dead. Nor is the relation of the sign, whether linguistic or pictorial, to its referent "ruptured" as she asserts.¹⁸ It is only changed. In the same way that the written word can reveal information, so too can the repeating, and systematically changing, patterns and networks of patterns and correspondences in visual images. In visual images, in texts, and in human actions, the presence - or absence - of themes and motifs, emphases, overdeterminations and omissions, are clues that provide points of entry for investigations of how people thought and felt. It is important to remember that structural analysis reveals patterns - not answers. The meaning of the patterns it uncovers is not self-evident. It must be sought with the aid of additional tools and data, and supported with arguments based on concrete evidence .

The mention of data raises questions about relationships between images and texts. What guidelines are to be used? Images are not visual descriptions of reality nor are they simple reflections of texts. They draw on traditions of past images as well as on present

¹⁶ Gabrielle Spiegel, "The Social Logic of the Text," Speculum, 65 (1990) p. 63.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

discourses. A particular compositional feature may reflect an underlying quality of the culture that produced it. The fact that the realism in Dutch Anna Selbdritts finds a parallel in the realism that marks the Dutch Anne texts suggests that something important about Dutch culture is being signalled here. On the other hand an iconographic or stylistic feature may simply reflect the availability of a model, the choice of a patron, or the inspiration of a gifted individual. The preponderance of South German compositions in Saxon images of Saint Anne, for example, may well reflect have resulted from the availability of Swabian prints.

Another question that arises in a study of this kind is the one that asks which comes first, images or texts. Caution is the word here. Textual sources can be found for many of the motifs in the images of Saint Anne, but habit, convention, even misunderstandings on the part of artists and patrons, also shape iconography. Images and texts are assuredly related but they do not speak in parallel voices. Viewing the two together, intertwined as separate parts of an overall discourse can be unexpectedly revealing.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CULT AND IMAGERY OF SAINT ANNE PRIOR TO THE LATE 1400S

The textual basis for Anne's story

Though the early history of the cult of the mother of the Virgin falls outside the scope of this study, some background is useful for an understanding of the devotion to Saint Anne in the late medieval period.¹ The story of Mary's mother entered the Christian tradition in written form in the Greek Protoevangelium of James.² This second century

¹ A comprehensive study of the early history of the cult of Saint Anne has yet to be written. The treatment of it in the older studies is not based on systematic primary research: Beda Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna: Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1930; P.-V. Charland, Les trois légendes de Madame Sainte Anne: I. Légende hagiographique (la Vie), Québec, 1898; II Légende historique (le Culte) Histoire de la Dévotion à Sainte-Anne, Lévis: Mercier et Cie, 1904; III Légende iconographique (les Arts) Madame Sainte Anne et son culte au moyen âge, 2 vols., Paris: Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1911 & 1913; Le culte de sainte Anne en Occident, second période, 1400 (environ) à nos jours, Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1921; Patronage de Sainte Anne en arts, 2 vols.; E. Schaumkell, Der Kultus der heiligen Anna am Ausgang des Mittelalters, Freiburg im Breisgau: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J.C.B. Mohr, 1893. Summaries based on these and other works can be found in: Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society, ed. Kathleen Ashley & Pamela Sheingorn, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990; Ton Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven. Verspreiding en waardering van de Historie van Sint-Anna in de stedelijke cultuur in de Nederlanden en het Rijnland aan het begin van de moderne tijd, Nijmegen: Sun, 1990; Brandenburg, "St. Anne and Her Family: The Veneration of St Anne in Connection with Concepts of Marriage and the Family in the Early Modern Period," Saints and She-Devils: Images of Women in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, ed. Lène Dresen-Coenders et al, pp. 101-27, London: Rubicon Press, 1987; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, L'Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en occident, 2 vols. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1964-65.

² For the text of the Protoevangelium see C. von Tischendorf, Evangelia apocrypha, (Leipzig, 1853) Hildesheim, 1966; M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955; The Other Bible, ed. Willis Barnstone, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984. The portion of the Protoevangelium dealing with Anne is reproduced (trans. Oscar Cullman) in Ashley & Sheingorn, *ibid.*, pp. 53-57, and in The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: history and significance, ed. E.D. O'Connor, Notre Dame:

apocryphal infancy narrative, the ultimate source of much of the nativity iconography of the middle ages, includes the story of Mary's parents, a story that draws on earlier prototypes of the older barren woman who bears a divinely favoured child.

Anne and Joachim, old, pious and charitable, long for a child. When Joachim's sacrifice at the Temple is rejected by the High Priest because he has not produced offspring, he flees in desolation to the solitude of his flocks. Anne bemoans her sterility and the loss of her husband. God hears their prayers. Joachim in his fields and Anne lamenting at home are told by an angel that she will conceive a child. She goes to meet and embrace her returning husband at Jerusalem's Golden Gate. The child Mary is conceived and born, and in fulfilment of her parents' vow, at the age of three is brought to the Temple to lead the life of a consecrated virgin.³

The Protoevangelium itself was not known in the West until relatively late, possibly only in the sixteenth century. Anne's story was disseminated through a Latin

University of Notre Dame Press, 1958, pp. 513-515.

³ Some medieval texts state or imply that the conception took place miraculously through the embrace at the Golden Gate. The majority however explicitly or implicitly state that the conception took place through normal sexual intercourse. It cannot be assumed that depictions of the embrace at the Golden Gate are references to the conception of Mary. The fifteenth-century preacher Geiler von Kaisersberg made this clear in no uncertain terms: "Also ist unser liebe frau auch menschlich empfangen nit von dem Kuss als thoerechte menschen davon reden sunder..." cited in J. Janssen, Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vol. 6, part I, ed. Ludwig Pastor, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1907, p. 17. For examples of the embrace used as an illustration for the feast see J. Graus, "Conceptio immaculata in alten Darstellungen," Kirchenschmuck, neue Folge, Oktober, 1905.

reworking of the Protoevangelium, the Pseudo-Gospel of Matthew, a work which has been dated to between 550 and 700, and through works derived in turn from it.⁴ Of these, De nativitate sanctae Mariae (attributed incorrectly to Jerome), was of particular importance.⁵

The first Northern European writer to treat Anne's life was the tenth-century Benedictine canoness Hroswitha of Gandersheim in the long poem Historia nativitatis laudabilisque conversationis intactae Dei genitricis quam scriptam reperi sub nomine Sancti Jacobi fratris domini which was based, its title notwithstanding, on the Pseudo-Matthew.⁶ Here and in other works written before the late medieval period Anne's story did not have an independent existence. As part of the life of the Virgin it is found in a number of texts, among them the rhymed Vita beatae virginis Mariae et Salvatoris rhythmica, which was based on the Pseudo-Matthew and which was incorporated in the

⁴ Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne discusses possible appearances of the Protoevangelium before this date. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, L'iconographie de l'enfance de la vierge, 2 vols., p. 12.

⁵ On the Pseudo-Matthew see Jan Gijsel, Die unmittelbare Textüberlieferung des sogenannten Pseudo-Matthäus, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 43, 96, Brussels: Koninklijke Academie, 1981. De nativitate sanctae Mariae is in J.P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina, 221 vols. Paris, 1844-64, 30, 307-315. There are translations of the relevant parts of the Pseudo-Matthew and De nativitate sanctae Mariae in O'Connor, The Dogma, pp. 515-522.

⁶ Hroswitha of Gandersheim, Historia nativitatis laudabilisque conversationis intactae Dei Genitricis, quam scriptam reperi sub nomine sancti Jacobi fratris Domini, PL, 137, 1065 ff; Hroswitha, The Nondramatic Works of Hroswitha, Trans. S.M. Gonsalva Wiegand, Saint Meinrad, Indiana: Abbey Press, 1936; Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim / Werke in deutscher Übertragung, intr. H. Homeyer, Munich: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1973.

late twelfth-century Marienlied; Driu liet von der maget of the Priester Wernher.⁷ In the thirteenth century Vincent of Beauvais drew on the Pseudo-Matthew and on the other reworking of the Protoevangelium, De nativitate sanctae Mariae, for the Speculum historiale, while Jacobus de Voragine incorporated De nativitate in the Legenda Aurea.⁸ A different version of the legend deriving from other sources appears in a thirteenth-century French text, Le Romanz de Saint Fanuel et de Sainte Anne et de Nostre Dame et de Nostre Seigneur et de ses Apostres, in which Anne is born from the thigh of her father.⁹ The legend of Anne also appeared in plays, again as part of the story of Mary, and Anne was honoured in hymns and poems, especially from the fourteenth century on.¹⁰

⁷ Vita beatae virginis Mariae et Salvatoris rhythmica, ed. A. Vögtlin, Tübingen, 1988; Werner von Tegernsee, Marienlied; Driu liet von der maget, ed. M. Pöpke et al, Berlin: A. Hübner, 1920; Priester Wernher, Maria / Bruchstücke und Umarbeitungen, 2nd ed., ed. Hans Fromm, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1969.

⁸ Vincent of Beauvais, "Speculum Historiale," Speculum Quadruplex sive Speculum Maius, Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, [1624] 1965, pp. 194-195; Jacobus de Voragine "De nativitate beatae Mariae virginis," Legenda Aurea, ed. Th. Graesse, Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, [1890] 1965, pp. 585 ff.; de Voragine, "The Nativity of our Lady," The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton, 2 vols, London: J.M. Dent & Co: Aldine House, 1900, vol. 2, pp. 96-102; Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend, trans. Granger Ryan, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 150-152.

⁹ Le Romanz de Saint Fanuel et de Sainte Anne et de Nostre Dame et de Nostre Seigneur et de ses Apostres, ed. Camille Chabanneau, Paris: Maisonneuve et Charles Leclerc, 1889. Francesca Sautman makes reference to Claude Gaignebet and Jean-Dominique Lajoux, Art profane et religion populaire au moyen âge (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985) in her description of this work in "Saint Anne in Folk Tradition," in Ashley & Sheingorn, *ibid.*, pp. 69-94.

¹⁰ Anne appears in the English N-Town cycle, in Ludus coventriae, ed. K.S. Block, Early English Text Society, e.s., (London: Oxford University Press, 1922) Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1974, pp. 47-134; and in The Mary Play From the N. Town Manuscript, ed. Peter Meredith, London and New York: Longman, 1987. See also Kathleen Ashley, "Image and Ideology: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Drama and Narrative," in Interpreting

In late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century England several long poems entitled lives of Anne were written. These works, which were actually accounts of Mary's life with generous space given to Anne, may have been produced for confraternities dedicated to her, intended to be recited on her feast.¹¹

Cult and images in the late antique world

In the Early Christian and Byzantine churches Anne was honoured chiefly in the topos of the older sterile woman blessed by God with a child. A secondary theme found especially in Greek writing makes reference to her as providing the flesh that provided the flesh of the Redeemer.¹² Andrew of Crete takes up this theme using the imagery of the imperial birth chamber in lines that emphasize her physical relationship with the redeemer in the troparion of his Canon of the Proeortion:

Cultural Symbols, pp. III-130. Of twenty-five Latin hymns dedicated to Anne collected from manuscripts, primarily German, by Franz Joseph Mone, one was found in a thirteenth-century source, seven in fourteenth-century sources. Mone, Franz Joseph, Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften herausgegeben und erklärt, 3 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1855) Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1964. English Poems in which Anne's story appears include Cursor Mundi: A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century, Part 2, ed. Richard Morris. EETS o.s. (London: Oxford University Press, 1875), Millwood, N.Y. Kraus Reprint, 1966, p. 253; Osborn Bokenham, Legendys of Hooly Wummen, ed. Mary S. Serjeantson, EETS, o.s. (London: Oxford University Press, 1938) Kraus Reprint, New York, 1971.

¹¹ The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne, ed. Roscoe E. Parker, EETS, o.s., 1928.

¹² An example is the long kontakion, or poetic sermon, "On the Nativity of the Virgin Mary" by the early sixth-century Byzantine poet Romanos, which primarily celebrates Anne's deliverance from sterility. Kontakia of Romanos, 2 vols., trans. Marjorie Carpenter, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 2-5. Charland gives other examples of this theme in Madame Sainte Anne, pp. 342, 345 ff.

In thy womb, O Anne, begins the weaving of the royal purple in which God and the King of all will dress Himself, when He appears to the mortals and defeats the foes who are fighting against us.¹³

References to feasts connected with her indicate that by the sixth century Anne was the object of devotion in both Jerusalem and Constantinople, her cult probably developing in conjunction with that of the Virgin. There is some evidence that the feast of the Presentation of Mary in the Temple may have been celebrated in Jerusalem as early as the fifth century, while the Nativity of Mary was certainly celebrated there in the early seventh century, and the feast of Anne's conception of Mary by the eighth century. By the end of the seventh century Mary's Nativity was being celebrated in Rome.¹⁴

¹³ Andrew of Crete, the second Troparion of the seventh Ode, cited in Bouman, "The Immaculate Conception in the Liturgy," in O'Connor, The Dogma, p. 118. In the 12th century Osbert of Clare uses the same theme in his discussion of the Immaculate Conception: "Rachel et Lia togam beatae et perpetuae virginis consuunt purpuream, in qua sacra virginitatis puritatis innocentiam, et crux passionis Christi victoriae coronam ANNA mediatrice adoptivis transmisit. Ex eius namque ventre prodiit : quod de sancta aecclesia longe ante spiritus sanctus ait : Byssus et purpura indumentum eius. In bysso autem candor virginitatis exprimitur, in purpura vero sacrae passionis mortificatio figuratur.... Sydonis autem huius candor niveus puritas est et mundicia virginalis, quam beata mater ANNA manibus suis quasi contexuit." Osbert of Clare, "Le Sermon sur Sainte Anne," André Wilmart, "Les Compositions d'Osbert de Clare en l'honneur de sainte Anne," Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen age Latin, Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, (1932) 1971, p. 274.

¹⁴ Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn list early feasts drawing on the following: Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, L'iconographie de la Vierge, I, p. 25; S. Vailhé, "La Fête de la Vierge à Jérusalem au V^e siècle," Le Muséon, 56 (1943); Sister Mary Jerome Kishpaugh, Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple: An Historical and Liturgical Study, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941; William E. Coleman, Campaign for the Feast of Mary's Presentation, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1981. Ashley & Sheingorn, *ibid.*, pp. 9 & 10.

Works of art and architecture provide additional markers of her presence. Procopius states that Justinian dedicated a church to her c. 550.¹⁵ According to some sources, by the year 1000 there were five such churches and chapels in Constantinople alone.¹⁶ None has survived. Early paintings depicting Anne have fared somewhat better. Cycles of her life, as part of the life of the Virgin, are recorded as first appearing in the sixth century.¹⁷ The earliest extant image of a single figure of Anne holding the infant Mary, was painted on the walls of the presbytery of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome c. 650.¹⁸ She was again depicted in S. Maria Antiqua c. 760, as one of the three holy mothers, along with Mary and Elizabeth.¹⁹ Depictions of Anne with

¹⁵ "In that section of the city which is called Deuteron he erected a most holy and revered church to St. Anna, whom some consider to have been the mother of the Virgin and the grandmother of Christ. For God, being born a man as was His wish, is subjected to even a third generation, and His ancestry is traced back from His mother even as is that of a man." Procopius, Procopius, Works, 7, Buildings, trans. H.B. Dewing, London & Cambridge, Mass.: The Loeb Classical Library, 1940, I.iii.11.

¹⁶ A.M. Weigl, Mutter Anna wir rufen zu dir, Altötting: Verlag St. Grignionhaus, 1970, p. 16.

¹⁷ Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, 8 vols. ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, Rome & Freiburg: Herder, 1968-76, vol. 5, p. 182. Max Förster states that Pope Leo III had the legend of Joachim and Anne painted in the Church of S. Paolo in Rome in the eighth century. Max Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium der hl. Anna," Probleme der Englischen Sprache und Kultur: Festschrift Johannes Hoops zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Kollegen, Heidelberg, 1925, p. 122.

¹⁸ This work, which is in extremely poor condition, is illustrated in G.A. Wellen, Theotokos. eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlichen Zeit, Utrecht/Antwerp: Uitgeverij het Spectrum, 1961, p. 198.

¹⁹ Repr., *ibid.*, p. 221.

both Mary and Jesus however, are not found in Byzantine, early Christian, or early medieval art.²⁰

The cult in the central middle ages²¹

Though the early Christian and Byzantine churches have not survived, the presence of two twelfth-century crusader churches dedicated to Anne, one erected in Jerusalem c. 1130, the other built later in the century in Sepphoris, a town on the travellers' route, suggest that her cult was promoted with a view to the pilgrim trade.²² The existence of contemporary travellers' accounts stating that Mary was born at Sepphoris, and the fact

²⁰ An Early Christian mosaic depicting two women seated on a wide bench with a child between them, on the side of an arch in the church of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, resembles the bench-type Anna Selbdritt. A soberly-robed Mary is seated at right, while an unidentified, unveiled, and more luxuriously dressed woman sits to the left the Child. A.M. Weigl has interpreted this as representing Anne and Mary with the Christ Child. A.M. Weigl, Mutter Anna wir rufen zu dir, pp. 16-17. Wellen however presents evidence that suggests the two women who flank the enthroned Christ Child in the mosaic, which is a depiction of the visit of the Magi, are the Virgin and the Ecclesia ex Gentibus. Wellen, *ibid.*, p. 112, repr. p. 221.

²¹ The early middle ages refers to the period c. 500 to 1000, the central middle ages c. 1000 to 1150, the high middle ages c. 1150 to 1400, the late middle ages from the late 1300s to the early 1500s. "Romanesque" and "gothic" refer to these styles as commonly understood. The term "renaissance" implies the presence of features from Italian renaissance art, such as elements of classical or renaissance architecture, classical bodies, putti etc. The term "Germanic-speaking" is sometimes used to refer inclusively to the German and Dutch languages.

²² Jaroslav Folda describes the church and its history and analyzes its architecture in "The Church of Saint Anne," Biblical Archaeologist, 54, 2, (June, 1991), pp. 88-96. Sepphoris was held by crusaders from the late 1000s to 1187. It was returned to the crusaders by treaty in 1229. In 1250 de Joinville referred to the town as a Templar outpost. It was on a main route between Nazareth and the port of Acre and was visited by travellers to the Holy Land before and after the Crusaders left in 1291. The town and the church was destroyed in 1263 by the Mamluke Sultan Baybars. Folda, *ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

that part of a floor in the Sepphoris Church is formed of living rock - a feature customarily found in places purporting to be sites of sacred events in this region - suggests that the Sepphoris Church may have claimed to incorporate the house of Anne and Joachim.²³ If this was the case, it would have been competing with the Jerusalem St. Anne church's similar, though in terms of location, weaker claim to contain Anne's home.²⁴ The hypothesis that Anne was a focus of pilgrims' attention receives further support from the numerous references to relics brought back by twelfth and early thirteenth-century crusaders and pilgrims.²⁵

It seems likely then that the promotion of Anne's cult among pilgrims and crusaders in the Holy Land in the central middle ages was a significant factor in the

²³ The hypothesis put forward by Folda is consistent with medieval practice. Folda, *ibid.*, pp. 92, 94. The travellers who mention Sepphoris as Anne or Mary's birthplace are John of Wurzburg, c 1165 (S. de Sandoli, Itineraria Jerosolymitana Crucesignatorum, Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1980, vol. 2, p. 230; J. Wilkinson, ed., Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades, Warminster: Aris & Phillips, Ltd., 1977, pp. 79, 155); Fretellus, c. 1137 ("Descriptio cuiusdam de locis sanctis," pp. 6-46, in P.C. Boeren, Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth, Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1980, p. 25); Theodorich, 1173 (Wilkinson, *ibid.*, pp. 193-313), cited in Folda, *ibid.*, p. 88. Living rock is found at Calvary and in the Grotto of the Nativity according to Folda.

²⁴ The Sepphoris church was built on the ruins of an early synagogue. *Ibid.*, p. 89. It was unusually large for a village church.

²⁵ According to Kleinschmidt, the Heiligengeistkirche in St. Gallen acquired a relic and a portion of her house in the 11th century. Hagenau in Alsace acquired a relic in the 12th c, Würtemberg in 1182. In 1199 Archbishop Hartwich returned to Bremen from pilgrimage with an Anne relic. The Diocese of Basel received a relic from Constantinople in 1205, while in 1212 Mainz acquired a relic from the crusade preacher Theobald. The head of Anne at Chartres was brought from Constantinople by Louis of Blois in 1204. Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna, pp. 78-79. In 1343 the Prioress of the Franciscan convent of St. Agnes in Strassburg gave to the diocese of Bern along with other relics, a portion of the grave of St. Anne. E.A. Stükelberg, Geschichte der Reliquien in der Schweiz, Zürich: Verlag der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1902, p. 53, citing Fontes rer. Bernens. VI, p. 745.

development of her cult in Europe.²⁶ A second factor of equal or perhaps greater importance was the introduction around the same time of the feast of the Conception of Mary into Northern Europe.²⁷ Byzantine monks in Southern Italy had been celebrating the feast of Mary's conception in the womb of Anne possibly as early as the ninth century. In the eleventh century it was being celebrated in some English monasteries and probably in Normandy. Suppressed following the Norman Conquest, it was reestablished in England in the early twelfth century.²⁸

A sermon by the twelfth-century English Augustinian Osbert of Clare, conveys the uniqueness of Anne's role and the appreciation of her power as a patroness that characterized this initial phase of her cult in Northern Europe:

Sancta et illustris et egregia gloriose virginis dei genitricis parens ANNA, apud regem caeli potentibus me tuis meritis et precibus adiuva. Nimis enim domina me peccatorum meorum pondera pregravant, turpiterque iniquitatum mearum flagitia densis suis involvunt tenebris et obfuscant. Denigrata est pellis animae meae scelerum multorum caligine, et virtutum quibus nitebat est privata claritate. Vicerunt me carnales multo tempore voluptates, et concupiscentiae emergerunt in me interiora spiritus mei crudeli consumptione lacerantes.²⁹

²⁶ Geoffroy de Beaulieu reports that Louis IX visited the village of Sephoris in March of 1251. Folda, "The Church of Saint Anne," p. 89.

²⁷ An older source that presents details on the cult in this period is Willibrord Lampen, "Vereering der H. Moeder Anna in de Middeleeuwen," Historisch Tydschrift 2 (1924), pp. 221-43.

²⁸ Bouman, in O'Connor, The Dogma, pp. 123-125, 128-29.

²⁹ The sermon was accompanied by a letter to the Bishop of Worcester, prayers and several hymns. Osbert of Clare, Sermon, in Wilmart, Auteurs Spirituels, p. 280.

Conception and Immaculate Conception: the relevance for Anne

It seems clear that Anne's feast arose in Western Europe at least in part as a consequence of the introduction of the feast of her conception of Mary. The exact nature of the connection between the cult of Anne and the conception of her daughter is however, not a simple matter to unravel. Though Anne was important because it was in her womb that Mary was conceived, devotion to her was a separate cult in its own right. Though her cult paralleled that of the developing doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, it was not integrally related to it. Further aspects of the relationship between these two will be the subject of discussion in later chapters. Important for the moment is a description of this relationship in its early phase.³⁰

As the feast of the conception began to extend from the English and Northern French centres where it began, concern arose among theologians over its theological implications as well as over its novelty and lack of proper authorization.³¹ The idea of Mary's great holiness and purity seemed to require a special kind of conception for her. But what precisely was being honoured when people celebrated the conception of Mary in the womb of Saint Anne?

This was a new and pressing problem for Western European theologians. The question of what comprised Mary's incomparable purity had not greatly concerned

³⁰ Bouman, in O'Connor, The Dogma, pp. 127 ff.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 135, 137.

Byzantine theologians.³² Some Western theologians, probably first in England, proposed that Mary had been immaculately conceived, that is, conceived without the transmission of original sin. This doctrine was however opposed by most of the eminent theologians of the day, among them Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter Lombard, Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas, who argued instead that Mary had been freed from original sin after her conception but before her birth.³³ Aquinas expressed a fundamental objection when he asked how Mary's freedom from original sin could be reconciled with the fact that all human beings stood in need of redemption.

Hoc autem est inconveniens, quod Christus non sit Salvator omnium hominum.
Unde relinquitur quod sanctificatio beatae Virginis fuerit post ejus animationem.³⁴

³² Bouman, *ibid.*, p. 119. However Bouman states that a vague belief in an Immaculate Conception did arise in the East: "Without any doubt," he states, "we are justified in deducing from the Greek liturgical formulas, that the blessed Virgin at her conception is unhesitatingly venerated as the All-Pure One, that her immaculate purity (understood first of all as her perpetual virginity, but always denoting her entire freedom from sin) is connected with the part the Theotokos played in the economy of salvation; that her holiness involves a special privilege as well as personal sanctity." Bouman believes this general complex of ideas was felt to be implied when the feast spread to the West. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

³³ See Carlo Balic, "The Mediaeval Controversy over the Immaculate Conception up to the Death of Scotus," in O'Connor, The Dogma, esp. pp. 189 ff. Balic points out that there was considerable inconsistency in discussions of the doctrine. Even those who supported the Immaculate Conception sometimes used terms such as "cleansing" which imply a transition from uncleanness to cleanness. *Ibid.*, p. 176. Osbert of Clare himself speaks of sanctifying and cleansing in a letter to Anselm of Bury, The Letters of Osbert of Clare, ed. E.W. Williamson, London: Oxford University press, 1929, pp. 66-67.

³⁴ Thomas Aquinas, "Quaestio 27. de sanctificatione beatae virginis," Summa theologiae 3, q. 27, a.2, New York: Blackfriars, 1964-67 pp. 11-12. The proposition that Mary was conceived in the womb of Anne without at any time being stained by original sin (the Immaculate Conception) was opposed by that of the Maculate Conception or Sanctification, which held that Mary was conceived with original sin like all other humans, but was cleansed of it while still in Anne's womb.

As well, the proposal that Mary had been immaculately conceived had to confront the entrenched Augustinian notion of an ineluctable original sin transmitted through bodily sexual generation - another question that had not been of much interest to Byzantine theologians. According to medieval theology, even legitimate marital sexual intercourse carried with it some degree, however small, of sinfulness. Bernard of Clairvaux had made this point succinctly in a letter criticizing the canons of Lyons for their rashness in adopting the new feast:

Si igitur ante conceptum sui sanctificari minime potuit, quoniam non erat; sed nec in ipso quidem conceptu, propter peccatum, quod inerat: restat ut post conceptum in utero jam existens, sanctificationem accepisse credatur, quae excluso peccato sanctam fecerit nativitatem, non tamen et conceptionem.³⁵

Aquinas followed Augustine on this point:

Et ideo, etsi parentes beatae Virginis fuerunt mundati a peccato originali, nihilominus beata Virgo contraxit peccatum originale, cum fuerit concepta secundum carnis concupiscentiam et ex commixtione maris et feminae: dicit enim Augustinus, Omnem quae de concubitu nascitur, carnem esse peccati.³⁶

Pro-immaculatist thinkers countered this problem in different ways. A few argued that Mary had been conceived without sexual desire on the part of her parents, in which case original sin would not have been passed on. However the impression given by historians of the Immaculate Conception is that this was a minor theme in the discourse.³⁷

³⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, Epistola 174, PL 182, 333. Bernard argued against the metonymic basis of the reasoning that would say that because the birth was holy, the conception must have been holy.

³⁶ Thomas Aquinas, Summa theologiae, III, q. 27, a.2, pp. 14-15.

³⁷ One example reads: "Quid enim nos impedit credere hanc gratiam Dominum parentibus suae Genitricis posse et velle conferre: ut absque omni carnis concupiscentiae labe sanctissimum illud corpusculum generarent, quod solum sensit dignum suae incarnationis honore? Non dubitamus parentes primos sine peccato ad humani generis

Some of the doctrines' supporters solved the theological problem simply by arguing that God had made an exception for Mary.³⁸ Others, particularly in England, were paving the way for its eventual resolution with proposals that centred around concepts of time.³⁹ Anselm the Great, although he emphasized that all human beings were born in sin, raised the possibility that Christ's salvific action might have cleansed Mary in advance:

Nempe decens erat, ut ea puritate, qua major sub Deo nequit intelligi, Virgo illa niteret, cui Deus Pater unicum Filium suum, quem de corde suo aequalem sibi genitum, tamquam seipsum diligebat, ita dare disponebat, ut naturaliter esset unus idemque communis Dei Patris et Virginis Filius: et quam ipse Filius substantialiter facere sibi matrem eligebat; et de qua Spiritus sanctus volebat, et operaturus erat, ut conciperetur et nasceretur ille de quo ipse procedebat. Qualiter autem Virgo eadem per fidem ante ipsam conceptionem mundata sit, dixi; ubi aliam rationem de hoc ipso, unde agitur hic, reddidi.⁴⁰

propagationem in paradiso filios esse procreatos: et quicumque deinceps generaret, hanc habiturus gratiam, si priores illi inoboedientiae non incurrissent culpam. Quod ergo de omnibus esset commune, cur conferri non potui parentibus Mariae?" Tractatus de conceptione beatae et gloriosae virginis Mariae, 129, in Monumenta antiqua immaculatae conceptionis sacratissimae Virginis ex variis auctoribus, Alva et Astorga P. ed., 1664, I, cited in Balic, in O'Connor, The Dogma, p. 183.

³⁸ Petro Pascual and Raymond Lull were of this opinion. Ibid., pp. 200-201.

³⁹ Robert Grosseteste proposed that Mary could have been "...cleansed and sanctified in the very infusion of her rational soul. In this way, there would have been a purification, not from a sin which had at one time been present in her, but from one which would have been in her if she had not been sanctified in the very infusion of her rational soul." British Museum, MS. Royal VII. F.2, fol. 48va-49va, cited by Balic, *ibid.*, pp. 199-200, citing E. Longpre, "Robert Grossetete et l'immaculée Conception," in Archivum franciscanum historicum 26 (1933), p. 551. See also Balic's discussion of the ideas of William of Ware in O'Connor, The Dogma, pp. 202-204. A few theologians, among them William of Ware, questioned the necessary impurity of the act of conception in Mary's case. Ibid., p. 203.

⁴⁰ Anselmus, De Conceptu Virginali et Originali Peccato, PL 158, 451. See also PL 158, 452-454. The same point is made in Cur Deus Homo 2, PL 158, 419.

These ideas culminated in the early fourteenth century in the idea of preventive atonement put forth by Robert of Ware and developed by the English Franciscan John Duns Scotus. This solution reconciled the Immaculate Conception with the dogma of original sin and the universality of Christ's redemptive sacrifice: Mary did indeed require salvation like other humans but Christ fittingly saved her in advance:

Summus actus mediandi requirit illud pro quo mediat, summe sibi obligari; igitur cum Deus possit praevenire omne peccatum in beata Virgine, et majus sit praeservare a committendo, quam purgare a commisso, igitur si debet mater summe obligari filio, debet filius praevenire omne peccatum originale.⁴¹

Scotus's formulation was propagated at Oxford and at the University of Paris, especially by the Franciscans, usually through the medium of commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard which argued against the doctrine.⁴² However despite Scotus's ultimately decisive intervention, the Immaculate Conception continued to be the subject of strife throughout the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth centuries. At the same time, in many quarters the idea of what exactly the Immaculate Conception was remained vague. Clarification of what the question of the Immaculate Conception consisted of, not to speak of its solution, took some time to achieve.

⁴¹ John Duns Scotus, Opera Omnia, 26 vols., (Paris: L. Vivès, 1894) Westmead: Gregg International, 1969, vol. 23, 3, 3, q. 1. p. 263. Further, "Magis igitur indiguit Maria redemptione, quam quicumque alius quia tanto magis indiguit redemptione, quanto majus bonum sibi conferebatur post redemptionem: cum igitur majus bonum sit innocentia perfecta, quam post lapsum culpa remissa, majus bonum sibi conferebatur praeservando ipsum ab originali, quam si postea fuisset purgata." Ibid., p. 264.

⁴² See Bouman, and Balic in O'Connor, The Dogma, pp. 161 to 212. See also Laurie Jones Bergamini, From Narrative to Ikon: The Virgin Mary and the Woman of the Apocalypse in Thirteenth Century English Art and Literature, Ph.D. diss., The University of Connecticut, 1985, pp. 92 and 97 ff.

The period from the death of Scotus to 1500 was marked by the involvement of the religious orders, and in theological circles, by a growing concern for precision.⁴³ Devotional texts were nonetheless often vague and even contradictory in their statements about the Immaculate Conception. The University of Paris pronounced itself in support of the doctrine in the late fourteenth century. By this time the Benedictines, Cistercians, Augustinians and Carmelites had joined the Franciscans in supporting it. The Dominicans, following the thinking of Aquinas, rejected it. They celebrated the feast of December 8, but under the title not of Conceptio but of Sanctificatio b. Mariae Virginis.⁴⁴ It should be noted that the official title of the feast was, and remained for some centuries, simply Conceptio b. Mariae Virginis, but supporters of the doctrine celebrated it as the feast of the Immaculate Conception.⁴⁵

It is clear that as Mary's mother, Anne was implicated in the discourse of the conception of Mary. Indeed, both the composition of the Anna Selbdritt which

⁴³ See Wenceslaus Sebastian, "The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception after Scotus to the End of the Eighteenth Century," in O'Connor, The Dogma, pp. 226-27.

⁴⁴ Bouman, in O'Connor, *ibid.*, p. 139.

⁴⁵ Aquinas had stated: "Ad tertium dicendum quod, licet Romana Ecclesia Conceptionem beatae Virginis non celebret, tolerat tamen consuetudinem aliquarum Ecclesiarum illud festum celebrantium. Unde talis celebritas non est totaliter reprobanda. Nec tamen per hoc festum Conceptionis celebratum datur intelligi quod in sua conceptione fuerit sancta. Sed, quia quo tempore sanctificata fuerit ignoratur, celebratur festum sanctificationis ejus, potius quam conceptionis, in die conceptionis ipsius." [While the Roman church does not celebrate the conception of the Virgin it does tolerate the custom of certain Churches which keep the feast. Hence such celebrations are not to be totally disapproved. Still, we should not understand by them that she was holy in her conception. Rather since it is not known when she was sanctified, the feast of her sanctification is kept on the day of her conception."] Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, 3. q. 27, a.2, pp. 12-14.

emphasizes the link between Anne and the two generations of offspring, and the chronology of the image, coinciding as it does with the spread of the feast, strongly suggest that the image was intended to allude to Anne's conception of Mary. However the frequently encountered statement that the Anna Selbdritt was intended to represent the Immaculate Conception is not correct. The textual evidence does not support the contention that the image represents or refers to the Immaculate Conception. To begin with, while texts arguing against the Immaculate Conception often mention the sexual intercourse of Mary's parents as an argument against the doctrine, texts arguing for it written before the late fifteenth century only infrequently mention Anne. Further, there is no evidence to suggest that the doctrine was a concern at the level of the parish churches and even private homes where some of the earliest extant images were located. And many of the early works were produced in areas far distant from the centres where the doctrine was being discussed. Conversely, in England, where the doctrine was firmly rooted and perhaps more clearly conceptualized than anywhere else, Anne was normally depicted not in the Selbdritt composition, but alone with Mary.

The erroneous belief that the Anna Selbdritt referred to the Immaculate Conception probably arose because the late fifteenth-century German and Netherlandish humanists appropriated the image and used it in their promotion of that doctrine. The Franciscan scholar Beda Kleinschmidt, whose book on Anne's cult was the most influential of the

earlier studies, is the proximate source of this idea. Numerous subsequent scholars have repeated his belief.⁴⁶

The Trinubium: Anne's three marriages

Not only is the history of Anne's cult complicated by her connection with the feast of the Conception, it is further complicated by the belief, first clearly formulated by Haimo of Auxerre in the ninth century, that Anne remarried twice after the death of Joachim, producing two additional daughters, each named Mary.⁴⁷ Haimo of Auxerre

⁴⁶ Kleinschmidt was not the first to associate the Immaculate Conception with the Anna Selbdritt. Franz Falk in his 1904 study of the history of the doctrine in the Mainz diocese said: "In der Zeit, wo die Lehrmeinung der U.E. so lebhaft zur Erörterung kam, musste man an dem Versuch denken, dieser Wahrheit nach Möglichkeit einen sichtbaren, bildlichen Ausdruck zu geben. Wir in unseren Tagen sind gewohnt, in dem Bilde, wie Maria den Fuss auf den Kopf der Schlange setzt, den Ausdruck der U.E. zu erblicken, im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert beliebte eine eigenartige Darstellung, nämlich St. Anna Selbdritt, italienisch mettertia. Derartige Bilder, sei es in Plastik, sei es in Malerei, finden sich überaus zahlreich seit dem 15. Jahrhundert, sei es in grösseren Kirchen, sei es in kleineren, entlegenen Pfarren. Franz Falk, Zur Geschichte der Immaculata-Tradition in der Mainzer Kirche, Mainz: Verlag von Kirghheim & Co., 1904, p. 103. E. Kirschbaum states: "Auch die Darstellungen des im 13. Jh. entstandenen Anna-selbdritt-Motivs werden auf die Immaculata Conceptio bezogen." Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, vol. 2, p. 340; See also, "Im 13. Jh. entsteht als Sinnbild der Unbefleckten Empfängnis das Bild der Anna selbdritt." J. Seibert, Lexikon der christlichen Kunst, Freiburg and Basel: Herder, 1979, p. 24; Kathleen Ashley & Pamela Sheingorn state in the introduction to their 1990 collection of papers on Saint Anne: "An image that became especially popular during the fifteenth century, Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child (Anna Selbdritt), gave visual expression to the doctrine." Interpreting Cultural Symbols, p. 25.

⁴⁷ See Werner Esser, Die Heilige Sippe: Studien zu einem spätmittelalterlichen Bildthema in Deutschland und den Niederlanden, Ph.D. diss., Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1986; Max Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium der hl. Anna," Probleme der Englischen Sprache und Kultur: Festschrift Johannes Hoops zum 60. Geburtstag Überreicht von Freunden und Kollegen, ed. Wolfgang Keller, Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925, pp. 105-130.

connected Jerome's statement that the brothers of the Lord were the sons of his mother's sisters with the notion, extant in the ninth century, that the three Marys were sisters.⁴⁸ According to Haimo, Anne's marriage to Cleophas produced Mary Cleophas who married Alphaeus and gave birth to James the Lesser, Jude Thaddeus, Simon and the disciple Joseph the Just. Her marriage to Salome produced Mary Salome who married Zebedee and became the mother of James the Greater and John the Evangelist. Elizabeth, Mary's cousin and the mother of John the Baptist, was the daughter of Anne's sister Esmeria whose son Eliud was an ancestor of St. Servatius, a fourth-century bishop of Tongres in the Rheinland.

Like the Immaculate Conception, the Trinubium was rejected by many theologians, among them Fulbert of Chartres and Thomas Aquinas. And, like the Immaculate Conception, the belief found acceptance in spite of hostility. Its dissemination by Peter Lombard, Petrus Comestor and Jacobus da Voragine no doubt aided its progress.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ "Maria mater Domini, et Maria mater Jacobi, fratris Domini, et Maria mater fratris Joannis evangelistae, sorores fuerunt, de diversis patribus genitae, sed de eadem matre, scilicet Anna. Quae Anna primo nupsit Joachim, et de eo genuit Mariam matrem Domini. Mortuo Joachim, nupsit Cleophae, et de eo habuit alteram Mariam, quae dicitur in Evangeliiis Maria Cleophae. Porro Cleophas habebat fratrem Joseph, cui filiastram suam beatam Mariam desponsavit; suam vero filiam dedit Alpheo, de qua natus est Jacobus minor, qui et Justus dicitur frater Domini, et Joseph alius. Mortuo itaque Cleopha, Anna tertio marito nupsit, scilicet Salome, et habuit de eo tertiam Mariam, de qua, desponsata Zebedaeo, nati sunt Jacobus major, et Joannis evangelista." Haymo [of Halberstadt], Historiae sacrae epitome, PL 118, 823-24. For the reattribution from Haymo of Halberstadt to Haymo of Auxerre see de Gaiffier, "Le Trinubium Annae," Analecta Bollandiana 90 (1972), pp. 289-98. Jerome's statement is in De perpetua virginitate, adversus Helvidium, PL 23, 193-216.

⁴⁹ Esser traces the spread of the Trinubium. Esser, Die Heilige Sippe, pp. 17-24. An account of the Holy Kinship from a twelfth-century prayer book (Würzburger Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.qu.46) appears in Kurt Reindel's article "Ein Legendar des

Depictions of Anne's extended family are called Holy Kinships, in German Heilige Sippe. The earliest of these depictions were based on the Tree of Jesse image. In the fifteenth century the Holy Kinship took the form of an extension of the Anna Selbdritt, with Anne, Mary and Jesus at the centre, surrounded or flanked by the other members of the Kinship.

The Cult of Anne from the 1200s to the early 1400s

Though Anne may have come to the West as part of the cult of her daughter, and though the story of her life remained joined to that of Mary throughout the high middle ages, the evidence encountered in early texts suggests that in terms of her insertion into cult practice, she was the object of devotion independent of Mary. These texts present a picture of a figure who behaved like a typical local shrine saint, performing miracles of healing, rescue and probably property restoration, much as did other saints of the central and high middle ages.⁵⁰ Paul-Victor Charland, one of the early twentieth-century

12. Jahrhunderts aus dem Kloster Pomuc (Diöz. Prag)," in Festschrift für Max Spindler zum 75. Geburtstag, ed Dieter Albrecht, Andreas Kraus, Kurt Reindel, Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969, pp. 143-163.

⁵⁰ See Benedicta Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982, Chapter 6, pp. 110-126 and passim. Thomas Head states that of the thirteen miracles recorded (986-987) of Saint Maximinius at the Abbey of Micy, eight concerned rescue from accidents while five told of "the punishment of malefactors who tried to cheat or attack the saint and his monastery." Thomas Head, "I Vow Myself To Be Your Servant," Historical Reflections, 11, 3 (1984), p. 219. See also Ronald C. Finucane, Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England, London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1977.

scholars of the cult, quotes a medieval Breton poem, Les Brez, which describes a visit to such a shrine, the shrine of St. Anne at Armour in Brittany.⁵¹

In the poem Anne in her role as patroness of the shrine of Saint Anne d'Armour, helps and protects the young hero in battle. No emphasis is laid on her role as mother of Mary. Rather, the hero's relationship to her seems to follow the characteristic pattern of the earlier medieval devotee-saint relationship. Here is the description of the gifts and devotional rituals he promises in return for her help:

Si je retourne encore au pays, mère sainte Anne, je vous ferai un présent:
 Je vous ferai présent d'un cordon de cire qui fera trois fois le tour de vos murs,
 Et trois fois le tour de votre église, et trois fois le tour de votre cimetière,
 Et trois fois le tour de votre terre, arrivé chez moi.
 Et je vous donnerai une bannière de velours et de satin blanc, avec un support
 d'ivoire poli;
 De plus, je vous donnerai sept cloches d'argent qui chanteront gaiement nuit et
 jour sur votre tête.
 Et j'irai trois fois à genoux, puiser de l'eau pour votre bénitier.

Five typical shrine-saint motifs are mentioned. First, the hero promises Anne not only devotion but gifts. Second, he seeks her out to request her help - protection in battle. Third her protection is contingent, not automatic; the hero woos her with promises of devotion. Fourth, there is mention of the "measuring" motif; both pilgrimage souvenirs and offerings at shrines sometimes involved candles or threads made to specific measurements, an example of the first type being the measurements of the Holy Sepulchre

⁵¹ Charland quotes from the French translation published in the nineteenth-century by Théodore Hersart de la Villemarqué in Chants populaires de la Bretagne. Charland, Madame Sainte Anne, p. 313. He implies that the poem was written before the twelfth century. Ibid., p. 312. There has been controversy over the authenticity of the old Breton works published by de la Villemarqué. Present day scholarship leans towards greater acceptance than was previously the case.

in Jerusalem, of the second, the measurements of the suppliant.⁵² Fifth, the references to "vos murs...votre cimetière...votre terre" are an indication of the local saint, the saint associated with a particular piece of territory which is "owned" by her or him.

Charland also quotes a description of a miracle effected by relics from the Office de l'Invention des Reliques from the cathedral of Apt in Provence, which possessed Anne's body and veil. The entry is not dated, but the description of the ceremony of elevation of relics suggests the period in question.

Tu nous laisses voir enfin, resplendissants de lumière, les ossements cachés longtemps dans la poussière, et, vers ces restes bénis, le peuple accourt pour leur rendre hommage.

Et tu veux illustrer cette crypte par un prodige, o Dieu bon, et voilà qu'un aveugle recouvre soudain la vue, tandis qu'un muet, dont la langue s'est tout à coup déliée, proclame que ce miracle est un gage de la bonté de sainte Anne.

Les clercs entonnent des chants d'allégresse, et après que, sur l'ordre du roi, la châsse s'est ouverte qui contenait la sainte dépouille, les âmes pieuses tressaillent, et ajoutent à l'envi les cantiques aux cantiques.

Trinité suprême, pardonne à ceux qui t'en supplient, et par les mérites de sainte Anne, accorde-nous de monter un jour jusqu'à toi, afin qu'il nous soit permis de chanter éternellement ces mêmes cantiques de reconnaissance et d'amour."⁵³

A brief appearance in the early thirteenth century Dialogue of Miracles by the Cistercian abbot Caesarius of Heisterbach, suggests a similar kind of localized helping saint:

⁵² Ronald Finucane describes such measurements in Miracles and Pilgrims, p. 95. See also William A. Christian Jr., Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, p. 100.

⁵³ Charland, Madame Sainte Anne, trans. Charland, p. 356. Bibliographical entry No. 86.

[Abbot Gevard of Walberberg] told me of that glorious vision of Clairvaux, and how it is related that at a certain harvest time when the monks were reaping in the valley, the Virgin Mary, the holy mother of God, and her mother, S. Anne, and S. Mary Magdalene, in full view of a holy man who was standing on the opposite hill, came down the mountain side into the valley in a great flood of light, and wiped the sweat from the brows of the monks and fanned them with the flap of their sleeves, and the rest of the wonderful story.⁵⁴

The placement of an Anna Selbdritt dated 1337 in Eichstätt, Bavaria, on a house front further indicates that Anne played the same protective role that other saints did.⁵⁵ And an early fourteenth-century source from Stralsund describes a practice that may have involved praying to Saint Anne for communal favours.

The Stralsund Stadtbuch of 1307 speaks of men paid to "sedere... custodire et respicere" in front of the Anna Selbdritt in the chapel of St. Anne in the Nikolaikirche. An entry for June 24, 1307, reads: "Hinricus ante sanctam Annam habebit nutrimenta temporibus vite sue a sancto Nicolao."⁵⁶ A similar entry appears for July 4, 1309:

Hermannus Dalsce dedit sancto Nicolao 40 mrc. den., qui preesse debet capelle sancte Anne, a quo officio vite sustentacionem suis temporibus optinebit, sed si post obitum suum aliqua bona reliquerit post se, illa ad ecclesiam sancti Nicolai reuoluentur.⁵⁷

Otto Schmidt cites further cases from the Stralsund Stadtbuch:

⁵⁴ Caesarius of Heisterbach, The Dialogue on Miracles, 2 vols., trans. H. von E. Scott & C.C. Swinton Bland. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1929, Book I, "Of Conversion," p. 25. Johannes Herolt in his early 15th century compilation of the miracles of the Virgin describes the central woman as Mary the mother of God. The others are not identified pp. Johannes Herolt, Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, trans. C.C. Swinton Bland, London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1928, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁵ Kleinschmidt, Die Heilige Anne, p. 148.

⁵⁶ Das älteste Stralsundische Stadtbuch (1270-1310), ed. F. Fabricius, Berlin: Verlag von W. Weber, 1872, p. 150.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

und zehn Jahre später [i.e. 1317] wird einem Hermann von Loninggen [a former textile merchant] der Lebensunterhalt von kirchenwegen zugesichert, "si..voluerit sedere ante Ymaginem S. Anne. Aber man einigt sich dann noch im gleichen Jahr mit Heinrich von Dortmund, quod diebus vite sue debet custodire ymaginem B. Anne in capella S. Nicolai, pro quo provisores ecclesie ei dabunt vestitum et victum..." 1330 wird ein ähnlicher Betrag mit Johann Albus geschlossen, "quod ...ymagines b. marie et aliorum sanctorum in capella b. Anne, [this probably refers to the Anna Selbdritt] quamdiu vixerit, custodire et respicere debet."⁵⁸

The wording implies both caring for and looking at. Were these men praying to the images - perhaps for the successful outcome of merchant sea voyages - as well as looking after them?

The Stralsund case is part of a body of evidence that suggests Anne was sought out as a maritime protectress.⁵⁹ Of seven confirmed references to Anne brotherhoods in existence before the 1470s in Angelika Dörfler-Dierken's study of Anne confraternities, four were in cities on or near the North coast while another was on an important river. Of fifteen unconfirmed earlier references at least eleven were on or near the North Sea coast or on important rivers, while one more, that of the Vischkoopers in s'Hertogenbosch, was associated with a maritime occupation.⁶⁰ Anne is frequently paired with Nicholas,

⁵⁸ Otto Schmidt, "Die Stralsunder Anna Selbdritt," Baltische Studien, neue Folge, vol. 33, p. 74. I was unable to find these additional citations in the Fabricius edition (the one cited by Schmidt) of Das älteste Stralsundische Stadtbuch, 1270-1310.

⁵⁹ A reference to Anne and Joachim in an ode on the conception of Mary by Andrew of Damascus (660-740) quoted by Charland refers to sea rescue: "Epoux très saints et vénérés, qui avez donné au monde la Vierge immaculée, nous vous en prions, sauvez de tout naufrage ceux qui célèbrent votre douce mémoire." Andrew of Damascus, Odes, Ms, Convent of Grotta-Ferrata, cited in Charland, MSA, p. 348.

⁶⁰ Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992. The brotherhoods are listed alphabetically.

another marine rescue saint.⁶¹ In its later, post-sixteenth-century forms in Italy, in France and in Quebec in Canada, her cult is noteworthy for the emphasis placed on rescues at sea. Ex-votos depicting Anne's help at sea were abundant in the coastal regions of France in the post-Tridentine period, and the tradition continued in Quebec.⁶²

The cult of Saint Anne shows considerable regional variation. However the statements about regional distribution and characteristics of images, church and convent dedications and relic acquisitions made by the earlier scholars, E. Schaumkell, Paul-Victor Charland and Beda Kleinschmidt, must be treated with caution for sources are often lacking and methodology inconsistent. Kleinschmidt's generalizations about regional trends reflect the varying degrees of accuracy and completeness of the secondary sources on which he draws. In addition, his summarizing statements do not always distinguish between the earlier, late and post-medieval periods. Further problems arise from a

⁶¹ Ellen Muller's inventory of Anne foundations lists an "Anna-of Vischkoopersgilde" in 's Hertogenbosch; a St Anna-of Rijnschippersgilde, informatie uit 1369; Zierikzee: Anna-altaar van het Schippersgilde in de St Lievensmonster-kerk in Zierikzee, schenking in 1437." The inventory is in Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen, Sint Anna-te-Drieën: een onderzoek naar vorm, inhoud en functioneren van het thema St Anna-te-drieën in de nederlandse beeldhouwkunst der late middeleeuwen, two vols, M.A. thesis, Amsterdam: Free University, 1990, Part I, pp. 35-48. Muller lists two double patronages: "Meppel [Drente]: Anna-en Nicolaas-altaar, -vicarie, gesticht ca 1422 (p. 35); "Zutphen [Gelderland]: Anna- en Nicolaus-vicarie in de Walburgiskerk" (p. 36). The Kampen (Overijssel) Rheinschippers guild of St. Anne is mentioned in a document of 1369. Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden, Cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1958., fig. 154, p. 230.

⁶² See Nicole Cloutier, L'Iconographie de Sainte Anne au Québec. 2 vols. Ph.D. diss., Université de Montréal, Montreal, 1982.

tendency to draw conclusions from very modest quantities of data, as well as from an insufficient use of comparative material.⁶³

A small number of recent studies have made more systematic attempts to establish parameters for the different aspects of the cult's development in particular regions. These studies show that regional characteristics can be pronounced and distinctive. For example, charts showing indicators of Anne's cult in Holland prepared by Ellen Muller, Lène Dresen-Coenders and Willemien Deeleman-van Tyen, based in large part on the research of Matthias Zender, show that attention to Anne was extremely sparse there before 1400 and relatively sparse from 1400 to 1460.⁶⁴ Willemien Deeleman-van Tyen's

⁶³ Kleinschmidt's treatment of the cult of Anne in Silesia is an example. He states: "In den östlichen Gebieten Deutschlands, besonders in Schlesien, hat die Verehrung Annas frühzeitig Wurzel gefasst, und zwar in auffällig starker Weise. Nicht weniger als ungefähr 50 mittelalterliche Kirchen der Diözese Breslau verehren sie als ihre Patronin." Kleinschmidt concludes "...dass Schlesien hinter den westlichen Provinzen nicht zurücksteht." Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna, p. 106. As sole source he cites Hermann Neuling, Schlesiens Kirchorte und ihre kirchlichen Stiftungen bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters, 2nd ed., Breslau: E. Wohlfarth's Buchhandlung, 1902. He does not mention that according to Neuling's tallies, as patroness of some 50 churches, chapels etc., Anne is behind Nicolas who has 110 listings, Michael 87, Martin 84, John the Baptist 80, Hedwig 72, Catherine 64, Laurence 55, George 52, and Peter and Paul 51. Though Camillus Bolczyk believes the Silesian shrine of St. Annaberg dates back to the Middle Ages he finds no contemporary documents that refer to the site as St. Annaberg earlier than 1563. The shrine's Gnadenbild however appears to be a late 15th or early 16th c. work. Camillus Bolczyk, St. Annaberg / Geschichte des berühmten Wallfahrtsortes im Herzen Oberschlesiens, Breslau: Druck und Verlag der Franziskaner Carlowitz=Breslau, 1937, pp. 19-20, 49, 54-56. On the cult in Silesia see also Arnold Oskar Meyer, Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Reformation aus schlesischen Quellen, Munich & Berlin: Druck & Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1903, pp. 39-53.

⁶⁴ The charts were prepared, with additional research by Ellen Muller, Lène Dresen-Coenders and Willemien Deeleman-van Tyen, on the basis of research by Matthias Zender, Bonn. Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, Ton Brandenburg, Willemien Deeleman-van Tyen, Lène Dresen-Coenders, Léon van Liebergen, Nijmegen: Sun, 1992, pp. 90-95.

study of Dutch Anna Selbdritt sculptures confirms these findings. Her research shows that the small number of Dutch works produced before 1470 originated mostly in the Rheinland region close to the German border.

In Germany, the data amassed by Matthias Zender included a large body of material on the cult of Anne, both in the medieval period and later. Though Zender used only a small part of this in his own published work, he made it available to other scholars. Among these was Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, whose examination of the Anne brotherhoods constitutes the first systematic study of a specific aspect of the cult of Saint Anne in Germany. Bernadette Mangold's catalogue of the Anna Selbdritts in Upper Bavaria, represents another step in this direction. However their subjects date largely from the late fifteenth century. For the period before 1480 the specifics of cult and image practice in the distinct and varied regions of Germany are largely unexplored territory.

Summary

The textual sources of Saint Anne's story are found in the apocryphal infancy gospels, the Protoevangelium of James (second century), and a Latin reworking of the Protoevangelium, the Pseudo-Gospel of Matthew (c. 500-700). Signs of a cult dedicated to her are evident in Greece and Jerusalem in the sixth century, in Rome from the seventh century. The cult came to Northern Europe in the twelfth century, its promotion among pilgrims in the Holy Land and its connection with the newly introduced feast of the Conception of Mary both being likely factors in its early development. It would appear

that up into the mid-1400s Anne functioned as a typical local shrine saint dispensing miracles of healing and protection. The first Anna Selbdritt images, the depiction of Anne with Jesus and Mary, both of the latter usually depicted as children, probably came into being to indicate that Anne's importance lay in her generative connection with her daughter and grandson. The image does not in itself refer to the Immaculate Conception.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EXPANSION OF THE CULT AND IMAGERY OF SAINT ANNE IN
GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS AFTER C. 1470:
QUANTITATIVE CHANGES

In the central and high middle ages Saint Anne functioned like other local shrine saints, receiving gifts and supplications from worshippers seeking healing and protection. She continued to be honoured in this way in France, Italy, and Quebec up into modern times.¹ However in the Germanic areas, that is the regions where German was spoken, along with Holland and Flanders, Anne's cult underwent a massive and relatively sudden expansion beginning in the late 1470s and 1480s. This new phase of her cult reached a peak around 1500 and continued to show considerable vigour until well into the 1520s.²

¹ Information on the post-medieval cult of Saint Anne in France and Italy can be found in Beda Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna: Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1930; P.-V. Charland, Les trois légendes de Madame Sainte Anne: I. Légende hagiographique (la Vie), Quebec, 1898; II Légende historique (le Culte) Histoire de la Dévotion à Sainte-Anne, Lévis: Mercier et Cie, 1904; III Légende iconographique (les Arts) Madame Sainte Anne et son culte au moyen âge, 2 vols., Paris: Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1911 & 1913; Le culte de sainte Anne en Occident, seconde période, 1400 (environ) à nos jours, Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1921; Patronage de Sainte Anne en arts, 2 vols. For the cult in Quebec see Nicole Cloutier, L'Iconographie de Sainte Anne au Québec, 2 vols. Montreal: Université de Montréal. Ph.D. Diss., 1982.

² The Germanic form of the cult of Saint Anne may also have prevailed in Scandinavia in roughly the same period. Icelandic lives of Anne based on German sources are discussed in a forthcoming article and book by Marianne E. Kalinke. Willemien Deeleman-van Tyen is currently researching the St. Anna Själv Tredje in Sweden. For the relationship of the cult of Anne to the activities and cult of Brigit of Sweden see Mereth Lindgren, "De heliga änkorna: S. Annakultens framväxt, speglad i birgittinsk ikonografi," Konsthistorisk tidskrift, 59 (1990), pp. 52-75. Joanna Wolska analyzes a Polish Anna Selbdritt in Obraz Tablicowy Mistrza Tryptyku Z Warty: Sw. Anna Samotrzec. Analiza ikonograficzna, M.A. thesis, Akademii Teologii Katolickiej w Warszawie, Warsaw, 1979.

The Evidence for the Expansion

The testimony of contemporaries

Not only did Anne's cult flourish in comparison with its own previous history, it flourished to such an extent that even in an age when the cult of the saints was at its height, contemporaries remarked on the special status that seemed to set Anne apart from other saints. Johannes Trithemius, the humanist Abbot of Sponheim, stated in his influential treatise on Saint Anne, De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae (1494), that she ought to be honored above other saints: "Quemadmodum ceteros solemus venerari sanctos diversis ceremoniis istam quoque sed copiosius honoremus."³ The observations of a number of his contemporaries indicate that many people did just that. In 1508 the Bern city scribe Valerius Anshelmus, commenting on the newness of Anne's cult, observed that she almost overshadowed her daughter:

Und hie fůrtrefflich, so hat on Glauben sant Ann, deren vor wenig gedacht, zu dieser Zeit fůr die gemeinen, unwerten, unlidigen Bresten der zeitlichen Armut und der elenden Blattern und pinlichen Lähme, gar nach ihre Tochter, die würdige Mutter unsers Herrn, und all Heiligen hinder sich gerückt, also dass ihr in tůtschen Landen jedermann zuschrey: Hilf St. Anna selb tritt und auf allen Strassen in

The Anna Selbdritt type of image was also produced in Spain. See Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna.

³ Johannes Trithemius, De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae, Mainz, 1494, chap. 13.

Städten und Dörfern Bilder, Altar, Kapelen, Kirchen, uf dem Schreckberg in Myssen ein Stadt, und um und um Bruderschaften sind aufgerichtet worden...⁴

Anshelmus's assessment of Anne's remarkable popularity is echoed in the writings of Martin Luther. It was to Anne that Luther had vowed in his moment of crisis in 1505: "Hilft die liebe sankt Anna, ich will Mönch werden."⁵ By 1518 his feelings about her had changed, but not his awareness of her ubiquitous presence: "...ipsa (Anna) pene supra quam B. Virgo extollitur:...Et ob huius sanctae Matris festum nunc omnium aliorum sanctorum festa non nihil obscuritatis accipere necesse est..."⁶ Luther also commented on more than one occasion on the newness of Anne's cult. In a sermon on the Gospel of Matthew he refers to her advent in his native town:

Bej meinem gedencken ist das gross wesen von S. Anna auffkomen, als ich ein knabe von funffzehen jharen wahr. Zuvor wuste man nichts von ihr, sondern ein bube kam und brachte S. Anna, klugs gehet sie ahn, den es gab jederman darzu.⁷

Luther was born in 1483, putting the arrival of Saint Anne's cult in Eisleben at around 1498, a date consistent with the geographical pattern of the cult's expansion.⁸

⁴ Berner Chronik 3, 1825, p. 251, 1825, cited in E. Schaumkell, Der Kultus der heiligen Anna am Ausgange des Mittelalters, Freiburg im Breisgau: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J.C.B. Mohr, 1893, pp. 11-12.

⁵ Martin Luther, Tischreden, Weimar, 1883-1948, 4, 4707, p. 440.

⁶ Luther, "Decem praecepta Wittenbergensi praedicta populo, 1518," Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 58 vols., Weimar, 1883-1948, 1, p. 415.

⁷ Luther, WA, 47, p. 383.

⁸ Luther's remark suggests that it was a working class layman who introduced Saint Anne to Eisleben. His remarks on her newness were made in the context of a defence against charges that he himself was introducing novelties.

Luther was not the only one who thought of Anne when a saint's name was needed. In 1513 when the inedic pseudo-mystic Anna Laminit visited Augsburg she announced that Anne had come to her in a vision and warned her that the city must repent. The Augsburg patrician Lucas Rem, in his description of the visit of "Annalin Lamenittlin," stated that she maintained that she had not eaten or drunk for fourteen or sixteen years, and "es hatt auch ausgeben, sant Anna hab mit im geredt, und Augspurg were undergaun, wan es fruo leutt mit irem gebett nit fürkomen."⁹

The evidence of names

Anne also came to mind when people were choosing names for their daughters: the name "Anna" underwent a dramatic increase in popularity in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. A survey of the names that appear in one selection of Augsburg documents spanning the period 1329 to 1527 presents a fairly typical profile for this region. A gradual rise beginning early in the fifteenth century was followed shortly before mid-century by a more pronounced rate of increase, which began to slow down in the first quarter of the sixteenth century:

From Mar. 14, 1329 to Jan. 30, 1355 in a group of twenty-two women's names Anna appears three times, Agnes four times, Margaret three times;
From May 28, 1360 to Nov. 1, 1377 in a group of seventeen names, Anne appears once, Agnes four times, Elisabeth three;

⁹ "Cronica newer geschichten' von Wilhelm Rem," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert. Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg, 5, ed. Karl von Hegel & Friedrich Roth, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1866, p. 11. On Anna Laminit see F. Roth, "Die geistliche Betrügerin Anna Laminit von Augsburg," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 43 (1924), pp. 355-417.

From Aug. 10, 1413 to Nov. 14, 1433 in a group of 19, Anne appears eight times, Elisabeth five times, Margaret four;
 From Feb. 13, 1472 to Mar. 12, 1495, in a group of twenty-one names, Anna appears six times, Barbara three;
 From Nov. 6, 1505 to Mar. 6, 1527, in a group of seventeen names, Anna appears four times, Barbara and Katharine three times each.¹⁰

In Lyndal Roper's analysis of women and family in Reformation Augsburg, a study which looks at women of different social classes, the name "Anna" outranks other choices by a wide margin.¹¹ By the same token, approximately half of the women who purchased the annuities known as Leibgedinge or Leibdinge from the Carmelite convent in Augsburg between 1485 and 1505 were named Anna.¹² In the Franciscan Crescentia-Kloster in Kaufbeuren the name is found eight times in a total of seventeen names in a list of nuns for the period 1432 to 1490. For the period 1510 to 1518 however, the number shrinks, with only three out of a total of twenty-seven.¹³ In Bavaria, Steven Sargent has found Anna to be the most popular name in the period 1400-1522. Accounting for 21.3% of women's

¹⁰ The documents are published in Helene Burger, Das evangelische Wesenarchiv in Augsburg: Uebersicht über, vol. 3, Erlangen: Verlag vom Palm & Enke, 1941, pp. 306, 9-12, 23-26, 33-36, 39-42.

¹¹ Lyndal Roper, The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

¹² The Leibgedinge (sic) which are recorded in a volume of the Pergamenturkunden in the Hospitalarchiv, Augsburg Stadtarchiv, are summarized in Eberhard Schott, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Carmeliterklosters und der Kirche von St. Anna in Augsburg," 6, Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg, 1880, pp. 165-195.

¹³ "Kaufbeuren Franziskanerinnen," Bavaria Franziskana Antiqua, 5 (1961), p. 71. A list of members of the Saint Anne Brotherhood in Kitzingen in Franconia for the period 1511-1513 reveals a mere eighteen Annas out of a total of 119 women's names mentioned. Ludwig Remling, Bruderschaften in Franken, Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1986, pp. 377-383.

names, Anna was followed by Margaret with 16.8%, Barbara with 15.9% and Elisabeth with 15.1%.¹⁴

These lists answer some questions while raising others since the increase in popularity of the name actually predates the expansion of the cult as evidenced in texts, images and brotherhoods. The disparity may be an indication that Anne's popularity was on the rise among the lay population before the clergy became actively involved in the cult. However Steven Sargent, noting the virtual absence of the name Maria in the fifteenth century, has suggested that the popularity of the name may have "resulted in part from people's desire to venerate Mary by naming girls in honor of her mother."¹⁵ Sargent's hypothesis is confirmed by a statement in a St. Gallen manuscript of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century which recommends that parents name their children after members of the Holy Kinship as a way of honouring Mary.¹⁶

¹⁴ Steven D. Sargent, "Saints' Cults and Naming Patterns in Bavaria, 1400-1600," The Catholic Historical Review, 76, 4 (October, 1990), p. 693.

¹⁵ Sargent, *ibid.*, p. 687.

¹⁶ "Semper hoc in festis eorum rogo praedicare: Sciendum valde, quod ad laudem et honorem dei matris Marie homines istis sanctis devoti puerulos suos baptisandos illis nominibus Joachim, Joseph, Johannes, Jacobus, Simon et Thateus, Servatius et Zacharias, et Anna, Cleophe, Salome et Elizabeth licite nominare possunt, sacerdotesque baptizantes per consilia sua homines seculares puerulos sic nominandos sane et licite ad dei matris laudem inducere possunt, hocque dei matri, ut pie creditur, pervalde placet." "Orationes de b. Maria virgine et eius parentibus" (Inc. 1082, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen) in J. Müller, "Ein st. gallischer Josephsverehrer des 15. Jahrhunderts," Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte, 3, 3 (1909), pp. 173-74.

The evidence provided by the production of texts

The production of texts provides a clear indication not only of the growth in popularity of Anne's cult but also of her relative importance as compared with other saints. Studies of late medieval writing and printing differ in their estimates, but it would seem that lives of Anne outnumbered lives of other saints. Falk's Die Druckkunst im Dienste der Kirche zunächst in Deutschland bis zum Jahre 1520 (1879) which concluded that forty-seven saints were the subject of approximately one hundred and twenty-five lives in works printed before 1520, states that the most widely printed hagiographic texts were lives of Anne and Katharine with eleven each, with seven each devoted to Barbara and Ursula.¹⁷ The recent research of Ton Brandenburg and Angelika Dörfler-Dierken shows that the number of Anne texts was in fact much larger.

The oldest of these are several offices dedicated to Anne and the other members of the Holy Kinship dating from the 1470s, and a long ex-voto poem from the same decade by Rudolf Agricola, elder statesmen of the German humanists, written in gratitude for healing.¹⁸ In the 1480s Jan van Denemarken, a secular priest from Utrecht, and an anonymous Carmelite, both wrote lives of Saint Anne. These long, detailed works which combine vita with miracle reports, exempla and prayers, were probably both based on a common source, now lost, but likely Carmelite. From the 1490s well into the 1500s,

¹⁷ Franz Falk, Die Druckkunst im Dienste der Kirche, zunächst in Deutschland, bis zum Jahre 1520, Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1969 (Görres-Gesellschaft, 1879), pp. 37 & 86 ff.

¹⁸ Rudolf Agricola. "Anna Mater." Opuscula, orationes, epistolae. (Köln, 1539) Frankfurt, 1975, pp. 297-306.

Dutch, Flemish and German humanists and reforming clerics, among them Petrus Dorlandus, Johannes Trithemius, Woutor Bor, Arnold Bostius, and Nicholas Symonis, produced additional lives, all of a basically similar type, many of them in fact consisting of translations or reworkings of one another. They also wrote a number of poems and other works dealing with Saint Anne and members of her family. Still other lives were written or rewritten anonymously. Circa 1500 lives of Anne were probably the most widely printed hagiographic text in Northern Europe.¹⁹ Ton Brandenburg, who analyzed the cult in the Netherlands and the Rheinland region of Germany, discusses seventeen lives, not including reprints, produced in this area alone. He estimates a total production, including manuscripts and reprints, of fifty lives of Saint Anne for the period 1490 to c. 1550.²⁰ Angelika Dörfler-Dierken's descriptive list of Anne material printed between 1477 and 1530 mainly in Germany, Holland and Flanders comprises nearly 150 hundred lives (including translations and reprints), offices, tracts, poems, collections of prayers, confraternity documents etc.²¹ This basic corpus came into being in the Netherlands-

¹⁹ Ton Brandenburg, Heilig Familieleven. Verspreiding en waardering van de Historie van Sint-Anna in de stedelijke cultuur in de Nederlanden en het Rijnland aan het begin van de moderne tijd, Nijmegen: Sun, 1990, p. 44.

²⁰ Ibid, pp. 6, 44 and Bijlage, p. 271 ff.

²¹ Dörfler-Dierken's "Materialzusammenstellungen" does not include sermons in collections of Sermones de sanctis, sections of Anne in lives of Mary and Jesus, prayers in prayer books, prints, or texts pertaining to the discourse on the Trinubium. Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Die Verehrung der heiligen Anna in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992, pp. 280-326.

Rheinland area. Lives of Anne translated and adapted in cities elsewhere in Germany were based on these, as were lives printed in France, Catalonia and Scandinavia.²²

Evidence of Anne's popularity exists in other forms as well. It appears that she had a favoured place in the prayer life of women monastics in the Rheinland area. The lengthy descriptions and detailed index in Karl Menne's catalogue of the German and Dutch manuscripts in the Cologne Stadtarchiv, a large number of which are fifteenth and early sixteenth-century vernacular prayer books from women's convents in the Rheinland, reveal that Anne was much more likely than other saints to be the object of extended

²² The Vita gloriosissime matris Annae christipare virginis Marie genetricis ab ascensio in compendium redacta ex historia suavissima eiusdem matris Anne ab religiosissimo viro F. dorlando ordinis Carthusiensis in zelem theuthonice prius edita, a Latin translation and adaptation of Dorlandus' Dietse Historie (Ghent, UB hs.895, 62v a - 110v b), was printed in Paris in 1502 (U. Gering / B. Remboldt) and a number of times thereafter. See Brandenburg, Heilieg familieleven, pp. 284-85, and Dörfler-Dierken, Die Verehrung, pp. 310, 318 & 321. A Catalan version was printed in 1503 as part of the Vita Jhesu Christi cartuxano del latino en romance por fray Ambrosio Montesino de la orden de sanct. seraphico Francisco, Alcala de Henans, 1503. See Brandenburg, *ibid.*, pp. 284-85. See Dörfler-Dierken for a Spanish life by Juan de Robles, La vida y excelencias y miraglos de santa Anna (*ibid.*, pp. 317, 325), and for descriptions of an Italian Anne life, Vita sancte Anne, matris virginis gloriose. Qui me elucidant, habebunt vitam eternam, Venice: Bernardinus de Vitalibus, c. 1500 (GKW 2009, Universitätsbibliothek Munich: quarto Inc.lat. 919:6. *Ibid.*, p. 299). Dörfler-Dierken also cites Baptista Mantuanus Spagnuoli, a short life of Anne, in Fasti, Book 7, 6, Lyon, 1516, & Poitou (*ibid.*, p. 320). Marianne Kalinke describes two Icelandic lives of Anne based on German sources: a translation of De historie von der hilligen moder sunte Anna (Braunschweig: Hans Dorn, 1507), edition by Kirsten Wolf forthcoming; the other, longer work, "Emmerencia, Anna og Maria," is published in Agnete Loth ed. Reykjaholabok. Islandske helgenlegender, Editiones Arnamagnaeanae, A, 16, Copenhagen, 1970. Marianne E. Kalinke, "önnu saga og Mariu," unpublished paper, 1993. Kalinke's description of the "Emmerencia, Anna og Maria" points to Die historie van die heilige moeder santa anna ende van haer olders (Zwolle, 1499 etc., described in Brandenburg, *ibid.*, pp. 287-290) as source. According to Brandenburg, the Dorn work was also based on Die historie. *Ibid.* pp. 302-03. Dörfler-Dierken lists a Danish life, Om Joachim oc sant Anna, jomfrue Mariae leffnet oc Jesu barndom (Kopenhagen: Gottfried aff Gheinen; see Dörfler-Dierken, *ibid.*, p. 314) and an Uppsala printing of the life by the anonymous Franciscan (*ibid.*, p. 320).

devotions such as rosaries, the five joys, or the seven greetings. Statistically, prayers to Anne outnumber those to other saints by a wide margin in these books. In one sampling the figures are twenty-five to Anne, seventeen to the Three Kings, fifteen each to Barbara and Rock, fourteen to Katherine, and thirteen each to John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene. Overall there are far more references to Anne than to any other saint: Anne has fifty-four, Mary Magdalene twenty-one, the Three Kings and Katherine twenty each, Sebastian nineteen, Barbara eighteen and Ursula ten.²³ However, the talk about Anne overshadowing Mary would have been decidedly out of place in a Rheinland convent for the number of prayers and devotions to Anne in the sisters' prayer books does not begin to approach those addressed to Mary and Jesus.

The evidence provided by the dedications of churches and confraternities

In the decades following 1480 many new churches, chapels, altars and other foundations were dedicated to Anne, while older ones were sometimes renamed in her honour. Though no systematic studies have been done of dedications in Germany and Flanders it is clear from the sheer number of examples mentioned in Schaumkell, Charland and Kleinschmidt, that the increase was large.²⁴

²³ Karl Menne, Deutsche und niederländische Handschriften, Cologne: Verlag von Paul Neubner, 1937, esp. pp. 647-693. Since not all the manuscripts are precisely dated, it is not possible to determine with certainty to what extent Anne's popularity at this local level predated the efforts of the Humanists and Reforming clerics to promote her. However there is no doubt that the convent devotion predated the late medieval period.

²⁴ See the works of Kleinschmidt, Charland and E. Schaumkell. The chart showing the temporal and geographical extent of Anne's cult in Holland prepared by Ellen Muller, Lène Dresen-Coenders and Willemien Deeleman-van Tyen indicates an increase in the

Precise information is available on the lay brotherhoods or confraternities dedicated to Anne which were founded in increasing numbers in the late fifteenth century.²⁵ Angelika Dörfler-Dierken's exhaustive 1992 study, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, confirms that these experienced their period of greatest growth between 1495 and 1515.²⁶ Of the two-hundred and thirty-one confirmed late medieval brotherhoods listed by her, all but a dozen at most, make their first appearance in sources dating from 1479 or later.²⁷

The evidence of the relics

Relics of Saint Anne in Germany are reported from periods predating the late medieval expansion of the cult.²⁸ However it was only after 1480 that Anne relics became

same period. Heilige Anna, Groete Moeder, ed. Brandenburg et al, Nijmegen, Sun, 1992, pp. 87-97.

²⁵ Anne was not the only popular saint. In Cologne, according to Beissel, the Franciscans had brotherhoods dedicated to Anne, Barbara, Mary, Cosmas und Damian, Rock, and Jodocus. Stephan Beissel, Die Verehrung der Heiligen und ihrer Reliquien in Deutschland im Mittelalter, (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1890, 1892) Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991, Part 2, p. 59. In Lubeck, there were three Anne brotherhoods out of a total of over seventy brotherhoods, the brotherhood of the "Bootsleute," whose altar was installed at the Jakobikirche in 1497, that of the shopkeepers (Krämer), and at the Burgkloster an Elenden Bruderschaft, a type of brotherhood concerned with the care and burial of needy foreigners. Monika Zmyslony, Die Bruderschaften in Lübeck bis zur Reformation, Kiel: Walter G. Muhlau Verlag, 1977, pp. 29-33.

²⁶ Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-187.

²⁸ See Schaumkell, Charland and Kleinschmidt.

the object of special attention. The most famous, the head of Anne in Düren near Cologne, had been in Germany for several centuries but it only came into prominence in 1501 when it was stolen from its previous home, Mainz, and brought to Düren where it became the centre of an important pilgrimage.²⁹ The other Anne relics that were publicized as performing miracles, those in the Frankfurt Anne Confraternity chapel, in the Dominican Church of St. Peter in Cologne, and in Limburg, were all acquired after 1480. The same is true of two relics whose attractions seem to have derived more from indulgences than from reputations for wonder-working, those in Wittenberg and Annaberg in Saxony.³⁰ In all these cases deliberate steps had been taken to acquire the relics, in the Rheinland by members of the clerical and humanist circles active in promoting the cult,

²⁹ The relic was a skull fragment. See Jos Habets, "Chronijck der landen van Overmaas en der aangrenzende gewesten, door eenen inwoner van Beek bij Maastricht," Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le duché de Limbourg à Maastricht, 7, Ruhrmond, 1870, pp. 101-108; St.-Anna in Düren, ed. Erwin Gatz, Mönchengladbach: B. Kühlen Verlag, 1972; Jacobus Polius, Exegeticon historicum sanctae Annae aviae Christi, magnae matris Deiparae, necnon sacri capitis ejusdem marcoduram translati, Cologne, 1640.

³⁰ For descriptions of the acquisition of the Frankfurt and Cologne relics see Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, esp. Chapters 3 and 4. For the relic in Limburg see Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, "Wunderheilungen durch das Limburger Annenheiltum / Mit Edition einer Abschrift des Mirakelbuches von 1511 in der Stadtbibliothek Trier," Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch, 31 (1991) p. 91. For the Wittenberg relic see Christiane D. Andersson, "Religiöse Bilder Cranachs im Dienste der Reformation," in L.W. Spitz, ed. Humanismus und Reformation als kulturelle Kräfte in der deutschen Geschichte, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981, pp. 43-80. For Annaberg see Adam Daniel Richter, Chronica der im Meissnischen Ober-Erz-Gebürge gelegenen Königl. churfl. Sächssischen freyen Berg-Stadt St. Annaberg, Annaberg: August Valentin Friesen, 1746.

in Eastern Germany by the Saxon rulers Frederick the Wise and Duke George. Some other churches also had Anne relics, but these were not so widely known.³¹

The evidence provided by the increased production of images

Perhaps the most dramatic manifestation of the expansion of Anne's cult was the great increase in the production of art works depicting her in the late fifteenth century. After 1470 images of Saint Anne were produced in quantities that far outstripped earlier production. Almost all of the Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships that can be seen today in museums and churches date from the decades between 1480 and 1520. Not only did the production of images show an enormous overall increase, they now began to be produced in large quantities in areas where they had previously been rare. Most of the extant Anna Selbdritts produced before 1480 stem from the Rheinland, with a small number from Bavaria, the North coast, and elsewhere. After 1480, and especially after 1500, they were being produced in virtually all parts of Germany, Holland and Flanders.

Not only did the quantity and geographic distribution of sculptures and paintings increase, so did the variety of compositional types. In particular, the end of the century saw a greatly increased use of the bench-type composition in which Anne and Mary, shown as two adults, sit side by side with Jesus between them. This type of Anna Selbdritt had been used before, especially in books of hours, but it was only in the late

³¹ An arm relic in Nürnberg is mentioned in several lives, among them the Augsburg confraternity life, Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin von dem gantzen geschlecht sant Anna vnd von sant Anna lobliche brüderschafft. Vnnd von etlichen grossen wunderzaichen sant Anna, Augsburg: after 1949, p. a iii (p. 164).

period that it came into use throughout Germany. As the sixteenth century progressed new atypical compositions began to be produced, especially in prints. Albrecht Dürer, Wolf Huber, Lucas Cranach, Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Baldung Grien, Lucas van Leyden and others produced a considerable number of Anna Selbdritts that explored new compositional arrangements.

Summary

The cult of Saint Anne underwent a sudden and widespread expansion beginning in the late 1470s and 1480s in Germany and the Netherlands. The increase manifests itself in a number of different ways. Texts, images, brotherhoods, church dedications and relic acquisitions all exhibit a dramatic increase during the decades 1480-1520. The earliest extant examples of a new type of text related to Saint Anne, several offices, were printed in the late 1470s and 1480s. By 1500 lives of Anne probably outnumbered those of any other saint. Vernacular prayer books produced in the Rheinland contain more prayers to Anne than to other saints. Confraternities dedicated to her were formed in many cities. Several important relic shrines were founded or grew in popularity, notably Düren, Limburg and Annaberg. Contemporary writers, among them Luther, remarked on the sudden expansion of Saint Anne's cult and the special status she seemed to enjoy.

CHAPTER THREE
THE EXPANSION OF THE CULT AND IMAGERY OF SAINT ANNE IN
GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS AFTER C. 1470:
QUALITATIVE CHANGES

Not only did the cult of Saint Anne undergo quantitative growth beginning in the late 1470s, it also underwent a qualitative change. Anne became a new kind of saint. She did new things, she was given new honours, and she acquired new powers. Just as earlier in the century Mary had taken on roles previously restricted to Jesus, Anne now acquired attributes, associations, epithets, prayers and devotions that had previously belonged to her daughter.¹ A widely published plague prayer that incorporated Anne into the Ave Maria gives an idea of the kind of wording that appears in these transformed prayers:

Ein andechtiges gepet zu der heyligen Frawen sant Anna unser lieben Frawen muter fur die pestilenz. Gegrusset bistu Maria vol genaden der her ist mit dir Dein genad sey mit mir Gesegnet bistu vnder allen frawen Vnnd gesegnet sey dein heylige muter Anna von welicher geporen Maria on sund on unreynikeyt dein heyliger und gutiger leichnam Aus welichem geporn ist Jhesus cristus Amen. Babst Allexander der jecz ein babst ist hat allen cristglaubigen menschen geben dye vor dem pild sannt Anne dis obgeschriben gepete dreymal sprechen Zehentausent iar ablass totlicher sund Und zwenczigtausent lesslicher sund: Unnd ist an dem nechsten vergangen ostertag aussgangen von seynem Bebstlichen stul und selbs mit seynen henden angeschlagen an all kirchthur die zu Rom seind Und also von seyner heyligkeyt bestetiget. In dem jar als man zalt Nach Cristi gepurt unsers lieben herren M:CCCC und ... xciiij.²

¹ Heiko Oberman discusses the elevation of Mary in The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 302 ff.

² This version was printed with an indulgenced Anna Selbdritt in Augsburg in 1494. W.L. Schreiber, Handbuch der Holz-und Metallschnitte des XV. Jh., Leipzig: Schreiber Hiersemann, 1926, vol. 3, no. 1191, p. 7.

A Latin "Rosarium de sancta Anna" by the humanist Jodocus Beisselius in which Pater Nosters are interspersed with a prayer modelled on the Ave Maria is another instance:

Ave Dei genetricis mater venerabilis Anna, sanctae Trinitati gratissima: prae cunctis mulieribus honorata, benedicta tu a Domino, & benedicta proles uteri tui, prolisque virginens natus Jesu Christus. Amen.³

Versions of Beisselius's rosary as well as earlier versions of the Anne rosary were a frequent component in prayer books, along with lists of Anne's seven sorrows and joys, and prayers entitled the psalter of Saint Anne.⁴

³ Jodocus Beisselius, "Rosarium de sancta Anna" in Johannes Trithemius, De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae, Mainz: Peter Friedberg, 1494; also in Vita gloriosissime matris Annae christipare virginis Marie genitricis ab ascensio in compendium redacta ex historia suavissima eiusdem matris Anne ab religiosissimo viro F. dorlando ordinis Carthusiensis in zelem theuthonice prius edita, published with Ludolph of Saxony, Vita Jesu Christi, Antwerp: Johannus Kerbergius MDC XIIX (Munich, BSB), p. 767.

⁴ A number of examples of Anne rosaries are described in Karl Menne's catalogue of the Rheinland vernacular prayer books in the Cologne Stadtarchiv (Karl Menne, Deutsche und niederländische Handschriften, Cologne: Verlag von Paul Neubner, 1937) among them: "Fit synt .v. blytschaffen der heyliger moder Anna," No. 108, quarto W. 141, early 1500s, female owner, cited *ibid.*, p. 193; "Hijr begynt sanct Annen rossenkrantz," No. 161, W. octavo 52, early 1500s, from a women's convent, cited *ibid.*, p. 303; "Hie begynt der selter van der glorioser selicher moder Sent Anna der gemacht is na deme psalter der selicher Jonfferen Marien irre dochter Na der historien ind legenden de groisse meyster ind doctores geschreuen haynt zo eren der alre Eyrwerdichster moder sent Anna," No. 179, W. octavo 82, 1516, from a women's convent, cited *ibid.*, p. 355. A Rheinland example dated by Menne c. 1350 contains a rosary with these words: "Hier begynt een suuerlic cransken van sunte Anne Ende dit yerste veers : O Heilighe moeder sunte Anna Weest ons een ewich troest ende toeueraet in al onsen noeden.... in der vren ons doods wilt ons moederlicken bystaen ende verweruen ons troest tegen alle onsen vianden Amen." No. 88. W. Folio 19, p. 195 r, cited *ibid.*, p. 154.

The agents of the cult's propagation: humanists and reforming clerics in the Netherlands and Germany

This process of constructing the new Saint Anne appears to have begun sometime in the late 1470s.⁵ The primary instrument in this development was the group of new lives of the saint written by Netherlandish and Rheinland German Humanist and reforming clerics. These late fifteenth-century lives differed substantially from earlier lives. As well as separating Anne's story from Mary's and making it an independent composition, they surrounded Anne with a radically new and tendentious collection of motifs and emphases.⁶ They added to her life the story of her mother Emerentia. They increased the attention paid to the Trinubium, her triple marriage.⁷ At the same time they

⁵ Ton Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven: Verspreiding en waardering van de Historie van Sint-Anna in de stedelijke cultuur in de Nederlanden en het Rijnland aan het begin van de moderne tijd (15de/16de eeuw), Nijmegen: Sun, 1990. For a partial English summary of the above see Brandenburg's article "St. Anne and Her Family: The Veneration of St Anne in Connection with Concepts of Marriage and the Family in the early Modern Period," in Saints and She-Devils: Images of Women in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, ed. Lène Dresen-Coenders et al, pp. 101-27, London: Rubicon Press, 1987. Much of this material, enhanced by some new information, is presented in a narrative account of the blossoming of the cult in Ton Brandenburg, Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen, Lène Dresen-Coenders and Léon van Liebergen, Heilige Anna, Groete Moeder: De cultus van de Heilige Moeder Anna en haar familie in de Nederlanden en aangrenzende streken, ed. Ton Brandenburg, Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen, Lène Dresen-Coenders, Léon van Liebergen, Nijmegen: Sun, 1992.

⁶ The older type of narrative continued to appear in accounts of the life of Christ such as Von der kinthait unnser herren iesu cristi genant vita christi, as well as in more specialized works like the late 15th c. Der Sündenfall of Arnold Immessen. Arnold Immessen, Der Sündenfall, ed. Friedrich Krage, Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1913, pp. 213-220.

⁷ Trithemius is an exception in not including the Trinubium in his accounts of Anne's life in the De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae or in the account of the Anne confraternity in Heilbronn which is described in De laudibus et miraculis beatae Mariae in Urticeto factis (1514/15) in Joannis Trithemii, Opera pia et spiritualia, quotquot vel olim

maintained that she experienced "no fleshly lust" in her sexual relations. And though healing and protection miracles of the older type did not disappear from her repertoire, she now concerned herself much more with her worshippers' worldly progress, their good name, their struggles with temptation, and their eternal salvation. The new texts attributed far greater power to Anne than previous lives, and they ascribed this power to her position as mother of Mary and grandmother of Christ, and founding mother of the Holy Kinship. In Germany and the Netherlands this bodily connection was emphasized in the art works depicting Anne where she was usually shown in conjunction with her daughter and grandson. The German name for this type of image, the Anna Selbdritt, means Anne with two others.

As well as telling Anne's story the new lives describe how she is to be honored, and the rewards and punishments attendant on the performance, neglect or hindrance of that devotion. They vigorously defend the legitimacy of her feast. Often they mention one or other of the newly founded confraternities or relic shrines. These themes are emphasized in the extensive biographical sections, in the prayers, and in the numerous exempla that follow the narrative. The lives are often long, in some cases approaching 200 octavo pages.

Ton Brandenburg has shown how the new texts were part of a coordinated effort to shape and spread Anne's cult.⁸ Of particular importance in this effort were the Ghent

typis expressa vel M.SS. reperiri potuerunt. ed. Johannes Busaeus. Mainz, 1604, 1605, pp. 1131-1214.

⁸ There were no doubt other factors. The bulls promulgated by the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV in 1477 and 1483 which gave approval to (though not official acceptance of) the

Carmelite Arnold Bostius, the Benedictine Abbot Johannes Trithemius of Sponheim, the Flemish Carthusian Petrus Dorlandus, and the Cologne Dominican Jakob Sprenger.⁹ These men collaborated in writing, translating, and publishing lives of Anne, liturgical offices, and poems dedicated to her.¹⁰ They founded confraternities, acquired relics,

Immaculate Conception, had called attention to the question of Mary's genesis. Sixtus had given Anne's feast an official place in the liturgical calendar 1478-81.

⁹ See Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, especially pp. 101-124, and Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Die Verehrung der heiligen Anna in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992. On Trithemius see Klaus Arnold, Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516), Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg, vol. 23), 1991; Noel Brann, The Abbott Trithemius (1462-1516: The Renaissance of Monastic Humanism, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981. Among the others involved in the promoting of Anne's cult were the Frankfurt Carmelite Prior Rumold Laupach, the Dominican Dominicus van Gelre, the humanists Judocus Beisselius, Wouter Bor, Konrad Celtis, Johannes Oudewater, the canon of St. Goedele in Brussels, Robert Gaguin, Jodocus Badius, Johannes von Lampsheim and Jakob Wimpfeling.

¹⁰ Jan van Denemarken's Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempelen vander heyligher vrouwen sint Annen was first published by Geraert Leeu in Antwerp in 1490-91. Van Denemarken may also have been the author of another life, the manuscript Legenda sanctae Emerencianae et sanctae Annae (MS, c. 1496, Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale) according to Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, p. 291. This work was translated and reworked by the Monnikshuizen Carthusian Wouter Bor as Die historie van die heilige moeder santa anna ende van haer olders..., published in Zwolle in 1499, and republished a number of times. Ibid., p. 287, 291. Petrus Dorlandus wrote two lives of Anne, the Historia perpulchra de anna sanctissima (Antwerp: Govert Back, c. 1498) which also exists in manuscript form as Vita Beatissimae Matris Annae edita a Venerabili et erudito Pater Petro Dorlando (Cologne, Historisches Archiv, Ms., G.B4o 197), and Die historie van Sint-Anna, Antwerp: Govert Back, 1501. The latter was translated into Latin as the Vita gloriosissime matris Annae christipare virginis Marie genetricis ab ascensio in compendium redacta ex historia suavissima eiusdem matris Anne ab religiosissimo viro F. dorlando ordinis Carthusiensis in zelem theuthonice prius edita and printed with the Vita Jhesu Christi of Ludolf of Saxony, first in Paris in 1502. Ibid., p. 284. In collaboration with Dominicus van Gelre, Dorlandus published the Legenda sanctae Annae, a life of Anne by an anonymous Franciscan, which enjoyed great popularity in Germany. It was published in Louvain in 1496, in Leipzig in 1497, 1502, 1507, 1517, and under the title Quedam rara Legenda de sancta Anna in Strassburg in 1511. See Brandenburg, Heilig

commissioned art works, and secured indulgences to enhance the attractions of the former. Brandenburg shows how these activities, which culminated around 1500, were marked by a high degree of interaction within these circles. Trithemius wrote the De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae for the new Anne brotherhood at the Carmelite convent in Frankfurt at the request of Rumold von Laupach, the brotherhood's founder. When the Frankfurt Dominican Wigand Wirt took offense at the treatise's emphatic promotion of the Immaculate Conception, Trithemius' fellow humanists rallied to his support with poems and other texts praising Anne and her conception of Mary.¹¹ In Cologne an Anne confraternity was amalgamated with the Rosary Confraternity that Jakob Sprenger had founded there in 1475. In 1478 Sprenger acquired an Anne relic for the Dominican church of Saint Peter, where the confraternity was located. Another Dominican, Dominicus van Gelre, wrote an account of the miracles attributed to this relic from Anne's finger, and his account was subsequently published in the Anne lives written by Petrus Dorlandus.¹²

The agents of the cult's propagation: the new lives of Saint Anne

The writings of the Rheinland Humanists and their associates, republished, translated, rewritten and sold throughout Germany, were a principal means of shaping the

familieleven, pp. 279-281. It also appears under the title Hec est quedam rara et ideo cara legenda de sanctam Anna. et de universa eius. The various editions of lives and offices are not always identical. Offices were sometimes published appended to lives.

¹¹ Poems in Anne's honour by Conrad Celtis, Theodor [Dietrich] Gresemund, Jodocus Badius Ascensius [Gandensis], Jodocus Beissellius, Rutger Sicamber von Venray, Rudolf Agricola, Rudolf von Langen, Adam Werner von Themar and Johannes Herbst were published with the De laudibus and in other Anne texts.

¹² Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, p. 107.

form the cult took as it established itself in other parts of the Empire. To be sure, it manifested important variations in different regions. At the same time many of the new themes emphasized in the lives can be found in the devotional practices that came into being as Anne's popularity spread and flourished throughout the whole of the Germanic-speaking area.

The emphasis on the Trinubium is evident in the greatly increased incidence of this theme in works of art.¹³ The spread of the confraternities is another instance of their influence, for as Angelika Dörfler-Dierken's study of the brotherhoods dedicated to Anne has shown, the vast majority of these lay voluntary associations were founded after the texts began to appear.¹⁴ The emphasis on the use of images in devotional activities described in the lives is echoed in the enormous increase in the production of images after 1480, as well as in some details of their use. A woodcut emanating from humanist circles printed in Pforzheim in the Rheinland in 1501 depicts one of the practices encouraged by the lives: the lighting of three candles, rather than the usual one, in front of the Anna

¹³ Werner Esser in his study of the Holy Kinship states: "Der Hauptverbreitungszeitraum des Sippenthemes kann mit einhundert Jahren abgesteckt werden: er lag zwischen etwa 1450 und 1550. Rund drei Viertel der in meinem Katalog zusammengestellten Sippenbilder stammten allein aus der Zeit um 1500 und der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts." Werner Esser, Die Heilige Sippe: Studien zu einem spätmittelalterlichen Bildthema in Deutschland und den Niederlanden, Ph.D diss., Bonn: Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1986, p. 53.

¹⁴ Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992.

Selbdritt.¹⁵ By the same token the emphasis on Anne's power and on the triple link which is so pronounced in the lives is also found in prayers printed on woodcuts.

The New Cult of Saint Anne: Regional Differences

While some aspects of the cult received fairly constant emphasis regardless of geography, certain themes show some degree of regional specificity. Not surprisingly, these differences show correspondences with pre-existing patterns of regional piety.

Cologne and the Rheinland

The Rheinland has a place of special importance in the history of Saint Anne. It was here that the cult seems to have had its oldest roots - and it was here too that the new form of the devotion took shape.¹⁶ Anne's cult in the Rheinland shows the traits of the piety characteristic of the region: an abundance of relic shrines; a marked tendency to perceive spiritual power as present in material objects such as relics, images and holy people; a fondness for royal and group saints; a heightened concern over issues related

¹⁵ The woodcut includes quatrains by Trithemius and his associates. Max Geisberg, The German Single Leaf Woodcut: 1500-1550, ed. Walter L. Strauss, New York: Hacker Art Books, vol. I, G.53. The three candles are held by three angels in a 1507 woodcut by the Nürnberg artist Wolf Traut. Geisberg, *ibid.*, vol. 4, G.1409, p. 1362.

¹⁶ Of the Anna Selbdritts produced before 1470, by far the largest number originated in the German Rheinland. Small numbers of early works also survive from Bavaria, the North Coast and some other places. The presence of prayers addressed to Anne in fourteenth-century prayer books produced in the Rheinland is another indication of the relative antiquity of her cult here. See for example, 87 W. octavo, p. 147 and 148, W octavo 5. p. 233, in Menne, Deutsche und niederländische Handschriften.

to women and sexuality; and a conflation of the imperial with the spiritual - this was the area of the Reichskirche - in texts, ceremonies and concepts of church.

Just as the Rheinland, with Cologne as its focal point, was Germany's relic centre, so it was here that the most important Anne relics were to be found. The Anne relic shrines in Cologne, Düren and Limburg all fall into the geography of the Rheinland's main pilgrimage route, the Cologne-Trier-Aachen circuit. Pilgrims attending the immensely popular relic displays held in these cities every seven years would also likely have attended these Schaus at the nearby Anne shrines. The Metz burger Philippe de Vigneulles and his wife and companions did so when they made a pilgrimage in the early 1500s, and it is clear from de Vigneulles' description of the crowds that they were far from alone in Düren: "... il y avoit très tant de gens et sy grant multitude de puple au loing du chemin que c'estoit grant merveille et ne so powoit - on à paine avancer."¹⁷

De Vigneulles' description of the response of the crowds to the presentation of the Child Jesus's shirt in Aachen gives an idea of the intensity of response that relics could arouse in these famed shrines:

Et adonque les prélas prengnent la dite chemise qui est ploiée comme dit est et en grande honneur et révérence la laissent ailler de ses plois et l'etendent tout du loing au dehors des dites aillées sus ung altre drapz d'or, à la veue d'ung chacun et adonque vous diriez que tout le monde tremble du grant bruit des cornets et du cri des hommes et femmes qui crient miséricorde et ny ait homme que les chevelx ne luy dressent en la teste et que les lairnes ne viengnent à l'euil.¹⁸

¹⁷ Philippe de Vigneulles, Gedenkbuch des Metzger Bürgers Philippe von Vigneulles aus den Jahren 1471 bis 1522 (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 24, Stuttgart: 1851), ed. Heinrich Michelant, Amsterdam: editions Rodopi, 1968, p. 179.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 176.

The spectacle at Aachen was similar:

Apres ce que nous heumes veu le st chief tout à nostre aixe et visité l'église et les frères Baudes et la ville, car c'est une belle, jollive ville, et que on eust diné, nous partimes bien enhaités et sy vinmes couchier à Coullougne à trois rois pour celle nuit.¹⁹

Though churches and individuals in other parts of Germany amassed large collections of relics in the fifteenth century, the perception of their power seems to have been more intense in the Rheinland than elsewhere. It seems clear from surviving descriptions that the relic displays in Annaberg in Saxony, for example, were more dependent on the attractions provided by indulgences than on the power inherent in the relics.²⁰ Indulgences always helped attract pilgrims, but they seem to have been proportionately less important in the Rheinland. All of the substantial and detailed extant contemporary reports of miracles produced by Anne relics came from the shrines in the Rheinland, at Düren, Limburg and Cologne.

The relic cult of Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, that of the Three Kings, of the Maccabees, and of the Theban Legion, all of which had their German origins in Cologne, exemplify the Rheinland's special fondness for group and royal saints. Like them, the Anna Selbdritt and the Holy Kinship were also both group and royal saints.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 180.

²⁰ This is the impression given by Petrus Albinus and Daniel Richter, whose works were based on earlier chronicles and documents. Petrus Albinus, Annabergische Annales de anno 1492 bis 1539, c. 1590, in Festschrift zum 25jährigen Bestehen des Vereins für Geschichte von Annaberg und Umgegend, Annaberg: Graserschen Buchhandlung, 1910; Adam Daniel Richter, Nachricht von dem Bergwerke uff St. Annaberg, nebst einem ehemals auf dasselbe verfertigten...Meistergesang...St. Annaberg, Annaberg: August Valentin Friesen, 1755.

Not only were Anne and her family members of the most regal household of all, the divine household, but Anne and Joachim are often described in the new lives as belonging to the House of David. A late fifteenth-century prayer book from a women's convent in this area goes even further, addressing Anne as empress: "GEgruest systu hilige anna Heilige keisserynen mit dynem edelen geslecht."²¹

The importance in Cologne piety of the blood and bones of saints in large quantities is evident in contemporary observations such as Johannes Cochlaeus' 1512 description of the city:

Die Stadt [Köln] ist mit sehr vielen, grossartigen Gotteshäusern geschmückt, wo unzählige Heiligenreliquien in Gräbern und sonstigen Gefässen aufbewahrt werden, die mit Gold, Silber und Edelsteinen verziert sind: Ich meine die der drei Magier, der elftausend Jungfrauen, der Thebäer und sehr vieler Märtyrer und Bekenner, mit deren Blut und Gebeinen reichlich versehen Köln mit Recht glücklich genannt wird.²²

The presence of a strong and persisting association between female purity, power, and protection also marked the Rheinland, the shedding of virginal blood sometimes forming part of this group of motifs.²³ The attention to the feminine as a theme in religious writing was matched by the abundance of holy women recorded as having lived

²¹ Menne, Deutsche und niederländische Handschriften, 87, W. octavo 1, p. 147.

²² Johannes Cochlaeus, Brevis Germanie Descriptio, 1512, ed. & trans. Karl Langosch, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960, pp. 156 -157.

²³ Manfred Beck in a study of religious literature printed in Cologne in the early 1500s remarks on "die nahezu ausschliessliche Verbreitung weiblicher Märtyrerleben im Kölner Druck hin" and on the prevalence of bloody martyrdoms ("Schlachthauspoesie") here. Manfred Beck, Untersuchungen zur geistlichen Literatur im Kölner Druck des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts, Göttingen: Verlag Alfred Kümmerle, 1977, pp. 120, 129. Beck describes several female martyrs' lives in which the spilling of holy blood is an important motif. Ibid., pp. 127, 149. In one legend a gift of earth from the cemetery of the 11,000 virgins brought by St. Irmgard to the Pope is found to contain fresh blood. Ibid.

in this region. With its celebrated mystics of the high middle ages, beguines, and visionary Dominican nuns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Rheinland had long been a centre of female piety. But admiration for the power of feminine holiness was accompanied by anxiety related to perceptions of women as potentially dangerous and uncontrollable, and by consequent attempts to control both female sexuality and religious practice.²⁴

It is not surprising therefore to find that in this region Anne bears an extraordinarily rich burden of signification with respect to issues pertaining to women and female sexuality.²⁵ It is in texts written here that the issue of her sexual relations with Joachim is most strongly emphasized. The concern with female sexuality is also an aspect of the Immaculate Conception, and it is in the Rheinland that this doctrine received its greatest emphasis.²⁶ Nor was the concern restricted to the theological level. It may well have been the intent of Trithemius, Dorlandus and other writers from this region to

²⁴ The Malleus Maleficarum is a well-known expression of this anxiety. An even more widely read type of literature may have been the popular vernacular literature that presented the negative stereotype of the older, lower-class but financially independent, widow who remarries a young husband from motives of sexual lust. An example is the fifteenth-century Flemish satire Les Evangiles des Quenouilles of Fouquart de Cambrai, Antoine du Val and Jean d'Arras, first printed in Bruges by Colard Mansion c. 1475. A sixteenth-century English translation, The Gospelles of Dystaves, is reprinted in Distaves and Dames: Renaissance Treatises For and About Women, ed. Diane Bornstein, Delmar, N.Y.: Scholars Facsimiles & Reprints, 1978.

²⁵ Brandenburg notes that control over sexual impulses is a motif that is especially prominent in the miracles attributed to the Cologne Anne relic. Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, p. 108.

²⁶ The Immaculate Conception appears in the Anne texts by Trithemius and members of his circle. It does not appear in the works of Dorlandus.

address the behaviour of real women when they emphasized Anne's sexual anaesthesia, and when they presented her as a model of subdued female behaviour.

The Rheinland: Survival of the older form of the cult

The differences between the old and new forms of the cult of Saint Anne can be seen with particular clearness in the Rheinland, for it was here that Anne retained her older role as local shrine-saint at the same time that she was taking on her new role. An examination of the miracle reports connected with her relic shrines makes clear the difference. Unlike the miracles in saints' lives, which were usually either adapted from older sources or newly composed, the healings and rescues described in miracle books produced by healing shrines are wonders recorded as having taken place at the shrine in question on specific occasions.

The Anne shrine at the Wilhelmite Convent in Limburg is an example of this type. Although its founding was probably stimulated by the new wave of the cult's popularity, the writers of the miracle book produced for the shrine retained the traditional format.²⁷ This is evident not only in the nature of the miracles performed by the relic at the shrine, which are largely miracles of healing, but also by the method through which petitioners obtained access to Anne's power. At Limburg, as at most other healing shrines, pilgrims

²⁷ The Limburg shrine, which included a brotherhood and indulgences, seems to have been established relatively late [the first documented reference is 1511], in a convent showing no previous evidence of special devotion to Anne. Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, "Wunderheilungen durch das Limburger Annenheiltum / Mit Edition einer Abschrift des Mirakelbuches von 1511 in der Stadtbibliothek Trier," *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch*, 31 (1991), pp. 83-107.

normally came in consequence of a vow to make a pilgrimage if the requested cure was granted. Once at the shrine they were touched by the relic, or they drank special water. The Limburg book is a compilation of reports of these healings.

By contrast, the compilation of miracles performed by a shrine of the new type, that of the relic of Anne's finger at Saint Peter's Church in Cologne, while it also includes healing miracles, contains miracles of the newer type such as deliverance from temptation to sexual sin. The difference is not surprising considering that the Cologne miracles were compiled by Dominicus van Gelre, a member of the circle promoting the new form of the cult.

The Limburg book is also valuable in that it sheds light on the problematic question of whether or not Anne was a special patron of women in late medieval Germany. This role has often been claimed for her, but while there is strong evidence of such a patronage in post-medieval Germany, that for the medieval period is weak.²⁸ The forty-one miracles effected by the Limburg relic during a half-year period in 1511

²⁸ Kleinschmidt is among those who claim Anne as a medieval women's patroness. Beda Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna: Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1930. p. 164. Dörfler-Dierken rebuts this claim in Die Verehrung, pp.100-101. Stephan Beissel is describing a later tradition when he states that women desiring children came to Anne's shrine at Düren where the "Gürtel der hl. Anna" was laid on them, for though this probable votive offering, an ornamented belt, dates from the late medieval period, it was not given to the church until 1667. However references to help for women are not absent in the late medieval period. Kleinschmidt cites "eine Agende von Halle vom Jahre 1536" that states "Schwangere Frawen, Frawen in Kindesnöten sollen sant Anne wasser trinken und sant Anne eyn opffer geloben lebentig oder brennend oder anders; szo werden sie mit Freuden geborenn." He cites Franz, Kirchliche Benediktionen I, p. 213. Kleinschmidt, *ibid.*, p. 165. Trithemius mentions help to women in childbirth, but otherwise pays little special attention to women in his lengthy list of Anne's patronages. Johannes Trithemius, De laudibus, chap. 14, D iii.

included healing from physical and mental illness, recovery from accidents, and deliverance from possession.²⁹ Yet while many involved the healing of sick and injured children (including the resuscitation of drowned children), only four concerned birth or the resuscitation of stillborn babies, and none involved fertility or help in childbirth. This tally suggests that Anne was not a special women's patron. On the other hand signs that point to a role as a women's patron are not entirely absent.³⁰ An early sixteenth-century prayer book from a women's convent in the Rheinland recommends that a prayer to Saint Anne be held or worn by pregnant women and read to women in childbirth: "Ouch wilche vrouwe de swanger geit sal dyt [the prayer to Saint Anne] gern by sich dragen Ouch wanne dyt gelesen wirt in frauwen noeden da pleit id gern besser zo werden."³¹

²⁹ Petitioners are described as making offerings at the shrine, sometimes as drinking water from it, while other documents speak of the people being "erstrichen" or touched by the relic. Dörfler-Dierken, "Wunderheilungen," pp. 87, 98.

³⁰ Brandenburg states that Anne was honoured in convents, and he calls attention to the presence of exempla concerning women religious in the lives. Heilige Anna: Grote Moeder, pp. 42-44. A Nativity play, probably dating to the early 15th century, containing a section in which Anne and her daughters visit Mary, Joseph and the Christ Child, was written for a women's convent at Huy near Liège. "Fragment d'un mystère de la Nativité," Gustave Cohen, ed. Mystères et moralités du manuscrit 617 de Chantilly, Paris: Librairie Edouard Champion, 1920, pp. 27-38. This work does not emphasize the same themes that are found in the later 15th c. German tradition. Kathleen Ashley discusses the short text in "Image and Ideology / Saint Anne in Late Medieval Drama and Narrative," in Ashley & Sheingorn, Interpreting Cultural Symbols, pp. 110-130. One of the lives by Petrus Dorlandus, Die historie der alder heilichster vrouwen Sijnte Anna, (1500/1503, UB Ghent, hs. 895) was written for a women's convent, probably that of Sint-Anna-ter Woestijen near Bruges, according to Brandenburg. Heilige familie, p. 282-83. A number of convents, altars etc. in various parts of Germany dedicated to Saint Anne were endowed by women named Anne.

³¹ G.B. octavo 44, 223, cited in Menne, *ibid*, pp. 454-55. The frequency with which Anne is referred to as mother, for example "de hilge moder S.A." in these and other works indicates that she was seen as a maternal figure. Jodocus Beisselius's (d. 1514) Rosarium de sancta Anna includes help in fertility in his list of Anne's patronages. The

The presence of four miracles involving stillbirth in the Limburg book, along with the resuscitation miracles, does however suggest a connection with children in the medieval period. It is interesting that Luther's recollection of a child's resuscitation attributed to Saint Anne apparently took place in the same part of the Rheinland:

Ich bin einmahl an einem ortthe gewesen, da wurde S. Anne angeruffen, und gieng darvon ein auffschreiben offentlich aus von einem wunderzaichen, so S. Anna an selbigen ortthe gethan hatte, das ein kind zwo nacht im wasser gelegen war und dennochs nicht ersossen, sondern lebendig blieben. Ich als ein junger Theologus widerfocht es, aber der Wirdth sprach: Macht draus, was ir wollet, das kind ist tag und nacht im Wasser gewesen. Der Herzog von Julich wolt das gebeine S. Anna aufheben und an einen andern orth bringen, do starben ihme alle seine pferde.³²

It should be noted that the retribution Anne inflicted on the Duke of Julich for wanting to remove her relics - killing his horses - is further confirmation of her continuing role as a local shrine saint in this part of Germany. Such saints typically resisted being moved from their shrines, and not infrequently inflicted physical injury on those who mistreated them.³³

Rosarium was published with Trithemius's De laudibus, and in other Anne texts. For a German translation of these lines see Kleinschmidt, p. 313. Anne's help was sought for fertility in medieval England according to Gail McMurray Gibson. Gail McMurray Gibson. "Saint Anne and the Religion of Childbed: Some East Anglian Texts and Talismans," Interpreting Cultural Symbols, ed. Ashley and Sheingorn, Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1990, pp. 95-110.

³² Martin Luther, Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 58 vols., Weimar, 1883-1948, 47, p. 581 and again in 45, pp. 528-29.

³³ Vengeful saints and Marys appear in numerous exempla in the Legenda Aurea and in Caesarius of Heisterbach's Dialogus Miraculorum. See Caesarius of Heisterbach, The Dialogue on Miracles, trans. H. von E. Scott & C.C. Swinton Bland. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1929; Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda Aurea, ed. Th. Graesse, Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, [1890] 1965; The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton, vol. 2, London: J.M. Dent & Co: Aldine House, 1900.

The qualitative difference between the old and new forms of the cult can also be clearly seen in some of the other texts produced in the Rheinland/Netherlands region. Comparisons of descriptions of miracles attributed to Saint Anne and those attributed to other saints in works written by the same author make the point with special force. Petrus Dorlandus, a member of the humanist circle promoting Anne's cult, wrote a life of St. Katherine in which he recounts traditional miracles such as healings granted to those who pray to the saint. His several lives of St. Anne, on the other hand, include new types of miracles, such as those in which wealth and reputation are restored, sexual temptation is overcome, and contested points of doctrine established.³⁴

The same contrast appears in the works of Trithemius. The De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae (1494) miracles are of the new type, while the miracle books he wrote for two Marian shrines, the De laudibus et miraculis beatae Mariae in Urticeto factis published in 1514/15 and the Miracula beatae Mariae semper virginis in Ecclesia nova prope Dittelbach of 1511, contain the short matter-of-fact descriptions of healings familiar from the older tradition.³⁵ In both cases the writers have chosen to treat miracles effected by Anne differently than those performed by other saints.

³⁴ Petrus Dorlandus, de Nativitate Conversione & vita invictissimae martiris beatissimae virginis Katherinae, Louvain, 1513.

³⁵ Johannes Trithemius, De laudibus et miraculis beatae Mariae in Urticeto factis, and Miracula beatae Mariae semper virginis in Ecclesia nova prope Dittelbach, in Joannis Trithemii. Opera pia et spiritualia.

Lübeck and the north coast

The piety of the northern coastal area presents a very different pattern from that of the Rheinland. There seems to have been a greater degree of civic lay control in religious matters here.³⁶ Little is heard of controversies about the Immaculate Conception.³⁷ Female piety seems neither intense - at least not in terms of the number of women's convents - nor problematic.³⁸ Saints, while clearly popular, if the number of extant images is any indication, do not seem to have been the focus of intense devotion. Possibly they were seen as sources of help in daily life. Neither pilgrimages nor relics nor wonder-working images were prominent in this region. Similarly absent are accounts of the splendid ceremonials of the imperial Reichskirche. This was not a region much visited by the Emperor.

³⁶ See Heinz Schilling, "The Reformation in the Hanseatic Cities," Sixteenth Century Journal, 14, 1 (Spring, 1983), pp. 443-456.

³⁷ Wilhelm Jannasch states: "Der traditionelle Streit zwischen den beiden Bettelorden, der um die Frage der unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariens ging, hatte zwar 1515 in Mecklenburg getobt, aber auf die lübeckischen Klöster nicht übergegriffen." Wilhelm Jannasch, Reformationsgeschichte Lübecks von Petersablass bis zum Augsburger Reichstag 1515-1530, Lübeck: Verlag Max Schmidt-Römhild, 1958, p. 52.

³⁸ Lübeck had only one women's convent, the Cistercian St. Johanniskloster, before the St.-Annen-Kloster was founded in 1502. Kirchliche Kunst des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit, ed. Jürgen Wittstock, Lübeck, St.-Annen-Museum, 1981, p. 9. Augsburg in the late 15th c. had at least seven women's convents, according to Rolf Kiessling. Rolf Kiessling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter, Augsburg: Verlag H. Muhlberger, 1971, pp. 37-38.

In the Rheinland and in South Germany brotherhoods were usually founded and run by the clergy.³⁹ And while some, such as the jurists' St. Anne Brotherhood in Koblenz, were for people from particular occupations, most drew members from various walks of life. In the North German cities on the other hand, brotherhoods were often attached to parish churches, were run by laymen, and were usually associated with particular occupations. They were also far more numerous than in the Rheinland or in South Germany. Hamburg had ninety-nine, most of them founded after 1450.⁴⁰ Lübeck

³⁹ Angelika Dörfler-Dierken's finding that the largest number of brotherhoods attached to religious orders was in the Rheinland area of Germany is consistent with this pattern. The largest number, eighteen, were attached to Carmelite foundations. Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, pp 22-23. See Ludwig Remling, Bruderschaften in Franken. Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1986, for a description of Franconian brotherhoods, which seem to have been lay-run.

⁴⁰ G. Brandes, "Die geistlichen Bruderschaften in Hamburg während d. Mittelalters," Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburg. Gesch. 34, 35 & 36 (1934, 1936, 1937), cited in Stephen Ozment, "Piety in Germany around 1500," in The Reformation in Medieval Perspective, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971, p. 53.

had over sixty.⁴¹ By contrast there were probably no more than seven or eight brotherhoods in late fifteenth-century Augsburg.⁴²

Anne's popularity in Lübeck is confirmed by the large number of extant images, most produced after 1480. The fact that two of Lübeck's three Anne brotherhoods had maritime connections - the third was that of the Krämer (retailers) - suggests that the coastal devotion to Anne as a maritime helping saint continued to exist here as it did in the late thirteenth century when the Anna Selbdritt was installed in the Nikolaikirche in Stralsund.⁴³ The Annabruderschaft was the newer of two seamen's confraternities, and

⁴¹ Dörfler-Dierken's explanation for the overall predominance of parish-based brotherhoods in a postulated belief on the part of the laity that they would have greater influence over the running of the brotherhood in a city church or chapel than in one in a convent fails to take into account this pre-existing pattern of brotherhood types. Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften, pp. 27-28. Dörfler-Dierken's discussion of the brotherhoods' distribution calls attention to a fundamental error in her treatment of the cult, her assumption that cult and brotherhoods were co-extensive and co-terminous - that where there was a cult, there was also a brotherhood: "Das zeigt die Kultlandkarte, in welche diejenigen deutschen Orte aufgenommen sind, für die die existenz einer Annenbruderschaft sicher belegt ist." Ibid., p. 19. In fact while there were some regions such as Ostfriesland, where there were no brotherhoods and few traces of a cult, there are several areas where brotherhoods were rare or non-existent but where the presence of numerous art works testifies to an active cult. This is the case for most parts of Holland, for the Austrian Tirol, and for Bavaria. The brotherhoods were important, but they were not the only form taken by Anne's cult.

⁴² Rolf Kiessling, "Bürgertum und Kirche im Spätmittelalter," Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart, ed. G. Gottlieb et al, Stuttgart: Theiss Verlag, 1984, p. 206. In 1325 the Bruderschaft der Jakober, made up largely of weavers, had been dissolved because of fears of revolutionary activity. Ibid., p. 206.

⁴³ They were the Annenbruderschaft dedicated to God, Mary, "besonders aber auch der Hl. Anna und den Heiligen Nikolaus und Mauritius" founded in 1497 at the Jakobikirche, and that of the shopkeepers (Krämer). Monika Zmyslony, Die Bruderschaften in Lübeck bis zur Reformation, Kiel: Walter G. Muhlau Verlag, 1977, pp. 88-90. A third Lübeck Anne brotherhood, in the Burgkloster, was an Elenden Bruderschaft, a type of brotherhood formed originally to care for and bury needy foreigners. It is first mentioned in a will of 1518. Ibid., pp. 29-33.

it would seem that it was the group to which the sailors belonged, the captains joining the Nikolausbruderschaft.⁴⁴ In Hamburg three of the four Anne brotherhoods were connected with sea-faring occupations, that of the Fischerknechte, that of the Islandfahrer whose membership consisted of shippers and merchants who traded with Iceland, and a brotherhood at the Franciscan Minorite Convent founded by "einige christliche Manne und Schiffer."⁴⁵

The northern lay-run brotherhoods met, according to Monika Zmyslony, "for a common Festmahl once or twice yearly, on anniversaries with vigils und masses for departed souls [presumably of departed members] celebrated usually on Mondays or

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 91. Zmyslony states that this kind of class separation into separate groups was prevalent in the late 1400s and early 1500s.

⁴⁵ Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatorische Bruderschaften, pp. 100-101. Dörfler-Dierken points out that most brotherhoods were located in imperial cities, in the "Städtelandschaften des Reiches," on the Rhein and Mosel, up to Trier and Strassburg, and on the Main up to Würzburg, in Saxony and Southwest Germany. There were almost no brotherhoods in Ostfriesland, Bohemia, Bavaria, German Switzerland, and Austria. She associates this distribution with the greater literacy to be found in cities. Ibid., p. 20. However, while she is right to note the importance of the texts in spreading the cult, her discussion does not sufficiently illuminate the distribution of the brotherhoods. For while literacy was important in disseminating the new image of Anne and her powers, it does not appear to have been the crucial factor in the founding of brotherhoods. For example, though many editions of Anne lives were published in Leipzig and widely distributed in Saxony, this region saw no flourishing of parish-based lay-run confraternities. Dörfler-Dierken's discussion of the brotherhoods' distribution calls attention to an error in her treatment of the cult, her assumption that cult and brotherhoods were co-extensive and co-terminous - that where there was a cult, there was also a brotherhood: "Das zeigt die Kultlandkarte, in welche diejenigen deutschen Orte aufgenommen sind, für die die existenz einer Annenbruderschaft sicher belegt ist." Ibid., p. 19. In fact while there were some regions such as Ostfriesland, where there were no brotherhoods and few traces of a cult, there are several areas where brotherhoods were rare or non-existent but where the presence of numerous art works testifies to an active cult. This is the case for most parts of Holland, for the Austrian Tirol, and for Bavaria. The brotherhoods were important, but they were not the only form the cult took.

Thursdays."⁴⁶ Their primary purpose seems to have been to ensure the salvation of members' souls through the endowing of masses. Care of the poor served as additional security against the fires of Purgatory. Zmyslony remarks that alms were not given primarily as an act of Christian brotherhood or mercy but with the intent that the recipient would pray for the giver.⁴⁷

South Germany

In South Germany, as in most regions outside the Rheinland, Anne's cult largely developed after 1480. Though some early sculptures survive, the South German regions of Swabia, Franconia and Bavaria present no indications of a significant pre-existing indigenous cult. And even after 1480, though the existence of numerous images of Anne attest to her widespread popularity here, evidence of major cult sites dedicated to her does

⁴⁶ Zmyslony, Die Bruderschaften in Lübeck, p. 127. Members of confraternities were required to pray at the graves of departed brothers. Fines for infractions of rules were usually paid in wax. Each member had to bring an offering. Some brotherhoods had their own meetinghouses wherein members met for the periodic feasts which usually included, as well as plentiful food and drink, music, dancing and card and dice playing. Drinking was also part of the more frequent, smaller meetings. Some records specify that members are to drink no more than they can handle. Ibid., pp. 122-24.

⁴⁷ Zmyslony cites the Statutes der Leichnamsbruderschaft of the goldsmiths (1495) to the effect that: "etlike provene to gheven armen mymschen to weyghen tyden, vpp dat desulven Gode den heren myt vlyte vnde truweliken bidden vor de brodere vnd sustere, de vth der broderschop sint vorstorven." Ibid., p. 129. The brotherhoods invested their capital in property and other ventures. Poor and less-well-off people could buy a kind of annuity from the brotherhoods which entitled them to receive regular amounts of food. They were expected to pray for living and dead members of the brotherhood. Confraternity member would give funds for these pröve. After the death of the holder, the pröve came back to the brotherhood and the "Aelterleute vergaben sie von neuem." Ibid. p. 133 ff.

not appear. There were no important pilgrimage centres. And though Anne relics were owned by some churches, the most widely known being Anne's arm in Nürnberg, these did not achieve miracle-working fame. The best-known Anne centre in South Germany, the brotherhood at the Carmelite Church in Augsburg, does not seem to have had a famous image or relic.

The pattern seen in Anne's cult in Bavaria is consistent with Steven Sargeant's description of the stages of Bavarian shrine activity. Sargent has concluded that fifteenth-century Bavaria saw two types of shrine, the locus sanctus shrine in which holiness was ascribed to the place itself, not to relics or images, and a revival of the tomb cults that had marked Bavarian piety of the early medieval period, before 1100. In the next phase these began to be overtaken and supplanted by shrines to Marian Gnadenbilder or wonderworking images.

Anne would not easily have found a place within this context. She had no history as an early medieval saint, no tomb to revive. And she had no early associations with places there to parallel those so often found in legends associated with locus sanctus shrines in Bavaria.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Steven D. Sargent, "Miracle Books and Pilgrimage Shrines in Late Medieval Bavaria," Historical Reflections, 13, 2 & 3 (1986), pp. 457-471. Philip Soergel believes late medieval Bavaria did not experience noticeable salvation anxiety. Speaking of pilgrimage shrines he states: "While indulgences, too attracted people to these sites, pilgrims were not necessarily uncertain about their salvation. For most, ultimate redemption was rarely doubted; indulgences merely lessened inevitable purgatorial suffering." Philip M. Soergel, Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp. 20-21.

Eastern Germany

In eastern Germany Anne's cult appeared to have owed more to promotion from above than to any other factor. But here it was rulers, not clergy, who were the primary movers. Duke George of Saxony chose Anne as patron for Annaberg, his new mining city in the Erzgebirge.⁴⁹ He outfitted the city with relics, a brotherhood, a plethora of ecclesiastical privileges, and a fine late Gothic hall church resplendant with art works, the better to attract pilgrims and induce them to leave alms.⁵⁰ Herbert Helbig's study of patron saints in Saxony concludes that Anne's cult was not widespread outside the Erzgebirge region, and that in most cases princely powers were involved in the founding of cult sites.⁵¹ Duke George of Saxony orchestrated the cult in Annaberg and other parts of Albertine Saxony while Frederick played that role in Wittenberg, the capital of

⁴⁹ The belief that Anne was a medieval patron of miners finds no support in the Annaberg sources. See also Dörfler-Dierken on this point. Die Verehrung, pp. 90-97.

⁵⁰ Richter reprints the documents related to the negotiations for indulgences and other privileges with the papal curia. Richter, Annabergische Annales.

⁵¹ "Die Zahl von Annenkultstätten ausserhalb des Erzgebirges und seines Vorlandes ist überaus bescheiden....Bei den meisten der bisher behandelten Annenkultstätten ist ein Einfluss durch das sächsische Kurhaus, den Herzoglichen Hof oder das Bistum Meissen nachzuweisen oder wenigstens im hohen Masse wahrscheinlich." Herbert Helbig, Untersuchungen über die Kirchenpatrozinien in Sachsen auf siedlungsgeschichtlicher Grundlage, (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering, 1940) Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965, pp. 305-306. Details of the numerous measures Duke George of Saxony took to increase the attractiveness of Annaberg's religious resources, and in consequence, its - and his - income, can be found in Adam Daniel Richter, Nachricht von dem Bergwerke uff St. Annaberg, nebst einem ehemals auf dasselbe verfertigten... Meistergesang....St. Annaberg. Annaberg: August Valentin Friesen, 1755.

Ernestine Saxony.⁵² Whereas in South Germany the presence of numerous Anna Selbdritts in parish churches suggests a broad popularity at the level of local religion, in eastern Germany similarly strong indications are lacking, though admittedly the loss of images in these Protestant regions may obscure traces of local popularity. However, saints' cults in general were less strong in eastern Germany than in the Rheinland.⁵³ The late sixteenth and mid-seventeenth-century Annaberg chronicles of Albinus and Richter, which are based on earlier sources, do not give the impression that either images or relics played major roles in popular piety.⁵⁴ In the cult's other important eastern centre, Wittenberg, Frederick the Wise acquired an Anne relic for his chapel and promoted it with indulgences.⁵⁵

⁵² Frederick the Wise had a coin minted bearing the words "Hilf Sancte Anna." Beda Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna: ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum, Düsseldorf, 1930, p. 378. Schaumkell refers to an imperial banner bearing on one side "unserer lieben frauen Bild," on the other the inscription "sunte Anna sulfedrudde." E. Schaumkell, Der Kultus der heiligen Anna am Ausgang des Mittelalters, Freiburg: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J.C.B. Mohr, 1893, 1893, p. 16. Frederick's relic of Anne, the finger he acquired in the Holy Land, had a central position in his famed relic collection. Christiane D. Andersson, "Religiöse Bilder Cranachs im Dienste der Reformation," in L.W. Spitz, ed. Humanismus und Reformation als kulturelle Kräfte in der deutschen Geschichte, Berlin, 1981, p. 47. The silver image of her in the Stiftskirche was the object of special honour according to Andersson.

⁵³ Lionel Rothkrug notes the scarcity of saints' shrines in Eastern Germany and in other parts of Germany that were later to turn Protestant. Lionel Rothkrug, "Holy Shrines, Religious Dissonance and Satan in the Origins of the German Reformation," Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques, 1987, pp. 144, 146.

⁵⁴ Albinus, Annabergische Annales; Richter, Nachricht von dem Bergwerke uff St. Annaberg. Richter's work contains the texts of numerous contemporary documents.

⁵⁵ See Andersson, "Religiöse Bilder Cranachs," pp. 43-80.

Holland

Holland occupies a curious position in the geography of Anne's cult. Though it shared with Flanders and Rheinland Germany the role of cradle of the new cult, and though it used, indeed helped to create, the same common body of texts and images, it differed from them in significant respects. Anne's cult in Holland shares some characteristics with the neighbouring north coastal region of Germany in its relatively low levels of interest in relics and in the Immaculate Conception and its lower incidence of female monasticism. It differs from Germany though, in its much lower incidence of brotherhoods, and in the tendency towards realism in both texts and sculptures.⁵⁶ The life of Anne by the Dutch priest Jan van Denemarken, Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempelen vander heyligher vrouwen sint Annen, though its subject matter is the same as that of the other texts, is distinguished from its Flemish and German counterparts by a greater emphasis on the realistic details of daily life, and by a significantly greater attention to the psychological basis of human actions. The sensitivity of Van Denemarken's portrayal of Anne's state of mind after the appearance of the angel for example, finds no parallel in the German lives I have looked at:

Hier mede so schiet die heylige enghel van haer. ende sy was in alten grooten onwonderen omdaz sy dit als in een visioen gesien hadde ende gehoord. want sy en kondet noch niet wel begripen om daz groot onwonderen. Mit welcke onwonderen dat sy ghinc op haer slaepkamer ligghende al dair ghelijc een

⁵⁶ For the distribution of cult indicators in Holland see E. Muller and W. Deeleman-van Tyen, Handleiding bij de kaarten over de verspreiding van de Annadevotie in nederland tot 1800, Zeist: Stichting Werkplaats Wetenschap en Maatschappij, nd. The same information is summarized in the charts on the distribution of cult indicators in Holland, in Heilige Anna, Groete Moeder, ed. Brandenburg et al, pp. 87-97. See also Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften.

mensche die natuerlycken siec is Ende heeft hair hertte seer sterckelijc geset in die weeze gods met vuerighen ghebeden dach enn nacht blyvende daer sond troost van eenighen mensche.⁵⁷

By the same token Dutch images of Anne are distinguished by greater realism. The Holy Kinship receives less attention in Holland than in Flanders and Germany.

Anne's cult in Holland seems to have been strongest in two areas, the region near the Rhein and Meuse (regions that remained Catholic), and secondarily, the North Sea coast region where to some extent it seems to share the culture of coastal Germany.⁵⁸ A large proportion of the Anne brotherhoods and guilds that did exist in late medieval Holland were in towns or cities on rivers or on the sea coast, a distribution that once again suggests a role for Anne as a maritime patroness.⁵⁹ Two exempla in the Anne lives, both of which may have appeared first in Dutch texts, deal with sea rescue on the Netherlandish coast.⁶⁰ Only one relic is recorded for Holland, in Maastricht.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Many similar examples could be cited. Jan van Denemarken, Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempelen, p. 21 v, 22 r.

⁵⁸ The research of Matthias Zender combined with that of Ellen Muller and Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen gives overall totals of cult indicators based on a variety of types of evidence, mostly from the period c. 1400-1600, as follows: North Brabant - 89; Limburg - 89; Gelderland - 57; South Holland - 46; Overijssel - 31; Zeeland - 22. See Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen, Sint Anna-te-Drienen. Een onderzoek naar vorm, inhoud en functioneren van het thema St. Anna-te-Drienen in de Nederlandse beeldbouwkunst der late Middeleeuwen, (two parts) Ph.D Diss., Amsterdam: Free University, 1990. Part I, pp. 32-49. See also Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, pp. 87-98.

⁵⁹ Deeelman-van Tyen, *ibid.* Of the brotherhoods or guilds in towns big enough to be on a standard map, eight were located on or near the sea-coast, six were on rivers, six on neither. Some of the guilds mentioned by Deeelman-van Tyen and Muller are not included in the work of Angelika Dörfler-Dierken.

⁶⁰ The story of Baert and his pregnant wife Agnes appears in the manuscript Historia van Sint-Anna (Bonniefontenmuseum, Maastricht). See Brandenburg, Heilig Familieleven, pp. 293-295, bijlage II. The Sluys ship miracle is found in Die historie of Jan van

Flanders

Flemish piety more closely resembled German piety than Dutch. Relic and image cults were widespread. Texts written here show concern over female sexuality and behaviour. Indeed the Flemish Anne cult is in many respects similar to that of the German Rheinland.⁶² The lives by the Flemish Carthusian Petrus Dorlandus have more in common with the German texts than with Jan van Denemarken's life. Nonetheless there were important differences between Flemish and German piety, notably the greater involvement of civic lay groups in the former. The differences in artistic developments in the fifteenth century are also important. The fact that in Flanders the concept of painting as forms on a two-dimensional surface developed very rapidly, whereas in Germany sculpture predominated as the most important art form (and paintings themselves sometimes have the quality of representations of sculpture), suggests that there were important differences in perceptions of images.⁶³

Denemarken, and in other lives. Brandenburg reports that the Dutch Humanist Van Keulen lists ships saved from shipwreck by Anne in the neighbourhood of Vlissingen. Heilig Familieleven, p. 211.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 37.

⁶² Charland's list of villages, churches etc. dedicated to Anne suggests that the cult has old roots in Flanders. However his references are mostly undated and sources are not always given. P.-V. Charland, Le culte de sainte Anne en Occident, second période, 1400 (environ) à nos jours, Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1921, p. 174 ff.

⁶³ Otto Pächt has analyzed these and other qualities in the late Gothic styles of the fifteenth century North. Otto Pächt, De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed. M. Meiss. New York: New York University Press, 1961.

Summary

Beginning in the late 1470s the cult of Saint Anne in Germany and the Netherlands underwent a qualitative change. Anne was increasingly ascribed attributes and spoken of in terminology previously associated with Mary. In addition she acquired new powers. The new image was largely the creation of a group of Netherlandish and Rheinland humanists and reforming clergy who actively involved themselves, often cooperatively, in writing about Saint Anne, in founding brotherhoods dedicated to her, and in acquiring relics. Their numbers included Johannes Trithemius, Arnold Bostius, Petrus Dorlandus, and Jakob Sprenger. The new lives stressed Anne's power, her restrained sexuality, and her ability to help solve the problems associated with urban middle class life. These texts helped spread the new form of the cult to other parts of Germany, though in some places, notably Saxony, the ruling houses also played important roles in the promotion of Saint Anne. While the new form of the cult shows marked similarities throughout Germany, Flanders and Holland, it also shows regional specificity. Relics are of special importance in the Rheinland, whereas the appeal of cult centres elsewhere, notably that in Annaberg, seems to depend more on the generous indulgences available there. The concern with female sexuality and purity that is so marked in the Rheinland is less in evidence in other parts of Germany.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EXPANSION OF THE CULT: WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS FACTORS

While the activities of the Rheinland humanists in the propagation of the cult of Saint Anne can be reconstructed in some detail, tracing their motives is more difficult. The following factors however seem to have played roles in shaping the choices they made in organizing and promoting devotion to Mary's mother: the growth of the urban merchant classes; issues related to women and sexuality; the financial gain that stood to be generated by a popular cult; and the anxiety over salvation that was part of late medieval German religious life. The role of social factors in Anne's cult has been the subject of considerable discussion in recent scholarship, and the same is true of issues related to women.¹ The economic dimension however has attracted relatively little notice, and the issue of salvational concerns in the cult of Saint Anne virtually none. All these factors were themselves connected with a larger issue -the movement to shape and control lay piety. Lay desire for a fuller share in the benefits of both worlds was growing in the late medieval period. Clerical response attempted both to meet this desire and to control

¹ Ton Brandenburg summarizes his view of the various currents underlying the expansion of the cult as follows: theological factors related to Anne's connection with the birth of Mary and the Incarnation; at the popular level, the cult of a mother saint; clerical attempts to encourage and channel this deep-rooted popular devotion, to "theologize" it and provide it with new values; in the countryside a response to Anne as a grandmother figure with all the traditional connotations attached to such a figure; in the cities a view of her as incorporating the ideals of the burger class; among the nobility a response to her position of part of a royal dynasty; on the part of the clergy an appreciation of her holy life lived in direct proximity to Mary and Jesus. Ton Brandenburg, Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder. Nijmegen: Sun, 1992, pp. 11-12.

it.² The reactions of churchmen to the laity's wish for greater involvement in religious life was coloured by anxieties about heresy, and by fears that questioning of established beliefs and practices could threaten the basis of clerical authority, the clergy's custody of the means of salvation, and in the process, its income.

The late medieval saints' cults must be seen as part of this framework of events, desires and anxieties. The list of pastor's worries that Johannes Trithemius included in a miracle book he wrote for a Marian shrine in 1514 may well point to such concerns when he complains that the times are effeminate and people prone to seek the new and curious, apt to follow heresies and errors, false pilgrimages and fraudulent miracles:

Effaeminata sunt tempora, feruor diuini amoris nimium in hominibus tepuit, noua & curiosa placent, antiqua Christi & Ecclesiae dogmata displicent: propterea longe a peccatoribus salus, & multi vadunt in perditionem, & pereunt multi. Noui scriptum in Ieremia. Foderunt sibi cisternas dissipatas, qua continere non valent aquas. Cisternae dissipatae haereses sunt & doctrinae errantium a tramite veritatis falsae, peregrinationes sub mendacio nouae, ostensiones miraculorum fraudulenter ex cogitatae, sectae, traditiones & deceptiones innocentium peruersae. Contra has diaboli vulpeculas vigilandum Christianis est omnibus, & maximi illis, qui sunt in specula positi, quibus ratione assumptae dignitatis praecipitur, vt contra insidias vigilant inimici.³

The broad picture sketched above can be seen in microcosm in the late medieval cult of Saint Anne. This is not to suggest that heartfelt devotion to Mary's mother and

² On the position of the laity see Bernd Moeller, "Piety in Germany around 1500," in The Reformation in Medieval Perspective, ed. Steven E. Ozment, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971, pp. 50-75; Steven E. Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, (1975) 1980, p. 21 ff; Thomas A. Brady, Jr., "In Search of the Godly City," in The German People and the Reformation, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988, pp. 14-31.

³ Johannes Trithemius, De laudibus et miraculis beatae Mariae in Urticeto factis, 1514, in Joannis Trithemii, Opera pia et spiritualia, ed. Johannes Busaeus. Mainz, 1604, 1605, p. 1137.

confidence in her ability to help mankind played no part in the writing of texts and the founding of brotherhoods. On the contrary there is plentiful evidence that late medieval Christians felt strong personal bonds with their saints. The Lutheran reformer Johann Agricola, recalling how he ran to the saints for comfort, speaks of the apostles in the diminutive.⁴ It is surely likely that Mary's own mother would have aroused at least as warm a response as the "Apostelchen." Indeed the widespread habit of referring to her as "Mother Anne" suggests as much.⁵

The contributions of new research

Understanding of the late medieval cult of Saint Anne has been enormously increased in the past decade thanks to the research of a new generation of scholars.⁶

⁴ G. Kawerau, Johann Agricola von Eisleben, 1881, p. 9, cited in Robert Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 15.

⁵ "Mutter" is the most usual form of address in the prayer incipits in the Rheinland prayer books described in Karl Menne, Deutsche und niederländische Handschriften, Cologne: Verlag von Paul Neubner, 1937.

⁶ The most important recent publications on the cult of Saint Anne are: Ton Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven. Verspreiding en waardering van de Historie van Sint-Anna in de stedelijke cultuur in de Nederlanden en het Rijnland aan het begin van de moderne tijd, Nijmegen: Sun, 1990; Ton Brandenburg, Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen, and Léon van Liebergen, Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder. De cultus van de Heilige Moeder Anna en haar familie in de Nederlanden en aangrenzende streken, catalogue, Museum voor Religieuze Kunst, Uden, Nijmegen: Sun, 1992; Ton Brandenburg, "St. Anne and Her Family: The Veneration of St Anne in Connection with Concepts of Marriage and the Family in the Early Modern Period," Saints and She-Devils: Images of Women in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, ed. Lène Dresen-Coenders et al, pp. 101-27, London: Rubicon Press, 1987; Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen, Sint Anna-te-Drieën. Een onderzoek naar vorm, inhoud en functioneren van het thema St. Anna-te-Drieën in de Nederlandse veelbouwkunst der late Middeleeuwen, M.A. thesis, Amsterdam, Free University, 1990; Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Die Verehrung der heiligen Anna in Spätmittelalter und früher

Whereas the older studies by Schaumkell, Charland and Kleinschmidt grew out of confessionally based interests, in the case of Charland and Kleinschmidt from a desire to show Anne's cult as a part of the continuum of Catholic heritage, in the case of Schaumkell, to portray it as a sign of Catholic degeneracy, recent scholarship makes use of new approaches in the study of social history, popular and local religion, and women's studies.⁷ The new research is marked by an awareness of the importance of the minutiae of history and the specificity of texts, images and devotional practices.

One of the concerns of recent scholarship has been the genealogy of the new texts. The almost simultaneous appearance in the 1480s first in Holland and Flanders and then in Germany of several lengthy and detailed lives of Saint Anne, all using the same format, raises the likelihood of a common source, a source now lost.⁸ Angelika Dörfler-

Neuzeit, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992; Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatorsche Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992; Lène Dresen-Coenders, "Machtige grootmoeder, duivelse heks. Speurtocht naar de samenhang tussen heksenvervolgung en de verering van de grote moeder Anna op de drempel van de moderne tijd," Jeugd en Samenleving 5, 1975, pp. 213-247; Werner Esser, Die Heilige Sippe: Studien zu einem spätmittelalterlichen Bildthema in Deutschland und den Niederlanden, Ph.D diss., Bonn: Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1986 [illustrated copies in Bonn and in Munich, Kunsthistorisches Institut]; Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, Athens: University of George Press, 1990; Bernadette Mangold, Die Darstellung der heiligen Anna selbdritt in der gotischen Plastik Niederbayerns (1380-1540), M.A. thesis, University of Passau, 1990.

⁷ In his introduction Kleinschmidt also aligns his work with the newly developing study of Volkskunde. Beda Kleinschmidt, Die Heilige Anna. Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1930.

⁸ Brandenburg's suggestion that Jan van Denemarken's Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempelen vander heyligher vrouwen sint Annen first published in Antwerp in 1490, and the nearly contemporary and very similar Legenda seu vita beatissime Anne (Antwerp: Geraert Leeu, as second work with Speculum rosariorum Jhesu et Mariae, 1489

Dierken presents a strong argument for a Carmelite origin for the new type of life.⁹ The new lives' emphasis on the visit of Anne's mother Emerentia to the monks on Mount Carmel, she points out, serves to single out the Carmelites' unique and enviable role in the history of salvation: it is they who receive the vision that tells Emerentia that her daughter will be the mother of the mother of the Redeemer.¹⁰ If Dörfler-Dierken is correct, then the original intent of the new type of life would not have been primarily to call attention to Anne, but rather to bolster the Carmelite order's claim to ancient and illustrious origins.¹¹ Further clues about the origins of the late fifteenth-century phase of

[KB Den Haag]) could be considered "als twee zelfstandige werken beschouwd worden" is unconvincing in view of the similarities not only in content but in organization and emphasis. Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, p. 276. It was the Flemish lives, not Van Denemarken's Dutch work, which shaped the German lives.

⁹ Dörfler-Dierken, Die Verehrung, pp. 147-153 & 284. Brandenburg raises this possibility in Heilig familieleven, pp. 119-122. See also Brandenburg, "Jan van Denemarken en Pieter Dorlant over de maagschap van de heilige moeder Anna / een veergelijkende studie," Ons Geestelijk Erf, 63, 2-4, 64, 1-3.

¹⁰ Dörfler-Dierken, "Die Verehrung," pp. 148-53. Themes from the story of Mary's forbears in Carmelite art are described in Cécile Emond, "L'iconographie carmélitaine dans les anciens pays-bas méridionaux," Classe des Beaux-arts Mémoires, 12, 5, (1961). For Italian Carmelite art works see Creighton Gilbert, "Some Special Images for Carmelites," in Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento, ed. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990, p. 161 ff. However Arnold Bostius' De Patronatu et patrocinio Beatissimae Virginis Mariae in dicatum sibi Carmeli ordinem (1479) is not a source. Bostius' extensive treatment of the origins of the Carmelites includes only a short passage on Saint Anne. Arnold Bostius, Patronato y Patrocinio de la Santísima Virgen Maria sobre la Orden del Carmel que le esta consagrada (trans. of De Patronatu Mariae, Speculum Carmelitanum, ed. Daniel de la Virgen Maria, Antwerp, 1680) Madrid: Centro de Espiritualidad Carmelitana, 1981, pp 152-53.

¹¹ Trithemius singles out the Carmelites as special devotees of Anne in his treatise De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae: "Vos autem o carmelitici ordinis professores. qui titulo beatissime dei genitricis et virginis marie antiquissimo priuilegio specialiter estis insigniti: vos oportet annam sanctissimam singulari deuotione venerari et amplecti."

the cult can be found in another group of new Anne texts, the office and mass liturgies written for her feast and those of her family which seem to have been first printed in Switzerland. Along with the liturgical texts, these books contain prayers and information about the life of Anne. They emphasize the same themes and motifs as the new lives, sometimes using the same words or images. The earliest surviving examples of these

Johannes Trithemius, De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae, Mainz: Peter Friedberg, 1494, chap. 12. Carmelite associations with Anne predate the fifteenth century. In 1374 John of Hildesheim stated that the order's first house was at the Golden Gate: "Traditum tenemus a patribus, quod primus conventus ordinis post montis Carmeli collegium fuit in loco, qui "Porta Aurea" dicitur, in quo ioachim et Anna convenerunt et in illam coniunctionem consenserunt, ex qua gloriosa Virgo concepta fuit et nata; quasi beata Virgo diceret: "Ibi merito debent morari fratres mei, ubi primo tractatum est de conceptione mea." Ioannes de Hildesheim, Dialogus inter directorem et detractorem de ordine Carmelitarum, 14, ed. Adrianus Staring, Medieval Carmelite Heritage: Early Reflections on the Nature of the Order, Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989, p. 374. In the 1290s the Universis christifidelibus, one of the oldest surviving Carmelite texts, mentions the house at the Golden Gate: "Et quidem anno a passione Domini 45, regante Romano imperio, tempore Titi et Vespasiani imperatorum, apud Ierusalem in Porta Aurea religiose consederunt, anno imperii Vespasiani septimo." Ibid., p. 81. I am indebted to Paul Chandler, O. Carm. for providing me with these references.

liturgical texts date from the 1470s, predating the lives by several years.¹² In turn they drew on still earlier liturgical texts.

The offices also point towards a Carmelite influence: an office for the Kinship of Anne, the Historia nova de sancta anna pulcra devota et autentica, published by Anton Sorg in Augsburg in 1479, contains sections in its Joseph office "Sequitur hystoria sancte ioseph ..." which are the same as those in Das alte Regensburger Office, a Saint Joseph office of 1434, which Joseph Seitz describes as a Carmelite work.¹³ The Carmelite influence at work in the case of the Regensburg office is consistent with the fact that

¹² The earliest of the offices predated Pope Sixtus V's official establishment of Anne's feast in 1478-81: the Historia tres de S. Anna, de S. Joachim et de S. Joseph was published in Basel in 1476. Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, p. 223. Dörfler-Dierken, citing a copy in the BSB in Munich (2 Inc. s.a. 657) gives the same work a date of 1477. Die Verehrung, pp. 280-281). The Historia tres is probably the same as the Holy Kinship liturgy, Das Formular von Basel, which Joseph Seitz dates "before 1479." Joseph Seitz, Die Verehrung des hl. Joseph in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung bis zum Konzil von Trient dargestellt, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1908, pp. 344-45. A reference to an even earlier office - the reference is in a document of 1434 - is found in a Kitzingen endowment that refers to a Jahrtag on "sant Annen tag unser liben frawen mutter, der ierlich gefellet an dem nehsten tage nach sant Jacobs tage des grossem, mit der hystorien von sant Annen, die gegenwertig ist, des nachtes mit vesper und mit metten, des morgens mit messen, loblich singen und begeen." Staatsarchiv Würzburg WU 42/131a, cited in Ludwig Remling, Bruderschaften in Franken. Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1986, p. 268.

¹³ Officia parentelae Christi: Historia nova de sancta Anna pulcra devota et autentica, Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1479; Das alte Regensburger Office in Liber missalis secundum chorum ecclesiae maioris, Regensburg, 1479, excerpts in Joseph Seitz, Die Verehrung des hl. Joseph in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung bis zum Konzil von Trient dargestellt, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1908, esp. pp. 340-355. Phrases from the Sorg office appear a few years later in the lives, among them "Symon et thatheus sunt senatores orbis, principes populorum / iudices seculi..." Historia nova de sancta anna pulcra devota et autentica, Augsburg: Anton Sorg, prob. 1479, p. 7 v. and the advice that if one is to honour God in his saints one should also honour him in his family members..." Ibid., p. 7 r.

most if not all of the liturgical texts place considerable emphasis on the Holy Kinship.¹⁴

However if the original intention of the writers of the earliest of the late medieval texts was indeed to direct devotion to the Holy Kinship, this was subsequently obscured as attention came to be fixed primarily on Anne. Individual members of the Holy Kinship are often addressed in prayers in the Anne literature, but except for Joachim, they do not play independent roles in the lives, nor did they develop large followings of their own, except, eventually, for Joseph.¹⁵

¹⁴ The historia noua de sancta anna pulcra deuota et autentica (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1479) is prefaced by an excerpt which argues against those who maintained that Joseph, Joachim, Maria Jacobi and Maria Salome and other Old Testament saints ought not to be honoured in the church. This preface suggests that the cult of Anne may have been preceded by efforts to establish a cult to the Holy Kinship, efforts that seem to have met with resistance: "...excerpta ex tractaculo fratris jacobi loubet ordinis carthusiensium decretorum doctoris contra istos qui dicunt sanctos joseph, joachim, mariam jacob et salome, ceterosque veteris testamenti sanctos in ecclesia dei publice non esse venerandos, neque ipsorum festa celebranda." Ibid. A desire to counter opposition may have been a factor behind the composition of this work. Such a train of events was not unusual. The Anne lives take pains to legitimate her feast. Carol Schuler describes a similar instance, in the late fifteenth-century cult of the Seven Sorrows of Mary: "Philip the Fair's personal confessor, Michael Franciscus de Insulis, was requested to compose an apologia for the confraternity, necessitated by contemporary doubts about the validity of the new devotion." Carol M. Schuler, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin," Simiolus, 21, 1/2 (1992), p. 17.

¹⁵ It was not for lack of trying. Arnold Bostius and some other humanists tried to propagate Joachim's cult c. 1500, even founding brotherhoods dedicated to him. Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, pp. 122-124. In this connection see Celtis's letter to Bostius, Nr. 147, 1497, Feb. 8, in Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis, ed. Hans Rupprich, Munich: Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und der Gegenreformation. Humanistenbriefe, vol. 3, 1934. Sebastian Brant wrote poems in Joachim's honour and lamented his neglect. Sister Mary Alvarita Rajewski, Sebastian Brant: Studies in Religious Aspects of His Life and Works with Special Reference to the Varia Carmina, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1944, pp. 103-109.

Further hints about the early phase of the late medieval texts appear in an annotated copy of one of the early offices. An article by E. Müller tracing the activities of a Swiss priest named Johannes Knüssli in the 1470s sheds light on how the cult was propagated at the local level through the activities of a specific individual. Müller's study underscores Ton Brandenburg's conclusion that Trithemius and his associates were building on an existing, and growing cult, when they began their activities in the 1480s. Drawing on a copy of the Basel Holy Kinship office owned and annotated by Knüssli, and on endowment documents that set out the terms for posthumous salvational masses, Müller shows how an individual priest promoted devotion to a favourite saint. The annotations and alterations Knüssli made in his copy of the Basel Holy Kinship office of 1476 record the fact that commencing in 1478, as one of the five chaplains of the Frühamt at the Liebfrauenaltar of the St. Gallen Münster, he took pains to correct the neglect into which the liturgy for Joseph, Anne and Joachim had fallen, ensuring that the collect for Anne and Joachim which had been stipulated in the papal authorization for the masses (1476) no longer be omitted, as apparently it had been.¹⁶

¹⁶ The text is the "Basler Offizium" mentioned by Joseph Seitz. In 1909 Knüssli's copy was in the St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek (Ink. No. 1081c). J. Müller, "Ein st. gallischer Josephsverehrer des 15. Jahrhunderts," Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte, 3, 3 (1909), pp. 165, 166. A document dated 28 June, 1475, describes the establishment of the early mass in honour of: "Gott dem allmechtigen, der himel kungin Maria, sant Anna ir liebe muoter und allen Gottes hailgen und engeln zuo lob und ere, oech allen geloebigen selan zuo trost und abnemen ir pyn, und den lebenden cristen mentschen zuo erwerbung und furdernis ewiger froeden." Three collects were to be said: "die ersten von unsrer Frowen, die andern nach siner [the celebrating priest's] begird und naigung, und aber die dritten allweg von sant Annen und sant Joachim, unser lieben Froewen vatter und muoter." St. Gallen Stiftsarchiv, Urkunde E 3 - A 9, *ibid.*, cited in Müller, *ibid.*, p. 162.

Knüssli's devotion to the Holy Kinship also informed the choices he made when drawing up plans for masses to be said for his own soul and for the souls of family members. In addition to endowing masses for members of the Kinship, he also endowed the preaching of sermons on the feasts of Joachim and Joseph. The purpose of these sermons was to inform the common people about the Holy Kinship:

[um] siner sel hail willen, och dess willen, das das lobwirdig und edel geschlaecht, stam und wurtzen der himelischen kuengin und muoter aller barmhertzigkait, der junckfrowen Maryen jerlich loblich verkuent, och dem gemainen volk zuo verstend geben werd.

A third sermon was to be preached on the feast of Saint James, Anne's grandson, to proclaim "der guoten wurtzen, edlen stammen, och seligen und hailigen bom sant Annen und ir drig tochtren und der siben suenen..."¹⁷ The sermons were to present thoroughgoing explanations of the genealogy and holiness of Joachim and Joseph:

derselb predier uff sant Joachims tag von sant Joachim unser lieben Frowen vatter, dessglichen uff sant Josephs tag von sant Joseph unser lieben frowen gemahel predien und dem volk iren stammen, wurtzen und hailigkait gruntlich erschainen und usslegen.¹⁸

Knüssli's reference to the kinship as the kinship of Mary, "der humelkungen und magt Maryen und allem irem geschlechte" indicates the importance of Mary as the link among these saints, as does the mention of a brotherhood dedicated to "unser lieben Frowen und ires guoten geschlaechts."¹⁹ This emphasis on Mary rather than Anne as the centre of the Holy Kinship is consistent with other hints of a more equitable distribution of devotion

¹⁷ St. Gallen Stiftsarchiv, tom. 63a, pp. 198-199, Klosterdruck, cited *ibid.*, p. 171.

¹⁸ Knüssli died in 1491. The collects continued to be sung up to 1623. The preaching continued throughout the 1500s. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹⁹ St. Gallen Stiftsarchiv, tom. 63a, p. 198-199, cited *ibid.*, p. 171.

to the members of the kinship in Switzerland in the 1470s, and probably earlier: the possibility of connections with French cults to Mary's sisters presents itself. At the same time, there is also an emphasis on the power accruing from the genealogical aspect of the Kinship, a theme that will become a central tenet of the cult from the 1480s on.

Roots: Anne and the merchant classes

Far more information is available for the period beginning in the 1480s. The men who began to promote the cult of Saint Anne at this time made a point of presenting her as a particularly appropriate patron for the urban merchant classes.²⁰ And though the distribution of images suggests a broad popularity at all levels of society, the abundance of cult indicators in urban centres indicates that they succeeded in their aim.²¹

²⁰ See Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, pp. 71, 135 & passim, and Dörfler-Dierken Vorreformatiorische Bruderschaften, p. 42. Calling attention to material about or directed at nuns in some of the lives, Brandenburg suggests that the cult enjoyed special popularity in women's convents in the Netherlands, and he calls attention to the promoters' involvement in convent reform. Brandenburg, Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, pp. 43-45. The abundance of prayers to Saint Anne in the vernacular prayer books from Rheinland convents in the Cologne Stadtarchiv bears mention in this connection. See Menne, Deutsche und niederländische Handschriften. The fact that some of the lives were written first in Latin is a reminder of the importance of the clerical audience. However the lives were widely published in a variety of different vernacular versions. The offices, the humanists' poems and Trithemius' De laudibus which were addressed to clerical or learned readers were not translated.

²¹ There is some evidence that the middle classes were disproportionately numerous in the membership of Anne brotherhoods, at least in some areas. Ludwig Remling finds that the upper levels of urban society predominated in most of the Franconian Anne brotherhoods. Ludwig Remling, Bruderschaften in Franken, pp. 258-277, esp. p. 274, & pp. 377-395.

Frequently the lives describe Anne as answering prayers likely to have been made by middle class people, for example prayers concerned with reputation and status. Petrus Dorlandus includes a prayer that worshippers be "...ab omni rubore & infamia liberati, ad coelestem gloriam perducere mereamur."²²

Contemporary testimony supports an association of Anne with the middle classes. Luther, ruling the fact that no-one ever bothered to ask the saints for patience, faith, love or chastity, bluntly referred to Anne as the patron of those who wanted to get rich:

Wo findet man jetzt einen Heiligen, der umb Geduld, Glauben, Liebe, Keuscheit, und ander geistlicher Güter wird angeruffen, als S. Anna umb Reichthumb, St. Lorenz für das Feuer, Der umb ein böse Bein, der umb dis, der ander umb das?²³

Johann Agricola, rhyming off the specialties of the saints, for whom it seems no problem was too small, made the same association between Anne (and St. Erasmus) and riches:

Da musste mich St. Barbara, wenn ich ihren Abend fastete und ihren Tag feierte schützen, dass ich nicht ohne Sakrament stürbe, St. Rochus musste dienen für die Pestilenz, St. Sebastian für Schüffe, St. Anna selbdritte, wenn ich ihr Lichtlein aufsteckte, und St. Erasmus musste reich machen.²⁴

As well as presenting Anne as interested in the problems of the merchant class, the writers of the lives depict her and her husband as themselves wealthy members of that same class. They are generous to the poor, God-fearing, prompt to fulfil religious

²² Petrus Dorlandus, Vita gloriosissime matris Annae christipare virginis Marie genetricis ab ascensio in compendium redacta ex historia suavissima eiusdem matris Anne ab religiosissimo viro F. dorlando ordinis Carthusiensis in zelem theuthonice prius edita, published with Ludolph of Saxony, Vita Iesu Christi, Antwerp: Johannes Kerbergius, MDC XIIX, p. 767.

²³ Martin Luther, Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 58 vols., Weimar, 1883-1948, 2, p. 69 ff.

²⁴ Kawerau, Johann Agricola von Eisleben, p. 9, cited in Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p. 15.

obligations and to pray for help in time of trouble. But meditation, asceticism or other types of extraordinary religious practice rarely appear.²⁵ A popular story indignantly reported by Luther reveals just how far Mary's parents had been remade to fit the mould of the contemporary bourgeois couple. The standard tale derived from the Apocrypha, according to which Joachim and Anne gave one third of their money to the temple, one third to the poor and kept one third for themselves, had evidently been revised by popular opinion to turn Mary into a wealthy heiress:

Und ist nicht, als etliche sagen, das Joachim und Anna ire [Mary's] oelttern sind reych gewesen und haben ire guetter in drey tayl gelassen, in die kirchen ain tail, das andere den armen and das dritte Marien gelassen,...²⁶

The measured comfort of Anne and Joachim's well-ordered bourgeois life is depicted in a panel in the Frankfurt confraternity altarpiece (late 1400s, fig. 3) in which a mature but beautiful and smiling Anne, richly gowned, raises her hand in animated conversation with her kindly, attentive husband as the two sit together over roast chicken

²⁵ An exception is Die historie van die heilige moeder santa anna ende van haer olders daer si van geboren is ende van horen leven ende hoer penitenci ende mirakelen mitten exempelen (first published in Zwolle, 1499) which is a translation and reworking of the Legenda sanctae Emerencianae (MS, c. 1496, KB Brussels, nr. 4837). According to Brandenburg this work describes Anne in her later years as following the mode of life of a desert ascetic. Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, p. 288. Jan van Denemarken occasionally mentions her abstemiousness in her widowhood: "...sy seer sober was van alle spisen ende dranc te nemen. niet meer dan haer rechte noot was by te leuen op das sy also te bat haer lichaem daarmede soude mogen ondhouden van allen weelden genoechten ende gnader begehrten deser werelt. Van Denemarken, Die historie, pp. 66 r & v.

²⁶ Martin Luther, WA, 17, 2, p. 400. See also *ibid.*, 12, p. 458.

and meat pie.²⁷ The servants are well-dressed. A dog gnaws a bone on the floor. And a pretty garden awaits the after-dinner walk. The garden may be a reference to the virginity of the new-born Mary whose birth scene can be glimpsed in the far corner of the panel.

Roots: Women, marriage and sexuality

Along with statements about class, messages about marriage, family and gender must also have been conveyed to the people who looked at the works of art depicting Anne, and read the texts describing her and her family. A model for female behaviour is certainly present in the lives' frequent descriptions of Anne as modest and retiring, staying at home and avoiding occasions for gossip and foolish behaviour. Das Leben und Wunderzaichen der allerseeligisten Frawen Annae, a German translation of a life by an anonymous Franciscan first published in Louvain in 1496, describes the youthful Anne recoiling in horror from the frivolities of adolescence, which the author compares to poisonous snakes:

Dann weil sie der Jungen Maegdtlein leichtfertigkeiten vnd gailheiten nit anderst als vergiffte schlangen flohe so hat sie vil lieber anheimbs der Goettlichen betrachtungen obligen vnd ausswartten woellen als ausser dess Hauses sich zu anderen Weltlichen gespilen gesellen.²⁸

²⁷ The multi-panelled altarpiece is in the Historisches Museum in Frankfurt am Main. The artist is not known. For reproductions see Brandenburg, Heilig Familieleben, and Ashley and Sheingorn, ed., Interpreting Cultural Symbols.

²⁸ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen der allerseeligisten Frawen Annae, Munich: Cornelius Leyffert, 1627, p. 21. This German translation of the Legenda sanctae Annae

Trithemius, in the De laudibus, describes her modest way of life at length, emphasizing the fact that she was rarely seen in public places:

Nemo unusquisque per vicos et plateas discurrentem illam repperit: nemo in domibus vicinarum inutiliter fabulantem audiuit: nemo ad choreas et spectacula unusquisque illam astitisse inuenit. Domi manere a iuventute sua didicit: laborare aliquid manibus consuevit. foris videri ab hominibus non quesivit. Concordiam in bono et pacem cum vicinis observare studuit: nemini iniuriam fecit: verbo vel ope neminem perturbavit. Raro videbatur in publico: in plateis cum mulierculis fabulantibus non sedebat: et in colloquio detrahentium non stetit.²⁹

He reintroduces the same themes later in the same chapter in his advice to mothers to keep their daughters at home:

Dicite o matres filias vestras ad honorem dei instituere: mundi pompas non amare: publicum turbe conspectum fugere: domi residere....Ad mariam archangelus venit non in publico sed in secreto: non in platea loquentem: sed in camera tacentem:...quia reuerentiam honestatis minuit: qui frequenter ad publicum vadit. Virginitas cum verecunda fit: publicum fugit. Sine verecundia non est sincera virginitas: nec potest pura manere nimis publica.³⁰

Brandenburg points out that as a well-off, older woman, widowed and remarried, but not aggressive, lustful or independent in manner, Anne may have been intended as a counterexample to the widespread stereotype of the bossy and lustful widow.³¹ Lène Dresen-Coenders takes the idea of modelling into an even more specific direction when

is in the collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich where it is miscatalogued as a translation of Trithemius' De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae. The description of Anne coincides with the advice given in an early sixteenth-century rhyming "mirror" of instructions for women's behaviour: "so solt du nyemants mit finger deuten / Nach wincken mit der hand herzu / als nach dem farren girst die kuo.... dein reden erschall nit überlaut...Nitt guck hin vnd her als ain strauss / Am dantz red minder dann ain mauss..." Der Frawen Spiegel, Augsburg: Hanns Schoensperger am Weinmarckt, 1522.

²⁹ Trithemius, De laudibus, chap. 6.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, p. 68.

she suggests that Anne, as a powerful older woman with bodily ties to the other world, served as an image of the anti-witch.³²

Certainly there was no shortage of stereotypes to counteract. Negative images of women had increased significantly in popular and didactic literature. Franz Brietzmann has shown how the stereotype of the bad woman accumulated more and more faults and vices as the fifteenth century progressed as compared with earlier periods. He also shows that the bad woman was increasingly seen as an old woman.³³

War somit erst einmal ein Hässlichkeitsmerkmal gewonnen, so musste es unweigerlich dem Verlangen nach komischer Steigerung folgen, d.h. die böse Frau musste immer hässlicher und hässlicher gezeichnet werden, bis man sie schliesslich als altes Weib darstellte; denn wo vereinen sich alle körperlichen Mängel, die man einem Menschen anhängen kann, bequemer als im Alter?³⁴

Brietzmann's observation that "Alle diese Dichtungen haben weibliche Ubele und Alter innig verschmolzen im Typus des "bösen alten Weibes," und ...dass man in lässiger Manier eins ohne das andere nicht mehr erdenken mochte..." may help explain why late

³² Lène Dresen-Coenders, "Machtige grootmoeder, duivelse heks. Speurtocht naar de samenhang tussen heksenvervolgung en de verering van de grote moeder Anna op de drempel van de nieuwe tijd," *Jeugd en Samenleving* 5 (1975), pp. 213-247. Dresen-Coenders calls attention to the fact that Jacob Sprenger, co-signatory of the *Malleus Malleficarum*, was involved in the promotion of the cult of Anne, and that Trithemius wrote on the subject of witches. Dresen-Coenders, *ibid.*

³³ Franz Brietzmann, *Die böse Frau in der deutschen Litteratur des Mittelalters*. (Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1912) London: Johnson Reprint Company Ltd., 1967, p. 188.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91. The stereotype Brietzmann describes is embodied in the foul-mouthed thrice-married widow in the popular fifteenth-century Flemish satire *Les Evangiles des Quenouilles* (Fouquart de Cambrai, Antoine du Val & Jean d'Arras, first printed in Bruges by Colard Mansion c. 1475) a 16th century translation of which, *The Gospels of Dystaves*, is published in *Distaves and Dames: Renaissance Treatises For and About Women*, ed. Diane Bornstein, Scholars Facsimiles & Reprints, Delmar, N.Y., 1978.

medieval German depictions of Anne almost invariably show her as mature, but not old.³⁵ Only in the sixteenth century did some artists begin to depict her with signs of age in northern European works.

The lives as paradigms of marriage

Marriage is another topic addressed in the texts and images devoted to Saint Anne. Texts and images - which were produced by different people and served different functions - do not always say the same thing at the same time. Different, even conflicting, paradigms of marriage can be found. However an analysis of the art works and texts produced c. 1480 to 1530 taken together as a single discourse reveals a progressive overall shift from an aristocratic model of family and female behaviour at the beginning of the period to a middle class one at the end. The inconsistencies and contradictions of the interim can be seen at least figuratively as indices of competition between paradigms.

The Anne who dominates so many of the Holy Kinships shares traits with the aristocratic noblewoman who retains her own lineage identity and her own power which is independent of her role in her marital household (Figs. 4). The texts however make a different point about marriage. While they stress Anne's link with her lineage, they emphasize in addition her role as the wife whose sphere of action is the home. In the art works this emphasis on home life first begins to make an appearance in some of the

³⁵ I am indebted to Ilse Friesen of Sir Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, for calling this aspect of the depiction of older women to my attention.

paintings and, particularly, prints in the early sixteenth century. The change does not appear in all art works, but it can be seen in a significant minority. In these new representations Anne and her daughters soberly busy themselves with the task of raising children while the male members of the Holy Kinship step out of the background and into the foreground to actively interact with their sons (fig. 5). These sixteenth-century works seem to express the new early modern view of the family in which husband and wife worked together, not in equality but in partnership, raising children in the fear of God and equipping them with the skills, manners and gender-appropriate attitudes that would make them good members of the community.³⁶ This is the same model of marriage discerned by Brandenburg when he argues that the presentation of Anne as a model for sober, retiring, sexually restrained female behaviour corresponded with the ethic of a rising middle and artisan class that had learned that unbridled sexual feelings could lead to

³⁶ I am grateful to Pierre Boglioni for his suggestions in this regard. Lyndal Roper characterizes this development as the coming to dominance of the guild model which emphasizes the importance of the married man's mastery of workshop, household and wife. Lyndal Roper, The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. Though it is sometimes referred to as Protestant, this type of family was not restricted to Protestant circles. The conclusions of both Dörfler-Dierken and Roper are consistent with the findings of Dyan Elliott's study of celibate marriage in the Christian tradition. Elliott finds that while virginal marriage, in which the wife persuades her husband not to consummate the marriage, was an ideal throughout the Early Christian and much of the medieval period, it came to be perceived as encouraging or implying an undesirable independence in women. Dyan Elliott, Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, p. 298. In the later middle ages the ideal of spiritual marriage was replaced by that of the submissive married woman (who might gradually reduce the sexual activity in her marriage). Elliott states: "The submissive matron was more zealously promoted by the ascendant powers than her virginal counterpart....It is also probable that this more naturalistic and accessible transitional model of intramarital chastity, so implicated in the demands of the world, was more compelling than the ancient story of elite virginal privilege." *Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

alliances that disrupted the smooth running and handing down of business and property.³⁷

Thus the fifteenth century paintings' location of holiness (and power) in the maternal generative lineage is succeeded by a paradigm in which Anne's holiness is located within the order of the family.

This presentation of Saint Anne also embodies, as Angela Dörfler-Dierken has shown, a new paradigm of the relative claims of God and husband on the married woman saint. Whereas in earlier lives of married woman saints such as that of the fourteenth-century Prussian mystic Dorothea of Montau, the marital relationship was depicted as a hindrance to sanctity and the husband as a rival to Christ, in the Anne lives it is through the marriage relationship and in loving cooperation with her husband that Anne expresses her holiness.³⁸

³⁷ Brandenburg, *Heilig familieleven*, p. 141. See also Brandenburg's remarks on the change in imagery. Ibid., pp. 151, 165 & 196. Anne's prominence was questioned by some early sixteenth-century scholars who called into doubt the veracity of the *trinitubium*. Their treatises cite philological and historical objections while also arguing that remarriage would have been inappropriate for the mother of Mary. Agrippa von Nettesheim considered the idea of a thrice-married Anne a slander on the dignity of the Virgin: "Scandalosum est, quia detrahit bonis moribus, detrahit consuetudini legali & observantiae illius temporis, detrahit honesti parentum deipare genitricis, & dignitati virginis Mariae." Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, *De beatissimae Annae monogamia*, 1533. Sylvius Egranus (Joh. Wildenauer) published his critique, the *Apologia contra calumniatores, in qua divam Annam nupsisse Cleophae et Salome (id quod vulgo sentiunt) evangeliis et probatissimis testimoniis refellit* in Leipzig in 1517. Agrippa's treatise was inspired by the publication of the French theologian Faber Stapulensis's [Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples] 1517 challenge to the doctrine in *De Maria Magdalena, triduo Christi et ex tribus una Maria*, Paris, 1518. On Lefèvre see Myra D. Orth, "Madame Sainte Anne: The Holy Kinship, the Royal Trinity, and Louise of Savoy," in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, ed. Ashley and Sheingorn, pp. 198-227.

³⁸ Dörfler-Dierken, *Die Verehrung*, pp. 210 ff. Anne and Joachim are presented as a loving couple in earlier presentations such as those of Hroswitha and Priester Wernher. However these writers are not concerned primarily to present them as saints. See

Nor do the above exhaust the models of marriage and sexuality presented by the new lives of Saint Anne. As well as expressing the new early modern paradigm, as Brandenburg describes, and the new Catholic theology of sanctity within marriage, as Dörfler-Dierken shows, the lives also retain an older model of marriage, a model that is signified by the repeated statement that Anne experienced "no fleshly lust" in her marital relations. This emphasis on Anne's sexual anaesthesia, an emphasis that is not present in earlier treatments of her life, likely carried a variety of different intended and perceived meanings, some of them undoubtedly operating simultaneously. One of these allusions was probably to the deep-rooted conviction that holiness is incompatible with sexual activity.

The lives frequently state that Anne experienced "no fleshly lust" in her relations with Joachim. Dorlandus says: "vbi praemissis precibus, operam liberis procreandis dantes, non libidine carnali, sed bono matrimoniali, puellam genuerant omnium et speciosissimam et beatissimam."³⁹ In Das Leben vnnd Wunderzeichen der allerseeligisten Frawen Annae, the reader is told that Anne held her husband Joachim in honour as her

Hroswitha of Gandersheim, Historia nativitatis laudabilisque conversationis intactae Dei Genitricis, quam scriptam reperi sub nomine sancti Jacobi fratris Domini, PL, 137, pp. 1065 ff; Hroswitha, The Nondramatic Works of Hroswitha, Trans. S.M. Gonsalva Wiegand, Saint Meinrad, Indiana: Abbey Press, 1936; Hrotsvitha von Gandersheim / Werke in deutscher Übertragung, intr. H. Homeyer. Munich: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1973. Priester Wernher, Maria / Bruchstücke und Umarbeitungen, ed. Carl Wesle, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1969.

³⁹ Petrus Dorlandus, Vita gloriosissime, chap. 5, p. 766. The motif is present in many of the new Anne lives. It is not usually present in accounts of Anne's life that draw on the tradition of the apocryphal infancy gospels, such as Von der kinthait unnser herren iesu cristi genant vita christi.

lord and loved him as her father, while he honoured his wife as his mother and embraced her as his sister.⁴⁰ Anne explains that she married not out of "...fleischlicher lieb sonder auss Zwang des Gesatzs einem Mann genommen hab, allein der Hoffnung in deiner forcht erlicher Erben und Nachkömmling..."⁴¹

But though its appearance in the Anne texts is new, the "no fleshly lust" trope is old. Historically, it served as a means to reconcile two things perceived by medieval people as incompatible - sexual activity and sanctity. Rare enough in European hagiography, married saints were especially rare in Germany.⁴² When the first ones appeared, royal saints like Elizabeth of Hungary and Hedwig, wife of Henry I of Silesia,

⁴⁰ "...als Anna hatt ihren Mann Joachim in ehren gehalten / als ihren Herren / und geliebt als ihren Vatter / Er aber hatt hergegen sein Haussfraw verehrt / als sein Muetter / und mit gebürender lieb umbfangen als sein Schwester,..." Das Leben vnnd Wunderzaichen, p. 24.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 33.

⁴² The motif is explained in an entirely different way in the life by the Dutch priest Jan van Denemarken and in an English life of Anne: when parents conceive without fleshly lust they recognize that it is by the power of God and not their own power that they do so. Van Denemarken has the angel tell Joachim: "...als god onse heere iemant onvruchtbaer hout dat doet hy daerom op dat men weten sol dat die vrucht die van den onvruchtbaren menschen coemt: niet gheboren wert uit ghenoechten des vleysches maer dat daer sonderlinghe is een wonderlike gaue gods." Jan van Denemarken, Die historie, d i. The same idea is expressed in an early fifteenth-century English life of Anne which describes conception without "fleysshely lust" as a demonstration of the power of God that underlies all human achievement: "Ffor many men and women that han fleysshely lust / they wene to han chylderyn at her owyn lykyng / but the maker of mankende that gentyl is and just / wyl be mayster as j wene of here werkyng. / Ffor yif they haddyn chylderyn at her owyn desyre / they wold wenyn it were of her owyn myght.... / And thus they may wel wete withowten ony fayle / that they mat gete noon chyld with flexly lust only / for all her lust and lykyng ful lytel schal awayle / but god wyl help toward of hys gret mercy." (Bodleian 10234 [Tanner 407]) in The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne, ed. Roscoe E. Parker. EETS, o.s. London: Oxford University Press, 1928, p. 115. This is one of several instances in which Die historie shares traits with English material.

their vitae, according to Ortrud Reber's study of women saints, included statements that seem intended to disassociate them from their sexual experiences. The vitae of thirteenth and fourteenth-century married female saints expressed this belief through a variety of assertions designed to minimize their subjects' marital involvement. Medieval lives of Birgitta of Sweden, Elisabeth of Hungary, and Hedwig contain one or more of the following motifs, according to Reber:⁴³ the saint preferred virginity but married in obedience to parents; she married for the purpose of producing children; she lived continently with her husband for a period of time; she and her husband lived continently after the birth of the desired children; like Sarah and Tobit they waited before consummating their marriages; the saint engaged in marital relations without experiencing "fleshly lust."⁴⁴ Birgitta of Sweden's canonization bull states: "Simul postea convenerunt in timore ac tremore, non libidini, sed posteritati vacantes, cum interim devota mulier nec jejunia, nec orationes, nec alia pia et solita opera praeteriret...."⁴⁵ The Legenda Aurea says of Elisabeth of Hungary that she "... wollte nicht der Wollust dienen..., so empfand sie...nimmer sündliche Lust" and the text Sente Elsenede Leben says: "Dardurch floch sie die fleischlychen wollust."⁴⁶

⁴³ Ortrud Reber, Die Gestaltung des Kultes weiblicher Heiliger im Spätmittelalter: Die Verehrung der Heiligen Elisabeth, Klara, Hedwig und Birgitta, Hersbruck: Kommissionsverlag: Karl Pfeiffer's Bichdruckerei und Verlag, 1963.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 194 & passim.

⁴⁵ Cited ibid., p. 194.

⁴⁶ Cited ibid., p. 196.

The fact that all of these reconciling motifs appear in the Anne lives lends support to the proposal that the "no fleshly lust" motif was intended to reconcile marriage and sanctity. Several of the lives state that Anne married in obedience to the law, or in order to give birth to lawful children. According to Van Denemarken, even Emerentia married to bring forth fruit to the honour of God.⁴⁷ Anne and Joachim are sometimes compared with Sarah and Tobit who waited a period of time before consummating their marriage.

The "no fleshly lust" trope may have had other meanings too. It is possible that in some cases it may have been intended to allude to the Immaculate Conception. However this was probably a minor role. The fact that it occurs in combination with the other reconciling motifs mentioned by Reber suggests that its usual function was to render plausible the sanctity of a woman who married three times and bore three children. An Immaculatist meaning is also contraindicated by the fact that the motif is not only applied to Anne's relationship with Mary's father, but also appears in descriptions of her other marriages and other husbands - contexts where an Immaculatist argument would be irrelevant. Cleophas, Anne's second husband, is described as follows in one life: "Er hatte sich auch nit auss fleischlicher lieb /sonder vilmehr sein Gschlecht vnd Stammen zumehren / vnd aus zwang des Gesetzes mit Anna vermaelet."⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Jan van Denemarken, Die historie, 14 r.

⁴⁸ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, pp. 56. Sebastian Brant transferred the theme of sexual generation without lust from Anne to Joachim: "Quis semen potuit fundere tam sacrum? / Et quod perpetua sordis origine / Expers: labe: carens: conciperet deam /Inmunem sceleris: num Ioachim fuit?" Sebastian Brant, "Ioachima Panegyrischoriambica," cited in Rajewski, Sebastian Brant, p. 155. The motif was sometimes applied to Anne's mother Emerentia. Van Denemarken explains that: "Ende want sy niet die vleischelike ghenoechte begeren de was, maer eerbaerheyt ende duecht."

Roots: Anne and the Immaculate Conception

The whole question of the relationship not only between the "no fleshly lust" motif and the Immaculate Conception, but between the Anne cult as a whole and the doctrine that Mary was conceived without original sin in Anne's womb, is an extraordinarily complicated one. Mereth Lindgren's ascription of an Immaculatist meaning to the "no fleshly lust" motif in the writings of Birgitta of Sweden illustrates the kinds of problems that arise in attempts to track down Immaculatist connections in the Anne discourse.⁴⁹

As an avowed supporter of the Immaculate Conception, Birgitta would seem a likely person to have used the "no fleshly lust" motif with this meaning. Lindgren states:

Birgitta hat sich wiederholt dazu geäußert. Sie sagt unzweideutig, dass Maria durch einen natürlichen Beischlaf ihrer Eltern Anna und Joachim gezeugt worden sei, aber diese Zeugung sei ohne sexuelle Lust, sonder aus Gehorsam gegenüber dem Gesetz und in der Absicht, Nachkommen zu gewinnen, geschehen (Rev. I:9). Bei einer solchen Zeugung bleibe das Kind frei von der Erbsünde.⁵⁰

The implicit argument here is that the absence of sexual sensation would solve the theological problem posed by the prevailing doctrine, believed to have originated with Augustine, which taught that "...the principal agent in transmitting original sin was not propagation as such, but rather the libido connected with the act of generation."⁵¹ The same implicit argument is behind the assertion occasionally encountered in a few

Jan van Denemarken, Die historie, die ghetiden, XIV r.

⁴⁹ Mereth Lindgren, "De heliga änkorna: S. Annakultens framväxt, speglad i birgittinsk ikonografi," Konsthistorisk tidskrift 54 (1990), pp. 52-75.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 70.

⁵¹ Carlo Balic, "The Mediaeval Controversy over the Immaculate Conception up to the Death of Scotus," in E.D. O'Connor, ed., The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and Significance, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958, p. 166.

medieval texts (vigorously rejected in most) that Mary was conceived through the embrace of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate. In each case conception was achieved without the intrusion of sexual libido.⁵²

Was this the meaning intended by Birgitta? Lindgren believes it was. However Anna Nilsen's study of Birgitta's complicated, inconsistent, and often obscure remarks on the subject of Mary's conception reveals that there is a prior problem to be dealt with. It seems that Birgitta, although she proclaimed herself a supporter of the Immaculate Conception, did not really understand what the term meant. As Nilsen explains, in the passage where Birgitta uses the "no fleshly lust" motif, she uses it in connection not with an Immaculate, but with a Maculate Conception.⁵³ That is to say, she describes Mary not

⁵² A manuscript life of Mary written in Switzerland in 1465 provides an example: "do sy also einander begegneten anna und joachim nach des engels sag, und von dem gruoss den sy einander buttent, das da wer das mit wûrken des heiligen geistes, und das sant anna mariam die muotter gotz also in dem gruss emphing in mitwûrken got des vatters und des heiligen geistes, das sy also on erbsûnd emphanen sy als den miltenlich wol zuo gelobent ist das die arch vol sy gewessen aller heilikeit und fry von aller sunden in die der ewig got wolt schliessen sin ewig vetterlich wort christum jesum, unseren herren." C. Benzinger, Eine illustrierte Marienlegende aus dem XV. Jahrhundert "Kodex Mss. Hist. Helv. X. 50. Stadtbibliothek Bern," Strassburg: J.H. Ed. Heitz, 1913, pp. 22-23.

⁵³ Nilsen states: "Bridget's idea is expressed in a somewhat obscure passage in the Book of Questions (5:13).... [Mary is] described as a pure vessel, and yet not pure, for she was manifestly of Adam's tribe, and born of a sinner, although conceived without sin. In another revelation (1:9), the idea - not unusual in this context - emerges, that Mary was conceived without lust, and that God subsequently inserted the soul in her body and at the same instant sanctified both. This version approaches the Dominican idea [the maculate conception]. In a third revelation (6:49), Mary is said to have been conceived without original sin because her parents only came together in obedience to God, a train of thought which characterises a further revelation in the same book (6:55)." Nilsen cites Sancta Birgitta, Revelaciones, Book 5, ed. Birger Bergh, Simlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet, 2 ser. 7:5, Uppsala, 1971. Anna Nilsen, "The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in cult and art during the Middle Ages with special reference to Swedish material," p. 4., trans. Alex. G. Davidson, of "Marie obefläckade avlelse i kult

as preserved from original sin, but as cleansed from it. Typical of Birgitta's application of the imagery of cleansing to Mary is the description of the Virgin as both a clean vase and - because of her descent from Adam - an unclean vase:

...Maria fuit vas mundum et non mundum: mundum vero fuit quia tota pulchra, et tanta immundicia non inueniebatur in ea, vbi cuspis acus infingeretur; sed non mundum fuit, quia de radice Ade processit et de peccatoribus nata est, licet sine peccato concepta vt filius meus de ea sine peccato nasceretur.⁵⁴

This may not necessarily be, as Nilsen believes, the result of her having confused Dominican and Franciscan beliefs.⁵⁵ In fact it is not uncommon to come across avowedly Immaculatist texts which appear to misunderstand the meaning of the doctrine as it was understood by theologians.⁵⁶ It seems that while sharp distinctions were important for some theologians, for many "Immaculatist" writers, the important thing was not to establish the fact that Mary had never, not even for the smallest instant of time, been subject to original sin, but rather to ascribe to her the greatest possible amount of honour,

och konst," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, 56, 1987, pp. 6-15.

⁵⁴ Sancta Birgitta, *Revelaciones*, Book 5, ed. Birger Bergh, Uppsala: Simlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet, 1971, p. 174..

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 5. The Franciscans supported the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The Dominicans rejected it in favour of the Maculate Conception.

⁵⁶ Some Immaculatist authors in the High Middle Ages make reference to a cleansing, thus implying a previously unclean state. Osbert of Clare, a professed supporter of the doctrine, writes: "sanctificavit igitur altissimus tabernaculum suum, et in ipso creationis et conceptionis exordio in matris utero virginalem fabricam et thalamum septem spiritus sancti columnis subnixum ab omni colluvione emundavit, defaecavit, illuminavit, neque aliquid impuritatis in carne illa de qua caro redemptionis nostrae assumenda erat reliquit." *The Letters of Osbert of Clare*, ed. E.W. Williamson, London: Oxford University Press, 1929, p. 67.

glory and purity. Thus Birgitta's confusion does not imply that in her own terms she was not a supporter of the Immaculate Conception.

Birgitta's use of the topos may well have involved the same meaning it had in the vitae discussed by Reber, that of reconciling marital sexuality and sanctity, though in this case the reconciling may have applied as much to her own marriage as to Anne's. Birgitta seems to have used Anne to make statements about herself. Lindgren shows that after her death, her followers portrayed her and her children in woodcut compositions that imitated Holy Kinship woodcuts, thus appropriating the sanctity of Anne's family and applying it to her own.⁵⁷ Birgitta herself may have used Anne in this way during her lifetime. As a married woman and the mother of a number of children, trying to achieve sanctity in her own and others' eyes, she had an interest in arguing for the compatibility of sanctity and legitimate marital sexual activity. To my knowledge she was the first to apply the "no fleshly lust" motif to Anne, and it is in her visions that Anne first appears as the patron of "lawfully married" folk.⁵⁸ It might even be suggested that Birgitta saw

⁵⁷ A woodcut of c. 1500 depicting Birgitta with her family arranged around her in a tree formation is borrowed from a Holy Kinship print by the Meister mit dem Dächlein (c. 1450-75). (See fig. 6.) Lindgren, "De heliga ankorna," pp. 56-57, and p. 70.

⁵⁸ When Birgitta states in the "Sermo angelicus," that: "Gottes Gesetz lehrte, wie man Gott und den Nächsten lieben solle und wie eine Ehe von Mann und Frau ehrbar und nach Gottes Recht zu halten sei, so dass alle, die Gott als sein Volk betrachten will, in solchen Ehen geboren werden mögen" she is making a statement of the spiritual acceptability of marriage. Birgitta, Heliga Birgittas himmelska uppenbarelser, Overs. Tryggve Lunden, Malmö, 1957-59, extr. 10, lectio prima, cited and translated in Lindgren, *ibid.*, p. 70. Anne gives Birgitta a prayer that functions as a legitimization of marriage: "I ame Anne, ladi of all weddid folke that were byfor the lawe. Doghtir, wirshepe God of this manere: Blissed by thou, Jesu Criste, the son of God that chesid the one modir of the weddinge of Joachim and Anne. And therefor, for the praiers of Anne, haue meraci of all thame that are in wedeloke or thinkes to be weddid, that thai mai bringe furth froite to

her own life as modeled on Anne's. Not only was she the married mother of children, but like Anne she too had a married daughter (Katherine) known for her holiness, who lived a celibate marriage - though more as a result of the promptings of her mother than of her own inclination.

In any event it is clear that Birgitta's use of the "no fleshly lust" motif cannot be taken as a clear and unequivocal reference to the absence of original sin in Mary's conception. There were however, occasions where the concept of "no fleshly lust," though not the phrase, was used to refer - usually obliquely - to the Immaculate Conception. These occur in some of the Anne writings of the northern humanists who, as well as being promoters of the cult of Saint Anne, were also promoters of the Immaculate Conception. Petrus Bolandus, an associate of Trithemius, writes:

.....vtero haec sacra virgo gerebat
 A partuque dolor tunc virginis exulat omnis,
 Cuius conceptum non est operata libido,
 Cuius et in partu non esse reclusa pudoris
 Claustra fide constat, virgo velut ante
 manebat.⁵⁹

Trithemius himself, in the treatise De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae which vigorously promotes both Saint Anne and the Immaculate Conception, places the two motifs in proximity:

the wirshipe of Gode. And kepe wele the relikes that thou hase of me." Birgitta of Sweden, The Liber Celestis of St Bridget of Sweden, ed. Roger Ellis, EETS, o.s., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 467.

⁵⁹ Peter Bolandus, Heroicum, cited in Franz Falk, Zur Geschichte der Immaculata-Tradition in der Mainzer Kirche, Mainz: Verlag von Kirghheim & Co., 1904, p. 11.

Concepit ergo mulier sancta de coniuge sancto: concepit sine originali macula: peperit sine culpa. O sancta et prius inaudita conceptio. Concepit a viro: sed nulli unusquisque crimini hec fuit obnoxia conceptio....⁶⁰

But what is surprising is how little use Trithemius makes of the motif. In fact, he is not really interested in the theological arguments underpinning the doctrine. The furthest he goes in this direction is to argue that God as the author of nature is not bound by nature's laws.⁶¹ As his constant harping on the purity of Mary and her mother shows, his concern is really with the more general question of sexual purity and its role in heightening the honour and glory of Mary and her mother.

The Paris humanist Robert Gaguin, who wrote several works in support of the Immaculate Conception in the 1480s, also saw a connection between absence of sexual lust and absence of original sin - and he too shows scant interest in the traditional theological discourse:

At Mariae, simul dum conciperetur, assistricem comitemque innocentiam Dei potentia et virtute semper ita fuisse non iniuria quippiam dixerit, ut neque resolutum a parentibus semen prurium concubantibus aut titillationem attulerit; sed neque ex ipso semine conditum corpus Mariae sorduerit, ita ut adeo mundus adveniens spiritus mundam carnem inspiraret. Itaque quia religiosissimi Mariae parentes, prolis studio qua diu caruerant affecti, continuis se precibus apud Deum exercebant, orantes sibi concedi sobolem, quam sancte educarent et divinis formarent institutis, exauditi sunt. Et nuntio divinitus accepto, pietate magis quam voluptate congressi sine libidine, ut pie credi fas est, Mariae generationi semen in morem sudoris posuerunt.

Indeed he introduces a twist which takes his argument far away

⁶⁰ Trithemius, *De laudibus*, chap. 6.

⁶¹ "Supra natura est : qui naturam fecit." Ibid., chap. 7.

from the old Augustinian discourse, arguing that human effort alone is capable of erasing the contaminating sexual passion:

Incubis enim, quos ex daemonibus fieri traditur, potestas est sumpti alicunde seminis servandi atque effundendi, cum tamen humanae libidinis sint expertes. Cur igitur quippiam mente purgatus, et per continuam pietatem ab animi perturbatione sepositus, et cui attrita sit caro exercitatione virtutum, et diuturnitate ieiuniorum effeta, cur, inquam, sine ulla veneris titillatione, si Deus unice adiutor est, non operatur genituram?...

Tam potens est mens Deo roborata omnes omnium rerum perturbationes pervincere, ita ut vir, prolis causa, uxori congregiendi, nec animali molitiae fluctuet nec rationis illuminatione privetur; sicut absque ulla disceptatione confitemur, purissimum ex membris Virgineis sanguinem ad locum conceptioni designatum, sine ipsius immutatione, ut Dei Filius conciperetur confluxisse. Quo coituros modo coniuges, in prima illa si perseverassent innocentia, plerique affirmant, ita ut ad procreandos liberos manaret ab illis semen non secus ab aestuante liquitur sudor.⁶²

Since, in Gaguin's view, human piety and effort can by themselves achieve this remarkable sexual control, any parents could theoretically conceive children unstained by original sin, an idea that is of course incompatible with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Gaguin's use of the topos in this unorthodox way reminds us that the humanists were, after all, literary men, and their no doubt genuine desire to honour Anne and her family was accompanied by an equal delight in devising ingenious ways to do so.

Gaguin's is not the only example. Sebastian Brant is similarly unorthodox when he argues for Mary's virgin birth by citing the phenomenon of virgin birth in the animal

⁶² Robert Gaguin, *De Puritate Conceptionis*, in Jean Dilenge de St. Joseph, *Robert Gaguin poète et défenseur de l'immaculée conception: Edition critique des textes originaux parus à la fin du XV^e siècle*, Rome and Marseille: Editions Trinitaires, 1960, pp. 160-161.

kingdom.⁶³ Arnold Bostius writing to Konrad Celtis to encourage him to spread devotion to Joachim is equally unconventional when he argues that Joachim was closer to Jesus than Anne due to the fact that he was the closest mortal relative, Anne being preceded by Mary in the chain of blood relationships:

Quare non decet ut ipsa [Anne] etiam ipse [Joachim] venerari, coli, laudari, amari, invocari? Nescio, ubi hucusque fuerant oculi nostri, quod haec non vidimus. Magna certe iniuria avum Dei unicum, qui prae viris omnibus Salvatori nostro et Redemptori proximus attinet, hucusque sic postergavimus, qui in hac proximiora attinentia Mariae Virginis, natae suae, solus communicat. Sicuti vero ipsa Jesu Christo propinquior est omnium feminarum, ita et ipse Joachim sibi propinquior est omnium virorum, cum eius unicus avus fuerit, qui terrenum patrem non habuit. In hac igitur gloria cunctis supereminet solusque eam participat; non autem sancta sua coniunx Anna Christo Jesu propinquior est omnium feminarum, quamvis etiam ava sua fuerit. Maria enim inter eam et Jesum mediavit, inter Joachim autem et Jesum nullus virorum. Digneris igitur, optime Conrade, zelum hunc tantum patriarcham exaltandi magno corde induere, eum corde, ore, calamo, ut quam dignissimus est, praeconisando, prosa versuque multivario laudes eius exaggerando...⁶⁴

The importance of the literary aspect of the humanists' output is also attested to by their frequent expressions of appreciation for just these qualities in each others' works. Rutger Sicamber writes to Celtis praising Trithemius's treatise on Anne:

Edidit sane noster eruditissimus Trithemius librum non minus elegantem quam devotum in laudes sanctissimae Annae, matris gloriosae virginis, quem tanto cupio habere affectu et desiderio, ut vix expectare, quosque imprimatur, possim. Non solum autem ego, sed et omnes docti et devoti hunc librum magno concupiscunt desiderio;⁶⁵

Bostius too speaks of the abbot's literary fame in a letter to Celtis:

⁶³ The argument appears in the poem "Contra Iudeos et hereticos. Conceptionem virginalem fuisse possibilem argumentatio." Cited in Rajewski, Sebastian Brant, p. 80.

⁶⁴ Bostius to Celtis, Nr. 147, 1497, Feb. 8. Celtis Briefwechsel.

⁶⁵ Sicamber to Celtis, Nr. 78, 1494, June 30. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Gaudeo demum te instituisse in litteratura Graeca communem amicum Johannem Tritemium, abbatem Spanhemensem, cuius fama praecellens iam late vagatur per orbem operibus suis claris iam ubique fere patentibus, in quorum uno, sanctae Annae videlicet laudatorio, tu etiam statim legeris; fiesque proinde multis brevi notissimus.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Bostius to Celtis, No. 133, Oct. 23, 1496. Ibid., pp. 218, 219. Dörfler-Dierken proposes an additional explanation, more noteworthy for ingenuity than credibility, for the humanists' activities on behalf of Anne. People believed in the efficacy of Anne's intercessions she states, because of Anne's important place in the plan of salvation and because of the power she enjoyed through the fourth commandment's injunction to children to obey their parents: "Der Dekalog gilt diesen Theologen als gleichsam sittliche norma agendi auch für Gott, nicht nur für die Menschen." The slender evidence cited in support of the idea that because the Anne texts sometimes say God is to be honoured in his parents means that He must necessarily obey his grandmother, is based on Rudolf Agricola's lines:

Quod potes atque facis, nata[m] tu mater adhortans,

....

Nil tibi nata negat, nil et negat ille parenti,

Ille colit matrem, te quoque nata colit.

Ergo voca matrem te, se vocet illa parentem

Tuque tuum tibi ius, asserat illa suum.

Iam nihil exposcent mortalia pectora frustra

Quodque voles, simul id nata Deusque volent.

[Soviel du vermagst und ausrichtest, indem du als Mutter die Tochter ermahnst,

....

Nichts verweigert dir die Tochter, nichts auch verweigert jener [Christus] der Mutter,

jener ehrt die Mutter, auch ehrt dich die Tochter.

Also nenne du dich Mutter, jene - die Tochter - möge sich Mutter nennen

Du mögest für dich dein Recht beanspruchen, jene für sich das ihre.

Nichts mehr werden die sterblichen Herzen vergeblich fordern

und was du wollen wirst, das werden zugleich Tochter und Gott wollen.]

(Erasmus Poems, ed. C. Reedijk, Leyden, 1956, pp. 302 ff. cited and translated in Dörfler-Dierken, Die Verehrung, pp. 200-201.)

The other texts put forth by Dörfler-Dierken do not in fact support the argument.

Did the Immaculate Conception play a role in the cult of Saint Anne?

The smaller question "does the 'no fleshly lust' motif refer to the Immaculate Conception" is part of the larger question "Did the cult and imagery of Saint Anne arise out of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception." The larger question is easier to answer than the smaller one. The answer is an unequivocal no: the cult of Saint Anne had no integral connection with the Immaculate Conception.

Statements to the contrary are indeed numerous. One frequently reads that the Anna Selbdritt represents the Immaculate Conception or that the expansion of Anne's cult was the result of the intensified interest in that doctrine in the late fifteenth century.⁶⁷ The source given is usually Beda Kleinschmidt's influential 1930 book Die Heilige Anna.

⁶⁷ Examples are numerous: "Aus mittelalterlichen Gebeten, die Anna um ihrer Tochter ohne Sünden willen preisen, geht hervor, dass die Anna selbdritt als ein Hinweis auf die Immaculata Conceptio oder sogar als symbolische Darstellung für sie verstanden werden konnte." Gertrud Schiller, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, Gütersloh: Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1980, IV, 2, p. 157; "Der Annenkult ...war unauflöslich mit der Lehre von der Conceptio immaculata verbunden, d.h. mit der unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariens." Mereth Lindgren, "De heliga änkorna, p. 69 (see also p. 52); "Zur theologischen Grundlage der Anna-Verehrung im Abendland wird die vor allem von dem Franziskanern vertretene Lehre von der 'Unbefleckten Empfängnis' Mariens, wonach Maria schon im Mutterleib von der Erbsünde frei gewesen ist. Damit wird Anna als die Grossmutter Jesu direkt in das Heilsgeschehen einbezogen. Ikonographisch findet diese Aufwertung ihren Niederschlag in den zahlreichen Darstellungen der Annaselbdritt, bei denen Grossmutter, Mutter und Sohn vereint sind." Ludwig Remling, Bruderschaften in Franken, Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1986, p. 258; "The St. Anne family group was developed in the fourteenth century to express the Franciscan tenet of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception." Leo Steinberg, "The Metaphors of Love and Birth in Michelangelo's Pietàs," Theodore Bowie and Cornelia V. Christenson, ed., Studies in Erotic Art, New York: Basic Books, 1970. "An image that became especially popular during the fifteenth century, Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child (Anna Selbdritt), gave visual expression to the doctrine." Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Scheingorn, Introduction, Interpreting Cultural Symbols, p. 25.

Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum which took the position that the two were related:

Daher mehren sich auch seit dieser Zeit die bildlichen Darstellungen der hl. Anna, namentlich der Selbdritt, wodurch der Gedanke der unbefleckten Empfängnis einen volkstümlichen und anschaulichen Ausdruck gewann. Indem man die Mutter Anna ehrte, sie im Bilde darstellte und ihr Fest feierte, feierte man auch zugleich das Geheimnis der unbefleckten Empfängnis.⁶⁸

Kleinschmidt's statement sounds reasonable enough. The late medieval expansion of the cult did coincide with a period of heated dispute over the Immaculate Conception. And the same German and Netherlandish humanists and clerics who were promoting the doctrine were also promoting Anne's cult.

However all recent scholarship is in agreement that neither Anne nor her images were intrinsically connected with the Immaculate Conception.⁶⁹ The evidence is clear.

⁶⁸ Kleinschmidt, Die Heilige Anna, p. 162. Kleinschmidt was preceded by others. Franz Falk in his 1904 study of the history of the doctrine in the Mainz diocese said: "In der Zeit, wo die Lehrmeinung der U.E. so lebhaft zur Erörterung kam, musste man an den Versuch denken, dieser Wahrheit nach Möglichkeit einen sichtbaren, bildlichen Ausdruck zu geben. Wir in unseren Tagen sind gewohnt, in dem Bilde, wie Maria den Fuss auf den Kopf der Schlange setzt, den Ausdruck der U.E. zu erblicken, im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert beliebte eine eigenartige Darstellung, nämlich St. Anna Selbdritt, italienisch mettertia. Derartige Bilder, sei es in Plastik, sei es in Malerei, finden sich überaus zahlreich seit dem 15. Jahrhundert, sei es in grösseren Kirchen, sei es in kleineren, entlegenen Pfarren." Franz Falk, Zur Geschichte der Immaculata-Tradition in der Mainzer Kirche. In another footnote I have the same quote with a different source. Falk, Geschichte der Marienverehrung und der Immakulata=Tradition im Bistum Mainz und am Mittelrhein. Mainz: Druckerei Lehrlinghaus, 1906, p. 103.

⁶⁹ Brandenburg discusses the relationship between Saint Anne and the Immaculate Conception in Heilig familieleven, pp. 86-100. Dörfler-Dierken states: "...die Meinung, Maria sei unbefleckt empfangen worden, nicht als historische Voraussetzung der Verehrung ihrer Mutter anzusehen ist." Dörfler-Dierken, Die Verehrung, pp. 45-66. See also Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen, Sint Anne-te-Drieen, I, p. 74. Deeelman-van Tyen concludes: "Het beeldmotief "St. Anna-te-Drieen", dat in de literatuur geduid wordt als symbool van de Onbevleete Ontvangenis van Maria, is misschien aanvankelijk slechts

abundant, and conclusive. First, both cult and image are found in Dominican settings, even though the Dominicans strongly opposed the Immaculate Conception.⁷⁰ Second, the Anna Selbdritt was widely used in contexts where little interest was shown in the Immaculate Conception, for example in the parish churches of Holland. Third, some of the new lives, including the earliest extant example, Van Denemarken's Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempelen vander heyligher vrouwen sint Annen, take a Maculatist, not an Immaculatist, position. Fourth, woodcuts depicting the Anna Selbdritt were sometimes published in two versions, one with an Immaculatist prayer, the other with a Maculatist prayer, a clear indication that the image was not read by contemporaries as in itself representing the doctrine.⁷¹

Was there then no direct connection at all between Saint Anne and the Immaculate Conception in late medieval Germany? The connection was made in some contemporary texts, but it was a limited and secondary one. It appears in some of the offices which state in passing that Mary was immaculately conceived. The Historia nova de sancta anna pulcra devota et autentica refers in no uncertain terms to the Immaculate Conception:

ontstaan als cultusbeeld "zonder meer" en pas later door theologen met deze symbolische betekenis bekleed. De thans algemeen geldende interpretatie dat een St Anna-te-Driegen zonder meer uitbeelding is van de theologische idee van de Onbevleete Ontvangenis, zou misschien moeten worden genuanceerd." Deeleman-van Tyen, 1990, *ibid.*, p. 139.

⁷⁰ Dörfler-Dierken has found that Anne confraternities were instituted at twelve Dominican convents. Vorreformatiorische Bruderschaften, p. 23.

⁷¹ This type of multivalency is not uncommon in medieval images. The Madonna in Sole was also used to represent both the Immaculate and Maculate Conception and was used as well in connection with the devotion to the limbs of Mary. Sixten Ringbom, "Maria in Sole and the Virgin of the Rosary," Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes, 25 (1962), pp. 326-330.

"...ex sancto joachim marito suo eciam sine peccati macula fecundari." Even more pointed are the following lines:

...et sicut hec filia vostra beatissima a peccatum actuale nunquam commisit sic et ipsa peccatum originale nunquam contraxit deo ipsam preseruate ex maxima caritate qua eam dilexit ab eterno...⁷²

The doctrine is also mentioned in passing in some of the new lives, though it is not integrated into the content. Where it receives its greatest elaboration is in treatises and poems by the Northern Humanists, notably in Trithemius' De laudibus which conjoins praise for Anne's womb with the immaculacy of Mary's conception:

O nunquam sine honore nominandus uterus, in quo archa dei sine macula meruit fabricari. Beatus venter, qui celi dominam portauit, felicia ubera, quae lactare matrem dei meruerunt.⁷³

Looking at the question from the other side - what role did Anne play in the discourse of the Immaculate Conception - it appears that she played at most a tangential role in the heated exchanges of the late fifteenth century.⁷⁴ The argument that had been

⁷² Historia nova de sancta anna pulcra devota et autentica, p. 12 v. Other references in the offices to Mary's conception include: "...quando virginem mariam dei matrem eciam sine peccati macula generasti que pepit celi florem huius mundi redemptorem alleluia." *ibid.*, 5 v; "Ex qua sine peccati macula processit caro tua virginea Benedicta." The hystoria pulcra de sancto Joachim patre dei matris Marie describes Mary as "...sine peccati macula concipe in vtero suo glorioso. Hystoria pulcra de sancto Joachim patre dei matris Marie. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, p. 2 v.

⁷³ Trithemius, De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae, chap. 3.

⁷⁴ The University of Paris's decision in the late fourteenth century to require adherence to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception had led to a hardening of the lines of battle in the disagreements over it. The decision of the Council of Basel in 1439 to accept the feast, even though the council was later declared schismatic, further raised the level of dissension. The controversies did not abate when in 1477 the Franciscan pope Sixtus IV gave the doctrine official approval and introduced the feast in Rome. Sixtus' actions followed on the publication in Milan in 1475 of the Dominican Vincenzo Bandelli's Libellus recollectorius auctoritatum de veritate Conceptionis B. V. Mariae which

raised against the feast several centuries earlier, that the sexual lust of Mary's parents ensured the passing on of original sin to their offspring, was also made in the fifteenth century. But as in the earlier phase, it does not appear to have been a major argument.⁷⁵ Many of the texts written in support of the doctrine do not mention Anne at all, and those that do speak of the manner of Mary's conception, do so without a great deal of specificity. Further, Immaculatist writers sometimes dealt with the problem of sexual sensations in other ways. Johannes Breitenbach in a debate conducted with the Dominican Georg von Frickenhausen (Georgius Orterus) c. 1489 in Leipzig, argued that

had attacked the doctrine as heretical, wicked and diabolical. From the 1470s on, the doctrine's supporters and its Dominican opponents alternated in provoking, insulting, attacking and counter-attacking one another. From the late 1470s the various parties debated the issue in the German universities, first in Leipzig, subsequently in Heidelberg, and in print. See Wenceslaus Sebastian, "Controversy..." in O'Connor, The Dogma, p. 232 ff, and Franz Falk, Zur Geschichte der Immaculata = Tradition in der Mainzer Kirche, pp. 13, 15 & passim.

⁷⁵ Some of the writings of the humanists may be intended to counter to such an argument. It is hard to say. Much of the controversy of the fifteenth century gives the impression of being driven by events, of being a succession of polemical skirmishes: a proclamation from one side elicits a response and attack from the other. A great deal of the writing seems to stem less from a desire to arrive at theological correctness than from an urge to increase the glorification of Mary. Heavenly power structures tend to mimic earthly ones: one notices that a great deal of the propaganda for the Immaculate Conception stems from ruling circles or from those who supported the Imperial program. The humanists, who wrote so ebulliently on behalf of Mary's glory applied those same talents to the discovery and invention of illustrious ancestors for the German ruling houses. Members of ruling circles are often be present or implicated in events having to do with increasing the glory or power of Mary. Spanish royalty were driving forces between the promotion of the doctrine in Spain throughout much of the fifteenth century. On a smaller scale in Marburg in the late 1470s, according to Falk, Landgraf Henricus III zu Hessen settled a dispute in a strife between Franciscans and Dominicans over whether the latter would celebrate the feast as the Conception or the Sanctification, in favour of the Conception. Falk, Zur Geschichte der Immaculata=Tradition, p. 13. The Paris humanist Robert Gaguin served as diplomatic envoy for the French King in Heidelberg. Falk, *ibid.*, p. 13.

Mary's purity was like the salamander, which "...vivit in medio flammis sine dolore et corruptione..." Not only is it not consumed by the fire, it extinguishes it: Mary extinguished the concupiscence of her parents' intercourse.⁷⁶

It is clear from the variety and complexity of the ways in which Anne is connected - or not connected - with the Immaculate Conception in late fifteenth-century writing that great caution is needed before designating a text as Immaculatist or Maculatist.⁷⁷ Often the thinking behind the written word may itself be imprecise. Whereas the Council of Basel's Bull, promulgated in 1430, stated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception explicitly and concisely, namely that Mary's soul was not "at any time or for an instant of time subject to original sin," the discussion in the later part of the century often seems to be concerned with a more generalized notion of purity.⁷⁸

For a text to be designated with certainty as referring to the Immaculate Conception, it must make its references clearly and unambiguously.⁷⁹ References to

⁷⁶ Johannes Breitenbach, Disputatio brevissima de Immaculata Conceptione virginis gloriose, Leipzig, 1489, page following A iii]. Breitenbach also draws an analogy with the three children in the fiery furnace. [following page iiii]. Wenceslaus ascribes the authorship of this work to Sebastian Brant. Wenceslaus, "The Controversy," in O'Connor, The Dogma, p. 240.

⁷⁷ This is not to say that an individual might not have looked at the Anna Selbdritt in terms of his or her own belief.

⁷⁸ "...per aliquod tempus seu instans temporis subiacuisse actualiter originali culpe," cited in the Hystoria nova bona et autentica de sancta Anna matre dei genitricis Mariae, Strassburg: Bartolomeus Kisteler, 1501.

⁷⁹ This caution is not always in evidence in Mirella Levi d'Ancona, The iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle ages and early Renaissance, The College Art Association of America in conjunction with The Art Bulletin, 1957, or in Bruno Borchert, "L'immaculée dans l'iconographie du Carmel," Carmelus 2, (1955), pp. 85-131.

purity or sanctity alone do not suffice. Even the epithet "Tota pulchra es amica mea," which is often a reference to the Immaculate Conception, is not an infallible indicator, for it appears in a reference to Mary's virginity in a rosary handbook stemming from Dominican sources.⁸⁰

The same caution is needed in looking at images. Cases where one can be certain of an Immaculatist meaning are few. Certainty exists only when the image is accompanied by an Immaculatist text, when the context supports the iconographical indications, or when the image depicts the defenders of the doctrine. This last type of composition, which usually shows a grouping of the theologians who either wrote in support of the doctrine or whose writings were taken by the Immaculatists as supporting it, was more common in Italy than in the North, but it is used in the altarpiece commissioned in the late 1400s for the Confraternity of Saint Anne at the convent of the Frankfurt Carmelites (fig. 107).⁸¹ Here again we find that it is in a confraternity with close links to the humanist circle that Saint Anne is linked with the Immaculate

⁸⁰ "Tota pulchra es amica mea Vericundiam virginalem unde dicitur ei." Johannes Lampsheim, Libellus perutilis de fraternitate sanctissima Rosarii et psalterij beate Marie virginis, Mainz: Peter von Friedberg, 1495, p. 4 r. An example of a maculist viewpoint appears in a life of Anne printed in Braunschweig in which the angel prophesies the birth of Mary who "schal gode consecreret werden effte gehilliget werden vnde in dem liue oerer moder vor vullet myt dem hilgen geiste dar vmme se nicht myt dem gemeinem volcke wonen schal besunderen in dem tempel..." St. Annen Büchlein, Braunschweig: Hans Dom, 1509, p. cvii r, in Marianne E. Kalinke, "Mariu saga og Onnu," Urchiv för Nordisk Filologi 109 (1994), p. 75.

⁸¹ Reproduced in Ashley and Sheingorn, Interpreting Cultural Symbols, fig. 18. The roll call of defenders can be surprising. Bernard, an opponent of the doctrine, is sometimes included. See Montgomery Carmichael, Francia's Masterpiece, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1909 for a discussion of a depiction of Mary with the defenders of the doctrine.

Conception. The defenders may include Augustine, Jerome, Duns Scotus, Anselm of Canterbury, Sixtus IV whose papacy furthered the establishment of the Immaculate Conception, Solomon and David. It may also include theologians who actually opposed the doctrine, such as Aquinas, who were occasionally coopted and presented as supporters. Sometimes the identification is made easier by the inclusion of banderolles bearing statements for which the defenders are known. Art works containing images of the hortus conclusus, the Tower of David or other Marian symbols drawn from the Canticle of Canticles or associated with the prayer, the Laurentian Litany, usually turn out to refer not to the Immaculate Conception but to Mary's virginity.⁸² A Rheinland German Anna Selbdritt (c. 1470) in the Hosmer-Pillow-Vaughan collection in the Beaverbrook Art Gallery in Fredericton, New Brunswick, illustrates the problems involved in pinning down the significance of specific motifs. The hortus conclusus with a well in the background does not in itself necessarily refer to the Immaculate Conception. Yet the inclusion among the tiny saints in the background of the Carmelite martyr Blessed Angelus (d. c. 1226), identifiable by the sword in his neck, suggests that the work was commissioned for a

⁸² Gertrud Schiller lists the following: stella maris; electa ut sol - the sun; civitas Dei; porta coeli; cedrus exalta; the spring of living water (puteus aquarum viventium); the rod of Jesse; the enclosed garden (hortus conclusus); the thornbush; the tower of David hung with shields (cum propugna culis); oliva speciosa; fons hortorum; speculum sine macula; plantatio rosae in Jericho. Gertrud Schiller, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, 4,2, p. 168. The Laurentian Litany was so named only in the 16th c., but the images were current in the 15th according to the Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, Engelbert M. Kirschbaum ed., Rome and Freiburg: Herder, 1968-76, vol. 3, p. 27.

Carmelite setting, and as the Carmelites were zealous supporters of the doctrine, an implicit Immaculatist meaning is thus likely but not certain.⁸³

Roots: Concerns of the clerical and humanist promoters

It is clear that the new lives of Saint Anne were designed with the merchant classes in mind. It is also clear that as a secondary issue they addressed issues of women's behaviour. What led the humanists and reforming clergy to take these steps? And why did they choose Saint Anne?

The authors themselves provide part of the answer. Their prefaces sometimes mention a desire to deepen lay piety. These concerns may have been sharpened by an awareness that if their spiritual needs were not met, the merchant classes, increasingly successful in their attempts to wrest political and financial control of their cities from aristocratic clerical circles, might also embark on more independent paths in the management of their spiritual affairs. Setting the cult of Saint Anne in this context, it seems possible that its promotion was part of the broader move to shape and control lay piety that is in evidence in Germany, especially in the Rheinland and parts of Southwestern Germany, in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth centuries.

This development manifested itself in a variety of phenomena, among them the following: the active propagation of clerically run confraternities; expressions of concern about heresy in connection with lay religious activity, especially among women; the

⁸³ Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Guide, Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1977, p. 71.

construction of the witch as a heretical female deviant who rejects in the most dramatic way possible the authority and means of the church,⁸⁴ the increasing of control over women in the social sphere; an increase in expressions of fear about the propensity of women to sin, especially in the sexual realm; and the taking of measures to counteract the questioning of miraculous objects.

It is illuminating to look at the Anne confraternities in the light of recent studies of two other fifteenth-century brotherhoods, Anne Winston-Allen's work on the Rosary confraternities, and Carol Schuler's study of the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows of Our Lady.⁸⁵ Like the Anne confraternities, these two devotions also give the impression of having been founded with the intent of shaping and controlling lay piety through the provision of attractive large-scale structures in which large numbers of lay people could seek the spiritual good that was of most concern to them, salvation.⁸⁶ All three had their origins in the Netherlands and Rheinland region. All three differed from older

⁸⁴ In 1508 Trithemius published a treatise on witchcraft, the Antipalus maleficiorum, Busaeus, Paralipomena opusculorum Petri Blesensis et Joannis Trithemii aliorumque..., ed. Johannes Busaeus, Mainz, 1605 (and Cologne, 1624) pp. 275-426.

⁸⁵ Anne Winston-Allen, "Tracing the Origins of the Rosary," Speculum, 68, 3 (July 1993); The Sacred Narrative of the Rose: The Rosary and Popular Piety in Late Medieval Germany, unpublished manuscript; "Tales of the Rosary in German Confraternity Handbooks, 1483-1515." conference paper, International Medieval Conference, Kalamazoo, Mich., May, 1993; Carol M. Schuler, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin," Simiolus, 21, 1/2 (1992) pp. 5-28.

⁸⁶ Winston-Allen states: "Although protection from temporal evils may have been an additional inducement to joining Alan's [Alanus de Rupe's] brotherhood, one finds in Sprenger's statutes and the accompanying "Sterbebüchlein" the primary explanation for this brotherhood's exponential growth--the ever present threat of purgatory and its excruciating punishments." Winston-Allen, The Sacred Narrative of the Rose, chap. 3, p. 25.

brotherhoods in being independent of particular shrines and churches and thus able to address themselves to people over a wide geographical area.⁸⁷ All three emphasized salvational benefits, and all three seem to have designed their programs for specific segments of the lay population. In all three cases the promoters chose a devotion that was already in the process of expansion. In each case the founders were prominent individuals who had contacts with ruling circles, and in the case at least of the Rosary and Anne cults, were involved in movements for clerical reform.⁸⁸ Trithemius had close contacts with the Emperor Maximilian. The Rosary confraternity was founded by the influential Cologne Dominican, Jakob Sprenger.

The new devotions were designed to attract large numbers of people. The Rosary confraternity publicized not only the mutual benefits to be gained from the prayers and devotional activities of fellow members but also announced that members would benefit from the prayers of the brothers of the various houses of the sponsoring religious orders.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Though individual Anne brotherhoods did not usually seek members over large geographical expanses, the cult's literature addressed devotees at large.

⁸⁸ Winston-Allen states: "From Dominic of Prussia onward, each of the devotion's initial promoters--including Alan de Rupe, Michael Francisci, Jakob Sprenger, and Johannes of Erfurt -- was intimately and actively involved with the Observant movement which spread from Colmar outward through the rest of the German-speaking region. In 1474 Sprenger himself was appointed Vicar-General of the Dominican Observants in Brabant. In reinstituting strict observance, the movement's adherents had sought a return to spirituality." Anne Winston-Allen, The Sacred Narrative of the Rose, chap. 3, p. 23. Trithemius was involved with the Bursfelder Reform. Klaus Arnold, Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516), Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1991, p. 103.

⁸⁹ The Carmelites in Augsburg gave similar assurances to members of the Anne confraternity at their church: "Und aus besund gnad die vns vnser wirdiger vnd hochgelerter vater / prouincial in obern teutschen lande vnd vngern geben hat: mach wir euch tailhaftig vnd prauchlich im leben vnd auch / im tod: aller mess: gepetz: predigens: contemplation: wachens: vastes: absprechung: clösterlich straff; andacht:.. arbeit: / vnd

The differences between the three cults reflect the specificity of their promoters' intentions. Where the Anne confraternities show signs of a middle class orientation, the rosary confraternity emphasized its accessibility to the poor. Its membership included many working class people, tradesmen, artisans, domestics, and peasants along with people of the upper levels.⁹⁰ The following excerpt from a German rosary confraternity handbook states that all can join, including the dead, and it specifically invites the poor and sinners to become members. It also explains that it is not necessary to be formally inscribed:

... hec fraternitas omnes recipit, excludit neminem. Religiosos, Seculares, iuuenes et senes, pauperes et divites, iustos et peccatores hec fraternitas suscipit. Et non solum viuos immo et mortuos si saltem sit aliquis qui pro eis faciat que dicta sunt: Nec tamen oportet pro illis mortuis legere predicta....Nec requiritur inscriptio de necessitate vel signorum que pater noster vel psalteria dicuntur delatio.⁹¹

aller guthait die der allmächtig got durch vns vnd all bruder in allen clöstern vnsern hailigen ordens die sind in / schwaben: bairen: francken: österreich: steirmarck: kernden: vnd vngern landen..." "Aufnahmeformular der St. Annenbruderschaft in Augsburg vom Jahre 1494," Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1499, published in A. Haemmerle, "Das Aufnahmeformular der St. Annenbrüder in Augsburg vom Jahre 1494," Vierteljahreshefte zur Kunst und Geschichte Augsburgs 4 (1947/48), pp. 9-12.

⁹⁰ See Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La Confrérie du Rosaire de Colmar (1485)," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 40 (1970), pp. 97-124.

⁹¹ Johannes von Lampsheim, Libellus perutilis de fraternitate sanctissima Rosarii et psalterij beate Marie virginis, Mainz: Peter Friedberg, 1495, "Informatio ac determinatio..." But gifts were not discouraged. A vernacular Rosary handbook states: "Welcher mensch will sich lassen schreiben in die loblichen brüderschafft der psalters oder rosenkrantz Marie der bedarf kain gelt geben ym anfang.... noch ymend das kain symonei werd gebraucht vnd das sich kain mensch diser loblichen brüderschafft entschuldigen müg, er mag ab er wolet was geben an dise loblichen brüderschafft durch gotz willen dass man liechter oder andre gotzzierd darum kauff." Ain gar nutzlichs buchlin von dem psalter oder rosenkrantz Marie, Ulm: Hannsen Schäffler, 1501, a iiii.

Membership in the Rosary confraternity was free, whereas this was not normally the case for the Anne brotherhoods. Winston-Allen points out that the twenty-seven short testimonials in the Ulm rosary confraternity book of 1483 include a number about the concerns of poor people, stories of crops being saved, of a poor woman becoming rich and sharing her wealth, of the conversion of prostitutes, money lenders and those who mistreated the poor.⁹² By contrast, the poor and marginal rarely appear in the Anne lives, which are more inclined to tell stories about middle and upper level people who lose and regain fortunes and reputations. One of the few Anne exempla that does deal with poor people, an exemplum entitled "von einer Armen Wittib welche sie [Saint Anne] mit einem schwein getroest hat" ends not with riches but with the return to health of the woman's ailing pig.⁹³ Their differences notwithstanding, the cults of Anne and of the Rosary were sometimes connected. In Cologne, under Sprenger's aegis, the two brotherhoods

⁹² Winston-Allen, "Tales of the Rosary," p. 3. The book also contains nineteen longer tales that relate exotic, colourful stories "of noble, rich, beautiful, or educated people of high social status." Ibid., p. 4.

⁹³ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, p. 152 ff. Winston-Allen makes an observation that suggests Sprenger may have been sensitive to actual or potential social unrest when he founded the Rosary brotherhood. He asserted, she states, that "...the poor, the needy, and the languishing 'of this knavish world' could become 'the equals of the rich.'" She also points out that Sprenger issued a specific invitation to women to join the Rosary Confraternity. Winston-Allen, "Tracing the Origins of the Rosary," p. 634.

were joined.⁹⁴ Some Anne texts included sections on the Rosary, while Rosary texts sometimes devoted space to Anne.⁹⁵

A comparison of the Anne confraternities with those dedicated to the Seven Sorrows shows that the latter too was accessible to a greater range of people than the Anne brotherhoods. Its founder, Jan van Coudenberghe, imitated Sprenger's successful formula in eliminating dues and in having simple devotional rituals that could be performed at home. The Anne confraternities on the other hand usually stipulated that devotional exercises be performed at the confraternity altar in front of an image. Whether the lighter burdens placed on members of the Rosary and Seven Sorrows groups were the result of greater foresight on the part of the founders, or whether they reflected specific, differing intentions, functions and clientele, is not clear. The Rosary and Seven Sorrows devotions survived and, supported by the hierarchy, flourished into the modern period, whereas the Anne cult did not maintain its medieval momentum. The fact that the Rosary and Seven Sorrows cults included a meditative aspect connected with the sufferings of Christ and Mary may have increased their viability.⁹⁶ The Anne cult, which was based

⁹⁴ Arnold Bostius also tried to incorporate Anne and Joachim in the Rosary movement. Arnold, Johannes Trithemius, p. 103.

⁹⁵ The life of Anne by the anonymous Franciscan, Hec est quedam rara et ideo cara legenda de sancta Anna. et de universa eius is followed in the same volume by a Rosary tract, "Incipit tractaculus novus et preciosus de fraternitate Rosarij gloriose Virginis Marie," following which is an office of Saint Anne, the wording of which is at times the same as that of the Historia nova pulcra et autentica. This is followed by offices of Joachim, Joseph, and the two Marys.

⁹⁶ But it seems that most late fifteenth century members used the Rosary and Seven Sorrows cults for salvational ends, achieved in an apotropaic fashion, rather than devotionally. Winston-Allen states: "The devotional exercise that had been popularized in the early fifteenth century by the Carthusians and by the observant reform movement

almost exclusively on manipulating Anne's enormous power, may have been less well suited to flourish in a modern religious context.⁹⁷

Summary

A variety of factors were involved in the late 15th c. expansion of the cult of Saint Anne. The scant information available from the 1470s suggests Carmelite involvement in propagating Anne's cult. It also suggests that the devotion in this subphase may have

as a means of achieving deeper spirituality was overtaken by popular demand for quantitative guarantees of the welfare of the soul after death....," Winston-Allen, "Tales of the Rosary," p. 12. Carol Schuler makes a similar observation about the Seven Sorrows: "Yet in the cultic devotions of the Seven Sorrows one ...sees most clearly how radically the veneration of earlier centuries had been transformed. The miracles attributed to the Virgin of Seven Sorrows provide evidence that many worshippers were primarily motivated by the belief in the salutary benefits of venerating the Virgin's sorrows, if not also in the apotropaic powers of the corresponding images. At the very least, such attentions distorted the goals of the originators of empathetic meditation." Schuler, "The Seven Sorrows," p. 28.

⁹⁷ Both the Rosary and the Seven Sorrows Confraternities had political components in their founding. Sprenger had advised the citizens of Cologne to appeal for divine aid by reciting the rosary during the conflicts between Cologne and the Burgundians that climaxed in the former's victory in the Battle of Neuss. The victory, according to Winston-Allen, resulted in great enthusiasm for the new devotion and the formation of the first Confraternity of the Rosary. The struggles and uprisings of the late 1480s and early 1490s, the period between the death of Mary of Burgundy and the accession of her son Philip the Fair in 1494, was the context in which the Seven Sorrows Confraternity was founded. Philip's secretary Jan van Coudenberghe had appealed for prayers, and when the prayers were answered, had founded the confraternity. Miracle books were kept. No known political crisis has been associated with the Anne confraternities, but in some cases they too were founded by individuals close to ruling circles. Trithemius had close associations with the Margrave-Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, Count Philip of the Palatinate and Bavaria and with Emperor Maximilian. See Arnold, Johannes Trithemius; Noel Brann, The Abbott Trithemius (1462-1516: The Renaissance of Monastic Humanism, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1981, e.g. pp. 28, 96.

been directed more towards the Holy Kinship than at Anne alone. The full-fledged promotion of the cult undertaken by Flemish and Rheinland German humanists and reforming clerics that began in the 1480s seems to have been part of a broader movement to shape and control the increasingly active lay piety. The Anne texts were directed in particular at the urban merchant classes, the lives containing exempla and prayers expressing their concerns. The texts present Anne as a model for sexually and socially restrained female behaviour. They present conflicting images of marriage. Dörfler-Dierken shows that the presentation of Anne as achieving holiness within marriage stands in contrast to older presentations of marriage and sanctity as incompatible. At the same time the insistence that Anne's sexual relations were carried out "without fleshly lust" reveals the continuation of an older belief in the incompatibility of sexuality and sanctity. Images of Anne from the period 1480-1530 show a shift from an aristocratic model of family life emphasizing the powerful, independent female line to images in which fathers interact with their children in an intimate early modern domestic setting. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has been associated by some writers with the cult of Saint Anne. The connection however was incidental - the German humanists promoted both - not intrinsic. Anne's cult was also promoted in circles hostile to the doctrine and she enjoyed popularity in areas where it was of little interest.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EXPANSION OF THE CULT: WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

Economic factors played an important role in the founding and operating of shrines, brotherhoods and other religious undertakings. This is clearly stated in documents pertaining to these establishments and it was frequently commented on by contemporaries. The Humanist Jacob Wimpfeling addressed some pointed criticism at the Anne confraternities, accusing them of seeking financial gain.¹ On another occasion Johannes Trithemius countered charges that Anne brotherhoods at convents and monasteries took money away from parish churches by arguing that if the parish churches were suffering from the competition it was their own fault for not providing better teaching and example. The list of accusations Trithemius defends the Anne brotherhoods against suggests that resentment against them was considerable, at least in some quarters:

Fratemitas ista beatissime matris anne, non est supersticiosa (sicut vos dicitis o impijs calumniatores) sed est vera. sed recta. sed sancta: in qua dei cultus non minuitur sed augetur: obedientia non spernitur sed commendatur. Fides etiam catholica non infirmatur per sanctam fraternitatem istam sicut vos putatis sed renouatur et defenditur: dum per sancte charitatis exercicia ut formata sit illustratur. quod vero parrochiales ecclesias desertas gemitis: vestris est non mediocriter imputandum delictis: qui lac et lanam de ouibus domini exigitis: ipsas tamen oues non pascitis ut oportuerat in primis. necque custoditis. Quid vobis

¹ Wimpfeling's Soliloquium ad divum Augustinum contained his own criticisms of the Anne brotherhoods as well as a poem "Anna Dei mater genitricis, cuius honori..." by the Humanist priest Johannes Renatus of Wijla which criticized the avarice of priests and monks. Jakob Wimpfeling, Soliloquium ad divum Augustinum ...De beata virgine Maria deque matre eius sancta Anna carmen Joannis Renati ex Wijla sacerdotis contra avariciam quorundam sacerdotum et monachorum, cited in Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Die Verehrung der heiligen Anna in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992, pp. 86, 317.

oblaciones negari fingitis: qui multis diuicijs abundatis: Omnium pastor pastorum vicarius christi est : si fideles voluerit esse in audiendis missis liberos : non est qui valeat eum prohibere.²

He himself accuses some shrines of fraud in the caveats that introduce his miracle book for the Marian image shrine at Dittelbach:

Quoniam quidem in huiusmodi nouitatibus multi saepe contingunt errores, cum aut leuitas incautos protrahit ad credendum his, quae sine ratione videntur proposita, aut humana cupiditas per fraudes lucra consequi nititur terrena. Idcirco non contigit absque ratione viros sapientes & eruditos in scripturis diuinis plures huic contradicere peregrinationi, & de veritate miraculorum haud mediocriter dubitare. nec immerito.³

Questions of outright fraud aside, economic benefits were part and parcel of the operation of ecclesiastical undertakings. Churches, convents and towns where shrines were located not only reaped substantial financial benefits from their presence, they ensured that the shrines were run so as to maximize these benefits. Angelika Dörfler-Dierken explains how the income from the Limburg Anne shrine was divided between the church and the town authorities.⁴ A similar situation prevailed in Düren where

² Johannes Trithemius, De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae, Mainz: Peter Friedberg, 1494, chap. 15.

³ Johannes Trithemius, Miracula beatae Mariae semper virginis in Ecclesia nova prope Dittelbach in Joannis Trithemii. Opera pia et spiritualia, ed. Johannes Busaeus. Mainz, 1604, 1605, p. 1083. Trithemius describes frauds at various shrines, as well as describing how a good shrine is run: "Crescit namque deuotio populi fidelis ad Dominum, manet reuerentia debita & consueta ad clerum, nihil contra jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam praesumitur, nulla inter conuenientes turpitudinis commercia perpetrantur." Ibid., p. 1085.

⁴ Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, "Wunderheilungen durch das Limburger Annenheiltum / Mit Edition einer Abschrift des Mirakelbuches von 1511 in der Stadtbibliothek Trier," Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch, 31 (1991), pp. 83-107.

according to the seventeenth-century historian Jacobus Polius, the pastor had one key to the shrine's offering box, the magistrates the others. The same was true in Aachen.⁵

Saint Anne as a fund raiser: The example of Annaberg

Annaberg, the new mining town in the Saxon Erzgebirge, provides an example of how extensive and precise the interconnected financial arrangements connected with a saint's cult might be.⁶ Founded in 1496 following the discovery in 1492 of a rich new vein of silver in the mountainous Saxon mining region, the town was named in honour of Saint Anne a few years later by its sovereign, Duke George of Saxony, and in 1499 the building of a fine new hall church was begun.⁷ Subsequently Duke George embarked on

⁵ Here Gatz states: "In Aachen durfte die Stiftsgeistlichkeit den Schrein nur in Anwesenheit der städtischen Vertreter durch einen vereidigten Goldschmied öffnen lassen. Nach der Wiederverschliessung wird noch heute der Schlüssel zerschlagen und je eine Hälfte den Vertretern des Kapitels bzw. der Stadt überreicht. In Düren dürften wie auch in Aachen wirtschaftliche Interessen diese Regelung veranlasst haben, da ja das Annaopfer zwischen Stadt und Pfarrer geteilt wurde und man damit bedeutende Unternehmen finanzierte." Erwin Gatz, "Die Dürener Annaverehrung bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," Sankt Anna in Düren, ed. Erwin Gatz, Mönchengladbach: B. Kühlen, 1972, p. 176.

⁶ Many of the relevant documents are published in Adam Daniel Richter, Umständliche aus zuverlässigen Nachrichten zusammengetragene Chronica Der im Meissnischen Ober=Erz=Gebürge gelegenen Königl. Churfl. Sächssischen freyen Berg=Stadt St. Annaberg, St. Annaberg: August Valentin Friesen, 1746. The chronicle of Petrus Albinus, written in the 1590s, draws on the same sources. Petrus Albinus, Annabergische Annales de anno 1492 bis 1539 in Festschrift zum 25jährigen Bestehen des Vereins für Geschichte von Annaberg und Umgegend, Annaberg, 1910, pp. 1-50.

⁷ It is clear from Richter's descriptions of events and from the documents he cites that the dedication of the town to Anne was not the result of the popular devotion of the miners as has sometimes been stated. Dörfler-Dierken makes this point in Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992, pp. 49-55. Reiner Michaelis, commenting on the St.-Wolfgangsaltar, made c. 1515 by Hans Hesse, for the church of St. Katharine in the

an ambitious program of acquiring spiritual "franchises" that would have simultaneously fostered Annaberg's renown, enhanced the spiritual well-being of both residents and visiting pilgrims, and substantially fostered the town's material prosperity.

One of Duke George's first actions was to outfit the church with relics of the saint, some begged from his relatives, others acquired from the same Lyon Convent of St. Anne that had supplied the Frankfurt confraternity with its relic.⁸ Other people added further donations to the collection, apparently generously, for a list of relics displayed to worshippers in a procession in 1518 comprised one hundred and twenty entries, some involving more than one item.⁹ Eleven were Anne relics. The Annaberg church's artistic treasures included silver bust reliquary figures of Anne, Mary, Nicholas and Christopher acquired in 1509 and 1510 and worth a great deal of money.¹⁰

Adam Daniel Richter's chronicle, published in 1746, reports that the membership fees for the brotherhood which had been instituted, probably in the early 1500s, at the new parish church of St. Anne went towards the church's building costs:

neighbouring city of Buchholz, describes St. Wolfgang as the Erzgebirg's mining patron. Dasein und Vision: Bürger und Bauern um 1500, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1989, p. 35. The Buchholz altarpiece, which was commissioned by the largely miners' Wolfgangsbruderschaft, does not include St. Anne. It depicts, along with St. Wolfgang, the "Legende von der Auffindung des Erzes durch den Propheten Daniel," in the predella the Veronica image, in the wings, the apocalyptic madonna, St. Peter, St. Katherine and St. Paul. Michaelis states that Katherine was also a local patron in Buchholz. Ibid.

⁸ Richter, *ibid.*, pp. 165-84.

⁹ Richter, *ibid.*, pp. 180-184.

¹⁰ The statues were valued respectively at "86 Marck 8 Loth," "82 Marck 12 Loth," "80 Marck 4 Loth" and "48 M. 12 1/2 Loth." Albinus, Annabergische Annales, pp. 18-19.

Wer sich nun in diese Brüderschafft begeben wollen, hat sich mit Geld darein kauffen muessen, von welchem Gelde dann die Kirche vollends mit gebauet worden.¹¹

In 1517 Duke George secured from Pope Leo X a Jubilee Year indulgence for the brotherhood issuable for twenty-five years. This type of indulgence offered a number of extremely attractive provisions, including virtual permission to commit certain acts normally considered sins. Richter's summary of the provisions of the Latin Bull is worth quoting in full:

Es hatte der Pabst in solcher Bulla, zum Vortheil u. Nutzen des Baues dieser Pfarr=Kirche, insbesondere denen Brüdern dieser Brüderschafft, nebst andern Freyheiten und indulgentien, verstattet, dass die Glieder dieser Brüderschafft einen Beicht=vater, und zwar einen Ordens-Mann, oder weltlichen Priester, selbst erwählen könnten, welcher sie von allen, auch dem grossen Bann, und allen andern Kirchen-Straffen, von wem und warum auch solche auserleget wären, ja auch von dem Laster der Simonie zu befreyen, die Macht haben sollte. Er sollte die Macht haben, sie von allen Sünden, so gross und unzulässig auch dieselben seyn würden, so gar von denenjenigen, von welchen man sich billig zu Rom sollte belehren lassen, und die sich der Pabst alleine vorbehalten hat, nur einmahl in ihrem Leben, hingegen von andern, so ofte als nöthig, nach abgelegten Sünden-Bekänntniss, loszusprechen, ihnen die gehörige Absolution zu geben, und eine heilsame Busse aufzulegen. Doch wurden alle diejenigen Sünden ausgenommen, welche in derjenigen Bulla, die allezeit am Grünen Donnerstage, gewöhnlichermassen, abgelesen wird, enthalten sind. Ebenfals sollte dieser Beichtvater ihnen, doch nur in foro conscientiae, diejenigen Sünden, da man erlaubte Sache auf eine unerlaubte Art und Weise an sich gebracht, vergeben können, so, dass diejenigen, welche auf eine so ungeziemende Art Aemter erhalten, dieselben doch frey und ungehindert verwalten, auch alle durch unerlaubte Mittel überkommene geistliche Lehn behalten, und nach eigenen

¹¹ Richter, p. 64. The church was completed in 1525. The brotherhood had permission to enroll up to 1000 members, man and wife counting as a single individual. It was dedicated to Mary, Anne, Joachim and Joseph, but it was Anne's fame that was paramount. Ibid., p. 66. Though the official documents give a date of May 24, 1517, other sources indicate that the brotherhood was in operation by 1508 if not by 1506 according to Bernhard Wolf, "Aus dem kirchlichen Leben Annabergs in vorreformatorische Zeit," Festschrift zum 25jährigen Bestehen des Vereins für Geschichte von Annaberg und Umgegend, Annaberg, 1910, p. 76.

Gefallen gebrauchen möchten, jedoch, dass sie etwas gewisses, nach Gutbefinden ihrer Beichtväter, zu dem Bau besagter Pfarr=Kirche beytragen solten. Nechst diesem sollte er auch alle Gelübden und weit entfernte Wallfahrten, ausgenommen diejenige, welche nach Rom oder Compostell geschehen, wie auch die Gelübde der Keuschheit, in andere gute Wercke verwandeln können, doch so, dass diese Verwandlung ebenfals zum Behuf erwehnten Baues eingerichtet werde. Überhaupt sollte er Macht haben, diejenigen=welche ihre Sünde herzlich bereueten, und ihre Beichte mit dem Munde ablegten, einmahl in ihrem Leben, und das andere mahl in ihrer letzten Todes=Stunde, von allen Sünden frey und los zu sprechen. Es sollte auch einem solchen Beichtvater erlaubt seyn, zu verabscheiden, dass einer die auf unrechte Weise entwendete, streitige, oder durch übeln Gebrauch verschlimmerte Sachen, wieder zu erstatten, nicht gehalten sey, und denselben davon zu absolviren. Auch galte dieses, wenn entweder ein Wucherer von einem andern etwas entlehnet, und da er deswegen zur Wiedererstattung aufgefordert würde, es aber doch nicht wieder erstatten wolte; oder da einer gewisse Güter bey sich hätte, und entweder ganz und gar nicht, oder doch nicht gewiss, wüste, wem sie gehörten, dass er also alles, was er entweder auf unerlaubte oder andere Art an sich gebracht, auch dasjenige nicht ausgeschlossen, was denen Armen, oder zum Behuf geistlicher Oerter gehöret, nicht wieder ersetzen durffte. Nur das etwas zum Bau, oder andern Nothwendigkeiten, offtgemeldeter Pfarr=Kirche uff St. Annaberg, gegeben werde. Auch sollte diesem Beichtvater vergönnet seyn, diejenigen, welche im dritten oder vierdten Grad der Blutfreundschaft oder Schwägerschaft wissendlich oder unwissendlich sich verbunden, auch solch Bündniss durch die fleischliche Vermischung vollzogen, woferne es nicht Rechts=anhängig geworden, oder zu einem öffentlichen Aergerniss ausschlagen könnte, von dergleichen Ausschweissungen, und dem Kirchen=Bann, under Auflegung einer gebührenden Geld=Straffe, welches zu oft erwehnten Bau angewendet werden sollte, zu absolviren, und denen also contrahirenden Theilen, da sie sich aufs neue mit einander verehlichen, und in solcher Ehe frey und ungehindert leben können, in foro Conscientiae Erlass zu ertheilen, und die aus solcher Ehe erzeugten Kinder zu legitimiren. Endlich sollte er diesen Brüdern, dieser Brüderschaft, nicht weniger denen andern Innwohnern der Stadt, und die von andern Orten mit ihren Vermögen sich hieher begeben würden, auch andern, welche mit ihnen über Tische essen, in der Fasten, und anderer Zeit und Tage, in welchen Fleisch, Eyer, Butter, Käse und ander Milchzeug, entweder von rechtswegen, oder vermöge hergebrachter Gewohnheit und auf andere Art, verbothen sind, verstatten, dergleichen Speise, auch, nach Gutbefinden, so gar Fleisch zu essen.¹²

¹² Richter, pp. 64-66. The Latin bull is given pp. 70-77, the confraternity form [Brief] which also describes the indulgence, pp. 66-69. The indulgence (Arch. Vatic. reg. Vatic. 1204. fol. 239) is also printed in Aloys Schulte, Die Fugger in Rom 1495-1523, vol. I, Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1904, part 2, pp. 170-177. Schulte states that

An additional fee was required to obtain the post-mortem benefits of confraternity membership. Richter paraphrases the "Warnung der Mitbruder" to this effect printed with the membership letter:

Wenn also, eines aus der Brüderschafft gestorben, hat man den Brief, dadurch man in die Brüderschafft war genommen worden, uff St. Annaberg überantworten, und darneben, nach seinem Vermögen, ein Allmosen schicken muessen, dass der Verstorbene in das Mortirologium Fraternitatis eingeschrieben wurde.¹³

Whether post-mortem indulgences applicable to the already dead were available in Annaberg is a moot question. Referring to the indulgences secured for Annaberg, Aloys Schulte states: "Ich will nur erwähnen dass Tetzl auch die Zuwendung an Verstorbene beantragt hat, die genehmigt wurde."¹⁴ However none of the contemporary or near-

the indulgence in Richter is "voll von Fehlern." Ibid., p. 170. This type of indulgence was not unique to Annaberg. The indulgence for the building of the Dominican Church in Augsburg, dated Feb. 25, 1514, is of a similar type. Schulte, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 71-86.

¹³ Richter, *ibid.*, p. 69-70. The Augsburg confraternity membership form does not contain a similar proviso. One has the impression that the post-mortem benefits automatically went into effect when the member died.

¹⁴ Schulte refers to a papal bull of May 24, 1517. Aloys Schulte, Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte 12, 534-562, 1904, pp. 76-78. According to Jonathan Sumption the belief that indulgences could be applied to the dead existed earlier though "the earliest known example [of a genuine letter of indulgence promising the release of souls from Purgatory] dates only from 1457, when Calixtus III offered the release of a soul to every one who contributed two hundred maravedis to the crusade against the Moors. Shortly afterwards, the same pope issued indulgences for the dead to the cathedral of Tarragona and the Franciscan order. In 1476 Sixtus IV granted an important indulgence to Saintes cathedral, which recited that: "...parents, friends, or any others may secure the release of souls from the fires of Purgatory by donating a sum, to be assessed by the canons, for the repair of Saintes cathedral." Jonathan Sumption, Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion, London: Faber & Faber, 1975, p. 298. J.E. Weis-Liebersdorf states that although originally for the diocese of Saintes, the indulgence was preached in all of France and neighbouring lands by Raymund Peraudi, Domdekan of Saintes, and papal commissioner of indulgences: "Obwohl schon die Gottesgelehrten des 13. Jahrhunderts davon reden, dass die Kirche den Verstorbenen Ablässe zuwenden könne, hatten die Päpste dies bisher nur höchst selten getan. Der erste nachgewiesene päpstliche Erlass dieser Art stammt aus dem

contemporary material from Annaberg mentions this type of indulgence, nor is there mention of it in the lives connected with Saint Anne confraternities elsewhere.¹⁵

Jahre 1457." J.E. Weis-Liebersdorf, Das Jubeljahr 1500 in der Augsburger Kunst, Munich: Allgemeine Verlagsgesellschaft M.G.H., 1901, p. 227. Georg Schwaiger makes the following statement: "Päpstliche Ablassbewilligungen zugunsten der Verstorbenen begegnen erst seit der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Dem Ablass für die Verstorbenen wurde eine Wirkung "per modum suffragii" (nach Art einer Fürbitte) zugeschrieben. Aber nicht wenige spätmittelalterliche Theologen und vor allem die bestellten Ablassprediger verkündeten auch diesen Ablass als unbedingt wirksam. Diese Lehre wurde sogar vorherrschend Reumütige Beichte und Empfang der heiligen Eucharistie wurden zwar als Voraussetzungen gefordert, damit man der "grossen Gnad" des Ablasses für sich und für die Verstorbenen teilhaftig werde. Aber im frühen 16. Jahrhundert wurde von einzelnen Ablasspredigern auch kundgetan, dass für die Zuwendung an die Armen Seelen im Fegfeuer das Geld allein genüge; der Geldspender müsse nicht im Stand der Gnade sein." Georg Schwaiger, "Der Ablass im Mittelalter," Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen, Munich & Zürich: Schnell & Steiner, 1984, p. 342.

¹⁵ The Rosary confraternity appears to have had privileges of this type: rosary confraternity documents, though they do not speak explicitly of applying indulgences to the dead, do offer membership to the dead. See Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La confrérie du rosaire de Colmar (1485): textes de fondation, "exempla" en allemand d'Alain de la Roche, listes des precheurs et des soeurs dominicaines, Archivum fratrum praedicatorum 40 (1970), pp. 104, 108. A 1475 text by Sprenger states: "Auch ist es also geordnet, ob ein bruder oder schwester beten wölten, dises gebet der drey rosen krentz für ein sel, die yetzt gescheyden ist auss der zeit. ist dieselbig sel begriffen in dem fegfewr, so wird sy auch teylhaftig des gebetes aller brüder und schwestern der gantzen bruderschaft." (Munich, BSB) in Jakob H. Schütz, ed. Die Geschichte des Rosenkranzes, Paderborn: Jungfermann, 1909, pp. 27-28. At least one Rosary confraternity hymn implies that the rosary could release a soul from Purgatory: "Wan du dry krentz mit truwen / sprichst einer sel zuo trost / Die im fegfür thuot ruwen, / wirt so vil e erlost." Hymn No. 1061 "Von Mariae Rosenkrantz," in Philipp Wackernagel, ed. Die deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des 17 Jahrhunderts, 1864-77, Hildesheim, 1964, vol. 2, p. 853. There are no such statements in the Anne texts I have consulted. Dörfler-Dierken reports a case of the dead being forcibly enrolled as members of an Anne brotherhood, though less for their benefit as for the financial benefit of the confraternity members. In 1503 the Koblenz brotherhood of notaries and other diocesan officials was given the right to enroll as members those deceased persons whose wills they handled, presumably charging the appropriate fees. Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, p. 117.

With all these sources of income it is not surprising that the confraternity rather quickly became wealthy, so wealthy that in 1534 it was able to lend a large sum to the town administration:

Aus denen Umständen und der Absicht ist zu ersehen, dass diese Brüderschafft vielleicht ein vieles eingetragen. Diese Brüderschafft war hernach, nach Erbauung der Kirchen, so reich worden, dass sie offte vieles Geld auf Intressen ausleihen kunte, wie denn Melchior Irmisch, Vorsteher der St. Annen Brüderschafft, dem Rathe allhier, aus der Casse dieser Brüderschafft, 1600. Fl. Rheinisch, um 80. Fl. Rheinisch jährlichen Zinss, geliehen, Freytags nach Philippi und Jacobi, anno 1534.¹⁶

The chronicler Petrus Albinus, who wrote in the late 1500s, relates an anecdote that suggests the citizens of Annaberg were well aware of their patron saint's exalted financial status:

Wolff Gerstenberger war Kirchvater. Margaretha, Matz Hanffstengels weib, die macht das westerhembt dieser Glocken. Valtin Hanffstengel bracht es dem Kirchvater, der fraget, was man seiner mutter geben soll zu machen. Hanffstengel andwortet, sein mutter wolt es hierzu schenken; "nein," spricht Gerstenberg, "Lieber Sohn, die Mutter S. Anna ist viel reicher denn dein Mutter" und schencket Valten Hanffstengel ein Schreckenberger zum Drinckgeldt.¹⁷

The income-generating privileges that created the confraternity's wealth themselves involved costs, as Aloys Schulte points out in his study of the Fugger's role in the indulgence business:

Der Prälat beanspruchte für die Privilegierung der Brüderschaft 500 Dukaten und ebensoviel für den Jubelablass. Die Summe stieg aber mit den weiteren

¹⁶ Richter, *ibid.*, p. 69-70. Wolf states that the documents in the town archives reveal that the Brotherhood lent a total of 6000 Guilders to the City and the Duke. Wolf, "Aus dem kirchlichen Leben Annabergs," p. 84.

¹⁷ Albinus, *Annabergische Annales*, p. 19.

Forderungen des Herzogs und mit der Zeit.....Schliesslich gab sich der Datar mit 1600 Dukaten zufrieden.¹⁸

And half the indulgence proceeds - or a set sum of 1000 ducats - was to go to the building of St. Peters, though according to Schulte, it may be that only a third actually went for this purpose. Collection and administration were handled by the Augsburg merchant banking firm of Jakob Fugger.¹⁹

In addition to the indulgence for brotherhood members, an indulgence for visitors to the twice-yearly Annenmarkt was also obtained, as well as permission from the Curia for Annabergers to do business with the heretical Hussite Bohemians.²⁰ A further permission was gotten so that residents of the city might work on holy days in cases of special need.²¹ As well, Duke George tried to have the availability of other indulgences in ducal Saxony limited so that the donations of the faithful would go to the local brotherhoods.²² The measures taken to keep money from leaving the region also included

¹⁸ Aloys Schulte, Die Fugger in Rom 1495-1523, vol. 1, Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1904, p. 78. Half the indulgence proceeds - or a set sum of 1000 ducats - were to go to the building of St. Peters, though according to Schulte, it may be that only a third went for this purpose. The collecting and administering was done by the Fugger firm. Ibid. A papal receipt issued to Jakob Fugger for indulgence funds from Annaberg is published by Schulte, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 201-202.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

²⁰ Wolf, "Aus dem kirchlichen Leben Annabergs," pp. 68-72.

²¹ Albinus, Annabergische Annales, pp. 69-70.

²² Aloys Schulte, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 143. The Nürnberg authorities wrote to Jakob Fugger March 12, 1515, requesting that the indulgence for the Augsburg Dominicans not be preached in their city. Schulte, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 134-135.

a law forbidding the collecting of money for non-local religious foundations within twenty-five kilometers of the town, the Antonite order being the only exception.²³

The spiritual attractions of Annaberg were further enhanced when in 1519 Duke George acquired some earth from the Campo Santo in Rome for the cemetery at the Church of the Trinity in Annaberg, with an accompanying indulgence. Once again it was the Fuggers who handled the arrangements and who delivered the third of the revenue that was destined for the Papacy. It is possible that the Fuggers were also implicated in the selection of Adolf Daucher who had carved the altarpiece for their family chapel in the Carmelite Church in Augsburg, as sculptor for the marble high altar in the Annaberg church.²⁴

These attractions were instrumental in making Annaberg the popular pilgrimage destination that it was. As for miracles produced by the relics, evidence is vague and slender at best. A contemporary poem, "Carmen von der Stadt Annaberg Erbauung," by a Meistersinger, Johann Schneider, states that miracles took place, but refers only in brief and general terms to them, paying far more attention to the church building, relics,

²³ Richter, Chronica, p. 78.

²⁴ Richter names Daucher as the sculptor: "Es ist aber dieser Altar zu Augspurg, von einem Bürger daselbsten, Meister Adolphen, verfertigt, auf Wägen Stuckweise hieher geführt, und in dieser Kirche anno 1522, Mittwochs nach Invocavit, (und brachte man bis Laetare damit zu) von dem Verfertiger, Meister Adolphen, selbst artig zusammen, und in freyen Stande, aufgesetzt worden." Ibid., p. 103. Daucher was probably also involved in the carving of the choir stall figures in the Augsburg church, now in Berlin. One of these figures, which appear to be participant donor portraits of members of the Fugger family - the face of Jakob is unmistakable - depicts Saint Anne with the Christ Child.

indulgences, processions and so forth.²⁵ Yet the poem's mention of wax and silver images suggests that ex-votos may have been given in thanks for healing or other favours. On

²⁵ "Seint doch sant anna viel zeichen thet
Das man ein heiltum von yr het

....
Do worden zeichen viel gesehn
An krancken leuten weit erkant

...
Wer gerne wunder sehen wolt
Der hör die redt von herzen gern
Der heyligen frawen sant anna zu ern

....
Nun weyter ich zu redt muss kummen
Von mercklichen zeychen die geschehen
Geschrifflich han yr vil gesehen
Von kinden die seind gewesen tot
Den half sant Ann aus aller not
Krippel an füssen vnd an armen
Des sich sant Anna thut ser erbarmen /
Vil Wechssen vnd vil silbere byld
Das mir zu dichten ist zu wild
Die wechssen bild sieht man stan
In aller gross gleych wie di man
Von silberen bilden solt ich sagen
Die man in processen thut vmbtragen
Brustbilder sant michel schwer
Das kumt als von sant anna her
Wer sie heimsucht mit milder hand
Dem thut sie gnad vnd hülff bekant
Durch sie wirt disse stat gemert (K?)

....
Ich will sant anna lob vnd breyss
Hinbringen vor die fürsten weyss
Vnd allen menschen küntlich machen
Von heyltum vnd von anderen sachen
Vnd von den zeichen die geschehen
Die ich so mercklich han gesehen
Das wahrhafft ist mit sollem rat
Als Hans Schneyder gesprochen hat."

Richter dates the song c. 1510. Ibid., pp. 27-30.

the other hand the statement is clouded by the fact that the poet goes on to conflate the silver images with silver reliquaries. Further, the chronicles of Richter and Albinus make no reference to specific miracles. Nor is there mention of a miracle book in the contemporary documents reproduced in their works.

Saint Anne as a fund raiser: The example of Augsburg

As a newly founded town with a short history, Annaberg provides an unusually clear case for analysis. The cult of Saint Anne in the Imperial Swabian city of Augsburg presents a more complicated picture, for this was an old city well on its way to transformation into one of the most important centres of late medieval capitalism. Yet when one looks at the institution and development of the cult of Saint Anne in Augsburg, it seems that here too economic factors played an important role.

The Augsburg Carmelites, seeing the success of Saint Anne's cult in the convents of their brother monastics in the Rheinland, may have adopted it for themselves in order to attract clientele and income in a situation of increasing financial difficulty.²⁶ However the results were not the same. The pattern of development that marked the cult in the

²⁶ Eberhard Schott published a large portion and summarized other parts of archival material on the Augsburg Carmelites in a series of articles under the title "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Carmeliterklosters und der Kirche zu St. Anna in Augsburg," in the Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg between 1878 and 1882: 5 -1878, 6-1879, 7- 1880, 9-1882. The books included are the account book of Matthias Fabri who was prior from 1479 to 1497; a Salbuch containing records drawn up by Fabri of the rural property belonging to or owing rents to the convent; a Copialbuch containing copies of documents and letters pertaining to the convent's property and income dating back to 1285; a second Copialbuch containing copies of papal and other documents relating to indulgences, privileges etc. and endowment and bequest documents going up to 1525; other sources. These documents are in the Stadtarchiv in Augsburg.

Rheinland was not reproduced in Augsburg. Issues and concerns in the two regions no doubt were different. And it may be too that even as the cult was being set in place in Augsburg, piety here was changing, and older concepts of the nature of spiritual power were in the process of giving way to newer ideas.

The profile of the cult of Saint Anne in Augsburg seems consistent with the broader patterns of the city's social and economic life proposed in Rolf Kiessling's Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter (1971) which describes three centuries of struggle as middle class lay elements gradually wrested control of the city from noble clerical elements. The citizens sought on the one hand to eliminate the clergy's exemption from the duties of citizenship, from taxes, and from trial in civic courts. On the other, they acquired increasing financial control in the churches, though they were comparatively late in establishing the right to appoint pastors, due to the extent to which Augsburg's parishes were controlled by the religious orders and foundations.²⁷

²⁷ In the late 1400s in response to these incursions, Augsburg's bishop moved the episcopal seat to Dillingen outside the city. Within the city the Cathedral Chapter increasingly distanced itself from the merchant classes, whereas some other churches allied themselves with the citizens, among them the mendicants, St. Moritz, to some extent the old Benedictine church of St. Ulrich and Afra, and the Carmelites at whose church it was that the Anne cult was introduced into Augsburg. Rolf Kiessling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter, Augsburg, 1971, pp. 108 ff; Kiessling, "Bürgertum und Kirche im Spätmittelalter," in Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart, ed. G. Gottlieb et al, Stuttgart: Theiss Verlag, 1984, pp. 210-212. Kiessling gives the population of Augsburg in the second half of the 15th century as c. 18,000. Ibid., p. 208.

Like most places in Germany apart from the Rheinland, Augsburg shows no evidence of having paid special attention to Anne before the late 1400s.²⁸ The first evidence of a cult dedicated to her appears on Nov. 15, 1485, when a rededication of the church at the Carmelite Convent is recorded "in honore marie virginis et Anne matris Marie."²⁹ It seems that prior to this the church was not dedicated to Anne.³⁰ The first

²⁸ Surviving art works do not predate the last few decades of the century. Early references to Anne are sparse, though there are mentions of altars in the Carmelite Church in 1414, and in St. Ulrich and Afra in 1346. "Ain ewig messe in unser kirchen vff sant Annen vnd der hailgen drey künig altar" was endowed in the Carmelite Church in 1414...Leonhart, Hans und Georg Albershofer stiften eine tägliche Messe um 6 fl. und ein Messgewand." Matthias Fabri, Copialbuch II, 40, Augsburg Stadtarchiv No. 21.-20. August 1414, published/paraphrased in Schott, Beiträge, 5, p. 322. See also Wilhelm Schiller, Die St. Annakirche in Augsburg, Augsburg: Evang. Luth. Pfarramt St. Anna and J.A. Schlosser'schen Buchhandlung, Augsburg, 1939, p. 20.

²⁹ "Noueritis quod alias in pontificalibus existentes in monasterio fratrum carmelitarum in augusta, chorum, ecclesiam, sacristiam, capellam hirm, cum omnibus altaribus eorundem, totum ambitum et cimiterium reconciliauimus Anno milesimo quadrigentesimo octuagesimo quinto die quintodecimo mensis Nouembris Cupientes vt ecclesia ibidem in honorem Marie virginis et Anne matris marie dedicata congruis frequenter honoribus, fidelesque ipsi eo libencius causa deuocionis confluant ad eandem, quo ibidem dono celestis gracie vberius conspexerint se reffectos, a christi quoque fidelibus iugiter veneretur, De omnipotentis dei misericordia et beatorum petri et pauli apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus fidelibus, vere penitentibus et confessis, qui dictam ecclesiam in natiuitatis domini, Circumcisionis, Epyphanye, In cena domini, Paraceseues Pasce, Ascensionis, Rogacionum, Penthecostes, Trinitatis, Corporis christi et in omnibus festis beate marie virginis In festis omnium apostolorum et patronum ecclesie et altarium, et in festis omnium sanctorum et in commemoratione animarum et dedicacionis festiuitatibus deuote visitauerint, et omnibus, qui ad reparaciones et conseruaciones edificij, calicum aut alienorum ornamentorum pro diuino cultu inibi necessariorum, quociuscunque manus porrexerint adiutrices, pro qualibet die festiuitatis et celebritatis huiusmodi iuxta morem ecclesie quadraginta dies de iniunctis eis penitentijs misericorditer in domino relaxamus, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturis et valituris, In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium premissorum presentes literas exinde fieri, nostrique sigilli iussimus et fecimus appensione communiri." Fabri, Copialbuch, 2, 14, in Johannes Wilhelm, Augsburger Wandmalerei 1368-1530, Augsburg: Verlag H. Muhlberger, 1983, Beilage 4, pp. 226-27. And see Schott Beiträge, 5, p. 283.

references to images depicting Anne occur in the 1490s. In 1490 the brothers acquired "ein schweres silbernes Bild" representing her valued at 178 florins and a small silver image valued at six florins.³¹ In 1494 they replaced the Annunciation on the convent seal with an Anna Selbdritt.³² In the same year they founded an Anne brotherhood while sometime after 1494 one of their number wrote a life to promote the brotherhood.³³

The brotherhood evidently owned a painted Holy Kinship for its altar, for the life instructs members to pray in front of it: "Also hastu in der gemalten figure das gantz

³⁰ I know of no references to the church as the Annenkirche before 1485. It is typically referred to as "vnser lieben Frauen Brüder Kirche, or "vnser lieben Frauen Bruder Closter." The 1433 document ratifying changes in the Conrad and Afra Hirn Endowment makes mention of the church as follows: "...des obgenannten Closters Got den allmächtigen unser lieben frauen, der wirdigen muter Marie und allem Hymelischen Heer ze lob ze eren..." Augsburg Stadtarchiv US Urkunde of 25. VI.1433, pub. in Johannes Wilhelm, *ibid.*, Beilage 3, pp. 225. Schiller believes the name may have been new: "Ob die Kirche von Anfang an den Namen "St. Annakirchē führte, ist fraglich. Geweiht war sie "in honore Marie virginis et Anne matris Marie." The document of Nov. 15, 1485 speaks of a "Reconciliacion der Kirche, die aus unbekannten Gründen nötig geworden war." Schiller, Die St. Annakirche in Augsburg, p. 20.

³¹ Schiller, *ibid.*, p. 21.

³² Account Books [Rechnungsbücher], Hauptbuch 3, July 22, 1492 to 1511, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, cited in Schott, Beiträge, 9, p. 247.

³³ Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin von dem ganzen geschlecht sant Anna vnd von sant Anna lobliche brüderschafft. Vnnd von etlichen grossen wunderzaichen sant Anna. Augsburg, after 1494. This work is based on the Rheinland lives, but is sufficiently different in its structure and content that it cannot be called a translation or adaptation.

geschlecht sant Anna und irer schwester esmeria."³⁴ The life also mentions a relic of the saint which was carried in the brotherhood's processions, but no details are given.³⁵

An organ codex dated 1511 belonging to the church includes notes which provide some information on the brotherhood's liturgical activities, which took place for the most part on Anne's special day, Tuesday. On the days when the brothers communicated, the Offertory and the last Agnus Dei were to be played more slowly as extra time was needed

³⁴ The Augsburg Confraternity Holy Kinship included Elizabeth and John the Baptist, Eliud, Maternus, Emiu, Memelia and Servatius. Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin, part 2, p. A ii. It is tempting to consider the Bernhard Strigel Holy Kinship panels now in Berlin and Washington as possible candidates. John Oliver Hand states that "...almost all authors have agreed that the panels date from Strigel's last period, c. 1520-1528." However, the fact that the features of Cleophas resemble those of the Emperor Frederick III, who died in 1493, rather than Maximilian, raises the possibility of an earlier date. It is interesting that, according to Hand, Gertrud Otto felt "that in their elongated figures, suppressed space, and gold backgrounds [these works] are more Gothic than some of Strigel's earlier works." John Oliver Hand, German Paintings of the Fifteenth through Seventeenth Centuries, Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1992, p. 178. The works in question are Mary Cleophas and Her Family, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Washington, National Gallery of Art (1961.9.88, 1640); Mary Salome and Her Family (1961.9.88, 1641); Eliud before Mary and the Christ Child, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. Leo Söhner mentions a notation of 1521 in the Convent's account book which may mean that the altarpiece had its own indulgence: "a tabula indulgentiarum pro fraternitate St. Annae," Rechnungsbüchern des Karmeliterklosters (Stadtarchiv Augsburg), cited in P. Leo Söhner, Die Geschichte der Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals in Deutschland, Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser Verlag, 1931, p. 8. Söhner states that from 1513 on money "pro trunco St. Annae" is mentioned several times. Ibid., p. 8.

³⁵ Ibid., part 2, a iii. Leo Söhner mentions a reference in the Convent's account book in 1521 to a "tabula indulgentiarum pro fraternitate St. Annae," probably a board with indulgences connected with the brotherhood listed on it. Söhner states that there are references from 1513 on to money deposited "pro trunco St. Annae," that is in a box placed to receive alms for the confraternity. Rechnungsbüchern des Karmeliterklosters (Stadtarchiv Augsburg), cited in P. Leo Söhner, Die Geschichte der Begleitung, p. 8.

while the members were receiving communion.³⁶ On the Tuesday after Pentecost the office was to be sung for the confraternity's procession with the sacrament;³⁷ the mass Gaudeamus is stipulated for the feast of the Holy Innocents;³⁸ the office of Saint Anne is to be sung on the Tuesday after Quinquagesima Sunday;³⁹ the Gaudeamus mass is to be sung on the Tuesday after Easter.⁴⁰

The differences between the Augsburg cult and its Rheinland counterparts are striking. The Carmelite who rewrote one of the Rheinland lives for the Augsburg brotherhood shows little interest in the tendentious subtexts and devotional intensity that characterize the texts by Trithemius, Dorlandus and the anonymous Franciscan author. He recites the details of Anne's marriages and miracles in a perfunctory manner, sometimes abridging them so stringently that the point is lost. He shows no concern to

³⁶ "dies communicantes fratrum"... "an disen tagen sol man das offerent vnd das lest agnus desto lenger schlagen di weil di bruder zum Sacrament gend." cited by Leo Söhner as Cod. Ms.2o 153 Univ. Munich. Söhner, *ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁷ "fer 3ia [feria tertia, Anne's Tuesday feast] post Pentecostes (Pfingstdienstag): "cantatur officium de sta Anna propter fraternitatem et fit processio cum sacramento" *ibid.*, cited, p. 7.

³⁸ "Item an kyndlenstag (Unschuldige Kinder) singt man von der sacrament vnd Bruderschafft wegen von sand Anna das ambt Gaudeamus." *Ibid.*, p. 8. This is presumably the mass from the office Historia nova de sancta anna pulcra deuota et autentica (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1479), the earliest extant liturgy connected with Anne which begins: "'Officium misse de sancta Anna.' Gaudeamus omnes in domino die festum celebrantes in honore sancte Anne matris dei genitricis marie..." *Ibid.* p. 10 r. This work is entitled Officia Parentelae Christi in the Inkunabelkatalog of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preuss. Kulturbesitz.

³⁹ "Item fer 3ia post Esto mihi (Dienstag nach Quinquagesima) officium cantatur de sancta Anna solemniter." *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁰ "fer 3ia post Pascha (Osterdienstag) cantatur missa de sancta Anna propter fraternitatem scil. Gaudeamus." *Ibid.*, p. 8.

defend the legitimacy of Anne's feast or to inquire into the nature of her marital relations. The "no fleshly lust" motif does not even appear in his book.⁴¹

As well, the fervent attraction to the miraculous powers of relics that marks the Rheinland seems muted in Augsburg. In contrast to the precise lists of contemporary miracles claimed for the Anne relics in Cologne, Limburg and Düren, the claims for the miracles performed by Anne in Augsburg are modest in the extreme. The Kloster-Annalen of 1494, explaining why the brotherhood was instituted, says no more than that Anne had performed miracles in the church: "Wie schon früher, so hatte sich damals die heilige Anna durch ungewöhnlich grosse Zeichen und Wunder im Chor des Konvents hervorgetan."⁴² The vagueness of the statement puts us on guard. If the miracles had a claim to credibility in the eyes of contemporaries, one would expect them to be described. Yet the Augsburg life gives more details about the wonders at Düren than about those in its own church.⁴³ Nor do the Carmelites seem to have made much of their Anne relic. They do not even mention it in the brief reference made to miracles in the convent

⁴¹ The story of the nun (Saint Colette) who declined to pray to Anne because of her three marriages is told without mentioning the reason for her disinclination. Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin, p. 171. Less interest is shown in presenting Anne as a model for female behaviour.

⁴² Kloster-Annalen, 1494, cited in Die Lutherstiege in Augsburg-St. Anna, Augsburg: FDL-Verlag, 1984, p. 20. See Schiller p. 20.

⁴³ "...und do [at Duren] geschehent yetz grosse und unerhoertliche wunderzaichen als die todten werdent lebendig. und die blinden werden geschent. und die besessnen menschen mit den teüflen werden von den teüflen ledig. und die gezaubreyeten menschen werden gesund." Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin, p. 164. The sole event presented as a local wonder is a story of a person who honoured Anne, fell into sin, then was led, with Anne's help, to repentance after a dream or vision of hideous decapitated heads. The credibility of this grim tale is somewhat weakened by the fact that it is preceded, two pages earlier, by another story which is virtually identical except for its setting. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

documents. The cult of Saint Anne in some respects parallels that of Augsburg's founding saints, Afra, Ulrich and Simprecht; despite assiduous clerical promotion in the second half of the fifteenth century, the revived tomb cults of these saints do not seem to have become major transregional pilgrimage sites.⁴⁴

Miracles in fact probably played a lesser role in the founding of the Saint Anne brotherhood than the other reason stated in the convent annals - the raising of money for building purposes.⁴⁵ Between 1487 and 1497 the brothers were involved in a rebuilding

⁴⁴ The tomb of Simprecht, Bishop of Augsburg (d. 807) at St. Ulrich and Afra, a pilgrimage site since the twelfth century, was the object of intensive promotion from 1450 on. In that year Peter von Schaumberg acquired papal permission for a cult limited to the church where Simprecht's grave was located. A translation ceremony in 1492 was attended by Maximilian, Dukes Christoph and Wolfgang of Bavaria and other notables. Peter Rummel, Hl. Simpert Bischof von Augsburg, Augsburg: Kath. Stadtpfarramt St. Ulrich und Afra, nd. The monastery published a miracle book for its three tomb saints, Ulrich, Afra and Simprecht, Das leben verdienen und wunderwerck der hailigen Auspurger Bistumbs bischoffen sant Ulrichs vnd Symprechts auch der sáligen martirerin sant Aphre irer mütter Hilaria geschlecht vnd gesellschaft in unserm daselbst loblichen gotshaus rastend, Augsburg, 1516. Several other books had preceded it. See Steven D. Sargent, "Miracle Books and Pilgrimage Shrines." Historical Reflections, 13, 2 & 3, 1986, pp. 457-471. The Hohenwart Convent Chronicle of 1489 describes a similar "recovery" in 1485 of a treasure trove of relics at that Bavarian convent that included, besides the body of Richildis and half the body of Juliana (a companion of Ursula), particles of the following: the sponge used at the Crucifixion, earth from the spot where Christ stood at the Ascension, earth from Calvary, earth from the sepulchre site, cloth from Jesus' clothing, the bed where Mary lay with baby Jesus, Mary's shoes, clothing made or worn by Mary, the burning bush, the manna, the hair with which Mary Magdalen wiped Christ's feet, as well as numerous saints' bones. Historia Hohenwart, pub. in Wilhelm Liebhart, "Historia Hohenwart: Eine Chronik von 1489 zur Gründung und Wallfahrtsgeschichte des Benediktinerinnenklosters aus dem Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I," Neuburger Kollektaneenblatt, 132 (1979) p. 297.

⁴⁵ Schiller, Die St. Annakirche in Augsburg, p. 21. Indulgences were frequently offered to raise money for building. The chronicle of the Augsburg patrician Wilhelm Rem criticizes the indulgence given for the rebuilding of another Augsburg church, that of the Dominicans (c. 1515), on the grounds that the new church was unnecessary, and that only a small part of the money raised remained in Augsburg: "Anno domini. 1515 in der

program.⁴⁶ And despite the generous endowments they received for post-mortem masses and other purposes from the upper strata of the city, the Augsburg Carmelites were not a rich convent.⁴⁷ Amelioration of this situation was clearly in the mind of the author of the Augsburg life when he pressed his readers to gain the indulgence granted to those who joined the brotherhood "zu lob got. vnd marie der iunckfrawen. vnd der hailigen frawen sant anna in welcher ere der kor des obgemelten closters geweiht ist," who confess their sins, and who give alms, land, liturgical vessels, art works and other gifts to the brotherhood:

fasten da bracht ain doctor, ain prediger-minch hi zuo den Predigern, ain romische gnad her von Rom, das man die leut möcht absolvieren von pein und schuld. Der münch hett dem bapst furgehalten 4 artickel: der erst, wie die alt kirch wer so gar eng, dass man nicht woll mess kind lesen, und wie das kloster pausellig wer, und wie die kirch hett wellen umbfallen, und wie im etlich burger hie hetten zuo steur an den pau geben 5 M dugatten. Die obgeschriben gnad ist vor ainem jar auch hie gewesen und in fil andren stetten mer. Es ward dem doctor hie zu dem pau von den burgern und kauffleuten fil geltz geben, wol 5 M fl; da er die gnad zuowegen bracht, da was die neu kirchen schon gar under das tach gebracht, dass es on nott was, ain gnad darumb zu haben, aber der bapst nam auch fil geltz darvon. Und die alt kirch was stercker und besser dan die neu, sie wer nicht umbgefallen, es was wol halb bieberei; sie was wol nit fast weitt, sie wer aber weitt gnuog gewesen....Es was fil gelt in die gnad komen, doch kam etwas klains mer dan 1800 fl zuo dem pau, das ibrig kam an ander ort; dan was in die gnad gefiel, da muost man dem haupt den halben tail zalen und ain fiertail dem kaiser geben und ain fiertail belib den minchen von Predigern." "Cronica newer geschichten' von Wilhelm Rem," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert. Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg, 5, ed. Karl von Hegel & Friedrich Roth, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1866, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁶ Schiller, Die St. Annakirche, pp. 17-18. A fire in 1460 had destroyed much of the church. Schott, Beiträge, 5, p. 261.

⁴⁷ Schiller, *ibid.*, p. 49. See Kiessling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft, pp. 265-266 and *passim*.

...land schreiben in die Brüderschafft. vnd den obgemelten closter ir hilf oder stair gebent. oder kelch. messgwand. alter tiecher hand zwechlen oder an im letsten zeiten etwas dem closter schaffent. ir liechter...⁴⁸

Eberhart Schott's study of the convent's documents leads him to conclude that the brothers' finances underwent gradual improvement from the very unstable situation of the early 1400s to one of considerable prosperity in the years just preceding the Reformation,

⁴⁸ Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin, part 2, p. A ii. Such encouragement was widespread. An early 16th c. book on the pains of hell devotes a section to the blessings received by people who give alms to build or decorate churches - "Von den die do kirchen bauwent beschirment. vnd darzu steur vnd hilff geben." Das büchlin saget von den peinen so do bereit seint allen denen die do sterben in tod sünden, Strassburg, 1509. For a description of the process whereby the concept of almsgiving was extended to include giving money for the building and decorating of churches, see Conrad Rudolph, The Things of Greater Importance: Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art, Phil.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990. As was the case with the Annaberg records, the Augsburg documents too make no mention of indulgences for the dead. The membership form speaks only about members. It promises salvational help through prayers etc. said by the Carmelite brothers for the members, their wives and children, who automatically become members, while they are alive and it promises salvational help for them after they have died through masses said by the brothers. But there is no mention of applying indulgence (or other) merits to people who are already dead. Aufnahmeformular der St. Annenbruderschaft, Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1494. (Augsburg Stadt-und-Staatsbibliothek). The Augsburg confraternity life of Anne states with respect to indulgences: "Von der lobliche bruederschafft sant Anna. zu augspurg in unser lieben frawe bruder closter... [Many holy popes, cardinals]... und "vii bishops zu augspurg habent bestat die bruederschafft und gross ablass geben allen die in die bruederschafft kument. namlich vi papst mit namen adrianus der II stephanus der v. sergius der iii. johannes der x. johannes der xi; und innocentius der iiiii habent geben allen menschen die rew ueber ir sünd hand und gebeicht habent die sich land schreiben in die bruderschaft und de obgemelten closter ir hilf oder stair gebent. oder kelch. messgwand. alter tiecher hand zwechlen oder an im lesten zeiten etwas dem closter schaffent. ir liechter auf den vi babsten last den selben menschen nach den dritt tail ablass aller seiner sünd. das ist ir yetlicher last nach den dritten tail der pein die der selbig mensch leyden solt um sein sund. todlich und laesslich. Und v cardinal und ain legat gebent allen obgemelten menschen ain yetlicher c tag..."

falling drastically sometime in the early 1500s.⁴⁹ The founding of the brotherhood can be seen as part of the intensification and diversification of the religious services that the brothers provided to the laity and that formed the basis of their livelihood in the late medieval period. During the 1200s and 1300s the Carmelites had subsisted mainly on the following: oblations given at mass; alms received for saying masses for the living and dead, for hearing confessions, and for preaching in the Convent church and on alms-gathering trips in outlying districts; funds received for the privilege of burial within the Convent walls or inside the church. As the fifteenth century progressed this profile changed. The regular mass oblations decreased significantly as a percentage of the annual total, while money (and income-producing endowed property) given to pay for masses and other post-mortem services for individuals or families drawn up according to ever-more precise written agreements, came to account for an increasingly large proportion of the Convent's income.⁵⁰ Enlarging the scope of fund-raising activities was not a simple

⁴⁹ "Wenn wir nun noch die jährlichen Einnahmen des Conventes von 1401-1534 genauer überblicken, so müssen wir dabei berücksichtigen, dass das Kloster nicht auf einer reich dotierten Stiftung beruhte; daher gehörte es auch niemals zu den reicheren in Augsburg. Schon ein Blick auf die einfachen, fast ämtlichen Klostergebäude würde uns auch heutzutage noch diese Ansicht bestätigen....Im Anfange unseres Zeitraumes noch, also im Beginne des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, lebten die Frauenbrüder von St. Anna eigentlich von der Hand in den Mund; denn die Zinsen von Klostergütern, sowie die regelmässigen Einnahmen von gestifteten Messen, Jahrestagen u. dergl. waren sehr unbedeutend. Erst im Laufe der Zeit nahmen die beiden letzteren zu und warfen eine sichere jährliche Rente ab." Schott, Beiträge, 9, pp. 270-271. There were however serious financial problems brought on when Prior Fortis [Johannes Stark] who succeeded Fabri as prior from 1497-1513) overextended the church's financial capacity in its selling of Leibgedingen which was "ausserordentlich schwunghaft betrieben, führte aber schliesslich zu einer Katastrophe" according to Schott, *ibid.*, p. 249.

⁵⁰ Sometimes spelled Leibdinge, Leibgedinge are described in Albert Haemmerle, Die Leibdingbuecher der Freien Reichsstadt Augsburg 1330 - 1500, Munich: typescript,

matter. The rights of the parish churches could not be infringed upon. And all such things as the times of masses, the right to call the faithful by means of a bell, the right to collect money outside the church, etc. were regulated by ecclesiastical authority. Seen in this context - the brother's need to increase the sources and quantity of their income - the value of the Annenbruderschaft becomes clearer.

The reasons for the Carmelite's financial problems are in turn clarified by an examination of the larger pattern of competition among churches within which they occurred. This pattern, which was essentially one of too many churches with too few sources of income, was probably also a factor in other developments such as the successive promotions of saints and relics, sometimes newly discovered and identified with more optimism than evidence, which can be observed in several of Augsburg's churches (and in churches elsewhere) from the mid-fifteenth century on. At the church

1958. Schott gives the income of the convent, in Rhenish florins (also called Rhenish guilders) as follows: 1401 - 190; 1416 - 288; 1448 - 334; 1467 - 324; 1480 - 671; 1496 - 800; 1501 - 936; 1521 - 1386; 1527-29 - 340. (In 1404 the church paid 5 Rhenish florins for an altarpiece. In 1479 a horse cost 4 Rhenish florins. Schott, Beiträge, 9, p. 272. Schott breaks down the components as follows. Oblaciones, the offerings at divine service, dropped as a percentage of the total from almost a third in 1401 to one ninth to one tenth during Matthias Fabri's time as prior (1479 - 1497). Alms, which included income from special offering boxes in front of images and at church doors etc. increased as a percentage of regular income from one eleventh in 1401 to one fifth in 1496. Terminarii, monks who collected for the convent in districts outside Augsburg in the dioceses of Augsburg, Freising and Constance, in 1401 brought in over one-seventh of its income, in 1416 and 1448 about one third, with a further increase later in the century. The most profitable source of income consisted of the houses and properties given in the endowments for masses for departed souls, which increased from "sehr unbedeutend" in 1401 to one eighth of the total income in 1498. The component from vigils, masses and Jahrstage (annual requiem masses) increased significantly, accounting in 1496, at 116 fl, for approximately one seventh of the total, and to 291 florins out of a total of 1386 in 1521. In addition there was extraordinary income from gifts, bequests, money given for burial places or chapels, and membership in the Annenbruderschaft. Schott, *ibid.*, pp. 272-277.

of St. Ulrich and Afra the body of Saint Digna had been discovered in 1454 and reburied with great solemnity, the head being reserved in the sacristy in a silver bust reliquary.⁵¹ Saint Digna's body had been found in an ivory-covered box bearing her name, according to the chronicler Johannes Frank. But there were also lead boxes with other relics, as well as an unidentified body.⁵² The relics of St. Adalbero had been found in 1480, while those of St. Simprecht had been discovered in 1491 and ceremonially reburied in 1492.⁵³

Churches used other attractions to increase attendance too. At the Cathedral the Chapter was showing anxiety over anticipated competition from the foundation of a new brotherhood and the institution of a new procession at the Heilig Kreuz church. Kiessling states:

1483 kam aus dem Kreis der Pfarrleute von Hl. Kreuz der Wunsch 'vff den tag Corporis Christi mitt ettlichen figuren antreffen dass leiden Cristi zuo andacht dess volks dennende In der process vmzegen' und dazu eine Fraternität zu gründen. Das

⁵¹ "Fr. Johannes Franks Augsburger Annalen," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte. Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg, p. 302.

⁵² Ibid., p. 302. Frank relates: "Item da man zalt 1454 auch an dem selben tag [St. Bartholomew's Day], da ward auch ain grab aussgesprochen, das unden in der kirchen stond hinder sant Niclas altar, darin ward gefunden auch ain gantzer leichnam und darauf ain brieff, daran stond nichts geschriben. item ward gefunden in ainem gantzen aussgehauen stainin grab, aber man west nit für war, wer der hailig leichnam was. item darbei waren auch die vorgeanten personen. item da man zalt 1454, in dem selben jar da setzt man den selbigen leichnam wider in das selbig grab in ainer pleien truochen und schrieb den zedel darein und auch oben auf den sarch Corpus sancti Nigarii ep. aber man west es nicht für die warhait, ob er es wär oder nit, besunder man hätt es nur hören sagen von ettlichen alten leuten. darumb schrieb man es dubitative." Ibid. See also Kiessling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft, pp. 290-91; Michael Hartig, Das Benediktiner-Reichsstift Sankt Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg (1012-1802), Augsburg: Verlag Dr. Benno Filsner, 1923, p. 37.

⁵³ "Die Chronik von Clemens Sender," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte. Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg, 3, p. 60.

Domkapitel sträubte sich dagegen, fürchtete es doch wie die übrigen Pfarrer, die Untertanen für die Hauptgottesdienste zu verlieren; man einigte sich erst, als die Zeit für die Prozession so gelegt wurde, dass die Ämter am Dom bereits beendet waren.⁵⁴

Wilhelm Liebhart associates Heilig Kreuz's vigorous resistance to the doubts about its wonder-working relic, a miraculous host known as the Wunderbares Gut, with its own economic anxieties: "Das Wunder wurde schon im Mittelalter angezweifelt, wogegen sich das Stift auch aus finanziellen Gründen heftigst und mit theologischen Gutachten wehrte."⁵⁵

This was the context in which the Carmelites had sought, it seems with some success, to draw the public with a new and attractive devotion. The Emperor Maximilian himself had participated in the Annen-Prozession when he was in Augsburg with the Imperial princes for the Reichstag in 1500.⁵⁶ Maximilian, who had become a member of the brotherhood, gave alms of two gold guilders.

⁵⁴ Kiessling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft, p. 293, citing AStAM Hst NA 5486, 14.4.1484, and 10-19, 4-1484. Wilhelm Liebhart states that there was a financial basis to the church's concerns over the attacks on the miracle's authenticity: "Das Wunder wurde schon im Mittelalter angezweifelt, wogegen sich das Stift auch aus finanziellen Gründen heftigst und mit theologischen Gutachten wehrte." Wilhelm Liebhart, "Stifte, Klöster und Konvente in Augsburg," in Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart, 1984, p. 198.

⁵⁵ Liebhart, "Stifte, Klöster und Konvente....," p. 198.

⁵⁶ Rechnungsbücher, Hauptbuch III, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, cited in Schott, Beiträge, 9, p. 250. The convent had paid a hundred guilders for the right to hold the yearly procession. Schiller, Die St. Annakirche, p. 21. Maximilian was a member of brotherhoods in several cities, among them the Anne brotherhood in Worms whose membership included an unusually large component of royal and noble members. Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften, p. 175. In Augsburg, along with Kaiser Friedrich III and Dukes Otto and Christoph of Bavaria and many other nobles, he was also a member of the St.-Ulrichs-Bruderschaft. Kiessling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft, p. 292.

But despite these efforts there is no evidence that the cult put down strong roots at the level of church institutions.⁵⁷ Well into the first few decades of the 1500s Augsburgers continued to call the Carmelite Church by its old name, Unser Lieben Frawen Bruder Kirche, when they left it money for masses or sued it over property squabbles.⁵⁸ Only one of the endowment records from this period listed in the Copialbuch of Prior Matthias Fabri mentions an Anne altar, that of Sabina Rölingerin in 1505.⁵⁹ And when Jakob Fugger planned the burial chapel for himself and his brothers Ulrich and Georg in the Carmelite Church c. 1518 he had Christ represented on the altarpiece, not Anne, though Anne with the Christ Child is among the sculptures ornamenting the choir

⁵⁷ No Anne pilgrimages are mentioned in "Die übrigen Wallfahrten des Bistums Augsburg" in Ludwig Dorn, Die Marien-wallfahrten des Bistums Augsburg, Augsburg: Verlag Winfried-Werk, 1957. Saints to whom medieval pilgrimage shrines were dedicated here were Afra and Leonhard with two each, all saints, Rasso, Ottilia, Alban, and Castulus, with one each. Five shrines were dedicated to the Cross, and two each to Christ and the Host. Kiessling believes that the Anne Brotherhood played "keine entscheidende Rolle" in Augsburg's piety. Rolf Kiessling, Personal communication, Augsburg, July 18, 1992.

⁵⁸ Dedication statements in endowment documents for the Augsburg Carmelites do not begin to mention Anne's name until the early 1500s, when the usual wording, for example "Got dem Allmechtigen zu lob vnd Marie der himelkünigin und allem himellischem heer zu wird und ere ..." is sometimes expanded to include her, for example: "... Vnnd hymelkünigin Junkgfraw Maria Sannt Anna vnd allem hymelyschem here zu lob wird vnd ere." Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Reichstadt Schätze 95 II, e.g. pp. 90, 101-102. The first references to the Church as the Church of Saint Anne do not appear until the second decade of the sixteenth century. Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Reichstadt Schätze 95 III.

⁵⁹ The document stipulates: "täglich in dem Gotteshause nach dem letzten gesungen Amt ein Salve Regina mit samt einer Collecte zu singen und darnach daselbst im Chor auf St. Annen Altar durch einen priester des Ordens eine gesprochene oder gelesene Messe zu halten." Schott, Beiträge, 7, p. 190, citing Copialbuch II, II6.b, May 2, 1505.

stools.⁶⁰ In St. Ulrich and Afra a new altar was dedicated to Augustine, Anne and Agatha in 1497.⁶¹ But the Anne relic in this church's sizeable relic collection was not singled out for special attention. Consisting of four fragments of her bones, it was contained along with pieces of Mary's veil, hair, clothing and grave, in a Marian reliquary figure (Fig. 7).⁶² Michael Hartig's description of the church of Ulrich and Afra makes no mention of Anne in its lists and descriptions of art works.⁶³ And Johannes Wilhelm's exhaustive study of Augsburg's medieval painted facades makes no mention of images of her. Furthermore there are no references to pilgrimages, relics or Gnadenbilder connected with her in the city chronicles.

This is not to suggest that Anne was not a popular saint. Indeed the quantity of surviving images and their dispersion throughout the region, with many still in place in their original locations in parish churches, indicates that she was a ubiquitous presence

⁶⁰ The Fuggers did commission a small altarpiece, now in the St. Marcus Chapel in the Fuggerei, with an Anna Selbdritt on one panel. Jakob Fugger may have commissioned the small (13 cm) silver Anna Selbdritt dated 1513, now in the Hermitage, on the back of which are engraved representations of Saints Barbara and James the Greater, the patron saints of his parents. Originally, the arms of the Fugger were visible on the back. See Angelika Wesenberg, Dasein und Vision, p. 48. Bruno Bushart finds an emphasis on Christological themes in Augsburg's art: "In Augsburg besonders beliebt waren offenbar christologische Darstellungen wie Christus als Erlöser, als Kind mit dem Kreuz, als Schmerzensmann, als Rastender vor der Kreuzigung, Fürbitter bei Gottvater oder Weltenheiland." Bruno Bushart, Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik, Augsburg: ICOM exhibition catalogue, 1965, p. 23.

⁶¹ Alfred Schroeder, Archiv für der Geschichte des Hochstifts Augsburg, Dillingen, 1929, vol. 6, p. 288.

⁶² M. Hartig, Das Benediktiner-Reichsstift Sankt Ulrich und Afra, p. 87.

⁶³ Ibid.

in the Swabian pantheon. But the evidence suggests that she was not singled out as a special cult favourite.

The attempt to reconstruct a picture of Saint Anne's place in Augsburg is complicated by the loss of images occasioned by the Reformation. Some works were destroyed in the iconoclastic episodes of the 1530s, while others have been lost to sight, or the knowledge of their original whereabouts lost.⁶⁴ The images from the Annenkirche present a special mystery. The fact that iconoclasm in Augsburg did not begin until long after the Annenkirche had turned Protestant, means it is likely that the church's art works had been returned to the families who had donated them.⁶⁵ Contemporary documents in fact suggest that the material objects belonging to the church were not destroyed, but were either sold or returned to those who had paid for them.⁶⁶ Looking at the records of affairs

⁶⁴ The Anna Selbdritt altar now in a side chapel in Augsburg Cathedral was set in place by the Baker's Guild in 1590 in the chapel of the Seven Sleepers, according to Placidus Braun, Die Domkirche in Augsburg und der hohe und niedere Clerus an derselben, Augsburg: Schlossers Buch- und Kunsthandlung, 1829, p. 41. Norbert Lieb gives the date as 1597 and the brotherhood as that of the bakers and millers. Norbert Lieb, Der Dom zu Augsburg, München & Zürich; Schnell und Steiner, 1982. However, the prior whereabouts of this altar, which looks like it might be an earlier sixteenth-century work, are not known.

⁶⁵ In November, 1525, the monks made public a statement explaining their adoption of the new form of religion: "Grund vnd Vrsach auss Göttlichem Rechten, warumb Prior vnd Conuent in Sant Annen Closter zu Augspurg ihren Standt verändert haben." Schott, Beiträge, 9, p. 260. The last monks left their cells in 1534. Ibid., 5, pp. 259-260.

⁶⁶ Schott states: "Auf die erneute Klage des Provincials, dass die kirchlichen Kleinodien, Zinsen und Güter des Klosters verschleudert werden, übernimmt der Magistrat die Aufsicht über dieselben und über die Klosterverwaltung überhaupt. Es werden besondere Pfleger für das Gotteshaus der Frauenbrüder aufgestellt. Den Stiftern wird gestattet, die zu Kultuszwecken gestifteten Gegenstände, Messgewänder u. dergl. wieder an sich zu nehmen. Das Silbergeschirr von St. Anna wurde später inventiert und auf dem Rathause verwahrt." Schott, ibid., 9, pp. 260-62. An undated letter (probably written shortly after 1525) from the Order's provincial complains that the treasures, rents and

related to the cult at the Carmelite Church, one suspects that the Augsburgers' warm response to the brotherhood was due in large part to the indulgence and prayer benefits it offered. Indeed there are signs that a strong attachment to saints as wonder-workers may at this period have been less strong here than it was in some other parts of Germany. One such sign is the presence of new themes in the Life of Saints Ulrich, Simprecht and Afra that was printed by the Church of Ulrich and Afra. Even though the purpose of this German text was to encourage pilgrimage to the tombs of these saints in the church, its author emphasizes the importance of asking the saints for help in bettering one's life, and he expresses scepticism about spectacular miracles like raising the dead:⁶⁷

goods of the convent were being disposed of: "...das Sie die kleinath, zinse vnnnd andere guetter des Closters nit verkauffen, verennndern oder sonnst in annder weeg wennden: Wann etlich Ehrber personen an vnns begerent jrer Elltern-Stuffung vnnnd die Ornament mitsamt derselben kleinathen, Inen widerumb zu jren Hennden zustöllen Ursach anzeigende, das sölliche Stuffung jnmassen, wie Sie seind aufgericht vnnnd angenommen worden, in dem obgemelten Closter nit vollbracht werden, Desshalben Wir E.F.W. als vnnsrer genedig vnd gunstig Herren, nochmals Bitten, die wöllen vnns hierinnen gnediglich bedenken auf söllich vnnsrer anbringen vnnnd begern ain Anntwurt zu versteen geben..." in Schott, *ibid.*, 9, p. 261. An entry in the Ratsdekrete of July 28, 1526, and another dated Mar. 30, 1528, reiterating these concerns, suggests that objects of value were in fact being alienated. *Ibid.*, p. 262. The Ratsbuch of 1528 (p. 170) proposed that "...das Silbergeschirr zu den Barfüessen vnd zu St. Anna soll inventirt vnd auf dem rathaus verwart werden." Cited in Schott, *ibid.*, p. 262. No inventory is extant.

⁶⁷ The clergy at St. Ulrich and Afra were not anxious to discourage people from visiting their shrines. Indeed they emphasize the presence, importance and authenticity of the relics "...in unserm loblichen gotshaus leibhaftig rastend" that their booklet is promoting. Das leben verdienen und wunderwerck der hailigen Auspurger Bistumbs bischoffen sant Ulrichs vnd Symprechts auch der säligen martlerin sant Aphre irer müter Hilaria geschlecht vnd gesellschaft in unserm daselbst loblichen gotshaus rastend, Augsburg, 1516, p. ii. Afra is described as appearing to Ulrich as he sleeps to show him where she is buried. *Ibid.*, p. xvi b. Philip Soergel mentions the role of the German humanists in fostering a hagiographical style that downplayed miracles and emphasized the saint's human fallibility and his value as a model. Philip M. Soergel, Wondrous in His Saints, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, p. 96. See also James Michael

etlicher zaichen die in gar wenig vergangen jaren vns gelaubhaffig angetzaigt...Wölche wir nit als wunderwerck, wider der natur kraft vnd gewalt (als dann zuo solchen mirakeln not ist) sonnder sie auss andacht vnd treüwer mainung, den hailigen damit vermainend gefallen, vnd ir fürbit vnd hilff bey got den andächtigen angezaigen,...Wie wol bey allen rechtgeleerten (als vns nit zweifelt) ain grosse vnterschied wirt erkennt ainen todten zu erkühnen dass der natur nit möglich ist vnd ainen krancken der mit besondter andacht ainen hailigen zu seiner beschwör entledigung anruofft, gesund gemacht werden. Auff solichs woll wir dich o christglaubiger mensch ermanet haben dass du dich mit warer besserung deines lebens, den heiligen bettelhen ...vnd sie anruoffen wollest.⁶⁸

The relegating of such wonders as raising the dead to the realm of the past, and the placing of the soul's health above the healing of the body, stands in sharp contrast to Petrus Dorlandus's *Life of St. Catherine*, and to Iohannes Trithemius's *Marian miracle books* in which the concern is with bodily healing. The Ulrich, Simprecht and Afra life also steps apart from prevailing medieval piety in its description of Ulrich's parents, where the usual conflation of nobility and holiness is moderated: "...baide nach wirdigkait der welt Edel vnd fürnemlich, aber in dem gelauben vnd götlichem dienst sind vil clarer vnd edler gewesen."⁶⁹ Ulrich is described as someone who grew in holiness, not someone like Anne or Katherine who was set apart from other humans as a special holy being:

Weiss "Hagiography by German Humanists," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 15 (1985) 2, pp. 299-316. Rolf Kiessling calls attention to the very close relationship the Augsburg Humanist circle enjoyed with the clergy of St. Ulrich and Afra. Kiessling, *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft*, p. 34.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. B ii. The writer goes on to state that the saints are "fürbitter...nit allain für leibliche vnd irrdtsche beschirmung, sonder hails der seel in dem ewigen leben zuo erlangen..." Ibid., p. B iii.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. A iii.

"...Yetz was er die höhe der laiter Jacob mit den Staffeln der tugend aufsteigend berühren."⁷⁰

This encouragement to approach the saints with modest requests and expectations of spiritual as much as physical help may suggest that people were beginning to find it difficult to continue to think in the old ways. Even some of Augsburg's noble clerics downplayed miracles, and discouraged such things as pilgrimages to wonder-working images and the apotropaic use of the host.⁷¹

Were the attempts to establish Anne's cult in Augsburg thus being made at a time when the concepts of power implicit in her cult were losing their importance? Were people already thinking about new modalities in which the relationship of God and man might be realized? Instances of scepticism appear at other points in the life of the city as well. The Augsburg chronicler Wilhelm Rem reports that though the country people went in great numbers to the famed Schöne Maria shrine at Regensburg, there were no reliable reports of miracles.⁷² The doubts expressed in the early 1500s about the authenticity of the Wunderbares Gut in Heilig Kreuz Church which, like the relic shrines, was newly activated in the second half of the fifteenth century, are another example.⁷³

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. A vi.

⁷¹ Charles Zika, "Hosts, Processions, and Pilgrimages: Controlling the Sacred in Fifteenth-Century Germany," Past and Present, 118 (Feb. 1988), pp. 30-33.

⁷² "Cronica newer geschichten' von Wilhelm Rem," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte. Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg, pp. 131-32.

⁷³ Kiessling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft, p. 292.

The Heilig Kreuz controversy provides another illustration of clerical worries over lay religious activity in this period. The doubts about the authenticity of the miraculous host drew the attention of Heinrich Institoris, author of the Malleus Maleficarum, and an individual ever on the alert for stirrings of lay independence.⁷⁴ In 1492 Institoris was in Augsburg writing and preaching in support of the Wunderbares Gut in ways that suggest considerable concern over lack of belief in the miracle.⁷⁵ In the thirty-six sermons he preached, he threatened excommunication for those who encouraged people to doubt the miracle.⁷⁶

Augsburgers had drawn Institoris's ire earlier, in 1480, when he had brought to trial a group of women who were receiving communion daily, sometimes oftener.⁷⁷ The

⁷⁴ See Peter Segl, "Heinrich Institoris. Persönlichkeit und literarisches Werk," in Der Hexenhammer / Entstehung und Umfeld des malleus maleficarum von 1487, ed. Peter Segl, Cologne & Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1988.

⁷⁵ "...tritt er für deren Verehrung als wahrer Leib Christi nicht nur in einer Reihe von Predigten ein, sondern verfasst dazu im Sommer 1493 auch einen Traktat, in dem er Kraft seiner vom Papst übertragenen Amtsgewalt allen Weltgeistlichen und Mönchen befiehlt, auch ihrerseits in den Predigten keinerlei Zweifel daran zu lassen, dass in der Bluthostie vom Hl. Kreuz der wahre Leib Christi sakramental zugegen sei." Ibid., pp. 114-15. The host miracle had taken place in 1199.

⁷⁶ "...am 29 Mai 1495 [hatte er] nochmals jeden Zweifel an der Anbetungswürdigkeit der Augsburger Wunderhostie mit Exkommunkation bedroht..., auch [kommt er] auf das Hexenwesen seiner Zeit zu sprechen, an dessen Realität gewisse periculosi et indocti predicatores immer noch nicht glauben wollten, obwohl doch fast kein Dorf davon frei sei." Ibid., pp. 115-16. Segl cites Heinrich Institoris, Tractatus variicum sermonibus plurimis contra quattuor errores nouissime exortos aduersus diuinissimum eucharistie sacramentum, Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, January, 1496. Institoris also threatened with excommunication readers of the works of Antonio Roselli who had argued for the independence of the earthly sphere of government from the spiritual or papal. Ibid., p. 123.

⁷⁷ Institoris argued against Aquinas's sanction of daily communion in the De frequentatione sacramenti by countering (incorrectly according to Segl) that Aquinas's remarks referred only to clerics. Aquinas speaks of "homo." Ibid., p. 111. Institoris cited

women were ordered to discontinue the practice, a judgement they and their spiritual director, the St. Moritz priest Johannes Molitoris, ignored once Institoris left the city.⁷⁸

The objects of Institoris's worries - pious lay women, heretics, witches, those who rejected eucharistic miracles and those who questioned church authority - suggest the larger problem faced by the clerical establishment. The laity, increasingly inclined to deprive the Church of its material and jurisdictional resources also seemed increasingly likely to follow their own ideas about religion, and increasingly apt to question authority and miracles - two poles by which the church maintained control over the means of salvation. Institoris's behaviour suggests that he believed the laity could be held in check by sanctions and fear. Fear of the harm that witches could wreak, fear of the damage to the sanctity of the community that heretics and Jews could cause, and fear of the loss of personal salvation, all created a need for the help that only the church's power could give. Of these, it was the fear of the loss of salvation that was most general. It is to the role of salvation in the cult of Saint Anne that we shall now turn our attention.

Albertus Magnus "der in De sacra eucharistia die Ansicht vertreten hatten, Frauen die Kommunion täglich zu reichen, verdiene schärfsten Tadel, da deren Verlangen nach dem Altarsakrament weniger aus Frömmigkeit, als aus ihrer oberflächlichen Denkungsweise entspringe." Ibid., p. 112.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 113.

Summary

Saints cults were effective means of raising funds for medieval churches caught in the competition for clientele. Annaberg in Saxony and Augsburg in Swabia were two cities where the cult -already made popular through the activities of the Rheinland promoters - was installed and promoted as part of a network of income-generating activities. In Annaberg, the Saxon ruler Duke George used Anne to bring prosperity to his new mining city in the mountains. Duke George acquired generous indulgences, a large relic collection and a variety of other ecclesiastical privileges to help attract pilgrims, as well as permission to restrict the availability of other indulgences and to limit collections for non-local religious foundations. In Augsburg, the financially pressed Carmelites renamed their convent church in honour of Saint Anne and founded an Anne Brotherhood, promising salvational benefits to all who donated to the building fund or helped the church in other ways. A life of Saint Anne was written for the confraternity, based on the Rheinland lives but differing from them in being less concerned with defending the cult against critics and less concerned with presenting Anne as a model for female behaviour. Christians in Augsburg, and in Annaberg, seem to have been less strongly drawn to saints' relics than their counterparts in the Rheinland. In both cities, the Anne cult seems to have depended not on shrine miracles but on the generous indulgences offered to those who supported the brotherhood.

CHAPTER SIX
SAINT ANNE AND CONCEPTS OF SALVATION
IN LATE MEDIEVAL GERMANY

Some of the factors at work in the late fifteenth century expansion of the cult of Saint Anne in Germany, Holland and Flanders were examined in the previous chapter. In the simplest sense Anne's cult flourished because it was vigorously promoted by clerical circles anxious to channel lay religious activity. As well, like all popular cults, it brought worshippers and alms into churches that were becoming increasingly competitive in their efforts to attract clients. Underlying factors however were more complicated. Clerical and humanist promotion of Anne, merchant class response, imperial enthusiasm, and a popular response that cut across all levels of society, drew on and expressed a wide variety of intentions, interests, fears and assumptions. Some of these, as we saw, were specific to particular groups or regions. Others were shared. One factor in particular was common throughout the broad territory implicated in the cult. This was salvation.

The desire to ensure personal salvation was a major element in the promotion of the cult of Saint Anne and of the success of that promotion. Many studies have noted that salvation played a role in her cult. Only Schaumkell though, called attention to the fact that Anne's wide range of powers included the ability to help in the hour of death: "Sie ist, wie Maria, an die Stelle des Todesüberwinders Jesus Christus getreten."¹

¹ E. Schaumkell, Der Kultus der heiligen Anne am Ausgang des Mittelalters, Freiburg: 1893, pp. 67-74.

Ihre dominierende Stellung in dem religiösen Bewusstsein jener Zeit verdankt sie nicht bloss dem Umstande...dass sie die Urmutter der Heiligen ist...sondern vor allen Dingen deswegen wird sie so hoher Ehren gewürdigt, weil sie in so naher Beziehung zu dem Erlösungswerk steht.²

This chapter will examine the nature, sources, and implications, of Anne's connection with salvation. It will look at underlying cultural factors that facilitated the connection, and it will look at the use made of it.

The presence of a salvational aspect in Anne's cult is not surprising given the intense interest in personal salvation that characterized late medieval religion in Germany. Where formerly evidence of active concern for the fate of the soul in the afterlife was most strongly concentrated in monastic and aristocratic circles - the latter in effect paying the former to pray for them - by the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the evidence presented by indulgences, by confraternity sources, by wills and other documents settling money on churches, indicates that salvation was an increasingly important concern for the middle and even the lower levels of society. Saint Anne's promoters presented her as able to help the Christian address this concern, as able to help her or him attain heaven.

The salient presence of salvation in the religious concerns of late medieval Germans finds abundant expression in contemporary texts. The fifteenth-century Swabian chronicler Burkhard Zink put it succinctly when he said: "dann iederman wolt gen himl"

² Ibid., p. 71.

[Everybody wants to go to heaven].³ Luther alludes to it in his diatribe against the brotherhoods' indulgence in the pleasures of the trough:

Zum Ersten wollen wir die bossen ubung der Bruderschafften ansehen, Unter wilchen ist eyne, das man eyn fressen und saussen anricht, lesst eyn mess odder ettlich halten, darnach ist der gantz tag und nacht und andere tag dazu dem teuffell zu eygen geben:...Was soll unser lieben frawen, sanct Annen, ~~sanct~~ Bastian odder ander heyligen namen bey deyner bruderschafft thun, da nit ~~mehr~~ dan fressen, saussen, unnutz gelt vorthun, plerren, schreyen, schwetzen, ~~tantz~~ und zeyt vorlyren ist? Was man eyne saw zu solcher bruderschafft patronen setzt, sie wurd es nit leyden. Warumb versucht man dan die lieben heyligen so hoch, das man ihren namen zu solchen schanden und sunden mispraucht und yhre bruderschafft mit solchen boessen stucken voruneeret und lesteret?⁴

But Luther does not stop at accusing the brotherhoods' of being no more than an excuse for collecting money for beer: "eyn geltt samlen zum bier," he also criticizes their misguided approach to spiritual matters, accusing them of having fallen "so deep into the abyss" that they publicly boast that whoever is a member of their brotherhood will not be damned:

... das sie offentlich ruemen und sagen, welcher yn yhyrer bruderschafft sey, mueg nit vordampt werden, gerad als were die tauff und sacrament, von gott selb eyn gesetzt, geringer und ungewisser, dan das sie aus yhren blinden kopfen erdacht haben.⁵

³ "Item es ist ze wissen, dass auf das mal als das gnadenjar was da was der pest frid in dem Bairland....das man sagt, dass oft auf ain mal 40 tausent menschen wern....dann iederman wolt gen himl."Chronik des Burkard Zink," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert. Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg. 2, ed. Karl von Hegel & Friedrich Roth, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1866, p. 45. Zink (1368-1438), writing in the fifteenth century, was speaking of the Gnadenjahr indulgence in Munich in 1392.

⁴ Martin Luther, "Ein Sermon vom Sakrament des Leichnams Christi u. von den Bruderschaften, 1519," WA, vol. 2, pp. 754-55.

⁵ Luther continues: "...Ist eyn andere boese gewonheit yn den bruderschafften und ist eyne geystliche boesheit, eyn falsche meynung, die ist, das sie meynen, yhre bruderschafft sol niemant zu gute kummen, Dan alleyn yhn selbs, die yn yhrer zal und

The repeated references to salvational benefits in the membership form printed for the Saint Anne confraternity at the Carmelite Church in Augsburg confirm in more dignified language the importance that those benefits played in the confraternity's appeal. The good works of Carmelites throughout the whole southeastern part of the Empire, it reminds members, will be at their disposal to help them gain the kingdom of heaven.

... mit manigen guoten wercken sälliglichen verdienen das reich der himl Zuo volpringen, ewer besundre andacht die ir zuo vnserm orden habt zuo lob got: vnd zuo hail ewrer sele: mit wellicher ir begert tailhaftig zuo werden. vnser lobsamen bruoderschaft: vnser andacht vnd gepet: als wir verstanden haben Sölliche guote begird die dem manschen hilfflich ist zuo abtilgen die sund auf disem erdtrich vnd verdienlich des reichs der himel.⁶

The form goes on to describe the posthumous rituals that will be provided to further assist members' souls:

..Auch auss besunder gnaden wirt man hinfür zuo ewigen zeiten in disem wirdigen gotzhauss all quattember alle brüder vnd schwester die auss der obgemelten lobsamen bruoderschaft: verschaiden sind besingen: auf ainen bestimpten tag: zuo nacht mit ainer vigilt: vnd enmorgens mit ainem gesungen seel ampt. Vnd darnach zuo hail der lebendigen brüder vnd schwester der vorgeanten bruoderschaft: singen ain loblich ampt von der hochwirdigen frawen sant anna.⁷

register seyn vorzeychnet odder darzu geben." Ibid., p. 756.

⁶ Aufnahmeformular der St. Annenbruderschaft in Augsburg vom Jahre 1494, Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1499 (Augsburg Staats -und Stadtbibliothek, catalogued incorrectly as Ablassbrief zum Besten der Bruderschaft vom Berge Carmel, 2 o Ink 960). The document is published in A. Haemmerle, "Das Aufnahmeformular der St. Annenbrüder in Augsburg vom Jahre 1494," Vierteljahreshefte zur Kunst und Geschichte Augsburgs, 4, 1947/48, p. 9.

⁷ Ibid. Non-members could also benefit through their gifts. Monika Zmyslony cites the Lübeck will of Jacob Bornholm of March 3 1518: "Noch geve ick in de elenden s. Annen broderschop tor borch enen halven gulden Rynsch umme trost und hele myner selen." Monika Zmyslony, Die Bruderschaften in Lübeck bis zur Reformation, Kiel: Walter G. Mühlau Verlag, 1977, p. 114.

In addition members and benefactors were eligible for indulgences if they gave gifts to the brotherhood. The Augsburg Confraternity life states:

vii bishops zu augspurg habent bestat die bruederschaft und gross ablass geben allen die in die bruederschaft kument. namlich vi papst mit namen adrianus der II stephanus der v. sergius der iii. johannes der x. johannes der xi; und innocentius der iiii habent geben allen menschen die rew ueber ir sünd hand und gebeicht habent die sich land schreiben in die bruderschaft und de obgemelten closter ir hilf der stair gebent. oder kelch. messgwand. alter tiecher hand zwechlen oder an irn lesten zeiten etwas dem closter schaffent. ir liechter auf den vi babsten last den selben menschen nach den dritt tail ablass aller seiner sünd. das ist ir yetlicher last nach den dritten tail der pein die der selbig mensch leyden solt um sein sund. todtlich und laesslich. Und v cardinal und ain legat gebent allen obgemelten menschen ain yetlicher c tag...[and seven bishops of Augsburg] Burckhardus, Eberhardus, Fridericus der I. Anthelmus. Peterus. Johannes und Fridericus der II. die gebent den obgemelten menschen ain yetlicher xl (?) tag toedlicher sund.⁸

But help in the salvational undertaking was not restricted to the Saint Anne brotherhoods. All confraternities provided indulgences, posthumous masses, and other benefits. What was special about Anne was that her ability to help the viator reach heaven extended beyond the indulgences and other benefits offered by confraternity membership. According to the texts that promoted her, through her flesh and blood relationship with the Redeemer and his mother, she was able to exert an intrinsic power of her own that could help the soul achieve salvation.⁹ Absent in the older literature,

⁸ Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin von dem gantzen geschlecht sant Anna vnd von sant Anna lobliche brüderschaft. Vnnd von etlichen grossen wunderzaichen sant Anna, Augsburg, after 1494.

⁹ Anne keeps her intercessory powers as well. Trithemius says: "Anna igitur dei filio post matrem virginem credimus esse proximam: et potentem pro miseris aduocatam: cui nihil rex celi denegat:" Trithemius, De laudibus sanctissimæ matris Annae, Mainz: Peter Friedberg, 1494, chap. 9.

allusions to Anne's ability to help in salvation are widespread in the lives written in the late medieval North.

This message about her salvific efficacy is not presented through explicit statements nor is it presented as a theological proposition. It is conveyed rather through images and narratives, through implications and equivalences, often through the appropriation of Marian tropes and motifs, and through assumptions made in the course of making other statements. Such messages are also conveyed in the implicit contrast between the Anne discourse, with its adumbration of special powers, and the discourse surrounding other saints. Other saints, however powerful they might be, are normally spoken of as interceding for the soul before God. Anne on the other hand is often presented through images such as the following from a Dutch devotional text, in which she is described as opening the door of heaven: "O heilige moeder sinte Anne / weest ons een eewige troost ende toeverlast in allen onsen nooden. Enn doet ons op die poorte des hemels."¹⁰ Or she may be ascribed the power to bestow "eternal grace:"

A praiseworthy and beautiful example of a burgher's son, how the holy woman Saint Anne will doubtless bestow on her servants temporal nourishment here on earth, and there eternal grace.¹¹

The words slip in sidelong, the unorthodox spiritual bestowing sliding in on the heels of the material bestowal. Other saints' lives usually used the older format in which the

¹⁰ "Dit is sint Anna Cransken," in De gulden Letanien, Antwerp: Heinrich Wouters, 1575, p. l.r.

¹¹ "Ain loblich hübsch exempel von ains burgers son der hailgen frowen Sant Anna wie grislich sy ir diener und dienerin hie uff erden mit zeitlicher narung und dort mit ewiger gnad on zwifel begabt werdent." in Schaumkell, p. 85.

account of the saint's death is followed by a relatively brief description of how she can help those who pray to her. Typical in its brevity, this description from a late fifteenth-century North German life of St. Katherine is typical also in its emphasis on intercession:

an den sulven tyd wart de juncfrauwen
 or hove aff ghehauwen,
 und is or dach al wisse
 des vifften vor sunte Andreas misse,
 dat or ores arbeydes wart gelonet
 und to hymmele wart ghekronet
 van deme hilge[n] Criste.
 eya, nu help myt diner vriste
 uns armen sunderen,
 wente wy dy gherne willen eren,
 dat wy dyner gheneten moten
 und unse missedayt also boten,
 day wy uns sines namen
 vor sineme richte nicht ne schamen.
 de aller hilgen is eyn here,
 deme sy rom, loff und ere
 van der warlde samen
 nu und ewichliken. amen.¹²

¹² Die Katharinenlegende der HS. II, 143 der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Brüssel, ed. William Edward Collinson, Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1915, p. 168. A life of St. Katharine written in the Lower Rhein area probably in the late fifteenth century concludes with a similar short list in which Katherine asks God to let her help those who come to her:

"O Got vader van hemelrike,
 Gyff dat allen genade werde,
 Dat syn vrouwen ofte man,
 De my an eren noden ropen an.
 Se syn gevangen edder gebunden,
 De vorlose, here, to den sulven stunden.
 Gyff my yn wat noden dat se syn,
 Dat ick ere vorlosersche mote syn.
 Dat ick se vor sunde unde vor schande
 Mote bewaren up water unde up lande.
 Unde alle, de dar horen gerne
 Van myner pyne unde van myner lere,
 De stercke yn dogeden unde yn eren!

The same approach is used even in a life of Katherine written by the South-Netherlandish Carthusian Petrus Dorlandus, author of several of the new Anne lives. Whereas Dorlandus's Anne lives are replete with the type of salvational implications described above, his life of Katherine ascribes no special salvational powers to its subject.¹³

The gulf between the older image of the helping saint and the new image of a saint whose scope and competence approach that of Mary is large indeed. But the fact that Anne could be seen as deploying such a degree of power is not surprising given the prevailing model of religion in late medieval Germany.

Des bydde ick, myn leve here."

....

Ick bydde dy dor dyne renicheyt
 Unde dor dyne pyne unde ere
 De du so willichliken leden hefst
 Dor Kristum unsen leven heren,
 Dattu hude van sunden unde van noet
 Uns allen wult bekeren,
 Unde dattu uns allen gnade vorwervest
 By Crysto unsen leven heren.

Die Legende der Hl. Katharina von Alexandrien im Cod. A4 der Altstädter Kirchenbibliothek zu Bielefeld, ed. Siegfried Sudhof, Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1959, 44-45. The much briefer conclusion to a late medieval printed life of St. Brendan reads: "Nun sullen wir im bitten das er auch got Für vns pit daz vnser leben zu einem gütten end pracht werde das helff vns der vatter der sun vnd der heylig gayst Amen." Wie hebt sich an sant Brandons Buch was er wonders erfahren hat, 1476. Nor are special powers ascribed to the Three Kings in Die Hystori oder Legend von den Heiligen Dryen Koenigen. Faksimileausgabe eines Pilgerbuches von 1520 mit einem Verzeichnis der Drucke der Servatius Kruffter in Köln, ed. Elisabeth Christern, Cologne, Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft, 1964. The same is true of Das leben verdienen und wunderwerck der hailigen Auspurger Bistumbs bischoffen sant Ulrichs vnd Symprechts auch der säligen martterin sant Aphre irer müter Hilaria geschlecht vnd gesellschaft in unserm daselbst loblichen gotshaus rastend, Augsburg, 1516.

¹³ Petrus Dorlandus, De Nativitate Conversione & vita invictissimae martiris beatissimae virginis Katharinae, Louvain: Theodericus Martinus Alostensis, 1513.

Historians have remarked on the widespread presence in medieval Europe of the use of ritual and power-laden objects to manipulate events in the spiritual realm. This is sometimes seen as a retention of beliefs or practices stemming from earlier religions. However in recent years historians, anthropologists, and scholars of religion have increasingly found this layered model of retention, accretion and overlay to be inadequate, and they have replaced it with models that build on the concept of fundamental orientations or operative concepts of a culture, of which religious practice is a part. Clifford Geertz, in his rejection of the "stratigraphic" view, observes that man is to be looked for not "'behind,' 'under' or 'beyond' his customs"...but 'in' them.¹⁴ Historians of medieval Europe confirm Geertz' conclusion that the use of objects, persons and rituals to exercise power was part of their daily conception and experience of the world. Richard Trexler says of Florentine religious experience that: "The belief in power-laden natural objects was general in that age. It stretched from the host, through the image, to the relic, from the body of the dead to that of the living saint."¹⁵ Richard Kieckhefer observes "... that by fulfilling certain outward and objective standards [medieval] ritual could have automatic power."¹⁶ Bernd Moeller, speaking in particular of late medieval Germany, invokes the same model of religious practice when he states

¹⁴ Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Culture, New York: Basic Books, 1973, p. 37.

¹⁵ Richard Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image," Studies in Medievalism, 19 (1972), p. 9.

¹⁶ Kieckhefer continues: "Inward disposition of the heart was not decisive; what counted most was the correct observance of outward forms." Richard Kieckhefer, Magic in the Middle Ages, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 165.

that "By capturing the mediators [the saints] between them and God men attempted to force a guarantee of salvation."¹⁷

It is important to note that these "magical" practices were not restricted to popular religion, the religion of ordinary or uneducated people. They were equally part of the elite religion of the clergy and the educated: the assumptions underlying their beliefs about the sacraments were at base the same as those underlying the agricultural or the love charm. In fact learned examples exist where the parallel is even more plainly evident, as it is in Johannes Trithemius's description of how to send a message through the intermediary of spirits which he described for the Emperor Maximilian in De Septem secundeis of 1508:

Make an image in wax or draw on a blank piece of paper the form of Orifiel in the guise of a nude, bearded man, standing on a multicolored bull, holding a book in his right hand and a pen in his left. After you have done this, say: "Let this image of the great Orifiel be honest, perfect, and qualified to transmit my secret thoughts safely, faithfully and completely to my friend N., son of N. Amen. [Here another image must be drawn, representing the recipient.] Write on the forehead your name in encaustic made of diluted oil of roses [temperato] and on its chest the name of your absent friend, while saying: "This is the image of N...."....Hear me Orifiel, prince of the star of Saturn...I order you and send you, by means of this image, to transmit to N., son of N., the following message..."¹⁸

Though it was losing its force in some circles, there is abundant evidence that at the end of the fifteenth century this model of religion remained widely, though not exclusively, prevalent. Within this paradigm, Anne, through her contiguity, her bodily

¹⁷ Bernd Moeller, "Piety in Germany around 1500," in The Reformation in Medieval Perspective, ed. Steven Ozment, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971, p. 55.

¹⁸ Cited in Ioan P. Couliano, Eros and Magic in the Renaissance, trans. Margaret Cook, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987, pp. 172-173.

generative relationship to the ultimate sources of power, acquired a share in that power. In other words, Anne's power derived not from her personal holiness but from her physical closeness to the holy figures of Mary and Jesus. And like their power, hers too was used not only to address the multiple problems of earthly life, but also to address the ultimate problem, salvation.

Salvation, and anxiety over the securing of it, were particularly important factors in late medieval German religious life.¹⁹ Medieval Christians everywhere shared the belief that salvation was effected by the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross and that repentance for sin and the reception of the sacrament of confession were necessary in order to benefit from this salvation. The actuality of practice however shows that other things were felt to be necessary too. The words and actions of late medieval Germans show that they tried with particular assiduousness to ensure their salvation through a massive attention to the performance of ritual actions. Sometimes these were vicarious actions performed by others paid to do so, whether masses said by endowed priests, or prayers said by the Seelschwester, poor women who received room and board in return for maintaining a virtuous way of life and praying for the dead.²⁰ Indulgences were

¹⁹ The same was true of Flanders according to Toussaert: "Pour rien au monde, l'homme de Flandre ne voudrait négliger les démarches capitales pour assurer son salut: le baptême, les deniers sacrements et les funérailles ecclésiastiques. Autrement dit, aux graves moments de l'engagement chrétien par le Foi et la fixation de son sort éternel, les attitudes sont, par habitude et par désir véhément, chrétiennes et religieuses." Jacques Toussaert, Le Sentiment religieux en Flandre à la fin du moyen âge, Paris: 1963, p. 489.

²⁰ A document endowing masses to be said at the Augsburg Carmelite church for Anna Swertzin and her family members gives an idea of what was expected of these poor women who lived in endowed homes and who were expected to be available to perform

another means to secure one's salvation. A speech from the anti-Catholic polemical play Die Totenfresser written by the Basel artist and writer Nicholas Manuel in 1523 refers to the sums of money even poor people gave to the church for salvational purposes:

Church offerings, weekly, monthly, and annual masses for the dead
Bring us more than enough.

....
Indulgences lend a hand
By making men fearful of penance.
We also put a lot of stock in purgatory

....
The reason is that we must use every chance
To scare the hell out of common folk.

....
So let us...
...be thankful to the dead

services for the dead for which they received additional sums of money: "Die Feier ist den Sonntag zuvor im Gotteshaus zu verkündigen und den Seelfrauen in des Hyren Seelhaus anzusagen, deren eine ob dem Grab zu sitzen, zu beten und der kerzen zu warten hat, wofür sie 2 Gross zu 8 Pfenn. erhält; die übrigen drei erhalten für ihre Anwesenheit bei der Feier je 1 Gross und ausserdem erhalten die Seelfrauen 2 Mas Speiswein und 4 Conventsbrod, der Küster der Gotteshauses 1 Gross, den er seinem Knecht zu geben hat." Nr. 181, 1501. 10 December, Cop. II, 102b, in Schott, 7, p. 183) See Schott, 6, pp. 102-110 for a description of the Seelfrauen. See also Schott 8, p. 282 f.; Rolf Kiessling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter, Augsburg: Verlag H. Muhlberger, 1971, p. 227; Lyndal Roper, The Holy Family in Augsburg, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989, p. 248. Monika Zmyslony in her study of Lubeck's brotherhoods speaks of the salvational function of charitable bequests: "Die karitative Betätigung der geistlichen Bruderschaften ist wesensmässig der religiösen Sphäre zugehörig. Zur Sicherung des Seelenheils durch allerlei gottesdienstliche Verrichtungen und Stiftungen trat die Armenpflege als weiteres Mittel zur Rettung aus dem Fegefeuer hinzu....Den Zweck der Armenunterstützung drücken die Statuten der Leichnamsbruderschaft der Goldschmiede wie auch die Statuten anderer Bruderschaften so aus: 'In den jaren vnser heren dusent veerhundert vyff vnde neghentich hebben de older lude vnde schaffere desser broderschop myd hulpe vnde todade etliker brodere vnde anderer vramer lude beghund vnde angehauen, etlike provene to gheven armen mynschen to ewyghen tyden, vpp dat desulven Gode den heren myt vlyte vnde truweliken bidden vor de brodere vnde sustere, de vth der broderschop sint vorstorven.' Statuten der Leichnamsbruderschaft der Goldschmiede. Wehrmann, Zunftrollen, p. 501. cited in Zmyslony, Die Bruderschaften in Lübeck, pp. 127-38.

Who make it possible for us to fleece the living.²¹

Salvation anxiety did not arise of itself. The comparatively high level of anxiety experienced by German Christians was fostered, as Reformation historians have noted, by clerical messages conveyed through texts, sermons and contact in the confessional.²² People were encouraged to believe that no matter how much was done, absolute security could never be assumed. Steven Ozment observes that one popular catechetical book included "prescriptions for religious security," in the form of "a seemingly endless routine of self-examination and criticism," yet still assumed a final uncertainty.²³ Heiko Oberman, in his study of the fifteenth-century Nominalist theologian Gabriel Biel, says that for Biel "...the viator never knows whether he is actually in a state of grace, or perhaps has unconsciously committed a mortal sin..."²⁴ Charles Garside Jr.

²¹ Niklaus Manuels Spiel evangelischer Freiheit: Die Totenfresser. "Vom Papst und seiner Priesterschaft," Leipzig: Ferdinand Vetter, 1523, pp. 7-9, trans. from Steven E. Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities, New York: Yale University Press, (1975) 1980, p. 113.

²² Clerical encouragement was probably not the only cause. Changing conceptions of the self and changing models of the role of personal factors in salvation were undoubtedly involved.

²³ Steven Ozment, referring to Dietrich Coelde's The Mirror of Christian Faith, 1520, in The Reformation in the Cities, pp. 31-32.

²⁴ Heiko Oberman, The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 184. With respect to predestination Biel believed that: "Even if one could be certain of possessing grace in the present, it would not necessarily follow that this would be true tomorrow or on the decisive last day of life....For two reasons therefore certitude of salvation is beyond the reach of the viator: there is no way in which he can ascertain that he possesses the habit of grace; and furthermore, even if everything points to his being in a state of grace, this may very well be only according to present justice which by no means implies his perseverance to the end." *Ibid.*, p. 220.

remarks as follows:

... the Church could not extend to the people the comfort of complete assurance. Penance, obedience, and at best a relative certainty could be its only answer. As a result, the sacrament of penance assumed even greater importance, together with indulgences and good works. But no one could be certain that he had done enough in terms of any one of the three, for each was in itself relative....And the Church, far from trying to calm this frenzy of ceremonial piety, encouraged [it]...while attaching to the saints, their relics, and the shrines to which such pilgrimages were made more numerous and more extravagant indulgences.²⁵

It is hardly surprising, given these incitements to worry, that the evidence provided by confraternity documents, wills, and documents assigning money or capital to pay for salvational liturgies, suggests that German Christians took special care in arranging for posthumous salvational efforts. Compared with their English and Italian counterparts, German wills left larger numbers of separate bequests for masses and prayers and stipulated more precisely calculated durations of time.²⁶ Typically, German endowment documents are hedged about with more elaborate safeguards to ensure that the churches or convents endowed to say the masses did not neglect their duties.²⁷

²⁵ Charles A. Garside, Jr., *Zwingli and the Arts*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966, pp. 83-84. Thomas Tentler argues that consolation and provocation of guilt are related: "Sacramental confession was designed to cuse guilt as well as cure guilt..." Thomas Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977, p. xiii. See also the section "Sorrow and the Keys," pp. 223-301.

²⁶ Whereas German documents often specify that the masses are to continue forever, English wills tend to stipulate relatively short periods of time, or state that the masses are to be said for as long as the money holds out. It should be noted that the absence of perpetual bequests in England is probably the result of English laws prohibiting or limiting bequests in mortmain.

²⁷ The following remarks on foundation charters for posthumous masses to be said by the Augsburg Franciscans allude to this complexity: "Man merket es in der stattlichen Anzahl von etwa 200 Jahrtagstexten, die von da ab [1400] eingetragen werden, deutlich an, dass hier ein wohlausgedachtes Vertragswesen zugrunde liegt, das allen erdenklichen eigenen Erfordernissen sowie auch allen Wünschen der Partner zu entsprechen vermochte

In England wills also left bequests for the poor, who were expected to pray for the deceased's soul, but they usually did not prescribe specific ritual activities, nor did they express concern about the purity or holiness of the recipients of their charity, as the German ones so often do. An examination of some statistics on endowments of masses and chantries, and of the findings of some historians who have examined English sources, suggests that the peak of attention to the ensuring of salvation through ritual actions had

(390).....Eine Bestätigung hierfür liefert eine andere, noch viel häufiger anzutreffende Regelung zwischen den Vertragspartnern: die Sicherung gegen eine eventuelle Versäumnis der Totenfeiern von Seiten des Konvents. "Augsburg Franziskaner-Konventualen," in Bavaria Franziskana Antiqua, 5 (1961) pp. 390, 392. Two other principles of the metonymic model of religion, quantity and vicarious efficacy, combine in the provision found in some German wills for Seelfrauen to pray for the deceased. A document endowing masses to be said at the Augsburg Carmelite church for Anna Swertzin and her family members: "Die Feier ist den Sonntag zuvor im Gotteshaus zu verkündigen und den Seelfrauen in des Hyren Seelhaus anzusagen, deren eine ob dem Grab zu sitzen, zu beten und der kerzen zu warten hat, wofür sie 2 Gross zu 8 Pfenn. erhält; die übrigen drei erhalten für ihre Anwesenheit bei der Feier je 1 Gross und ausserdem erhalten die Seelfrauen 2 Mas Speiswein und 4 Conventsbrod, der Küster der Gotteshauses 1 Gross, den er seinem Knecht zu geben hat." (No. 181, 1501. 10 December, Cop. II, 102b, in Schott, 7, p. 183) See Schott, 6, pp. 102-110 for a description of the Seelfrauen. Monika Zmyslony in her study of Lubeck's brotherhoods states: "Die karitative Betätigung der geistlichen Bruderschaften ist wesensmässig der religiösen Sphäre zugehörig. Zur Sicherung des Seelenheils durch allerlei gottesdienstliche Verrichtungen und Stiftungen trat die Armenpflege als weiteres Mittel zur Rettung aus dem Fegfeuer hinzu....Den Zweck der Armenunterstützung drücken die Statuten der Leichnamsbruderschaft der Goldschmiede wie auch die Statuten anderer Bruderschaften so aus: 'In den jaren vnser heren dusent veerhundert vyff vnde neghentich hebben de older lude vnde schaffere desser broderschop myd hulpe vnde todade etliker brodere vnde anderer vramer lude beghund vnde angehauen, etlike provene to gheven armen mynschen to ewyghen tyden, vpp dat desulven Gode den heren myt vlyte vnde truweliken bidden vor de brodere vnde sustere, de vth der broderschop sint vorstorven.' Statuten der Leichnamsbruderschaft der Goldschmiede, Wehrmann, Zunftrollen, p. 501. cited in Zmyslony, Die Bruderschaften in Lübeck, pp. 127-38.

passed by the late 1400s in England.²⁸ By the same token, confraternity activity seems to have been more strongly oriented toward salvation in Germany than in England. And English Anne texts consistently present salvation as a matter of personal repentance and redemption whereas the German ones place heavy emphasis on the help that could be obtained through powerful persons and rituals.²⁹ Saint Anne's position as blood and bone

²⁸ Joel Rosenthal's study of salvation-related chantries and bequests on the part of the nobility in fourteenth-century England finds a "steady and significant increase in such acts as alienations in mortmain [for the purpose of funding such enterprises]" in the first half of the fourteenth century, with a decline setting in almost immediately after the plague, with in general a decline in the overall number of families within the peerage and a decline in the amount of activity per family after 1350. Joel Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise: Gift-Giving and the Aristocracy 1307-1485, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972, p. 127. A breakdown of Rosenthal's figures, which cover the years 1307-1485 reveals that the highest activity, 3.62 per year, was in the period 1327-48, with a sharp decline immediately after to 1.86 grants per year, following which the number declined - apart from a few fluctuations - steadily downward to a figure of 1.16 for the period 1460-1485.

²⁹ The information on the salvational functions of Italian confraternities is difficult to interpret. Nonetheless its general lines suggest that salvation did not occupy the same place in the thoughts of 15th century Italians as it did in those of 15th century Germans. Bequests for requiem services would seem to have increased in Italy in this period. Charles de la Roncière says that after 1350 rinnovali were a major source of income for confraternities, especially for the laudesi, rising in importance while charitable bequests declined in the 15th c. He describes objectives of (workers?) confraternities as "l'aspiration générale à une vie chrétienne mieux conduite, et la quête, anxieuse ou non, du salut." Charles de la Roncière, "Les confréries à Florence et dans son Contado." Le Mouvement Confraternel au moyen Age, France, Italie, Suisse. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'université de Lausanne, 1985, Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 1987, pp. 320, 337. The picture painted in Ronald Weissman's book on Florentine confraternities suggests a relatively low level of concern with salvational activity. The confraternities, according to Weissman, offered a manageable program for salvation, i.e. a list of prescribed devotional tasks that "provided the confraternity members with a sense of religion and religious obligation that was within his ability to grasp and to fulfill." Ronald Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence, New York, 1982, p. 79. Typically, brothers were obliged to recite daily prayers (customarily ranging from five to fifteen Hail Marys and Our Fathers), to fast one day each week, to confess three times each year and take communion at least twice, to attend the regularly scheduled meetings of the company (weekly, fortnightly, or monthly), and to attend all major feasts (usually

grandmother of the Redeemer, along with her status as grandmother or aunt to over half a dozen apostles and saints, was perceived by German Christians as giving her just that kind of special power. The Anne texts further strengthened her appeal by including exempla that on the one hand encouraged anxiety about salvation, and on the other, presented Anne as a remedy for it.

Anne's power to aid in salvation: The evidence of the texts

Salvific power seems to have been explicitly attributed to Saint Anne for the first time in the new offices and lives that were produced from the late 1470s into the early 1500s by the Netherlandish and German clerics and humanists who were concerned to promote her cult, among them Jan van Denemarken (b. mid-1400s), Johannes Trithemius (1462-1517), Arnold Bostius (1445-1449), and Petrus Dorlandus (1454-1507).³⁰ They were

including Christmas, All Saints' Day, the four Marian feasts, all feasts of the Apostles, Holy week, and the feast of the particular patron of the company). Members were required to mourn the dead, whether simply by reciting the Ave Maria and Paternoster or by attending more elaborate memorial masses. The required period of mourning lasted from three days to one month. Delegated members were required to visit ill brothers and to attend funerals. Ibid., p. 87. Lionel Rothkrug comments that Marsilius of Padua (1277-1342) located "civic virtue in a vision of communal immortality, creating "a vision of corporate or civic immortality free of all expiatory obligation...an urban ideal that was destined to have a long life." Lionel Rothkrug, "Religious Practices and Collective Perceptions: Hidden Homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation," Historical Reflections, 7, 1 (Spring 1980), p. 161.

³⁰ See Brandenburg for a description of the Netherlandish and Rheinland activities: Heilig Familieven, 1990; "De Historie van Sint-Anna in geschriften en de devotionele praktijk," in Heilige Anna, Groete Moeder: De cultus van de Heilige Moeder Anna en haar familie. Nijmegen: Sun, 1992, pp. 13-86. Some of this material is presented in "St. Anne and her Family. The veneration of St. Anne in connection with concepts of marriage and the family in the early-modern period," Saints and she-devils: images of women in the 15th and 16th centuries. ed. Lène Dresen-Coenders et al., London: Rubicon Press, 1987,

not the first to refer to Anne's link with salvation. The connection had been made at some length in a sermon written by the English Augustinian Osbert of Clare of Suffolk in the twelfth century. Osbert gives Anne a place in the scheme of redemption and honours her for her link with the Saviour:

Gaudeamus solenniter dilectissimi fratres in domino, et presentis diei celebritatem annua devotione veneremur : in qua beatissimae matris dei genitrix Anna carnis reliquid ergastulum, et subvecta est ad superos sanctorum praesidiis angelorum. Ad aeterna patriarcharum veterum hodie pervenit contubernia, ex quorum carne carnis traxit originem : ut per ventris eius fructum populo suo deus mitteret redemptionem. Ex illa preciosa superne benedictionis terra, caelestis figulus ollam spei nostre composuit : quae ex divini roris imbre conceptum verbum dei humano generi protulit incarnatum.... Felix Anna . quae in operatione redemptionis nostrae veluti radix videtur in arbore : de qua caelestis virga egressa est beatissima virgo MARIA. Quae filium suum divini floris amigdalum enixa puerpera genuit, cuius dulcedinis iocunda refectio : in caelo et in terra angelos et homines pascit.³¹

But though he notes her role in the structure of salvation, he does not conclude that Anne acquires power through her links with Mary and Jesus.³² Osbert skirts the subject of Anne's power, but his view of her function is primarily one of intercessor, a theme he develops at length in the sermon, in hymns, and in several long prayers:

Eapropter o parens parentis generose de qua ortus est sol iustitiae, totis animae meae medullis ad opem confugio miserationis tuae : ut me digneris Christo filiae tuae filio tuis meritis commendare : apud quem est fons vitae : et in cuius lumine omnes qui illi appropinquant lumen veritatis incipiunt videre. Fac me ante oculos

101-27.

³¹ Osbert of Clare, "Le Sermon sur Sainte Anne," in André Wilmart, "Les Compositions d'Osbert de Clare en l'honneur de sainte Anne." Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen age Latin, Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, (1932) 1971, p. 272. The sermon was written for the Bishop of Winchester. Wilmart identifies the manuscript as Vitellius A.XVII (Cotton), British Museum. Ibid., p. 265.

³² Rosemary Woolf calls attention to a similar view of Anne's role in salvation in the fifteenth-century poems of John Lydgate and John Audelay. Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968, pp. 294-297.

animae meae timorem dei habere sine quo proculdubio viam interne pacis nemo potest agnoscere.³³

A quo melius expetam curationis mee remedium, quam a te per cuius adminiculum ad amissam rediit gloriam genus humanum ? Tu es quasi caelestis aedificii tabernaculum tu quoddam ineffabile redemptionis nostre fundamentum.³⁴

Tu mater et tu filia mihi vestra pretendite summa pietate presidia, ut qui de vobis deus et homo nasci pro salute voluit hominum : salutem mihi prestat eternam in sanctorum societate suorum.³⁵

It is not until the late fifteenth century lives that the discourse of which Osbert's text is an example is taken several steps further. Here, for the first time the link with Mary and Jesus is presented as giving Anne not simply a role in the salvational drama, but a share in salvational power.³⁶ The change parallels the change that Mary's role underwent in the fifteenth century, from one who shared in Christ's suffering to one whose co-suffering (and foreknown humility) helped to redeem mankind.³⁷

³³ "Les Prières à Sainte Anne," Wilmart, Auteurs Spirituels, p. 281.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 282.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 283. See also Osbert's letter to Simon, Bishop of Worcester, The letters of Osbert of Clare, ed. E.W. Williamson, London: Oxford University Press, p. 79. The sophistication and devotional conviction of Osbert's writings are on a level above that of the authors of the later Anne material. One cannot agree with Wilmart that "nous n'avons pas à la regretter" the fact that Osbert never wrote his planned Historia of Anne. Ibid., p. 269.

³⁶ References to a link between Saint Anne and salvation are not restricted to the lives. The Breslau bishop Johann Turzo stated: "Das ist sie, die selige Anna, in deren Mutterschoß der Fluch des ersten Elternpaares gehemmt wurde, der Segen seinen Anfang nahm und der uralte Schandfleck durch die Kraft der Reinigung zu heilen und zu schwinden begann!" Diözes.=Arch. IIb 4, fol. 168 (from the bischöfl. Erlass von 1518 für das Herzogtum Brieg), cited in Arnold Oskar Meyer, Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Reformation aus schlesischen Quellen, Munich & Berlin: Druck & Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1903, pp. 40-41.

³⁷ See Oberman, The Harvest of Medieval Theology.

Power ascribed through association with Mary

The ways in which Anne exerts this power are implied and stated through a variety of different compositional devices. One is the use of images and tropes that associate Anne with Mary. Frequently encountered in the lives and other texts are Marian prayers and epithets in which Anne replaces or is added to Mary, as is the case in the

Rosarium de sancta Anna by the Humanist Jodocus Beisselius:

Ave Dei genetricis mater venerabilis Anna, sanctae Trinitati gratissima: prae cunctis mulieribus honorata, benedicta tu a Domino, & benedicta proles uteri tui...³⁸

Another text contains a "Salve Anna" which uses formulations from the Marian prayer Salve Regina:

Salve anna mater misericordie tuis nos precibus christo commenda. Ad te clamamus exules filij eue in angustijs constituti....O clemens. O pia. O dulcis mater anna.³⁹

Trithemius, in the 1494 De Laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae, joins Anne to the salvational process by ascribing to her the topos, brought to its full Marian development earlier in the fifteenth century, of predestination: "Anne is as pure as her daughter. She conceived and gave birth without sin. Furthermore she was chosen by God before the

³⁸ In Vita gloriosissime matris Annae christipare virginis Marie genitricis ab ascensio in compendium redacta ex historia suavissima eiusdem matris Anne ab religiosissimo viro F. dorlando ordinis Carthusiensis in zelem theuthonice prius edita, (published with the Vita Jesu Christi of Ludolph of Saxony), Antwerp: Johannus Keebergius, MDC XIIX, p. 767. According to Brandenburg, this text is a translation and reworking of Petrus Dorlandus' Die historie van Sint-Anna by the humanist Jodocus Badius. Brandenburg, Heilig Familieleven, pp. 284-85. The "Rosarium" was published in the De laudibus and in other texts.

³⁹ Johannes von Lampsheim [Lampsheym], Oraciones et alia pulcra ad sanctam Annam, Heidelberg: Heinrich Knoblochzer.

creation of the world; she existed in his mind through all eternity."⁴⁰ The frequent application to Anne of Marian motifs and themes tends to lift her into a special realm separate from that of other saints. Sometimes Anne and Mary act in unison. Anne intercedes - on equal footing with her daughter - in the papal bull granting indulgences to the Anne brotherhood in Annaberg, Saxony in 1506, which states that:

Anne cui Saluator ipse tantam gratiam concedere dignatus est, vt mariam sanctissimam eius geneticem in vtero suo benedicto meruit portare, & que cum filia pro salute Christifidelium ante Thronum diuine clementie intercedere non cessat.⁴¹

Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin von dem ganzen geschlecht sant Anna vnd von sant Anna lobliche brüderschafft. Unnd von etlichen grossen wunderzaichen sant Anna, the life written for the Augsburg Saint Anne Confraternity, includes an exemplum in which a familiar Marian topos - the rescue of the undeserving rich - is altered so that it is "Anne

⁴⁰ Trithemius, De laudibus. The statement appears in other works, for example in Das Leben und Wunderzaichen der allerseeligisten Frawen Annae, Munich: Cornelius Leyffert, 1627, (1627 trans. of Legenda sanctae Annae, by an anon. Franciscan, first published Louvain: Joh. de Westfalia, 1496), p. 71. This work is in the collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Kat-Nr. 017109736) where it is miscatalogued as a translation of Trithemius' De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae. In general, compared with the other late fifteenth-century texts, the De Laudibus contains fewer allusions to salvific power and more references to Anne's intercessory power such as the following: "Impossibile est eam non obtinere omne quid voluerit. Rex celi nepos eius est: non poterit quicumque dulcissime auie sue denegare." Trithemius, De Laudibus, chap. 10. This book, which was addressed to a more elevated level of reader, places a greater emphasis on spiritual and moral growth than the other Anne texts.

⁴¹ "Copia Babstlicher Bullenn das Jubeljahr vnnd sant Annen Brüderschafft belangende," in Adam Daniel Richter, Chronica der im Meissnischen Ober-Erz-Gebürge gelegenen Königl. Churfl. Sächssischen freyen Berg-Stadt St. Annaberg, Annaberg: August Valentin Friesen, 1746, p. 70.

with her dear daughter Mary" who comes to the aid of the soul of a knight who had led a sinful life but had daily honored Anne. The two intercede for him before Christ.⁴²

Ascribing power by presenting Anne as the root of salvation

Sometimes the imagery of predestination is used to present Anne as the origin of the salvational process, as it is in the Legenda sanctae Annae, a life by an anonymous Franciscan first printed in 1496 in Louvain and reprinted eight times in Leipzig and elsewhere:

Augenscheinlich ist es /wie fast dises ausserwöhlte geschirn von Gott seye vorgesehen vnd erwöhl't worden; Als welche zu einer Muetter der Gottes gebörerin von Ewigkeit hero von der allerheiligisten Treyfaltigkeit ist verordnet worden.⁴³

A quatrain by the humanist Theodore Gresemund that formed part of the collection of poems in Anne's honour Anne that Trithemius requested from his friends, also lays the emphasis on her role at the beginning of the redemptive process:

Virginis Anna parens salueto fausta marie
Ordini nostre digna salutis opus.
Que pro te cepta est humana redemptio queso
Continues: precibus crimina nostra tegens.⁴⁴

The author of the Augsburg confraternity life blends images of Anne as point of origin of salvation with more conventional ideas of helping the sinner to repent, concluding the passage with an image of the Selbdritt leading the soul into heaven:

⁴² Ain gar nutzlich büchlin, part 2, p. b iii.

⁴³ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, p. 71. Most of the exempla, prayers etc. are found in more than one of the Anne texts. If all the different versions are included the late fifteenth and early sixteenth Anne texts probably number more than three dozen.

⁴⁴ Trithemius, De laudibus.

...du bist gewesen ain anfang des neuen testamentz vnser seligkayt. also warlich seyest du gnädiglich vnser helferin mit deinem allerliebsten kinde das wir ain seligs leben mügend gewynen an vnserem letsten ende. vnd erwirb vns rew vmb vnser sünd. vnd ain ware beicht. vnnd ain volkomne büß vnd ain wirdige empfangung der hayligen sacrament vnd in der stund vnser tods so kum vns zehilff. vnd erlöss vns von dem gwalt der bössen gayst. vnd fur vns selbsdryt in die freud des ewigen lebens Amen.⁴⁵

The text accompanying a woodcut of the Anna Selbdritt by the Nürnberg artist Wolf

Traut joins the same ideas in rhymed quatrains:

O salutaris nupcio Stellano desponsata
Es. et hec restrictio. est digna fortunata
O sacra propagacio. ex vobis procreata
Anna. de quae [line over q] redempcio / est omnis emanata

Revelle cordis vicia avimam [sic] decora
Duc me ad celestia. post necem sine mora
O anna mater vnica. pro me deum ora
Adesto mihi tercia. tunc in mortis hora

Carisma [sic] hec laudabilis, tuc natiuitatis
Effigies amabilis. et fulgor claritatus
Es omnibus affabilis. mater benignitatis
O mulier placabilis. et magne pietatis.
Ave Maria.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin, p. 165. The passage continues with a description of Anne as "der edel fruchtber baum darvon ist kommen aller welt seligkayt" followed by requests for her intercession. The image of releasing the soul from the power of evil is also found in late medieval Marian prayers, as in the following example: "O du allerhailigste praut des allerobersten trosts erloess mich von dem todt der sünde vnd erwirb mir das leben der nature der gnaden vnnd der ewigen glori..." Der Gilgengart, Augsburg: Hans Schönsperger, c. 1520, in Spatmittelalter Humanismus Reformation: texte und Zeugnisse, ed. Hedwig Heger, Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich 1975.

⁴⁶ Published by Valentinus Bannholtzer, 1507. Max Geisberg, The German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500-1550, ed. Walter L. Strauss, New York: Hacker Art Books Inc., 1974, 4, G.1409, p. 1362.

Ascribing power: Anne presides at the deathbed and has power over the Devil

Anne's presence is frequently wished for at the deathbed to help obtain a "mortem & exitum felicem & post hanc vitam gloriam sempiternam".⁴⁷ The motif of her presence at the soul's entry into heaven, which is found in many works, is often joined, as it is in this passage from the Augsburg confraternity life, with a suggestion of more direct powers:

Gegrüst seyestu haylige fraw sant anna...also warlich seyest du gnaedigklich unser helferin mit deinem aller liebsten kinde das wir ain seligs leben mügend gewynen an unserem letsten ende. und erwirb uns rew umb unser sünd. und ain ware beicht. unnd ain volkomne büß und ain wirdige empfangung der hayligen sacrament und in der stund unsers tods so kum uns zehilff. vnd erlöss uns von dem gewalt der bössen gayst.⁴⁸

An office published by Anton Sorg in Augsburg in 1479, the Historia nova pulchra devota et autentica, uses images typical of many texts when it expresses a similar confidence in Anne's power over the devil: "O sancta anna tu in hora mortis nostre. nos ab hoste libera Etiam."⁴⁹

Some texts make an association between Anne's liberating power and the forgiveness of sin:

Te propinde obsecro domina mea sancta anna. impetra mihi cum filia tua gloriosa virgine marie. semper dei habere amorem pariter & timorem. fidem rectam spem

⁴⁷ Libellus continens laudes et fraternitatum, Officiam misse et oraciones de sancta anna, Heidelberg: Heinrich Knoblochzer, probably after 1500, p. 5 v.

⁴⁸ Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin, p. 165. The image is reminiscent of a Marian image in a contemporary devotional handbook: "O Maria du aller getreüeste muotter, erloess vns von der ersten muotter die da gestanden ist bey dem verboten baum." Das buchlin wirt genant die himelisch Funtgrub, p. 3 v.

⁴⁹ Historia nova pulchra devota et autentica de sancta anna matre dei genitricis marie, Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1479, p. 196 v.

firmam charitatemque perfectamque. cordis etiam & corporis mundiciam. morum & vite honestatem memoriam tenacem: scripture sancte intelligenciam peccatorum cunctorum remissionem, mortem & exitum felicem & post hanc vitam gloriam sempiternam Amen.⁵⁰

Power is ascribed negatively: Neglect Anne and lose salvation

Anne's association with salvation is also conveyed through exempla in which people lose their salvation because they neglect or slight her. In a story that appears in a number of lives an English bishop who opposes Anne's feast refuses to change his ways, falls off his horse, dies, and is damned. Older versions of the same legend, used in earlier collections of miracles, ended happily with the repentance of the erring bishop.⁵¹ In another widespread exemplum a virgin who refused to pray to Anne because of her three marriages is described as having brought up "ein gültiges Argument" yet in the next breath the reader is told that her opinion is "ein ärgerliches vnd solches Laster / welches ganz vnd gar nit mag entschuldigt werden".⁵² The final statement that it was through the

⁵⁰ "Devote oraciones," libellus continens laudes.

⁵¹ The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton, London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1900, vol. 2, pp. 126-128. The story of Bishop Elsinus, which in its original form was connected with the feast of the conception of Mary, is also found in Robert Wace's Fete de la Conception Nôtre-Dame and in the Miraculum de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae. See Wace's Conception Nôtre Dame ed. Mancel et Trébutien, Caen: 1842. p. 87., cited in Cursor Mundi: A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century, Part 2, ed. Richard Morris. (Early English Text Society), London: Oxford University Press, (1875) 1966, p. 21. The punishment by death of bishops who hinder their flocks from honouring saints is a motif in earlier hagiography. See Stephen Wilson ed., Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

⁵² Das Leben und Wunderzeichen, p. 78.

merits and intercession of St. Anne that she was released from Hell suggests that her honestly held, but "false opinion" had destined her for damnation.

Why was Anne singled out for this treatment so different from that given to other saints? The late fifteenth-century Anne texts make it clear that the primary source of her importance was her corporeal link with Mary and Christ. As the physical grandmother of Christ, she enjoyed a closeness to the divine personages unmatched by any other saint. A text describing the relic acquired for the Carmelite Church in Frankfurt explained the importance of Anne's relics, making reference to this: "...it is therefore quite clear that there are no relics of a human body on earth that are closer to the body of our Saviour and His Mother Mary than that of the Holy Mother Anne."⁵³

Anne's interconnectedness with Mary and Jesus is repeatedly emphasized in both text and image.⁵⁴ The author of the Legenda sanctae Annae tells us that if God is to be praised in his saints, so much more is he to be praised in his parentage.⁵⁵ Expressions

⁵³ Translated from Brandenburg's citation of the text, which is published in Heinrich Hubert Koch, Das Karmeliterkloster zu Frankfurt am Main. 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert, Frankfurt, 1912, pp. 80-90.

⁵⁴ Allusions to cult practice further underline the importance of honouring all three figures together in devotional rituals. The office Libellus continens laudes speaks of the three personages being honoured with three candles: "Non nulli etiam anne cultores ad honorem iesu marie & anne omni feria tercia in eius altari seu ante ipsius ymaginem. tres solent incendere candelas & tres facere elemosinas." ["Some people also, devotees of Anne, in honour of Jesus, Mary and Anne, are accustomed each Tuesday at her altar or in front of her image, to light three candles and to give alms three times."] Libellus continens laudes p. 2 v.

⁵⁵ "Si laudandus est dominus in sanctis suis, quantomagis in sanctissimis suis parentibus." Legenda sanctae Annae, Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1497. The phrase appears earlier in several of the offices, and Trithemius states: "Nam si deum generaliter in sanctis suis laudare precipimur: parentes eius sine dubio specialius honorare persuademur." De laudibus, chap. 1.

such as "Gott dem Herrn sambt Maria seiner Muetter vnd seiner allerheiligsten Grossmuetter Anna" momentarily make us envision Anne as more important than her grandson, God.⁵⁶ More conventional expressions of the connection are found in the short prayers that addressed Anne quite literally as "Anne with two others:" "Hilf St. Anna selbdritte," or the Low German "Help sunte anna sulfdrudde."⁵⁷

Power and quantity: The Holy Kinship

The connection with Mary and Jesus is the characteristic that most strongly defines representations of Anne in late medieval German texts and art works. However the Anne discourse was further inflected by other assumptions that arose out of the metonymic conceptual framework outlined above. Of special importance was the assumption that as well as being transmitted through contiguity, power could be enhanced by such factors as quantity and nobility.⁵⁸ The importance of the idea of quantity, the belief that more

⁵⁶ Das Leben und Wunderzeichen, p. 100.

⁵⁷ Schaumkell reports these prayers cast on bells. Schaumkell, Der Kultus, p. 17. The principle of contiguity can be seen in other areas of medieval culture too, for example in the joining together of religious and secular relics in the imperial relic collection, the Reichsheiltum. Ibid., 66-67, and the tendency for holiness to be ascribed to the relatives of saints. Ortrud Reber observes: "Die Hagiographen bemühten sich also, die Vorfahren, Nachkommen und Verwandten der Heiligen als fromm und heilig darzustellen; dieses Bemühen verstärkt sich immer mehr und ist am Ausgang des MA am grössten. Da ist nun zu beachten, dass es eine Allgemeinerscheinung des späten MAs ist, für einen Heiligen die Heiligkeit seiner ganzen Sippe hervorzuheben. Geschah es doch mit der Familie der Gottesmutter genauso." Ortrud Reber, Die Gestaltung des Kultes weiblicher Heiliger im Spätmittelalter/ Die verehrung der Heiligen Elisabeth, Klara, Hedwig und Birgitta, Hersbruck: Kommissionsverlag: Karl Pfeiffer's Buchdruckerei & Verlag, 1963, p. 154.

⁵⁸ Rolf Kiesling in his study of the interaction between civic and religious life in medieval Augsburg, speaks of endowments for masses for the dead as follows: "Die Motive dieser Gottesdienststiftungen waren klar: Für das Heil der Seele und der von

is better, appears in the medieval German fondness for groups of saints such as Ursula and her Eleven Thousand Companions, the Fourteen Holy Helpers, the Three Kings and the Theban Legion.⁵⁹ The conviction that more was better also applied to relics. The enormous collections of Frederick the Wise and of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, with its reputed 39,245,120 years of indulgences, are notorious, but many a less well-known church and cloister had its own large relic collection, often publicized in woodcut illustrations in which the various relics were shown arranged in labelled compartments.⁶⁰

The Anna Selbdritt itself emphasizes Anne's role as part of a group, a group which becomes even larger and more imposing in the Holy Kinship in which the central figure of Anne is flanked by the male figures who are often, especially in the fifteenth century, placed physically behind her. Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome sit below Anne and the Virgin with their children playing in front of them. In the late fifteenth century Anne's parents Emerentia and Stollanus, as well as the descendants of her sister Esmeria, the two

Verwandten sollte gebetet und damit ein gutes Werk für die Abwägung des Lebens am Jüngsten Gericht geschaffen werden. Dabei setzte sich ein gewisses Quantitätsdenken durch, das zu jenen vielzitierten Charakteristik der vorreformatorischen Zeit gehört. Nicht nur eine derartige Stiftung wurde gemacht, sondern, mehrere; je aufwendiger ihre Dotierung war, desto grösser der Heilswert." Kiesling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft, p. 247.

⁵⁹ Monika Zmyslony remarks: "Heilige wurden auch in Gruppen zusammengefasst verehrt wie die Hl. Sippe, die Hl. Drei Jungfrauen, die Vier Marschälle und die Vierzehn Nothelfer." Monika Zmyslony, Die Bruderschaften in Lübeck, p. 36.

⁶⁰ For a description of some of these large collections see Erich Egg, "Stiftungen-Heilum-Ablässe," esp. 61-77, in Heilum und Wallfahrt, ed. Gert Ammann, Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, 1988.

Rheinland bishops Saints Servatius and Maternus, make increasingly frequent appearances.⁶¹

The texts often emphasize Anne's position at the centre of this large group of saints. The Augsburg confraternity life conjoins the Holy Kinship with her deathbed help:

Ich hab auch gelesen das etlich menschen habent all tag geeret sant anna und alles ires seligen geschlecht mit v pater noster und mit v ave maria. und do dise menschen solten sterben do ist sant anna mit allen iren seligen geschlecht kumen zu irem end. vnd haben in umb got erworben ain seligs end.⁶²

Along with its fondness for saints in groups, medieval German hagiography shows a tendency to equate holiness with nobility. Ortrud Reber in her study of the *vitae* of four medieval women saints remarks on the virtual absence of non-noble medieval saints in Germany: "...Man findet kaum ein Schriftstück über die Heiligen, das nicht erwähnt dass sie vom Adel sind....Man frag sich, ob es im MA schon deutsche Heilige gab, die nicht adlig waren."⁶³ The quality of nobility is not mentioned as often in the late medieval Anne discourse as are those of proximity and quantity. But there are nonetheless a number of instances where royal or high status is ascribed to members of the Holy

⁶¹ See Werner Esser, Die Heilige Sippe: Studien zu einem spätmittelalterlichen Bildthema in Deutschland und den Niederlanden, Ph.D diss. Bonn: Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1986.

⁶² Ain gar nutzliches büchlin.

⁶³ Reber, Die Gestaltung des Kultes weiblicher Heiliger, p. 143. If a saint were not of royal birth the hagiographer might elevate her, as did Johannes Frank when in the 1450s he referred to his city Augsburg's non-royal patron Afra as "die hailig künigin und martlerin sant Affra mit aller irer gesellschaft." Frank's description also emphasizes Afra's position as part of a group of holy people. "Johannes Franks Augsburger Annalen," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert. Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg. ed. Karl von Hegel & Friedrich Roth. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1866, p. 303.

Kinship. The lives and offices often state that Anne was descended from the royal House of David.⁶⁴ In the Historia nova pulchra devota et autentica Anne's apostle grandsons are referred to as "senatores orbis. principes populorum iudices seculi," and Anne's descent is described as "regalis et sacerdotalis."⁶⁵ Mary Salome is described as "de illustri tribu juda / preclara de domo david et nobilissime anne tercio genita."⁶⁶ Werner Esser points out that the very term "Geschlecht" had connotations of high social status at this time:

[It had]...eine Nebenbedeutung, die den hohen sozialen Rang der Angehörigen eben dieses Geschlechtes mitbezeichnete. Schon vom Wort her war "sunte annen slechte" ein patrizisches, aristokratisches, ein mit macht und Führungsanspruch ausgestattetes Geschlecht.⁶⁷

The examples given here illustrate the variety of ways in which readers of the offices and lives of Saint Anne were encouraged to feel that she could help them attain heaven. In terms of quantity, they represent only a small part of the total number of

⁶⁴ In the Augsburg life Anne is descended through Emerentia from the royal line of David and the priestly line of Aaron. All three of her husbands are of the House of David. Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin, p. aiii.

⁶⁵ Historia nova pulchra devota et autentica de sancta anna matre dei genitricis marie, p. 593 r.

⁶⁶ Sequitur hic hystoria pulcra de sancto Joachim patre dei matris Marie, Augsburg: Anton Sorg, p. 3 v.

⁶⁷ Esser, Die Heilige Sippe, p. 8. Esser cites E. Maschke on the term: "Das übliche deutsche Wort für die Abstammungsfamilie ist "Geschlecht." Der Nürnberger Patrizier Ulman Stromeir begann 1360 an dem "Püchel von mein geslecht und von abentwer" zu schreiben. Das Wort wurde eingeeengt auf die ratsfähigen, der städtischen Oberschicht angehörigen Familien bezogen, so dass der Plural "die Geschlechter" das Patriziat meint. Christoph Scheurl d.J. definierte sie...1516...: "Alles regiment unserer stat und gemainen nutzes steet in handen der, so man geschlechter nennet, das sein nun solche leut, dero anen und uranen vor langer zeit her auch im regiment gewest und über uns geherscht haben." E. Maschke, Die Familie in der deutschen Stadt des späten Mittelalters, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1980/4, Heidelberg, 1980, cited in Esser, *ibid*.

references to Anne's power to help in salvation and to the importance of her link with Mary and Jesus. Each instance cited could be multiplied many times over. Anne's worshippers were told that her bodily relationship with Mary and Jesus gave her special powers. As an extension of the tendencies that amplified Mary's powers, Anne was now seen as able, not only to help in the cares and problems of daily life, but also to be present and efficacious in the troubling area of salvation.

Summary

A factor of particular importance in the expansion of Anne's popularity in late medieval Germany was her ability to help the worshipper obtain salvation. Whereas contemporary texts describe other saints as able to help through their prayers of intercession, the late fifteenth-century Anne texts often impute to Anne a degree of actual power in helping the worshipper secure salvation. These texts encourage salvation anxiety by describing people who are damned because they slight Anne at the same time that they present her as a remedy for that anxiety. Anne's power derives from her physical connection with the Redeemer and his mother. It is enhanced by the large group of holy people she is physically related to. The salvation power attributed to Anne by virtue of her generative relationship with Christ and Mary is consistent with the high incidence of apotropaic objects and rituals that characterized late medieval German religious life.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE SALVATIONAL MESSAGE EXPRESSED
THROUGH THE ANNA SELBDRITT

Just as the Late Medieval German and Netherlandish texts implied that Anne exercised salvational power based on her link with Mary and Jesus, so too were analogous messages conveyed by the art works depicting her. Given the nature of visual images, the role of connotation is proportionately greater than in the texts. Nonetheless the images, particularly the German and Flemish Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships, are structured in such a way as to present Anne as the physical source of salvation. Further, by aligning Anne with and appropriating for her the compositional structures that were used to present Mary as co-redemptrix, they suggest an active, though unspecified, association between Anne and salvation.

The joining of the three figures in the art works calls attention to Anne's role as the physical source of the flesh of the Redeemer in several ways. The miniaturizing of Mary and the depiction of her and her son as children emphasize the physical dependence of both on Anne. The enfolding of Mary and Jesus in Anne's arms and cloak, as they are in the altarpiece from the workshop of Gerard David in the National Gallery in Washington (fig. 9), is another way of suggesting that the two smaller figures issue from the larger one.¹ Generally speaking, by showing Mary as a child, the artist disrupts the natural generational connection - grandmother-mother-grandchild - in favour of an

¹ John Oliver Hand, The Saint Anne Altarpiece, Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1992.

emphasis on the maternal role of Anne with respect to both Mary and Jesus. It is worth recalling that when medieval Germans spoke about the Anna Selbdritt they referred to both Mary and Jesus as children.

The bench-type Anna Selbdritt also presents adjoining of the three figures. But here the implications of the compositional structure are different. Rather than showing the joint dependence of Mary and Jesus on Anne, the bench composition makes Anne equal with Mary in her relationship with the child. Jesus is frequently shown in physical contact with both women. Held by one, he steps towards the other, or reaches for the fruit in her hands (fig. 10). In a popular Dutch composition a normal-sized Mary seated somewhat lower than Anne holds the child as he reaches up towards Anne (fig. 11).

Another kind of equation is suggested by the combining of vertical representations of the spiritual Trinity with the physical Anne-Mary-Jesus trinity in some bench and Throne of Grace Anna Selbdritts, as they are in the Hans Leinberger work in Ingolstadt (fig. 12; see also fig. 13) where the bust of God the Father appears surrounded by clouds and putti, with the dove below, directly above the head of the Christ Child. The close joining of the earthly with the spiritual Trinity cannot help but suggest that the two are either equal in importance or are part of the same scheme of heavenly relationships.²

² References to salvation in a general sense occur in iconographic details found in some Anna Selbdritts (fig. 14). Joanna Wolska-Wierusz discusses the cross-like formation in the woodwork of the chair or bench back found in some images above the figure of the Christ Child. Joanna Wolska-Wierusz, "Adventus Salvatoris i altarskapet fran Hägerstad," Fornvännen, 88 (1993), pp. 9-25. See for example the Lower Rhein Holy Kinship (c. 1500) and the Antwerp painting (c. 1520), both from private collections, in Ton Brandenbarg et al, Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, Nijmegen: Sun, 1992, p. 112. Though not common, these occur often enough that they can probably be considered intentional. A Dutch example c. 1500 combines the cross motif with the vertical Trinity. In this work

Even the crudest images, deficient in realism, expressiveness and beauty, rarely fail to express the all-important link. Its importance is also reflected in the fact that long after realism came to dominate late Gothic art in Germany, the older types of the Anna Selbdritt with the miniaturized Mary and Christ Child continued to be popular, even in the work of a master like Tilman Riemenschneider (c. 1460-1531).

The art works however do more than emphasize Anne as the physical source of Mary and Jesus. The size and placement of the figures and the directions of their gazes support a reading of the Anna Selbdritt and Holy Kinship images as embodying a more specific message about Anne's role in salvation.³ Just as the textual Anne of the late fifteenth century appropriated Marian epithets, images and powers, so the painted and sculpted Anne appropriated Marian postures and gaze structures. Fifteenth-century theologians gave Mary a role as co-redemptrix and that role was alluded to by the gazes and postures in fifteenth-century art works. The fifteenth-century Anna Selbdritt adopts the same gazes and postures in such a way as to insert Anne into this same salvational economy.

Artists in the fifteenth-century, both in Italy and the North, characteristically presented Mary looking into the space in front of her - towards the coming crucifixion - or downwards at her son (fig. 15).³ In some works the gaze of the madonna seems to

the salvational theme seems emphasized by the fact that Christ's arms, held by Mary and Anne are stretched out as though nailed on the cross. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. no. 1499, repr. *ibid.*, p. 54. The same stretching of the arms, without the actual cross motif, appears in the Anne altar in the Saint Nikolaikirche in Kalkar in the Rheinland. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³ The phenomenon can be seen in both the North and Italy.

replicate the oblique gaze of the suffering Mary in the fifteenth-century pietà (fig. 16).⁴ The smile of the high Gothic disappears, replaced by a serious expression, at times even by a look of sadness. Mary, by suffering with Christ, was sharing in the salvational process.

Heiko Oberman's description of the process of Mary's elevation in his study of the theology of the fifteenth-century Nominalist preacher Gabriel Biel helps make clear her new role. Biel's works, according to Oberman, show a two-pronged development of the role of Mary. In his theological writings Biel develops the idea of the predestination of Mary as the mother of the Redeemer, thus giving her an important but passive role in the redemption of mankind.⁵ In his sermons, this passive unmerited high status is replaced by a status in which Mary seems to be presented as predestined because of her foreknown humility. The downwards gaze of the art works coincides with the emphasis on Mary's

⁴ It can also be found in the theme of Jesus saying farewell to his mother, for example in the work by Gerard David in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung in Munich. Repr. A. Stubbe, La madone dans l'art, Brussels: Elsevier, 1958, p. 45.

⁵ The elevation of Mary's role in salvation had been in process for some time. In the 14th c. the Rheinland mystic Johannes Tauler, though he calls Mary *mediatrix* rather than *co-redemptrix*, assigns her a place in the salvational process: "As the heavenly Father offered his only Son, the living Host, on the altar of the cross, and still offers him daily in the sacrament for the salvation of men, so that he might be the perpetual intercessor between him and men; so he permitted his chosen Daughter, the most Blessed Virgin Mary, to suffer severely, and he received her oblation as an agreeable sacrifice for the advantage and salvation of the whole human race, so that she herself might be a *mediatrix* between God and men." Exercita seu meditatio Optima Vitae et Passionis Jesu-Christi, chap. 18, Johannes Tauler, Oeuvres complètes 6, Exercices ou méditations sur la vie et la Passion de Jésus-Christ, ed. E.-P. Noel, Paris, 1912, p. 253 f. cited in Barbara Lane, The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting, New York: Harper & Row, 1984, p. 86. Lane suggests that the emphasis on Mary's co-redemption serves to emphasize the role of the church in salvation, since Mary symbolizes Ecclesia. *Ibid.* p. 89.

humility.⁶ It was through the merit of her foreknown humility, according to fifteenth-century theologians, that Mary was chosen for the role of co-redemptrix. Additionally, Oberman explains, the sermons present Mary as the hope of mankind not only because God has granted her the right and power of intercession, but because she is somehow more fully human than Christ, and thus her exemption from original sin and from the decay of the body carries more weight as an example and forerunner for mankind.

In Biel's sermons, though not in his theological writings, Mary is given an active role in the redemption of mankind. Her compassion with Christ at the foot of the cross takes on a quite literal meaning, implying that she helped redeem mankind.⁷

Fifteenth-century depictions of Mary are frequently constructed in a way that is consistent with Biel's presentation of Mary as co-redemptrix. No longer simply aligning herself with the viewer as transmitter of his prayer, now, through the direction of her gaze towards either her son or towards his future crucifixion, she aligns herself with him as part of the redemptive act. Sometimes this idea finds other forms of visual expression as well. The paralleling of Mary's swooning body and hand positions with those of the body and hands of the dead Christ in Rogier van der Weyden's Deposition is a dramatic physical example of what is usually expressed by gaze structures (fig. 17).

⁶ See Lane, *ibid.*, for a discussion of Mary's compassion and for citations of sources relating to its expressions in art. See in particular Otto Georg Von Simson, "Compassio and Co-Redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's Descent from the Cross," Art Bulletin, 35 (1953) pp. 9-16.

⁷ See Heiko Oberman, The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, esp. p. 295 ff. The emphasis on Mary's compassion is paralleled in the fifteenth century by an emphasis on Mary's feelings in textual and visual depictions of the Passion of Christ.

Depictions of Saint Anne in the fifteenth-century parallel those of the madonna (fig. 18). Despite the physical interconnection of the three figures, German and Flemish Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships do not as a rule convey the sense of warm human intimacy one might expect in a representation of two women with an infant (figs. 19, 20). The gazes do not connect, either among the participants or with the viewer. Often, particularly in Flemish works, Anne looks with lowered, hooded gaze at Mary who looks in a similar indirect way at Jesus. Body positioning reinforces the affectless grouping. Gestures that suggest intimacy are lacking. Heads incline slightly but backs remain upright and hands clasp limply, as they do in the bench-type Anna Selbdritt painted by Hans Holbein the Elder as part of an altarpiece (c. 1512) for the Dominican nuns of Saint Katherine in Augsburg (fig. 21). Anne and Mary look obliquely towards but not at Baby Jesus. The presence of direct meeting gazes in the panel depicting Saint Ulrich looking at the faithless messenger in the same work, make it clear that the absence of interaction between Anne and Mary is not a matter of convention or artistic skill.

The bench-type Anna Selbdritt by the German Meister H.L. formerly in the Freiburg Münster (fig. 10) is even more typical in the way the glances of Mary and Anne are directed outwards into space, crossing each other in mid-air. Riemenschneider's sandstone Saint Anne (1520, fig. 22) exhibits another frequent pattern: Anne looks outward, the miniaturized Mary on her arm looks down towards her book, while Jesus looks out into space in yet another direction. For the viewer, these undirected gazes work to deemphasize the narrative of human relationships in favour of a narrative about an interaction that is part of the plan of salvation. The gazing of Mary into space that art

historians have seen as looking forward to the crucifixion, is duplicated in these works in which Anne too lays claim to a role in the sacrifice of the cross. Mary and Anne share in the salvational process not only by producing the Redeemer but also by sharing in the pain of his crucifixion.

By itself analysis that maps stylistic or iconographic change cannot decipher the meaning of that change. However the hypothesis that ascribes a salvational meaning to these bodily configurations, whether in the madonna or in the Anna Selbdritt, receives support from the fact that the images show a temporal consistency with regard to correspondences between depictions of Anne and concepts of her relationship with salvation. Works of art show the body positions and gaze structures described above most abundantly and emphatically in the period during which Anne was ascribed salvific power. Before the fifteenth century, when Anne had only an intercessory role, they are largely absent. The same parallel is found in depictions of the madonna. Before the fifteenth century Mary's role in salvation was that of intercessor who accepted homage from her devotee and took his supplications to the king, her son.⁸ This personal relationship between a very human Mary and the individual worshipper is expressed in the collections of stories of the Miracles of the Virgin in which Mary intercedes to perform personal favours for her worshippers, and in the visual arts in the smiling Gothic Virgins with their heads tilted in beckoning poses. Artists developed a whole vocabulary

⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux calls Mary advocata nostra. Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina, Paris, 1844-64, 73, cols. 415, 441, and 74, col. 1079, cited with other examples in Thomas J. Heffernan, "The Virgin as an aid to salvation in some fifteenth-century English and Latin verses," Medium Aevum, 52, 2 (1983), p. 238.

to signify intimacy: rounded protuberances beneath narrowed eyes to indicate smiles; exchange of gazes either between the two represented figures or between one or both of them and the viewer; physical interaction between the figures. The Gothic-style Anna Selbdritts of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are also for the most part characterized by smiles and by gazes directed towards the viewer (figs. 2, 23, 24, 25, 26).⁹

By the same token, in the sixteenth century when Anne began to lose her salvific power, the lowered and undirected gazes, and the affectless body positionings begin to decline in frequency, eventually to disappear and be replaced by a new configuration consistent with her new role in the economy of salvation: no longer shown as the founder of salvation, she is now depicted as its recipient.

This change is expressed through alterations in the positions and gazes of the figures. The physical link between the three participants begins to weaken. Eye contact on the other hand increases along with gestures and body positions that suggest the intimacy of everyday family life. As well, the compositional structures change. Instead

⁹ In a Bavarian Anna Selbdritt dated c. 1300 Anne looks directly out at the viewer, a slight smile on her lips, her head tilted. Repr. Diözesanmuseum St. Ulrich, Munich: Verlag Schnell, 1986, p. 16. Slight inclinations of heads and bodies and gently curving smiles create intimacy in the Stralsund Nikolaikirche Anna Selbdritt (c. 1300) (repr. Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen, Sint Anna-te-Drieen, M.A. thesis, Amsterdam, Free University, 1990, vol. 2, fig. 50) and in the Mosan work (c. 1320-30) in which a tall Anne stands beside a child Mary holding Jesus and leaning in slightly towards her mother, in the Suermondt-Ludwig Museum in Aachen (repr. Herbert Beck, "Eine frühe rheinisch-maasländische Anna Selbdritt-Gruppe im Liebieghaus," Staedel-Jahrbuch, new series, 1981, p. 70.). The standing Anne holding Mary and Jesus on her arm on loan in the Liebieghaus in Frankfurt bends in a gentle S-curve and crinkles her eyes in a French madonna-smile. Repr., Beck, *ibid.*, p. 68.

of emphasizing the centrality of Anne in the family of Christ, art works are increasingly organized so as to relegate her to a secondary position (fig. 27, 28). Ton Brandenburg has called attention to the literal removal of Anne from the centre to the sidelines in woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer.¹⁰ In The Holy Kinship with Two Angels (1511, fig. 27) Anne has literally been moved aside from her usual place in the bench-type composition. In another woodcut from the same year, The Holy Family with Joachim and Anne (fig. 27), even though the bench-type format is used, Mary is placed further forward than Anne. She looks lovingly at her son whom she presents to his grandmother who bends forward to pick him up. Anne's eyes are obscured by her headdress, but the mood of intimate domesticity is nonetheless clearly established. Visually this work ascribes no power to Anne, nor is she shown as responsible for Jesus. Unlike the older Anna Selbdritts where Anne is clearly shown as source, this work can be read as showing Mary presenting the means of salvation to mankind. A similar set of relationships is found in Peter de Witt's Holy Family with Anna and John (late sixteenth century, fig. 29).¹¹ Mary, who is seated, looks down at a kneeling Anne whose worshipful gaze seeks that of the Christ child. The powerful non-directed gaze of the fifteenth-century has been replaced by the directed seeking gaze of the grateful worshipper.

Moving into the future we find analogous coincidings of concepts and images.¹²

¹⁰ Ton Brandenburg, Heilige familieleven, Nijmegen: Sun, 1990.

¹¹ Art Treasures of the Vatican, ed. D. Redig de Campos, Secaucus, N.J., Chartwell Books, 1974, pl. 376.

¹² The German Baroque Anna Selbdritt has its own compositional repertoire. One type seems to play down the role of Mary. In a 1750 sculpture by Joseph Anton Feuchtmayr in the Reichlin-Meideggische Kappel in Überlingen the Infant Christ held in

A nineteenth-century Gothic Revival Anna Selbdritt in Ingolstadt Münster reproduces the Gothic style with reasonable exactitude. But the postures have been subtly changed. The inclination of the two women's bodies suggests that they are worshipping a Christ Child who is distinctly separate from them. Both of them are now dependent on Christ for salvation. In medieval bench-type Anna Selbdritts the heads and or bodies of the two women often take a kind of arch-like form over the child, whereas in the nineteenth-century work they bend in as though paying homage. In this period neither Mary nor Anne retain real importance in the salvation process. They both mutually worship Jesus.

The temporal consistency between text and image in the Northern Anne cult is matched by a geographical consistency in the cult in England and Italy. In neither is Anne ascribed salvational power or portrayed in ways that emphasize the triple link. In England the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century stanzaic lives of Anne, the poems from the same period, and the episodes in plays, pay little or no attention to the issues that distinguish the continental texts, neither the triple link, the absence of fleshly lust, the special powers nor the salvational efficacy.¹³ The admonition in Mirk's Festial is typical in presenting Anne, like other saints, as exercising intercessory power:

Anne's right arm looks up at her as though seeking protection, while the child Mary who stands at Anne's right seems to tug her skirt for attention. Repr. L. Böer & G. Enghardt. Lexikon der Marienkunde. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1967, p. 251.

¹³ See The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne, ed. Roscoe E. Parker, Early English Text Society, o.s. London, Oxford University Press, 1928; Osborn Bokenham, Legendys of Hooly Wummen, ed. Mary S. Serjeantson, EETS, o.s. (London, 1938) Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1971; Cursor Mundi: A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century. Part 2. ed. Richard Morris. EETS. o.s., London, (1875) 1966, pp. 75 & 76; The Early South-English Legendary, Laud MS. 108, London: EETS, 1887; Ludus coventriae, ed. K.S. Block, EETS, e.s. London, (1922) 1974.

Wherfor ye schul now knele adowne, and pray Saynt Anne to pray to her holy doghtyr, oure lady, that scho pray to her sonne that he geue you hele yn body and yn sowle, and grace to kepe your ordyr of wedlok, and gete such chyldryn that byn plesant and trew seruandys to God, and soo com to the blys that Saynt Anne ys yn. Amen.¹⁴

The description keeps Anne separate from Jesus. English prayers often link Anne with her daughter, and English art does the same, especially in the image type known as the Education of the Virgin.¹⁵ But texts and art works that emphasize Anne, Mary and Jesus together, that is the Selbdritt type of composition, are extremely rare in England. In an English Holy Kinship manuscript illumination in the Krivoklat Psalter Anne is placed in a separate register from her three daughters (fig. 30). Far from being joined with Anne, Mary and her child are shown on a lower register with Mary's sisters and their children.¹⁶

¹⁴ Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies, ed. Theodor Erbe, EETS, e.s., (London: Oxford University Press, 1905), Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1987, p. 216.

¹⁵ A list of medieval depictions of Saint Anne in York yields the following: one Anna Selbdritt type composition (window in York Minster Choir, composition unknown); five depictions of the Education of the Virgin; one of Anne with Mary; four (no longer extant) described as Anne with the Virgin Mary; eight (no longer extant) described as Saint Anne; one (no longer extant) described as Anne & Elizabeth. With some 22 mentions of images in various media (including works in which she is depicted with Mary) Anne is outnumbered by Peter with 47 of Peter, Paul with 28, and John the Evangelist with 25. Clifford Davidson & David E. O'Connor, York Art: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art Including Items Relevant to Early Drama, Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University, Medieval Institute Publications, 1978, pp. 35-38 and passim. Ayers Bagley has prepared a lengthy slide list of extant, mostly English, Images of the Education of the Virgin. Ayers Bagley, University of Minnesota, "St. Anne Teaching the Virgin," slide list.

¹⁶ Krivoklat Psalter (Krivoklat, Castle Library MS I.b.23) Nigel Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscripts [II] 1250-1285. London: Harvey Miller, 1988, pp. 189-91 (fig. 403) no. 184. In France the Anna Selbdritt is much less frequent than in the Germanic areas and to my knowledge her cult there is not linked with salvation. Some French depictions of Anne with Mary and Jesus resemble German and Flemish ones. Others show relationships similar to that in the Krivoklat Psalter. The miniature from Gautier de Coincy's "La Généalogie de Nostre Dame en roumans" (c. 1300, Paris, Bibliothèque

The absence of interest in Anne's salvational help in English texts is not surprising in view of the fact that they present salvation as being less dependent on the manipulation of spiritual power and more dependent on the act of the Redemption and the sacrament of confession than the German lives.¹⁷ Research suggests that English Christians, though they were concerned about their salvation and they took measures to ensure their eternal happiness, centered their activities less resolutely around the metonymic model than did German Christians. Chancies and salvation-related bequests, though they continue to be much in evidence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, seem to have declined in England in contrast to Germany where they increased.¹⁸

Nationale, Arsenal MS. 3517, fol. 7, repr. Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society, ed. Kathleen Ashley & Pamela Sheingorn, Athens & London: University of Georgia Press, 1990, p. 172) shows Anne at the top with her three daughters, with their children separated in three roundels on the bottom register. Jean Fouquet's illustration from the Hours of Etienne Chevalier c. 1450 (Paris, BN MS. nouv. acq. lat. 1416, rep. *ibid.*, p. 175) which shows from left to right the Virgin holding the Christ Child, Anne, and physically closer to her the children of Mary Cleophas and their Mother, and Mary Salome and her children, does not establish a link between Anne and the Virgin and Child.

¹⁷ In the early 15th century that inveterate soul-searcher Margery Kempe, is told by God on several occasions that she is not to worry: "...You shall not fear the devil of hell, for he has no power over you. He fears you more than you do him....And I have promised you that you should have no other purgatory than the slanderous talk of this world....Therefore don't be at all afraid, daughter, for with my own hands which were nailed to the cross I shall take your soul from your body with great joy and melody..." Margery Kempe, The Book of Margery Kempe, trans. B.A. Windeatt, London: Penguin, 1985, p. 87. What is emphasized in Kempe's writing is Christ's redemptive suffering along with confession and repentance. See also pp. 117, 123. Margery also took advantage of indulgences, as she did in Assisi on "Lammas Day" (Aug. 1) "when there is great pardon with plenary remission, in order to obtain grace, mercy and forgiveness for herself, for all her friends, for all her enemies, and for all the souls in purgatory." *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁸ Interpreting the data on English salvational practices is not an easy task. Alan Kreider's study of chantry foundations in Essex, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire shows interesting contrasts with German practices. English intercessory bequests were

In Italy, the metterza as the Anna Selbdritt is called in Italian, though less popular than in the North, is relatively frequent. In Italian versions of the theme the figures are usually grouped not as a trio, but as a pair plus a single individual. In those works where the three are grouped together, body positions and glances are not in most cases used as they are in the North to create a strong sense of mutual physical linking.¹⁹

paying proportionately more attention to supplying public services than to maintaining ritual. Alan Kreider, English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 69. Kreider's chronology of chantry foundations posits a low increase in the late thirteenth century followed in the first half of the fourteenth century by "a tremendous crescendo of new chantry foundations" then a decrease, with the issuing of mortmain licences dwindling until it ceased in the 1530s. Ibid., Table 3.2. Kreider says that many additional intercessory institutions were founded informally, or otherwise avoided appearing in the letters patent granting license to alienate lands into mortmain. Ibid., p. 73. He concludes "that fifteenth-century founders in these six counties continued to evidence a lively if somewhat diminished interest in establishing intercessory institutions." Ibid., pp. 89-90. Kreider finds that more sixteenth-century chantries were founded in rural than in urban districts, and that "during this period the people of the north and the west of England were establishing many more institutions than their countrymen from the Midlands, the south, and the east....In both prosperous Somerset and penurious Lancashire, founders were endowing numerous chantries on the eve of the Reformation." Ibid., pp. 90-91, also p. 15. Joel Rosenthal's study of chantries and salvation-related bequests on the part of the nobility in fourteenth-century England finds a "steady and significant increase in such acts as alienations in mortmain" in the first half of the fourteenth century, with a decline in the amount of activity per family after 1350. Joel T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972, pp. 127. Rosenthal concludes that in the fifteenth century intercessional practices were stronger, less a matter of "conventional piety" in the North of England than in the South. Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁹ Among the Italian Selbdritts which show linking are G. Francesco Caroto's Virgin and Child with Saints (16th c) in the Church of S. Fermo Maggiore in Verona; a Jacopo da Michele work in the Diocesan Museum in Palermo, repr. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Artistes, Patriciens et Confréries: Production et consommation de l'oeuvre à Palerme et en Sicile Occidentale (1348-1460), Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1979, p. 3; Luca Tomé's painting in the Accademia in Siena, repr. Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich, "Le Sainte Anne de Léonard de Vinci," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 10 (1933), p. 212; and the Benozzo Gozzoli Sainte Anne, the Virgin and Child in the Museo civico in Pisa. Ibid., p. 211. Linking occurs most often in earlier fifteenth century or in fourteenth century works in Italy.

Most Italian depictions of Anne, the Virgin and Child use the two plus one composition. In Fra Bartolommeo's Saint Anne Altarpiece (1510-12, fig. 31) in the Museo San Marco in Florence Anne raises her hands and eyes towards heaven while the Virgin and Child look down towards the kneeling infant Baptist.²⁰ She is thus shown as distinguished from, not joined with, the other two. This sense that Anne is presenting, or exclaiming over, the madonna is found in several Italian works. In Leonardo's well-known treatment of the theme, on the other hand, it is the two women who are joined to form a group. Interacting with one another, Mary and Anne share a mutual absorption in the youthful Redeemer (fig. 32).²¹ These depictions of Anne are consistent with the fact that in Italy Anne does not appear to have been seen in terms of her joint link with daughter and grandson (fig. 33, 34).²² In Florence, where levels of salvation anxiety seem

²⁰ The Fra Bartolommeo Saint Anne Altarpiece is one of the few Italian works in which the Trinity appears above Saint Anne. Florence, Museo San Marco, repr. Ashley & Sheingorn, ed., Interpreting Cultural Symbols, p. 149.

²¹ Leonardo's The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne (c. 1510) is in the Louvre. Repr. Jack Wasserman, "Michelangelo's Virgin and Child at Oxford," Burlington Magazine, 3 (March, 1969), pp. 122-31. Other examples of non-linking Italian Annes include the Masaccio in the Uffizi, repr. in Ashley & Sheingorn, Interpreting Cultural Symbols, p. 146; the Sangallo sculpture in Or San Michele, *ibid.*, p. 134; the Niccolo Alunno painting in the Robert Lehman Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in which Anne has her hands crossed in prayer, The Robert Lehman Collection, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987, p. 199; the Giovanni Maria Butteri Saint Anne Altarpiece in the Uffizi, repr. in Ashley & Sheingorn, *ibid.*, p. 156, and the Cosimo Rosselli in Berlin Dahlem, repr. Bernard Berenson, Italian Paintings of the Renaissance: The Florentine Schools, vol. 2, London: Phaidon, 1963.

²² The prayer of the mystic Umilità of Faenza associates Anne with Mary only, not with Mary and Jesus: "Dich will ich verehren, o heilige Anna, weil du jene gekrönte Königin getragen hast, die über allen Engeln thront und die Mutter und Braut Gottes ist und mit ihrer grossen Schönheit den ganzen himmlischen Hof erfreut. Gebenedeit sei deine Milch, mit welcher du sie genährt hast. Wahrlich, selig ist dein Leib, welcher geboren hat jenes glorreiche Kind, dessen Antlitz reizender ist als Lilie und Rose. Da du

to have been relatively low, where communal spiritual concerns may have been proportionately higher than in the North, and where, according to Richard Trexler, relationships with saints followed the patron-client model which is based on chosen rather than blood ties, Anne was not viewed primarily in terms of her ties with Mary and Jesus, and she had no special connection with salvation.²³

Anne had power in Florence as a city protectress, as Roger Crum and David Wilkin have shown, but her power did not derive from her link with daughter and grandson. The images express power, but - even though they depict the three generations - they nonetheless use eye and body language not to join but to separate the generations.²⁴ The explanation of the Leonardo work given to Isabella d'Este by Fra Pietro da Novellara in 1501 is emphatic in not linking the three figures and in not ascribing Anne a role in salvation:

A cartoon of a child Christ, about a year old, almost jumping out of his mother's arms to seize hold of a lamb. The mother is in the act of rising from St. Anne's lap, and holds back the child from the lamb, an innocent creature which is a symbol of the Passion, while St. Anne, partly rising from her seat, seems anxious

es auf deinen Schoß genommen und mit deinen Händen bewahrt hast, so danke ich dir und lobe dich. Sermones S. Humilitatis de Faventia, ed. Torello, Sala. Florence, 1884, p. 240, cited and translated in Beda Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna: Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1930, p. 81.

²³ This is the picture of Florentine piety that emerges in Ronald Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence, New York: Academic Press, 1982, and Richard Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence, New York: Academic Press, 1980.

²⁴ Roger Crum and David Wilkin have shown that Anne's importance in Florence, where she is a civic patrons, stemmed from an association with political liberty that grew out of the fact that the defeat of the early fourteenth-century tyrant Walter of Brienne, the Duke of Athens, took place on her feast day in 1343. Roger J. Crum & David G. Wilkins, "In the Defense of Florentine Republicanism: Saint Anne and Florentine Art, 1343-1575" in Ashley & Sheingorn, Interpreting Cultural Symbols, pp. 131-168.

to restrain her daughter, which may be a type of the Church who would not hinder the Passion of Christ.²⁵

Here Anne has knowledge of salvation and plays a role in making it possible, but has no agency in effecting it.²⁶

One of the small number of Italian metterze that does follow the German model, the Saint Anne Altar in the Church of Sant' Agostino in Rome (fig. 35), was commissioned by a German, the Trier Humanist Johann Goritz, for his burial chapel in the church.²⁷ In the altar which combines a fresco of Isaiah by Raphael and a metterza sculpture by Andrea Sansovina, textual, contextual and iconographic evidence combine to present a salvational message. There is a type of triple link, which though it is not typical of German models, is not found in most Italian metterze. Anne has her arm placed affectionately around Mary who looks down at Jesus who looks up at Anne. Noting the changing of the words on the statue's inscription from "...the mind stayed on Thee, Thou keepest in peace" to "the mind nailed on thee, you will preserve" Virginia Anne Bonita states: "With these changes the phrase becomes a reference to the Crucifixion, and though a literal translation of the passage is difficult, the sense is that

²⁵ The passage appears in a letter to Isabella of Mantua. A. Luzio, I precettori di Isabella d'Este, Ancona, 1887, p. 32, n.l, transl. in Peter Burke, The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy, Princeton: Princeton University Press (Batsford, 1972), 1986, pp. 170.

²⁶ Anne looks into the distance in some Italian works.

²⁷ The work was dedicated in 1512. Virginia Anne Bonito, "The Saint Anne Altar in Sant'Agostino: Restoration and Interpretation," Burlington Magazine, (May, 1982) p. 272. See also Virginia Anne Bonito, "The Saint Anne Altar in Sant'Agostino: A New Discovery," Burlington Magazine 122, 933 (Dec., 1980). pp. 268-288.

Christ has opened the gates of heaven [referred to in the texts incorporated in the work] by atoning for man's sins at the Crucifixion." Bonita continues:

The dedicatory inscriptions in Greek and Latin reiterate in simple terms the essential meaning of the altar, of the Incarnation and salvation. Uppermost on the pier, Isaiah represents the Old Testament, time past, but also, with the message of the scroll, the gate of heaven. Lower on the pier and closer to us, emerging from the niche are Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child, the intermediaries for our salvation. Again the position of the Child is important. In the sloped lap of the virgin it directs our view to the altar, in our realm, on which His Incarnation and Sacrifice is re-enacted.²⁸

However the salvational role played by Anne here is one in which she is intermediary rather than source. The cartellino carved on the back of the work contains the lines:

RE DEL CIEL VERGIN FIGLIA SPOSA ET MADRE
ANNA CHEL SOL DI GRATIA PARTORISTI
ONDE IL CIEL CHIUSO AL PECCATORE APRISTI
DRIZIA TE I PENSIER VANI AL SOMMO PADRE

The fact that Sansovino's sculpture, which in most respects follows Italian Renaissance conventions, shows Mary as distinctly smaller than Anne, may also be related to its patronage. The figures take the position of a type common in the Rheinland, the close, seated bench-type in which Mary is smaller than Anne.

The pattern presented by Holland is also consistent with the proposal that the German and Flemish images contain salvational content. In Holland where the metonymic approach to salvation appears to have been less strong than in Germany by the late 1400s, the Anna Selbdritt image begins to take on the appearance of a more

²⁸ Ibid., p. 276.

realistic, genre-type scene before it does so in Germany.²⁹ Dutch sculptures of the Anna Selbdritt include an unusually high proportion of fifteenth and early sixteenth century examples in which both gazes and body positioning establish a sense of intimate contact (figs. 11, 64, 65). Anne and Mary sometimes look out jointly towards the viewer. Smiles are frequent. Bodies incline slightly towards one another. Rather than portraying her as a figure of power, Dutch images frequently show Anne as an affectionate, down-to-earth grandmother. (Anne's body proportions are likely to be stockier in Holland than in Germany.)

That Holland should be different in this respect from Flanders and Germany at first glance may seem surprising in view of the fact that the three territories shared to such a large extent the same body of texts, images and practices related to the cult of Saint Anne. However there are indications that perceptions of Anne in Holland were slightly different than in Germany. More attention is paid to realistic detail in the Dutch Jan van Denemarken's 1486 Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempelen vander heyligher vrouwen sint Annen as compared with the lives by the South Netherlandish Petrus Dorlandus and Wouter Bor and the German Johannes Trithemius. There is somewhat less emphasis on Anne's power - though she is ascribed salvational power - less emphasis on the absence of "fleshly lust" in her marital relations, and less concern with

²⁹ For examples of these trends in Dutch religious thinking see the selection of texts in Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings, trans. & intr. John van Engen, Paulist Press: New York 1988, and the works of the Dutch reformers Johann Pupper von Goch (d. 1475) and Wessel Gansfort (d. 1489). See also Gerhard Ritter, "Romantic and Revolutionary Elements in German Theology on the Eve of the Reformation," The Reformation in Medieval Perspective, ed. Steven Ozment, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971, pp. 15-49, esp. pp. 32 ff.

depicting her as a model for restrained female behaviour. And though the large number of images made in Holland testifies to her popularity, the fact that there were proportionately fewer confraternities, no major pilgrimage sites, and thus fewer indulgences related to her cult, raises the possibility that she may have played a lesser role with respect to salvation in Holland than in Germany.

Precisely how the changes in body position and gaze structure in the fifteenth-century madonnas and Anna Selbdritts came about is not known. Contracts do not provide enough information to show to what degree these and other changes were the result of instructions or directives from clerics or patrons, expressions of internalized perceptions of the role and nature of the divine personages, or responses to clients' approval of new motifs or styles. Is the increase of anxiety over women's behaviour in Germany and Flanders in the late fifteenth century and the corresponding emphasis on the virtue of submissiveness, related to the depiction of Mary and Anne with lowered gazes? Possibly. But the presumption that artistic images of Mary will necessarily present contemporary models of desirable female behaviour has to deal with the fact that earlier and later madonnas raise their eyes and look out at the viewer.

Summary

The relationship between Saint Anne and salvation is expressed in images as well as in texts. Not only do the late fifteenth-century Anne texts from Germany and the Netherlands emphasize the triple link among Anne, Mary and Jesus and the importance

of Anne within that relationship, so also are these same things emphasized in the Anne images produced in these areas. The compositional structure of the Anna Selbdritt expresses a relationship that has salvational implications: Anne is presented visually as prior to and above Mary and Jesus. She is thus presented in a manner that is consistent with a concept of her as the physical source of salvation, a theme that is expressed in the Anne texts. In works that show her with the two children her role as the source of both is emphasized. In the bench-type Anna Selbdritt the emphasis is on Anne as co-source with Mary. Not only is there consistency between texts and images, there is also temporal parallelism. In the sixteenth century when Anne began to lose her salvational role the composition of the Anna Selbdritt began to change. Anne now begins to move to the periphery of the image. In other works she is placed below Christ and Mary, sometimes in postures that show her requesting the blessing of one or both. As well, in regions where Anne was not ascribed salvational powers the triple link is not found either in artistic or textual depictions.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ANNA SELBDRITT IMAGE: DESCRIPTION AND TYPOLOGY

Given the extremely large number of Anna Selbdritts in existence, a full analysis of its different compositional forms will only be possible once separate regional studies have been completed. Beginnings have been made. Willemien Deeleman-van Tyen has catalogued the sculpted Anna Selbdritt in Holland and Bernadette Mangold has done the same for Lower Bavaria.¹ Werner Esser's thesis on the Holy Kinship, while it eschews the immense task of cataloguing the images, includes representative samplings of works from the various German and Netherlandish regions.²

This chapter describes the compositional types found in the painted and sculpted Anna Selbdritt in Germany and the Netherlands, along with some observations on its regional variations. It does not include the Holy Kinship compositional types, which are analyzed by Esser, but it does comment on the compositional types of the Anna Selbdritt used in Holy Kinships.

¹ Willemien Deeleman-van Tyen, Sint Anna-te-Drieen: een onderzoek naar vorm, inhoud en functioneren van het thema St Anna-te-drieen in de nederlandse beeldhouwkunst der late middeleeuwen, 2 vols., M.A. thesis, Amsterdam: Free University, 1990; Bernadette Mangold, Die Darstellung der heiligen Anna selbdritt in der gotischen Plastik Niederbavarns (1380-1540), M.A. thesis, University of Passau, 1990. Deeleman-van Tyen includes sculptures from other regions that are in Dutch collections. However the majority of her entries are Dutch.

² Werner Esser, Die Heilige Sippe: Studien zu einem spätmittelalterlichen Bildthema in Deutschland und den Niederlanden, Ph.D thesis, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1986.

Compositional Types of the Early Anna Selbdritts

The earliest Anna Selbdritts comprise a handful of sculptures dated to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. These works were modelled on the Romanesque Throne of Wisdom or on standing or seated Gothic madonnas.³ A late thirteenth-century miniature sardonyx cameo relief in the Museo Nazionale in Modena adds an additional child to a classic frontal Romanesque Throne of Wisdom (fig. 36).⁴ In the early fourteenth-century Mosan example illustrated in the previous chapter Anne stands beside what is in effect a miniaturized standing Gothic madonna and child.⁵ In the Erfurt Cathedral Anna Selbdritt (early 1300s, fig. 37) and in some other fourteenth-century sculptures it is Anne (holding Mary who in turn holds the Christ Child) who is modelled on the standing madonna.⁶ Most Anna Selbdritts based on the Gothic madonna show Mary holding Jesus on the inside, between herself and Anne. This is the case in several Anna Selbdritts in manuscript illuminations from fourteenth-century Bohemian court

³ Dates and regions given, unless otherwise stated, are those ascribed by the art historians or institutions who have published or who own the works. The same is the case for specific titles of art works.

⁴ Repr. in Deeleman-van Tyen, I, fig. 53.

⁵ Suermondt-Ludwig Museum, Aachen. Repr. in Ernst G. Grimme, Europäische Bildwerke vom Mittelalter zum Barock, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1977, pl. 4.

⁶ Repr. in Engelbert M. Kirschbaum, Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, 5, Rome & Freiburg: Herder, 1968-76, p. 187.

circles (fig. 38).⁷ However in a late fourteenth century Silesian-Bohemian painting in the Museum für Kunstgewerbe in Breslau (fig. 39), Mary holds her son on the outside, extending the composition outwards in a manner reminiscent of the widely spaced schöne Madonnen of Germany and Bohemia.⁸

Of the surviving examples dated to the thirteenth-century, three are from the Lower Rhein / Westfalia area, one is from Regensburg in Bavaria, and one is from Stralsund on the North Sea, while the origins of the Modena cameo are not known. Of the approximately one dozen sculptures produced before 1400, about half stem from the

⁷ See Amanda Simpson, The Connections between English and Bohemian Painting during the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century, New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984. figs. 39 a, b, & 314.

⁸ Repr. Marburger Index. The same composition can be seen in an Anna Selbdritt (1337) on the facade of a house in Eichstätt, Bavaria. Beda Keinschmidt. Die heilige Anna: Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1930. pp. 217-18.

Rheinland.⁹ This is not surprising given the other evidence for the early establishment of the cult of Saint Anne here.¹⁰

⁹ Of six examples ascribed dates in the thirteenth-century, three are from the Lower Rhein or North Rhein-Westfalia regions with one each from Regensburg and Stralsund; the origins of the Modena cameo are not known. Overall, of twenty-one Anna Selbdritt sculptures produced before 1400, nine are from the upper Rheinland regions, five from Bavaria, one each from Stralsund, Swabia, Thuringia, Lower Saxony, and two of uncertain provenance. Locations or reproductions are as follows: Modena, Museo Nazionale, 13th c.; Cologne, Schnutgen Museum (A137) 13th c.; Paderborn, Landeshospital, late 1200s, Berta Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna: Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1930, p. 217; Rhein-Meuse, c. 1300, Paul Williamson, Northern Gothic Sculpture 1200-1450, London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1988; Rhein/Meuse, c. 1320, Repr. Ernst G. Grimme, Europäische Bildwerke vom Mittelalter zum Barock, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1977, p. 101; Rhein/Meuse, c. 1330, Herbert Beck, "Eine frühe rheinisch-maslaendische Anna Selbdritt-Gruppe im Liebieghaus," Staedel-Jahrbuch, 1981, pp. 67-78; Westfalia, c. 1300, Deeleman-van Tyen, 2 (Enschede); Lower Rhein, mid 14th, *ibid.*; Rhein / Meuse, 14th c., *ibid.* (Utrecht 23); Annenborn, convent seal, 1351, W.L. Schreiber, Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jh., 7, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1926, p. 122; Regensburg, c. 1280, Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, 5, p. 186; Regensburg Cathedral, c. 1330, *ibid.*, p. 187; Regensburg, early 14th c., Diözesanmuseum St. Ulrich; Eichstätt house front relief, 1337, Kleinschmidt, p. 217-18; Haigerloch, pilgrimage church; Stralsund, Nikolaikirche, c. 1300, *ibid.*, p. 186; Erfurt Cathedral portal, c. 1330, *ibid.*, p. 187; Hannover, 14th c.; Ebrach Klosterkirche, Franconia, c. 1330, *ibid.*, p. 188; French or Netherlandish, late 14th c., coll. William Wixon, Medieval Art from Private Collections, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1969; 14th c. ivory, Musée Vivienel, Compiègne, Dominique Costa, Sainte Anne, Nantes: Musée Dobrée, 1966, p. 34; Berlin-Dahlem, Annenkirche, fresco, late 14th c. Fourteenth-century examples were also produced in Spain and Italy.

¹⁰ A small number of early painted and illuminated Anna Selbdritts from the Germanic areas also exist, among them a painting (1340) in Vienna, Diocesan Museum. (Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, 5, p. 187) and a Silesian-Bohemian work from the late 14th c. in Breslau, Museum für Kunstgewerbe (Marburger Index). See also Kleinschmidt, pp. 221-24. Some fourteenth-century sculptures are extant in Spain and Sweden, some of the Swedish ones possibly of German origin, and there are early examples in Italian painting.

Madonnas transformed into Anna Selbdritts

Some art historians have stated that certain early Anna Selbdritts were originally madonnas that were remade as Anna Selbdritts. It seems possible that such transformations might have been made. However the published statements in question do not explain the basis for their claims. In particular, the technical evidence for the putative changes is not discussed. The problematic nature of some of these statements is illustrated by Joseph Braun's statement that the Anna Selbdritt in the Landeshospital in Paderborn and the Regensburg work in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich (fig. 24), were undoubtedly reworked in this way.¹¹ Braun is clearly wrong in the case of latter, for in this sculpture Mary and Anne are carved in part from the same piece of wood. One cannot help but wonder if the suspicion that the Regensburg Anne had originally been a madonna arose out of the fact that the very youthful Anne figure looks like an image of Mary. In this work the two figures are virtually identical apart from size, with thee long braids. In fact however it is not uncommon for Mary and Anne to be portrayed similarly, apart from size, especially in early examples. In the Stralsund Anna Selbdritt (fig. 2) there is also a striking ressemblance in headdress, clothing, age,

¹¹ Braun, referring to the Regensburg Anna Selbdritt in the BNM in Munich (repr. Kleinschmidt, p. 218), an Anna Selbdritt in the Landeshospital in Paderborn, and a statue of Saint Anne in the parish church in Saerbeck (repr. Kleinschmidt, p. 102), states that "...es handelt sich bei allen drei zweifellos um Muttergottesstatuen des 13. Jh., die in späterer Zeit in A.-Statuen umgewandelt wurden." Joseph Braun, Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der Deutschen Kunst, Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1943, p. 78.

facial features and expression.¹² The same is true of the standing fourteenth-century work in the Liebieghaus in Frankfurt.¹³

Compositional forms in the late medieval period

The Throne of Wisdom type of Anna Selbdritt did not continue to be produced in the high middle ages, though the other early forms did. They were joined in the fifteenth century by a variety of new compositional forms. The range and permutations of types makes these difficult to categorize. Nonetheless, the following typology of nine major groups, most of which can be further subdivided, provides a reasonably clear schema for looking at the Anna Selbdritt.¹⁴ Most of the types are found in both sculpture and painting.

A: The Throne of Wisdom type (fig. 40). This form is found primarily in some early sculptures.

B: Anne, standing or seated, holds the small Mary and Jesus on one arm (fig. 41). In this type both Mary and Jesus are shown as children. When Anne stands Mary and Jesus are

¹² Braun, *ibid.*, p. 77.

¹³ Herbert Beck, "Eine frühe rheinisch-maasländische Anna selbdritt-Gruppe im Liebieghaus," Staedel-Jahrbuch, Frankfurt am Main, neue Folge, 1981, pp. 67-78.

¹⁴ Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie (vol. 5, pp. 185-189) uses a typology based on Byzantine madonnas. However the use of the Byzantine types is not adequate to accommodate the variety presented by the Anna Selbdritt. It is also misleading because it implies that the former developed directly out of the latter.

usually proportionate with one another, both of them being miniaturized with respect to Anne. When Anne is seated Mary and Jesus tend to be somewhat larger. Depictions of the standing Anne holding the small Mary and Jesus on one arm were produced in great numbers in Mechelen, between Antwerp and Brussels.

C: Anne, standing or seated, holds the small Mary and Jesus, one on either arm (fig. 42)

Jesus is usually on Anne's right. Often Jesus is proportionate with Anne, Mary alone being shown smaller than normal so that she more or less matches him in size. This is a characteristic South German image.

D: Anne stands while Mary stands beside her (fig. 43) Sometimes Anne holds Jesus, sometimes Mary does. In a version of this type widespread in Holland both women are shown as adults.

E: Anne sits while Mary stands beside her (fig. 44) Sometimes Anne holds Jesus, sometimes Mary does. Occasionally the child is held between them. Once again Dutch examples of this type show Mary as older and larger than German ones, often indeed as an adult.

F: Throne of Grace arrangements (figs. 45) The madonna, depicted as an adult, sits below Anne in a vertically structured composition.

G: Mary, shown as an adult, is seated lower than the seated Anne (fig. 46) This is similar to Type F, but Mary sits to one side rather than directly below Anne. In the Throne of Grace types Mary and Anne each look down or out frontally, whereas in the "seated lower" type, Mary sometimes turns her body up towards Anne who in turn interacts with her daughter or grandson. Or, the child may be used to link the two female figures in other ways. Both women may hold him, or Mary may lift him up to Anne, or vice versa. This composition is found primarily in Holland and adjoining areas of Germany. Types F and G may both be intended to refer to the Madonna of Humility.

H: Bench Type compositions (fig. 47) Anne and Mary sit side by side on a bench with the child between them. Sometimes the child links the two women, sometimes he is held by one. Both women are shown as normally proportioned adults, though sometimes Mary is shown as very slightly shorter or smaller than Anne. This type is found in all parts of the territory under consideration.

I: Row compositions with central madonna (fig. 48). Here Mary is the central figure. Sometimes the madonna and child form the central group while Anne sits to one side. Not widely used, this composition is found in some paintings from Westfalia.

J: Atypical compositions (fig. 49). Variations of older types and new atypical compositions, often involving arrangements that reduce Anne's importance, appear in some sixteenth-century works, in particular prints.

The compositional types in which Mary is shown as an adult appeared subsequent to those that depict her as a child, in the later fifteenth century. The most common of these, the bench type, seems to have originated as a painted image, probably first in books of hours, and then in panel paintings in the early 1400s. It became extremely popular throughout most parts of Germany in the early sixteenth century. Most if not all of the other compositional types were first produced as sculptures though they may have had antecedent features in painted compositions. Within a given region the breakdown of compositional types is usually but not always the same for paintings and sculpture.

The Anna Selbdritt in the Holy Kinship

As well as appearing alone the Anna Selbdritt also appears as the central group in Holy Kinship compositions. When they first appeared in the late thirteenth century, Holy Kinships used the Tree of Jesse composition as a basis. The first examples which incorporated the Anna Selbdritt were paintings from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Most often Anna Selbdritts in Holy Kinships use the bench composition. The origins of this form are unclear. Art historians have called attention to similar arrangements of three figures in classical and Byzantine art, for example in the theme of the "caressing of David" (fig. 50).¹⁵ However, the existence of Holy Kinships using row

¹⁵ The earliest Holy Kinship incorporating the Anna Selbdritt reported by Esser is a wall painting c. 1378-80 in Prague Cathedral, apparently part of the Grave of Bishop Johannes IV von Drazice. Werner Esser, Die Heilige Sippe, Bonn: Ph.D. thesis, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1986, p. 257. Joanna Wolska-Wierusz suggests that coins bearing the image of the dual emperors on the double throne of the late Roman period may be the compositional source for the bench-type Anna Selbdritt, the immediate source being depictions of the Trinity seated on benches in books of hours.

compositions with centralized madonnas raises the alternative possibility that the bench arrangement might have developed out of these.¹⁶

Anna Selbdritt are sometimes mislabelled as Holy Kinships. To be considered a Holy Kinship the grouping must allude to Anne's other daughters and their progeny (fig. 8).¹⁷ Thus at the very least Anne should be shown with her daughters if not with her

Joanna Wolska-Wierusz, "Adventus Salvatoris i altarskapet fran Hägerstad," Fornvännen, 88 (1993), pp. 9-25. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne notes the similarity between Early Christian images in which a child is placed between two seated figures and the Anna Selbdritt: "Anne et Marie, assises l'une près de l'autre et tenant l'Enfant entre elles, rappellent Joachim et Anne cajolant la petite Vierge [or of David] dans la scène byzantine des Caresses. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge, p. III. These themes may be derived from classical images of the caressing of Dionysus or of Persephone and Kore. Lafontaine-Dosogne believes the similarity is purely coincidental. Byzantine versions of the Anna Selbdritt are late and rare. An ikon by Emmanuel Tzanes (1637) shows Anne holding Mary who holds a flower. Athens, Benaki Museum, rep. in Gordana Babic, Icons, London: Bracken Books, 1988, no. 59. A seventeenth-century Russian icon depicts the Anna Selbdritt. Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, 5, 1923, p. 186.

¹⁶ In a work by the Westfalian painter Gert van Lon (1510-20) in the Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster, Mary with Jesus is flanked by Anne on the left, leaning away from her, and by Mary Cleophas, in a similar position on the right. Rep. Kathleen Ashley & Pamela Sheingorn, ed., Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990. p. 26.

¹⁷ According to Esser, whose thesis analyzes the composition of these works, the period of greatest production of Holy Kinships was from 1450 to 1550, with peak production c. 1480-1520. Esser's typology is as follows: Heilige Familie (Holy Family): Mary, Joseph and Jesus; Grosse Heilige Familie (Large Holy Family): Anna Selbdritt with Joseph and Joachim; Emerentia Selbviert: Anna Selbdritt with Emerentia; Kleine Heilige Sippe (the small Holy Kinship): the Anna Selbdritt, Joseph, and Anne's three husbands; Anne and the three Marys: Anne, Mary the Virgin, Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome; the Trinubiumsippe [the most common grouping]: 17 figures - Anne, her husbands and daughters with their husbands and children. This term can also be used for groupings without Cleophas and Salome, or without Alphaeus and Zebedeus, or more rarely, without Joseph: Die Grosse Heilige Sippe (the large Holy Kinship): all groupings that include members of the lineages of Anne's sister Hysmeria, for example the Holy Kinship with the addition of Elisabeth, Zachary and John the Baptist, or with the addition of Memelia, Emius and Servatius, or the family of Maternus, with or without Hysmeria and her

daughters and their children. The usual complete group comprises Anne and her three husbands Joachim, Cleophas and Salome, the Virgin Mary with Joseph and Jesus, Mary Cleophas with her husband Alphaeus and their children James the Greater, Simon, Jude, and Joseph the Just, and Mary Salome with her husband Zebedee and their sons James the Lesser and John the Evangelist. It may also include Anne's sister Esmeria (Hismeria) and her daughter Elisabeth with the latter's son John the Baptist with or without his father Zacharius. Sometimes the Holy Kinship includes the great-grandson of Esmeria, the Rheinland Bishop Saint Servatius of Maastricht, with his mother Memelia and sometimes his father Emiu, and/or, more rarely, Esmeria's grandson Saint Maternus with or without his family. Occasionally Anne's parents Emerentia and Stollanus are also present. An Anna Selbdritt that includes Emerentia is called an Anna Selbviert.¹⁸ Compositions in which the Anna Selbdritt is shown with her three husbands but without the three daughters are usually parts of larger works which include other panels showing Anne's daughters and grandchildren, according to Esser.¹⁹ An Anna Selbdritt with the addition of Joseph is not a Holy Kinship.

husband Ephraim. Werner Esser, Die Heilige Sippe.

¹⁸ In an example from Hildesheim in the Metropolitan Museum in New York Emerentia stands behind a bench-type formation in which the Child sits on Mary's knee. The fourth figure was formerly identified as Afra, patron saint of Augsburg, no doubt because she grasps a slender tree trunk with cut-off branches identical to the tree depicted with Afra in the life of Saints Afra, Ulrich and Simprecht published in Augsburg to promote the cult of these local saints in the early sixteenth-century (Das leben verdienen und wunderwerck der hailigen Auspurger Bistumbs bischoffen sant Ulrichs vnd Symprechts auch der sáligen martlerin sant Aphre irer müter Hilaria geschlecht vnd gesellschaft in unserm daselbst loblichen gotshaus rastend, Augsburg, 1516. The figure however is identified on the sculpture as Emerentia.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 73.

The Geographic Distribution of the Compositional Types

The various types described above are not equally distributed throughout the broad territory under consideration. Preferences for certain compositional forms and features mark specific regions. The miniaturizing of Mary is most widespread in Germany, infrequent in Holland. Conversely, the tendency to show Mary as a normal-sized child is most widespread in the Netherlands, especially in Holland. Types in which Anne holds a child on either arm are infrequent in the Rheinland, widespread in South Germany. The bench-type, on the other hand, is found throughout the territory of the cult.

A variety of factors affected the distribution of types and iconographic features. While most works of art were made in the regions in which they were used, a considerable trade in imports existed. Anna Selbdritts used in Sweden were often made in Lübeck, and Lübeck itself imported altarpieces from Flanders. Indeed sculptors in the South Netherlands produced many non-commissioned altarpieces for sale.²⁰ Artists from one region not infrequently worked in other areas, sometimes introducing significant innovations. The Dutch sculptor Nicholas Gerhaert von Leyden, who worked in South Germany, may have introduced Dutch compositional types, Dutch realism and genre-like intimacy, into the South German Anna Selbdritt corpus.²¹ Unfortunately, the influential

²⁰ See Lynn F. Jacobs, "Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces: Limits on the Role of the Patron," Art Bulletin, 71, 2 (June 1989), pp. 208-229.

²¹ L. Fischel, who sees Gerhaert as the inheritor of the French-Burgundian tradition, proposes that he influenced the whole range of South German sculpture. L. Fischel,

Gerhaert work formerly in the Deutsches Museum in Berlin, illustrated earlier in this chapter, - perhaps the most beautiful Anna Selbdritt of all - was destroyed in World War II.

It can be difficult to determine whether in a given case the prevalence of a particular compositional type arose from an underlying way of seeing and representing that was part of a given culture, whether special significance was ascribed to it within that region, or whether it was the result of the preference of a particular patron or the choice of a particular artist. These choices in turn were affected by such things as the presence of particular models to copy from, or the appeal that a new motif or stylistic feature held for artist or patron. The Dutch preference for types in which Mary is not miniaturized is probably representative of the same tendencies which led the writers of Dutch lives of Anne towards realism. On the other hand the use of Swabian compositional types in the Erzgebirge towns of Saxony in the second decade of the 1500s may have been in large part the result of familiarity with these images rather than with other equally compatible compositions.

Here and in other cases the dissemination of prints may have played an important role.

Nicolaus Gerhaert und die Bildhauer der deutschen Spätgotik, Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1944. See also Wilhelm Pinder, Die Deutsche Plastik von ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance, 2 vols. Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1929.

Cologne and the Lower Rhein

Bench compositions in this region often show the two women sitting very close together, the adult virgin sometimes slightly smaller than Anne (fig. 52). The child may be held by one woman, rather than placed in contact with both. Prevalent in this region is the characteristic Dutch type in which a normal-sized Mary is seated somewhat lower than Anne (fig. 51). Lower Rhein sculptures of the Anna Selbdritt also include the seated two-on-one arm Mechelen type. The only two extant Northern Anna Selbdritt pietàs (fig. 53) - Mary and Anne with the body of the adult Christ - are from this region. Both use the form in which the two women sit close together on a bench.²²

The Rheinland was the site of the earliest Holy Kinship panel paintings, among them the early fifteenth century fresco from the Convent of St. Heribert in Cologne now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum.²³ Several of the painted examples from the Cologne - Lower Rhein area depict the madonna in the centre, placing Anne to one side. And there are some that use the Throne of Grace arrangement. Overall however, the bench type predominates in Holy Kinship depictions, which in this region are usually painted rather than sculpted. Most often the child forms a link between the two women, but in a substantial number of cases he is held by Mary alone.

Usually in the Cologne-Lower Rhein area the child is nude but occasionally he wears a tunic or open coat, and in a certain number of cases a loin cloth (fig. 51), a

²² The only other combination of Saint Anne, the Madonna and the dead Christ is a work in the church of the Observant convent in Siena, Klosterkirche Osservaza. Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna, p. 244.

²³ Repr. Esser, Die heilige Sippe, Dl.

feature infrequent elsewhere. Mary may be either crowned or bareheaded. The circlet is not frequent. Jesus often holds a round object, either an orb or a round fruit. A frequent feature of Cologne-Lower Rhein paintings is the hortus conclusus or enclosed garden. It appears in the earliest Holy Kinships and continues to be used up into the 1530s. Holy Kinships using the enclosed garden usually place the male members outside the surrounding wall. The children in Rheinland Holy Kinships are often depicted playing with an elaborate array of attributes. Anne rather than Mary holds the book in this region. Books are also held by the apostle children or their mothers. Often either Mary Salome or Mary Cleophas nurses a child. The Trinity is sometimes shown surmounting the figures of Anne, Mary and Jesus.

North Rhein - Westfalia

The most widespread sculpted forms in the North Rhein - Westfalia area are the Dutch-type composition with the adult Mary seated lower than the seated Anne (fig. 54), the composition in which Anne holds a small Mary and Jesus on one arm or knee (fig. 55), and the bench type, often with Jesus held by Mary. Holy Kinship compositions include the bench type, the Throne of Grace type, and, as was the case in the Cologne area, arrangements with Mary as the central figure (fig. 56). The hortus conclusus and the placing of the male figures behind the wall are used here too.

South Netherlands (Flanders and Brabant)²⁴

South Netherlandish artists produced a large variety of sculpted Anna Selbdritts including the popular type produced in various sizes in Mechelen in which a standing Anne holds a small Mary and Jesus on one arm (fig. 41). Also widespread are works showing the seated Anne with the standing Mary beside her, and works in which Mary is seated lower, as well as bench compositions. In bench type sculptures the child is sometimes noticeably closer to one woman than the other. Generally speaking there is a great deal of variation in both painted and sculpted bench types produced in the South Netherlands.

The two main regions of the South Netherlands can be viewed as one area. Nonetheless there are some features that seem peculiar to one region or the other. Sculpted Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships produced in Brussels and other centres in Brabant include Throne of Grace (fig. 57) and bench types (figs. 58, 59).²⁵ There is also a Brabant Anna Selbdritt type in which the seated Anne holds a relatively large child Mary who holds Jesus (fig. 61).²⁶

Painted Flemish Holy Kinships - which are numerous - and Anna Selbdritts are often of extraordinary beauty. Bench types predominate, but Holy Kinships that show the

²⁴ The terminology in this section makes a distinction between the North Netherlandish provinces of Flanders, where Bruges and Ghent are located, and Brabant, where Brussels and Antwerp are located. Elsewhere, unless otherwise stated, the designation Flanders refers to the territory of present-day Belgium and Luxembourg.

²⁵ The Brussels Anne sometimes wears a distinctive long-tailed headdress.

²⁶ A group of these from the atelier of the Master of St. Barbara of Pellenberg are described in Het Laatgotische Beeldsnijcentrum Leuven. Louvain: Stedelijk Museum, 1979, pp. 96 ff.

family relationships by means of tree imagery are also common here (fig. 60), as is the Throne of Grace arrangement, and there are also works that use the Mary seated lower format.²⁷

In Flemish sculptures the book is sometimes held by one woman, sometimes by the other. The Child is usually nude but may wear the shirt. In paintings Anne is the usual holder of the book. The child is usually nude. Mary is often bare-headed. The Trinity sometimes appears above the central figures.

Anna Selbdritts appear in many fifteenth and early sixteenth-century South Netherlandish manuscripts.²⁸ The Anna Selbdritt continued to be produced in the South Netherlands after 1550 to a greater extent than elsewhere. It is interesting to see that the Saint Anne altarpiece painted by a Flemish artist for the Frankfurt confraternity at the Carmelite Church probably in the 1480s includes several depictions of Anna Selbdritts which employ compositional types typical of the Netherlands-Rheinland region.²⁹ It would seem that the artist was drawing on familiar images of the saint. In one panel Saint Colette kneels before a Holy Kinship in which Anne holds the two small figures on

²⁷ For a description of the related theme of the Stammbaum - family tree - of Mary see Marita Lindgren-Fridell: "Der Stammbaum Maria aus Anna und Joachim," Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft, 2 (1938/39) pp. 289-308. The Gerard David painting illustrated appears to be based on the Holy Kinship engraving by the Meister mit dem Dächlein (1450-75) reproduced in chap. 4.

²⁸ The files of the Centrum voor de Studie van het Verluchte Handschrift in de Nederlanden at the Katholieke Universiteit, Louvain (Blijde-Inkomststraat 21-04 B-3000 Leuven) contain a number of examples.

²⁹ For reproductions of panels from the Frankfurt altarpiece see Ashley & Sheingorn, Interpreting Cultural Symbols and Brandenburg, Heilige familielevens, Nijmegen: Sun, 1990.

one side (fig. 61).³⁰ A similar use of an established compositional form is found in the Holy Kinship in the depiction of the vision of Saint Colette which shows Anne standing beside a slightly shorter Mary with the Christ Child in her arms (fig. 61).³¹ This composition repeats the arrangement found nearly two centuries earlier in two Gothic style works probably made in Lüttich in the Maas region near Cologne dated c. 1320-30.³²

Holland

The most widespread type of Dutch Anna Selbdritt sculpture shows a seated Anne with an adult or teenaged Mary seated somewhat below her (figs. 62, 64). There are also a number of works in which the two women stand beside one another, Mary as a rule shown slightly shorter than Anne (fig. 63). Sometimes Mary holds Jesus, sometimes the Child links the two in bench-composition manner. There are also works in which the seated Anne holds Jesus while Mary stands (fig. 64). These sometimes look like bench-type compositions at first glance. In a small number of works, mainly from the eastern part of the country, Anne sits with the two children on her knee.

³⁰ Ibid., fig. 20.

³¹ Ibid., fig. 19.

³² Suermondt-Ludwig Museum, Aachen, Ernst G. Grimme, Europäische Bildwerke vom Mittelalter zum Barock, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1977, pl. 4; Aachen, Sammlung Hubert Lüttgens, Ernst Günther Grimme, Deutsche Madonnen, Cologne, M. DuMont Schauberg, 1966, pp. 101-102. An epitaph panel by the Master of the Ursula Legend in the Metropolitan Museum in New York which depicts a standing Anne enclosing with her arm and cloak her small standing daughter holding her son, may be part of the same tradition.

Depictions of Saint Anne became widespread in Holland only towards the end of the fifteenth century. Of the small number made before this time shown in Willemien Deeleman - van Tyen's thesis on Dutch Anna Selbdritt sculptures, all are described either as products of parts of Holland close to the German (Rheinland) border or are of uncertain, possibly German, origin. The distinctiveness of Dutch sculptural style, with its inclination towards homely realism, often makes it easy to distinguish Dutch examples from German and Flemish works. The Anna Selbdritt in effect becomes transformed into a genre composition earlier in Holland than in Germany and Flanders. The realism is most striking in the sculptures but it can be found in some of the paintings. The factors which create the impression of realism include the placement of Anne's large protective hand on Mary's shoulder (fig. 64), the arranging of the two women so that they lean in towards one another, the slight departure from the vertical axis in works in which Anne is the dominant figure, the presence of a smile on the lips of Anne or Mary, and the heavier less elegant body in the case of Anne (see also fig. 11).³³ Details such as these have the effect of making the viewer see the figures less as an embodiment of an idea and more as a depiction of two women responding to one another and to the child they hold.

Consistent with the naturalism of the iconography, the compositions favoured in Holland are those which lend themselves to realistic proportions. With the exception of

³³ See for example the broad grandmotherly Anne of Jan van Steffenswert's Anna met Maria (The Education of the Virgin) in the St. Stephanus in Heel, Roermond Diocese, as well as numerous others in Deeleman-van Tyen Sint Anna-te-Drieen, and Brandenburg et al, Heilige Anna, Groete Moeder: De cultus van de Heilige Moeder Anna en haar familie, Nijmegen: Sun, 1992. One finds the large hand even on Mary in a work in the church of St. Medardus in Wessem, might be taken cautiously as an indicator of Dutch origins. Deeleman - van Tyen, *ibid.*, 2, (Wessem).

works based on the Mechelen type, the disproportionately small Mary is rare in Holland. The most widespread Dutch compositional type, that in which Mary is seated lower than Anne, permits Mary to be depicted as a fully grown young girl in her teens who at the same time appears smaller than Anne. Often, even when she is seated on Anne's knee the Dutch Mary keeps her natural little-girl size. She is not miniaturized.

The basket of fruit (figs. 62, 63) rather than the single piece of fruit is more likely to appear in Dutch than in German works. Mary sometimes wears a circlet in Dutch works, sometimes a crown. Jesus is usually nude, though occasionally he wears a loin cloth. When there is a book it is normally held by Anne. The Maria lactans motif, nowhere abundant in the Anna Selbdritt, seems somewhat more frequent in Holland than in Germany.

The sculpted wood Anna Selbdritt is the typical Dutch work. Dutch paintings of the Anna Selbdritt, much rarer than sculptures, show more compositional variety than do the sculptures, often moving into atypical genre-like forms.³⁴ Holy Kinships are rare in any medium in Holland.

Middle Rhein

Sculptures from the Middle Rhein region include a number of Anna Selbdritts in which Anne holds the two children on one side, whether on her knee in the seated

³⁴ Some Dutch paintings show Mary seated below Anne in a garden setting.

version, or on her arm in the standing one (fig. 66).³⁵ The Middle Rhenish Holy Kinship paintings reproduced in Esser are characterized by a tendency to centralize Anne or Mary in row compositions. The fact that the centred madonna appears in two very early Holy Kinships, the Ortenberg altar (c. 1420-30, fig. 67), and a Holy Kinship of c. 1420 in the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt, suggests that the latter may have developed at least in some cases as lateral extensions of madonna compositions.³⁶

Upper Rhein

An unusually wide variety of types is found in the Upper Rhein region, the area that includes Strassburg, Freiburg, and Lake Constance. Netherlandish-Rheinland types coexist with South German types. Among the former are Anna Selbdritts in which Anne holds two children on one arm, bench types in which Mary holds the child, and works in which Mary is seated lower than Anne (fig. 68).³⁷ The woodcut example of the last-named type by the Strassburg artist Johann Wechtlin shows the influence of Matthias Grünewald in the figure of Mary (fig. 69). More typically South German are those in which Anne holds a child on each arm, and bench types in which the child is shown in

³⁵ The Middle Rhein area, with Mainz as its centre, extends east to Aschaffenburg, west to Boppard, north to Andernach and south towards Oppenheim.

³⁶ The Ortenburg altarpiece is reproduced in Esser, L2, the Darmstadt work in The Marburger Index. Esser records another early fresco (1406) from this region, in the Carmelite Church in Hirschhorn on the Neckar. Esser, Die heilige Sippe, L1.

³⁷ A work in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in which Anne stands behind a kneeling Mary dated 1480-1490 suggests Westfalian or Dutch origins or influence in the firm way Anne holds and looks at her daughter and in the fact that Mary is nursing the Child. Munich, BNM. Inv. MA 1754, in Dominique Costa, Sainte Anne, Nantes: Musée Dobrée, 1966, p. 38, fig. 17.

the act of moving from one woman to the other.³⁸ The bench-type Anna Selbdritt from the Freiburg Münster from the circle of the Master H.L. (c. 1520, fig. 10) with its remarkable swirls of drapery, curling hair and expressive faces, is a striking example of the florid expressionistic realism that distinguished much South German sculpture in the late Middle Ages.³⁹ Imported works by Swabian, Franconian and Bavarian artists are also frequent in this region. Further intimations of contact with other regions are found in a standing Anne holding the Christ Child reaching down to a small standing Mary by the early sixteenth-century sculptor Hans Ulrich Glockler of Konstanz (fig. 68). This work uses a compositional form that seems to have originated further down the Rhein and spread from there both northward to Lübeck and south to Swabia and Bavaria.⁴⁰

Holy Kinships include bench types and row arrangements with Anne in the centre. A woodcut illustration printed in Strassburg showing Anne with her daughters but without her grandson is a reminder that the Lower Rhein and Switzerland were places where the

³⁸ An unusually animated bench-type Anna Selbdritt, possibly made in Freiburg, in the Badisches Landesmuseum, shows the child on Mary's lap stepping with the distinctly raised leg familiar from Antwerp sculptures, though Anne's emphatically outstretched hands look more Dutch than Flemish. Eva Zimmerman, Die mittelalterlichen Bildwerke in Holz, Stein, Ton und Bronze mit ausgewählten Beispielen der Bauskulptur, Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum, 1985, no. 6. A bench-type work in the Rosgartenmuseum in Konstanz shows the juxtaposed trinities. Costa, *ibid.*, p. 37, fig. 63.

³⁹ Otto Schmitt, Gotische Skulpturen des Freiburger Münsters, Frankfurt: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1926, nos. 277-82.

⁴⁰ Constance, Rosgartenmuseum, Inv. S.7, in Costa, Sainte Anne, p. 33. An Anna Selbdritt c. 1500 from the parish church at Knielingen near Karlsruhe takes the same form (Karlsruhe, Kunsthalle, Repr. Marburger Index) as does a work from the Breisgau, c. 1515-25. Zimmerman, Die mittelalterlichen Bildwerke, p. 236, fig. 136.

(probably French) cult of the three Marys flourished to a greater extent than in other parts of the German-speaking territory.

Switzerland

Evidence of the devotion to the other members of the Holy Kinship which appears in the early Anne and Holy Kinship offices from this area appears in the fact that Swiss Holy Kinships sometimes show only Anne with the three Marys, or with Mary and the children of the Kinship. The number of surviving Swiss works is not large.⁴¹

Lübeck and the North Coast

The Hanseatic city of Lübeck was a major producer, and, to judge from the collection of the Lübeck St. Annen-Museum, a major consumer of Anne images. The largest number of works extant from the Northern coastal region as a whole were produced in Lübeck. Three compositional types predominated here in both sculpted and painted Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships: the Throne of Grace composition in which Anne is placed vertically above Mary and Jesus (figs. 4, 45); the standing Anne holding Jesus with the young Mary standing beside her reaching up towards Jesus (fig. 70); and the bench type form which became increasingly common as the sixteenth century progressed (fig. 79). Iconographic peculiarities include the cooking pot, drinking cannister, puppy and hobby horse attributes that the often pudgy-cheeked apostle children

⁴¹ For some examples see Heribert Reiners, Burgundisch-Alemannische Plastik, Strassburg: Hünenburg-Verlag, 1943.

play with, and a headdress held under the chin by ribbon-like bands worn by Mary's sisters. Sometimes one of Mary's sisters nurses a child.

Mecklenburg-Schwerin

Further along the Baltic coast the Nikolaikirche in Stralsund, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, is the home of one of the earliest Anna Selbdritts, the early thirteenth-century sculpture in which Anne holds Mary who in turn holds Jesus on her lap (fig. 2). The late Gothic Anna Selbdritt in the Katholische Propsteikirche zur Hl. Mutter Anna in Schwerin employs a popular Lübeck form, the standing Anne holding Jesus with Mary standing to one side and reaching up to Jesus's hand.⁴² The seven Holy Kinships from Mecklenburg and Pommerania illustrated by Esser also use forms popular in Lübeck, the ubiquitous horizontal bench and the vertical Throne of Grace arrangements.⁴³

Lower Saxony

Lower Saxony presents a rich variety of painted and sculpted Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships. Like the Upper Rhein, a territory in geographical contact with a number of other centres, it shows types familiar from neighbouring regions as well as new forms (fig. 72): the Rhein area composition of the standing Anne, usually with Jesus,

⁴² In the predella of the altar in the Stadtkirche of St. Peter und Paul in Teterow, Mecklenburg, the standing Anne holds both children on one arm. Schwerin and Teterow information supplied by Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen, Amsterdam.

⁴³ Esser, Die heilige Sippe, pp. 202-207. Esser's no. H1, a relief bench-type with the Christ Child spread out in cruciform manner against a cross-patterned throne (Stockholm Museum) looks like it might have been copied from a Flemish Anna Selbdritt.

accompanied by the young standing Mary; Anne with two children on one arm (fig. 73); the South German arrangements, bust and standing, with Anne holding a child on either arm (fig. 74); compositions in which Mary is seated (or kneels) lower than Anne; and bench type works, often with Mary holding Jesus.⁴⁴ In Lower Saxon Holy Kinships, which are frequent and which sometimes include subsidiary members, the figures are often identified in banderoles or inscriptions. The men are frequently placed behind a wall. Space in works from Lower Saxony is apt to be conveyed through vertical arrangements rather than through perspective in depth. The Child is usually nude, but sometimes wears the open coat. The incidence of aristocratic and clerical participant donors here is high.

South Germany - Swabia, Franconia & Bavaria

The numerous extant Swabian and Franconian works include many of extremely high aesthetic quality by such artists as Nicholas Gerhaert, Tilman Riemenschneider, Michael Erhart, Hans Leinberger, Georg Syrlin and Daniel Mauch. It may have been in this region that the bench type was introduced into sculpture. Nicholas Gerhaert of Leyden created the earliest of these works in 1475, the extraordinarily beautiful and lively composition in which Mary holds Jesus by the stomach as he tries to step towards Anne

⁴⁴ The Anna Selbdritts from Lüneburg in the northern part of Lower Saxony reproduced by Willi Meyne includes one bench composition, two of the standing Anne holding two children on one arm, and three of the type in which a standing Anne holds Jesus while a younger Mary stands beside her. The last is a type frequent in Lübeck. Willi Meyne, Lüneburger Plastik des XV. Jahrhunderts, Lüneburg: Museumsverein für das Fürstentum Lüneburg, 1959, figs. 97, 144, 145.

(fig. 47). The Gerhaert work may have been the inspiration for a large number of subsequent bench types. It may also be the first example of a work produced on German soil that portrays the Madonna and Child in vigorous action.⁴⁵ Early sixteenth-century South German prints of the Anna Selbdritt by Dürer, Cranach, Altdorfer and others are noteworthy for their compositional innovations.

Swabia

Swabian Anna Selbdritt sculptures largely fall into three categories, the most numerous being the bench type (figs. 21, 75-76), followed closely by works in which Anne, seated or standing, holds a child on either arm (fig. 42), and somewhat less closely by works in which a seated or standing Anne holding the child Jesus is placed beside a standing child Mary (fig. 43, 77). Bench types place the child equidistant between the women, or show him held by Mary. The first steps motif is popular in these. Swabian compositions are often symmetrical, virtually always harmoniously balanced. When Anne holds a child on either arm Jesus is usually on the left and Mary on the right. The Augsburg confraternity life refers to an indulgence that accompanied a painting in which Mary was held on the left, Jesus on the right:

⁴⁵ By and large the evidence suggests that the South Netherlandish sculptors seem to have introduced the motif of the "first steps" into sculpture, the steps being indicated by the raising of one of the child's legs. If the c. 1290-1300 dating of an Anna Selbdritt in the Diözesanmuseum St. Ulrich in Regensburg showing Jesus, standing on Anne's knee, raising his leg to step up towards Mary who sits on the other knee, is correct, the motif is much older. Diözesanmuseum St. Ulrich Regensburg, Munich & Zurich, Verlag Schnell & Steiner GMBH & Co., 1986, p. 16.

Der obgenampt babst alexander geit allen menschen die vor dem Bild sant anna das auff dem glingken arm hat maria. vnd auff dem rechten arm hat ihesum cristum. als es dann hie in der figur stat gemalet die obgeschriben gebet sprechent x tausent iar ablass toedlicher sünd. vnd xx tausent iar lässlicher sünd.⁴⁶

Bust images, though less numerous than in Franconia, are found in Swabia. Characteristic in Swabian Anna Selbdritt sculptures are the nude Christ Child and Mary with the book. Crowns on Mary are relatively rare. Circlets on the other hand are frequent. Not infrequently the Christ Child carries the orb. Painted works include bench types and the child-on-either-arm format.

The iconography of the paintings is less consistent than that of the sculptures. The Christ Child is usually naked, but he occasionally wears the open shirt fastened at the neck. Whereas the sculpted Anne is almost invariably shown with the neck covering (Halsband), in painted works she is sometimes shown with a bare neck. Mary is less often shown with a book in the paintings than she is in the sculptures, and the circlet does not dominate in them as it does in the sculptures. Italian-Renaissance-influenced Putti, sometimes in classical garb, and columns, occasionally appear.

The Swabian works include several in which Anne is part of a group of female saints in bust form in all-saints compositions, an example being that from the Allerheiligenaltar painted by Hans Burgkmair for Augsburg's Dominican Convent of St. Katherine (fig. 78).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin, part 2, p. b ii.

⁴⁷ Gisela Goldberg et al, Altdeutsche Gemälde, catalogue, Staatsgalerie Augsburg, I. Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1988, plate 20. Though the bust example illustrated is a reliquary, most Anna Selbdritts in this form are not.

Franconia

The dominant compositional form in Franconia is that in which Anne, seated or standing, holds a child on each arm (fig. 22). Bust versions of this composition are frequent. Riemenschneider used the arrangement several times. The woodcut depicting Frederick the Wise's relic collection includes an Anne reliquary in which the reliquary box is held by the children carried on Anne's two arms (fig. 74). The same arrangement was used in the small gold and silver reliquary statue now in the Musée de Cluny made by Hans Greiff for Anna Hoffman of Ingolstadt (fig. 117). The bench-type Holy Kinship is also frequent in Franconia, sometimes with the men lined up behind the women (fig. 80). Several prints by Franconian artists use the form of the seated Anne holding the Christ Child with the young Mary standing beside her, but the standing Mary is not usual in Franconian sculpture.⁴⁷

Franconia resembles Swabia in that the Christ Child is most often nude, though occasionally he is shown with the open shirt. An unusual iconographic feature sometimes found in Franconian works is the Mary with praying hands. A peculiarity found in some Franconian Annes (and in some Swabian works) is an unusually wrinkled Halsband that reaches far up over Anne's chin. This is possibly the result of the influence of Riemenschneider's Anna Selbdritts.⁴⁸ One wonders if his models are behind the high

⁴⁷ The Nürnberg artist Wolf Traut used this form in a woodcut published by Valentinus Bannholtzer in 1507. Max Geisberg, The German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500-1550, 4, ed. Walter L. Strauss, Hacker Art Books Inc., 1974, p. 1362 (G.1409).

⁴⁸ The Kitzingen Riemenschneider Anna Selbdritt now in the Mainfränkisches Museum in Würzburg has this type of neck covering. Mainfränkisches Museum, postcard.

proportion of bare-headed Marys in Franconia. In other ways too Riemenschneider's versions of the theme may have influenced other artists. Many Franconian Annes copy his serious slender faces on slightly angled necks (fig. 79). His influence may be at work in the "...type du visage méditatif de ste Anne" and "l'intériorisation des sentiments..." noted by R. Didier and H. Krohm as characteristic of Franconian Anna Selbdritts.⁵⁰ Didier and Krohm illustrate several Franconian works in which the highly skilled realism characteristic of this area is given further expressiveness by the tilting of Anne's head downward in such a way as to suggest a looking inward (fig. 79).⁵¹

Bavaria

A widely used Bavarian composition depicts the Christ Child sitting on the lap of the seated Anne while the child Mary stands by her side (fig. 44). Also widespread is the type in which a child is held on each arm. Usually in Bavarian bench type compositions the child is positioned equally between the two women (fig. 81). The restless movement that informs the Leinberger bench composition illustrated is typical of the local brilliance that marked so much late Gothic work in South Germany. Often Mary wears a crown in Bavaria. Jesus is usually nude. Where there is a book, which is not as often as elsewhere, it is normally Mary who holds it.

⁵⁰ R. Didier, H. Krohm, Les Sculptures médiévales allemandes dans les collections Belges, Brussels: Société Générale de Banque, 1977, p. 170.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 146, no. 65 (c. 1500); p. 170, no. 79 (c. 1520).

Lower Bavaria

Lower Bavaria is the only part of Germany where a systematic regional study of the Anna Selbdritt has been made. Bernadette Mangold's thesis on the Anna Selbdritt in Lower Bavaria shows that the popular South German form in which Anne holds a small figure on each arm dominated production here. Of the sixty-six Anna Selbdritts researched by Mangold, forty-one depict Anne this way, twenty-seven with her standing, fourteen sitting.⁵²

The fact that the oldest of the Lower Bavarian works take this form suggests that it was the original type in this region.⁵³ Works showing a seated Anne with Mary standing beside her are in evidence from 1500 on, while a date of 1510 is given to the earliest of three works depicting a standing Anne with Mary standing beside her. In the sixteenth century these miniaturizing forms were joined by the bench type, examples of which number fourteen, dated c.1500 to 1530. Mangold mentions a small number of Holy Kinships. The vast majority of the Lower Bavarian works, approximately fifty, were originally located in parish churches, with a handful each in monastic churches, chapels, and castle settings.

⁵² Mangold, Die Darstellung der heiligen Anna selbdritt, p. 17.

⁵³ The sculptures in the Aegidiuskirche in Drachselsried and in Zweikirchen are standing versions of this type dated c. 1480. A 1644 copy of a seated version dated c. 1430 is also mentioned. Ibid.

Thuringia

There are few Thuringian examples extant. Sculpted Anna Selbdritts here include Anne with a child on each arm or knee (fig. 82), or holding Mary who holds Jesus, as in the early fourteenth-century sculpture on the facade of Erfurt Cathedral (fig. 24). The bench is the usual form for the Holy Kinship.

Saxony

In Saxony, where the cult of Saint Anne arrived late, South German compositions were used. The Augsburg sculptor Adolf Daucher was responsible for some of the sculpture in the Annaberg Church, and the numerous Anna Selbdritts here use one or other of the popular Swabian forms, most often either the standing or seated Anne with a child on each arm, the bench-type Anna Selbdritt with the child stepping from one woman to the other, or the standing Anne with the smaller standing Mary (fig. 83). The putti that are found in several Swabian and Franconian works influenced by the Italian Renaissance appear in Annaberg in the tympanum over the door to the old sacristy, classically garbed as they are in the decorations in Augsburg's Annakirche, where Daucher worked on the Fugger chapel.

Other works produced in Lower Saxony also use South German forms. Peter Breuer of Zwickau who had spent time in Würzburg c. 1492 used the standing Anne with a child on either arm in the manner of Riemenschneider as did the sculptor of a figure

in the Leipzig Museum (fig. 84).⁵⁴ The elaborate but unresolved treatment of the drapery in this work looks like an unrealized attempt to arrive at South German complexity. A homely realism sometimes appears in the faces and bodies of Saxon works. This is the case in the city coat of arms carved for the church in 1524 by Franz Maidburg in which a squat pudgy Anne looks overwhelmed by the two children in her arms (fig. 83).⁵⁵ In Esser's examples of Saxon Holy Kinships the bench composition is used. Frequently the male figures are placed behind a wall. The Child is nude. Most often Mary is uncrowned. The half dozen painted Anna Selbdritts by Lucas Cranach the Elder include three with ducal or aristocratic participant patrons (fig. 85).

Silesia

Bench types are frequent (fig. 86). Compositions in which Anne holds two children on one arm are also found among Silesian Anna Selbdritts. In a painting from the last third of the fourteenth century in the Museum für Kunstgewerb in Breslau, Jesus is held on the outside as he is in several works done before the fourteenth century (fig. 39).⁵⁶

⁵⁴ The Breuer work is in the Städtisches Museum in Zwickau. Alte Kunst in Sachsen (1350-1550), ed. Ernst-Heinz Lemper, Leipzig: Günther, Kirstein & Wendler, 1955, fig. 32. A similar work dated 1515 stood in a niche on the corner of a house in nearby Freiberg. Bergbau und Kunst in Sachsen, ed. Harald Marx, Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 1989, pp. 49-50. However the standing Anne in the Museum des Kunsthandwerks in Leipzig seems less closely related to Riemenschneider. Lemper, *ibid.*, fig. 59.

⁵⁵ Post card, Annaberg. Maidberg's Mary in the "Christi Geburt" panel looks similarly matronly.

⁵⁶ Marburger Index. The composition, with its extension of the grouping outward, is reminiscent of the Bohemian schöne Madonnen.

Two South German forms are also popular, the child on each arm type and that in which a seated Anne holds Jesus while the child Mary stands to one side. Mary is often crowned, especially in bench-type works.⁵⁷

Tirol

Though not numerous in other parts of Austria, Anna Selbdritts are frequent in the Tirol.⁵⁸ South German types are the rule: bench compositions; the seated or standing Anne with a miniaturized child on each knee or arm (fig. 87); the standing Anne holding Jesus with Mary standing to one side.⁵⁹ Several Austrian Holy Kinships and Anns Selbdritts with participant donors were painted for noble families (fig. 88).

The Anna Selbdritt outside Germany and the Netherlands

Anna Selbdritts were also produced in substantial numbers in Spain and in Sweden, in Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe, and in lesser numbers in France,

⁵⁷ For examples of Silesian Anna Selbdritts see Hans Lutsch, Schlesiens Kunstdenkmäler, Mannheim: Adam Kraft Verlag, 1979.

⁵⁸ There are a number of Anna Selbdritts in the Ferdinandeum Museum in Innsbruck.

⁵⁹ An Anna Selbdritt from the Inn-Salzach region in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe takes the form of the seated Anne holding Jesus with a child Mary standing to one side. Zimmerman, Die mittelalterlichen Bildwerke, pp. 364-65.

especially Northeastern France.⁵⁹ Depictions of Anne with Mary and Jesus are moderately numerous in Italy but there they show neither the peculiarities of proportion nor the emphasis on the triple link that characterize the Northern Anna Selbdritts.⁶⁰ The Anna Selbdritt is extremely rare in England.⁶¹

⁵⁹ English and Italian works are discussed in the chapter on the Anna Selbdritt and salvation. On Swedish Anne imagery and its connection with Brigit of Sweden see Mereth Lindgren, "De heliga änkorna: S. Annakultens framväxt, speglad i birgittinsk ikonografi," Konsthistorisk tidskrift 59 (1990), pp. 52-75 Willemien Deeelman - van Tyen is presently researching Anna Selbdritt sculptures in Sweden. Several types occur in France. A throne of grace composition with Anne raising her hands in admiration, used in several enamels (c. 1530) by Jean II Pénicaud, derives from an engraving of Marc Antonio Raimundi which repeats the type created or popularized by Giulio Romano. There are examples in the Frick Collection and in the Bargello. Philippe Verdier, "Workshop of Jean II Pénicaud," The Frick Collection Catalogue 8 (1977), pp. 75-82. The throne of grace is the basis of the woodcut in the Heures à l'usage d'Angers printed by Simon Vostre (Paris, Bib. Nat.) Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographi, 5, 1923, p. 185. Joanna Wolska-Wierusz discusses Polish and other Anna Selbdritts in Obraz Tablicowy Misyrza Tryptyku z Warty: Sw. Anna Samtrzec. Analiza Ikonograficzna, M.A. thesis, Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warsaw, 1979.

⁶⁰ One of the relatively few Italian works that show Anne as substantially larger than Mary is the Anna Selbdritt carved by Andrea Sansovino (1486-1570) for the Apostolic Protonotary Johann Goritz, a native of Luxembourg, for the church of Sant'Agostino in Rome. The sculpture bears an Immaculatist inscription: "Grace to her from whom this immaculate ground was taken, from whom the truth has grown." Jay A. Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber & Jacquelyn L. Sheehan, Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art, Washington: 1973, pp. 504-505.

⁶¹ Some works designated as (possibly) English may be Netherlandish. The Anna Selbdritt from Bude Castle in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London is an example. The angular linearity of this work suggests England, but the compositional type, the seated Anne with the child Madonna on her knee, and the iconographic details of folding stool, grapes, and book held by Anne, are characteristic of the South Netherlands. The Anna Selbdritt in the Lady Chapel of Exeter Cathedral is another case in point. See Paul Williamson, Northern Gothic Sculpture 1200-1450, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1988, p. 71; P. Tudor-Craig, "An English Gothic Statuette," Apollo, 86 (1967), pp. 458-59, and P. Lasko & N.J. Morgan, eds., Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300-1520, Norwich, 1973, nos. 108-110.

Materials

Most German, Dutch and Flemish sculptures are in wood, a small number in stone. A handful of ivory works survive. Inexpensive pipeclay statuettes were made, especially in Siegburg in the Rheinland. Paintings on panel and sometimes on canvas are numerous. Woodcuts depicting the Anna Selbdritt and the Holy Kinship, often including prayers, frequently with indulgences, were widely produced.⁶³ Woodcuts often show more variety and innovation in composition than the paintings and sculptures of a given region. Dürer, Cranach, Altdorfer and other artists of the early sixteenth century produced woodcut images of Anne and her family of extraordinary beauty. A substantial body of manuscript illustrations, in particular in Flemish and Rhenish books of hours, were made. A small number of drawings exist, most if not all, studies for prints or paintings.

The Anna Selbdritt also appears in stained glass, though glass examples of the subject may be more frequent in France, and on enamel plaques, of which the few examples known are Swiss and French.⁶⁴ Smaller objects bearing the image of the Anna Selbdritt include mereaux or charity tokens minted by confraternities or other groups in France and the South Netherlands. The mereaux were distributed to the poor who would

⁶³ Erwin Rosenthal reproduces an indulgenced Anna Selbdritt Pestblatt with a plague prayer ("Ein andechtiges gepet zu der heyligen Frawen sant Anna vnser lieben frawen müter fur die pestilentz") showing Anne with a child on each arm, the Virgin's hands folded in prayer, by the South German woodcut artist known as Caspar in 1494. Erwin Rosenthal, "Casper: Ein Formschneider des XV. Jahrhunderts," Beiträge zur Forschung: Studien aus dem antiquariat Jacques Rosenthal, neue folge I, p. 20.

⁶⁴ Several English windows depicting Anne, though not usually the Anna Selbdritt, and the Holy Kinship survive. See for example Clifford Davidson & David E. O'Connor, York Art: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art Including Items Relevant to Early Drama, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1978.

redeem them for bread or other goods. At least one coin bearing the Anna Selbdritt was minted in Braunschweig, and the image was used on convent and other seals.⁶⁵ Accompanied by inscriptions of short prayers such as "Hilf Sint-Anne sulf-drit" it was also used on church bells. Sometimes the images in question were pilgrimage tokens, casts of which were affixed to the bells. The Anna Selbdritt is found on textiles, and on household furnishings such as a chimney piece in the Utrecht Museum where it takes the form of a central medallion, and the stag-horn lamp in the Detroit Institute of Arts.

Style

Generally speaking, images of Anne display the same stylistic features as other works produced in the periods and regions in question. The flattened folds of Romanesque drapery are present in late thirteenth century works. In the fourteenth century the smiling mouth and eyes of the Gothic style appear, while the fifteenth century presents the realism typical of this period as well as the extravagance and peculiarities of drapery and posture that mark the works of the late Gothic.

Regional characteristics that appear in other works are found in representations of Anne and her family. Holy Kinships produced in Lübeck exhibit the additive groupings with line-ups of figures that characterize sculpture of this region. South Netherlandish

⁶⁵ Kleinschmidt reproduces the late 15th century seal of the Franciscan convent in Dorsten, Westfalia. Kleinschmidt, Die Verehrung, p. 147. Falk mentions the 1351 seal of Kloster Annenborn in Westfalia. Franz Falk, Geschichte der Marienverehrung und der Immakulata Tradition im Bistum Mainz und am Mittelrhein. Mainz: Druckerei Lehrlinghaus, 1906, p. 103.

works frequently depict figures in action, while the South German masters imply and predict rather than depict interaction.

Just as other art works in early sixteenth-century Germany show the influence of the Italian Renaissance, so too is this the case with the Anne works. Tilman Riemenschneider portrays Mary with a slender narrow-shouldered Gothic body in the Anna Selbdritt he made for the Benedictine nuns convent at Kitzingen but the nude Christ Child on her knee flexes his leg like a classical putto.⁶⁶ Equally to be expected is the fact that works from less skilled ateliers sometimes show stylistic lags as well as crudeness of design. This can lead to works being dated earlier than they should be.

Summary

A small number of Anna Selbdritts date to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. By far the largest number however, were made after 1470. The compositional types of the Anna Selbdritt, whether alone or forming part of a Holy Kinship, can be categorized as follows: Throne of Wisdom type; Anne, standing or seated, holds the small Mary and Jesus on one arm; Anne, standing or seated, holds the small Mary and Jesus, one on either arm; Anne stands while Mary stands beside her; Anne sits while Mary stands beside her; Throne of Grace Arrangements; Mary, shown as an adult, is seated lower than the seated Anne; bench type compositions; row compositions with central madonna; atypical compositions. Different compositions predominate in different regions.

⁶⁶ Mainfränkisches Museum, Würzburg.

In Holland, for example, compositions in which Mary is shown as disproportionately small, are infrequent. Compositions in which Anne holds both Mary and Jesus on one arm are widespread in the Rheinland. In South Germany Anne is more likely to be shown with a child on either arm.

CHAPTER NINE

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ANNA SELBDRITT

Along with their central figures, the Anna Selbdritts include iconographic details which enrich and nuance their content. Some of these details are common to a wide range of medieval images while others are specific to the iconography of Saint Anne and her family. This chapter describes the iconographic details commonly found in the Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships. It summarizes earlier conclusions about their origins or meanings and proposes new or amplified interpretations of some of them.

The Anna Selbdritt in Combination with Other Compositional Forms

Along with the Throne of Grace and Madonna of Humility compositions which served as the basis of some types of the Anna Selbdritt, other well-established compositions were also sometimes incorporated into the Anne images. The Maria lactans is found in a small number of Anna Selbdritts (fig. 24), a disproportionate number from Holland and the Rheinland. Occasionally the Anna Selbdritt is combined with the mystic marriage of St. Catherine (figs. 56, 92).¹ Two examples of the combination of the Anna Selbdritt and the pietà are known, one in the parish church of St. Michael in the village of Waldniel in the Lower Rheinland, the other in the parish church in Gelsdorf, also in

¹ The rare German examples of the Maria lactans include a sculpture (c. 1300) in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich. Repr. Beda Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna: Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum. Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1930, p. 218.

the Rheinland (fig. 53).² In the Waldniel work Mary holds Christ's body. In the very similar Gelsdorf sculpture he is held on the laps of the two women.

The Figures of Anne, Mary and Jesus

Anne's age

Saint Anne is normally represented as a mature rather than an old woman in late medieval Northern art.³ Sculptors distinguish her flesh from Mary's by a greater division into planes as compared with the rounded contours of her daughter's face, but otherwise signs of age are not usually depicted. The flesh is unlined and it retains firm contours. These characteristics can be clearly seen in the Waldniel Anna-Selbdritt pietà in which the faces of the two women are almost identical except for the greater width, roundness and smoothness of Mary's face (fig. 53). The reluctance to portray Anne as old may be partly due to the negative associations attached to the image of the older woman in late medieval Germany.⁴ It may also be the case that Anne's continuing fertility, an essential

² Karl-Heinz Schroers, St. Michael. Schwalmtal-Waldniel, Schwalmtal-Waldniel: Fritz Ecken, 1983, pp. 78-79; Heinrich Appel, "Die Vesperbilder von Heimbach und Drove: ein Nachtrag," Jahrbuch der Rheinischen Denkmalpflege, 24 (1962), pp. 181-88. There is an Anna Selbdritt combined with a Lamentation in the convent of the Observant Franciscans in Siena. Kleinschmidt, *ibid.*, p. 244.

³ According to the lives, Anne would have been in her early 40s when she gave birth to Mary. However, by the time she was the mother of the three adult Marys she would have been an old woman.

⁴ Franz Brietzmann describes the negative connotations of the old woman in late medieval Germany in Die böse Frau in der deutschen Litteratur des Mittelalters, (Berlin, 1912) London: Johnson Reprint Company Ltd., 1967, pp. 190-195. Ilse Friesen discussed the representation of age in early 16th-century German depictions of sybils in a paper

feature of the Holy Kinship story, is being alluded to through the absence of the signs of aging. The fact that in some cases Anne retains well-formed breasts visible under her tight-fitting bodice suggests an intent to depict her as a mother rather than an old woman (figs. 22).

It is surely significant that Anne begins to age in art works in the first few decades of the 1500s, at the same time that her role as generator of the Redeemer through Mary began to be replaced by her role as human grandmother. It was in these same decades that some writers began to reject the Trinubium - it was the story of the three marriages that required Anne's extended fertility.

Only a minority of early sixteenth century paintings and sculptures show the aged Anne, but those that do do so quite clearly. In a sculpture carved by Tilman Riemenschneider for the Anne altar in the Marienkapelle in Rothenburg on the Tauber in 1505-06 pronounced lines define the mouth and chin area and realistic wrinkles etch the skin under the eyes (fig. 89).⁵ Prints take the depiction of old age further than paintings. And they show the aged Anne more often. A metal cut print by the Augsburg artist Daniel Hopfer (1470-1536) presents a virtual catalogue of signs of aging: beaked nose, humped back, drawn-in mouth, ungainly posture, and a noticeable shadowing of the face as compared with Mary's.⁶ Lucas van Leyden gives Anne a walking stick to signify

given at the Universities Art Association Conference, Montreal, Université de Montréal, 1990.

⁵ Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.

⁶ Daniel Hopfer, Anna Selbdritt, Augsburg Graphische Sammlung (G 10354 E49).

age in a woodcut miniature of 1514-15 (fig. 28).⁷ Anne ages further as time passes. In some seventeenth-century German depictions old age sculpts facial crags that serve as magnificently theatrical signs of Anne's transformation into a sybil-like figure, a role quite different from those she played in the late medieval period (fig. 90).⁸

Mary's age

The Anne texts make it clear that the small and childlike Mary so often portrayed in the Anna Selbdritt was perceived as a child by medieval viewers.⁹ The anachronistic presence of noticeable breasts on the small Mary, for example in the Peter Breuer and

⁷ Jacques Lavalleye, Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Lucas van Leyden: The Complete Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, London: Thames & Hudson, 1967, p. 303.

⁸ Baroque depictions of Anne with Mary and Jesus fall into two main categories: Anne as suppliant of Christ; Anne holding Christ as a dominant with the small Mary to one side. Both are illustrated in Ton Brandenburg et al, Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder. Nijmegen: Sun, 1992, p. 159.

⁹ There are numerous such references. An inscription on a woodcut by Michel Schorpp of Ulm of an Anna Selbdritt in which Anne holds a normal-sized child Jesus and a semi-miniaturized child Mary reads: "O sant Anna von dinem laib geboren ist / Maria die Mutter Ihesu crist / di zwei kind off deinen armen / Bitt uber uns sich zu erbarmen." National Gallery of Art, Washington. Richard S. Field, "A New Woodcut of Saint Joseph by Ludwig of Ulm," Cahiers de Joséphologie, 17, 2 (July-December, 1969). An Office published in 1479 refers to the Anna Selbdritt as "sancta anna depingatur considerandum ...[with] duos videlicet sanctissimos puerulos qui vmquam nati sunt." Historia nova de sancta anna pulcra deuota et autentica, Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1479, p. 4 v. The same work states: "Isti duo pueruli Ihesus et maria quos vt et ipsa sancta anna depingi solet in brachijs suis deferens." Ibid., p. 196 r. An office by Johannes von Lambsheim states: "domina mea sancta anna ora pro me binos illos pueros gloriosissimos nepotem tuum cum filia quos sepius tuis in vlnis portasti..." Johannes von Lambsheim, Oraciones et alia pulcra ad sanctam Annam totam quod illias progeniem, Heidelberg: Heinrich Knoblochzer, p. a iii.

Riemenschneider sculptures (figs. 22, 84), may be an allusion to her role as mother of Jesus.

Jesus and Mary as attributes of Anne

One occasionally reads that the figures of Jesus and Mary in the Anna Selbdritt are intended as attributes whose function is to identify Anne.¹⁰ In a sense this is true as their presence does identify her. But it does far more than that. It explains the reason for her importance. The fact that the Anna Selbdritt was perceived as an image of three people, not one, is made clear by the references in the late fifteenth-century texts and images to the practice of placing three candles rather than the usual one in front of the Selbdritt. The attribute function of Mary and Jesus is however important in cases where Anne is presented in a line-up with other mature female saints. In the Hans Burgkmair Allerheiligenaltar from the Katharinenconvent in Augsburg (fig. 78), where she is shown in small size in the lower part of the main panel with Helena, Elizabeth and other matron saints, it would be impossible to distinguish her from some of the other saints were it not for the two tiny figures in her arms.¹¹

¹⁰ Stephan Beissel makes such a statement in Die Verehrung der Heiligen und ihrer Reliquien in Deutschland im Mittelalter, (Freiburg: Herder, 1890, 1892) Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991, p. 578.

¹¹ Gisela Goldberg et al., Altdeutsche Gemälde, Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1988, fig. 20. This type of presentation of Anne occurs in several South German depictions of groups of saints. The "All Saints" wings of an altarpiece by Hans Leinberger in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum is another in which a small three-quarter figure Anna Selbdritt forms part of a group of female saints. Anne holds Jesus while Mary stands to one side. Hans Thoma, Hans Leinberger: seine Stadt, seine Zeit, sein Werk, Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1979, p. 186.

Clothing

Though in some works Anne wears a gown and cloak of bright colours, more often she wears the sober clothing of an older woman of the upper levels of the merchant classes (fig. 91). Her head and often her neck are covered, usually by white scarves (Kopftuch and Halsband). Her clothing is more sober, less decorated than that of her daughters, and she wears less - if any - jewellery. The sobriety of her dress reflects contemporary practice. A painting of an Augsburg Geschlechertanz (patrician dance), executed in the later 1500s but depicting individuals alive in the early 1500s, shows the older females of these wealthy and socially elevated families wearing the same kind of dark, plain costume with white headdress that is seen on Saint Anne (fig. 91). This type of clothing does not necessarily indicate widowhood. More elaborate headdresses and clothing are sometimes worn, especially in Flemish Holy Kinship paintings, and occasionally Anne's neck is bare.

Anne's traditional colours are sometimes said to be green and red, and these colours are found in some of the paintings and sculptures that retain their original polychromy. However other colours are often used in Anne's clothing. Nonetheless in Italian paintings the presence of these colours can sometimes be helpful in distinguishing Anne from Elizabeth.¹² With respect to other aspects of clothing symbolism, Willemien

¹² Colour as a guide should be used with caution; I have found no authoritative source for the association of red and green with Anne. Usually Italian works that depict an older woman along with John the Baptist can be assumed to represent Elizabeth, not Anne. Kleinschmidt probably errs here in his identification of figures in a painting attributed to Raphael (p. 129) and in a work by Alfani (p. 145). In the Flemish artist Peter de Witt's Holy Family with Anna and John, a work which includes the child John the Baptist, the green dress of the woman kneeling in adoration at right helps to identify her

Deeleman-van Tyen calls attention to a Lower Rhein Anna Selbdritt that shows Anne with one shoe off, no doubt a reference to Moses's removal of his shoes in the presence of God.¹³

In Holy Kinships Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome wear the clothing and jewellery that would have been worn by young married women of the upper levels of the merchant classes (fig. 92). As younger married women, they show more of their hair than Anne. In some paintings they wear more jewellery than would have been worn by women who had born several children; the wearing of jewels and finery tended to decrease with age.¹⁴ In paintings in particular their gowns and headdresses are often very elaborate. Nonetheless their clothing usually looks like apparel that might have been worn

as Anne, not Elizabeth. However it is the positioning of the figure, embraced by the Virgin and supplicating the Christ Child, that plays an even more crucial role in her identification as Anne. Art Treasures of the Vatican, Redig de Campos, ed., Secaucus, N.J., Chartwell Books, 1974, no. 376.

¹³ Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen. Rep. Ernst G. Grimme, Europäische Bildwerke vom Mittelalter zum Barock, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1977, fig. 48.

¹⁴ A book of advice for women printed in Augsburg in 1522 states that with each successive child a woman ought to wear less jewellery: "Gewinst du zway kindlein in der ee / darnach so trag dein geschmuck nit mee / Halt der Nürnberger policey / da bleibt auch ain erber frau wol bey." In wöllichem spiegel sich das weyblich bild / jung oder altt beschauwen oder lernen / zügebrauche die woltat gegen irem Eelichen gemahel, Augsburg: Hanns Schönsperger am Weinmarckt, 1522, p. a ii.

by young patrician matrons.¹⁵ By contrast other female saints such as Katherine and Barbara are sometimes shown in anachronistic costumes. (figs. 57, 92).¹⁶

¹⁵ Larry Silver refers to "exotic courtly or orientalizing costume, including turbans and other unusual headgear" in the Quentin Massys altarpiece for the Anne confraternity at the church of St. Peter's in Louvain (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (1507-09), Brussels, fig. 92). Larry Silver, *The Paintings of Quentin Massys*, Montclair: Allanheld & Schram, 1984, p. 201. However Tamara Chaplin's analysis of the clothing in the Massys work and in Lucas Cranach's *Saint Anne Altarpiece* (1509) in the Städelisches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt (rep. Werner Schade, *Cranach: a Family of Master Painters*, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1980, pp. 28-30) concludes that contemporary clothing is worn in both works. Of the Massys she writes: "Saint Anne is wearing a head-dress consonant with that of an older matron, widow, or nun, a black paneled chaperon with white revers and white edging, worn over a white capulet. Her neck is partially obscured by a bavette [Halsband], which is also masking the top of her peach-brown gown and mantle....The mantle appears to be edged along the outer front with a narrow line of embroidery. Sleeves are narrow (an earlier style suitable for an older, conservative woman), and expose an undersleeve or cuff of darker brown (possibly beaver fur?). The fabric of the gown is likely to be wool, with the chaperon in velvet, and the bavette in white linen. Saint Anne appears to be wearing a narrow ring on the third finger of her left hand, but no other jewellery." Mary Cleophas wears "a beige bourette, set back on her head to expose the parted coif fashionable at the beginning of the 16th century, covered by an embroidered snood over a close fitting capulet, draped with a blue-grey fine gauze veil. Her gown, possibly a cote-hardie, is dark purple-blue, edged in brown fur. To the short upper sleeves...of the cote, the mancherons of light blue-grey are attached by a narrow band of red trim. The brown, fur-trimmed, deep V neckline reveals either the white linen of her chemise, or more probably, a gorgerette of white linen or gauze, the edges of which, on close inspection, can be seen to exhibit a narrow chain stitched embroidery. The cote appears to be belted with a fabric sash in a light peachy rose. Mary Cleophas is wearing a narrow ring on the third finger of her left hand, but no other jewellery." Tamara Chaplin, "The Saint Anne Holy Kinship: Costume and Class Level: an Analysis", Concordia University, unpublished paper, 1992, p. 7.

¹⁶ Costume historians Verna Rutz and Robin Netherton point out that royal saints in late 15th-century paintings sometimes wear garments that had gone out of fashion long before, for example the 14th c. surcoat (overdress) worn by St. Catherine in the Holy Kinship altar by the Master of the Holy Kinship in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne. Verna Rutz & Robin Netherton, "A Close Look at the Costume of One Mary Magdalene," conference paper, Kalamazoo: University of Western Michigan. International Congress on Medieval Studies, 1995.

The Christ Child is usually nude, though he is sometimes dressed in a tunic, occasionally in an open tunic or shirt closed only at the neck so that it reveals the genitals, and more rarely in a loin cloth. The loin cloth, which is usually found in works produced in the Rheinland and South Netherlands, may be a reference to the Crucifixion. The fact that the shirt also often occurs in works from this area may be connected with the presence of the relic of the Holy Shirt at Trier.¹⁷ It should be noted though, that these shirts are in fact more frequent in works produced in Antwerp and Brussels than in those made closer to Trier.¹⁸ The shirt is sometimes shown with a fold at the neck, possibly in reference to the seamless shirt made by Mary that grew as Jesus grew. Occasionally

¹⁷ Accounts of how Mary forgot Jesus's shirt and diapers and how they were found by the Empress Helena are related in a 1520 account of the Three Kings. "Sie vergassen das hemmet vnd auch die windelyn. Sie lagen in der krybbe byss...Helena kam vnd hant den funt. Sie gaff es keyser Karle yrem frunde. Zo Aich in dem munster man das noch fynd." Die Hystori oder Legend von den Heiligen Dryen Koenigen. Faksimileausgabe eines Pilgerbuches von 1520 mit einem Verzeichnis der Drucke der Servatius Kruffter in Köln, ed. Elisabeth Christern, Cologne, Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft, 1964, p. 7. According to Aloys Schulte "Kaiser Maximilian, ein bekannter Reliquienfreund, weilte 1512 zur Abhaltung eines Reichstages in Trier. Hier erfuhr er, in alten Chroniken stehe geschrieben, dass der Rock des Herrn im Hauptaltar des Trierer Domes ruhe. Neben religiösen Interesse trieb ihn die Neugierde an, den eben erwähnten Erzbischof Richard von Greifenklau zu bitten, die Reliquie zu erheben, was am 14. April geschah." Aloys Schulte, Die Fugger in Rom: 1495-1523, vol. 1, Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1904, p. 85. However, many of the shirted figures are dated before 1512. In Cologne Heinrich von Neuss published the Rock Jesu Christi c. 1512, 2 0 (Köln UB, O. 189). See Franz Falk, Die Druckkunst im Dienste der Kirche, zunächst in Deutschland, bis zum Jahre 1520. (Görres-Gesellschaft, 1879) Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1969, pp. 75-76 for a list of early imprints on the holy shirt.

¹⁸ The child in the woodcuts illustrating three Anne lives printed in Antwerp wears a tunic: Jan van Denemarken, Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempelen (1496); Petrus Dorlandus, Historia perpulchra de Anna sanctissima (1487); Dorlandus, Historia vander alder heylichster vrouwe Sinte Anna (1501). Ton Brandenburg, "De Moeder-en maagschapcultus in the Nederlanden omstreeks 1500," Vijf eeuwen gezinsleven, ed. Harry Peters et al. Nijmegen: Sun, 1986, pp. 108-109.

the Christ Child is shown with the small necklace of coral beads that was worn as a protective amulet by babies and small children.

The Virgin Mary usually wears the same kind of clothing she wears in other late medieval northern art works, garments that are beautiful, often of luxurious material, but somewhat more austere and more generalized in terms of class and period than those of her sisters or of other female saints. With some exceptions she usually does not wear jewellery apart from the crown or circlet. Jewels however are sometimes incorporated into her crown or into the borders of her dress.¹⁹

The more luxurious clothing worn by Mary's sisters probably reflects the wishes of the merchant classes who were the frequent patrons of these paintings and sculptures and who sometimes appear in them as participant donors in the persons of the Holy Kinship. When members of the ruling classes appear as participant patrons, they wear clothing appropriate to their class.²⁰

¹⁹ The relative sobriety - and it is relative - of Mary's clothes raises particular questions that apply only to her. Is the somewhat more modest quality of her dress compared with that of other female saints a way of alluding to the belief expressed in some medieval texts that her beauty could not stir men to sexual longing: "wann wie wol du an deinem leichnam gar schön pist gewesen, so ist doch chain mensch der dich angeschaut hat, von deiner schön nye an geüchten worden vnd zu sündigen gelüsten vnd pöser pegier nye erweckt noch geraicht worden." Thomas Peuntner, "Auslegung über das Aue Maria," MS, 1435-39, in Spatmittelalter Humanismus Reformation: Texte und Zeugnisse, ed. Hedwig Heger, Munich, C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1975, p. 152. In Spain, Mary wears more jewellery than in Italy or the North.

²⁰ An example of female clothing of the nobility can be seen on St. Catherine in Cranach's Martyrdom of Saint Catherine in Dresden. See Chaplin, "The Saint Anne Holy Kinship," p. 12.

As well as associating the art works with their patrons, the clothing in these works undoubtedly had other meanings as well. Beauty of clothing and adornment in late medieval art works was valued in both literal and symbolic ways. The Neu-Karsthans, a Reformation dialogue published in Strassburg (c 1520), speaks of the clothing on the figures of the beautiful women adorning the churches (ie. the saints) as though he is speaking of the clothing of a real woman:

Truly when I was young and they piped away on the organ in church, I longed to dance, and when I heard the singing there I was moved in the flesh but not in the spirit. Also I often had base thoughts when I looked at the female images on the altars. For no courtesan can dress or adorn herself more sumptuously and shamelessly than they nowadays fashion the Mother of God, Saint Barbara, Katherine and other saints.²¹

Contemporary comments suggest that the literal beauty of images was valued by churches because it attracted people, and beautiful clothing would have been part of that appeal. Fine clothing and jewels on images may also have functioned as a homage to the saints wearing them. Real clothing and jewels were presented to wonder-working images as gifts to thank and honor them.²² Beautiful painted clothing may also have been a way of honouring Mary and the saints.

²¹ "Gesprechbiechlin neüw Karsthans," cited in Michael Baxandall, The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980, p. 88.

²² Trithemius includes clothing in his description of the gifts pilgrims brought to the wonderworking image in the miracle book he wrote for the Marian shrine at Dittelsbach: "Alius ceram pro. Dei matris reuerentia obtulit, alius pecuniam, aut vestem in cordis simplicitate praesentauit." Johannes Trithemius, De Miracula beatae Mariae semper virginis in Ecclesia nova prope Dittelbach (1511), chap. 5, in Joannis Trithemii. Opera pia et spiritualia. ed. Johannes Busaeus. Mainz, 1604, 1605, p. 1083.

Symbolic meanings are also likely. The thirteenth-century poem of praise to Mary, Das Rheinische Marienlob, is replete with descriptions of material finery which ascribe symbolic meaning to specific jewels or articles of clothing.²³ Symbolic meaning is ascribed to clothing and jewels in a fourteenth-century convent vision, in which they represent the service done by the sister to Christ:

Nach ihrem Tode kam sie herwider zu einer Schwester und trug ein grünes Gewand mit grosser Gezierde und eine herrliche Krone auf ihrem Haupte. Sie hatte eine Gewandspange aus edlem Gesteine, die bedeckte ihr ganzes Herz und war lauter wie ein Spiegelglas; darin sah man allen Dienst, den sie unserm Herrn je getan.²⁴

It must not be forgotten either that fine garments were a prerequisite accompaniment to status in a society that tended to conflate status with goodness. Fine clothing was also a requisite for ceremonial situations; it honoured those to whom one showed oneself. Christina Ebner's fourteenth-century Das Buchlein von der Gnaden Überlast describes a vision in which beautiful clothing is described as necessary if one is to enter the presence of Christ:

Da sie nun der Tod ankam, da sandte sie nach den Frauen und sprach: "Lieben Kinder, mir hat heute geträumt, es käme ein schöner Jüngling zu mir und spräche, ein König habe mich auf seinen Hof geladen, da sollt ich mich nun fürbass aufmachen." Da sprach ich hinwider: "Es ist lang, dass ich vom Hof kam; ich kann mich da nimmer benehmen und hab' auch nicht schöne KLeider." Da sprach

²³ Part 5, devoted to "Mariens himmlische Schönheit," includes sections on Mary's clothing, the jewels on her garments, her crown, and the jewels on her hands and feet. Das Rheinische Marienlob, ed. Adolf Bach, Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1933. p. LXXIV.

²⁴ The visionary is Elsbeth Maierin von Nürnberg. Christina Ebner, Das Buchlein von der Gnaden Überlast, Deutsches Nonnenleben: Das Leben der schwestern zu Töss und Der Nonne von Engeltal Büchlein von der Gnaden Überlast, Munich: O.C. Recht Verlag, 1921. p. 322.

er: "Sorg nicht darum! Der König, zu des Hof du geladen bist, der kann dich wohl lehren und will dir auch schöne Kleider geben." Nun besinne ich mich wohl durch diesen Traum, dass ich sterben soll.²⁵

Crowns

In approximately half the Anna Selbdritts produced in Germany, Holland and Flanders, Mary wears a crown. The fact that she never wears a crown in Italian examples and almost always wears a crown, usually a large one, in Spanish versions of the subject, suggests that patronage and prevailing political systems played a role here, the Italian examples being largely produced in civic contexts, the Spanish in royal. However neither patterns of government nor of patronage seem to present clear consistent patterns in the Northern areas. A rough survey indicates that Swabia and Franconia, and the Rheinland and North Rhein-Westfalia area, show a preference for uncrowned Marys, while Bavaria, Lubeck and Saxony prefer crowns. Dutch sculptures are more often crowned than not. In Flanders the proportions are more equal. Netherlandish paintings are less apt to show Mary crowned than are Netherlandish sculptures.

The size and design of Mary's crown vary. Sometimes she wears a circlet or garland which, as Edwin Hall and Horst Uhr have shown, is often intended not as a regal crown but as the corona of virginity described by Scholastic writers. Aquinas, summarizing the tradition, writes that along with the aurea (halo) granted to all the

²⁵ The visionary is Sister Gertraud von Happurg. Ibid., p. 292.

blessed, additional aureolae were granted to martyrs, virgins and doctors.²⁶ In the fifteenth century the small crown was often replaced by the circlet or garland. Sometimes it was intended to draw attention to Mary's simultaneous virginity and motherhood.²⁷ This may be the meaning of the garland in its frequent appearances in the Anna Selbdritt. But it cannot be assumed that in all cases sculptors were using it with this intent. Sometimes it is difficult to ascertain what type of crown is intended. The colours associated with the three crowns - red for martyrs, white for virgins, and green for doctors - do not seem to be present in the paintings.²⁸

The Objects in the Anna Selbdritt

The book

A book, usually open, appears in many Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships. The book is found throughout the territory of the image but there are variations in how it is used. In the Rheinland-Westfalia area it is most often Anne who holds it, while Mary as reader or holder of the book is typical of works from South and Southwest Germany. The pages may be touched or rifled by the Christ Child.

²⁶ Edwin Hall & Horst Uhr, "Aureola super Auream: Crowns and Related Symbols of Special Distinction for Saints in Late Gothic and Renaissance Iconography," The Art Bulletin, 67, 4 (Dec., 1985), pp. 567-603.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 575.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 600.

Various interpretations have been proposed for the book. The most frequent hypotheses are that it is intended to allude to the biblical prophecies concerning Christ's birth, or that it alludes to Christ as the logos. The fact that the book is not the attribute of a single individual - any one, or several of the women in a Holy Kinship, and sometimes their children - may hold it - suggests that an exclusive intended meaning as the logos is unlikely in the majority of examples.²⁹ However there are cases where the unusual treatment of the book suggests that such a meaning might be present. Such an assumption might be made for example about the right panel of the Saint Anne Altarpiece from the Gerard David workshop which shows St. Anthony of Padua holding a cross in one hand and in his left an open book on which sits a small naked Christ Child.³⁰

The theme of reading presents another area for interpretation. Pamela Sheingorn has argued that the book in images of Anne alludes to the theme of Anne teaching Mary to read and that this theme is intended to encourage mothers to teach their children to

²⁹ Gertrud Schiller and Joseph Braun view the book as the logos. Gertrud Schiller, Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst, vol. 4,2, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1966-1980, p. 76. Joseph Braun, Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst, Stuttgart, J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1943, col. 79. Braun is incorrect in stating that the book "kommt bei mittelalterlichen Darstellungen der hl. A. nur sehr selten vor."

³⁰ John Oliver Hand, The Saint Anne Altarpiece, Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1992. Ton Brandenburg interprets Hans Baldung Grien's unusual woodcut (1511) in which Anne makes a scissors-like motion over the Christ Child's penis, as referring to the logos in the book which is shown unread, beside Joseph. Now that the Child is here, Joseph no longer needs to read. Ton Brandenburg, Heilig Familieleven, Nijmegen: Sun, 1990 p. 153.

read.³¹ However, while depictions of the Education of the Virgin clearly depict a mother teaching her daughter, and in two works mentioned by Sheingorn the book is a primer, it does not seem that this meaning is intended in the Anna Selbdritt, where there is normally no indication that the book is being used to teach.

The fact that in some Anna Selbdritts the book can be clearly identified as a book of hours suggests that what is being promoted may be the reading of the Psalter.³² Such encouragement is found in contemporary texts. In the N-Town play Mary makes a speech about the Psalter which is clearly intended to do this:

It makyht sowles fayr that doth it say
 Angelys be steryd to help us ther with
 it lytenyth therkeness and puttyth develys Away.

....
 the song of psalmus is goddys dete
 synne is put A-wey ther by
 It lernyth A man vertuysful to be
 It feryth mannys herte gostly
 who that it vsyth custommably
 it claryfieth the herte and charyte makyth cowthe
 he may not faylen of goddys mercy
 that hath the preysenge of god evyr in his mowthe.

....
 thou lernyst hem love lord that on the look
 and makyst hem desyre thyngys celestly
 With these halwyd psalmys lord I pray the specyaly

³¹ It is not clear if Sheingorn believes this meaning is always intended when a book is shown, or only in the scenes where Anne teaches Mary. The examples in her article are all depictions of the Education of the Virgin. She states that the open book implies the act of teaching: "This grouping implies that Anne's act of teaching carries singular importance, as does the fact that the book is virtually always open. Though a book appears with great frequency as an attribute of sacred figures, it is more often closed." Pamela Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," Gesta, 32, 1 (1993), p. 70.

³² Depictions of the Education of the Virgin are frequent in Books of Hours.

ffor all the creatures qwyke and dede
that thou wylt shewe to hem thi mercy
and to me specyaly that do it rede.³³

But though an overall interpretation of the book in the imagery of Saint Anne as an allusion to the teaching of reading cannot be sustained, there are a small number of Holy Kinship images in which there is a specific reference to teaching. The Lucas Cranach woodcut (c. 1510, fig. 5) in which the family of Frederick the Wise are shown as participant patrons, depicts the fathers teaching their sons to read. That the education motif was clearly recognized by contemporaries is evidenced by the fact that the reformers recontextualized the Cranach woodcut, printing it with a popular poem about the education of children.³⁴

Other Holy Kinships with references to teaching include a Westfalian work (c. 1430) in which one of the apostle children holds a writing tablet (fig. 56), and an altarpiece by Martin Schaffner (1521, fig. 95) in the choir of Ulm Münster. This work, in which Mary's sisters' husbands are ducal participant donor portraits, shows a wax slate or hornbook in the hand of James the Greater.³⁵ A fifteenth-century coloured woodcut in the Stiftsbibliothek in St. Gallen depicts the Baby Jesus awkwardly writing in a book

³³ Ludus coventriae, [The N-Town Play] ed. K.S. Block, Early English Text Society, e.s. London: Oxford University Press, (1922) 1974, p. 96.

³⁴ See Christiane D. Andersson, "Religiöse Bilder Cranachs im Dienste der Reformation," L.W. Spitz, ed. Humanismus und Reformation als kulturelle Kräfte in der deutschen Geschichte, Berlin/New York, 1981. Rep. in Brandenburg, Heilig Familieleben, p. 151. Brandenburg cites this work as exemplifying the new model of bourgeois life in which men become more involved in their role as fathers. Ibid., pp. 149-153.

³⁵ Postcard, Ulm Münster. One of Mary Cleophas's sons hands a piece of printed paper to his father.

held open for him by his mother who perches on the other knee of a youthful-looking Anne (fig. 95).³⁶ While only a small number of works explicitly refer to education or to writing in the manner described above, a large number of Holy Kinship paintings place emphasis on the act of reading. The altarpiece by the Master of Frankfurt in the Frankfurt Historisches Museum shows both Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome with open books (fig. 13). Mary Salome reads hers. Mary Cleophas shows hers to two of her sons, her finger pointing at a particular line of text. In Quentin Massys's St. Anne altarpiece in Brussels, in which neither Mary nor Anne holds a book, two of Mary Cleophas's sons look at and touch the book on their mother's lap while a tiny John the Evangelist sits on the floor looking at a sheet with a coloured image of the IHS, the monogram of Christ (figs. 19, 96). Several works depict reading glasses. Anne wears glasses in the Geertgen Tot Sint Jans Holy Kinship (fig. 97). Zebedee uses glasses to read a sheet of paper in a Westfalian painting of the Holy Kinship (c. 1470) in the Treasury of the Saint Servatius Church in Maastricht. James the Lesser holds his father's glasses. In all nine people are engaged in reading in this work.³⁷

Fruit

Frequently Mary or Anne holds out a round object to the Christ Child. In some cases it is he who holds the round object, which is sometimes an orb, sometimes a round fruit.

³⁶ Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, Rome & Freiburg: Herder, 1968-76, vol. 5, p. 188.

³⁷ Repr. *ibid.*, p. 19.

The fact that in contrast to the book, the fruit is rarely shown with Jesus's cousins, suggests that it has a particular connection with him. The fruit and the orb seem sometimes to be used almost interchangeably - a reminder that the interpretation of medieval art works must balance the likelihood of symbolic meaning (whether specifically intended or expressive of internalized concepts) against the tendencies of artists both to misread symbols and to repeat them for reasons of habit, aesthetic preference, or formal convenience.

The fruit is often an apple, but the pomegranate, pear and grapes are also shown, and as well cherries, peaches and figs (fig. 98). In Dutch examples the fruit is sometimes contained in a basket (figs. 62, 63).³⁸ Like other medieval symbols, the fruits undoubtedly had different meanings. The presence of fruit in madonna images is sometimes interpreted as a reference to Mary as the second Eve.³⁹ The association of the apple with Eve was certainly current in the Middle Ages. One of the Anne offices refers to Eve

³⁸ See Deeleman-van Tyen, Sint Anna-te-Drienen: een onderzoek naar vorm, inhoud en functioneren van het thema St Anna-te-drienen in de nederlandse beeldhouwkunst der late middeleeuwen, 2 vols., M.A. thesis, Amsterdam: Free University, 1990, for examples. The Saumur Musée owns a Mechelen work in which Anne holds a basket. Dominique Costa, Sainte Anne, Nantes: Musée Dobrée, 1966, p. 32.

³⁹ Gertrud Schiller describes the apple as "Symbol aus der Sündenfallgeschichte. Dieses Symbol...hält die Gottesmutter als die 'neue Eva' auf vielen Madonnendarstellungen in der Hand, oder sie reicht den Apfel dem Kind. Das ist auch in an AS Skulptur der Fall." Gertrud Schiller, Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst, vol. 4, 2, p. 158. Many medieval texts list symbolic meanings for plants, trees and other symbols of Mary. See for example, the 15th century English treatise on the Divine Service, the Myroure of oure Ladye, ed. John Henry Blunt, Early English Text Society (Extra Series, 19, 1873), Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint, 1981, Myroure of oure Ladye, ed. John Henry Blunt, EETS. e.s. (London: Oxford University Press, 1873) Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1981, pp. 282-286.

corrupted by the apple: "Eua mater corruptele pomi fit edulio deformauitque tocus sequele lineam contagio Sancta autem anna confert spem medele. sacro suo puerperio."⁴⁰ However, though the trope was widespread, references to it in the Anne texts are in fact rare. A more tenable generalization, especially considering that in these images the fruit is often held not by Mary but by Jesus or Anne, is that the fruit refers to the Christ Child. In the late medieval Anne texts fruit is used to symbolize Jesus. The prophetic dream of the monks of Mount Carmel that instructs Anne's mother Emerentia to marry presents its message through the metaphor of a tree. The tree is Emerentia, the branch Anne, the flower Mary and the fruit the Christ Child.

Petrus Dorlandus writes:

Et facta est vox ad eos dicens: arbor hec Emerentianam designat, ramus exurgens filiam sanctissimam quam de matrimonio est dei munere habitura. Flos autem de ramo procedens virginem monstrat de hac filia nascituram quem fructum vite dei filium suo virginali utero sine corruptione includet et sine dolore pariet.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Historia nova de sancta anna pulchra deuota et autentica, Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1479, p. 5 r. An Anna Selbdritt in a Flemish manuscript book of hours contains the words: "Christi sancto matris: Christi tuum esse quod necesse lapsus pomo sensit / homo alleluia alleluia: vs: Dilexit dominus sanctam annam." Brussels MS II 3636, Catalogue of the Centrum voor de Studie van het Verluchte Handschrift in de Nederlanden, Katholieke Universiteit, Louvain. An extended comparison of Eve with the tree of lust and Mary with the tree of suffering which is the crucifix appears in the late fifteenth-century devotional text Das Büchlin wirt genannt die himelisch Funtgrüb: "Also sollen wir auch steen vnd sollen sy bitten das sy vns woelle helffen also steen. Sy stuond bey dem kreütz. Aber Eua stuond bey den verpoten baum der wollustigkayt. Die toechter Eue steen noch bey den verpoten baumen. Die toechter Marie steen bey dem baum der peinlicheyt. O Maria du aller getreüeste muotter. erloess vns von der ersten muotter die da gestanden ist bey dem verboten baum." Das Büchlin wirt genannt die himelisch Funtgrüb.

⁴¹ Petrus Dorlandus, Historia perpulchra de Anna sanctissima, Antwerp: G. Back, 1493, cited by Ton Brandenburg, "Jan van Denemarken en Pieter Dorlant over de Maagschap van de Heilige Moeder Anna een Vergelijkende Studie," Ons Geestelijk Erf, 63, nos. 2-4, 64, nos. 1-3 (June-Dec. 1989, March-Sept. 1990), p. 233.

The life by the anonymous Franciscan describes the vision of the tree as follows:

....Diser allerschoeneste Baum den ihr gesehen thut vorbedeuten die scheinbare rainigkeit der Jungfrauen Emerentiae vnd ihr heiliges vornemen so sie allzeit dem willen Gottes heimbgestellt bedeut den willen welchen die Goettliche guetigkeit durch den heiligen Ehestandt beschlossen hat zu volbringen. Derjenige Ast aber welcher die anderen an der schoenheit vbertreffen thut bedeut dass sie ein Tochter gebaeren werde mit Namen Anna: von diser wirdt herfuer kommen ein Blumen das ist ein Jungkfraw voller genaden mit Namen Maria welche in alle Ewigkeit vnbefleckt verbleiben wirdt. Aus diser Blumen aber das ist auss der Jungkfrawen Maria wird an dess Tags Liecht herfuer gehn vnd sich sehen lassen die allersuesseste vnd Hoenigfluessende Frucht der Sohn Gottes vnnd Erloeser des ganzen Menschlichen Geschlechts. Von welcher Frucht geschriben stehet: Gustate & videte quoniam suavis est Dominus....Die andere aest aber dises Baums mitsamdt den zweigen vnd Fruechten bedeuten nichts anders als ihre Heilige Nachkoemmling vnd Kindskinder welche der ganzen Welt nutz seyn werden.⁴²

Sprenger applies the same meaning to fruit, somewhat loosely, in instructions to confraternity members whom he envisions kneeling in front of an image of the Selbdritt:

Wer in der loblichen brüderschaft der heiligen sant Anna wil seyn und darin köme, der sol sie ern uf den dienstag insonderheit, den sant Anna ist der wirdig stam und edele blome, do von die heiligste frucht komen ist unser seligkeit

⁴² Das Leben und Wunderzaichen der allerseeligisten Frawen Annae, Munich: Cornelius Leyffert, (1496) 1627, pp. 7-9. Jan van Denemarken describes the vision of the tree in these words: "Die outste antwoerde ende seyde. dat hy had in die drie nachten als hi syn ghebeth gesproken hadde / alle nachtes sach een rehande boom die alte seer schoon verziert was mz mit vele telgheren . op eenen tellich van desen boem sach hi een bloem die synen gesichte seer bequaem was Enn op die bloem sach hi een alte genoechliken vrucht besloten. maer wat den boem beduden mochten wiste hi niet. Des ghelijck seyde een ieghelic van hen luden ghesien te hebben. Doen baden sy eendrachtelijc god almachtich mit groter deuocien dat hy hen dit visioen wat lichter woude te kennen gheuen Doe hoorden sy een stem vanden hemel sprekende aldus. Dien schoonen boom...beduyt die goede wille des echtes die inder maecht emerenciana volbracht moet wesen Den tellich des booms beduyt een dochter die van Emerenciana gheboren sal worden in echteliken staet. die men heeten sal Anna. Die bloem staende op dien tellich beteekent die maghet Maria. die van anna Emerenciana dochter gheboren sal worden Enn die alder ghenoechlicste vrucht die ghi saecht op dien boom. beteykent Jhesum Christum den behouder der werelt / die dat menschelijcke gheslachte verlossen sal". Jan van Denemarken, Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempelen vander heyligher vrouwen sint Annen, Antwerp: Geraert Leeu, 1490-91, pp. 12 v. 13 r.& v.

Maria und Jesus. Du solt ir sprechen das ist sant Anna mit irer dochter Maria und ir dochter kindt Christum Jesum zu lob ere und dankbarkeyt alle dinstag drey pater noster und drei ave marie und die opfert vor dich und alle mitbrüder.⁴³

It is not only in the Anne texts that Christ is referred to as the sweet fruit.⁴⁴ The humanist Thomas Peutner elaborates at length on the theme of the fruit of Mary's womb in a discourse on the Ave Maria.⁴⁵ In the visual arts the inclusion of the tree in the imagery of Saint Anne, whether shown as bearing fruit, or as a genealogical tree, though it is found elsewhere, is especially prevalent in the South Netherlands.

Apples

As the particular fruit is not specified in the dream, the choice of fruit provokes a cautious search for additional meanings. The apple's association with Eve has already

⁴³ Marie Rosenkrantz: Diss buch legt uss Marie Rosenkrantz un psalter..., cited in E. Schaumkell, Der Kultus der heiligen Anna am Ausgang des Mittelalters, Freiburg: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J.C.B. Mohr, 1893, p. 21.

⁴⁴ An English breviary (c. 1300) contains the following: "Terra ista beata est virgo maria de nostro semine, de hoc luto de adam; terra ista dedit fructum suum. Terra ista primo dedit florem et postea fructum. Iste enim flos fructus factus est, ut nos illud comederemus, ut panem angelorum manducaret homo." Lectio IV, Breviary of Hyde Abbey at Winchester, ed. J.B.L. Tolhurst, cited in Bouman, E.D. O'Connor, ed. The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and Significance. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958, p. 147.

⁴⁵ "Vnd gesegent ist die frucht deines leibs Ihesus Christus: dy edel, dy hailsam vnd die vnergeltlich frucht, von der der amöchtig mensch wol gelabt wird, der trawrig fröleich wirt, der vergifft mensch gehailt wirt, der krankch gesundt wirt, der gesunt vor krankhait behüet wirt: vnd wer der frucht nicht kostund ist, der mag den hellischen leiden vnd dem ewigen tod nicht entrinne. O du junchfrawleiche mueter, er ist dy vil gesegent frucht, dy in dem schönen paradys deines junkchfrawleichen paüchlein vnder deinem mägtleichen herczen entsprungen vnd gewachsen ist. Dy wirdig frucht smekcht ettleichen als dy rosen von seiner lieb wegen....Er ist die frucht, dy du vns zu einer hailsamen speizz geperet hast..." Thomas Peutner, "Auslegung über das Aue Maria," pp. 152-53.

been mentioned and it is certainly possible that the salvational connotation of Mary as the new Eve attaches to the apples in the Anna Selbdritts. However this meaning is not prominent in the context of the Anne cult.

On a more everyday level, medieval people mention the apple as a treat one gives to a child. A fourteenth-century text from the Dominican convent of Katharinenthal describes a vision in which the Christ Child comforts a weeping nun by giving her an apple, just as one quiets a crying child:

Do kam vnser herre zuo ir als ein kindli vnd reht als man einem kint tuot, so es weinet vnd man es sweigen wil vnd in einem opfel in die hant git, also gab ir vnser herr einen oepfel in ir hant.⁴⁶

When the mystic Henry Suso thought of apples he thought of Mary

feeding them to Jesus:

Large pieces of fruit he divided into four parts. Three parts he ate in the name of the Holy Trinity, the fourth part in the love with which the heavenly Mother gave her tender child Jesus an apple to eat. This part he would eat unpeeled because children usually eat it unpeeled. From Christmas day until some time thereafter he would not eat this fourth part. He offered it in his contemplation to the gentle Mother to give to her dear young Son.⁴⁷

52 Anton Birlinger, ed. "Leben heiliger alemannischer Frauen des Mittelalters. 5. Die Nonnen von St. Katarinental bei Diessenhofen," Alemannia, 15, Bonn, 1887, p. 179. Bartholomaeus Anglicus wrote in the thirteenth century that children "...cry and weep more over the loss of an apple than over the loss of an inheritance." De proprietatibus rerum, in Medieval Lore from Bartholomew Anglicus, ed. Robert Steel, London, 1924, pp. 51-52, cited in Frances & Joseph Gies, Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages, New York: Harper & Row, 1987, p. 196. The biography of Hugh of Lincoln, discussing an incident in which the bishop plays with a baby he has just baptized, says: "The bishop gave the boy an apple and several other things which children usually like....," Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis (The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln), ed. & trans. Decima L. Dowie & Dom Hugh Farmer, London, 1961-62, vol. 1, pp. 128-130, cited in Gies, *ibid.*, p. 203.

⁴⁷ Henry Suso, The Life of the Servant, in Suso, The Exemplar, with two German Sermons, trans. & ed. Frank Tobin, New York: Paulist Press, 1989, p. 77. The fact that

In Jörg Breu the Elder's depiction of the Circumcision painted for the Melk Benediktiner-Stift, an attendant hands an apple to Jesus, presumably to distract him from the painful operation he is about to undergo (fig. 99).⁴⁸ It may well be that along with symbolic messages, the medieval viewer saw the action of pleasing or quieting a child in this widespread motif. This may well be what Alphaeus is doing in the altarpiece of the Georgenbruderschaft in Lübeck as he hands an apple down to Mary Salome so that she can pass it to John who raises his hands to reach for it (fig. 99).⁴⁹ In Lucas van Leyden's engraving of the Holy Family (1530) Joseph hands a pear to Jesus in a similar gesture.⁵⁰

Grapes

Grapes are among the fruits Mary and Anne hand to Jesus. Grapes are often used in late medieval art as a eucharistic symbol (fig. 64). However it is doubtful that this is the

tableaux vivants of the "Christ Child laughing with his mother" and the "Christ Child eating apples" were part of the "faerie or enchantments" put on by the bourgeoisie of Paris as part of la grant feste celebrating the knighting of Philip the Fair's sons at Pentecost of 1313 suggests that the idea that the apple was for Jesus to eat was well known. Elizabeth A.R. Brown & Nancy Freeman Regalado, "La grant feste / Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of His Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313," in Barbara A. Hanawalt & Kathryn L. Reyerson, ed. City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe, Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, p. 68.

⁴⁸ Repr. in Cäsar Menz, Das Frühwerk Jörg Breus des Älteren, Augsburg: Kommissionsverlag Bücher Seitz, 1982, pl. 32.

⁴⁹ Jürgen Wittstock, Kirchliche Kunst des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit: St. Annen-Museum Lübeck, Lübeck: Museum für Kunst & Kulturgeschichte, 1981, p. 177. The altarpiece was made for the Georgsbruderschaft c. 1510-15, probably by Benedikt Dreyer.

⁵⁰ Repr. Jacques Lavalleye, fig. 186.

usual meaning in the Anne works.⁵¹ For the grapes rarely appear with wheat or other bread symbols nor do they correlate with the occasional appearance of the ostentatio position in which the Christ Child's body is spread out to recall the elevated host (figs. 8, 93b, c).⁵² Eucharistic symbols, apart from the Christ Child himself, do not seem to be widespread in the Anna Selbdritt, though there are some examples. The Lower Rhein / Westfalian Holy Kinship in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in which John the Baptist's lamb bleeds into a chalice placed directly beneath the nude Christ Child is certainly an example (fig. 101).⁵³ And so is a Dutch painted Holy Kinship in which apples plucked from a tree are held by Anne in a chalice-shaped container.⁵⁴ And the Hans Döring Holy Kinship (c. 1515) in which one of Mary Cleophas's sons picks cherries from a tree while

⁵¹ Gisela Graff-Höfgen and Dieter Graff have suggested that grapes appear in medieval madonnas mainly in wine-producing regions and that the incidence of this motif is affected by harvests, i.e., that the inclusion of grapes increases in times of poor harvest. Their theory is supported only by anecdotal observations, and it seems inconsistent with the fact that grapes are frequently found in Anna Selbdritts produced in Holland and infrequently in works produced in Franconia. Gisela Graff-Höfgen & Dieter Graff, Maria in den Reben, Saarbrücken: Saarbrücken Druckerei & Verlag, 1990.

⁵² Barbara Lane makes a strong argument that this is the intended meaning of the spread-out display of Christ's body in many fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Netherlandish paintings. Barbara Lane, The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting, New York: Harper and Row, 1984, esp. Chapter 3. A marked ostentatio is relatively rare in the Anna Selbdritt. One cannot help but wonder if the quasi-ostentatio is simply a case of the artist making use of a familiar compositional device. There are a few examples such as an Anna Selbdritt (c. 1470-80) from the Lower Rhein in the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne in which the nude standing Christ Child thrusts his body forward.

⁵³ Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Nr. 398. Repr. Marburger Index.

⁵⁴ The Holy Kindred, possibly by the Master of the Figdor Deposition (Zürich, Bührle Collection) repr. Albert Chatelet, Early Dutch Painting: Painting in the northern Netherlands in the fifteenth century, Secaucus, N.J.: Wellfleet Press, 1980, p. 228. Christ was the fruit of the tree in Emerentia's dream in the Anne lives.

another holds a flat golden plate of the fruit, is undoubtedly a eucharistic reference.⁵⁵ The cherries represent Christ, who is the fruit of the tree described in the Anne lives, while the plate takes the form of the eucharistic paten. However the fig that Joachim hands the Christ Child to encourage him to take his first step is probably intended not as a eucharistic allusion.

Other objects

Some paintings include flowers, often carnations, held by Anne or Mary. In the Quentin Massys Holy Kinship painted for the Louvain Confraternity, one of Mary Cleophas's sons hands her a carnation (fig. 19). Anne is frequently compared with flowers in prayers to her in the vernacular prayer books described by Menne.⁵⁶ In rare instances Anne holds a dove on her hand.⁵⁷ A bird, possibly a goldfinch, perches on the hand of one of Mary Cleophas's sons, in the Martin Schaffner Holy Kinship in Ulm Münster (fig. 95).⁵⁸ Other objects also appear. Occasionally the Christ Child stands on a pedestal.

⁵⁵ Hans Döring, Holy Kinship, c. 1515, 's-Heerenberg, Museum Huis Bergh, repr. Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, cover & p. 109.

⁵⁶ Karl Menne, Deutsche und niederländische Handschriften, Cologne: Verlag von Paul Neubner, 1937. Schaumkell quotes some of these: "edel rose, angelere blome, die edel lavendelbom mit blaer varwen, die edel tymes vol van soissen rouch, die edel violetten bloym, die edel gouet blome behegeliken an zo seyn und sere schoyn. die edel blome des paradys, die edel cornbloeme." Schaumkell, Der Kultus der heiligen Anna, p. 73.

⁵⁷ Anne holds a dove in her left hand in a Dutch sculpture of the first quarter of the 16th century in the Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent in Utrecht. Repr. Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, p. 21.

⁵⁸ Postcard, Ulm Münster.

Mary holds out a dish of food for Jesus in a sculpture (1500) by the Dutch artist Jan van Steffeswert.⁵⁹

The Attributes and Clothing of the Apostle Children

The apostle children in Holy Kinships are usually shown holding or playing with objects. Most often these are their familiar attributes (figs. 88, 92, 97, 101). James the Greater is shown in the garb of a pilgrim with wallet, staff and broad hat decorated with pilgrims' badges. Simon holds a saw, the instrument of his martyrdom. The stick resembling a golf club held by Jude is the instrument of his martyrdom, the fuller's club. John the Evangelist holds a chalice, sometimes with a serpent in it, in reference to the miracle in which he was preserved from poisoning.⁶⁰

In addition to these well-established attributes, the apostle children are shown with objects which are possibly also intended as attributes but whose significance is no longer clear. The hobby horse seen in some Holy Kinships may be an allusion to the horse sometimes associated with the martial James the Greater, the matamoros, in Spanish iconography (fig. 102). The fact that it is sometimes John the Evangelist and not James who rides the hobby horse might be explained by the fact that a painter not familiar with this attribute might have taken it from another work without understanding its

⁵⁹ Antwerp, Kunsthandel Dirven, repr. Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, p. 137, no. 94.

⁶⁰ See for example the Schlutuper Holy Kinship altar (c. 1500) and the Gertrudenbrüderschaft altar (c. 1509) in the St. Annen-Museum in Lübeck (c. 1509). Wittstock, Kirchliche Kunst, pp. 151, 175.

significance. The puppy which appears with Mary Cleophas's children in several Lübeck works, may have been the subject of a similar mistake, for the dog had associations with the feast of Saint James (fig. 103).⁶¹ In the Gertrudenbruderschaft altarpiece it is James the Greater who teaches a puppy to beg, while in a Bernhard Strigel altarpiece he plays with a dog who chews on a toy whirligig.⁶² In a Lübeck work of c. 1500 and in many others however, it is one of Mary Cleophas's sons who pats a puppy (fig. 103).⁶³

In a similar fashion the three-legged pot that is shown in several Lübeck Holy Kinships may derive from the oil cauldren in which John the Evangelist was boiled, even though here too it is sometimes shown with the wrong children - those of Mary Salome instead of those of Mary Cleophas (fig. 102).

There are other objects whose significance is even more difficult to assess. Is there symbolic significance in the pull toy in which a ball revolves in a kind of cage

⁶¹ Francesca Sautman, "Saint Anne in Folk Tradition," in Interpreting Cultural Symbols, ed. Ashley & Sheingorn, pp. 73-74. Sautman points out that as Anne's feast is on July 26, "she fits into the canicular period, which reaches its height with the rise of Sirius, Canis Major, around the middle of July. Saint James was Anne's grandson, according to the trinubium tradition, and the Milky Way, with the constellation of the dog at its southern end and that of the eagle at its northern end, was the celestial reflection of the road to Compostella or 'Road of Saint James' travelled by his pilgrims."

⁶² Bernard Strigel, Saint Mary Cleophas and Her Family (c. 1520-1528), Washington, National Gallery, Samuel H. Kress Collection. Repr. John Oliver Hand, German Paintings of the Fifteenth through Seventeenth Centuries, Washington: National Gallery of Art & Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 173-176. The whirligig also appears, held by James the Greater, in a Holy Kinship panel by Hinrik Levenstede the Younger (c. 1508-09) in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool. Hans Georg Gmelin, Spätgotische Tafelmalerei in Niedersachsen und Bremen. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1974, pp. 148-150. Gmelin misidentifies the characters as Elizabeth with Jesus and John the Evangelist. There are numerous errors of identification of Holy Kinship members and attributes in Gmelin.

⁶³ Wittstock, Kirchliche Kunst, p. 155.

shown in Lucas Cranach's Torgauer Altar (fig. 105), or in the game of marbles played by Mary Cleophas's three older boys in a painting in the Halberstadt Domschatz?⁶⁴ What are we to make of the fact that Jude has a dredel or die as well as a hobby horse? And what is the explanation for the combs the mothers sometimes use on their children's hair? Is this routine grooming - or delousing? Or do combs have further significance?

The subsidiary children in the Holy Kinships also have attributes. In a Flemish triptych (c. 1510) commissioned by Margarethe von Merode Petershem and Johann VII, Herr von Merode Petershem, in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne, John the Baptist has his lamb on a leash (fig. 92b). Servatius, the fourth-century Rheinland bishop who was descended, according to the genealogy of the Holy Kinship, from Anne's sister Esmeria, is usually dressed as a miniature bishop. Sometimes he is shown with the dragon that he killed, according to his legend. In the Merode-Petershem work the staff is poked into the mouth of the dragon. Servatius plays with his mother's gold key and chain in what is undoubtedly a reference to another incident in his vita, the translation of the relics of Peter.⁶⁵

A curious feature of the Holy Kinships is the fact that Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome are frequently shown nursing their sons, yet Anne who is often explicitly described in the texts as nursing Mary, is not. But nursing is not the only source of milk. Daniel Mauch's Holy Kinship panel for the church at Bieselbach shows Mary Cleophas

⁶⁴ Silver, The Paintings of Quentin Massys, fig. 18; Gmelin, Spätgotische Tafelmalerei, p. 473.

⁶⁵ A.M. Koldewij, De gude Sente Servas, Assen: van Gorcum, 1985.

with what may be the first bottle feeding in European art (fig. 75).⁶⁶ And in several works one of Mary Cleophas's sons sucks from a vessel which resembles a small samovar (figs. 99, 102).⁶⁷ Holy Kinships are also a valuable documentary source for the everyday clothing late medieval merchants' children wore at home. The depictions of the Christ Child's cousins in Lübeck include such details as the sleeveless tunic-style aprons worn by the boys, and the caps worn by several otherwise naked infants (figs. 70, 99, 102).⁶⁸

Other Figures

Not infrequently other saints are included in Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships. In many cases, particularly in altarpieces, these may be other patrons, be they of altars, confraternities, or religious orders. These secondary figures can sometimes help identify an original patron or context. The presence of Saint Angelus (d. 1226) identifiable by the sword lodged in his skull, and Blessed Albertus of Sicily (d. 1306) who holds a cross and branch of flowers, found in several Anna Selbdritts both in the North and in Italy, identify

⁶⁶ Repr. Michael Baxandall, The Limewood Sculptors of Southern Germany, p. 23.

⁶⁷ These vessels appear in the altarpieces of the Gertrudenbrüderschaft and the Georgsbrüderschaft. Repr. Wittstock, Kirchliche Kunst, pp. 151, 177. In a Sippenaltar (c. 1511) from Lower Saxony in the Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum in Aachen Mary Cleophas holds the vessel while her youngest son sucks from it. Werner Esser, Die Heilige Sippe: Studien zu einem spätmittelalterlichen Bildthema in Deutschland und den Niederlanden, Ph.D. diss., Bonn: Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1986, G.11.

⁶⁸ See the altarpieces of the Schlutuper (p. 151), the Georgsbrüderschaft (p. 177) and the Gertrudenbrüderschaft (pp. 175) in Wittstock, Kirchliche Kunst.

these works as Carmelite (fig. 106). Sometimes the other figures are intended as iconographic statements as in the case of the defenders of the Immaculate Conception. Sometimes the Anna Selbdritt is combined with the Virgines Captales or with other groups of virgin martyrs. However, though Nicholas is often associated with Anne as a patron, it is rare for him to be included with her in a work of art.⁶⁹ Angels are sometimes included. Putti increasingly appear as the fifteenth century gives way to the sixteenth, at which point they sometimes wear armour like miniature Roman soldiers (figs. 21, 27, 83, 94). Armoured putti and other Italian Renaissance influences such as classical columns are particularly noticeable in the work of Southwest German artists. Adolf Däucher's carvings for the Fugger chapel in the Augsburg Annakirche may have helped to spread the fashion for this kind of image.

Settings

Interior settings

Painted Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships are placed in both interior and exterior settings. Sometimes, especially in woodcuts, the only indication of a setting is a tiled floor beneath the chair, bench or throne-like bench on which Anne sits. In some cases

⁶⁹ An exception is the Gerard David workshop's Saint Anne Altarpiece in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, in which an Anna Selbdritt is flanked by Nicholas and St. Anthony of Padua in the centre panel. Six smaller panels depict miracles of the latter two in the wings. Three of the Nicholas and one of the Anthony miracles involve children. In view of its size and Italianate predella, John Oliver Hand believes the work was commissioned for a church in Spain or Italy - most likely, in my opinion, Spain. John Oliver Hand, The Saint Anne Altarpiece, p. 3.

Anne's seat is barely visible. In other cases it is elaborately carved, and may have a cloth of honour hanging behind it. In at least one Flemish painting the Selbdritt is set inside a tent-like tabernacle, possibly an allusion if not to the Eucharist to Anne's role as generator of the Redeemer's flesh. Interior scenes often place the figures under a tripartite arcade. Frequently arcades, windows or the barrier that encloses the hortus conclusus, open onto a landscape background which usually presents the same fields, mountain and tower arrangements familiar from madonna paintings. The geographical and architectural features seen in so many depictions of Mary may refer to Marian symbols such as those in the Laurentian Litany: the civitas Dei, porta coeli, cedrus exalta, puteus aquarum viventium, the spring of living water, hortus conclusus, thornbush; the tower of David hung with shields "cum propugna culis, oliva speciosa, fons hortorum, speculum sine macula, and plantatio rosae in Jericho."⁷⁰ The less specific landscape symbolism associated with Mary and her attributes that appears in such devotional works as the fourteenth-century English poem Cursor Mundi, may also be related to this type of setting:

In a castel semly sett,
 Strenthed wele widuten lett
 this castel es of loue and grace.

....

It es hy sett apon a cragg,
 Gray and hard, widuten hagg.
 Dounward es it pol[i]scht bright,

....

Baylis has this castel thre,

⁷⁰ Gertrud Schiller lists the symbols of the Laurentian Litany in Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, vol. 4, 2, p. 168. See also J. Graus, "Conceptio Immaculata in alten Darstellungen," Kirchenschmuck, neue Folge, October, 1904.

wid wallis thrinne, semly to se,

....

Seuen barbicans er thar dight.⁷¹

In some sixteenth-century works the central room opens onto other rooms. Occasionally other creatures, objects or landscape features, can be seen in the distance.

Exterior settings

When the Anna Selbdritt or the Holy Kinship is set outdoors the figures may be assembled in the foreground of the same type of landscape described above. The group is occasionally set in a forest, especially in sixteenth-century prints. But most often the exterior chosen will be a garden. At times a formal hortus conclusus is depicted or indicated. At other times a more natural-looking garden is shown, with fruit trees, or simply with flower-sprinkled grass. The Hortus Conclusus refers to Mary's purity or virginity, not specifically to the Immaculate Conception. Both interior and exterior settings sometimes include a balustrade or masonry wall. Since in Holy Kinships these walls separate the men physically from the women, it seems likely that they are intended to emphasize the importance of the female lineage in Christ's descent.

⁷¹ Cursor Mundi: A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century. Part 2. ed. Richard Morris. London: Oxford University Press, EETS, o.s., (1875) 1966, pp. 569-82.

The Influence of the Anna Selbdritt on Other Works

As well as incorporating features from other compositions, the Anna Selbdritt in turn influenced other works. Other groupings of three figures sometimes appear to draw on it. The Betrothal of St. Agnes (c. 1495-1500) by the Cologne painter the Master of the Bartholomäusaltar uses the Christ Child's body to link the figures of Agnes and Mary in an Anna Selbdritt type of composition.⁷² The child on-each-knee and/or Throne of Grace Anna Selbdritts may have been a compositional source for the drawing of Henry Suso holding Eternal Wisdom (c. 1365), depicted as a young girl who in turn holds his soul, shown as a nude male child.⁷³

The Possibility of Pre-Christian Influences on the Imagery of Saint Anne

Some scholars have raised the possibility that Saint Anne and her daughters may have taken over characteristics from pre-Christian goddesses of the agricultural and household arts.⁷⁴ Agricultural goddesses and trios of holy women were worshipped in the

⁷² Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

⁷³ Repr. Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache, Maître Eckhart et la mystique rhénane, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1956, p. 161. Mereth Lindgren's remarks on the woodcut depicting Brigit of Sweden with her family which is based on a Holy Kinship engraving by the Meister mit dem Dächlein were mentioned in Chapter Four. Mereth Lindgren, "De heliga ankorna: S. Annakultens framväxt, speglad i birgittinsk ikonografi, Konsthistorisk tidskrift 59 (1990), pp. 56-57.

⁷⁴ See Matthias Zender, "Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten" in Ergebnisse eines Kolloquiums veranstaltet von der Göttinger Akademiekommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas, Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag GMBH, 1987, pp. 213-228. Ton

region west of the Rhein where the cult of Anne and her daughters have old roots.⁷⁵ And while there is no narrative congruence between the story of Anne and her family and the narratives of pre-Christian figures there are some common thematic elements.⁷⁶ The story of Anne and two female companions wiping the sweat from the brows of harvest workers recounted by Caesarius of Heisterbach suggests links with harvest deities.⁷⁷ Further, the Romano-Celtic images of goddesses worshipped in the Rheinland show some correspondences in compositional and iconographic details with the Anna Selbdritt and

Brandenburg raises additional points: Heilig Familieleven, pp. 17-22; "Sint-Anna in Zeeland: Een verkenning," Bulletin / Stichting Oude Zeeuwse Kerken, 29 (Nov. 1992). Lène Dresen-Coenders notes correspondences in "Machtige grootmoeder, duivelse heks. Speurtocht naar de samenhang tussen heksenvervolging en de verering van de grote moeder Anna op de drempel van de nieuwe tijd." Jeugd en samenleving, 5 (1975). See also Lina Eckenstein, Women Under Monasticism, New York: Russell & Russell (1896), 1963, esp. pp. 15-28. Eckenstein states: "Numerous traditions are preserved concerning the cult of holy women in triads, who are locally held in great veneration and variously spoken of as three sisters, three ladies, three Marys, three nuns, or three women-saints...". Ibid. p. 38.

⁷⁵ Lina Eckenstein describes the transformation into Christian saints of early goddesses whose stories describe them as wandering from place to place teaching mankind the arts of the household and the farm. She states that they are particularly numerous in the area of modern Belgium. Ibid., pp. 15-28. An image of Nehalennia, one of the goddesses (c. 200 B.C.), found at Oosterschelde, in the Catherijnenkonvent Museum in Utrecht (RMCC b39, 40) shares a merchant, and thus possibly a shipping, connection with Saint Anne. The image bears an inscription from the donor, a merchant named Caius Crescentius Floras, asking the goddess' protection for his business.

⁷⁶ Several of the motifs named by Eckenstein as characteristic of the goddess stories are found in the Anne discourse: coming from a foreign country; the blessing of warriors; wandering; wheat sheaves, domestic animals (excepting the cat); reaping hook or spindle as attributes; associations with marriage and sexuality (sometimes in the form of prostitution); multiple simultaneous births; kinship with royalty; appearance in threes. Ibid., p. 41.

⁷⁷ Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogue of Miracles, book I, trans. H. von E. Scott & C.C. Swinton Bland, London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1929, p. 25.

Holy Kinship (figs. 109, 110). The Matronenstein, as these stele and altars are called, often depict trios of women seated on benches. The central woman is of a different size than the others and sometimes wears a distinctive round headdress which resembles a halo. Sometimes one woman holds a bowl of fruit.⁷⁸ Several of these themes and motifs appear in depictions of Anne and her family: three women (the three Marys); three figures seated on a bench; one woman shown as more important than the other two (Anne, the Virgin Mary); a central figure depicted as smaller than the others (the Christ Child); headdresses that resemble haloes; suggestions of fertility (the numerous male children of the Holy Kinship); the bowl or basket of fruit held by Anne which is a feature of this same region.⁷⁹ As well, both traditions involve rescue at sea.

In several extant Matronenstein three men, possibly donors, stand behind a railing behind and above the women in a configuration reminiscent of the placement of the male figures in many fifteenth century Holy Kinships (figs. 109, 110).⁸⁰ The number of provocative correspondences is such that it seems reasonable to wonder if some elements

⁷⁸ See the "Autel pour les déesses-mères "Boudunneihis," (2nd c.) Romnaisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne (Inv. 74.438). H. Borger, S. Seiler, & W. Meier-Arendt, Colonia Antiqua: Fouilles archeologiques à Cologne, Brussels: Crédit Communal de Belgique, 1977, p. 74.

⁷⁹ Emile Espérandieu mentions that in the Musée archéologique in Dijon there are statues of two triple women each with a baby held by the woman at right: Nos. 9060 and 9061. Emile Espérandieu, Receuil Général des Bas-Reliefs, statues et Bustes de la Gaule Romaine, vol. 5, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1966, p. 95.

⁸⁰ An example is the Weihung des Q. Vettius Severus für die Aufanischen Matronen in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn.

in Anna Selbdritts or Holy Kinships may have derived from or have been influenced by Matronenstein, with or without retaining their original meanings.⁸¹

Summary

Numerous secondary iconographic details accompany the central figures of Anne, Mary and Jesus in the Anna Selbdritt and the Holy Kinship. It is not always possible to assign definite unvarying meanings to these details. Generally speaking, medieval motifs and images should be assumed to carry a range of meanings. The same motif can mean different things in different works. The most frequent attributes found in the imagery of Saint Anne are the book, which may be held by Anne or Mary (or by members of the Holy Kinship), and the orb or fruit which is often passed to the Child from one of the women. (The Anne texts refer to Jesus as the fruit). Anne, who is normally portrayed as mature rather than old, wears the sober clothing of a wealthy older merchant class matron. In Holy Kinships the apostle children sometimes carry attributes that take the form of toys: the three-legged pot stirred by John the Evangelist refers to the pot of boiling oil of his martyrdom, while the pilgrim's clothing worn by James alludes to his shrine at Compostella. The Anna Selbdritt is shown in both interior and exterior settings.

⁸¹ There are cases of pagan sculptures being mistaken for Christian representations. Such a misunderstanding seems implied in Matthias Zender's statement that the 17th c. Luxemburg Jesuit scholar Alexander Wiltheim, an early investigator of possible connections between Christian and pre-Christian deities, "erinnert dabei an einen Matronenstein in Metz und an andere Göttersteine, die in seiner Heimat noch an Strassen und Häusern standen." Zender, "Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten," p. 214. See also *ibid.*, p. 227.

The hortus conclusis is often used for the Holy Kinship, frequently with the male figures placed outside the wall. The presence of this or other Marian symbols such as the Tower of David refers to Mary's purity and virginity, not to the Immaculate Conception.

CHAPTER TEN

FUNCTIONS OF THE ANNA SELBDRITT

The importance of art works in the cult of Saint Anne is attested to not only by the sheer quantity of surviving sculptures, paintings and prints but also in the attention given them in the late medieval lives of the saint. These books not only enjoin the honouring of images of Anne, they describe the various ways it is to be done and they vigorously urge the commissioning of images. In an exemplum that appears in several lives, the hero builds a chapel to St. Anne, adorns it with images and lights, and persuades the king to furnish the churches of his realm in the same way. In return he is rewarded with long life and civic honours:

In seinem Vaterlandt / nachdem er alles richtig gemacht und expediert, hat er auss seinem Hauss / so ihm in dem Erbtheil zugefallen / der H. Anna / ein uberauss schoene Capell aufferbawet / in welcher er / sowol das Goettliche lob / als Heilige Bilder und Liechter auffgericht und gestift hat. Nach disem hat er noch 70. Jahr lang gelebt; Ein Mann so wol dem Namen nach als an der that eines grossen Verstands / und eines H. Lebens. Dahero er ein solches ansehen bekommen / das er von Burgern zum Burgermaister erwoehlet wurde / und noch neben dem des Koenigs Secretari und Rath war...Den Koenig hatt er so weit bewegt und uberredt / das er in allen Kirchen seines Reichs zu ehren der H. Anna / schoen unnd zierliche Bilder sambt den brinnenden Liechtern verordnete / und ihr Fest Jaerlich begehnt und halten liesse.¹

The Anne texts, read in combination with other contemporary sources, shed considerable light on how religious images were used and perceived in late medieval Germany, both in terms of the specific functions of the Anne images and in terms of the functioning of religious images in general.

¹ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen der allerseeligisten Frawen Annae, Munich: Cornelius Leyffert, 1627 trans. of Legenda sanctae Annae, by an anon. Franciscan, first published Louvain: Joh. de Westfalia, 1496, pp. 127-128.

The reader of the lives is struck first of all by the sheer importance of images in the cult. It would be no exaggeration to say that images were indispensable to the functioning of the Anne confraternities. Instructions to worshippers almost invariably involve a devotional action performed in front of an image. In this respect the Anne confraternities differed from the Rosary confraternities whose statutes required only the saying of the Rosary, which could be done anywhere. They also differed from the Seven Sorrows confraternity, which though it later made widespread use of images, did not require their use in its initial phase.²

The lives of Anne, many of which were produced for confraternities, contain exhortations to commission images or to contribute towards their purchase, along with exempla which convey the same message indirectly. The Augsburg confraternity life includes a story in which a sick woman calls in vain on all the saints but recovers when she has an image of Saint Anne made, honours it, and advises others to do the same.³

² Carol Schuler states: "Deliberately wishing to include the lower classes, van Coudenberghe followed Sprenger's lead in stipulating that no dues be required to join the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows, and in creating a reasonably uncomplicated form of worship that could be carried out in private, by-passing the clergy. Active membership in the Confraternity of the Rosary involved reciting three rosaries a week, while belonging to the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows was even simpler. One had only to recite one Ave Maria and one Pater noster in honor of, and while meditating on, each of the sorrows twice weekly." Carol M. Schuler, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin," Simiolus, 21, 1/2 (1992) p. 18.

³ "darnach liess sy ain Bild sant anna machen vnd was sy vast eren vnd allen menschen raten sy zuo eren." The same book, describes another incident "in der stadt daventria" where a widow with an only daughter sick of the plague tried medical help to no avail, finding healing only upon honouring an image of Anne: "Do fieret sy ir tochter in dye kirchen für das Bild sant Anna vnd fielend da nider vnd battent andaehtklich sant anna vmb hilff vnd brantend ir do ain liecht von wasch. vnd gelobten sant Anna..." Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin von dem gantzen geschlecht sant Anna vnd von sant Anna lobliche

The hero of the picaresque exemplum of the spendthrift young man found in many lives, models a spectrum of devotional practices appropriate for people of different economic circumstances. Most involve images. At the beginning, reduced to poverty, the hero offers lights in front of an image of the Selbdritt, kneels, and recites Our Fathers and Hail Marys. On regaining his fortune he honours Anne on a grander scale, founding convents, churches, hospitals and chapels dedicated to her, and paying for "beautiful, elegant images" depicting her.⁴

The young man in the exemplum also makes images. Acquiring from Anne a miraculous if limited literacy, he honours her by writing the three holy names, Jesus, Mary and Anne, on walls.⁵ A priest asks him to paint a picture of the Anna Selbdritt on

brüderschaft. Vnnd von etlichen grossen wunderzaichen sant Anna. Augsburg, after 1494, p. bii. These exempla are found in other lives also, in for example, Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, p. 160 ff.

⁴ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, pp. 127-128. Contemporary sources confirm that works of art were donated to convents in (implicit or explicit) exchange for prayers. Elisabeth Heller cites a painting that included a donor portrait given to a convent in exchange for prayers for the soul of the woman depicted: "item, een taeffereelke der in staet de Heleghe Drievuldicheit, ende in de eerste duere sinte Joos, in de tweeste joncfrauwe van Hecke de eersaemme wedwe van d'heer Wouter van Hecke, wylen schepen van de Vrie. dit voorscreven taeffereel begheerde zy up der susteren choor gheganghen te hebben om dat zy te bedt over haer zielen bidden zouden." Elisabeth Heller, Das altniederländische Stifterbild, tuduv Studie, 1976, p. 43.

⁵ "Weil er also in seiner Andacht und Eyfer so zu der H. Anna fast zuname das er seiner ausserwoehlten Patronen und fuerspprecherin dieses zu Ehren gethon / so hat er desswegen von ihr dise gnad erlangt / das ob er zwar nichts gestudiert / danner hat er dise drey Namen schreiben lehren. Als Iesus. Maria. Anna. sonsten kondte er nichts anders (welches ein gross wunder war) erlernen. Dise drey H. Namen aber hatt er zu einer aller wuerdigisten verehrung / und gedaechtnuss an die Mauren waend / und gelegne orth gemahlet und geschriben. Und gleich wie er diser dreyen heiligen Namen Gemael / den augen der Menschen anzuschawen vorgemahlt / also hatt er auch gleicher gestalt sein Volck zur verehrung diser dreyen Namen mit seiner ermahnung angeraisst und bewegt." Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, pp. 115-116.

the church tower so that people can see it from far away and thus honor it more and call on it for favours, and for help in bettering their lives.⁶ Was the writing of holy graffiti a common practice? Might a village priest have enlisted the services of a religious enthusiast to decorate his church? Religious images by professional artists were painted on exterior walls. Lifesize images of Saints Ulrich and Afra were painted on the exterior of the church dedicated to them in Augsburg in 1457.⁷ But sources are silent on whether or not this type of painting might have been made by an amateur.

Public Functions of the Anna Selbdritt

Along with serving specific liturgical and paraliturgical purposes, art works in churches fulfilled a number of other functions. Not only did they instruct, remind and arouse the feelings as the theologians said they did, they helped establish an atmosphere of appropriate religious decorum.⁸ They were also stand-ins for the people they

⁶ "[Er] hat die Bildnuss der H. Anna sambt der allerheiligsten Jungkfrauen maria vnd ihren Goetlichen Kindlein / sechzig schuech hoch an Thuren hinauff gemahlet / vnd darunder mit guldinen Buechstaben geschriben. Sancta Anna succurre metertia. Ibid., pp. 122 - 123. The next episode in the story borrows from the Miracles of the Virgin. Anne saves the man from falling after the devil causes the scaffolding to collapse. See the Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alfonso X. "How the painter painted an image of St. Mary on top of a vault. / How the devil destroyed the scaffold, but the painter remained suspended on the painting," cited by Virginia Wylie Egbert, The Medieval Artist at Work, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 48.

⁷ M. Hartig, Das Benediktiner-Reichsstift Sankt Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg (1012-1802), Augsburg: Verlag Dr. Benno Filser, 1923, p. 33.

⁸ Medieval versions of Gregory the Great's dictum are legion. For a description of the richness of the image-filled worship of late medieval religion see Christopher S. Wood, "In Defense of Images: Two Local Rejoinders to the Zwinglian Iconoclasm," Sixteenth Century Journal, 19, 1 (1989), pp. 25-44.

represented, and as embodiments of the power of their prototypes or referents they could be applied to for protection and other help. As well, they made statements of religious and sometimes political import, and they testified to the wealth, status, and possibly divine approbation of the people who paid for them, and who in many cases continued to maintain and to own them.⁹

Anna Selbdritts as altarpieces

The majority of Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships were originally located in parish and convent churches. The church images included the sculpted and painted confraternity and family altarpieces that were located on side altars or occasionally in separate chapels where they were the focal point of masses said for the souls of confraternity or family members (figs. 13, 19, 71, 8, 75). Saint Anne is less often encountered as the central image on main altars.¹⁰ Among the confraternity altarpieces

⁹ Felix Faber describes family and confraternity altars in Ulm Münster: "...there are more altars here than in all other parish churches: for it has fifty-one altars, all well provided and fully recognized; and they are fitted out not by princes or nobles or strangers but by the citizens of Ulm themselves, and just as they are the patrons of the church, so they alone maintain all altars. And there are many altars which have five or at least four or three privileges." Fratris Felicis Fabri Tractatus de Civitate Ulmensi..., ed. Gustav Veesenmeyer, in Bibliothek des litterarschen Vereins in Stuttgart, trans. in Wolfgang Stechow, ed. Northern Renaissance Arts 1400-1600: Sources and Documents. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press (1966), 1989, p. 80.

¹⁰ An exception is the Holy Kinship formerly the main panel in the high altar of the Kreuzkirche in Hannover, now in the Hannover Landesgalerie (Inv.-No. PAM.877). This work appears to contain aristocratic participant donors. Georg Gmelin, Spätgotische Tafelmalerei in Niedersachsen und Bremen. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1974, pp. 306-309.

are some of the most beautiful of the late medieval paintings depicting Saint Anne and her family.

The panel of the Frankfurt Confraternity altarpiece which depicts Saint Anne with her daughters and grandsons visiting the Carmelites may be a depiction of the confraternity's own chapel. Monks sit along the sides of this chapel which seems to be a separate space attached to a larger church, while two smaller figures kneeling in front of the altar wave incense burners. On the altar sit the Holy Kinship, represented not as images but as living figures (fig. III).¹¹ Another contemporary image also shows the Anna Selbdritt located on a secondary altar. The German woodcut (c. 1520) depicting the healing of a young man by the miraculous image of the Virgin at Mariazell places the scene in front of an altar surmounted by a triptych with the Anna Selbdritt as the central image (fig. II2).¹²

Images in secondary locations in churches

At least equally numerous were free-standing or high relief sculptures placed against columns or in other secondary locations in churches. A 1696 engraving after a drawing by Johann Andreas Graff of the interior of the Frauenkirche in Nürnberg shows

¹¹ Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, repr. Kathleen Ashley & Pamela Sheingorn, ed., Interpreting Cultural Symbols, Athens & London: University of George Press, 1990, p. 42. It may be that the frequent depiction of the Anna Selbdritt in an arched setting may derive from the idea of representing in two dimensions a sculpted image of the group.

¹² Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen, ed. Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck & Gerda Möhler, Munich: Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 1984, p. 422.

such an Anna Selbdritt placed against a pillar in the nave (fig. 113).¹³ The Frankfurt Confraternity altarpiece's depiction of Saint Colette praying to the Holy Kinship shows her kneeling before a relief sculpture in what might be either a secondary location or a small family chapel (fig. 61).¹⁴ The frequent references in medieval texts to people speaking or praying to images may well involve statues in locations such as these.

The performance of devotional activities in front of images finds frequent mention in the Anne texts. The requirement to kneel in front of images at confraternity altars or elsewhere is explicitly mentioned in many, as is the requirement to burn candles before them. Sometimes three genuflections, three prayers, or three candles are mentioned, whereas for other saints it would be one.¹⁵ Tuesday - tercia feria - the day Anne was born, gave birth to Mary, and died, was especially recommended for the performance of devotions. The Augsburg confraternity book sums up such a list of instructions as follows:

¹³ Veit Stoss in Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum catalogue, Munich: Deutsches Kunstverlag, 1983, p. 150. A 1616 engraving of the chapel of the Virgin at the Flemish shrine of Hal appears to show an Anna Selbdritt on the altar, below the larger statue of the Virgin of Hal. The Anna Selbdritt is of the standing Mechelen type, in which Anne holds Mary who in turn holds Jesus, which is widespread in this region. The engraving refers to the statue as "Statua Diva argentea." David Freedberg, The Power of Images, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989, fig. 40.

¹⁴ Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, repr. Ashley & Sheingorn, Interpreting Cultural Symbols, p. 42.

¹⁵ An exemplum in Das Leben und Wunderzaichen states that the worshipper is to pray daily "drey Gebett zu Ehren dess Herrn Jesu Maria und Anna" and that he is to devoutly place and light "vor S. Anna Bild drey Liechter." Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, p. 182.

der sol in der ere sant anna vor irem bild all afftermontag beten iii pater noster vnd iii ave maria er sol auch brennen also dray liechter. ains in der ere ihesu cristi. das ander in der ere unserliebe frawen. das drit in der ere sant anna.¹⁶

The hero of the exemplum cited earlier learned the importance of the triple repetition of the devotional practices first hand. Destitute, he had been in the habit of lighting only a single candle in front of the statue of the Selbdritt. One day as he was leaving the church the statue of the infant Jesus rose from his grandmother's lap and upbraided him for bringing only one candle:

Als bald redet ihn an das Kindlein Jesus / vnd springet gleichsam auss der schoss seiner H. Anfrawen Anna sprechend: Sihe du thut alle Tag meiner Ehrwürdigen Anfrawen ein brinnendes Liecht auffstecken aber mir vnd meiner Muetter keines.¹⁷

Informed in no uncertain terms that poverty was no excuse for stinginess in honouring the family of God, he sold his last remaining possessions and returned with three candles. Shortly afterwards he was rewarded with the restoration of his fortunes.

Several prints illustrate these triple lights, among them a woodcut showing Saint Anne, her three husbands, and Joseph, published in Pforzheim in 1501 (fig. 114), and a Wolf Traut woodcut (1507, fig. 115)) which depicts Anne and Mary with Jesus at left while at right three angels hold candles. The triple candle is also seen in the Frankfurt Confraternity Altarpiece depiction of Anne and her family visiting the Carmelites (fig.

¹⁶ Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin.

¹⁷ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, p. 119.

III).¹⁸ The repeated emphasis on the provision of candles and wax as a devotional act is a reminder of the importance of this item in a medieval church's budget.

Images as objects of beauty

Though their role as carriers of meaning may pose the most provocative questions for historians, it must not be forgotten that medieval images were highly esteemed for their beauty and for the artistic skill displayed in them. These qualities are frequently mentioned in the Anne texts. The author of Das Leben und Wunderzaichen contrasts the beauty and artistry of a sculpture of Anne with the worthlessness of the gold and silver trinkets melted down to pay for it:

Dahero die schlechte Kleinotter / so er noch bey sich hatte / als naemblich silberne guertlen / vergulte schalen und Becher zu gelt gemacht und von demselben / der H. Anna Bildnuss auff das allerstattlichest unnd Kunstreichst machen lassen.¹⁹

The description of the interior of the Ulm Münster in the Dominican Felix Faber's 1488 treatise on the city is another reminder of how much the beauty of images was appreciated:

The recently completed interior of the church glistens with such splendor that visitors entering it and admiring its beauty call it the house not of mortals but of divine hosts. A great deal of the beauty of this church is also due to the sculpture

¹⁸ The publisher of the Traut woodcut which is accompanied by a series of quatrains honouring Anne is Valentinus Bannholtzer. Max Geisberg, The German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500-1550, ed. Walter L. Strauss, New York: Hacker Art Books, 4, 1974, G.1409; *ibid* I, G.53; Ashley & Sheingom, Interpreting Cultural Symbols, fig. 21.

¹⁹ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, p. 115.

from the old parish which was carved by old masters and has been relocated on the porches and on the lintels of the doorways.²⁰

Others noted the beauty of images with a less appreciative eye. Writing in support of their use, the Catholic reformer Hieronymus Emser (1478-1527) nonetheless describes what he considered abuses. The more skillfully made modern images, as compared with the simpler (and better) images of older times, were so made, he said, because:

the more artfully images are made the more their viewers are lost in contemplation of the art and manner in which the figures have been worked. We should turn this contemplation from the images to the saints which they represent. Indeed, many are transfixed before the pictures and admire them so much that they never reflect on the saints.²¹

Emser condemns the sensual attractiveness that pleased worshippers and brought money to the churches:

...the painters and sculptors make images of the beloved saints so shamelessly whorish and roguish that neither Venus nor Cupid were so scandalously painted or carved by the pagans.²²

Monks and priests:

...are more diligent [one is afraid] regarding their images [so that the churches will be decorated and have great congregations] than they are in caring about the living

²⁰ Faber, *Tractatus de Civitate Ulmensi*, p. 80. Faber continues: "[The old parish church] was doubtless a splendid building as is shown by the beautiful pieces of sculpture which were transferred from there and inserted into the walls of the modern church above all doors, except the main west door next to the bell ropes,..." Ibid., p. 81.

²¹ Hieronymus Emser, "That One Should not Remove Images of the Saints from the Churches Nor Dishonour Them, and That They Are Not Forbidden in Scripture," Dresden, 1522, in *A Reformation Debate*, ed. Bryan D. Mangrum & Giuseppe Scavizzi, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, p. 86.

²² Ibid., p. 86.

images, which are the souls of men who were created in God's image (Gen. 1.26).²³

The offerings deposited in boxes in front of images were an important part of a late medieval church's income, and fine images attracted worshippers. Eberhard Schott reports that at the Carmelite Church in Augsburg alms increased as a percentage of the total regular income from one-eleventh in 1401 to one-fifth in 1496. Alms included income from special offering boxes and boxes in front of images - "de trunco, de trunco ymaginis, de porta" - but not the offerings made at divine service.²⁴ These, the Oblaciones, dropped correspondingly as a percentage of the total from almost a third in 1401 to one-ninth to one-tenth in the period 1479 to 1497.²⁵

Images could have their attractions increased by indulgences. The Augsburg life of Saint Anne promised an indulgence of 10,000 years mortal sin and 20,000 years venial sin was promised to all who said a specified prayer in front of the Augsburg confraternity's Anna Selbdritt, which is described as being in the typical South German form with "Mary on the left arm and Jesus Christ on the right."²⁶ The same indulgence

²³ Ibid., p. 87.

²⁴ Eberhard Schott, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Carmeliterklosters und der Kirche von St. Anna in Augsburg," Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg, 9 (1882), p. 274.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 273.

²⁶ "Der obgenampt babst alexander geit allen menschen die vor dem Bild sant anna das auff dem glingken arm hat maria. vnd auff dem rechten arm hat ihesum cristum. als es dann hie in der figur stat gemalet [presumably the confraternity altarpiece] die obgeschriben gebet sprechent x tausent iar ablass toedlicher sund. vnd xx tausent iar lässlicher sund. vnd der obgenampt babst hat das gebet zuo rom selbs an die kirchen geschlagen in den iar als man zalt nach cristus geburt Mcccc xciiii. an dem hailigen ostertag." Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin, p. b ii, (p. 25).

is granted to those who repeat three times the prayer printed on an Augsburg Pestblatt image using the same composition (fig. 116).²⁷

Art works as objects of value

Primary sources contain a number of references to Anna Selbdritts made of silver. Such statues were objects not only of beauty but of considerable value as well. The patrician Marx Walther noted the monetary worth of a silver monstrance bearing the family arms that he had given the church of Saint Stephen in Augsburg, observing that its predecessor had been made of mere copper:

Item 1506 hab ich, Marx Walther, geben der pfarczech sant Stefan czuo Augspurg ain monstrancz, silberin, daran mein wappen; gestat 132 gl. darfor hettens nun ain kupferine.²⁸

Monetary value and weight are frequently mentioned in references to statues made of precious metals. In a list of gifts and other objects drawn up by Matthias Fabri, prior of the Augsburg Carmelite Church - "Augmentaciones clenodiarum argenteorum" - an image of Saint Anne acquired in 1495 and made of "12 marcas 11 lot argenti" at 158 fl, 5 shillings, 21 pence, outvalued all other objects on the list, the next most costly being the "cruce magna argentea, habens 10 marcas minus 4 lot argenti" acquired in 1485 and valued

²⁷ Erwin Rosenthal, "Casper / ein Formschneider des XV. Jahrhunderts." Beiträge zur Forschung / Studien aus dem Antiquariat Jacques Rosenthal. neue Folge I, p. 20. Pestblätter contained prayers against the plague. The bulk of the text in this example however is concerned with the indulgence.

²⁸ "Die Stiftungen etc. der Walter'schen familie in Donauwörth und Augsburg," Beilage I, Chronik des Hector Müllich, Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert. Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg, 4, ed. Karl von Hegel & Friedrich Roth, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1866, p. 395.

at 62 florins, 3 shillings, 20 pence. Amounts paid by donors of paintings ranged between 30 and 70 florins: Anthonius Bach "pro tabula in altari beate Marie virginis et extremo iudicio" paid 60 fl, "Melchior Funk pro tabula in altar martyrum...30 fl." and "Joh. Paumgartner pro tabula in altari Sti Nicolai...70 fl."²⁹

When the Nürnberg goldsmith Hans Greiff made a small gold and silver reliquary Anna Selbdritt (fig. 117) for Anna Hoffmann of Ingolstadt in 1472 he inscribed the weight of the metals on the statue:

hanns greiff golczsmid hat gemacht / anna hoffmann rentmaisterin / Das pild sant Anna vnd zbay paczein / vnd biget [wiegt] als IX marck für gold / silber vnd lon gestet c. gvlden reinis / geschechen an sant micheltag m cccc / vnd lxxii iar.³⁰

In the new town of Annaberg the goldsmith Hieronymus von Magdeburg made several valuable silver images for the church of St. Anne: "das Brustbild der H. Anna, von Silber, von 36. Marck 8. Loth, und auf Corpus Christi das Marienbild von 32. Marck 12. Loth, wie auch Monstrantzen, und ein silberner Arm der H. Anna."³¹ The image of Anne in

²⁹ Matthias Fabri, Fragmenta aus dem Rechnungsbuch des Mathias Fabri, Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, p. 3, in Schott, 9, 1882, p. 283.

³⁰ Theodor Müller & Wilhelm Reissmüller, Ingolstadt / Die Herzogsstadt, Die Universitätsstadt, Die Festung, 1, Ingolstadt: Verlag Donau Courier, 1974, pp. 26-27. Transcriptions of the engraved inscription vary. "Silber" is mistakenly translated as "liber" in the catalogue Goldschmiedearbeiten in und aus Ingolstadt, Ingolstadt: Stadtmuseum, 1988, p. 102.

³¹ Adam Daniel Richter, Chronica der im Meissnischen Ober-Erz-Gebürge gelegenen Königl. churfl. Sächssischen freyen Berg-Stadt St. Annaberg. Annaberg: August Valentin Friesen, 1746, p. 185. Other silver images are also listed: "Das Bildniss der H. Anna, etliche derer Apostel, und viele andere, sind von dem darzu gesammelten Allmosen, theils von dem Geschencke der reichen Fundgrübnen, welche vieles Silber darzu gegeben, gemacht, und in die Kirche zu St. Annen verehret worden." Ibid., p. 186.

Frederick the Wise's Stiftskirche in Wittenberg was of silver gilt (fig. 74).³² Such images represented a quickly realizable source of cash.

The processing and public display of images

On the feast day of the saint or on other special occasions images were sometimes processed outside of the church. Documents from the Carmelite Church in Augsburg mention the festive procession attended by the Emperor Maximilian that took place on Anne's feast there.³³ Christiane Andersson describes the processing of the image of Anne in Frederick the Wise's Wittenberg chapel.³⁴

Was the Anna Selbdritt an Andachtsbild?

The distinction between public and private uses of images is not always easy to maintain as images in public places might serve what were essentially private functions. The Andachtsbild or devotional image forms such a category. Usually defined in terms of its function as an aid to prayer, meditation and visualization, it was a type of image that was usually located on a side altar or in some other place in a church, convent or

³² Christiane D. Andersson describes the image as a "silbern überguldete Bild S. Annen." Christiane D. Andersson, "Religiöse Bilder Cranachs im Dienste der Reformation," Humanismus und Reformation als kulturelle Kräfte in der deutschen Geschichte, ed. Lewis W. Spitz, Berlin, 1981 pp. 45-46.

³³ Schott, Beiträge, 9, p. 250.

³⁴ Christiane Andersson, "Religiöse Bilder Cranachs," p. 45.

even home, where the worshipper could conveniently pray in front of it.³⁵ The fourteenth-century Dominican Elsbeth Stigel's description of her fellow nun Mezzi Sidwibrin's converse with an image of the Virgin, makes clear the ease with which those who had inclination, encouragement and conducive settings, could use such images to negotiate the threshold between the real and the visionary world:

Sie hatte besonders die Gewohnheit, dass sie sich im Chorraum vor unserer Frauen Bild neigte, und sie lag da und sah über sich, recht wie ein Mensch, der keiner Dinge acht hat als Gottes allein. Und wenn die Schwestern sie etwa fragten, warum sie so viel vor unserer Frauen Bild wäre und ob diese niemals mit ihr rede, so sprach sie aus einfältigem Sinn: Sie redet oft mit mir und lacht mich an; auch mit ihrem Sohn hab' ich viel zu schaffen.³⁶

The Anna Selbdritt has sometimes been referred to as an Andachtsbild.³⁷ However it does not seem that depictions of saints served as Andachtsbilder in the most strict sense of the term, that is as images used to aid meditation or visualization. Nor is this surprising. The attention of mystics was usually directed to Christ and secondarily to Mary, and Mary herself often functioned to lead the worshipper to Christ whether as the

³⁵ The Andachtsbild is also associated with a set of artistic conventions. Sixten Ringbom discusses the conjoining of function and artistic convention in Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-century Devotional Painting, Abo: Abo Akademi, 1965.

³⁶ Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töss beschrieben von Elsbeth Stigel / samt der Vorrede von Johannes Meier, in Deutsches Nonnenleben: Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töss und der Nonne von Engeltal Büchlein von der Gnaden Überlast, ed. Margarete Weinhandl, Munich: O.C. Recht, 1921, p. 156. Reports of similar visionary activity are widespread in the Nonnenbücher of the fourteenth century.

³⁷ "Im Zusammenhang mit den theologischen Auseinandersetzungen um die Anerkennung der Unbefleckten Empfängnis entstand im 13.Jh. das Andachtsbild der A.S. als eines der Symbole der Unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariens, das im Spätmittelalter (in Deutschland, den Niederlanden, Italien und Spanien, weniger in Frankreich und England) sehr verbreitet war." Hans Aurenhammer, Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1959-1967, p. 146.

sorrowing mother in the pietà or as the mother who allowed the devotee to hold, bathe or play with her infant.³⁸

When we examine the small number of appearances Anne makes in visions reported by mystics we find that she appears either to lead the devotee to Mary, to serve as support for a theological or doctrinal position, or to legitimate a patron's action. She is not described as the object of affective devotion either in visions reported as having actually happened, or in the fictional visions included in the lives.

In Henry Suso's vision "How He Accompanied Christ on His Wretched Way of the Cross When He Was Led Out to Die" the sorrowing Mary is led to the house of her mother Anne: "The third interior venia was made in front of the door of the house of St. Anne, her mother, where she was led in her sorrow."³⁹ The early fifteenth-century English mystic Margery Kempe is clearly more interested in Mary than Anne:

Another day, this creature gave herself up to meditation as she had been commanded before, and she lay still, not knowing what she might best think of. Then she said to our Lord Jesus Christ, "Jesus, what shall I think about?" Our Lord Jesus answered in her mind, "Daughter, think of my mother, for she is the cause of all the grace that you have." And then at once she saw St Anne, great with child, and then she prayed St Anne to let her be her maid and her servant. And presently our Lady was born, and then she busied herself to take the child to herself and look after her until she was twelve years of age, with good food and drink, with fair white clothing and white kerchiefs.⁴⁰

³⁸ The practice of imitatio Mariae is described in Rosemary Hale, Imitatio Mariae: Motherhood Motifs in Late Medieval German Spirituality, Ph.D diss., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1992.

³⁹ Henry Suso, The Exemplar, With Two German Sermons, trans., ed. Frank Tobin, New York: Paulist Press, 1989, p. 86.

⁴⁰ Margery Kempe, The Book of Margery Kempe, trans. B.A. Windeatt, London: Penguin, 1985, pp. 52-53.

Birgitta of Sweden's vision on the other hand, seems to use Anne to argue for the possibility of sanctity within marriage, Birgitta's own state, which she appears to have been anxious to justify or validate through precedents. By the same token, the vision reported of the Franciscan reformer Colette of Corbie, which is described in many of the Anne lives, seems clearly intended as a validation of the Trinubium, which in turn was intended to serve as a validation of the third marriage of Charles the Bold, to Margaret of York.⁴¹ Colette, who declines to honour Anne because of her three marriages, is shown her error by a vision of the saint.

However, though the Anna Selbdritt did not serve as an Andachtsbild in the formal sense, the writers of the lives encouraged their readers to look at these images in a devotional manner. The author of Das Leben und Wunderzaichen describes a worshipper who "... vor seinem vilgeliebten Bildt / sein andaechtiges Gebett ganz demuettiglich verricht."⁴² He remarks on the behaviour of a crowd of worshippers in similar terms, remarking: "dass das Volck taeglichs Tags hauffenweiss zu der Bildnuss der H. Anna zu lieffe und auss grosser Andacht zum oefftermalen ihr Opffer vor demselben auffopfferten."⁴³ These however are descriptions of devotional behaviour, not of meditation. Actual meditation on images of Anne is not among the devotional activities described or recommended in the lives.

⁴¹ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, p. 76 f. See also E. Sainte-Marie Perrin, La Belle Vie de Sainte Colette de Corbie, Paris: Librairie Plon. Colette is not always identified by name in these exempla.

⁴² Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, p. 126.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Just as the texts do not suggest that Anne was the focus of meditation, neither do the images. Numerous fifteenth-century Flemish paintings depict people who appear to be meditating in the presence of the madonna. Craig Harbison argues that in these works Mary represents the mental image the meditator had in his mind. He calls attention to characteristic features that he believes identify such depictions of meditation: eyeglasses have been removed; the patron looks up, often with a glazed look; disconnected gazes indicate that the patron is looking into another world; an attempt is made to depict sacred space by placing the madonna in a differently structured space than the donor.⁴⁴

These characteristics are rare in depictions of patrons in painted Anna Selbdritts. In one of the few examples where they do appear, an Anna Selbdritt by Hugo van der Goes (fig. 118) in the Musées Royaux, Brussels, a kneeling Franciscan with folded hands looks intently, his head inclined.⁴⁵ The object of his gaze however, is not Anne, but the Child held by Mary. The grass under the Selbdritt is dotted with flowers while the small patch of grass under the kneeling monk seems to be without flowers.⁴⁶ Is the absence of flowers an example of Harbison's separation of space between the worshipper's realm and

⁴⁴ Harbison argues that these works depict mental images rather than visions: "The ...notion that these paintings represent the ordinary mental images which accompany meditation, go a long way toward explaining the frequent lack of conveniently cloud-fringed visions." p.98. Yet later he seems to imply that they are visions: "...the disconnected gazes tell us first and foremost that we are viewing a contemporary figure and the ...results of his or her meditations, that is, his or her vision." Craig Harbison, "Visions and meditations in early Flemish painting," Simiolus, 15 (1985), p. 101.

⁴⁵ Repr. The Worcester-Philadelphia Exhibition of Flemish Painting, Worcester: The Worcester Art Museum, 1939, fig. 13. The work is incorrectly titled Holy Family.

⁴⁶ However there seem to be flowers, less thickly sprinkled, on the hill in the distance.

the realm of the divine?⁴⁷ Other types of depictions of patrons, those in which individuals and families kneel at the edges of art works, and those involving participant donors, do not allude to the practice of meditation.

But though the Anna Selbdritt was not used as a classic Andachtsbild, it probably would have been the focus of the kind of intense visual attention that characterized later medieval piety in general.⁴⁸ While reports of intense and vivid participatory visions such

⁴⁷ Anna Selbdritts that include participant patrons usually involve clerics. In a Dutch painting of c. 1500, a white-robed monk who is presented by Saint James the Greater, kneels in a devotional manner to the right of the group. It is difficult to tell where his eyes are directed, but it is not at the Christ Child. Max Friedländer, Early Netherlandish Painting, 5, Leiden: 1971, fig. 38. The monk may be looking into space or he may be looking towards Anne. In the right hand panel of a work by Jacob Jansz in the right hand panel the Carthusian Hendrik van Haarlem, who is presented by a female saint, kneels with folded hands and eyes directed at the Selbdritt group in the left hand panel. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, repr. Albert Chatelet, Early Dutch Painting, Secaucus, Wellfleet Press, 1980, p. 125. Like the Van der Goes, this too is an outdoor scene with Mary as the Madonna of Humility. However in this case there are flowers on the grass in both panels. It can be difficult to separate an actively meditating patron from one who appears simply to be placed in the presence of the holy personages, which seems to be the case in the Genealogie van O. L. Vrouw of Gerard David in which two patrons - not a usual meditation practice - flank the Anna Selbdritt. Friedländer, *Ibid.*, fig. 26.

⁴⁸ Medieval visual sensibility is exemplified in a number of different ways. The intense desire to view the host is a well-known example. It is evident in instructions for behaviour at church in the book of spiritual, marital and practical instruction written by the 14th century Paris official for his young wife, The Goodman of Paris: "And when you have come to church, choose a secret and solitary place before a fair altar or image, and there remain and stay without moving hither and thither, nor going to and fro, and hold your head upright and keep your lips ever moving saying orisons and prayers. Moreover keep your glance continually on your book or on the face of the image, without looking at man or woman, picture or else, and without hypocrisy or feint, keep your thoughts always on heaven and pray with your whole heart....Then we ought we to prepare ourselves and look upon the priest. After this are sung the praises of the angels, namely: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, at which the angels come down and make ready and surround and defend the table whither God will descend and by His look alone feed His friends, and then we hope to see His coming and we ought to prepare ourselves as loving subjects when the King enters His city, and we ought lovingly and with great joy of heart to look

as that experienced by Mezzi Sidwibrin become less frequent in the fifteenth century, there is abundant evidence of a widespread intensity of looking and an intensity of response to the visual. Religious images were not the objects of passive attention. They were actively looked at. And though we may find no references to meditation connected with Anne, we can probably legitimately imagine that the advice given by the Strassburg preacher Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg (1445-1510) could be equally applied to her:

Auf Maria Heimsuchung mahnt er: kanstu nit schreiben noch lesen, so nim ein gemalten brief für dich, daran Maria und elisabeth gemalt ston als zusammen kumen sein, du kauffst einen umb ein pfennig, sihe jn an und gedenk daran, wie sie frölich gewesen sein und guter ding und erken das im glauben.⁴⁹

Prayers printed with woodcuts of the Anna Selbdritt certainly indicate that these images were looked at while the devotee prayed. So do indulgence instructions which mention that the prayer is to be said while looking at the picture. The Anna Selbdritt Pestblatt printed in Augsburg in 1494 contains the following prayer which is to be said, devoutly, three times in front of the printed image:

Ein andechtiges gepet zu der heyligen Frawen sant Anna unser lieben / Frawen muter fur die pestilenz / GEgrusset bistu maria vol genaden der her ist mit dir Dein genad sey mit mir Geseg / net bistu under allen frawen Unnd gesegnet sey dein heylige muter Anna von welicher / geporen Maria on sund on unreynikeyt dein heyliger und gutiger leichnam Aus welich / em geporn ist Jhesus cristus Amen. / Babst Allexander der jecz ein babst ist hat allen cristglaubigen menschen

upon Him and receive Him, and looking upon Him to be grateful for His coming ..." The Goodman of Paris: A Treatise on Moral and Domestic Economy by a Citizen of Paris (c. 1393), trans. Eileen Power, London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1928, pp. 52, 56-57.

⁴⁹ The text continues by advising the reader to kiss the image on the paper, to bow and kneel in front of it. Johann Geiler von Keisersberg, Evangelibuch, Strassburg 1515, fol. 180, cited in Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, ed. Ludwig Pastor, vol. 6, part I, "Beiträge zur vorreformatorischen Heiligen- und Reliquienverehrung, Freiburg: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1907, pp. 21-22.

geben dye vor dem pild sannt / Anne dis obgeschriben gepete dreymal sprechen
 Zehentausent iar ablass totlicher sund Und zwein / czigtausent lesslicher sund:
 Unnd ist an dem nechsten vergangen ostertag aussgangen von seynem /
 Bebstlichen stul und selbs mit seynen henden angeschlagen an all kirchthur die zu
 Rom seind Und / also von seyner heyligkeyt bestetiget. In dem jar als man zalt
 Nach Cristi gepurt unsers lieben herren / M:CCCC und im xciiij.⁵⁰

Nonetheless it is the saying of the prayer - and the gaining of the indulgence - that are emphasized.

Gnadenbilder

An analogous situation exists with regard to Gnadenbilder or wonder-working images as with Andachtsbilder. Only a small number of Anne images in the late medieval North seem to have enjoyed public fame as miracle-working images. The best-known was perhaps that at Ober-Stammheim near Zurich, which is described by Valerius Anshelmus as a popular object of pilgrimage.⁵¹ A painting at Steinerberg, also in

⁵⁰ Such prayers and instructions are found on many woodcuts. See for example W.L. Schreiber, Handbuch der Holz-und Metallschnitte des XV. Jh., vol. 3, Leipzig, 1926, p. 7.

⁵¹ Charles Garside Jr.'s description of the statue of Saint Anne at the shrine dedicated to her at Ober-Stammheim near Zurich describes a Gnadenbild: "For some time a statue of Saint Anne had stood in the open air at Ober-Stammheim. In 1507 miracles were suddenly attributed to it. At once pilgrimages to the statue began, and either in 1508 or 1509 a chapel was built to house it, to which the Zurich city council presented a painted window. After 1510 the importance of the shrine grew with incredible rapidity; indeed, within a decade its fame had become such that a certain Hans Stockar of Schaffhausen, who had journeyed to the Holy Land and Compostela in 1519, did not disdain to make a special pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Anne at Ober-Stammheim in 1520." Charles Garside Jr., Zwingli and the Arts, New Haven, 1966, Yale University Press, p. 167. By 1525 the statue had been burned. Ibid. The Zurich priest Ludwig Hätzer mentions this shrine as an example of misplaced piety in an iconoclastic pamphlet written in 1523: "Item wir lauffent inen [idols] nach gen Stammen / Rom / Eynsidlen / Ach." Ludwig Hätzer, Ain Urtayl Gottes vnsers eegemahels / wie man sich mit allen goetzen

Switzerland, was reputed to return to its place if moved.⁵² Johannes Trithemius in the Miracle Book he wrote for the shrine of the Marian Gnadenbild at Dittelbach mentions an Anne shrine near Trier in a discussion of fraudulent shrines.⁵³

The more widely celebrated Anne miracles however, were effected by relics, or by the saint herself, not by images depicting her. The relic healings that occurred in the Rheinland region that are described in many lives and in the Limburg miracle book directly associate cures with contact with relics of the saint. Cures effected by images on the other hand do not appear in the texts. Images play a role in the healing scenarios, but not as agents of power. Wax votive images representing body parts of supplicants, presented with prayers for healing or given as thank offerings for healings effected, are mentioned in connection with the Anne relic at Düren.⁵⁴ And they are also mentioned by

vnd Bildnussen halten soll / auss der hayligen geschriffte gezogen, Zurich, 1523, p. C ii.

⁵² See Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatoren Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992, p. 160, and E. Schaumkell, Der Kultus der heiligen Anna am Ausgang des Mittelalters, Freiburg: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J.C.B. Mohr, 1893, pp. 24-25. Another wonder-working Anna Selbdritt was supposed to have been located at the convent church of St. Anna auf dem Schwandelberg in Luzern canton. L. Burgener, Die Wallfahrtsorte der katholischen Schweiz, Ingenbohl, 1864, p. 105.

⁵³ "Ante paucos annos in Westrasia, haud procul ab oppido S. Wendelini Treuerensis dioecesis simile contigit: vbi magnus hominum concursus ad quendam fontem, quem S. ANNA cuidam mulieri pro signo suae apparitionis ostendisse ferebatur, miraculose confluit. Sed huius commentii falsitas citius manifestata extitit, & propterea statim a principio extincta fuit." Johannes Trithemius, Miracula beatae Mariae semper virginis in Ecclesia nova prope Dittelbach, in Joannis Trithemii, Opera pia et spiritualia, ed. Johannes Busaeus, Mainz, 1604, 1605, chap. 6, p. 1084.

⁵⁴ Though Polius's book on the Düren shrine dates from the seventeenth century, it may well refer back to medieval practice: "Damit aber der Warheit kein zeugnuss manglete / vnd dergleichen treffliche Wunderzeichen nit würden in vergess gestellt / opfferten / vnd hengten darbey auff genesene allerhand Instrumenten Zeichen / Krücken

Jan van Denemarken in a general reference to pilgrimages made to churches and altars dedicated to her.

bedevaert oft pelgrimaedgie loven (...) in eenigher kercken (met enen vasten ghelove) of outaren die in harer eeren ghewijdet sijn met eenen barnende wassen keerse oft met eene wassen beeldekijn ende met eenen penninc of oec aelmoessen te gheven den armen menschen om haren wille...⁵⁵

As well, Van Denemarken mentions an offering presented at an Anne altar following the rescue of a ship on the Flemish coast. Since this object is described as including a text and as being hung up in the church to publicize the rescue and honour Anne, it was likely an ex-voto painting depicting the rescue.⁵⁶

Ende doe sy wederom ter sluys quamen so deden si haer offerande voer sint annen outaer met groter devocien. De verteller eindigt met te vermelden, dat het wonder op schrift werd gesteld en voor het altaar werd gehangen zodat veel mensen daarvan kennis konden nemen en gingen vereren.⁵⁷

Clearly Anne was seen as able to help in healing and rescue. What is important in the cases described above however, is that the wording suggests the rescue was attributed to

/ oder Glieder auss Wachs / vnd anderen Materien nach beschaffenheit ihres gehabten mangels / welche all darnach (will geschweygen warumb) seynd hinweg genommen worden." Jacobus Polius, Exegeticon historicum sanctae Annae aviae Christi, Cologne, 1640, pp. 141-42.

⁵⁵ Jan van Denemarken, Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempelen vander heyligher vrouwen sint Annen, Antwerp, Geraert Leeu, 1490-91.

⁵⁶ The typical ex-voto painting included a depiction of the rescuing saint, sometimes shown appearing in a cloud above the rescue scene. Philip Soergel states that there were pictorial ex-votos at Bavarian shrines c. 1500. Philip M. Soergel, Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, p. 31.

⁵⁷ Van Denemarken, Die historie. The Dutch Humanist Van Keulen lists ships saved from shipwreck by Anne in the neighbourhood of Vlissingen. Ton Brandenburg, Heilig Familieleven. Nijmegen: Sun, 1990, p. 211.

Anne rather than to a particular image of her. The images were given in thanksgiving; they were not the source of the miracle. Further, the gifts described in the Anne texts confirm that the images were not wonder-working ones. They are candles, wax, flowers, or art works or liturgical objects to adorn the altar; clothing or jewels, the gifts typically given to images believed to have special powers, are not mentioned.⁵⁸

However, though they may not have been Gnadenbilder in the strict sense, images of Anne were probably perceived as having power in the same way that religious images in general had power. Those seeking help would make their petitions not merely in private prayer, but in front of an image. An exemplum in several of the Anne lives tells the story of a widow in Deventer whose daughter fell sick during a plague epidemic. She made vows to different saints without receiving an answer to her prayer. Finally she set her hope and trust in "the Lord Jesus and his grandmother:"

und aus ein gebung Gottes ihr Tochter zwar muehsam genueg in die Kirchen dess H. Leduini desselbigen orts Patronen gefuehret und haben sich alldorten beyde zugleich vor der Bildtnuss der H. Anna / auff die Erden nider geworffen./ ihr andaechtiges Gebet verricht / und ein brinnende Wachskerzen auffgeopfert / und haben versprochen/ das sie hinfür an der H. Anna fleissiger und andaechtiger

⁵⁸ Trithemius describes gifts of wax, money and clothing made to the wonderworking image of Mary at Dittelbach in the miracle book he wrote for this shrine. No-one came empty-handed: "Postea igitur quam fidelium suorum sanctum fieri concursus ad imaginem suae castissimae genitricis in memorato arene loco prebuit, semper deinceps miraculis ibidem factis maiora coniunxit. Vnde factum est, quod concursus quotidie auctus plura in honorem S. MARIA ad locum contulit: & vnusquisque accedens suae deuotionis affectum ad nostram Dominam aliquo munere ostendit. Alius ceram pro Dei matris reuerentia obtulit, alius pecuniam, aut vestem in cordis simplicitate praesentauit. Nemo in conspectu maiestatis diuinae, quae operabatur magnalia, vacuus apparuit, sed vnusquisque, prout potuit, in matris Dei honorem aliquam oblationem condonauit." Johanne Trithemius, Miracula beatae Mariae semper virginis in Ecclesia nova prope Dittelbach, chap. 5, p. 1083. New construction was involved in this instance of pilgrimage as it was in Annaberg and Augsburg.

dienen woellen / so die Tochter durch deren verdienst und Fuerbitt der gefahr des Todts entgehen wurde....Dann so baldt sie ihr Gebet verricht / und ihr geluebdt gethon / ist die Tochter als ob sie nichts umb die Pest wueste / ganz frisch und gesund auffgestanden und hat weiter kein andere Arzenej und mittel suechen doerffen. Seind also frolockent / und mit grosser Dancksagung / wegen das sie erhoert worden / wider nach Hauss passiert / und haben den allerhoechsten in seinen Heiligen gelobt;⁵⁹

A case where power is connected more directly with the image appears in an exemplum in a Low German life in which Anne appears to a man who is under the power of the devil and tells him that if he should ever be in need he should hold on to her image with all his might and her power would be with him to help him:

holt dut belde myt dinen henden sterckliken stridende vnde du enschalt nicht aff laten vnde du schalt dy nicht vor veren laten wente du my denne myt dynen vleslicken ogen nicht sein enkanst so schalt du doch myne kraft vnde macht van my vor varen vnde mynen by stant bevinden in dynen noeden.⁶⁰

The Anna Selbdritt as reliquary

A small number of images of Anne served as reliquaries. The silver bust holding the Anne relic at Düren is the most famous. The Wittenberg reliquary, illustrated in Lucas Cranach's woodcut catalogue of Frederick the Wise's relic collection, (fig. 74) shows a bust version of the Anna Selbdritt with a child on each arm. As well as reliquaries associated with well-known Anne relics, there are also a small number of other Anna

⁵⁹ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, pp. 162-64.

⁶⁰ De historie von der hilligen moder sunte Anna und oren slechte, Braunschweig: Hans Dorn, 1507, (referred to by Marianne Kalinke as the St. Annen-Büchlein, p. oiii r, in Marianne E. Kalinke, "Mariu saga og Onnu." unpublished paper, 1993, p. 19-20. Brandenburg concludes that the Dorn book is a Low German translation of the widely reprinted Netherlandish life, Die historie van die heilige moeder santa anna ende van haer olders, by Wouter Bor. Brandenburg, Heilig familieleven, pp. 287, 302.

Selbdritt sculptures in which there are reliquary compartments. These did not necessarily contain relics of Anne.⁶¹

Private Functions

Individuals might use images in public places for private functions. But other images were made especially for private or domestic use. The small size of the statue in the ritual described above, along with the privacy needed to perform it, indicates a domestic setting. A number of small Anna Selbdritts the right size for grasping "myt dinen henden" were produced. They ranged from woodcuts and cheap mould-made ceramic statuettes from Siegburg in the Rheinland, through the more elegant but essentially mass-produced carved wood images from Mechelen, to small-sized but expensive commissioned objects.⁶² Some of the small Mechelen images, according to Hans Nieuwdorp, originally formed part of the "Mechelse Tuintjes" made by the Beguines

⁶¹ Grimme describes an early fourteenth-century Rhein-Mosan Anna Selbdritt with both women standing with a reliquary chamber in Mary's head. Ernst G. Grimme, Deutsche Madonnen, Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1966, pp. 101-102. Holes were bored in the heads of sculptures as part of the process of carving. Such holes were not intended as reliquary cavities, though they sometimes later served this purpose. See Paul Williamson, Northern Gothic Sculpture 1200-1450, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1988. Anna Selbdritt reliquary images include a Swabian work with a hole in the neck work dated c. 1500 in the form in which Anne holds a child on either knee (Munich, BNM) and a silver Anna Selbdritt reliquary by the Master of Osnabruck now in the Paderborn Domschatz.

⁶² The pipeclay Anna Selbdritts and the Mechelen works are illustrated in Ton Brandenbarg et al, Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, Nijmegen: Sun, 1992, pp. 123, and pp. 147-152. Some of the Siegburg pipeclay images are as small as three and-a-half inches.

of the city (fig. 119).⁶³ In these altar-like boxes, statuettes bought ready-made were arranged with paper flowers and other decorations. In other cases the statues formed part of a more conventional type of small altar. Much of this sculpture was mass-produced and widely exported.⁶⁴

Though many domestic works were bought ready-made, a small Swabian house altar dated c. 1490 (fig. 120) in which a kneeling married couple flank a standing Anna Selbdritt is evidence that even works of modest size and skill might be commissioned. The husband has been portrayed as a participant patron: the long furred garment under his cloak identifies him as John the Baptist.⁶⁵

A fair number of such small Anna Selbdritts evidently destined for use in the home or in the private cells of monastics survive (fig. 121). Specific functions of these domestic images are difficult to ascertain, at least in the case of the average lay owner. While writings by and about mystics indicate that they used religious images as aids in meditation and visualization, it seems dangerous to assume that the average lay person did likewise, though some may have.

⁶³ Hans M.J. Nieuwdorp, "Drie Mechelse huisaltaartjes," Musees royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique bulletin, (1969) 1-2, p. 7.

⁶⁴ Sometimes the wings were painted to order. Ibid.

⁶⁵ The Cloisters Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York, inv. 1991.10. The identification of the garment as a hairshirt on the Cloisters' label is probably not correct. The kneeling figure at the left is not the patron wearing a hair shirt as the Cloisters' curators have concluded. German confraternities did not practise ritual mortification like the Italian Displinati. The garment, which is knee-length, does not resemble a hair shirt, which normally went only to the waist. It is the sheepskin of John the Baptist. This is a participant donor image of the man in whose house the image probably stood. The man, whose name was probably Johann, is likely portrayed as his patron saint.

The combined evidence of a wide range of texts suggests that an appreciable part of the religious activity of fifteenth-century German Christians involved interaction with religious images. However chronicles and letters say relatively little about inner religious experience. Allusions to religion are more likely to consist of references to devotional [andächtig] or pious [fromm] behaviour rather than feelings, or of short prayers requesting protection or giving thanks inserted into the text when death or misfortune, or good fortune, are mentioned. There is little indication of deliberate attempts to cultivate inner development of the kind described in the classic texts of medieval spirituality. And the Anne texts, while they frequently describe people as "pious," and recommend Anne as able to help Christians overcome sin, give little space to the cultivation of spiritual development. The latter may have been largely the province of the minority who might be called the spiritual elite. Religious emotion certainly occurred in the population at large. But when it is described it often seems to arise in response to external stimuli, whether lifelike images, relics, or powerful sermons.⁶⁶

Generally speaking, the feelings expressed concerning religious matters in late medieval texts reflect a metonymic substructure which is at the same time not unaffected by scepticism. Both attitudes are simultaneously present in the remarks of the Augsburg Patrician chronicler Wilhelm Rem writing c. 1508-09 about the Bern scandal in which a

⁶⁶ The Augsburg priest Johannes Frank, describing the visit of John of Capistrano to the city in 1454, repeatedly refers to the andächtig behaviour of those who came to hear the famed preacher. "Die Chronik von Clemens Sender," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte. Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg, 3, pp. 303-305. He describes the vast crowds as emotionally overcome by his sermons: "...da was ain grosses wainen und trauren von vil andächtigen menschen..." Ibid.

pietà was rigged to make it weep. Though Rem has no doubt that the monks faked the miracle, he also has no doubt of the physical involvement of the guilty monks with the devil who, he has heard, appeared to them in the form of a Moor:

Die hetten gross boshait und biebiei getriben und hetten den teufel beschworen und sich im ergeben. sie hetten auch gott und seiner lieben muotter verlaugnet und hetten dem teufel ir aigen handgeschrift geben mit irem aigen pluot geschriben. und der böss gaist hett den selben brieff von in empfangen in ains moren gestalt.⁶⁷

Rem, along with many others, is sceptical about the mass pilgrimage to Regensburg (1520), though to what extent from class bias, desire to keep Augsburg money in Augsburg, or reforming sympathies, is hard to tell:

Man hatt vil gesagt von zaichen, die da geschechen; es send vil leutt von Augspurg da gewesen, wan sie wider kamen, so westen sie nichtz zuo sagen, dan dass vil volck dahin gieng, westen aber von kainen zaichen zuo sagen, die sie gesechen hetten oder geschechen weren, dan von hören sagen....⁶⁸

Wilhelm Rem's cousin, the merchant Lucas Rem, had himself and his wife Anna Ehen painted as members of the Holy Kinship by Quintin Massys.⁶⁹ Rem may have expected the religious images he commissioned to help him in some way and he undoubtedly felt a familiar affection for the people portrayed in them, especially "unser lieben Frauen." But he does not give evidence of using images to generate personal religious experience. In the Tagebuch that he kept from 1494 to 1531 he tallies up the

⁶⁷ Wilhelm Rem, "Cronica alter vnd newer geschichten," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert. Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg, 5, Leipzig, p. 281.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 131-32.

⁶⁹ Lucas Rem gives his wife's name as Anna Echänin, daughter of Jerg Echäins and Anna Endorferin in the Tagebuch he kept during the years 1494 to 1531. Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494-1541, ed. B. Greiff. Augsburg: J.N. Hartmann'schen Buchdruckerei, 1861, p. 43.

religious images and rosaries he received as wedding gifts with the same terseness and attention to monetary value that he accords his other gifts. His references to the Deity suggest a view of the universe as ultimately subject to God's benevolent power. Yet the repeated expressions of confidence, thanks and praise that punctuate his description of a serious illness may also have functioned as protective, even propitiatory prayers, that the fragile good health might continue.

[Ich] Hett mich got gantz guotwillig begeben ins Sterben...Aber ends monets wards besser. Got Lob..... Der almechtig her hab eer, lob und dank in al sein werken, amen!... Got hab lob um ales und dank amen!.... Got hab lob.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 26-29. The chronicle of another Augsburg citizen, Burkhard Zink, writing in the early 15th c., treats religion similarly. Of considerably lower social status than Rem, Zink eventually established himself as a scribe. He invokes mercy on his mother's soul after speaking of her death: "Item mein liebe mueter starb an ainem kind da man zalt nach Christi unsers lieben herrn gepurt 1401 jar, gott herr erbarm dich über sie. amen." "Chronik des Burkard Zink, Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg, vol. 2, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1866, p. 122. Lost in the woods on his "pferdlin" while carrying a message, he calls on Jesus and Mary: "dann ich was allain in dem grossen ungeheuren wald und west nit wahin oder wa auss, und ward gott anrűfen und seine liebe mueter und gesegnet mich und pat gott, dass er mir hulf, dass ich zu leuten kommen möcht..." Ibid. p. 107. Zink reckons time in terms of the feasts of the Christian year. He invokes the name of God when he mentions good fortune, attributes it to God, and thanks Him for it: "...und mein herr Peter Egen tet mir sicherlich gar gűetlich: er lich mir gelt, wann ich wolt, vil oder lűtel, gott vom himmel dank im X." Ibid., p. 133. He frequently uses the word "frum" [pious] as a term of praise. Speaking of his first wife he says: "...die hiess Dorothea, die was sicher ain so frumme und erber tochter, als sie mocht sein in der gantzen stat; gott von himel sei gedankt sein gűttlichen gnaden, das er mir drei so frum hausfrawen beschert hat." Ibid., p. 135. He frequently mentions religious events in his personal life, notably baptism, confirmation and extreme unction, but not religious feelings. He acknowledges God's omnipotence and man's lack of knowledge: "...wie lang ich aber noch darauf beleib [in a particular house], das stat zu gott." Ibid., p. 142. He prays for help when he is in need.

Apotropaic / protective images

Somewhat more information is available about the intentions of people who carried out another type of protective practice involving images, attaching them to the walls of buildings. Catharina von Gebweiler, the Dominican nun who wrote the history and lives of the sisters of Unterlinden near Colmar in the first half of the fourteenth century, describes the apotropaic activity of a ceramic image of John the Baptist, the saint the sisters had chosen "zum Patron und Schutzherm ihres Klosters under der Linde":

Nachdem die Kirche erbaut worden, setzte man ein mächtiges Kreuz von Blei gegen Abend auf die Spitze des Daches. Auf das Kreuz ward ein hübsches Bild des heiligen Johannes, wenn ich nicht irre aus Erz, gestellt. Wenn zuweilen eine Feurersbrunst ausbrach, welche dem Kloster Schaden zu drohen schien, so schien es doch offenbar, als ob der heilige Johannes mit seinem Mantel die Feuerballen zertheile und weit von seinem Hause hinwegweise. Einst riss in einem wüthenden Sturmwind dieses erzene Bild von dem grossen eisernen Nagel, der in dasselbe hineingelassen war, los und warf dasselbe, wie uns berichtet worden, auf das Ordenshaus der Johanniter, von wo wir es nicht wieder haben zurück erhalten können.⁷¹

An incident related by the German humanist Johannes Butzbach (1478-1526) shows that the same practice, this time involving a piece of presumably unconsecrated communion bread, was in use a century later at the convent of Johannisberg where he was a lay brother and cloister tailor.

...on a certain occasion, while I was sitting at my work and engaged in confidential discourse with an elderly and invalid father, for whose care and service I was daily responsible; and while I was telling him how greatly to my sorrow I had been obliged, as a lad, to give up my studies -while, as I say, I was

⁷¹ Catharina von Gebweiler, Lebensbeschreibungen der ersten Schwestern des Klosters der Dominkanerinnen zu Unterlinden, trans. Ludwig Clarus, Regensburg: Verlag von Georg Joseph Manz, 1863, pp. 38-39. Gebweiler remarks that the saint "besass" the chapel. Ibid., p. 39. The text continues with a description of a further miracle of protection provided by Saint John through his image.

telling my story and lamenting that nothing had come out of my earlier studies and my desire to become a priest, a certain round piece of bread, which we call the host, and which I had fastened to the wall over against my work table, out of devotional feeling and from a desire to guard against the temptations to which the vigorous period of youth is especially subject, and also to have a remembrance of the sufferings of our Lord always before my eyes, this piece of bread, I say, to our great amazement, detached itself from the wall and fell to the floor. As the old man, who with shaking head sat behind the stove, perceived this, he stood up, in spite of the senile weakness which weighed so heavily upon him, and in a loud voice exclaimed: "See, Brother Johannes! This is without doubt a sign to thee of thy future priesthood!"⁷²

Butzbach, who does have a developed interior life, had the apotropaic power directed at spiritual not physical dangers.

The 1337 Anna Selbdritt on the house front in Eichstätt (fig. 38) probably aroused the same confidence in its protective power, though the power no doubt served the more down-to-earth ends of protection against fire and theft. The same is likely true of the Anna Selbdritt inscribed with the date 1515 that formerly stood in a niche on the corner of a house in Freiberg, Saxony, and of the Anna Selbdritt in place today above the door of the former Annenkloster in Lübeck.⁷³

⁷² Johannes Butzbach, Hodoporicon or Little Book of Wandering, in Merrick Whitcomb, ed. A Literary Source-Book of the German Renaissance, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1899, p. 92.

⁷³ Bergbau und Kunst in Sachsen: Führer durch die Ausstellung, Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 1989, pp. 49-50. An Anna Selbdritt by Riemenschneider now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich was formerly attached to the facade of a house in Rimpf. Justus Bier, Tilman Riemenschneider: His Life and Work, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982. An Anna Selbdritt by Adam Kraft now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg (P12321) was formerly located at a house on the oberer Bergauerplatz 2 in Nürnberg. A stone sculpture with console and baldaquin dated 1515 was formerly located on the corner of a building in Freiberg, Saxony. Freiberg [Saxony], Stadt- und Bergbaumuseum, Bergbau und Kunst in Sachsen: p. 50.

Individuals might also own reliquaries. The most elaborate private Anna Selbdritt reliquary is the silver gilt one now in the Musée de Cluny in Paris, made by the Ingolstadt goldsmith Hans Greiff for Anna Hoffmann (fig. 117).⁷⁴ This small but expensive image, made in 1472, was given by Hoffmann to the Franciscan nuns in Ingolstadt in 1483. Thus it would seem to have been in her possession for a period of some ten years. Documents from the convent's archives indicate that this and the many other gifts both of money and of liturgical objects presented by Anna Hoffmann to the nuns were given with the request that they include her in their prayers.⁷⁵ The fact that the nuns do not mention a relic when they describe the image raises the possibility that Hoffman may have kept the relic when she gave them the statue.

⁷⁴ The reliquary, now in the Musée de Cluny in Paris was given by Anna Hoffmann to the Franciscan womens convent of St. Johannes-Gnadenthal in Ingolstadt, the gift to be reciprocated by prayers from the sisters. Frau Hoffman had been a generous benefactor over the years. It would appear that the reliquary was given in 1483: "Auch die alte Frau Hofmannin des Rentmeisters des Herzogs Georg hat ausser vielen anderen Wohltaten in Essen und Trinken zu dem Bau des Regelhauses 22 fl, zum Kirchenbau 10 fl gespendet, neben einem silbernen schönen Bildnis der hl. Anna im wert von ca. 80 fl, ferner einen Kelch, drei Messgewänder, vier Altartücher, ein Messbuch, zwei Engelstäbe und zwei Leuchter 'neben anderer Kirchengeszier.' Diese Frau hat viel Gutes getan zu dem Kloster- und Kirchenbau, hat insgesamt 300 fl noch dem Kloster verehrt mit der Bitte, die Schwestern sollen sie in ihr Gebet einschliessen." Theodor Müller & Wilhelm Reissmüller, Ingolstadt / Die Herzogsstadt, Die Universitätsstadt, Die Festung. vol. 1. Ingolstadt: Verlag Donau Courier, 1974, p. 249.

⁷⁵ There are other such cases of images given to convents in exchange for prayers. Elisabeth Heller quotes a bequest of a painting which is to be hung in the choir of a convent church so that the soul of the donor, who is portrayed in the work, will be prayed for: "item, een taeffereelke der in staet de Heleghe Drievuldicheit, ende in de eerste duere sinte Joos, in de tweede joncfrauwe van Hecke de eersaemme wedwe van d'heer Wouter van Hecke, wylen schepen van de Vrie. dit voorscreven taeffereel begheerde zy up der susteren choir gheganghen te hebben om dat zy te bedt over haer zielen bidden zouden." Le Beffroi III, Bruges, p. 88. cited in Elisabeth Heller, Das altniederländische Stifterbild, p. 43.

Anna Hofmann was the wife of Hanns Hofmann, Rentmeister (financial administrator) for Heinrich the Rich of Landshut and subsequently for Ludwig the Rich in Ingolstadt. The Hofmann house was located near the Franciscan convent of St. Johannes im Gnadenthal in Ingolstadt.⁷⁰ However it was probably not propinquity but the sisters' reputation for austerity and holiness that made Hofmann and other members of Ingolstadt's patriciate - themselves the parents of many of its nuns - so generous with their gifts and endowments. This convent of patrician virgins, which had been reformed in 1466 through the agency of Duke Ludwig von Niederbayern-Landshut, was renowned for the strictness of its rule and the asceticism of the sisters.⁷¹ Another family that generously supported it was that of Veit Peringer and his wife Anna, two of whose daughters, Elisabeth, author of a chronicle of the convent (1540), and Margaretha who died in 1561 with a reputation for sanctity, were nuns in the convent.⁷² Veit Peringer had been several times mayor of Ingolstadt. The Peringer family together with the Ridler family of Munich were co-patrons of another depiction of Saint Anne owned by the

⁷⁰ Siegfried Hofmann, Goldschmiedearbeiten in und aus Ingolstadt, Ingolstadt, 1988, p. 50. He cites a "Notariatsinstrument vom 10. September 1466," Ingolstadt Stadtarchiv.

⁷¹ Ingolstadt / Die Herzogsstadt, Die Universitätsstadt, Die Festung, vol. 1, ed. Theodor Müller and Wilhelm Reissmüller, Ingolstadt: Verlag Donau Courier, 1974 pp. 240, 244-45.

⁷² 1505 Elisabeth Peringer was a novice in 1505. Ibid., p. 264. Margarethe Peringer who came in to kloster 1497 at the age of eight, made her profession at 13. Ibid., p. 263. Barbara Ridler was accepted into the convent at the age of nine. Ibid., pp. 265-66.

convent, the extraordinary and influential Hans Leinberger Anna Selbdritt (1513, fig. 94) that bears their joint arms.⁷³

Another type of private image was the miniature pilgrimage token of lead, or for the wealthier pilgrim, silver. Only a few of these once numerous items have survived, but they are known also through casts affixed to bells. A number of tokens from Anne's shrine in Düren survive in this way.⁷⁴ Late medieval German bells were sometimes named after Anne or inscribed with prayers calling on her help.⁷⁵ The ringing of bells was an apotropaic practice designed to drive away storms.

Perceptions of Images in Late Medieval Germany

It is clear from the descriptions of the way images were used that Christians in late medieval Germany expected a good deal from the statue of a saint. Notwithstanding the fact that they knew perfectly well that sculptures and paintings were made in workshops by artists, they often experienced images, particularly sculptures, as though they embodied their referents. Saint Anne, as well as being in heaven, was also perceived

⁷³ Hans Thoma, Hans Leinberger, seine Stadt, seine Zeit, sein Werk, Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1979, p. 200 & passim.

⁷⁴ Kurt Köster describes casts of forty-one Düren Anne tokens. "Wallfahrtszeichen und Pilgerdevotionalien aus der Frühzeit der Sankt-Anna-Wallfahrt," in Erwin Gatz, ed., St. Anna in Düren, Mönchengladbach: B. Kühnlen Verlag, 1972, pp. 201-205.

⁷⁵ See Beda Kleinschmidt, Die heilige Anna: Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1930, pp. 144-146.

as being in some way present in her image. This presence made possible the power that healed and protected.

Contemporary texts provide abundant evidence of this tendency to conflate image and referent, to respond to works of art as though they were the persons represented. "Die liebe Heilige" were not the distant inhabitants of Heaven. They were the dear familiar figures who inhabited the churches.

Evidence: Contemporary descriptions of actions that bespeak conflation

One source of evidence for the conflation of the image with what it represented are contemporary descriptions of what people did with images in churches, shrines and homes. Over and over we read people treating statues and sometimes paintings as though they were people. What people ought not to do with images was a central target of the reformers. Referring to the St. Anne image at Ober-Stammheim in Switzerland, the Swiss reformer Leo Jud (1482-1542) lists the objectionable things people did in front of it:

[They] accord such images great honour, and entreat them with ornaments, silver, gold, precious stones, with sacrifices and with reverence, that is by taking off their hats, bowing, and kneeling before them, all of which, however, God has forbidden.⁷⁶

Ludwig Hätzer in Ain Urtayl Gottes vnsers eegemahels / wie man sich mit allen goetzen vnd Bildnussen halten soll / auf der hayligen geschriff gezogen of 1523 echoes and expands on Jud's description:

⁷⁶ Huldrych Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke, vol. 2, Berlin-Zurich, 1905, pp. 17-20, cited in Garside, Zwingli and the Arts, p. 134.

Das wir aber soemlichs von den gestorbenen hayligen / vnd nit von Got sächent / ist klar gnuég. Wir opffrent inen vnd brennent oel-kertzen vor inen. Wir habent ayner yeder kranckhayt ayn besonderen hayligen so wir gesund werdent so schreybent wir inen alle Eer zuo in dem das wir für ire ruoffige Bildmuss waechssene oren-hend-fuess-agen etc. hencken.

....Item man spriche das sind hailig / das ist vnser frawe / das ist sant Anna etc. Synd sy haylig so mag ain yeder bildmacher ayn haylgen machen / ja der Bapst vnnd der bildtmacher mügens gleych wol....Item das man sy erre ist kundtlich / Warum vergült man die goetzen dann / Warum beklaydt man sy offt mit seyden / Warumb zeucht man das paret vor inen ab? Warumb krümpt man sich vor inen? In summa / sag was du wildt / So thuot man den schessigen goetzen eer an / die allain gott zympt.⁷⁷

The Zurich reformer Huldreich Zwingli, in a treatise of 1525, provided his own catalogue of the cultic acts directed towards images:

Men kneel, bow, and remove their hats before them; candles and incense are burned before them; men name them after the saints whom they represent; men kiss them; men adorn them with gold and jewels; men seek consolation merely from touching them and even hope to acquire remission of sins thereby.⁷⁸

Andreas Karlstadt is explicit on this matter in his treatise On the Removal of Images:

You bring them wax offerings in the form of your afflicted legs, arms, eyes, head, feet, hands, cows, calves, oxen, tools, house, court, fields, meadows, and the like, just as if the pictures had healed your legs, arms, eyes, heads etc. or had bestowed upon you fields, meadows, houses, honours, and possessions.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ludwig Haetzer, Ain Urtayl Gottes, p. C iii. Henry Suso describes such an image in a village setting, but the activities he describes are less extravagant: "He [Suso] once came on foot to a small town, and close to the town there was a wooden figure of Christ crucified covered over by a miniature house, as is the custom in various places. And people believed that many miracles occurred there. For this reason they brought images made of wax, many of them, and hung them up there in praise of God." Henry Suso: The Exemplar, with two German sermons, p. 107.

⁷⁸ Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke, vol. 4, cited in Carl Christensen, Art and the Reformation in Germany, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980, p. 22.

⁷⁹ Andreas Karlstadt, "On the Removal of Images," in A Reformation Debate, p. 21.

The indignant narratives of the reformers tell the story clearly enough. Defenders of images like Emser, though they may interpret the data differently, describe essentially the same actions.

Not only do the reformers attack practices associated with images, they occasionally show themselves aware of the complex roots of these actions. Karlstadt's poignant admission of his own difficulties in putting away images reveals the depth of the predeliction. His words make it clear that knowledge alone is not sufficient to change cultural attitudes:

And I want to confess my secret thoughts to the whole world with sighs and admit that I am faint-hearted and know that I ought not to stand in awe of any image....But (I lament to God) from my youth onward my heart has been trained and grown up in the veneration and worship of pictures. And a harmful fear has been bred into me from which I would gladly deliver myself and cannot. As a consequence, I stand in fear that I might not be able to burn idols. I would fear that some devil's block of wood [i.e. an idol] would do me injury. Although, on the one hand, I have Scripture and know that images have no power and also have no life, no blood, no spirit, yet, on the other hand, fear holds me and makes me stand in awe of the image of a devil, a shadow, the noise of a small leaf falling, and makes me flee that which I should confront in a manly way. Thus I might say, if one pulls a man's hair, one finds out how firmly it is rooted. Had I not heard the spirit of God cry out against the idols and read his Word, I would have thought: I do not love any image; I do not stand in awe before any image. But now I know how I, in this case, stand toward God and images, and how strongly and deeply images are rooted in my heart.⁸⁰

In the public disputations held in Zurich in October of 1523, Baltassar Fridberger also refers to the fact that what is involved are not questions of belief only, but questions of deep feeling:

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 35-36.

Dann vil menschen sind, die den bildern noch hefftigklichen anhangend. Darumb sol man das klar, heylig wort gottes wider die bild und götzen im alten und im nūwen testament ernstlich und offt dem volck mit sorg und flyss anzeygen.⁸¹

A few lines later Fridberger himself uses an expression that suggests conflation in his description of what should be done with the images. They should, he says, be thrown away and laid to sleep: "das man die bilder hynweg thū und schlaffen lege!"⁸²

This same way of experiencing art works is conveyed indirectly by the stories of statues that move and speak that were common throughout western Europe earlier in the Middle Ages in collections of the Miracles of the Virgin or in compendia like Caesarius of Heisterbach's Dialogus Miraculorum. But whereas in France And England this type of story appears less often in fifteenth century writing, in Germany it was adapted and reused in the newly written Anne lives.⁸³ In the story of the young man who brought only one candle to the Anna Selbdritt, for example, the statue turns into living, moving figures as Jesus gets up out of his grandmother's lap.⁸⁴

Evidence for conflation: Language that embodies conflation

The conflation of image and referent appears not only in what people talk about, it also manifests itself in the way they speak and write. Late medieval German Christians

⁸¹ Akten der zweiten Disputation vom 26.-28 Oktober 1523, in Huldrych Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke, Berlin-Zurich, C.A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1905, p. 762.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ The Spanish version of the miracles of the Virgin, the Cantigas de Santa Maria, enjoyed great popularity in Spain in the 15th c.

⁸⁴ Das Leben und Wunderzaichen, p. 119.

not infrequently speak of images as though they were people, and vice versa. Rutger Sicamber, in a poem included in Trithemius's De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae, addresses his words not to Anne but to a likeness of her: "Rutgerus venrai Canonicus regularis heynensis ad imaginem sancte anne. / Hic profunde preces devote poplite flero / Anna parens vbi cum prole beata sedet."⁸⁵ Sicamber is speaking to a seated Anna Selbdritt.

Even the writings of the reformers, so alert to abuses, provide examples. Karlstadt moves seamlessly from speaking of images "as if" they were saints to using language that identifies them as the same:

So they invoke idols in the house of God and seek health, support, and counsel from insensate dummies. And the people vilify God in his house, which is a good and important enough reason to drag idols out of the churches. Not to mention that many a man doffs his cap, which he would wear if his man-made god were not before him. I do not regard it lightly that they bend a knee before the saints.⁸⁶

He goes on to address this very point:

Now I will ask in addition, is it a trifling honour that we call images saints? If we were willing to think clearly, we would find that we deflect honour from the true saints and transfer it to deceitful pictures of them. Therefore, we are calling images saints and attributing sanctity to them.⁸⁷

He continues:

However we are open in word and deed before the world to the charge that we take images for gods and give them names and venerate them. For we call the image of the Crucified One a lord god and now and again say that it is the Lord

⁸⁵ Johannes Trithemius, De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae, Mainz: Peter Friedberg, 1494, p. E.i.

⁸⁶ Karlstadt, "On the Removal of Images," in A Reformation Debate, pp. 21-22.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

Jesus. We also venerate it as though Christ himself were present....We also say that this image is St. Sebastian and that one is St. Nicholas, and the like.⁸⁸

But where Karlstadt was conscious of the significance - if not always the occurrence - of the slippage of boundaries, others were not. The coat of arms granted to the city of Annaberg in 1501 depicts two miners holding an image of the Selbdritt. A document describing the granting of a coat of arms, the "Privilegium Roem. Kaeyserl. Maj. Maximiliani I. ueber den Nahmen und Wappen der Stadt St. Annaberg, Anno 1501" states:

...die pildnuess der heiligen Frawen Sannd Anna in einem gelben Tron oder Stul sitzennd in plaw beklaidet habende vmb Ir hawbt gebunden ein weysen schlayer vnd an Irem rechten Arme ein plosse pildnuss Cristi vnnsers Herren in gestalt eines jungen kindes vnd an dem lynnckhen Arm die pildnuss der allerseligstenn Junngckfrawen Marie vnd gebererin gottes in einer plawen beclaydung Ire Hennde zusammen gelegt die bildnuss Cristi ansehend mit Irem hynnden hinab gehanngen gelben hare...⁸⁹

Franz Maidburg's relief sculpture on the coat of arms (1524) which depicts the miners holding a sculpture of the Anna Selbdritt can be seen in the choir of the church (fig. 83).⁹⁰

Evidence: Fluid boundaries depicted in images

Works of art themselves sometimes depict fluid boundaries between image and referent. That is to say, human beings may be depicted in settings or with objects normally associated not with people but with images. A woodcut printed with verses by Trithemius and his circle (c. 1501) shows Anne, Mary and Jesus as living figures, yet in

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 34.

⁸⁹ Richter, Chronica, p. 33.

⁹⁰ There is also a standing version of the coat of arms, with Mary holding a book, in the church.

front of them is the three-branched candlestick that would be placed in front of a painting or sculpture on an altar (fig. 114).⁹¹ Lucas Cranach the Elder's depiction of the Anne reliquary from the collection of Frederick the Great similarly conflates the living saint and the image by putting haloes on the three figures in the woodcut even while the accompanying text describes them as "ein silberen verguldt Bildt sant Anne" (fig. 74).⁹²

Evidence of Conflation: Iconoclasm

The descriptions of the words and actions of iconoclasts in Germany and Switzerland are another source of information about how people perceived and experienced works of art.⁹³ The arguments of the Reformation theorists centred around the charge that images were worshipped as idols. However at the popular level, the level which generated so much of the iconoclastic activity in Germany, the response sometimes seems less a rejection of the practice of idolatry than anger at discovering the images did not have the power they were believed to have. Reformation historians describe many incidents in which medieval Germans continued to treat images as though they were alive, speaking to them, punishing them, even as they were destroying them. Steven Ozment comments on this sense of deception unmasked when he observes that "...the outburst of

⁹¹ Geisberg, The German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500-1500, vol. I, G.53.

⁹² Wittenberger Heiligtumsbuch Buch 581/82, p. 69, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, SMPK 1509, rep. Ashley & Sheingorn, Interpreting Cultural Symbols, p. 22.

⁹³ I know of only one reference to the fate of a depiction of St. Anne at the hands of reformers in Germany. The image at the New St. Peter's Church in Strassburg was "thrown into the charnel house," according to Christensen, Art and the Reformation in Germany, p. 88

iconoclasm at the inception of the Reformation may rather indicate the reaction of people who felt themselves fooled by something that they had not taken lightly at all but had in fact believed all too deeply..."⁹⁴

Robert Scribner, describing vintners dragging images of their patron St. Urban through the mud when it rained on his feast day, a sign of a bad harvest, remarks on the assimilation of image to prototype:

What is often very striking about this testing of images, however, is that they were often addressed as though they were persons. It is an established feature of late medieval popular belief that sacred images were believed to have an inherent personality.⁹⁵

But Scribner's labelling of such actions as "satirical degradation" is open to question. Evidence is lacking that the concept of "satirical degradation" was operative in the milieu in question. An interpretation of such behaviour as intended to shame and insult on the other hand, is consistent with patterns of medieval social relations.⁹⁶ Scribner proposes

⁹⁴ Steven Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975, p. 44. Christensen draws a similar conclusion: "they [the iconoclasts] not only ransacked reliquaries, but delighted in unmasking frauds." Christensen, Zwingli and the Arts, p. 159.

⁹⁵ Robert W. Scribner, "Ritual and Reformation," in The German People and the Reformation, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1988, p. 134. Scribner cites numerous incidents. Some involved images, such as that in which "[the] image of St. Francis wearing asses' ears was set up on the town fountain in Zwickau" (Ibid., p. 137). Others involved the host, for example that in which a man bared his bottom at the host in Augsburg on good Friday, 1528, saying "Fie on you, Christ, what are you doing in that little fool's house" as the priest at St. Ulrich and Afra was putting the sacrament in the sepulchre. Ibid.

⁹⁶ Scribner is correct when he refers to beer flung over a Christ image in Hildesheim at the tavern of the tailors' guild, as a challenge "that could not go unanswered by any person who valued his male honour." Ibid., p. 135. And similarly when he states that "...insult was probably the intent of the man who approached St. Ulrich's tomb in

a similarly problematic interpretation for the words addressed to the great crucifix in Basel after it had been carried from the cathedral to the marketplace: "If you are God, help yourself; if you are man, then bleed."⁹⁷

They were no longer sacred objects, laden with sacred power, but were exposed as profane objects, mere matter. In the case of the crucifixes, the images of Christ and the host, we could see this as a form of inverted transsubstantiation.⁹⁸

Again there seems no reason to believe the dichotomy was between sacred and non-sacred. The contemporary evidence suggests rather that it was between images containing power and images not containing power.⁹⁹

The Basel incident illustrates another form of treatment normally directed at human beings that iconoclasts sometimes subjected images to: they were challenged to show their power. The conflation between image and referent is also evident in the methods of destruction. Not only were they smashed, they were also dismembered and decapitated, subjected to the kind of execution and maiming human criminals received.¹⁰⁰ The power of the rejected images to so enrage their erstwhile worshippers was part of the continuum of response that accompanied the conflation of images with the people they represented.

Augsburg with his penis in his hand as though he was about to urinate on it." Ibid., p. 143.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 133.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 135.

⁹⁹ Scribner may be applying modern concepts of sacredness and a post-medieval understanding of transsubstantiation.

¹⁰⁰ Scribner mentions cases in Neuendorf in the district of Wolkenstein in Saxony in 1525, in Augsburg in 1529, in Ulm in 1531, and in Cologne in 1536. Ibid., p. 131.

It is clear from the remarks of those who used and those who rejected images that their power, in late medieval Germany, was not a separate quality that was added to images. It resided in people's perceptions of them. David Freedberg is in error when he states that Christian images acquired the power people perceived in them through consecration. There is no evidence to support such an assertion. Freedberg's misunderstanding stems in part from an insistence on fitting his data to a set of vaguely formulated but rigorously predetermined theses, one of which is that all images receive their power through consecration:

When we survey the history of images, we survey the history of consecration. As we multiply the examples, a formula emerges, to this effect: the consecration of an image makes it work, at the very least, effects a change in the way it works. But we have also seen instances in which objects work, in one sense or another, prior to consecration. How, then, are we to define consecration and its role in making an image effective? Several things are clear. Consecration is never an empty ceremony. It involves at least one process - like washing, anointing, crowning, or blessing - that brings about an intended change in the sacred status of an image.¹⁰¹

At root seems to be a belief that it is possible to discover a single, ahistorical mode in which images function. Freedberg admits that the Catholic ceremony says nothing about images acquiring power through consecration.¹⁰² Yet despite this

¹⁰¹ David Freedberg, The Power of Images, p. 83.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 83. "An initial survey of the evidence yields poor results; on the face of it, consecration ceremonies do not loom large in western Christianity....what blessings there are seem quite perfunctory." (Ibid., p. 89). He quotes the brief passage in the Catholic consecration ceremony that refers to images: "Almighty and Everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to bless and sanctify this painting (or sculpture) in memory and honour of your only born son Jesus Christ (or the Virgin or the Apostles or the martyr or the Saint, as the case may be) and grant that whosoever shall venerate and honour your only begotten Son (or the Blessed Virgin, etc., etc.) may by his merits and intercession obtain from thee grace in this life and eternal glory in the life to come."

admission, despite the evidence of Catholic doctrinal texts, and despite the abundant primary sources that describe Christian image use without ever mentioning consecration, he nonetheless insists that Christian images do receive their power from being consecrated:

But the material bears closer reading. The fact is that a form of consecration ceremony does take place; and the ceremony itself clearly implies that before the image is consecrated, it neither merits veneration nor is capable of providing the channel whereby the intercessory powers of that which is represented by it may be invoked.¹⁰³

In fact the words imply none of these things. Indeed they offer a dramatic contrast to the explicit rituals of consecration found in primary textual material and in descriptions of present-day practice today in Southeast Asia.¹⁰⁴ Yet after admitting that he has a poor case, Freedberg proceeds to redefine the nature of consecration so that he can conclude that Christian images do, after all, gain their power from consecration:

Consecration appears to play little role in their animation. But in an extended sense they are all consecrated - by removing them to shrines often specially constructed, by washing them, anointing them, crowning them, or garlanding them. This may seem too broad a sense of the notion of consecration to be useful, and many of these acts do not take place prior to the animation or operativeness of the

(*Rituale Romanum*, 8, 25). The wording is essentially the same before and after the Council of Trent. *Ibid.*, p. 459.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰⁴ See Richard Gombrich, "The Consecration of a Buddhist Image," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 26, 1 (Nov. 1966), pp. 23-36; Losang Paldhen Gyalzur and Antony H.N. Verwey, "Spells on the Life-Wood: An Introduction to the Tibetan Buddhist Ceremony of Consecration," in *Selected Essays on Ritual in the Indian Religions*, ed. R. Kloppenborg. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983; *Gods of Flesh, Gods of Stone: The Embodiment of Divinity in India*, ed. Joanne Punzo Waghorne et al., Chambersburg: Anima Publications, 1985.

image; but to see it in this way serves to emphasize the continuity between spontaneous action and ritual practice.¹⁰⁵

Conflation as a broader phenomenon in late medieval Germany: Fluid temporal and spatial boundaries in the structure of images

Conflation between image and prototype is not the only kind of conflation that marks the conceptualization and functioning of images in late medieval Germany. Fluidity of time, the absence of firm boundaries between past and present, is another type of conflation that appears in medieval German art works. In the Anna Selbdritt, the artist, by reducing the size of Mary or by showing her as a child, refers simultaneously to the

¹⁰⁵ Freedberg confuses treating an image as though it were alive - a practice widespread in medieval Christianity - with consecrating it: "But for all these claims to efficacy, if these blessings in the rituals were the only evidence we had of Christian consecration practices, the yield would be poor beside the rich data from other religions. This might of course be an accurate reflection of the status of such rites with Christianity, but once we move away from codified prescription to actual practice, almost the opposite seems to be the case. There is abundant evidence, for example, of the washing of images, particularly of those which are believed to be miraculous" (ibid., p. 90). His statement that the insertion of relics in Christian images seems "to depend on a fundamental sense of the peculiar and specific effectiveness of a substance or object placed within an image and believed to be in sympathy with what it represents" shows an ignorance of the sequence of events in the development of relic and image use in Western European medieval Christianity (ibid., p. 94). Perhaps recognizing the inadequacy of his arguments, Freedberg concludes by redefining consecration so as to make a consecrated image synonymous with an image that is given special honours: "It seems clear that images can become the objects of devotion, or work miracles, without the kind of sanctification embodied in consecration rites. The images which do miracles, which move their limbs and heads and go from one place to another, do so almost spontaneously. Consecration appears to play little role in their animation. But in an extended sense they are all consecrated - by removing them to shrines often specially constructed, by washing them, anointing them, crowning them, or garlanding them. This may seem too broad a sense of the notion of consecration to be useful, and many of these acts do not take place prior to the animation or operativeness of the image: but to see it in this way serves to emphasize the continuity between spontaneous action and ritual practice." ibid.

fact that she is both adult (Jesus' mother) and child (Anne's daughter). This type of simultaneity appears in some other medieval German images, among them the pietà. Here too the device of varying body sizes is used to express different time periods. In German pietàs, especially in earlier ones, the figure of Christ is not infrequently depicted as unnaturally small, occasionally even approaching miniature in size (fig. 122). The small size of Christ is interpreted by Walter Passarge as having its origins in Bernardino of Siena's image of the swooning Mary believing she is with her infant at Bethlehem again.¹⁰⁶ Thus the pietà shows Christ as simultaneously child and adult. Other examples of simultaneity include the Schmerzenkind or suffering child, a popular fifteenth-century theme more in evidence in sculpture and prints than in painting, which represents the child Jesus with a crown of thorns, blood streaks and other signs of the suffering adult.

Fluidity of time and space are both found in the Anne texts. Present time flows into past time in the exempla. Anne was not only the mother of Mary and grandmother of Jesus in the past, she continues to speak and interact with her worshippers in the present. She and her daughter and grandson repeatedly step in and out of the contemporary world of her worshippers.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Walter Passarge, Das deutsche Vesperbild im Mittelalter, Cologne: F.J. Marcand-Verlag, 1924, p. 51. The theme appears in other medieval texts. A related theme is found in the Byzantine Passion liturgy "when the Mother remembers past joys, for example, in Symeon Metaphrastes' sermon on the Virgin's lament: At that time I dipped my lips in your honey-sweet and dewy lips....Many times you have slept on my breast as an infant, and now you have fallen asleep there as dead." PG, 114, 216B-C. cited in Hans Belting, "An Image and its Function in the Liturgy," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 34/35 (1980/81), p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ This characteristic is even more strongly present in German mystical writing of the fourteenth century. In the meditation/vision of the presentation of the infant Jesus in

The distinctive way that conflation modulates perceptions of time in the German texts becomes very clear when one compares them with fifteenth and late fourteenth century English descriptions of the life of Anne. The English works place her story in a historical past, the German ones in a miraculous present. As the Minnesota manuscript life of Saint Anne puts it: "& forthermore as the story says / It befel in our elder days / In ierslum was it swa."¹⁰⁸ The events of Anne's life took place a long time ago. The Trinity College manuscript life announces the aim of saints lives in terms that stress the edifying function of remembering what happened in past times:

Hyt ys a vertu to rede in storyes
 And holy seynts lyfes to translate.
 Hit causeth to be in the memoryes
 Of well disposyd pepyll in good state-
 To theym where grace ys nothyng desolate
 But by perseueraunce theym to apply,
 Sore repentaunce puttyng away foly.¹⁰⁹

The description of Saint Anne in this poem situates her clearly as having lived in the past, and now resident in heaven; the key words are "memory - departyd - ys in glory."

the Temple in the autobiography of the fourteenth-century Rheinland mystic Henry Suso, the fourteenth-century church dissolves into first-century Jerusalem: "For Candlemas Day...he prepared beforehand, with three days of prayer, a candle for the heavenly Mother in childbed...When the day of the blessing of the candles arrived, very early before anyone had gone into the church, he went up before the main altar and waited there in contemplation of the mother in childbed until she might come with her divine treasure. When she approached the outer town gate, in the longing of his heart he would outrun all the others and would run to meet her with the procession of all God-loving hearts. In the street he fell down before her." Henry Suso, The Exemplar, with Two German Sermons, chap. 10, p. 80.

¹⁰⁸ The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne, ed. Roscoe E. Parker, Early English Text Society, o.s., London: Oxford University Press, 1928, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

We halow and worshyp in euery land
 Of seynt Anne chefe the festfull memory,
 Whyche ys departyd and ys in glory
 And hath forsaken the carnall pryson
 Of the body to the soule a dongeon.
 Thys glorious Anne, happy, full of grace,
 Ys caryed vp most worshipfully
 To the hyghest of seynts in that place.¹¹⁰

"Out of thys world she ys depertyd clene," says one of the English poets, in contrast to the German writers for whom she is still very much here, and for whom past and present are so easily mingled.¹¹¹ In German texts Anne makes regular appearances and interventions in the lives of humans, to help those who honour her, to scold those who do not, and occasionally to preside over the death and damnation of those who persist in ignoring her and her feast. In the English texts Anne's statue does not speak to people. She does not make appearances to worshippers or meet them on their deathbeds. She is now in heaven, and though she responds to prayer and intercedes for worshippers, she does not step down into their world.

The pattern of characteristics pointed out for Germany thus stands in contrast to that found in England. Concepts of salvation, perceptions and use of images, permeability of boundaries, even attitudes to women and sexuality, are part of broader interlocking patterns which are different in the two regions. The use of metonymic power seems less strongly implicated in England than in Germany.¹¹² Where the German Anne texts

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 93-94.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 98.

¹¹² The separation that signals the decline of metonymy can be seen in Lollard writings, for example in the rejection of the idea that days should be kept as holy. See Margaret Aston, Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in late Medieval Religion.

emphasize the absence of "fleshly lust" in Anne's marital relations, English Anne texts at most mention it in passing. Most often they ignore it. They do not mention the Immaculate Conception. They do not present Anne as a model for female behaviour, and unlike the Netherlandish and German lives, they rarely single out Anne's sexual conduct or wifely - as opposed to general - virtues.¹¹³ They do not mention images in connection with honouring Anne as the German ones do, though images were certainly used.¹¹⁴

London: The Hambledon Press, 1984, p. 95 & passim.

¹¹³ Trinity Ms, Parker, The Middle English Stanzaic Versions, p. 105. Osborn Bokenham's words may refer to carnal feelings: "Twenty wynter they lyued wyth-out issw: (l. 1559) "In chast maryage and not vycyous." Osborn Bokenham, Legendys of Hooly Wummen, ed. Mary S. Serjeantson, EETS, o.s. (London: Oxford University Press, 1938) Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1971, p. 45. And the Trinity life seems to be referring to sexual virtuousness on the part of Anne and Joachim when it says: "The fadyr and modyr withouten gloose / Of thys most holy pure virgyn beyng / Were clene withouten thornes hauyng; / But yet of theym byn they come reseruyd, / By godds speciall grace preserued." But such remarks are rare. More commonly, when carnal feelings or "bodily cleneness" are mentioned, it is with reference to Mary, not Anne, as in these lines from the Trinity poem: "When she was come to full age in the gre / Of maryage spousyd certeynly / To holy Ioseph, but nat carnally / Ne coupled by carnall affection - / The conneccion was verrey heuynly - / The godhede toke holely direccion; / Natwithstandyng hit was lawfully / Aftyr the course and form vsually, / There was no sensuall part that greued; / Hyt was all god..." There is no mention of fleshly love or desire for virginity in the description of the marriage of Anne and Joachim in the long fourteenth-century poem Cursor Mundi, though there is for Elizabeth of Hungary: "But yet er she to the lawe was bounde / Of maryage, stondyng in hyr lyberte, / Shewyng that no lust of flesshe founde / In no maner wyse in hyr myht be..." Cursor Mundi: A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century, part 2., ed. Richard Morris, EETS, o.s., London: Oxford University Press, (1875) 1966, p. 253. Emulation of Anne and Joachim's charity is sometimes urged. The Anne life in the Bodleian manuscript advises: "and thus schuld euery man that hath mekyl goode / be the wyl of god depart his good in three. Parker, The Middle English Stanzaic Versions, p. 113. Anne and Joachim are depicted in the English texts as an affectionate couple who deeply love their daughter.

¹¹⁴ The Guild of Saint Anne, founded in London in 1371, was granted a "License of Ingress and Egress into a certain Chapel here, at fitting hours, and to have keys of the same: as also liberty to bring in any Pictures, or Images, Books, Chalice, etc., in honour of Saint Anne for the ornament of that Chapel. Charland quotes from Dugdale, The

References to devotional practices in the English lives are not numerous. The Trinity author addresses his confraternity brethren, probably the members of the St. Anne's Guild of Bury St. Edmunds, with only the most general references to what precisely they will do in Saint Anne's honour.¹¹⁵

Thys day, dere brethern, most specyally
In honour of thys matrone ferre and nere,
Most worshipfull and blessyd entyerly,
As we haue seyde before, now veryly
And in thys day togyder we byn come.

.....
And to vs all worshipping in what place.
Of thys same day and the gret solempnyte
She bryngeth grace of hyr benygnyte.

The Trinity work is equally imprecise:

Most dere brethern, thys day to vndyrstand,
As hit apereth by the story,
We halow and worshyp in euery land
Of seynt Anne chefe the festfull memory,¹¹⁶

Generally speaking, English writing on images tends to address different issues than does German. Fourteenth-century Lollard criticism stresses the deflection of honour from God, the taking away of money that should be spent on the poor, and to a lesser extent the dishonour shown to the saints. There are fewer references to power attributed to images or of idolatry as such. An important concern in the English discourse was the

History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London from its foundation, London: 1716, cited in P.-V. Charland, Le culte de sainte Anne en Occident, second période, 1400 (environ) à nos jours, Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1921; Charland, Culte, p. 126.

¹¹⁵ Such a guild flourished there after c. 1309. Parker, The Middle English Stanzaic Versions, p. xxx.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

possibility of the image to deceive, to present harmful illusions rather than truth. An early Lollard text states:

Though images made truly that represent verily the poverty and the passion of Jesus Christ and other saints are lawful and the books of laymen, according to Gregory and other doctors, nevertheless false images that represent worldly glory and pride of the world as if Christ and other saints had lived thus and deserved bliss by glory and pomp of the world, are false books and worthy to be amended or to be burnt, as books of open error or of open heresy against Christian faith.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ H.F.B. Compston, "The Thirty-Seven Conclusions of the Lollards," English Historical Review, 26 (1911), p. 743, cited in Margaret Aston, Lollards and Reformers, p. 163. See also Clifford Davidson, "The Anti-Visual Prejudice," Iconoclasm vs. Art and Drama, ed. Clifford Davidson & Ann Eljenholm Nichols, Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, Medieval Institute Publications, 1989, pp. 33-46.

In this kind of thinking the relationship between image and referent is no longer one of conflation.¹¹⁸ It is one of representation. The Dominican Robert Holcot makes the distinctions very clearly:

¹¹⁸ It is surely significant that whereas the destruction of images (as opposed to their removal) in German and Swiss churches was normally carried out by angry adult citizens, in England iconoclasts were typically appointed officials. Margaret Aston says: "The militant iconoclasts who, in the course of a century, managed to annihilate so much of England's artistic heritage, ...may only have been a small minority of activists." Margaret Aston, "Iconoclasm in England: Official and Clandestine," Davidson & Nichols, *Ibid.*, p. 80. Of course adolescent boys could be counted on to help where actual destruction was involved, and there were incidents of genuinely popular iconoclasm in England. However the evidence suggests that these were proportionately fewer than in Germany. There were wonder-working images in England. But again the overall evidence suggests that in the late 15th and early 16th centuries they played a less significant role in religious life than they did in Germany. Douglas Jones remarks that "There is surprisingly little direct evidence from Chester of that cult of relics which has been described as the true religion of the middle ages." Douglas Jones, The Church in Chester, Manchester: Chetham Society, 1957, p.115. The correspondence dating from the 1520s and 1530s from the commissaries sent out by Thomas Cromwell to inspect the English monasteries - with a view to their eventual closing - to "deface" the church buildings and to confiscate relics and images, leaves the impression that images were not strongly connected with the assurance of salvation, and that devotion to images and relics was in the minds of the "defacers" something that tended to be associated with the past. English iconoclastic texts often speak of relics and wonder-working images as having been popular in the past rather than in the present. A 16th century source refers to the Rood of Grace at Boxley as "this strange sight" to which "the inhabitants of the county of Kent had in times past a great devotion...and to use continual pilgrimage thither...." ("The Examination of Thomas Hore," Mar. 31, 1538) G. H. Cook, Letters to Cromwell on the Suppression of the Monasteries, London: John Baker, 1965, p. 263." The almost routine description of relics and images as fakes and rubbish in English anti-image writing stands in contrast to the German expressions of dismay at the hold images still have over people. The English writers do not describe images and relics as objects with power to dazzle any but the most simple. Their phrasing is almost flippant: "all the rotten bones that be called relics." *Ibid.* p. 198, or "two rotten skulls stuffed with putrified clouts." (At St. David's, Bishop Barlow to Thomas Cromwell) CIII, *Ibid.*, p. 165.

I worship not the image of Christ for that it is wood, neither for it is the image of Christ, but I worship Christ before the image of Christ for it is the image of Christ and moveth me to worship Christ.¹¹⁹

The important question is whether or not the representation is a true one. English writers are precise and specific in their references to this relationship.¹²⁰

Perceptions of images: Comparisons with Holland

Just as Holland differed from Germany with respect to the realism shown in texts and images connected with Anne, so too Holland, like England, seems to present fewer examples of the fluidity of boundaries described above. The fourteenth-century Reformer Gert Grote makes a clear and explicit distinction between sign and referent, observing at the same time that many people do not make this distinction. It is significant that Grote's

¹¹⁹ Robert Holcot, British Library, MS Harl. 2398, f. 82r. in Aston, Lollards and Reformers, p. 155.

¹²⁰ The illiterate though not uninformed English Margery Kempe (b. c. 1373) verbally conflates image and referent when she states that she prays for example "at the Trinity," by which she means at an image of the Trinity. However when she describes her religious experiences she consistently interprets images not as conflation but as representations. In Italy on her way back from Jerusalem she meets a woman who travels with an image of the Christ Child which she displays and allows women in the cities she passes through to hold, dress and caress in popular rituals of imitatio Mariae. Kempe explicitly describes this image as a representation which functions to provoke visualizations: "And they would dress it up in shirts and kiss it as though it had been God himself. And when the creature saw the worship and the reverence that they accorded the image, she was seized with sweet devotion and sweet meditations, so that she wept with great sobbing and loud crying. And she was so much the more moved because, while she was in England, she had high meditations on the birth and the childhood of Christ, and she thanked God because she saw each of these creatures have as great faith in what she saw with her bodily eye as she had before with her inward eye." Margery Kempe is as well able to separate categories - material images, what the images represent, and mental images provoked by the use of material images. Margery Kempe, The Book of Margery Kempe, p. 113.

discussion of the misuse of images identifies the problem not as idols but as human imagination. The discussion of confusions involving material images, mental images and visions shows a sharp sense of distinction between different kinds of sense experiences that is at variance with the tendency in some German texts to elide categories:

Thus a simple man will believe that he can sense the very corporeal presence of Christ, or seem to see him with his eyes or hear with his ears, or touch some saint he has imagined. Such deceptions are not without danger. Indeed here signs are employed as things, just as when someone believes an image of Christ to be Christ himself. Far be it from us to worship such a strange or newly invented God. Never! This is to offer honor to your own imagination....Then too this form of imagination, with its apparent presence of Christ or a saint, can puff up the mind, which may begin to believe itself worthy of an appearance from Christ or one of the saints.¹²¹

Grote's lack of concern with the problem of power located in images as opposed to the problems inherent in human behaviour is consistent with the Dutch tendency to create images strongly marked by a down-to-earth realism.

Summary

Works of art played an essential role in the cult of Saint Anne. Confraternity members were urged to donate art works to churches or to contribute towards the commissioning of images. In many cases prayers were to be said in front of images. The majority of Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships served as confraternity or family

¹²¹ Gert Grote, "A Treatise on Four Classes of Subjects Suitable for meditation: A Sermon on the Lord's Nativity," in Devotion Moderna: Basic Writings, tr. John van Engen, New York: Paulist Press, 1988, p. 103).

altarpieces, or as occasional sculptures placed against pillars or in other secondary locations in churches. Sometimes people gave images to convents or monasteries in exchange for prayers for their salvation. As a rule, Anna Selbdritts do not seem to have served as Andachtsbilder or Gnadenbilder though some were probably used as protective images in a general sense. A fair number of small domestic-size images of Saint Anne survive, along with numerous woodcuts and engravings. Christians in late medieval Germany tended to conflate images of Anne and of other holy figures with their referents. This tendency to behave towards images as though they were people frequently appears in contemporary descriptions of image use. Even iconoclasts, when they were smashing images, punished and insulted them as though they were people. The tendency to conflate image with referent is also evident in some works of art, for example in depictions of statues shown with haloes. Fluidity of boundaries is also evident in the treatment of time and space in some German art works and devotional texts. In English depictions of Saint Anne, and in English Anne texts, by contrast, temporal and spatial boundaries are clearly distinguished.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SALVATION AND IMAGES OF SAINT ANNE: DONOR PORTRAITS

Religious art works in which portraits of patrons are included present special problems of interpretation, involving as they do the conjunction of iconography and function.¹ A consideration of this type of image is essential to this study for there are a number of Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships that contain such portraits. Patrons incorporated portraits of themselves in different ways. Sometimes only the coats of arms were depicted (fig. 12).² In other cases the patrons were depicted along with the holy personages (fig. 92). In still other cases they were depicted in place of, that is to say, as their patron (or other) saints (fig. 105). In this type of work, the participant donor or

¹ The term "donor portrait" is not, strictly speaking, accurate for such works were not necessarily donated. See Guy Bauman, Early Flemish Portraits 1425-1525 (orig. publ. in The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 43, 4), New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986, esp. pp. 17-31, for a well-illustrated study of these portraits. Other works treating the subject include Richard Trexler, "Triumph and Mourning in North Italian Magi Art," Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250 - 1500, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990. Some contemporary references exist. The inventory of the possessions of Margaret of Austria mentions: "Ungne sainte Marguerite feste à la sanblance de mademoyselle de Mon-Lambert," and "Ung bien petit tableaul à double feullet de la main de Michiel; de l'ung des coustez de Nostre-Dame....de l'autre coustez d'ung Saint Jehan et de Sainte Marguerite, faiz à la semblance du prince d'Espagne et de Madame." Correspondence de L'Empereur Maximilien Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche, sa Fille, Gouvernante des Pays-Bas, de 1507 a 1519, ed. M. Le Glay, vol. 2, (Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie, 1939), London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, pp. 478, 481.

² Putti hold shields bearing the arms of the Riedler and Päringer, the Ingolstadt families who gave the 1513 Hans Leinberger Anna Selbdritt to the Ingolstadt Franciscan Kloster Gnadenthal where their daughters were nuns. Hans Thoma, Hans Leinberger / seine Stadt, seine Zeit, sein Werk, Regensburg, Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1979, p. 201. See also Corine Schleif, Donatio et Memoria: Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg, Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlage, 1990, p. 150 & passim.

participant patron portrait, the saint is painted with the features and clothing of the patron. Participant donors can usually be recognized by the greater specificity of clothing and facial features as compared with the other saints in the painting. There may also be differences in stance and gaze.³ It is possible that in some cases the depiction of the patron saint alone may have been intended to represent his or her namesake, the donor (figs. 94, 118).⁴

All these modes of depiction are found in art works representing Saint Anne; they are most numerous in Holy Kinships, where Mary's sisters and brothers-in-law serve as the vehicles for participant patrons. A rare exception in which the patron takes the role

³ The Holy Kinship commissioned by members of the Hackeney family in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne (No. 1655) typifies the problems that can arise in distinguishing participant donors from other figures. The striped suit with puffed sleeves worn by the husband of Anne on the left stands out by virtue of its contemporary quality, its specificity, and its details as compared with the plainer cloaks and tunics of the other three men in the same row. This man also differs in his stance. Whereas the other three stand in slightly slumping, passive poses, he stands upright, even stiffly, and he looks intently at the scene before him. On the other hand, Mary's brothers-in-law wear clothing that is elaborate to the point of fancifulness. Was the painter's intention here to add variety - or to help distinguish the groupings? Family members are also shown in other panels of this work. Members of this important Cologne family had themselves represented in other arts works. In a painting (c. 1515) presented to the church of St. Maria im Kapitol, family members are again portrayed, and the Anna Selbdritt is depicted along with other saints. A similar painting was commissioned for the house chapel. Nicasius Hackeney (d. 1518) was königlicher Rechenmeister for Maximilian. His brother Georg Hackeney died in 1523. Elizabeth Heller, Das altniederländische Stifterbild, Munich: tuduv Studie, 1976, pp. 142-143.

⁴ A small silver house altar dated 1513 now in the Hermitage, believed to be the work of the Augsburg goldsmith Georg Seld, contains on the inner sides of its wings engraved depictions of Saints James and Barbara, the patron saints of Jakob (the Rich) and Barbara Fugger, parents of the probable patron, Jakob Fugger the younger. The fact that the Fugger arms were formerly visible on the back confirms that the work was a commission of the Fugger family. Dasein und Vision, Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1989, p. 48.

of Anne herself is the portrayal of Anna Ehen, wife of the Augsburg merchant Lucas Rem, as the Anna Selbdritt handing a pear to the Child Jesus who sits in Mary's lap on her left arm. Rem had himself painted as Saint Luke in this work.⁵ The fact that Anne, like Mary and Jesus, is not normally used for participant patron representation, is consistent with the late fifteenth-century tendency to ascribe Marian privileges and powers to her.

Two questions in particular are raised by these works. First, what functions did they serve. Second, did images of Saint Anne containing such portraits differ in meaning or function from other works containing them?

The first question has received considerable attention from art historians, who have pointed out that patron portraits served as a means to display and legitimate the status and policies of the wealthy and powerful.⁶ There is however reason to believe they may have

⁵ These tall narrow paintings, a coat of arms under each figure, look like panels from a larger work. The side wings contain representations of Sebastian and Rock "ebenso die Mutter Gottes, die die rechte Hälfte des Mittelbildes einnimmt....die andere Seite des Mittelblattes, die eine Gnadenstuhldarstellung trägt, dessen Weltkugel einen bisher nicht beachteten Globus bildet. Er ist so gedreht dass er den Indischen Ozean und die Afrikanischen Küsten zeigt; sein Kruzifix steht, etwas zur Seite gerückt auf den Ländern Indiens, um auszudrücken, dass der Stifter das Seilige getan habe, dorthin das Christentum zu bringen." Hubert Freiherr von Welser, "Lukas Rem," Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben, vol. 6, ed. Götz Freiherr von Pölnitz, Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1958, p. 176. In Florence, Giovanni Maria Butteri portrayed Eleonora of Toledo as the Virgin Mary, and Grand Duke Cosimo I's mother Maria Salviati as Anne in a Holy Kinship altarpiece painted in 1575 (fig. 34). Roger J. Crum & David G. Wilkins, "In the Defense of Florentine Republicanism: Saint Anne and Florentine Art, 1343-1575," in Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society, ed. Kathleen Ashley & Pamela Sheingorn, Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1990, pp. 153-56.

⁶ Alarich Roach's study of merchant class self-representations argues that early fifteenth-century merchant class donor portraits showed burger settings and included background details that called attention to the donors' occupation of merchant. whereas

served another function as well: some art historians who have studied these works feel they may have had an apotropaic function, that is to say, that they may have been perceived as bringing about that which they represented. Typically, when such statements are made they are presented briefly, in passing, and with little or no discussion of evidence, causes, or implications.⁷ This may be because the research into the motivations of late medieval patrons required to effectively substantiate them has yet to be carried out. Nonetheless it is clear that these works have impressed some art historians with a sense that they are more than simply representations.

Corine Schleif is one of several who see donor portraits as perpetuating the presence of the patron:

....it can safely be said that all these figures expressed one common theme - the venerator's pious devotion - and one generic goal - eternal favour for the venerator. The pictorial arts allowed the faithful the unique opportunity to continue in devotion, striving for divine benevolence even after death.⁸

Elisabeth Heller, in her study of Early Netherlandish donor portraits, makes a similar suggestion:

later ones adopted the nobility's custom of using landscape backgrounds with castles in the distance. Alarich Roach, Stifterbilder in Flandern und Brabant: Stadtbürgerliche Selbstdarstellung in der sakralen Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts, Essen: Verlag Die Blaue Eule, 1988, pp. 93, 224 ff. See also Corine Schleif, Memoria und Selbstdarstellung and Heller, Das altniederländische Stifterbild.

⁷ Referring to the Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece, Guy Bauman states: "The interior of the altarpiece displays the Universal Communion of All Souls in Christ - an eternal Mass in which the donors, through their foundation, hope to participate, as is indicated by their presence in prayerful attitudes on the exterior." Bauman, Early Flemish Portraits, p. 20.

⁸ Corine Schleif, "Hands that appoint, anoint and ally: late medieval donor strategies for appropriating approbation through painting," Art History, 16, 1 (March 1993), p. 2.

Es bleibt die Erklärung, dass im Bild neben dem überirdischen Lebensbereich der Heiligen auch sowohl das kommende überirdischen Leben des Stifters erfasst werden sollte, als auch sein gegenwärtiges irdisches. Der bildlich so formulierte Gedanke entspringt dem Wunsch der Stifter, vor Gott als ewig Anbetende dazustehen. Dem Bedürfnis nach der sichtbaren Verewigung seiner Andachtshaltung vor Gott und seiner irdischen Erscheinung konnten Inschrift und Wappen im Bild nicht genügen. Erst die Einfügung des Stifters in einen religiösen Bildkontext konnte den Wunsch nach einem himmlischen Weiterleben und nach einem Andenken auf dieser Welt bildlich voll erfassen.⁹

Recently Alarich Rooch has developed this line of thinking further, suggesting that donor portraits served to continue the prayers of their referents in effigy form. Rooch adds specificity to the hypothesis of continuing presence implicit in the remarks of Schleif and Heller, and he links it with the prevailing religious culture of the late medieval North. According to his hypothesis, which is predicated on a model of religious practice based on embodied power (his term is "dinglicher Frömmigkeit"), the represented figures remain in perpetual attendance at the masses said at the family altars where the paintings served as altarpieces, thereby increasing the salvational efficacy of the endowed masses said at these altars:

Durch das Portrait des Stifters als Stifterfigur im Altarbild wurde bildhaft und dem allgemeinen Schaubedürfnis entgegenkommend, der Auftraggeber und Donator öffentlich bekanntgemacht. Als portraitierte Figur wohnte der Stifter zudem in Permanenz den Messen bei, die er...gestiftet hatte und die vor dem Altarbild gefeiert werden sollten.¹⁰

⁹ Elisabeth Heller, Das altniederländische Stifterbild, pp. 25-26.

¹⁰ Rooch, Stifterbilder in Flandern und Brabant, p. 123.

Roach believes the obliquely directed gazes often seen in portraits of participant patrons are directed at the mass taking place outside the picture space.¹¹ Just as the complicated provisions of the endowment document with its checks and counterchecks sought to ensure that the masses would be celebrated in perpetuity, so, suggests Roach, might the paintings have enabled the patron to remain perpetually in attendance:

Die oftmalige Ausrichtung der leicht aus der Bildachse gedrehten Stifterfigur, die ihren Blick dem vor dem Retabel zelebrierten Altargeschehen und nicht dem Bildereignis zuwendet, erklärt sich ebenfalls aus diesem Zusammenhang der Stiftung. Im Zusammenwirken von gestifteten Messen und gestifteter Kirchengestaltung äussert sich als ein Handlungsmotiv der Stifter die Sorge um die jenseitige Errettung ihrer Seelenheils.¹²

Though the research into contracts, endowment documents and inscriptions on art works that might support the hypothesis has yet to be done, Roach's proposals, which are essentially the same as those of Schleif and Heller - and of the author - can call on other evidence for support.¹³ To begin with there are other areas of religious and cultural life where analogous processes can be observed. Further, the hypothesis that images can receive as well as give help is consistent with the model of late medieval German image use described in the previous chapter, a model in which power is perceived as residing

¹¹ Craig Harbison's suggestion that paintings of the madonna in which the patron is rapt in prayer may have been used as meditation aids to help the meditator visualize herself or himself in the presence of the holy personage may need to be reexamined. Harbison interprets the oddly focussed gazes in some of these Flemish paintings as signifying that the patron is in a state of meditation. Craig Harbison, "Visions and Meditations in Early Flemish Painting," *Simiolus*, 15 (1985) pp. 87-118.

¹² Ibid., p. 123.

¹³ Contracts say little about intentions, but the little they say indicates patrons wanted lifelike portraits, as the term *conterfeytsel* implies. See for example Bauman, *Early Flemish Portraits*, pp. 4, 11, 18.

in objects, boundaries are experienced as relatively fluid, and images are conflated with their referents.

A restatement of Rooch's hypothesis makes this clear: just as the image of the saint embodied the saint, so might the image of the patron have embodied the patron. Just as the saint in his image might be the giver of help, so might the patron in his image be the recipient of help. This process of vicarious reception of aid is in fact present in other medieval religious practices. Pilgrims left wax images of body parts at healing shrines, and they left candles the same weight as their bodies, or with wicks the same length as their heights, at shrines and saints' altars.¹⁴ Through these objects they remained before the altar in effigy, enjoying the benefits attendant on their presence there, even after they had returned home.

Rooch's suggestion that the patron depicted in an altarpiece remained present in attendance at the mass celebrated at that altar raises still another possibility, that these portraits may also have functioned to ensure the patrons' presence eternally in the

¹⁴ Albert Bauer states in his study of Altötting: "Die Kerze ist eine uralte Opfergabe, die an Stelle der opfernden Person sich verzehrt am heiligen Ort." Robert Bauer, Die Bayerische Wallfahrt Altötting, Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1969, p. 24. Ronald Finucane describes the leaving of threads at shrines: "From at least the sixth century the ill were measured with a piece of thread or string which was then incorporated in a candle that was taken to a shrine....After a girl was pulled dripping from a well at Ifield near Canterbury her first words were 'Measure me to St. Thomas; measure me to St. Thomas,' so that....a candle could be made to the measure of the length of her body to offer to Becket....The measuring-thread usually became the wick of a candle....It was essential that the length of the wick was right - the candle had to contain the person's height and sometimes width, usually from one outstretched hand to the other....These flickering candles, stuck on the tombs or the floor around them, may have represented the suppliants absorbing the beneficent aura of the holy bones." Ronald Finucane, Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England, London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1977, pp. 95-96.

company of the blessed.¹⁵ Here too analogous practices have been recorded. Early medieval Christians believed that it benefited the soul to be buried ad sanctos, near the bodies of the saints. Honorius of Autun states in the Elucidarium:

Confert justis aliquid, quod in sacratis locis tumulantur? Per quosdam justos loca sacrantur, in quibus tumulantur. Qui autem in poenis sunt, in eo prodest quodeorum corpora in sacris locis sepeliantur, quod eorum precibus adjuvantur quibus per sepulturam sociantur.¹⁶

Maximus of Turin observed in a sermon:

semper enim nobiscum sunt, nobiscum morantur, hoc est, in corpore nos viventes custodiunt, et de corpore recedentes excipiunt; hic ne peccatorum nos labes assumat, ibi ne inferni horror invadat. Nam ideo hoc a majoribus provisum est, ut sanctorum ossibus nostra corpora sociemus.¹⁷

¹⁵ Bauman hints at such a possibility: "One senses in the Mérode Triptych that early Flemish painters were able to create a pictorial reality in which the donor's aspirations appear to be realized. This ability is epitomized by the picture completed in 1436 by Jan van Eyck for Joris van der Paele, a canon at the Cathedral of Saint Donatian in Bruges. An encounter of mortal and divine beings in another world is given concrete pictorial form through close observation of the visual properties of this world....The canon's heavenly reception appears a fait accompli. His physical presence is emphasized particularly by two details: Saint George's hand casts a shadow across the canon's robes and his foot treads upon them. The figures of the Virgin and Child, in turn, are reflected in the saint's polished helmet." Bauman, Early Flemish Portraits, p. 22.

¹⁶ Honorius of Autun, PL 172, p. 1156. Philippe Ariès cites several early Christian and medieval writers who believed that burial ad sanctos helped protect the soul from Hell. Philippe Ariès, The Hour of Our Death, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, (Editions de Seuil, 1977) 1981, pp. 33-42. Paulinus of Nola had the body of his son Celsus taken to the graves of the martyrs in Aecola, in Spain: "We have sent him to the town of Complutum so that he may lie with the martyrs in the union of the grave, and so that from the blood of the saints he may draw that virtue that refines our souls like fire." Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne, Paris: Letouzey, 1907, cited *ibid.*, p. 33. St. Bernard had asked to be buried with a relic of St. Jude, "trusting that he would be sure to rise from the grave with our Lord's Apostle on the Last Day."

¹⁷ Maximus of Turin, PL 1, 57, 427-28.

As practices associated with relics tended later in the medieval period to be extended to images, it may be that if indeed the presence of the bones of the saints helped the soul of the nearby human body into heaven, perhaps the represented body of the saint in close proximity to the represented form of the petitioner could do the same.

Thus it may be that images of Saint Anne involving portraits of patrons, in addition to depicting ideas about salvation that implicated Anne, might also have functioned to enhance the donor's access to salvific grace through their apotropaic power. An inscription asking Anne to make the deceased "righteous before God" on a banderole over the figure of Ulrich von Frundsberg, the patron of the Mindelheim Holy Kinship Altarpiece, suggests such a performative quality in the image: "O hailige Anna mit deinem geschlecht / Mach diss folck vor gott gerecht."¹⁸ An association with concerns about salvation is further supported by the fact that the majority of Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships containing portraits of patrons are altarpieces intended to be placed, either immediately or following the patron's death, in family chapels where masses endowed by

¹⁸ Bernhard Strigel painted this multi-panelled altarpiece which originally hung in the St.-Anna-Kapelle, Mindelheim [presumably in the parish church] over the grave of the family of the patron, Barbara von Frundsberg-Rechberg. Gerald Jasbar, Ulmer Museum leaflet Nr. 26, 1981. There are other paintings with inscriptions consistent with an atropopaic function. Hans Holbein the Elder's Votivbild des Ulrich Schwarz und Seiner Familie which depicts Christ showing his wounds to God, Mary her breast, includes scrolls bearing the following words: (above God the Father): Barmhertzigkait. will. ich. allen. den erzaigen. / Die. da. mit. warer. rew. von. hinnen. schaiden.; (above Christ): Vatter. sich. an. mein. / wunden. rot. / Hilf. den. menschen. / auss. aller not. / Durch. meinen. bitteren. tod.; (above Mary): Her. thuon. ein. dein. schwert. / des. du. hast. erzogen. / Und. sich. an. die brist. / die. dein. sun. hat. gesogen." Gisela Goldberg et al, Altdeutsche Gemälde, Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1988, fig. 28.

the deceased would be said in perpetuity for the salvation of his or her souls.¹⁹ The second largest category of Anna Selbdritt images that include patron portraits, the epitaph image, is also connected with death (fig. 123).²⁰

A third group of Anna Selbdritts containing portraits of patrons, numerically much smaller than the other two categories, consists of small works, often miniature altars, which seem to have been intended for domestic settings. In the case of the small Swabian Anna Selbdritt house altar in the Cloisters (c. 1490, fig. 120) in which the male member of the kneeling donor pair is dressed in the furry knee-length garment of John the Baptist, the crudeness of the carving suggests a relatively modest social level.²¹

¹⁹ There are very few depictions of Saint Anne that parallel the numerous Flemish diptychs in which a portrait of a patron is paired with an image of Christ or Mary. These works are believed to have been used for devotional purposes in homes, rather than as altarpieces in front of which endowed posthumous masses were said. See Bauman, pp. 49-62. In the one exact parallel, Jacob Jansz's Diptych of the St. Anne Trinity, the focus of the patron's gaze is not Anne, but the Christ Child and his mother. Albert Chatelet, Early Dutch Painting: Painting in the northern Netherlands in the fifteenth century, Secaucus, N.J.: Wellfleet Press, 1980, p. 25. The donor was Hendrik van Haarlem, prior of the Charterhouse of Amsterdam. A similar composition on a single panel by Hugo van der Goes in the Musées Royaux in Brussels, also involving a cleric, this time a kneeling Franciscan, shows the same relationship with the Madonna. See Bauman, Early Flemish Portraits, pp. 49-62.

²⁰ The epitaph of the converted rabbi Victor von Carben in Cologne Cathedral for example, shows von Carben kneeling at Anne's feet, his head pressed against her knee, her hand on his shoulder, while the Child Jesus standing on Mary's lap holds out a bunch of grapes towards him. Gisela Graff-Höfgen & Dieter Graff, Maria in den Reben, Saarbrücken: Saarbrücken Druckerei und Verlag, 1990, p. 25. The Anna Selbdritt is combined with a patron portrait in the painted epitaph of Anna van Nieuwenhove by the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend (c. 1480, fig. 123) in the Robert Lehman Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, repr. Bauman, Early Flemish Portraits, p. 23. Epitaphs are normally distinguished by the inclusion of an inscription.

²¹ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters (inv. no. 1991.10). A small bench-type Anna Selbdritt house altar (c. 1530) in the Augsburg Maximilianmuseum includes two kneeling donors: a man in armour shown with a shield bearing a three-tailed

However, small size did not necessarily preclude a place in a more public setting. The small sixteenth-century altarpiece now in the Markuskirche in the Fuggerei in Augsburg (fig. 124) is believed to have been at one time in the Fugger residence. Yet the presence of several generations of Fuggers depicted kneeling in epitaph fashion in the predella below the central image of the coronation of Mary, suggests that whatever other function this small work might have served, it had an epitaph function as well. The combination of the predella figures showing the deceased family members with the paired figures of St. Michael and the Anna Selbdritt in the flanking inner wings, enhances the implied salvational theme of the work, both saints having a role in driving away the devil at the time of death.²²

The suggestion that art works containing portraits of patrons may have had apotropaic functions applies to all such works. The second question raised at the beginning of this chapter asked if images of Anne and her family containing patron

lion, and a woman holding a rosary who is shown with a shield with three red bands on white. (Augsburg, Maximilianmuseum, L 847.)

²² Depicted, with names and dates, and in some cases coats of arms, are: Albertus 1574-1614; Philippus 1567-1601; Antonius 1563-1616; Georgius + 1560; Marcus 1529-1597; Sibilla Eberstain + 1589; Iohanna Wolckenstain 1555 + 1597; Maria Palfy 1566; Anna Sibilla Swartzenberg 1569; Elisabetha Ottingen 1570-1590. According to Markus Graf Fugger this work was until 1939 in the chapel of the Fuggerhaus in Augsburg. Whether this was its original location or whether it hung in an Augsburg church or in the Schlosskapelle is not known. Graf Fugger states: "Frau Dr. Renate Kroos in München die in Ikonographie spezialisiert ist vertritt die Ansicht, dass der Flügelaltar nicht im Zusammenhang mit dem Annakult gesehen werden kann. Sie meint vielmehr, dass die Darstellung des Heiligen Michael [on the other panel] in Verbindung mit der Anna Selbdritt dem Totenkult zugeordnet werden muss." Markus Graf Fugger, letter to the author, 31.01.1994. Repr. Norbert Lieb, Die Fugger und die Kunst, vol. 2, Munich: Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 1958.

portraits might have had particular qualities that distinguished them from other examples of the type. The fact that a significant number of such works emanated from ruling circles suggests this may have been the case. As members of the highest ruling house of all, Anne and her family were especially well-fitted to play roles in the continuing medieval discourse that equated earthly rulers with heavenly ones. Images of rulers that included her may well have been viewed as appropriate means for ascribing approbation or even power and status to rulers.²³ By conflating the earthly and heavenly spheres, they could be used to attribute divine power, approbation and status to rulers.

The Emperor Maximilian made widespread use of images of saints for this purpose, typically having himself depicted either as a royal saint or as one who had some special connection Christ. He appears as the mounted centurion who halts at the foot of the cross in Jörg Breu's Crucifixion altar painted for the Carthusian convent of Aggsbacher on the Danube (fig. 125).²⁴ In several Tyrolian paintings he is shown in

²³ Many however were commissioned by non-aristocratic families. Corine Schleif discusses the Anna Selbdritt family altar (c. 1520) commissioned by Ottilia Mayer which depicts the patron, her husband and children, the Trinity, the Anna Selbdritt along with several saints, the Hans Traut Holy Kinship, and the Anna Selbdritt commissioned by the Rosenzweyd family, all of which are in the Nürnberg Lorenzkirche in Donatio et Memoria, pp. 88 ff., III, 115. Late medieval artists self-portraits formed a category in their own right. See Corine Schleif, "Nicodemus and Sculptors: Self-Reflexivity in Works by Adam Kraft and Tilman Riemenschneider," Art Bulletin, 75, 4. At the same time that he was painting participant donor Holy Kinships for his ducal patrons, Lucas Cranach is believed to have portrayed himself and his wife Barbara as Alphaeus and Mary Cleophas in a Holy Kinship of 1510 that may have been painted on the occasion of their wedding. Max J. Friedländer & Jakob Rosenberg, The Paintings of Lucas Cranach Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press (1932), 1978, p. 75, fig. 34.

²⁴ Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Cäsar Menz, Das Frühwerk Jörg Breus des Alteren, Augsburg. Kommissionsverlag Bücher Seitz, 1982, pp. 58-60, fig. 23. For art works depicting the Emperor see Maximilian I. 1459-1519, catalogue, Vienna:

clerical costume serving at mass and thus in contact with the eucharistic Christ.²⁵ In another work he appears as one of the Magi.²⁶ In Burgkmair's Basilica Santa Croce Maximilian is depicted as Saint Ursula's betrothed prince (fig. 126).²⁷

Not only does the German Emperor appear in works of art in which he takes on the attributes or features of saints, in some he goes so far as to portray himself in the role of Christ himself. The woodcut depicting Konrad Celtis presenting his works to Maximilian shows the poet kneeling at the feet of the enthroned Emperor seated against a cloth of honour. Holding the orb and crowned by a tiara-like crown, Maximilian appears in the pose of the enthroned Christ, and the imperial shield and crown are placed above him so as to suggest a Gnadenstuhl Trinity composition.²⁸ In Bernhard Strigel's Death of the Virgin (fig. 127) the kneeling patron Bishop Zlatkonja is presented not by a saint but by the Emperor who stands where a patron saint would normally stand.²⁹ The

Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1959.

²⁵ Albert Gümbel states that the Emperor was portrayed "z.B. unter den Angehörigen der h. Sippe, als einer der h. drei Könige, ja sogar als Diakon beim h. Messopfer." Albert Gümbel, Dürers Rosenkranzfest und die Fugger, Strassburg: J.H. Ed. Heitz, 1926. p. 50.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁷ This work which was part of a series of depicting the seven pilgrimage churches of Rome commissioned by the Dominican nuns of St. Katherina in Augsburg. These works were used to acquire the Jubilee indulgence which the convent obtained permission to issue probably in 1484. Gisela Goldberg et al, Altdeutsche Gemälde, fig. 84, pp. 129-158.

²⁸ Vienna, Albertina. The artist was Dürer. Hermann Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit, vol. 5, Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1981, facing p. 320.

²⁹ Strassburg, Kunstmuseum, in Gertrud Otto, Bernhard Strigel, Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag. 1964, fig. 85.

Weiskönig, the idealizing autobiography Maximilian composed with his humanist advisers, contains an illustration that depicts him in a boat in a posture that suggests the figure of Christ calming the waves.³⁰ In a prayerbook illustrated by Dürer and other eminent artists, commissioned by the Emperor for distribution to members of the elite Order of Saint George, the words of the Psalm "Fürsten, öffnet eure Tore....denn es wird der König der Herrlichkeit einziehen" are reinterpreted as a prayer for imperial world reign: the margin drawing shows not Christ, but the Emperor, with scepter and orb.³¹

Given this association between rulers and divine personages, it is not surprising that Saint Anne and her family, as members of the celestial ruling house of Christ's family, were among the saints portrayed in art works involving donor portraits of members of the German ruling houses.³² Strigel painted Maximilian and his family as the Holy Kinship (c. 1515-20, fig. 128) with the Emperor as Cleophas, his first wife Mary of Burgundy as Mary Cleophas, his son Philip the Fair as James the Lesser, his grandsons

³⁰ Philip Fehl, "The Public Display of Relics at Wittenberg and Albrecht Dürer's Altarpieces for the Schlosskirche," 28th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Western Michigan University, May, 1993.

³¹ Wiesflecker states: "Die Auswahl der Gebete eröffnet einen tiefen Einblick in das religiöse Denken Maximilians. Der Psalm 23 wird zum Gebet für die kaiserliche Weltherrschaft umgewandelt: 'Fürsten, öffnet eure Tore...denn es wird der König der Herrlichkeit einziehen.' Der Text meint zwar den Einzug Christi; die Randzeichnung aber stellt Kaiser Maximilian mit Zepter und Weltkugel dar." Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I., vol. 5, p. 319.

³² Comparative statistics on saints in works commissioned in these circles have not been tallied. Examples involving Anne are numerous.

Charles V as Simon, and Ferdinand as Joseph the Just.³³ In a 1517 Holy Kinship by Sebastian Schel (fig. 129) Maximilian appears as Anne's husband Cleophas.³⁴

The Saxon ruler Duke Frederick the Wise is also portrayed in Anne images. Lucas Cranach's Frankfurt Heilige Sippe (the Torgauer Altarpiece, fig. 105) depicts Frederick the Wise as Alphaeus and his brother John the Steadfast as Zebedee, while the features of one of Anne's husbands resemble those of Maximilian.³⁵ Frederick and John commissioned the altar in 1505 in memory of the latter's first wife Sophie of Mecklenburg who died in childbirth in 1503. Located in the Marienkirche in Torgau, the altar was endowed with a perpetual mass for Sophie's soul.³⁶ It is interesting to note that the

³³ Vienna, Gemäldegalerie, No. 1425. Gertrud Otto, Bernhard Strigel, pp. 101-02. For recent research on this painting see Georg Thümmel, "Bernhard Strigels Diptychon für Cuspinian," Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, 76, neue Folge 40 (1985), pp. 98-110.

³⁴ The Schel Holy Kinship, originally part of an altarpiece in the chapel of Schloss Annaberg im Vintschgau is in the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck. Rupert Feuchtmüller, Kunst in Österreich / Vom frühen Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart, Vienna: Forum Verlag, 1972, fig. 194.

³⁵ Max J. Friedländer & Jakob Rosenberg, The Paintings of Lucas Cranach, pp. 70-71, fig. 18.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 70-71. The German ruling classes expressed their interest in Saint Anne in other ways too. Maximilian joined confraternities dedicated to Saint Anne in Augsburg, Worms and Ghent. See Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften der hl. Anna, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992, p. 175; Ton Brandenburg et al, Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, Nijmegen: Sun, 1992, p. 69. He was the donor of the Worms brotherhood's altarpiece. Dörfler-Dierken, Vorreformatrische Bruderschaften, p. 175. He and other notables attending the Reichstag of 1500 were present at a confraternity celebration in Augsburg that year. Matthias Fabri, Rechnungsbücher, Hauptbuch III, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, cited in Eberhard Schott, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Carmeliterklosters und der Kirche von St. Anna in Augsburg," Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg, 9 (1882), p. 250. Shortly after the inauguration of the Augsburg brotherhood, a large Anne confraternity was founded at Baisweil a village between Kaufbeuren and Mindelheim, by Bernhard von Lauenberg, a member of a noble

husbands in this work are dressed in princely clothing, while the two Marys, who are not participant donors, wear the clothing they are usually shown in, that of the wealthy merchant classes.³⁷

The equating of saintly or divine figures with the Emperor in art works is itself part of a larger, long-standing equation of the earthly with the heavenly in medieval German hagiography and political writing and ceremony. Numerous examples of the association of the imperial and religious spheres in medieval Germany have been noted by historians and mentioned by contemporaries.³⁸ A fifteenth-century description of

family. Its membership included a number of nobles and members of the higher clergy. Corporate members included entire convents as well as the Anne brotherhood of the city and diocese of Brixen in the Tirol, an imperial centre and one of the few parts of Austria where Anne imagery was produced in quantity. Anton Steichele, Das Bistum Augsburg, vol. 2, Augsburg: Schmidtsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1864, pp. 322, 370 ff., 469-70.

³⁷ F.W.H. Hollstein, German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, vol. 6, Amsterdam, 1954-68, p. 46 (no. 71). There were no doubt other factors that made Anne attractive to royal houses. Interests might be served by the example of a saintly remarried widow. Myra D. Orth looks at representations of Anne and royal marriages in France in "Madame Sainte Anne": The Holy Kinship, the Royal Trinity, and Louise of Savoy," in Interpreting Cultural Symbols, pp. 199-227. Not all donor portraits of Maximilian were commissioned by the Emperor himself. Many people owned paintings and woodcuts of Maximilian. Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I, vol. 5, p. 375. Wiesflecker states: "Maximilian war der erste Kaiser, den sich jedes bessere Haus auf einem Holzschnittblatt in die Stube hängen konnte, neben den Heiligenbildern das Porträt des Kaisers..." Ibid., p. 374. Was his power invoked along with that of the saints?

³⁸ The topos permeated German court culture. Maximilian was following established fifteenth century procedure when as a newly crowned ruler he was installed as a canon of Cologne Cathedral. Hans Hofmann quotes a contemporary description of his arrival there in 1486: "Die empfiengendt den künig da und furten in für dye heyligen drey künig und darnach in den chor und sunen 'Te deum laudamus.' Darnach gab im der weybischoffe die benedeyung und die herren namen in auf zu einem canonico nach alter gewonheyt ir kirchen." London. Brit. Mus. Add.Ms. 25588, fol. 252, in Hans Hofman, Zur Heiligenverehrung im kirchlichen, gesellschaftlichen und politischen Leben des Mittelalters, Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1975, p. 142. The ceremonial display of relic collections, especially the imperial Reichsheiltum, was an important tool in displays

Maximilian's crowning in Rome, related by Hector Müllich, tells how Charlemagne's sword was given to him by an angel:

das hailig schwert, das der engel im vom himel pracht, mit demselben schwert er manigfaltiglich gestritten hat und cristengelauben gemert. derselb hailig kaiser Karl had das kaiserthu(o)mb in der Teutschen hand pracht. Auch hetten die von Nürmburg darpracht desselben hailigen kaisers zepter und den apfel und die kaiserlichen dalmacien, den chormantel, sein schu(o)ch, sein stol und alles, das zu(o) der kaiserlichen wirdigkait gehört....Die weil stu(o)nd der kaiser in seinem stu(o) zu(o) der gerechten hand bei sant Peters altar, geklaidet mit des grossen fursten sant Karls des grossen hailigem klaid, das im die von Nürmburg zu(o) eeren dar hetten pracht, und das ist kaim (sic) kaiser in vil hundert jaren nie widerfaren, das er mit sollichem hailigen klaid angelegt zu(o) kaiserlicher wirdigkait komen sei und gekrönet; und [das] sic von iedermenglich für grosse wird, er und besonder gnad gottes ward geschätzt. auch stu(o)nd daselbs in irm stu(o)l auf die gelingken seiten die zierlich junckfraw, die schier künftige kaiserin, gar kostlich angelegt und waidenlich geziert mit ainem kostlichen halspand.³⁹

For Maximilian the assimilation of the heavenly to the earthly was not restricted to the realm of representations. His well-known desire to become pope reflects the conflation of the spiritual with the royal on the political plane while his plan to become a saint, outlined in a letter of 1512 to his daughter Margaret of Austria, reveals the fluidity of boundaries that marked his personal life as well:

Et envoyons demain monsieur de Gurce, évesque, à Rome devers le pape pour trouver facion que nous puyssons accorder avec luy de nous prendre pour ung coadjuteur, affin que après sa mort pouruns estre assuré de avoer le papat et devenir prester et après estre saint, et que il vous sera de nécessité que, après ma mort, vous serés contraint de me adorer dont je me trouveré bien gloryoes.⁴⁰

of imperial sanctity and legitimacy.

³⁹ "Chronik des Hector Müllich," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte. Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1866, vol. 5, Anhang I, pp. 321-22.

⁴⁰ Cologne, Sept. 22, 1512, Correspondence de L'Empereur Maximilien Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche, sa Fille, Gouvernante des Pays-Bas, de 1507 a 1519, ed. M. Le

Here Maximilian is not so much stating a desire to become holy, as a desire to enjoy the status of saint, to incarnate royal-divine conflation in his own person in an integral and permanent fashion.

While the German examples, with their emphatic emphasis on the conflation of ruler and divinity, are particularly striking, other parts of Europe also provide dramatic examples of the phenomenon of royal appropriation of the divine involving mimetic activity by human beings standing in the stead of the heavenly figures. Jesse Hurlbut describes a tableau vivant of the Ghent Altarpiece performed by the citizens of Ghent on the occasion of the entrance into the city of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in 1458. Hurlbut relates how Philip was conflated with Christ and the citizens of Ghent with Adam and Eve, in this event which took place five years after the end of the Ghent War. He explains that the citizens were "eager to retain the favor of the duke after longstanding rebellion and severe retribution."⁴¹ Not only was the tableau an allegory chosen for its political significance, Hurlbut argues, it was intended to include the real participation of Duke Philip and his company and the citizens of Ghent as living participants. He states:

...it seems entirely possible to me that this particular entry, which served to reconcile the Duke with the once rebellious city, was an allegory of spiritual salvation. It begins with the Fall: The original sin was the insurrection of the Ghenters. The conspicuous omission of Adam and Eve from the tableau may suggest that each one of the townspeople had already played out the role in the

Glaz, vol. 2, (Paris: Jules Renouard & Cie, 1839) London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, p. 38.

⁴¹ Jesse D. Hurlbut, "The Ghent Altarpiece Performed: Civic Appropriation of Art in 1458", Conference Paper, Kalamazoo, 1993, p. 1. Hurlbut's source for the description of the ceremony is P. Blommaert & C.P. Serrure, ed. Kronyk van Vlaenderen. (Maatschappij der Vlaemsche Bibliophilen 3) Ghent: Vanderhaeghen-Hulin, 1839-1840, 2, pp. 212-32.

Ghent War. While the Altarpiece was an accessory to the Mass: the celebration of transubstantiation, Philip's Entry into Ghent also celebrates his physical presence among them: e.g., "And the Duke was made Flesh!" The establishment of the City of God requires that the citizens obtain reconciliation by forgiveness for their past sins. This can be granted, in this, only by the good grace of the Duke.⁴²

While there is some evidence that late medieval Flemish culture was marked by a greater sense of metaphor - as opposed to metonymy or conflation - than German culture, such events nonetheless in a general sense suggest the idea of representation and enactment as incarnation.⁴³ Might not this performative human mimesis find a parallel in the painted mimesis of works of art? The abundance of examples suggests at any rate

⁴² Ibid., p. 10. Robert Scheller's description of royal entries in late medieval France presents another exemplar of the performative: "The entries were usually markedly christomimetic. The adventus Regis was an Epiphany, a manifestation of the royal power in the person of the king, and as such was comparable to the incarnation of Christ (the liturgical period of Advent), which was the appearance of the almighty on earth..." Robert W. Scheller, "Imperial themes in art and literature of the early French Renaissance: the period of Charles VIII," Simiolus, 12,1 (1981/82), p. 15. An échafaud in an entry into Rouen on April 14, 1485 presented "an apocalyptic vision riddled with allusions to the French kingdom." Scheller continues: "The very title, ordre Politique, indicated that the heavenly hierarchy was being compared to the structure of the French state, and even identified with it in a certain sense. At the top God the Father was seated on a throne surrounded by the four evangelists, who represented the four estates: Clergé, Noblesse, Bourgeoisie and Commune. One of the verses, which contained an acrostic of Charles's name, equated the king with God the Father..." Ibid, p. 16. For examples of ceremonial conflation in medieval Spain see Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "Intertextuality and Autumn." in The New Medievalism, ed. Marina S. Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee, Stephen G. Nichols, Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991, pp. 301-330. See also Barbara A. Hanawalt & Kathryn L. Reyerson, ed. City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe, Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

⁴³ The widespread growth of lay associations who met to write and perform plays in the Netherlands contrasts with the absence of this kind of activity in Germany.

a propensity to read or experience one thing in terms of another, whether human beings made gods, or images made flesh.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ As a footnote to the subject of imperial involvement with images of heavenly power it should be noted that the imperial concern to establish credentials of quasi-divinity was given flesh on the writing-desks of the German humanists. It was the humanists - who had also shared the ruling circles' interest in Saint Anne, in the Immaculate Conception, and in the cause of church reform - who wrote the histories, and drew up the family trees of the imperial ancestors - celestial, biblical and worldly. Wiesflecker, Kaiser Maximilian I, p. 364. Trithemius spent time at Maximilian's court in 1505 and 1507 discussing the purported Trojan ancestry of the Hapsburg dynasty. Klaus Arnold, Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516), Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1991, esp. pp. 168-79. Literary works celebrating the glories of Germany preoccupied other members of the circle during the early 1500s: Thomas Peutinger; Conrad Celtis; Sebastian Brant; Jacob Wimpfeling; Johannes Cochlaeus; Willibald Pirckheimer; Franciscus Irenicus; Johannes Aventinus. See Jacques Ridé, "Un grand projet patriotique : Germania Illustrata," l'Humanisme allemand (1480-1540) (18ième colloque international de Tours) Munich: Fink Verlag / Librairie Vrin, 1979, pp. 103-107. Ridé believes the humanists wrote to defend Germany against claims of Italian superiority. Ibid., pp. 107-108. Pierre Laurens argues that it posited the German emperor as the legitimate ruler of Italy. Pierre Laurens, "Rome et la Germanie chez les poètes humanistes allemands," *ibid*, p. 347. Robert Scheller connects Maximilian's quest for prestige and holiness with the humiliations of the French invasion of Brittany. Scheller, "Imperial themes," p. 19. Lionel Rothkrug suggests that the Emperor and his humanist aides shared deeper concerns over holiness, power and purity: "...Maximilian's behaviour was possible only for a ruler who could not distinguish between prince and prelate....His reign coincides with the time when the knights and the Church of the Empire merged to form a single institution - a development precisely opposite to the two bodies of the French king. And Maximilian's efforts to associate personal sanctity with the imperial office - a species of political Donatism peculiar to priestly princes - expresses the entire thrust of a program to impart to the Empire the holiness that the Emperor and his followers believed it ought to have." Lionel Rothkrug, Religious Practices and Collective Perceptions: Hidden Homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation, Historical Reflections, 7, 1 (Spring, 1980) pp. 71-72.

Summary

Portraits of patrons were sometimes included in Anna Selbdritts and Holy Kinships, either as separate figures or as participant patrons. As was the case with other works in which patrons were depicted, these would in many cases have served to assert or legitimate status or policies. As well, there is some evidence that such representations may have been perceived as perpetuating the presence of the patron at the masses celebrated in front of family altarpieces, or eternally in the company of the blessed. Saint Anne, due to her membership in the Holy Family, was popular with patrons from ruling houses. Late medieval royal ceremonies themselves often conflated the royal or imperial sphere with the divine. The Emperor Maximilian often used visual imagery to conflate himself with saintly or even divine rulers.

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Abbreviations

ASSB Augsburg Staats- und Stadtbibliothek)

BSB Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek

EETS Early English Text Society

ICK Karl Künstle, Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst, 2 vols. Freiburg: Herder, 1926-1928.

LCI Engelbert M. Kirschbaum, Lexikon der christlichen Ikongraphie, 8 vols. Rome & Freiburg: Herder, 1968-76.

LMK Lexikon der Marienkunde

PL J. P. Migne, ed., Patrologiae cursus completus series Latina, 221 vols. Paris, 1844-64.



Anna Selbdritt

Swabia, workshop of Jörg Syrlin the Younger, Ehingen, 1493
Rottweil, Kunstsammlung Lorenzkapelle
Repr. museum postcard



*Stuckrelief, um 1300
Stralsund, Nikolaikirche*

Anna Selbdritt, Stralsund, c. 1300
Stralsund, Nikolaikirche
Repr. courtesy Willemien Deeelman-van Tyen



Anne and Joachim at Home

Saint Anne Altarpiece, late 15th c.

Saint Anne Confraternity, Carmelite Convent, Frankfurt

Frankfurt am Main, Historisches Museum

Repr. Ashley & Sheingorn, p. 36.

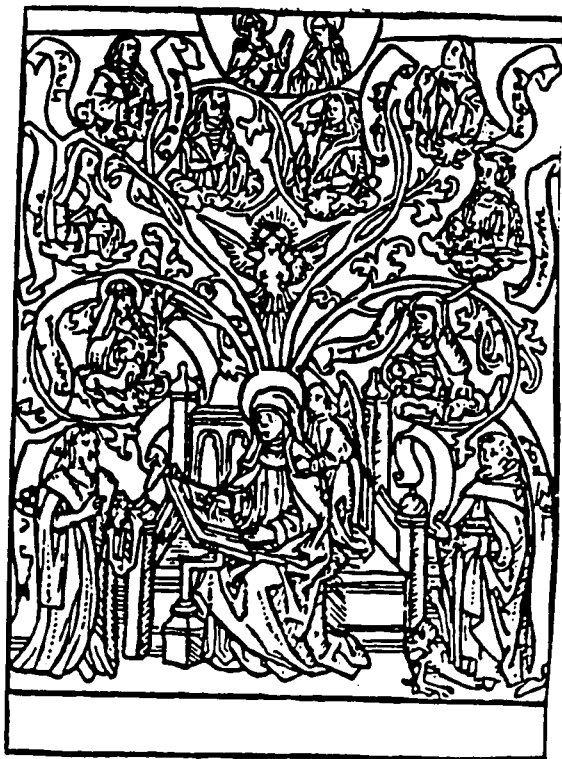


Schlutuper Altar

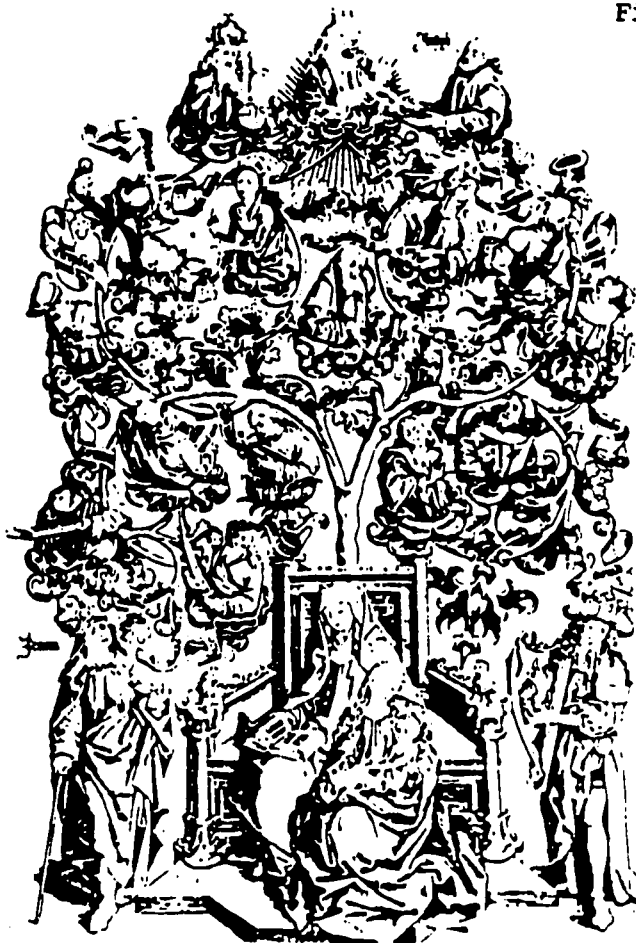
Lübeck, Circle of Henning van der Heide, c. 1500

Lübeck, St. Annen-Museum

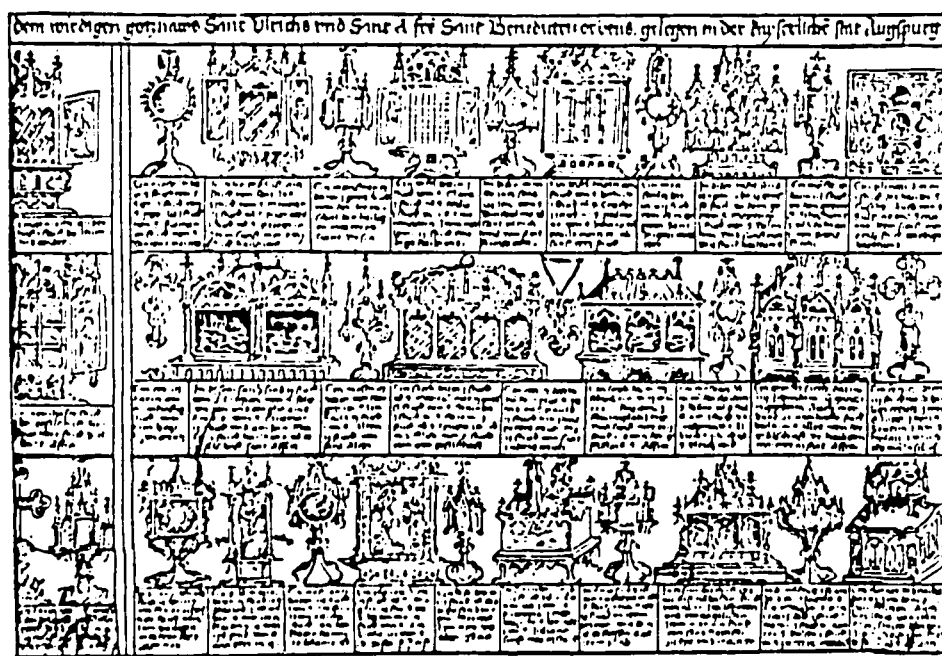
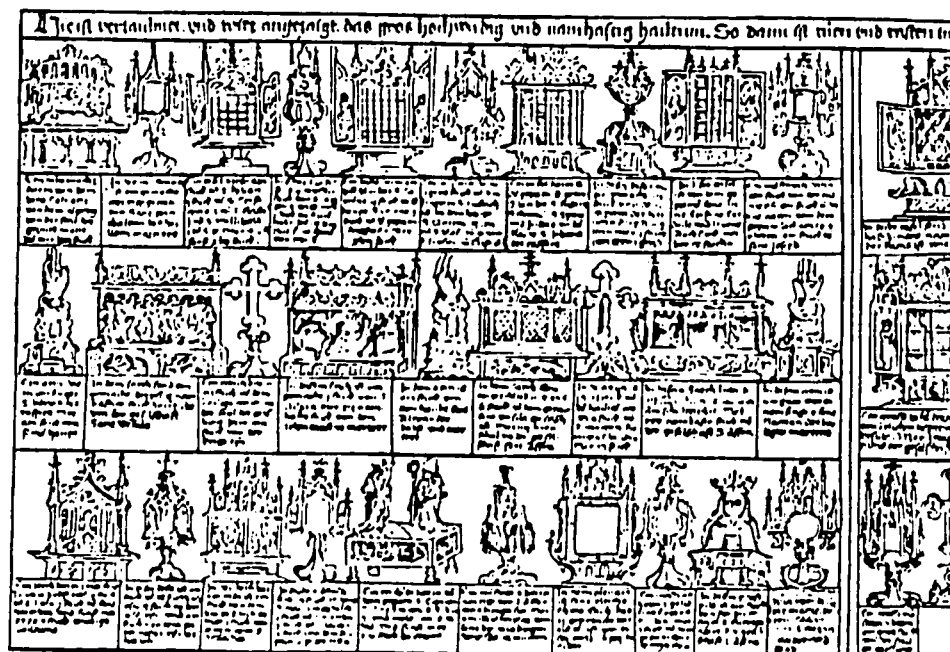
Repr. Wittstock, p. 151



Saint Brigit and her family
Woodcut, c. 1500
Lindgren, p. 56



Holy Kinship
Meister mit dem Dächlein
Engraving, last quarter of 15th c.
Repr. Lindgren, p. 57



*

Woodcut depicting the relic collection of St. Ulrich and Afra,
Augsburg, 1494

Repr. M. Hartig, Benediktiner-Reichsstift St. Ulrich und Afra,
pp. 86-87



Holy Kinship with Saints Katherine & Barbara

Lower Rhein, Cologne, Master of the Holy Kinship
Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum

The Women and Children, from left to right: Mary Cleophas nursing Jude, Joseph the Just, James the Lesser, Simon, Catherine (not part of the Holy Kinship), Anne, Jesus, the Virgin Mary, Barbara (not part of the Holy Kinship) Mary Salome with John the Evangelist and, in pilgrim garb, James the Greater.

The Men, from left to right: Alphaeus, two of Anne's three husbands (one of them a participant patron), Joseph, Anne's third husband, Zebedee



Anna Selbdritt

Workshop of Gerard David, early 1500s
Washington, National Gallery of Art
Repr. Hand, fig. 167



Anna Selbdritt
Circle of Meister H.L., c. 1520
Württemberg, Badisches Landesmuseum
Zimmerman, 145



CLOCKWISE

Fig. 11a. Anna Selbdritt

Holland, c. 1600

Amstenrade, Parish Church O.L. Vrouw Onbevlekt Ontvangen

Repr. Deeleman - van Tyen (Amstenrade)

Fig. 11b. Anna Selbdritt

Holland, early 16th c.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Repr. Deeleman - van Tyen (Amsterdam)

Fig. 11c. Anna Selbdritt

Holland, Jan van Steffeswert, 1513

Tudderen (Germany) parish church of St. Gertrude

Repr. Deeleman - van Tyen (Tudderen)



Anna Selbach III

Hans Leinberger, 1513

Ingeborg, Christel und Johann Leinberger, Sankt Johannis, 1513, 1514
Epp, Thomas, p. 300



Holy Kinship Altarpiece
Master of Frankfurt, c. 1505
Frankfurt, Historisches Museum
Repr. Hand, 1982, pl. 2.



CLOCKWISE

Holy Kinship

Lower Rhein, c. 1500

Repr. Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, p. 112

Holy Kinship

Antwerp, c. 1520

Repr. Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, p. 112

Holy Kinship

Holland, c. 1500

Utrecht, Centraal Museum

Repr. Deeleman - van Tyon



CLOCKWISE

Mary with the Christ Child
and Singing Angels
Sandro Botticelli, c. 1477
Repr. Museum postcard

The Virgin in the Rose Hedge
Stefan Lochner
Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum
Repr. Stubbe, XVI

The Virgin and Child
Giovanni Bellini
Milan, Castello Sforza
Repr. Stubbe, I



CLOCKWISE

Virgin and Child
Thierry Paetz
Private Collection
Repr. Stubbe XXVII

Virgin and Child
Hugo Van der Gae
Brussels, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts
Repr. Stubbe III



Fig. 13
Hans Meulding (detail)
Vierhouten, Coll. Van Bommigen
Repr. Stubbe IV



Descent from the Cross
Rogier van der Weyden
Madrid, Museo del Prado
Repr. Lane, p. 88



The Chancellor's Roll in Madonna

Jan van Eyck

Paris, Louvre

Repr. Stubbe XXIV



The Holy Kinship

Quentin Massys (St. Anne Altarpiece)

Brussels, Musées Royaux

Repr. Silver fig. 167



LEFT TO RIGHT

Virgin and Child with St. Anne
 Master of the Mansi Magdalene
 Brussels, Private Collection
 Repr. Friedländer, MCMLXXI

Anna Selbdritt
 Late Gothic
 Schömberg, Catholic Parish Church
 Repr. courtesy W. Deeleman - van Tyen



LEFT TO RIGHT

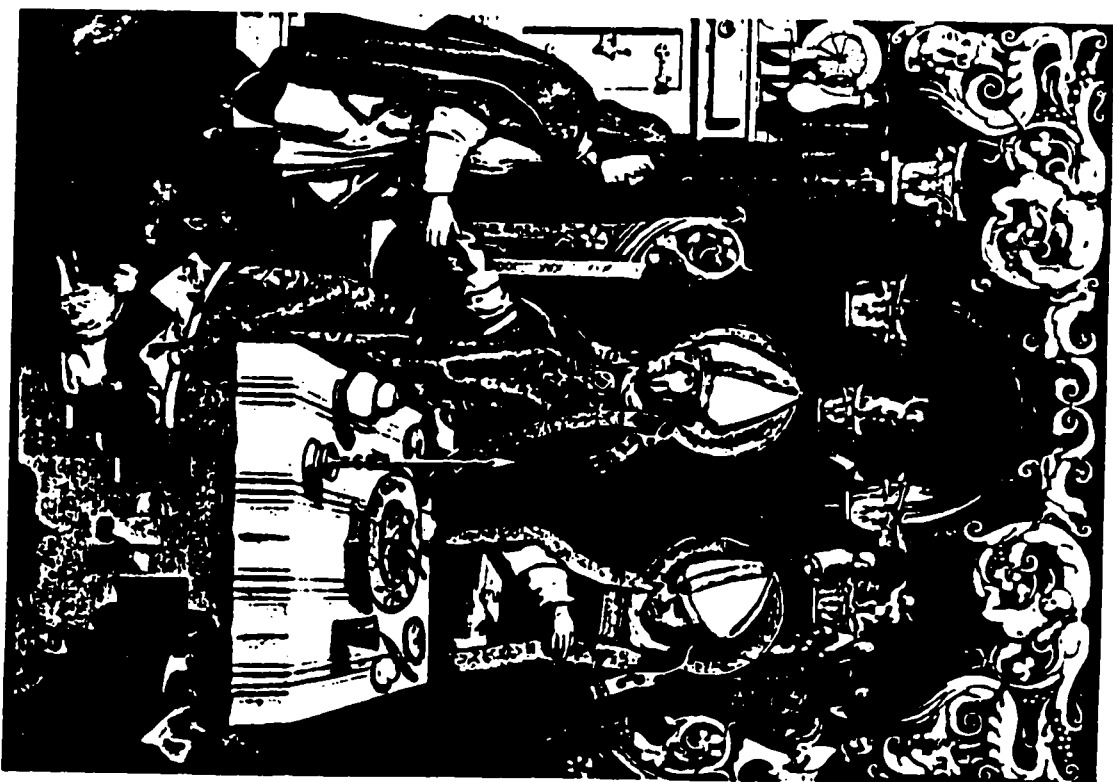
Anna Selbdritt

Hans Holbein the Elder (Katharinenaltar), 1512
Augsburg, Staatsgalerie

7

St. Ulrich and Conrad

Hans Holbein the Elder (Katharinenaltar), 1512
Augsburg, Staatsgalerie





Anna Selbdritt
Tilman Riemenschneider, 1520
Würzburg, Mainfränkisches Museum
Repr. Postcard



CLOCKWISE

Virgin and Child, c. 1310
Nürnberg, St. Lorenz
Repr. Postcard

Virgin and Child
Gregor Erhard, 15th c.
Augsburg, St. Ulrich and Afra
Repr. Postcard

Unsere Liebe Frau von der Augenwende
Lower-Rhein / Westfalen, late Gothic
Rottweil, Heilig-Kreuz Münster





Anna Selbdritt, Bavaria, Regensburg, last quarter 13th c.
Munich, BNM
Halm & Lill, fig. 95



Anna Selbdritt
Mosan, c. 1320-30
Aachen, Suermondt-Ludwig Museum
Repr. Grimme, 1966, p. 101



Anna Selbdritt
Bavaria, c. 1300
Regensburg, Diözesanmuseum St. Ulrich
Repr. Diözesanmuseum St. Ulrich, p. 16.



LEFT TO RIGHT

The Holy Kinship with the Lute-playing Angels
Albrecht Dürer, 1511
Repr. Geisberg

The Holy Family with Joachim and Anne under a Tree
Albrecht Dürer, 1511
Repr. Hollstein



1516
L



CLOCKWISE

Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child
Lucas van Leyden, 1516
Repr. Lavalleye

The Virgin and St. Anne at the Cradle
Albrecht Altdorfer, 1520-1526
Repr. Hollstein

Mary and St. Anne
Krug
Repr. Hollstein

Holy Family
Wolf Huber, 1515
Repr. Heinzle, p. 75





Holy Family with Anna and John
Peter de Witt, late 16th c
Repr. Art Treasures of the Vatican, pl. 376



St. Anne with her Husbands. Three Maries with Children
Krivoklat Psalter, English 13th c.
 Repr. Nigel Morgan, fig. 403.



Madonna and Child with St. Anne surrounded by Saints
Fra Bartolommeo, 1510/12
Florence, Museo di S. Marco
Repr. Crum & Wilkins, p. 148



The Virgin and Child with St. Anne, c. 1510
Italy, Leonardo Da Vinci
Paris, Louvre
Repr. Koch, fig. 5



The S. Ambrogio altarpiece
Masaccio, before 1425
Florence, Uffizi
Repr. Berenson, fig. 579



Saint Anne Altarpiece
Giovanni Maria Butteri, 1575
Florence, Uffizi
Repr. Crum & Wilkin, p. 156



Andrea Sansovino, 1510-12
Rome, Sant'Agostino
Repr. Bonito



Anna Selbdritt
13th Century
Sardonyx cameo
Modena, Museo Nazionale
Repr. LMK, p. 241



Sana Selbdritt, Thuringia, c. 1320-30
Erfurt, Erfurt Cathedral
Repr. courtesy Noel Salmond



TOP TO BOTTOM

Anna Selbdritt

Bohemia, Missal, 14th c.

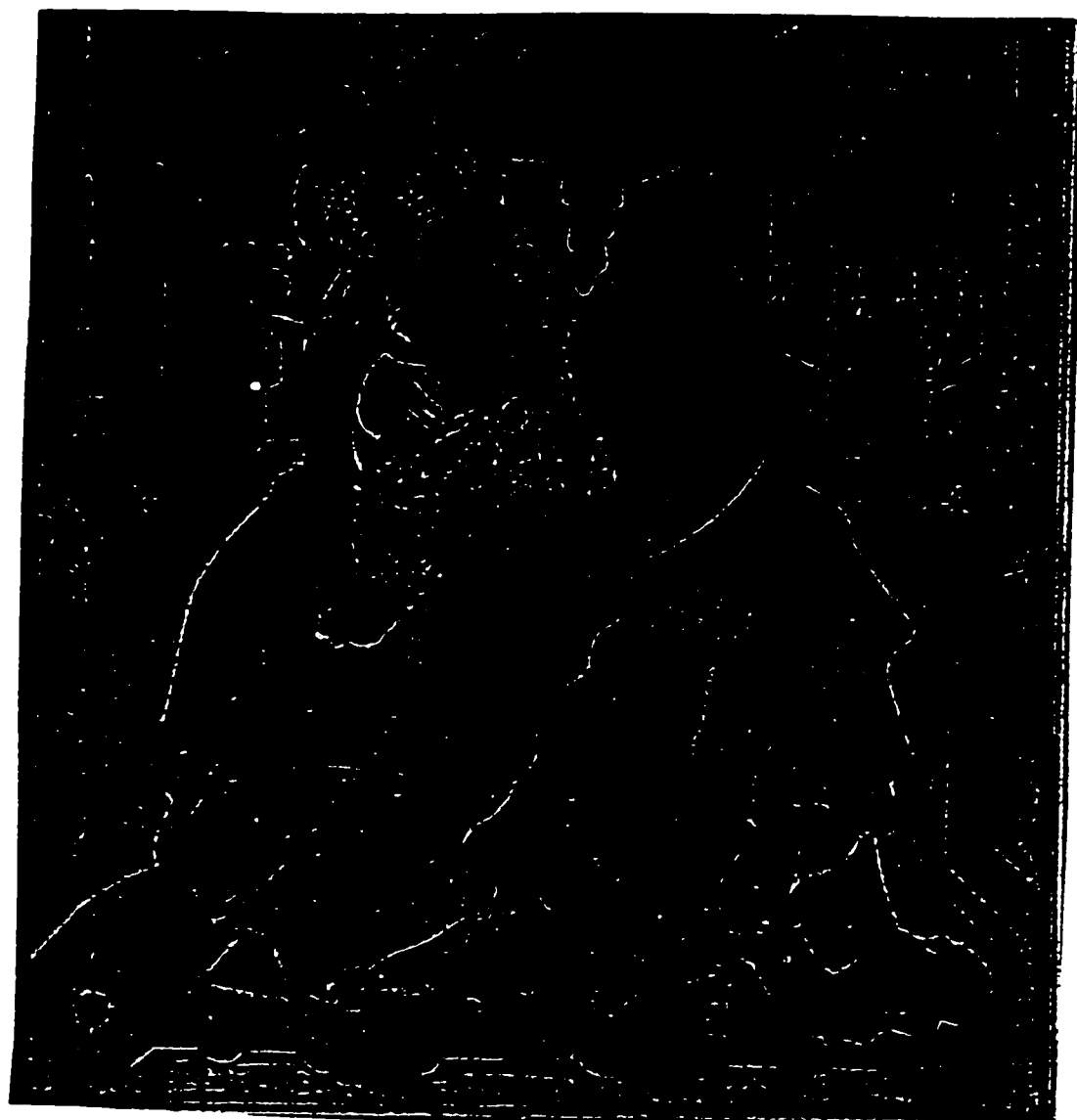
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat.848: Missal, fol. 270v

Repr. Simpson

Anna Selbdritt

House front, Eichstätt, Bavaria, 1337

Repr. Kleinschmidt, p. 144



Anna Selbdritt

Silesian-Bohemian, last third 14th c.

Breslau, Museum für Kunstgewerbe

Repr. Marburger Index



Anna Selbdritt

Throne of Wisdom composition

Lower Rhein, mid-14th c.

Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twente

Repr. Deeleman - van Tyen (Enschede)



Anna Selbdritt

Standing with the small Mary and Jesus on one arm (Mechelen type)
Brabant, Mechelen, 16th c.

Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent

Repr. Catharijneconvent postcard



Peter-Anna Selbdritt-Elisabeth

Seated, a child on either arm type

Swabia, workshop of Jörg Syrlin the Younger, Ehingen, 1493

Rottweil, Kunstsammlung Lorenzkapelle



Anne stands with

Anne stands with Mary standing beside her
Jörg Lederer, Swabia, c. 1515

Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Art Museum

Koch, "Saint Anne with the Virgin," *Archiv für Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, p. 68



Anna Selbdritt

Anne sits, the young Mary standing beside her
Hans Leinberger, Bavaria, before 1510
Munich, BNM



Schlütuper Altar

Throne of Grace arrangement

Lübeck, Circle of Henning van der Heide, c. 1500

Lübeck, St. Annen-museum

Wittstock, fig. 94



Anna Selbdritt

Mary, shown as an adult, seated lower than the seated Anne
Holland, early 16th c.

Utrecht, Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent

Repr. Catharijneconvent postcard



Anna Selbdritt

Bench type composition

Swabia, Nikolaus Gerhaert (from Leyden), 1475

Formerly Berlin, Deutsches Museum, destroyed World War II

Faulner & Müller, p. 285



Holy Kinship

Central madonna composition

Gert van Lon, Westfalia, 1510-20

Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst & Kulturgeschichte

Repr. Sheingorn and Ashley, p. 26



Holy Family
Atypical composition
Wolf Huber, Augsburg, 1515
London, British Museum
Heinzle, p. 75



Birth and Caressing of David
Ivory casket, Byzantine
Rome, Palazzo di Venezia
Lafontaine-Dosogne, fig. 141



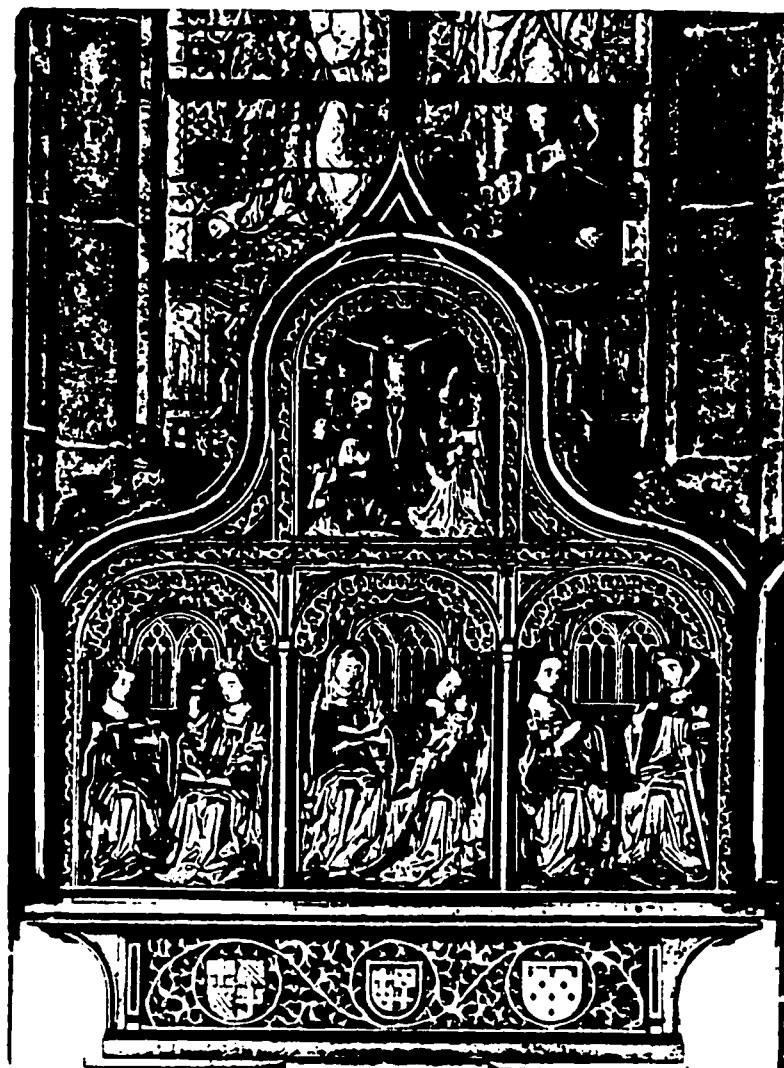
Anna Selbdritt

Lower Rhein, Peter von Wesel, Kempen, 1492/93

Mary seated lower type

Kempen, St. Marien

Graff, p. 26



Anna-Altar

Lower Rhein, Meister Tilmann (Tilman van der Burch?) c. 1501
Aachen, Kornelimünster
Repr. postcard



Lamentation with the Anna Selbdritt
Lower Rhein, c. 1500
 Waldniel, Pfarrkirche St. Michael
 Repr. postcard

Lamentation with the Anna Selbdritt
Lower Rhein, late medieval
 Gelsdorf, Pfarrkirche
 Repr. Heinrich Appel, p. 182



Anna Selhdritt
North Rhein - Westfalia
Westfalia, Billerbeck, c. 1480
Repr. Postcard



Anna Selbdritt:
Part of double hanging image with Christ Child (Herrmann)
Westfalia, Bevergern
Blumer, p. 67



12. The Virgin Mary and the Christ Child, surrounded by saints and angels, from a medieval manuscript. The figures are arranged in a hierarchical manner, with the Virgin and Child at the center. The background features ornate architectural elements, including arches and columns. The overall composition is balanced and symmetrical.



Anna Selbdritt with Saints
Master of the Braila Legend, Flemish
Vienna, Lederer Collection
Repr. *Frühling*, vol. 6, no. 112



Anna Selbdritt

Brussels, c. 1510

Brandenburg et al, Heilige Anna, Grote Moeder, p. 131



1. Portrait of a man
2. Portrait of a man
3. Portrait of a man



CLOCKWISE

Gerard David
Genealogy of Mary
 Lyons, Musée des
 Beaux Arts
 Repr. Stubbe, fig.
 XL.

Holy Kinship
 attr. Master of the
 Magdalene Legend,
 1480-90
 Baltimore, Walters
 Art Gallery
 Repr. Ashley &
 Sheingorn, p. 131

Wurzel Emerentiana
 Flemish, c. 1500
 Madrid, Museo
 Lepanto Galdiano
 Repr. LCI, p. 131





CLOCKWISE

Belgian, early 1500s
Cornell University, Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art

Saint Colette's Devotion to the Holy Kinship
Saint Anne Altarpiece, late 1400s
Frankfurt, Historisches Museum

The Vision of Saint Colette
Saint Anne Altarpiece

Rheinland, c. 1320-30
Aachen, Suermondt-Ludwig Museum.





Anna Selbdritt

East Holland, c. 1500

Haarlem, Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum

Repr. Catalogus Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, fig. 63



Anna Selbdritt

Holland, first quarter 16th c.

Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent

Repr. Catalogus Aartshoeppellijk Museum, fig. 43



LEFT TO RIGHT

Anna Selbdritt

Holland, c. 1500

Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent

Repr. Deeleman - van Tyen (Utrecht)

Anna Selbdritt

Holland, c. 1600

Amstenrade, Parish Church O.L. Vrouw Onbevleekt Ontvangen

Repr. Deeleman - van Tyen (Amstenrade)



Anna Selbdritt

Holland, School of Jan van Steffeswert, first half of 16th c.
Hoensbroek, St. John Evangelist Parish Church
Repr. Deeleman - van Tyen (Hoensbroek)



Anna Selbdritt
Middle Rhein, late gothic
Cologne, Seligman collection
Repr. Weitzmann, p. 50.



Ortenberg Altarpiece
Middle Rhenish Master, c. 1420-30
Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum



Anna Selbdritt

Upper Rhein, c. 1480-1490
Repr. Costa, cat. no. 69

Anna Selbdritt

Upper Rhein, Ulrich Glockler, 16th c.
Constance, Rosgartenmuseum
Repr. Costa, cat. no. 48



Anna Selbdritt
Johann Wechtlin, Strassburg, Upper Rhein, c. 1515
Repr. Gelsberg, p. 1446



LEFT TO RIGHT

Anna Selbdritt c. 1480-90
 Lübeck, Circle of Bernt Notke
 Lübeck, St. Annen-Museum
 Repr. Wittstock, p. 125

Anna Selbdritt
 Schlutuper Altar, panel from outer door
 Lübeck, late 15th c.
 Repr. Wittstock, p. 153





Holy Kinship Altar of the St. George Brotherhood
Lübeck, Benedikt Dreyer, c. 1510-15
Lübeck, St. Annen-Museum
Repr. Wittstock, p. 176



CLOCKWISE

Holy Kinship

Hans Raphon, Lower Saxony, 1506
Repr. Gmelin, fig. 185.2

Altarwing with Anna Selbdritt & Mary Magdalene

Lower Saxony, Workshop of the
Master of the Halberstädter Crucifix, 1510
Halberstadt, Domschatz
Repr. Gmelin, fig. 129

Altar Wing with Anna Selbdritt

Lower Saxony, 1484
Osnabrück, Episcopal Chapel
Repr. Gmelin, fig. 59.8.1

Holy Kinship Altar

Lower Saxony, c. 1515
Hannover, Landesgalerie
Repr. Gmelin, fig. 84.3



Marianum (suspended double-sided figure) with Anna Selbdritt
Lower Saxony, late gothic
Cologne, Schnütgen Museum
Repr. "SchwebendeDoppelfigur..." fig. 4

Dis heiligthums



Sum .iii. Ein brust
 Bilde der heiligen frauen sant
 Anne Von yrem Arm. s. pte.
 Von eynem finger der heiligen
 frauen sant Anne s. pt.

Sūma .ij. pteckel

Sum .iiii. ein silberē
 rbergulde Bilde sant Anne
 Eyn ganzer Daum der Rechten
 hant sant Anne
 Von den heiligen gebeyn sant An
 ne. s. pteckel Sūma .xj. pteckel



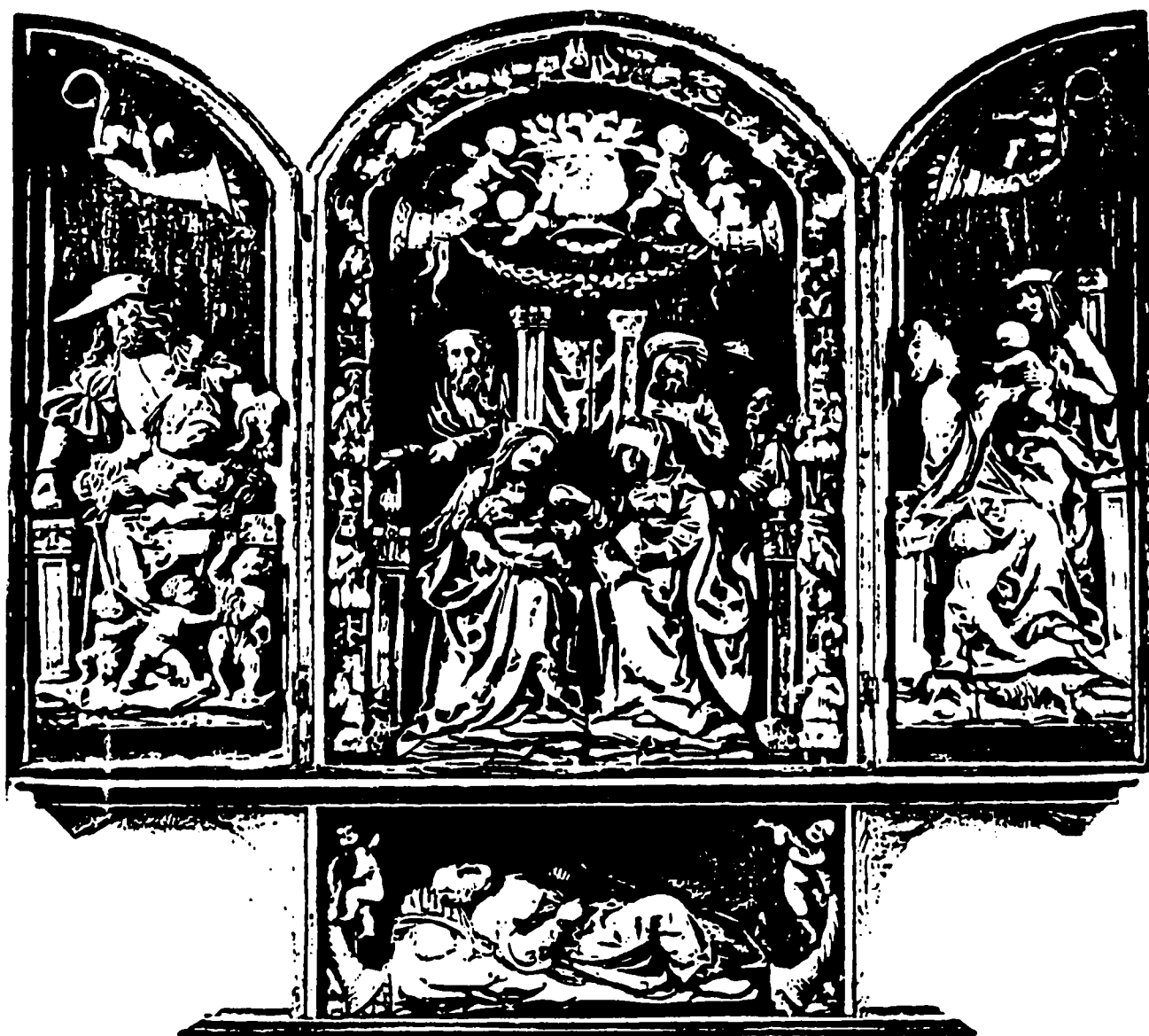
Relics of Saint Anne

Lucas Cranach the Elder

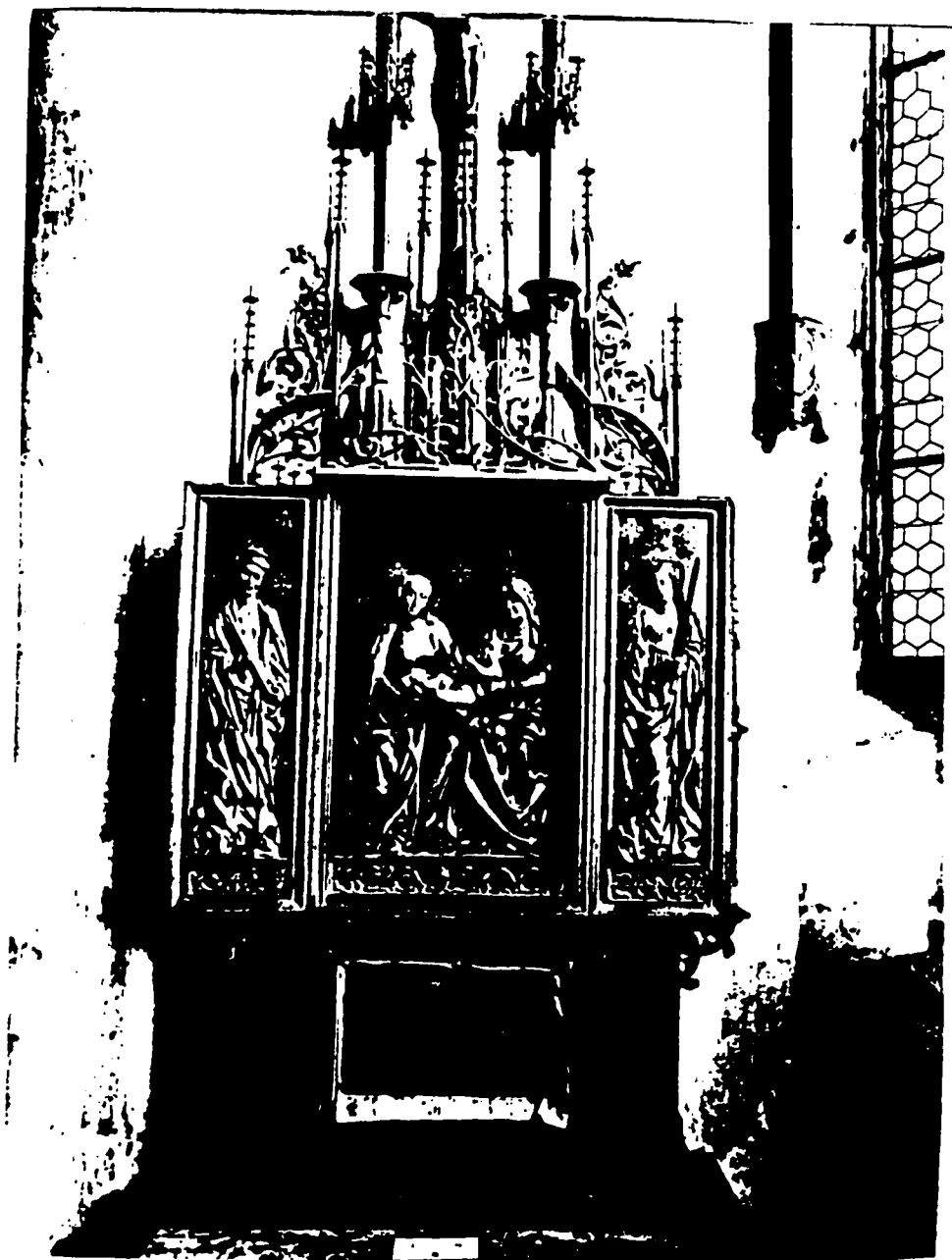
1509

Woodcut from the Wittenberger Heiligtumsbuch, Buch 581/82, S.69

Repr. Ashley & Sheingorn, p. 22



Daniel Mauch
Holy Kinship Altarpiece
Swabia, 1510,
Pieselsbach, Chapel of St. Francis Xavier
Taxandall, pl. 81



Saint Anne Altarpiece

Augsburg Cathedral, Annakapelle
Swabia, 16th c.

Photo courtesy of the Diocesan Office, Augsburg



Klieber Epitaph
 1498
 Augsburg Cathedral



MARY AND JESUS AS ATTRIBUTES OF SAINT ANNE

Alteherstellung
Swabia, Hans Burgkmair, 1507
Augsburg Staatsgalerie



Anna Selbdritt
Franconia, c. 1500
Repr. Costa, fig. 21

Anna Selbdritt
Franconia, c. 1500
Liège, Musée diocésain



Annalaltar

Franconia, Hans Guesz von Kulmbach and Veit Stoss, c. 1510
Nürnberg, St. Lorenzkirche
Repr. postcard



CLOCKWISE

Anna Selbdritt

Bavaria, c. 1500

Munich, Frauenkirche

Repr. Komm & sieh!, p. 20

Virgin and Child from an Anna Selbdritt

Bavaria, Master of Rabenden, 1510-15

New York, The Cloisters

Repr. Wixom, 1988/89

Anna Selbdritt

Bavaria, 1513

Ingolstadt, Sankt Johannes Gnadenhal

Repr. Thoma, p. 200



Anna Selbdritt

Thuringia, 1505

Valentin Lendenstreich (assisted by Hans Gottwalt)

Predella, Altarpiece, Münchenbernsdorf, Church

Repr. Justus Bier, "Hans Gottwalt," p. 2



LEFT City Coat of Arms with Anna Selbdritt
Saxony, early 16th c.
Annaberg, St. Annakirche
Repr. postcard

RIGHT City Coat of Arms with Anna Selbdritt
Saxony, Franz Meiburg, c. 1524
Annaberg, St. Annakirche, chancel
Repr. postcard

TOP Anna Selbdritt
Saxony, Annaberg, St. Annakirche, Tympanum, old sacristy,
Adolf Daucher (Swastika), early 1500s
Repr. R. Steche



Anna Selhdritt
Saxony, Weissenborn, Peter Breuer
Zwickau, Städtisches Museum
Alte Kunst in Sachsen, Fig. 32



The Holy Kinship

Saxony, Lucas Cranach, c. 1510-12

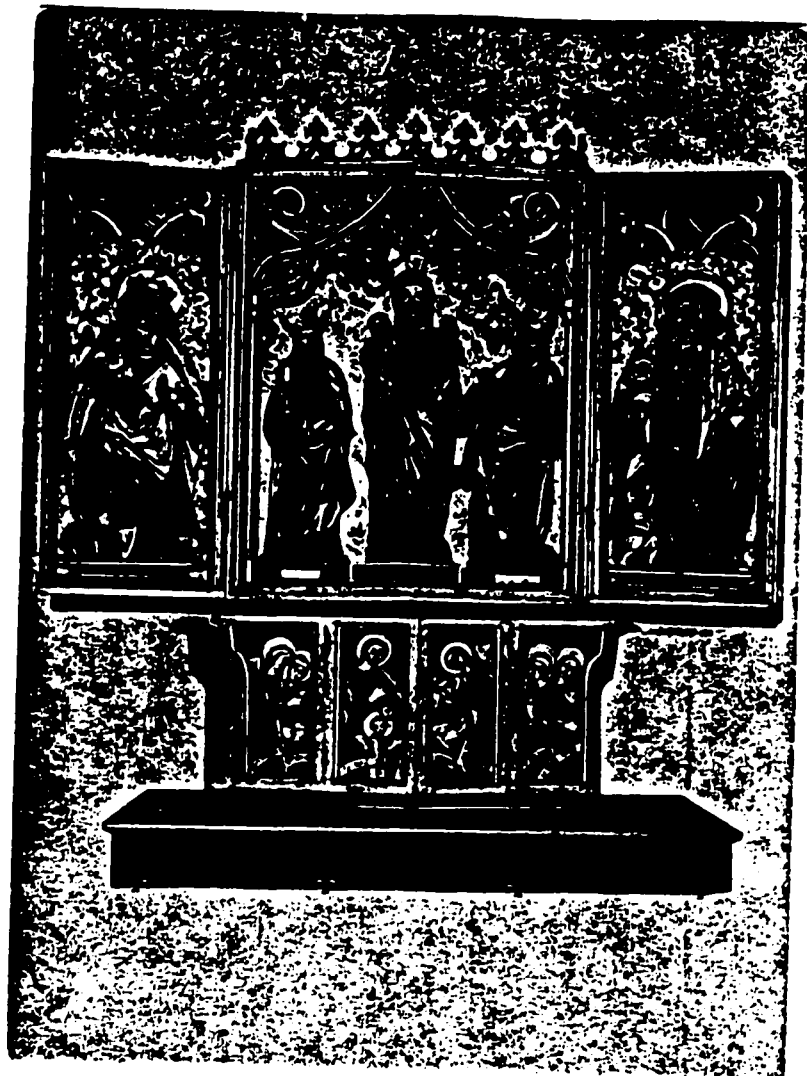
Repr. Friedländer & Rosenberg, fig. 34



Holy Kinship

Silesia, c. 1500

Repr. Theodor Demmler, vol. 3, p. 299



Anna Selldruff

Tirol

Seefeld, Parish Church of St. Oswald, side altar
Church of St. Oswald, postcard



Frangipani-Altar, middle panel with portraits of members of the
Frangipani & Lang von Wellenburg families
Carinthia, Jan van Scorel, c. 1520
Carinthia, Obervellach, parish church



Saint Anne

Franconia, Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1505-06

Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum

Repr. Max Jacoby, Riemenschneider, 16. Folio



LEFT TO RIGHT

Anna Selbdritt

Holland, Dirck van Hoogstraten, 1630

Amsterdam, Museum Amstelkring

Heilige Anne, Grote Moeder, p. 159

Anna Selbdritt

Flemish, c. 1690

Eindhoven, Cock van Megchelen, Antiek & Oude Kunst
Ibid.



ANNE'S CLOTHING (details)

LEFT TO RIGHT

Lower Saxony, the Urban Master from Hildesheim, New York,
Metropolitan Museum

Franconia, School of Tilman Riemenschneider
Würzburg, Mainfränkisches Museum

Franconia, Albrecht Dürer
Woodcut, 1511



Augsburg Patrician Dance in the Early 1500s (late 16th c.)



Quentin Massys, Saint Anne Altarpiece, Brussels, Musées royaux. The Virgin's sisters wear the clothing of young patrician matrons. See footnote 15.



Master of the Holy Kindred, Holy Kinship Altarpiece, Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum. The three Marys wear contemporary patrician clothing while Saints Catherine and Barbara wear anachronistic royal costume. See footnote 15.



THE CLOTHING OF THE CHRIST CHILD
CLOCKWISE

Flanders, Master of the Magdalen Legend, 1480-90
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

Swabia, Hans Holbein the Elder, c. 1420-93
Kreuzlingen

Swabia, Hans Holbein the Elder, 1512
Augsburg, Staatsgalerie

Holland, Jan van Stoffeswert, early 1500s
Tudderen (Germany), St. Gertrude's Church



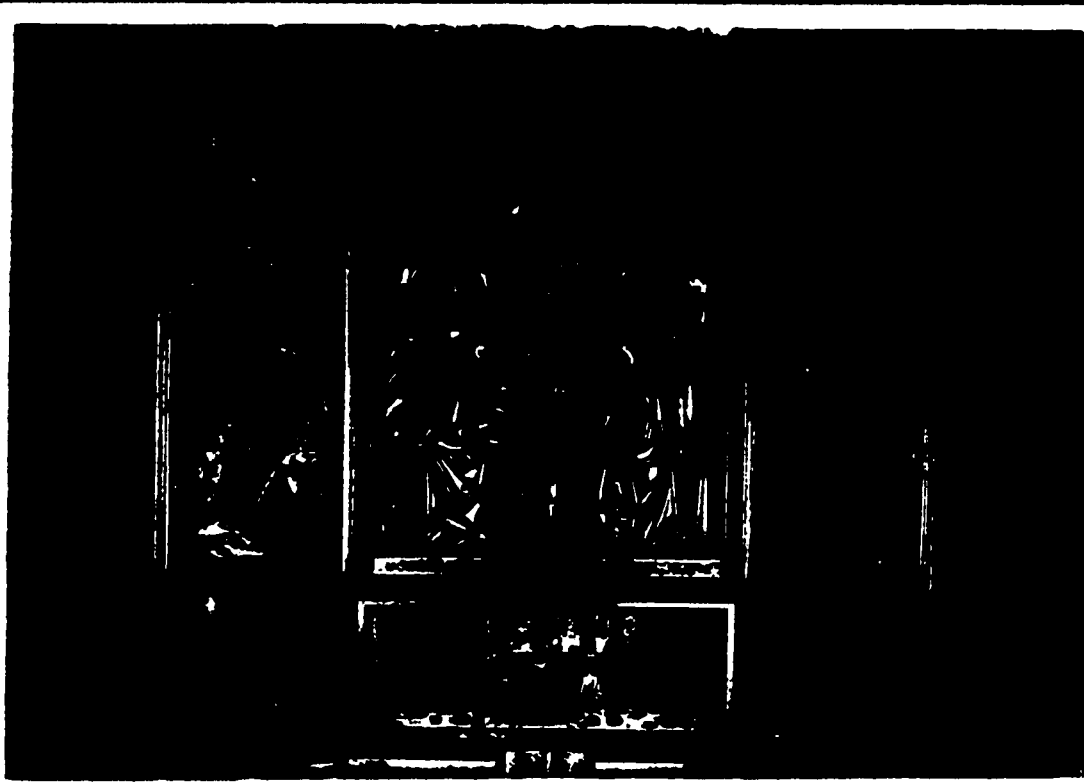
MARY WEARING THE CROWN (details)

Holland, c. 1500, E11, St. Anthony Abbot parish church
Lower Rhine, 1490-92
Woodcut, possibly Swiss, late 15th c.



MARY WEARING THE DIPOLET (details)

Hans Holbein, Swabia Augsburg Stadtegalerie
Hans Leinberger, Bavaria, 1512, Ingolstadt, St. Johannes
Hans Leinberger, Bavaria, before 1510, Munich, BNM



BOOKS IN THE ANNA SELDENOWITZ AND HOLY PINCHES - COLLECTION

Phelan, Master of the International Order, active 1955-1957
 M. J. J. J.

1. Subject: Mathematics
 2. Topic: Algebra

Planners, *Workshop of Henry Davis*
Saint Anne Altarpiece, right panel detail
Washington, National Gallery of Art

6-15-15
6-15-15



Mary Cleophas and her Children
Triptych of the Confraternity of Saint Anne at Louvain (detail)
Quinten Massys
Brussels, Musée royal des Beaux-Arts



Holy Kinship
Geertgen tot sint Jans, c. 1480-85
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
Repr. Chatelet

FRUITS

CLOCKWISE

Attr. to the Master of the Magdalene Legend
Flanders, 1480-90

Holland, c. 1480-1490
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Holland, Limburg, c. 1520
Private collection

Swabia, 16th c.
Berlin-Dahlem Museum





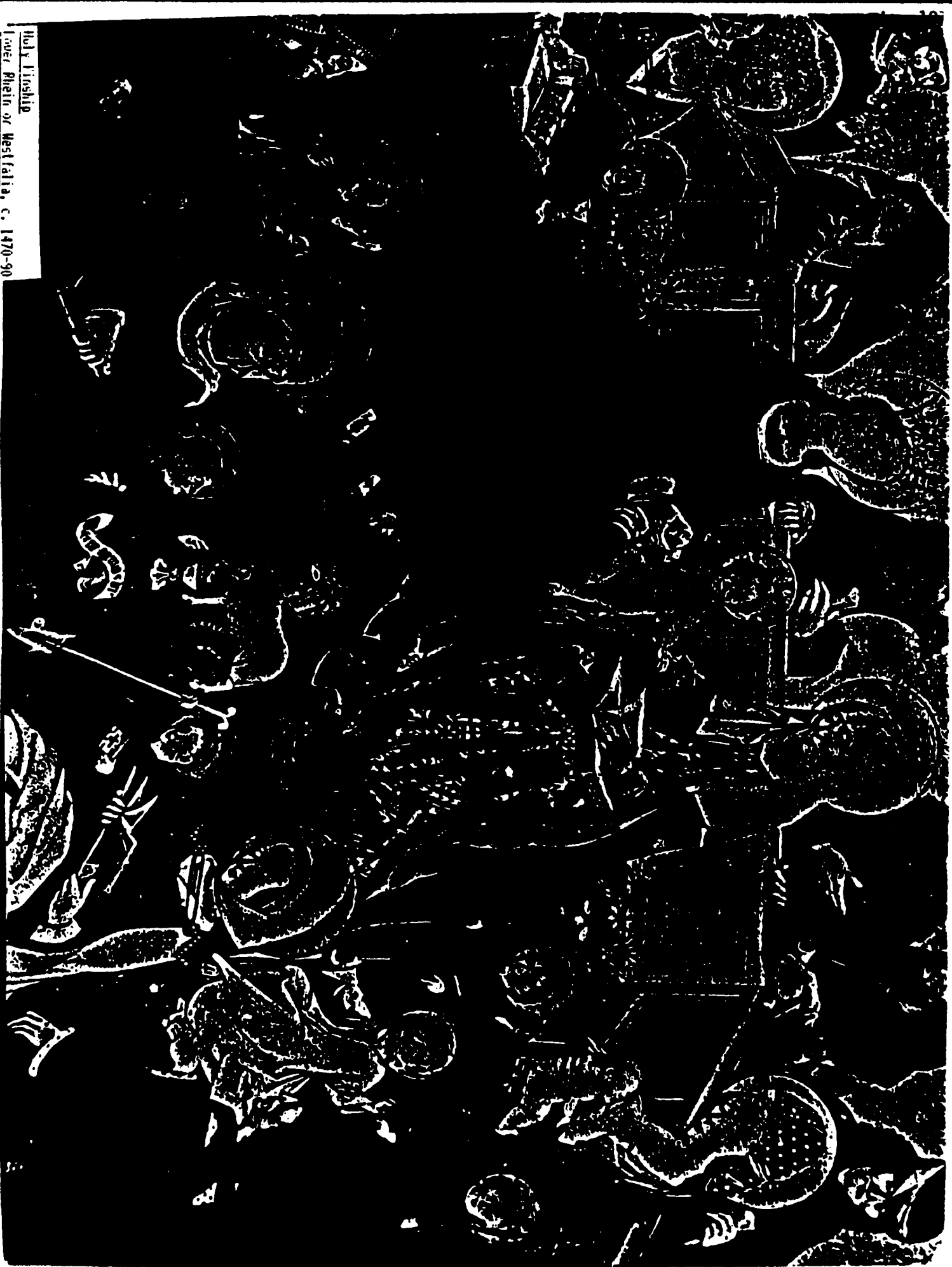
Holy Kinship of the Georgsbruderschaft
 Lübeck, Benedikt Dreyer, 1510-15
 Lübeck, St. Annen-Museum
 Repr. Wittstock, p. 177

Circumcision, High Altar, Melk Abbey (detail)
 Jörg Breu (Swabian), early 1500s
 Repr. Menz, fig. 32



Lucas van Leyden
The Holy Family
Holland, 1530
Engraving, Detail
Repr. Jacques Lavalleye, fig. 186

Holy Trinity
Lower Rhine or Westfalia, c. 1470-90
London, Wallraf-Richartz Museum





TOP

The Children of Mary Cleophas
Altarschrein der Gertrudenbrüderschaft (detail)
Lübeck, late 15th c.
Lübeck, St. Annen-Museum
Repr. postcard

BOTTOM

The Children of Mary Cleophas
Schlutupex Altar (detail)
Lübeck, late 15th c.
Lübeck, St. Annen-Museum
Repr. postcard



TOP, LEFT TO RIGHT, CHILDREN OF MARY CLEOPHAS WITH DOGS

Holy Kinship (detail)

Lucas Cranach

Repr. Friedländer & Rosenberg, fig. sup. 6

Holy Kinship (detail)

Lübeck, c. 1500

Lübeck, St. Annen-Museum

Repr. Wittstock, p. 155

BOTTOM RIGHT, JAMES THE GREATER WITH PUPPY

Altar of the Gertrudenbruderschaft (detail)

Lübeck, 1509

Lübeck, St. Annen-Museum

Repr. Wittstock, p. 174





James the Greater
Holy Kinship (detail)
Swabia, Bernhard Strigel
Washington, National Gallery of Art
Repr. Otto, fig. 94



Torgauer Altarpiece
 Saxony, Lucas Cranach, c. 1509
 Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut
 Repr. Silver, fig. 18



THE ANNA SELBORITT WITH THE CARMELETTE SAINTS ALBERTUS AND ANGELUS

Saint Anne with St. Albertus and St. Angelus
Woodcut, c. 1500
Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek

Anna Selbdritt
Colour Woodcut, possibly, Bielefeld, 15th c.
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek



The defenders of the Immaculate Conception
Saint Anne Altarpiece, panel
 Flemish, late 15th c.
 Frankfurt am Main, Historisches Museum
 Repr. Ashley & Sheingorn, p. 39



Henry Suso holding Eternal Wisdom
Manuscript illustration, 15th c.
Repr. Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache, p. 161.



CLOCKWISE

Mother goddess votive stele
Roman, 164 A.D.
Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum
Repr. museum folder

Mother goddess altar
2nd c. A.D.
Cologne, Römische-Germanisches Museum
Colonia Antiqua, p. 74.

Holy Kinship
Lower Rhine, c. 1530
Mühlheim an der Ruhr, Städtisches Museum
Repr. Esser



TOP
Cologne, c. 1420
Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum

BOTTOM
Flemish, late 15th c.
Ghent, Museum of Fine Arts



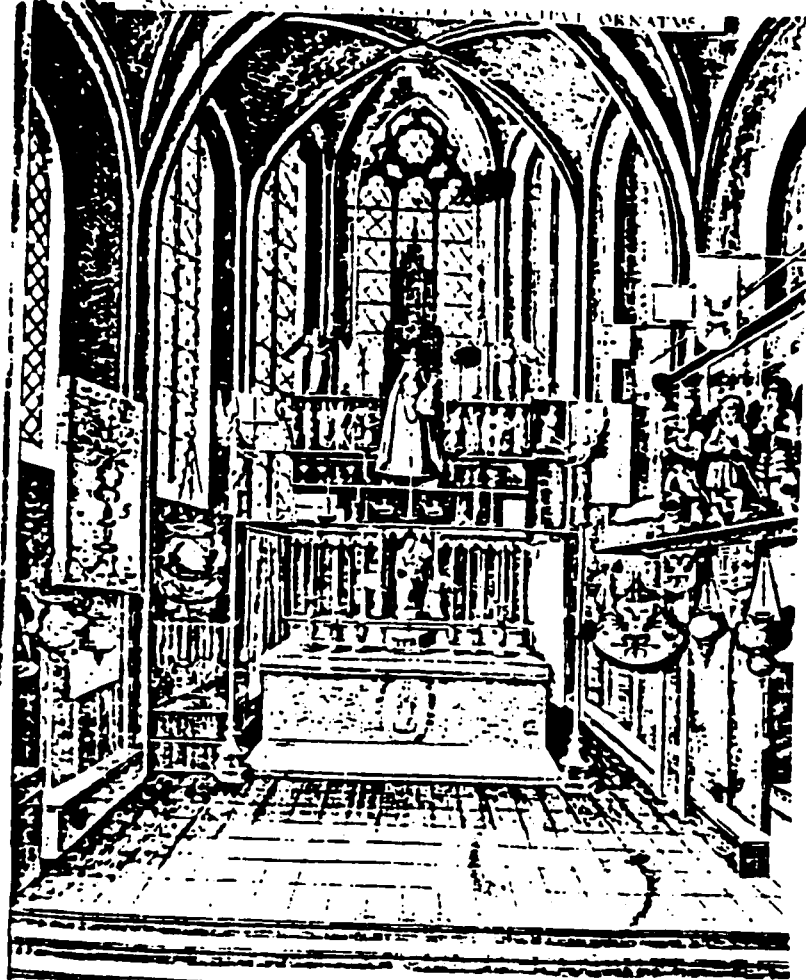


St. Anne and Her Family Visit the Carmelites
Flanders, Saint Anne Altarpiece, late 1490s
Frankfurt, Historisches Museum
Eppel, Ashley & Sheingorn, p. 42



Ein iunger knecht von Znaym kam gen Zell/dem het der schlag dy ain
 seyten vnd armh seines leybs verdetzt. Als pald er sein gepett opffert/
 ward Er gesundt vnd bewegt all sein glieder.

The Healing of the Young Man from Znaim
 Germany, c. 1520, Woodcut
 Repr. Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen p. 422



LEFT TO RIGHT

Chapel of the wonderworking image of the Virgin at Hal
 from J. Lipsius, Dea virgo Hallensis, Antwerp, 1616
 Repr. D. Freedberg, fig. 40

THE SILVER STATUE ON THE LOWER LEVEL MAY BE AN ANNA SELBDRITT

ANNA SELBDRITT PLACED AGAINST A PILLAR

Nürnberg, the Frauenkirche
 Johann Ulrich Kraus, engraving, 1696
 after a drawing by Johann Andreas Graff



Caroli Joannis titem abbatis spari
demissio terra fidei et scissa matre anna
Virginitas almus mater venerabilis anna
Excellens merito. et pietate potens
Nemo misisset qui te colit et veneratur
Sera cunctis placida quippe saluta opem
Caroli Conradus celis pueri q
portit lauran terra fidei

Nullius anna preces enqua dimisit inanes
Sed ruit optatam candida semper opem
Ex te piam matrem multo cumulemus honore
Nullus vacuos que fime esse preces
Caroli et hodoici gressu diuinitas
ma gūnni et terra fidei
Virginitas anna parens saluta sancta marie
Quidni noster digno saluta opus

Caroli et anna est humana redemptio quae
Caroli et anna est humana redemptio quae
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Holy Kinschup
Woodcut
Pfortzheim, 1501
Gelsberg, 1, G. 53

Ad honorem Sancte Anne exortatio attentis ricini itice coadunata. &



Quem ante domum o kuc mater anne
Et munda est vna comito me oserna
De plenaria fructuosa et carnis munda
De et hac munda. munda et ipse canna

Mater plena gloria munda decorata
Quam est vna et prout perperat
Quando munda illa. et in te orata
Deus hoc dignatus et laus proferat

Mater plena gloria munda decorata
Quam est vna et prout perperat
Quando munda illa. et in te orata
Deus hoc dignatus et laus proferat

Et totum est in munda et in felix grata
Quam est vna et prout perperat
Quando munda illa. et in te orata
Deus hoc dignatus et laus proferat

Et totum est in munda et in felix grata
Quam est vna et prout perperat
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Quando munda illa. et in te orata
Deus hoc dignatus et laus proferat

Et totum est in munda et in felix grata





Anna Selbdritt Beschlagt
 Augsburg, Caspar, 1494
 Repr. Rosenthal, p. 2



Anna Selbdritt

Silver gilt reliquary

Ingolstadt, Hans Greiff, 1472

Repr. Goldschmiedearbeiten in und aus Ingolstadt, p. 48



Holy Family

Flanders, Hugo van der Goes, 15th c.

Brussels, Musées Royaux

Repr. The Worcester-Philadelphia Exhibition, fig. 13



"Mechelse huisaltaartje" with Holy Kinship
Brabant, Mechelen, c. 1500
Repr. Nieuwdorp, p. 14.



Anna Selbdritt Hausaltärchen (small domestic altar)

Swabia, c. 1490

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection

Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art



Anna Selbdritt

Lübeck, last third of 15th c.

Lübeck, St.-Annen-Museum

Repr. Lübeck, St.-Annen-Museum photograph



Marienklage (Pietà)
Rhein, 14th c.
Kiedrich, parish church
Repr. Krönig, fig. 8

Marienklage
Lower Rhein, c. 1500
Aachen, Suermondt-Ludwig Museum
Repr. Grimme, fig. 35

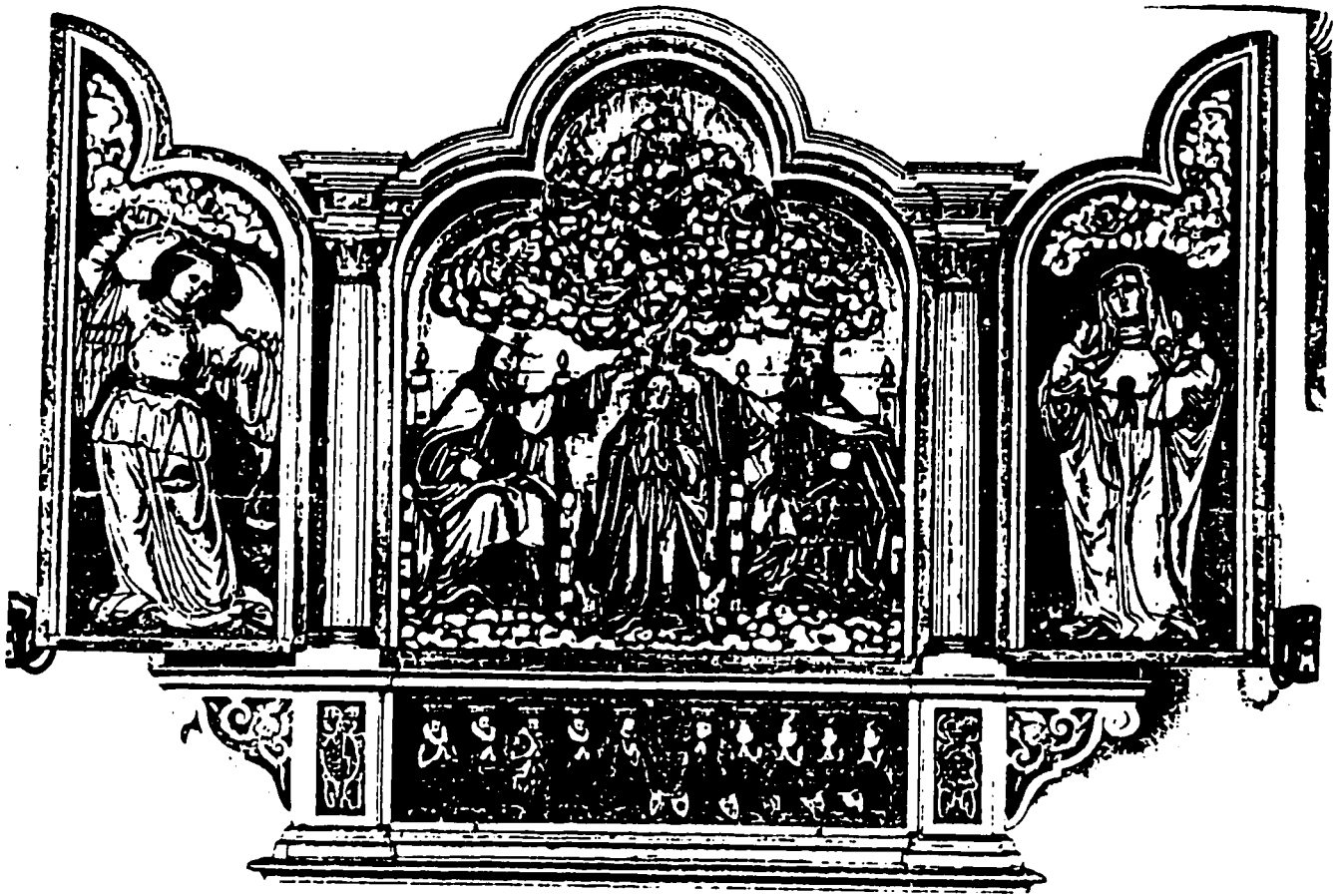


Epitaph of Anna van Nieuwenhove

Flanders, Master of the Saint Ursula Legend, 1480

New York, Metropolitan Museum, Robert Lehman Collection

Repr. Bauman, p. 23



Small Altarpiece
Swabia, mid-16th c.
Augsburg, St. Markus in der Fuggerei
Repr. Lieb, fig. 244



Crucifixion

Franconia, Jörg Breu (Swabian), c. 1512
Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum
Repr. Menz, fig. 23



Basilica Santa Croce
Swabia, Hans Burgkmair,
Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, c. 1499-1504
Repr. G. Goldberg, fig. 84



The Death of the Virgin
Swabia, Bernhard Strigel, late gothic
Strassburg, Kunstmuseum
Repr. Baldass, fig. 17



Kaiser Maximilian and his Family as the Holy Kinship
 Bernhard Strigel, 1515
 Vienna, Gemäldegalerie
 Repr. Otto, pp. 101-02



Holy Kinship

Tirol, 1517, Sebastian Schel, Schloss Annaberg im Vintertal, im
Innsbruck, Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
Bayer. Pachtmüller, fig. 194