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THE CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY OF SAINT ANNE IN LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO FLORENCE 1343 TO 1528

2 VOLS: Volume I: Text
Volume II: Illustrations

Volume I : Text

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Submitted to Trinity College, Dublin,
(Department of Medieval History)
In candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
January 2000

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DECLARATION

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Catherine Lawless

Summary

This thesis examines the cult and iconography of Saint Anne in Europe generally and in Florence specifically. Saint Anne was declared a patroness of Florence when the Duke of Athens, a tyrant, was overthrown on her feast day in 1343. The thesis attempts to trace the cult and iconography of Saint Anne in Florence in the light of the popularity of the Saint in Europe in the late middle ages. The contrast between aspects of her cult in Northern Europe and in Florence is discussed. Reasons why certain features were omitted from Florentine representations are suggested.

Saint Anne occupies an unusual position in the pantheon of female saints, due, not only to her familial relationship with the Christ Child, but also because female sanctity was normally defined by the criteria of chastity and passivity in the face of martyrdom. Although the number of married saints increased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the emphasis on leading a chaste life, in these cases within marriage, remained. The legend of the three marriages of Saint Anne, represented in Northern European art from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries was not represented in her patronal city.

It was necessary to establish a corpus of images. In this, the Fototeca in the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence was of of considerable aid. The Princeton Index to Christian Art (consulted in the Vatican) and illustrated iconographical dictionaries, such as, for example, Gertrud Schiller's *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst* enabled a comparison between images in Europe with those in Florence.

The thesis is divided into two main parts in order to present the Florentine material against the background of European devotion to Saint Anne. Part I is therefore concerned with the cult, texts and iconography of Saint Anne in Northern Europe, while Part II concentrates on Florence.

It soon became apparent that, contrary to Northern European imagery, the representation of Saint Anne in Tuscan art was confined to devotional images of the *Anna Selbdritt* type, or, more rarely, the Saint Anne with the Virgin as a child, and narrative images in which she appeared in Marian cycles or scenes. In an effort to understand the popular religious culture of the time, manuscript lives of the Virgin, the Saints, and other devotional and didactic works were consulted. These were contrasted with similar texts which were produced in England, France, Germany and elsewhere. Reading these works led to the realisation that, although the texts and images were produced for the same audiences, the way in which they were read was

very different. The Holy Kindred was not depicted, yet it was fearlessly described in the texts. Nor was there in Florence a debate over the *trinubium* as there was in Northern Europe.

Studies of fourteenth and fifteenth century religious iconography have largely tended to concentrate, in their search for the meaning of images, on patristic sources, or standard published texts such as the *Golden Legend* or the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.* These works are of course influential, but such studies take little account of how patristic, apocryphal and near contemporary religious writings are adapted to local, conventual, or personal use. Devotional and didactic manuscript material in the Palatini, Panciatichi, and Magliabechiano fondi in the Biblioteca Nazionale, and similar material in the Biblioteca Riccardiana have hitherto been ignored by art historians despite the wealth of information such material provides on the devotional interests and needs of Florentine society.

This study aims to redress the balance by examining the differences between text and image in the devotional and narrative iconography of Saint Anne, and seeks to explain why, in her patronal city, certain aspects of her cult, available in the texts, were either suppressed or ignored.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acta SS, Julii 26.	Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum Julii VI,* ed. Conrad Jannigus (Antwerp,1715-1721)
A.S.F.	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
BL.	British Library.
BN.	Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris
B.N.F.	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
Davidsohn, *Storia.*	*Storia di Firenze,* 8 vols (Florence, 1957-1973)
Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:	Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der Christliche Ikonographie,* ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels, 8 vols (Freiburg im Briesgau, 1968-1973)V
Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen.*	Elizabeth and Wlater Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz* 6 vols (Frankfurt, 1940-1954)
PG	Idem., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, 161 vols (Paris, 1857-1904)
PL	Migne, J.P., ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina.* 217 vols (Paris, 1844-1905)
Richa, *Notizie.*	Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine Divise ne'Suoi Quartieri,* 10 vols (Florence, 1754-62)
s.f.	*stile fiorentino*
s.m.	*stile moderno*

Stefani, *Cronaca*	*Cronaca Fiorentina*, ed. by Niccolò Rodolico, Rerum Italicum Scriptores, 30.i. (Città di Castello, 1903)
Vasari-Milanesi	*Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. by Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols (Florence, 1973)
Vasari (1550)	*Le Vite de' più Eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani da Cimabue insino a' Tempi Nostri*, ed. by Luciano Bellosi, 2 vols (Florence, 1550; Turin, 1986)
Villani, *Cronica*	*Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, ed. by I. Moutier and Francesco Gherardi Dragomanni, 4 vols (Florence, 1844; Frankfurt, 1969)

Sources will be quoted as they appear in the edition cited and, therefore, in some cases without modernisation of the languages used.

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2.38. Guidoccio Cozzarelli, *Presentation of the Virgin* (gabelle cover). Archivio di Stato, Siena (1483). Photograph reproduced from: *Le Biccherne: Tavole Dipinte delle Magistrature Senesi (Secoli XIII-XVIII)*, ed. by L. Borgia and others (Rome, 1984), p.187 (Archivio di Stato di Siena).

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2.39a. Sano di Pietro, *Presentation of the Virgin*. Vatican Gallery, inv.136 (mid fifteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from: Wolfgang F. Volbach, *Il Trecento, Firenze e Siena*, trans. and rev. by Francesca Pomarici, Catalogo della Pinacoteca Vaticana, 2 (Vatican City, 1987), fig.99.

2.39b. Sano di Pietro, *Sposalizio*. Vatican Gallery, inv.138 (mid fifteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from: Wolfgang F. Volbach, *Il Trecento, Firenze e Siena*, trans. and rev. by Francesca Pomarici, Catalogo della Pinacoteca Vaticana, 2 (Vatican City, 1987), fig.100.

2.40. Jacopo Bellini, *Annunciation* with scenes from the *Life of the Virgin*. Sant'Alessandro, Brescia (1444). Photograph reproduced from: Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1993), p.168, pl.154.

2.41. Vittore Carpaccio, *Presentation of the Virgin*. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (c.1503). Photograph reproduced from: David Rosand, *Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto* (New Haven and London, 1982), fig.65 (Alinari).

2.42. Cima da Conegliano, *Presentation of the Virgin*. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (c.1495-7). Photograph reproduced from: Peter Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano* (Cambridge, 1983), p.99, ill.66 (Alinari).

2.43. Bartolo di Fredi, *Presentation of the Virgin*. Sant'Agostino, San Gimignano (mid fourteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from: Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *L'Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1964-5), II, Planche XXVI, fig.52 (Fontanelli).

2.44. Pinturicchio, *Birth of the Virgin, Presentation of the Virgin, Assumption of the Virgin*. Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome (1505). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

2.45. Michele Giambono, *Presentation of the Virgin*. San Marco, Venice (1440s). Photograph reproduced from: David Rosand, *Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto* (New Haven and London, 1982), fig.83 (Anderson).

2.46. Byzantine School, *Presentation of the Virgin*. Peribleptos Church (or Saint Clement), Ohrid, Macedonia (fourteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from a postcard.

2.47. Antonio da Fabriano, *Saint Anne Educating the Virgin*. Gallery, Gualdo Tadino (c.1457). Photograph reproduced from: Pietro Zampetti, *Paintings from the Marches, Gentile to Raphael* (London, 1971), p.41, pl.44.

2.48. *Saints Christopher, George, Anne Educating the Virgin, and Mary Magdalen.* Keble College, Oxford, Ms. 47, f.7v. (last quarter of the fourteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from: *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens, Ga., and London, 1990), p.23, fig.6 (Warden and Fellows of Keble College, Oxford).

2.49. Ile-de-France, *Saint Anne Educating the Virgin*. Notre-Dame, Poissy (late fifteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from: *La Vierge dans l'Art Français. Musée du Petit Palais*, ed. by Suzanne Kahn and Jacques Dupont (Paris, 1950), p.38.

2.50. French, *Saint Anne Educating the Virgin*. British Library, London, Harley Ms. 2897, f.340v. (c.1415). Photograph reproduced from a postcard (British Library Board, BL/C/MS/119).

2.51. Giovanni di Paolo, *Sposalizio*. Galleria Doria-Pamphili, Rome (early to mid fifteenth-century). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

2.51a. Master of the Life of the Virgin, *Sposalizio*. Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (1465). Photograph reproduced from: Gertrude Schiller, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, 4 vols (Gutersloh, 1969), IV, p.344, pl.577.

2.52. Contemporary of Sano di Pietro, *Return of the Virgin to the Home of Her Parents*. Vatican Gallery (mid fifteenth-century). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

2.53. Bartolo di Fredi, *Coronation of the Virgin* with scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* (photomontage reconstruction of Montalcino altarpiece by Gaudenz Freuler). Various collections, formerly in San Francesco, Montalcino (1388). Photograph reproduced from: *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400*, ed. by Diana Norman, 2 vols (New Haven and London, 1995), II, p.208, pl. 255 (Gaudenz Freuler).

2.54. Lippo Vanni or Memmi, *Sposalizio*. San Leonardo al Lago, Siena (c.1360). Photograph reproduced from: Enzo Carli, *Sienese Painting* (London, 1983), p.49, pl.70 (Scala).

2.55. Follower of Antoniazzo Romano, *Anna Selbdritt with Donor*. San Pietro in Montorio, Rome (late fifteenth-century). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

2.56. North Italian School, *Anna Selbdritt*. Museo Civico, Novara (fifteenth-century). Photograph: Frick Art Reference Library 26691.

2.57. Martino di Bartolomeo di Biagio, *Anna Selbdritt with Saints Michael, Bartholomew, Angels and Donors*. Sant'Andrea, Siena (c.1421). Photograph: Berenson Collection, The Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, Florence.

2.58. Master of 1473, *The Holy Kindred* with scenes from the *Life of the Virgin.* Santa Maria zur Wiese, Soest (1473). Photograph reproduced from: James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art* (New York, 1985), p.232, fig.266 (Bildarchiv Marburg).

2.59. Marti Torner, *Anna Selbdritt*. Museo de Mallorca (late fifteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from a postcard (Foto Archivo Museo de Mallorca).

2.60. Pietro Befulco, *Anna Selbdritt*. Private Collection, Naples (after 1471). Photograph reproduced from: *Il Polittico di San Severino*, ed. by Ferdinando Bologna (Naples, 1989), p.101.

2.61. Luca di Tomè, *Anna Selbdritt and Saints*. Pinacoteca, Siena (1367). Photograph reproduced from: Enzo Carli, *Sienese Painting* (London, 1983), p.48, pl.68 (Scala).

2.62. Milanese School (attributed to), *Anna Selbdritt* with *Saint Michael* above. San Michele, Celle Ligure (fifteenth-century). Photograph: Frick Art Reference Library 28015.

2.63. Ligurian School (attributed to), *Anna Selbdritt with Saints Sebastian and Catherine of Alexandria*. Santa Caterina, Sestri Levante (late fifteenth-century). Photograph: Frick Art Reference Library 27571.

2.64. Alsatian School, *Anna Selbdritt*. Musée du Louvre, Paris (fifteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from: Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (Chicago and London, 1996), p.43, fig.56.

2.65. Hungarian, *Anna Selbdritt* (the Leibic altarpiece). Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest (1510-20). Photograph reproduced from: Gyöngyi Török, *Late Gothic Altarpieces in the Hungarian National Gallery* (Budapest, 1989), pl.X.

2.66. Hungarian, *The Holy Kindred* (the Kisszeben altarpiece). Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest (1510-20). Photograph reproduced from: Gyöngyi Török, *Late Gothic Altarpieces in the Hungarian National Gallery* (Budapest, 1989), pl.IX.

2.67. Daniel Mauch, *The Holy Kindred and the Dream of Jesse*. Kapelle of Saint Franz Xaver, Bieselbach (1510). Photograph reproduced from: Michael Baxandall,

The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany (New Haven and London, 1990), fig.81 (Helga Schmidt-Glassner).

2.68. Master of the Holy Kindred, *The Holy Kindred with Donors Nicasius Hackeney and Christina Hardenrath.* Wallraf-Richartz Museum, no.WRM.165, Cologne (early sixteenth-century). Photograph: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

2.69. Associate of Barna da Siena, *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine of Alexandria* and *Anna Selbdritt.* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (c.1360). Photograph reproduced from: Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton, 1951), pl.107.

2.70. Gian Martino Spanzotti, *Anna Selbdritt with Saints Michael, Bernardino of Siena, Francis, and James.* Chiesa della Confraternita di Gesù, Casale Monferrato (early sixteenth-century). Photograph: Frick Art Reference Library 26578.

2.71. Lorenzo di Alessandro di Sanseverino, *Anna Selbdritt with Saints Roch and Sebastian.* Museo Piersanti, Matelica (late fifteenth-century). Photograph: Berenson Collection, The Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, Florence.

2.72. Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece, *Anna Selbdritt.* Alte Pinakothek, Munich (c.1480). Photograph reproduced from: James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art* (New York, 1985), p.204, pl.39 (Joachim Blauel, Artothek, Planegg).

2.73. Jorg Lederer, *Anna Selbdritt.* Kloster and Pfarrkirche of St. Anna in Reutte, Tirol (1515). Photograph reproduced from a postcard (Foto Müller).

2.74. Ludwig Konraiter, *Anna Selbdritt with Ten Virgin Saints and the Town of Wilten.* Premonstratensian Convent, Wilten (c.1480). Photograph reproduced from: *Itinerari Mostra del Tirolo. Il Gotico. Un'iniziativa della Tirol Werbung Ideata da Eva Schubert*, ed. by Saverio Capozzi (Milan, 1994), p.48 (Jorg Möser).

2.75. Workshop of the Master of Osnabrück, *Anna Selbdritt.* Cathedral Treasury, Paderborn (c.1520). Photograph reproduced from: Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der Christlichen Iconographie*, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels, 8 vols (Freiburg im Briesgau, 1968-73), V, col.187, fig. 3.

2.76. Manfredino Boxilio, *Anna Selbdritt with Saints John the Baptist, Margaret, and Donors*. SS. Anna e Giovanni da Campo Fregosa, Novi Ligure (1471). Photograph: Frick Art Reference Library 26240.

2.77. French, *The Holy Kindred*. Arsenal, Ms. 3517, f.7, Paris (c.1300). Photograph reproduced from: *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens, Ga., and London, 1990), p.172, fig.1 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

2.78. Follower of the Saint Veronica Master, *The Holy Kindred*. Wallraf-Richarz Museum, Cologne (c.1420). Photograph reproduced from: James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art* (New York, 1985), p.82, fig. 80 (Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne).

2.79. Master of the Ortenberg Altarpiece, *The Holy Kindred* (centre of the Ortenberg Altarpiece). Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (c.1410-20). Photograph reproduced from: Charles Cuttler, *Northern Renaissance Painting from Pucelle to Breugel* (Fort Worth, 1991), p.59, fig.77 (Marburg Art Reference Bureau).

2.80. German Master, *The Holy Kindred*. Hessisches Landesmuseum, GK6, Darmstadt (c.1430). Photograph: Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt (I am very grateful to Dr. Theo Jülich for this illustration).

2.81. Geertgen tot sint Jans, *The Holy Kindred in a Church*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (c.1480). Photograph reproduced from a postcard.

2.82. The Bedford Master, *Anne, Duchess of Beford before Anna Selbdritt* with the *Family of Saint Anne* in the margin (leaf from the Bedford Hours). Bedford Hours, British Library, London, Ms. Add. 18840, f.257v. (c.1423). Photograph reproduced from: T. Tolley, *A Book of Hours* (London, 1994), pl.12 (British Library).

2.83. Master of the Family of Saint Anne, *Stollanus and Emerentiana*. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent (late fifteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from: Ton Brandenbarg, 'The Veneration of Saint Anne in Connection with Concepts of Marriage and the Family in the Early-Modern Period', *Saints and She Devils*, ed. by Lène Dresen-Coenders (London, 1987), p.102.

2.84. Master of the Family of Saint Anne, *Saints Joachim, Anne, Mary, and the Christ Child*. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent (late fifteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from: Ton Brandenbarg, 'The Veneration of Saint Anne in

Connection with Concepts of Marriage and the Family in the Early-Modern Period', *Saints and She Devils*, ed. by Lène Dresen-Coenders (London, 1987), p.103.

2.85. Flemish Artist, *Tree of Emerentiana.* Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid (c.1500). Photograph reproduced from a postcard.

2.86. Flemish Artist, *Life of Saint Anne.* Historisches Museum, Frankfurt (c.1490). Photograph reproduced from a postcard.

2.87. Master of the Grimani Breviary, *The Immaculate Conception.* Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (c.1515). Photograph reproduced from: Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1990), pl.VI, fig.8.

2.88. French, *Anna Selbdritt with the Symbols of the Lauretan Litany.* Hours of Simon Vostre for the Diocese of Angers (sixteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from: Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels, 8 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1968-73), V, col.185, fig.1.

2.89. Flemish Artist, *The Immaculate Conception with Pope Sixtus IV, Anselm of Canterbury, Augustine, and Jerome with Some Carmelites.* Historisches Museum, Frankfurt (c.1490). Photograph reproduced from: Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der Christlichen Iconographie*, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels, 8 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1968-73), V, col.177, fig.4.

2.90. Cima da Conegliano, *Madonna and Child with Saints Anne, Joachim, Mary Magdalen, and Catherine of Alexandria.* Formerly in the church of Sant'Anna, Capodistria (Koper), present whereabouts unknown (1513). Photograph reproduced from: Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1993), p.136, pl.118 (Alinari).

2.91. Hans Baldung Grien, *Anna Selbdritt with Saint Joseph* (1511). Photograph reproduced from: Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (Chicago and London, 1996), p.9, fig.13.

2.92. Hans Baldung Grien, *Anna Selbdritt with Saints Joachim and Joseph* (1510-11). Photograph reproduced from: Erhard Gorys, *Lexikon der Heiligen* (Munich, 1997), p.46.

3.1. Florentine Artist, *Man of Sorrows*. Ms. 1052,f. 89r, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence (fifteenth-century). Photograph: Biblioteca Riccardiana.

3.2. Florentine Artist, *Meeting at the Golden Gate*. Corale A, f.203, Biblioteca di Santa Croce, Florence (late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from a postcard.

5.1. Taddeo Gaddi, *Life of the Virgin*. Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. View of the chapel from the transept (c.1328-34). Photograph reproduced from: Michael Camille, *Gothic Art* (London, 1996), p.50, pl.33 (Studio Fotografico Quattrone, Florence).

5.2. Taddeo Gaddi, *Life of the Virgin*. Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (c.1328-34). Photograph reproduced from: A. Richard Turner, *The Renaissance in Florence* (London, 1997), p.34, fig.16 (Studio Fotografico Quattrone, Florence).

5.3. Taddeo Gaddi, *Life of the Virgin*. Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (c.1328-34). Photograph: Alinari.

5.4. Taddeo Gaddi, *Refusal of the Offering of Joachim* and *Annunciation to Joachim*. Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (c.1328-34). Photograph: Alinari.

5.5. Giotto di Bondone, *Naming of Saint John the Baptist* and *Birth of Saint John the Baptist*. Peruzzi Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (c.1325). Photograph reproduced from a postcard (Bonechi).

5.6. Taddeo Gaddi, *Presentation of the Virgin*. Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (c.1328-34). Photograph: Alinari.

5.7. Jacopo di Cambio, *Coronation of the Virgin* and scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* (altar frontal). Galleria Palatina (Palazzo Pitti), Florence (c. 1336). Photograph reproduced from: *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400*, ed. by Diana Norman, 2 vols (New Haven and London, 1995), I, p.231, pl.242 (Scala).

5.8. Bernardo Daddi, *Virgin and Child with Saints* and scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* (the San Pancrazio Polyptych). Uffizi, Florence (c.1333). Photograph reproduced from: Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: a List of*

the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places. Florentine School, 2 vols (London, 1963), I, pl.177.

5.9. Bernardo Daddi, *Birth of the Virgin* (predella panel from the San Pancrazio Polyptych). Uffizi, Florence (c.1333). Photograph reproduced from: Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: a List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places. Florentine School*, 2 vols (London, 1963), I, pl.178.

5.10. Jan Van Eyck, *Madonna and Child in a Church.* Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (c.1437-8). Photograph reproduced from: James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art* (New York, 1985), p.107, fig.17 (Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Jorg P. Anders).

5.11. Andrea Orcagna, *Birth of the Virgin, Faith,* and the *Presentation* (tabernacle of the Virgin). Orsanmichele, Florence (1359). Photograph reproduced from: Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), II, p.368, pl.647.

5.12. Andrea Orcagna, *Presentation of the Virgin* (tabernacle of the Virgin). Orsanmichele, Florence (1359). Photograph reproduced from: Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), II, p.368, pl.645.

5.13. Andrea Orcagna, *Birth of the Virgin* (tabernacle of the Virgin). Orsanmichele, Florence (1359). Photograph reproduced from: Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), II, p.373, pl.646.

5.14. Nardo di Cione, *Life of the Virgin.* Steccuti Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (c.1360). View from the cloister. Photograph: Mildred Dunne.

5.15. Giovanni da Milano, *Life of the Virgin.* Rinuccini Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (c.1365). Photograph: Alinari.

5.16. Nardo di Cione, *Annunciation to Joachim and to Anne*. Steccuti Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (c.1360). Photograph reproduced from: Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *L'Iconographie de l'Enfance de La Vierge*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1964-5), II, Planche XV, fig. 24 (Alinari).

5.17. Nardo di Cione, *Meeting at the Golden Gate*. Steccuti Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (c.1360). Photograph: Mildred Dunne.

5.18. Nardo di Cione, *Birth of the Virgin.* Steccuti Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (c.1360). Photograph: Mildred Dunne.

5.19. Nardo di Cione, *Presentation of the Virgin*. Steccuti Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (c.1360). Photograph: Mildred Dunne.

5.20. Nardo di Cione, *Saint Dominic*. Steccuti Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (c.1360). Photograph: Mildred Dunne.

5.21. Nardo di Cione, *Saints Thomas Aquinas and Luke*. Steccuti Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (c.1360). Photograph: Mildred Dunne.

5.22. Nardo di Cione, *Saint John the Evangelist*. Steccuti Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (c.1360). Photograph: Mildred Dunne.

5.23. Giovanni da Milano, *Life of the Virgin.* Rinuccini Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (c.1365). Photograph: Alinari.

5.24. Giovanni da Milano, *Birth of the Virgin.* Rinuccini Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (c.1365). Photograph reproduced from a postcard (Giusti di Becocci).

5.25. Giovanni da Milano, *Presentation of the Virgin* (det.). Rinuccini Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (c.1365). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

5.26. Master of the Ashmolean Predella (Orcagna?), *Annunciation to Joachim*, with the *Annunciation to Saint Anne* in the background. Vatican Gallery, cat.13, inv.96 (1370-5). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

5.27. Master of the Ashmolean Predella (Orcagna?), *Birth of the Virgin.* Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no.306 (c.1370-5). Photograph: Ashmolean Museum.

5.28. Agnolo Gaddi, *Refusal of the Offering of Joachim*. Cappella della Sacra Cintola, Prato (1392). Photograph reproduced from: Bruce Cole, *Agnolo Gaddi* (Oxford, 1977), pl.56.

5.29. Agnolo Gaddi, *Refusal of the Offering of Joachim* (det.) and *Annunciation to Joachim*. Cappella della Sacra Cintola, Prato (1392). Photograph reproduced from: Bruce Cole, *Agnolo Gaddi* (Oxford, 1977), pl.57.

5.30. Agnolo Gaddi, *Meeting at the Golden Gate and Annunciation to Anne*. Cappella della Sacra Cintola, Prato (1392). Photograph reproduced from: Bruce Cole, *Agnolo Gaddi* (Oxford, 1977), pl.58.

5.31. Giovannino dei Grassi, *Meeting at the Golden Gate* (leaf from the Visconti Hours). Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Banco Rari 397, f.3 (c.1370). Photograph reproduced from: *The Visconti Hours*, ed. by Millard Meiss and Edith Kirsch (New York and London, 1972).

5.32. Agnolo Gaddi, *Presentation of the Virgin*. Cappella della Sacra Cintola, Prato (1392). Photograph reproduced from: Bruce Cole, *Agnolo Gaddi* (Oxford, 1977), pl.59.

5.33. Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza, *Virgin and Child with Saints* and scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* (Impruneta Altarpiece). Collegiata di Santa Maria, Impruneta (c.1383). Photograph reproduced from: Richard Fremantle, *Florentine Gothic Painters from Giotto to Masaccio: A Guide to Painting in and near Florence, 1300-1450* (London, 1975), p.335, pl.685.

5.34. Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza, *Refusal of the Offering of Joachim* (panel from the Impruneta Altarpiece). Collegiata di Santa Maria, Impruneta (c.1383). Photograph reproduced from: Richard Fremantle, *Florentine Gothic Painters from Giotto to Masaccio: A Guide to Painting in and near Florence, 1300-1450* (London, 1975), p.336, pl.686.

5.35. Niccolò di Buonaccorso, *Sposalizio*. National Gallery, London, no.1109 (before 1388). Photograph reproduced from: Gillian Dunkerton, *Giotto to Dürer: Early Renaissance Painting in the National Gallery* (New Haven and London, 1991), p.231.

5.36. Lorenzo Monaco, *Annunciation to Joachim*. Bartolini-Salimbene Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence (c.1422-5). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

5.37. Lorenzo Monaco, *Meeting at the Golden Gate*. Bartolini-Salimbene Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence (c.1422-5). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

5.38. Lorenzo Monaco, *Birth of the Virgin*. Bartolini-Salimbene Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence (c.1422-5). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

5.39. Lorenzo Monaco, *Presentation of the Virgin.* Bartolini-Salimbene Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence (c.1422-5). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

5.40. Lorenzo Monaco, *Sposalizio*. Bartolini-Salimbene Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence (c.1422-5). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

5.41. Lorenzo Monaco (designed), and Niccolò di Piero Tedesco (executed), *Annunciation to Joachim* (modern restoration of lunette window). Orsanmichele, Florence (1388-1419). Photograph reproduced from: Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), II, p.206, pl.312.

5.42. Lorenzo Ghiberti (designed), Francesco di Giovanni Lastra and Bernardo di Francesco (executed), *Presentation of the Virgin* (lunette). Orsanmichele, Florence (1429). Photograph reproduced from: Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), II, p.198, pl.297.

5.43. Anonymous Tuscan Painter, *Presentation of the Virgin*. Collection Saibene, Milan (fifteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from: David Rosand, *Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese and Tintoretto* (New Haven and London, 1982), p.62, fig.16 (Milan, Collection Saibene).

5.44. Anonymous Florentine Engraver, *Presentation of the Virgin* (det.). Metropolitan Musuem of Art, New York (c.1460). Photograph reproduced from: David Rosand, *Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese and Tintoretto* (New Haven and London, 1982), p.124, fig. 88 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917).

5.45. Bicci di Lorenzo and Assistants, *Annunciation* with scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* in the predella. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (c.1430). Photograph reproduced from: A. Richard Turner, *The Renaissance in Florence* (London, 1997), p.93, fig.54 (Walters Art Gallery).

5.46. Mariotto di Nardo, *Virgin and Child with Saints* with scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* in the predella. Accademia, Florence (c.1393-4). Photograph reproduced from: Giorgio Bonsanti, *The Galleria dell'Accademia* (Florence, 1987), p.71 (Scala).

5.47. Bicci di Lorenzo, *Life of the Virgin.* Compagni Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence (1400-20). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

5.48. Neri di Bicci, *Coronation of the Virgin with Angels and Saints* with scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* in the predella. Convento of San Francesco a Montecarlo, San Giovanni Valdarno (c.1472-5). Photograph reproduced from: *Maestri e Botteghe: Pittura a Firenze alla Fine del Quattrocento*, ed. by Mina Gregori, Antonio Paolucci and Cristina Acidini Luchinat (Florence, 1992), p.120, no.3.6.

5.49. Paolo Uccello, *Birth of the Virgin.* Cappella dell'Assunta, Cathedral, Prato (c.1435). Photograph reproduced from: Annarita Paolieri, *Paolo Uccello, Domenico Veneziano, Andrea del Castagno* (Florence, 1991), p.18, pl.18 (Scala).

5.50. Paolo Uccello, *Presentation of the Virgin.* Cappella dell'Assunta, Cathedral, Prato (c.1435). Photograph reproduced from: Annarita Paolieri, *Paolo Uccello, Domenico Veneziano, Andrea del Castagno* (Florence, 1991), p.17, pl.17 (Scala).

5.51. Paolo Uccello, *Disputation of Saint Stephen.* Cappella dell'Assunta, Cathedral, Prato (c.1435). Photograph reproduced from: Annarita Paolieri, *Paolo Uccello, Domenico Veneziano, Andrea del Castagno* (Florence, 1991), p.15, pl.14 (Scala).

5.52. Benozzo Gozzoli, Shrine of the Visitation, Biblioteca Comunale, Castelfiorentino (1491). Photograph reproduced from: *Frescoes from Florence: An Exhibition Organised by the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie per le Provincie di Firenze e Pistoia*, introduced by Ugo Procacci ([n.pl.], [1969]), p.160, no.46.

5.53. Benozzo Gozzoli, *Refusal of the Offering of Joachim*. Biblioteca Comunale, Castelfiorentino (1491). Photograph reproduced from: Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (Florence, 1994), p.75, pl.106 (Scala).

5.54. Benozzo Gozzoli, *Annunciation to Joachim*. Biblioteca Comunale, Castelfiorentino (1491). Photograph reproduced from: Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (Florence, 1994), p.75, pl.105 (Scala).

5.55. Benozzo Gozzoli, *Meeting at the Golden Gate.* Biblioteca Comunale, Castelfiorentino (1491). Photograph reproduced from: Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (Florence, 1994), p.74, pl.103 (Scala).

5.56. Benozzo Gozzoli, *Birth of the Virgin.* Biblioteca Comunale, Castelfiorentino (1491). Photograph reproduced from: Diane Cole Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (London and New Haven, 1996), p.192, ill.251 (Alinari).

5.57. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Meeting at the Golden Gate*. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (early to mid 1440s). Photograph reproduced from: Jeffrey Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi* (London, 1993), p.175, pl.98 (Scala).

5.58. Filippino Lippi, *Meeting at the Golden Gate*. Royal Museum, Copenhagen (1497). Photograph: Royal Museum Copenhagen.

5.59. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Madonna and Child with the Birth of the Virgin and the Meeting of Joachim and Anne*. Museo Palatino (Palazzo Pitti), Florence (mid to late 1460s). Photograph reproduced from: Jeffrey Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi* (London, 1993), p.241, pl.135 (Scala).

5.60. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Meeting of Joachim and Anna* (detail of the *Birth of the Virgin*). Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1488-90). Photograph reproduced from: Emma Micheletti, *Domenico Ghirlandaio* (London, 1990), p.42, pl.43 (Scala).

5.61. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Life of the Virgin*. Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence. View from behind the altar, showing *Giovanni Tornabuoni* and the *Annunciation* (1488-90). Photograph: Eve McAulay.

5.62. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Refusal of the Offering of Joachim.* Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1488-90). Photograph reproduced from: Emma Micheletti, *Domenico Ghirlandaio* (London, 1990), p.39, pl. 41 (Scala).

5.63. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Birth of the Virgin*. Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1488-90). Photograph reproduced from: Emma Micheletti, *Domenico Ghirlandaio* (London, 1990), p.40, pl. 45 (Scala).

5.64. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Presentation of the Virgin*. Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1488-90). Photograph reproduced from: Emma Micheletti, *Domenico Ghirlandaio* (London, 1990), p.43, pl.46 (Scala).

5.65. Giovanni Boccardi (Boccardi il Vecchio), *Presentation of the Virgin*. British Library, London, Codex Yates-Thompson 30, f.117v (fifteenth-century).

Photograph reproduced from: *Maestri e Botteghe: Pittura a Firenze alla Fine del Quattrocento*, ed. by Mina Gregori, Antonio Paolucci and Cristina Acidini Luchinat (Florence, 1992), p.190, no.9.

5.66. Giovanni Boccardi (Boccardi il Vecchio), *Meeting at the Golden Gate*. Ms. Plut. 17.1, f.266, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence (late fifteenth-century). Photograph: Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana.

5.67. Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and Michele Tosini, *Meeting at the Golden Gate*. Formerly Galli Tassi Collection, Florence, present location unknown (c.1531-44). Photograph reproduced from: David Franklin, 'Ridolfo Ghirlandaio's Altar-pieces for Leonardo Buonafé and the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence', *Burlington Magazine*, 135 (1993), p.5, fig.2.

5.68. Andrea del Sarto, *Birth of the Virgin*. Chiostro dei Voti, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (1514). Photograph: Mildred Dunne.

6.1. Unknown Sculptor, *Anna Selbdritt*. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (second half of the fourteenth century). Photograph reproduced from: Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), II, p.485, pl.856.

6.2. Jacopo di Cione? *Saint Anne Delivering the City of Florence from the Duke of Athens*. Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (1360s). Photograph reproduced from: Giulio Lensi Orlandi, *Il Palazzo Vecchio di Firenze* (Florence, 1977), p.29, fig.27 (Giulio Lensi Orlandi).

6.3. Simone di Lapo di Nuccio, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and Jacopo di Cione, *Coronation of the Virgin with Saints*. Accademia, no.456, Florence (c.1372). Photograph reproduced from: Giorgio Bonsanti, *The Galleria dell'Accademia* (Florence, 1987), p.58 (Scala).

6.4. Mariotto di Nardo? *Saint Anne Holding the City of Florence*. Vault over the altar of Saint Anne, Orsanmichele, Florence (1398). Photograph reproduced from: Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), II, p.331, pl. 563.

6.5. Mariotto di Nardo? *Saint Anne Holding the City of Florence, Saint Mary Magdalen, Saint Catherine of Alexandria and the Virgin.* Vault over the altar of Saint Anne, Orsanmichele, Florence (1398). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

6.6. Florentine School, *Saint Anne and the Infant Virgin.* Museo dell'Opera, Santa Croce, Florence (c.1399). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

6.7. Master of San Martino, *Saint Anne and the Infant Virgin.* Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa (c. 1295). Photograph reproduced from: Enzo Carli, *La Pittura a Pisa - Dalle Origini alla 'Bella Maniera'* (Pisa, 1994), pl.V (Pacini e Martello).

6.8. Masaccio and Masolino, *Anna Selbdritt.* Uffizi, Florence (c.1428). Photograph reproduced from: Timothy Verdon, 'La Sant'Anna Metterza: Riflessioni, Domande, Ipotesi', *Gli Uffizi: Studi e Ricerche*, 5 (1984), p.9.

6.9. Angelo Puccinelli (attributed to), *Anna Selbdritt with Saints Simon and Jude, Laurence and Dominic.* San Francesco, Pescia (c.1350). Photograph reproduced from: *Arte e Pittura nel Medioevo Lucchese*, ed. by Graziano Concioni (Lucca, 1994), p.353, pl.93.

6.10. Bicci di Lorenzo, *Anna Selbdritt.* Robert Lehman Gift, Bob Jones University Collection, Greenville, South Carolina (late fourteenth-century). Photograph: Berenson Collection, The Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, Florence.

6.11. Tuscan School, *Anna Selbdritt.* Sant'Agostino, San Gimignano (mid fourteenth-century). Photograph: Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz.

6.12. Benozzo Gozzoli, *Anna Selbdritt with Donors.* Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa (c.1470). Photograph reproduced from: *Benozzo Gozzoli in Toscana*, ed. by Anna Padoa Rizzo (Florence, 1997), p.135.

6.13. Cosimo Rosselli or Giovanni da Piamonte, *Anna Selbdritt with Saints Michael, Catherine of Alexandria, Mary Magdalen, and Francis.* Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (1471). Photograph reproduced from: Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (Chicago and London, 1996), p.36, fig.42.

6.14. Maestro di Stratonice, *Anna Selbdritt.* Sold at Christie's, London, 25th November 1966 (late fifteenth-century). Photograph reproduced from Christie's Catalogue, 25th November, 1966.

6.15. School of Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Anna Selbdritt with Angels*. San Biagio, Badia a Passignano, near Florence (late fifteenth-century). Photograph: Berenson Collection, The Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, Florence.

6.16. Pietro Perugino, *Visitation with Saint Anne*. Accademia, no. 8654, Florence (c.1470). Photograph reproduced from: Giorgio Bonsanti, *The Galleria dell'Accademia* (Florence, 1987), p.37 (Scala).

6.17. Fra Bartolomeo, *Anna Selbdritt with Saints*. Museo di San Marco, Florence (c.1504-7). Photograph reproduced from: *L'età di Savonarola: Fra Bartolomeo e la Scuola di San Marco*, ed. by Serena Padovani (Florence and Venice, 1996), p.100, pl.21.

6.18. Leonardo da Vinci, *Anna Selbdritt with Saint John the Baptist*. National Gallery, London (c.1507-8). Photograph reproduced from: Gillian Dunkerton, *Giotto to Dürer: Early Renaissance Painting in the National Gallery* (New Haven and London, 1991), p.379.

6.19. Leonardo da Vinci, *Anna Selbdritt*. Musée du Louvre, Paris (1500-10). Photograph reproduced from: Klaus Schreiner, *Vergine, Madre, Regina. I Volti di Maria nell'Universo Cristiano*, trans. by Camilla Miglio (Rome, 1995), pl.16.

6.20. Michelangelo, *Anna Selbdritt*. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (after 1501). Photograph reproduced from: Bernard Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (Chicago and London, 1970), III, no.1561, fig. 673.

6.21. Leonardo da Vinci, *Anna Selbdritt*. British Museum, London (c.1505-7). Photograph reproduced from: Bernard Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (Chicago and London, 1970), III, no. 1102, fig.511.

6.22. Andrea Salaino, *Anna Selbdritt*. Uffizi, Florence (c.1500). Photograph: Uffizi.

6.23. Giovanni della Robbia, *Anna Selbdritt with Saints Anthony of Padua and Anthony Abbot*. Musée du Louvre, Paris, CAMP. 39 (early sixteenth-century). Photograph: Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures (I am very grateful to Monsieur Jean-René Gaborit for this illustration, and for information on the sculpture kindly supplied by him).

6.24. Florentine Sculptor, *Anna Selbdritt*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Emily M. Goldman, 1986 (1986.156.2) New York (early sixteenth-century). Photograph: Metropolitan Museum, New York.

6.25. Maestro del Tondo Borghese, *Anna Selbdritt with Saints Philip and John the Baptist*. Sant'Andrea, Doccia (Pontassieve) (1503). Photograph reproduced from: *Maestri e Botteghe: Pittura a Firenze alla Fine del Quattrocento*, ed. by Mina Gregori, Antonio Paolucci and Cristina Acidini Luchinat (Florence, 1992), p.285, no.3.

6.26. Giovanni della Robbia, *Saint Anne with the Immacolata*. San Lucchese, Poggibonsi (1514-27). Photograph reproduced from: *I Della Robbia e l'Arte della Scultura Invetriata*, ed. by Giancarlo Gentilini (Florence, 1998), p.125.

6.27. Rosso Fiorentino, *Sposalizio*. San Lorenzo, Florence (1523). Photograph reproduced from: Elizabetta Marchetti Letta, *Pontormo, Rosso Fiorentino* (Florence, 1994), p.70 (Scala).

6.28. Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, *Anna Selbdritt with Saints Catherine of Alexandria, Mary Magdalen, Augustine, Dominic, Thomas Aquinas, and Antoninus*. Segni Chapel, Santo Spirito, Florence (early sixteenth-century). Photograph: Nova Lux, Florence.

6.29. Francesco da Sangallo, *Anna Selbdritt*. Altar of Saint Anne, Orsanmichele, Florence, view of chapel (1522-6). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

6.30. Francesco da Sangallo, *Anna Selbdritt*. Altar of Saint Anne, Orsanmichele, Florence (1522-6). Photograph reproduced from: Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), II, p.460, pl. 834.

6.31. Francesco da Sangallo, *Anna Selbdritt*. Altar of Saint Anne, Orsanmichele, Florence (1522-6). Photograph: Catherine Lawless.

6.32. Jacopo da Pontormo, *Virgin and Child with Saints Anne, Benedict, Peter, Philip and Sebastian*. Musée du Louvre, Paris (1528). Photograph reproduced from: Elizabetta Marchetti Letta, *Pontormo, Rosso Fiorentino* (Florence, 1994), p.48, pl. 65 (Scala).

6.33. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Annunciation to Zacharias*. Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1488-90). Photograph reproduced from: Emma Micheletti, *Domenico Ghirlandaio* (London, 1990), p.47, pl.51 (Scala).

6.34. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni*. Villa Favorita, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano (1488). Photograph reproduced from: Emma Micheletti, *Domenico Ghirlandaio* (London, 1990), p.77, pl.88 (Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection).

6.35. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Birth of Saint John the Baptist*. Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1488-90). Photograph reproduced from: Emma Micheletti, *Domenico Ghirlandaio* (London, 1990), p.55, pl.59 (Scala).

6.36. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Visitation*. Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1488-90). Photograph reproduced from: Emma Micheletti, *Domenico Ghirlandaio* (London, 1990), p.50, pl. 54 (Scala).

PART I

THE CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY OF SAINT ANNE IN EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

The figure of Saint Anne, mother of the Virgin, grandmother of Christ has become the focus of recent art historical, historical, literary and feminist research. An important collection of essays, edited by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, was published in 1990.[1] One of these was devoted specifically to Saint Anne as patron of Florence, although it only covered one particular aspect of her cult. [2] A number of questions were not addressed by this article. This thesis examines the Florentine cult and iconography of Saint Anne more generally, and seeks to set it against the background of the widespread European devotion to her in the late middle ages. It examines issues such as the political establishment of the cult and its relationship to institutions, religious, familial, civic and guild; its influence upon the devotional life of the city; the connections between the cult, texts, and images of Saint Anne, both narrative and devotional, and the relationship between narrative and devotional functions in both text and image. By doing so, it also attempts to explain why certain aspects of her legend, popular in Northern Europe and popular in Florentine texts, were ignored in the visual images of Saint Anne.

Three methods of enquiry are used in the thesis: the branch of history popularly called *Histoire des Mentalités*; the iconological approach of Warburg and Panofsky; and an approach to the material that is broadly feminist in its concerns. In order to understand the relationship between the cult of Saint Anne and the iconography of Saint Anne in Europe in general and in Florence in particular, the thesis will be divided into two sections. Part one, which consists of two chapters, examines the cult and iconography of Saint Anne in European art. Part two, consisting of four chapters, focusses on the cult and iconography of Saint Anne in Florence. The final section looks at the issue of the Holy Kindred and attempts to explain its absence from Florentine art.

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[1] *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens, Ga., and London, 1990).

[2] Roger J. Crum, and David G. Wilkins, 'In the Defense of Florentine Republicanism: Saint Anne and Florentine Art, 1343-1575', Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, pp.131-169. This important study looked at how the figure of Saint Anne was used as a symbol of Florentine republicanism after the overthrow of the Duke of Athens on her feast day in 1343, and traced civic and political imagery in the representation of the saint.

The first chapter is divided into three sections and traces the cult of Saint Anne in Western Europe. The first section examines sources for the legend of Saint Anne. The early apocryphal gospels are discussed.[3] M.R. James,[4] E. Hennecke[5] and Marcello Craveri published these texts and examined the spread and development of these early legends. The writings of the Church Fathers, brought together in the nineteenth century by Migne in *Patrologia Graeca*[6] and *Patrologia Latina*[7] were useful in understanding the reasons behind some of the liturgical developments of the cult, as well as providing later versions of the apocryphal texts. Examining the cult required looking at the history not only of the feast of Saint Anne, but also of the feasts of the Conception, Nativity and Presentation of the Virgin. In this, studies such as those by Pfaff,[8] Kishpaugh,[9] Levi d'Ancona[10] Clayton,[11] Goffen,[12] and Rosand,[13] were extremely useful. The second section looks at the reasons why Saint Anne was venerated. The approach in this section was based on the methodology outlined by Peter Burke in his *Popular Culture in Early Medieval Europe*[14] and other works.[15] These works provided a model for looking at folkloric practices and attempting to relate them to the cult. This also opened up methods of exploring the boundaries, often artificial, between elite and popular cultures. In this

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[3] Marcello Craveri, *I Vangeli Apocrifi* (Turin, 1990).

[4] M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924; 1953).

[5] Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. by Wilhelm Shneemelcher, trans. by Robert McLachlan Wilson, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1991-2).

[6] Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 217 vols (Paris, 1844-55).

[7] Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 162 vols (Paris, 1857-66).

[8] R.W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970).

[9] Sr. Joseph Mary Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple: An Historical and Liturgical Study* (Washington D.C., 1941).

[10] Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (New York, 1957).

[11] Mary Clayton, 'Feasts of the Virgin in the Liturgy of the Anglo Saxon Church', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13 (1984), pp.209-33.

[12] Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1986).

[13] David Rosand, 'Titian's Presentation of the Virgin and the Scuola della Carità', *Art Bulletin,* 58 (1976), pp.55-84.

[14] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1978).

[15] Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays in Perception and Communication (1559 - 1789)* (Cambridge, 1987).

section, poems, songs, hymns, and legends are used in an attempt to understand the widespread devotion to Saint Anne. In gathering this kind of information, the texts catalogued by the Bollandists were invaluable.[16] In this section, images are used purely as historical documents of the cult; iconography and art history are discussed in the next chapter.

The second chapter, in four sections, looks at the iconography of Saint Anne. The first section looks at narrative iconography, in which Saint Anne appears in the early life of the Virgin. Other narrative cycles which are devoted to Saint Anne alone are distinguished by the fact that the central panel contains a devotional image of Saint Anne. These are not many in number, and are covered in this section. In addition to these, narrative scenes, such as the Meeting at the Golden Gate, which appear to depict the Immaculate Conception, are discussed and placed within their original context, which, as will be shown, was not always Immaculatist. The third section looks at the iconography and popularity of the Holy Kindred of Christ. The fourth section looks at what is known as the *ostentatio genitalium* of Christ. An interest in the peculiarities of this type of representation led Jean Wirth to write his article 'Sainte-Anne est une Sorcière',[17] and Leo Steinberg to rebut the arguments contained in it,[18] thus generating a wealth of debate over the devotion to, and iconography of, Saint Anne in Northern Europe.

In writing this second chapter, it was first of all necessary to establish a corpus of material. The sources used in doing this were iconographical dictionaries, in particular those assembled by Kirschbaum[19] Réau,[20] Schiller,[21] and Aurenhammer.[22] Other works on Saint Anne were also useful for examining how widespread the imagery of Saint Anne

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16 *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. J. Bolland and G. Henschen (Antwerp, 1643-). For Saint Anne, the relevant volume is *Acta Sanctorum VI*, Julii 26, Conrad Jannigus (Antwerp,1715-1721).

17 Jean Wirth, 'Sainte Anne est une sorcière', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de la Renaissance*, 40 (1978), pp.449-480.

18 Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (Chicago and London 1996).

19 *Lexikon der Christliche Ikonographie*, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels, 8 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1968-1973).

20 Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien* 3 vols (Paris, 1955-59).

21 Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, 4 vols (Gutersloh, 1969)

22 Hans Aurenhammer, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (Vienna, 1959-).

was. In the late nineteenth century the Canadian priest Paul Charland wrote a monograph on the cult of Saint Anne.[23] This is useful as a collection of erudite source material but its aim was hagiographic and there was little attempt at analysis. Beda Kleinschmidt,[24] a Dominican, undertook a book on the cult and iconography of Saint Anne in 1930, which is again invaluable for source material but provides no analysis. However, the volume of reproductions assembled by Kleinschmidt alone makes it an essential reference book for any iconographic study of Saint Anne. Works on the Immaculate Conception and the Virgin Mary are helpful as they deal with the iconography of Saint Anne, but only as marginal to their main subjects.[25] Attempting to explain differing iconographic practices, contemporary texts such as the *Golden Legend*,[26] the *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rythmica*,[27] the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*,[28] the *Speculum Maius*[29] and others were used. In looking at how popular the legends were, the publications of Peter Meredith[30] and of the Early English Text Society were invaluable, not only for the texts themselves, but also for the discussion of the manuscripts used.[31]

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[23] Paul Charland, *Les Trois Légendes de Madame Sainte Anne*, (Québec, 1898); *La Bonne Sainte Anne ou l'Histoire de la Dévotion à Sainte Anne*, (Québec, 1904).

[24] Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna: ihre Verehrung und der Kultus* (Dusseldorf, 1930).

[25] Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *L'Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1964-5).

[26] Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea, Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, ed. by T. Graesse (Leipzig, 1850); *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Lives of the Saints*, translated by William Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, 1993).

[27] *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, Bibliothek d. Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart,180 (Tübingen, 1988).

[28] Jean Mielot, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis: Texte Critique; Traduction inedite de Jean Mielot (1448)* ed. by J. Lutz, and P. Perdrizet, 2 vols (Leipzig,1907, 1909) An English translation was also very useful: *The Mirour of Mans Saluacion - A Middle English translation of Speculum Humanae Salvationis. A Critical Edition of the Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illustrated from Der Spiegel der Menschen Behältnis*, ed. by Avril Henry (Aldershot, 1986).

[29] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Maius* (Venice, 1474).

[30] Peter Meredith, *The N-town Plays: a Facsimile of British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D VIII,* Leeds Texts and Monographs: Medieval Drama Facsimiles, 4 (Leeds, 1977); and *The Mary Play from the N-Town Ms* (London and New York, 1987).

[31] For example: Donald C. Baker, and others, eds., *The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian Mss. Digby 133 and E. Museo 160*, Early English Text Society, 283 (Oxford, 1982); Theodor Erbe, *Mirk's*

The second section of the thesis looks at the iconography and cult of Saint Anne in Florence. The first chapter of this second section, Chapter Three, examines the texts of the life of Saint Anne available in Florence. These texts are in various libraries in Florence, in particular, in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze in the Palatino, Panciatichi and Magliabechiano collections and in the Biblioteca Riccardiana. The publications of Armando Petrucci,[32] Christian Bec,[33] Diana Webb,[34] Iris Origo,[35] Katherine Gill,[36] and Andrew Martindale[37] helped to place these manuscripts within the context of devotional material in Italy. Even more useful for evaluating what these texts meant to Florentines were published primary sources such as the diaries and *ricordanze* of contemporaries such Luca Landucci,[38] Benedetto Dei,[39] Francesco Castellani,[40] Giovanni Rucellai,[41]

Festial, Early English Text Society, extra series, 96 (Oxford, 1905); Stephen Spector, *The N - town Play: Cotton Ms. Vespasian D.8,* Early English Text Society. S.S. 11 (Oxford, 1991).

32 Armando Petrucci, *Libri, Scrittura e Pubblico nel Rinascimento* (Rome and Bari, 1979).

33 Christian Bec, *Les Livres des Florentins (1413-1608)*, Biblioteca di 'Lettere Italiane' Studi e Testi, 29 (Florence, 1984).

34 Diana M. Webb, 'Friends of the Family: Some Miracles for Children by Italian Friars', *Studies in Church History*, 31 (1994), pp.183-195; and 'Woman and Home: the Domestic Setting of Late Medieval Spirituality', *Studies in Church History*, 27 (1990), pp.159-73.

35 Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Daily Life in a Medieval Italian City,* rev. edn (Harmondsworth, 1979).

36 Katherine Gill, 'Women and the Production of Religious Literature in the Vernacular, 1300-1500', *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance,* ed. by E. Ann Matter and John Wayland Coakley (Philadelphia, 1994), pp.64-104.

37 Andrew Martindale, 'The Child in the Picture: a Medieval Perspective', *Studies in Church History*, 31 (1994), pp.197-233 and 'Patrons and Minders: the Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages', *Studies in Church History*, 28 (1992), pp.143-178.

38 Luca Landucci, *Diario Fiorentino del 1450 al 1516*, ed. by Iodoco del Badia (Florence, 1883).

39 Benedetto Dei, *Benedetto Dei: La Chronica dall'Anno 1400 all'Anno 1500*, ed. by Roberto Barducci (Florence, 1984).

40 *Francesco di Matteo Castellani. Ricordanze. I. Ricordanze A. (1436 -1459)*, ed. by Giovanni Ciapelli, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento. Studi e Testi. XXVIII (Florence, 1992).

41 Giovanni Rucellai, *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone - I Il Zibaldone Quaresimale'*, ed. by Alessandro Perosa, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 24 (London,1960).

Bartolomeo del Corazza,[42] Giovanni Morelli,[43] Donato Velluti, Bonaccorso Pitti, and others; the letters of the Strozzi[44] and Medici[45] families; prescriptive literature such as the religious teachings of Bernardino da Siena,[46] Girolamo Savonarola,[47] Giovanni Dominici,[48] Giordano da Rivolto[49] and more secular teachings such as those of Paolo da Certaldo[50] and Francesco da Barberino.[51] The families that owned these manuscripts were placed within the Florentine social context through reading the works on Florentine families and kinship patterns by David Herlihy,[52] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber,[53] F. W.

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[42] Bartolomeo Del Corazza, *Diario Fiorentino*, ed. by Roberto Gentile (Anzio, 1991).

[43] The *Ricordanze* of Giovanni Morelli, Donato Velluti and others are published in Vittore Branca, ed., *Mercanti Scrittori: Ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento - Paolo da Certaldo, Giovanni Morelli, Bonaccorso Pitti, e Domenico Lenzi, Donato Velluti, Goro Dati, Francesco Datini, Lapo Niccolini, Bernardo Machiavelli* (Milan, 1986).

[44] Alessandra Strozzi, *Lettere di una Gentildonna Fiorentina del Secolo XV ai Figliuoli Esuli*, ed. by Cesare Guasti (Florence, 1877); Lucrezia Tornabuoni Medici, *Lettere*, ed. Patrizia Salvadori, (Florence, 1993); Janet Ross, *The Lives of the Early Medici as Told in their Correspondence* (London,1910).

[45] Lorenzo de Medici, *Lettere*, ed. by R. Fubini and Nicolai Rubinstein, 6 vols (Florence, 1977-);

[46] Bernardino da Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari*, ed. by Pietro Bargellini (Milan, 1936); *Le Prediche Volgari Inedite. Firenze, 1424, 1425 - Siena 1425*, ed. by P. Dionisio Pacetti (Siena, 1935); Bernardino of Siena *Le Prediche*, ed. by P. Delcorno,(Milan, 1989); Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari*, ed. by C.Cannarozzi, 4 vols (Florence, 1940-58).

[47] Girolamo Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Ezechiele*, ed. by Roberto Ridolfi, 2 vols (Rome 1955); *Prediche sopra Aggeo con il Trattato circa il Reggimento e Governo della Città di Firenze*, ed. by Luigi Firpo (Rome, 1965)

[48] Giovanni Dominici, *Regola del Governo di Cura Familiare*, ed. by D. Salvi (Florence, 1860)

[49] Giordano da Pisa, *Prediche Inedite del B. Giordano da Rivalto dell'Ordine de' Predicatori, recitate in Firenze dal 1302 al 1305*, ed. E. Narducci (Bologna, 1867).

[50] Paolo da Certaldo, *Il Libro di Buoni Costumi*, ed. by A. Schiaffoni (Florence, 1945).

[51] Francesco da Barberino, *Del Reggimento e Costume di Donne*, ed. by G. E. Sansone (Turin, 1957); *I Documenti d' Amore di Francesco da Barberino*, ed. by F. Egidi, 4 vols (Rome, 1905-1927).

[52] David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 1990); *Cities and Society in Medieval Italy* (London, 1980).

[53] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane (London and Chicago, 1985); David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven and London, 1985).

Kent,[54] Dale Kent,[55] Anthony Molho[56] and others. The genealogical work done in the nineteenth century by Passerini[57]and Litta[58] was also extremely helpful, as was the more recent publication of the *Libri d'Oro* by Bruno Casini.[59]

Chapter Four is concerned with the cult of Saint Anne in Florence. The political cult is examined in detail from 1343 onwards using the approach often described as *Histoire des Mentalités*, mentioned above. The approach of the Annales school in examining popular culture and the history of the disenfranchised population has influenced a wealth of literature on popular piety and of the e ffects of literacy and its impact on images. The approach to the cult is based on the history promoted by figures such as Georges Duby, [60] Emmanual le Roy Ladurie,[61] Lucien Febvre,[62] Robert Muchembled,[63] Christiane

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[54] F. W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: the Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori and Rucellai* (Princeton, 1977); *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 24 (London, 1961).

[55] Dale Kent, *The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence* (Oxford, 1978); Dale Kent and F. W. Kent, *Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century*, Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 6 (Locust Valley, 1982).

[56] Anthony Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence* (Cambridge, Ma., and London, 1994)

[57] Luigi Passerini, *Genealogia e Storia della Famiglia Rucellai* (Florence, 1861).

[58] Pompeo Litta, *Celebri Famiglie Italiane* (Milan and Turin, 1847-1899).

[59] Bruno Casini, *I "Libri d'Oro" della Nobiltà Fiorentina e Fiesolana* (Florence, 1993).

[60] Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: the Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. by Barbara Bray (New York, 1983; London, 1984); *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Jane Dunnet (Cambridge, 1994); *Famille et Parenté dans l'Occident Medieval: Actes du Colloque de Paris organisé par l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes en Collaboration avec le Collège de France et l'Ecole Francçaise de Rome*, ed. by Georges Duby and Jacques le Goff ([Rome], 1977).

[61] Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Cathars and Cathoics in a French Village, 1294-1324* , trans. by Barbara Bray (Harmondsworth, 1980); *The Beggar and the Professor: A Sixteenth-Century Family Saga*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago and London, 1997).

[62] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: the Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, trans. by David Gerard (London and New York, 1997).

[63] Robert Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France 1400-1700*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane (Baton Rouge and London, 1985).

Klapisch-Zuber,[64] David Herlihy,[65] and Robert Scribner.[66] The interests of the 'New Art History' in probing questions of popular and elite culture, gender, the art market, and the production and reception of images has been important.[67] The work of Peter Burke in analysing the relationships between patron and client, text and image, and market and culture has also been influential in shaping this thesis.[68]

The study of sanctity, and of what qualities were considered worthy of veneration by different societies, and sections of societies, is crucial to the success of determining what Saint Anne meant to Florence. In this, the writings of André Vauchez,[69] Peter Brown,[70] Pierre Delooz,[71] and Diana Webb[72] have been an invaluable resource in attempting to ascertain what was meant by sanctity in the middle ages and the Renaissance. The work of André Vauchez on popular piety and on the history of the more elite canonisation procedures, helped to place Saint Anne within a context of increasing devotion to married saints such as Elzear and Delphine, Elizabeth of Hungary, Dorothy of Montau, and others. Peter Brown and Pierre Delooz have charted the various types of saints and the qualities necessary for acceptance into the pantheon. Diana Webb has examined the

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64 Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy,* trans. by Lydia Cochrane (London and Chicago, 1985); *Histoire des Femmes en Occident*, ed. by Georges Duby, Michelle Perrot and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, 5 vols ([Paris], 1991-2), ii, *Le Moyen Age*, ed. by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber.

65 David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 1990); *Cities and Society in Medieval Italy* (London, 1980); 'The Family and Religious Ideologies in Medieval Europe', *Journal of Family History*, 12 (1987), pp.3-17.

66 R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, 2 (Cambridge, 1981).

67 *The New Art History*, ed. by A.L. Rees and F. Borzello (London, 1986); *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, ed. by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York, 1992).

68 Peter Burke, *Tradition and Inovation in Renaissance Italy* (London, 1974).

69 André Vauchez, *La Santità nel Medioevo* (Bologna, 1987); *I Laici nel Medioevo. Pratiche ed Esperienze Religiose* (Milan, 1989).

70 Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981).

71 Pierre Delooz, 'Towards a sociological study of canonized sainthood in the Catholic Church', *Saints and their cults. Studies in Religious Sociology: Folklore and History*, ed. by Stephen Wilson (Cambridge, 1983), pp.189-217.

72 Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: the Saints in the Italian City States* (London, 1996).

political machinery behind civic cults in the Italian city state. The approach taken in this chapter is also influenced by Richard Trexler's examination of the importance of civic ritual and the political manipulation of the devotional life of Florence.[73]

It was necessary, in order to examine the political significance of Saint Anne's cult in Florence, to divide each of these chapters into chronological sections, corresponding with political changes in Florence. These sections are 1343-1382; 1382-1434; 1434-1494, and 1494-1528. These dates are chosen simply in order to divide the material with regard to Saint Anne; the evolutions and revolutions of Florentine politics have been comprehensively dealt with elsewhere. The first section takes 1343, the date of the Duke's overthrow, as a natural starting point and concludes with 1382, the institution of a more elitist oligarchy. The question of whether the popular government of 1379-82 influenced the cult is looked at in this section, but overall the documentary material pertaining to the devotion is too slight to justify a further subdivision. The period of the oligarchic government saw the decoration of Orsanmichele. It also saw the devotion to Saint Anne manifested in the writings of Franco Sacchetti, the letter of Coluccio Salutati asking for indulgences for the shrine, and the plans for embellishment of the exterior by the guilds. The coming to power of Cosimo de' Medici marks a reasonable end to this section. The Medici manipulated and suppressed cults and imagery in Florence to promote their position. There is no evidence to suggest any particular Medicean interest in the cult of Saint Anne; it was not suppressed but does not seem to have been encouraged either. Political imagery was revived with the expulsion of the Medici and the Savonarola inspired popular government, dealt with in the last section. Although the section could have finished with 1512, the date of the Medicean return to Florence, or 1527, the date of the Republican revival, the year 1528 was chosen as a more appropriate concluding date. This was the year in which Pontormo was commissioned to paint his altarpiece of Saint Anne for the convent of Sant'Anna in Verzaia, the Pitti foundation in which the earliest devotion to Saint Anne in Florence is found.

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[73] Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980).

The cult was instituted at the civico-religious centre of Orsanmichele. The chroniclers, Giovanni Villani,[74] Matteo Villani,[75] Marchionne di Coppo Stefani,[76] and Bonaccorso Pitti, provide, in differing amounts of detail, information on the political life of the city. Little is said by any of these chroniclers about the cult of Saint Anne, but a great deal of information is provided about which individuals held power in the city. This is of enormous importance in investigating how a political cult, imposed from above on a city, developed. The issues examined are best expressed by Trexler:

> Who framed the sacred, therefore, was a question of eminent political importance and one for which the Florentine government had no easy answer. City officials had the task of "maintaining and augmenting devotion," and that meant providing the group settings within which important families could maintain honor. Regimes encouraged these families' identifications with virtuous images, and thus preserved the familial basis of their own honor. By keeping individual frames of family honor at discrete distances from each other, the government could regulate family competition for space and thus contribute to civil order.[77]

The information about those holding power in the commune which is provided by the chroniclers can be compared with the lists of the captains and officials in Orsanmichele from 1343 to 1434. These lists were given in two important works on Orsanmichele. The first was written by Saverio La Sorsa in 1904.[78] The second, a documentary history, was written by Diane Finiello Zervas in 1996.[79] In addition to these, Diane Finiello Zervas published a comprehensive monograph in 1996.[80] The accounts of Florentine

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74 Giovanni Villani, *Cronica di Giovanni Villani,* ed. by I. Moutier and Francesco Gherardi Dragomanni, 4 vols (Florence, 1844; repr. Frankfurt, 1969).

75 Matteo Villani, *Cronica con la Continuazione di FilippoVillani,* ed. by Giuseppe Porta (Parma,1995).

76 Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, *Cronaca Fiorentina*, ed. by Niccolò Rodolico, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 30.i. (Città di Castello, 1903).

77 Trexler, *Public Life*, p.64.

78 Saverio La Sorsa, *La Compagnia d' Or san Michele ovvero una Pagina della Beneficenza in Toscana nel Secolo XIV* (Trani, 1902).

79 Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents 1336-1452* (Ferrara, 1996).

80 Daine Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze,* 2 vols (Modena, 1996).

politics published by Gene Brucker[81] provided not only an analysis of the dynamics of power but also the names and backgrounds of many of the individuals listed by Stefani, La Sorsa and Zervas. From these works it can be seen that most of the captains held office within the priorate, and that they wielded significant economic and political power. The place of the confraternity itself could be looked at with the help of the work of John Henderson,[82] Ronald Weissman,[83] and Blake Wilson.[84] For the later period, the histories and accounts of Florence written by Marco Parenti,[85] Guicciardini,[86] and Cerretani[87] aided in understanding the revival of Saint Anne as a political image in the late fifteenth century with the Fra Bartolomeo altarpiece. In this period, the diary of Luca Landucci, mentioned above, was of great value.

The subject of Chapter Five is narrative iconography. The iconographical approach used was modelled on the work of Erwin Panofsky,[88] Aby Warburg,[89] and Emile Mâle.[90] The methodology of Panofsky and Aby Warburg, has been criticised in recent years for being too general, and thus open to abuse, too dependent upon locating meaning in a text and as lacking understanding in the cognitive processes in the journey from image to eye and to

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81 Gene Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society 1343-1378*, Princeton Studies in History, 12 (Princeton, 1962); *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton and Guildford, 1977).

82 John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford, 1994); 'Confraternities and the Church in late Medieval Florence', *Studies in Church History*, 23 (1986), pp. 69-83.

83 Ronald Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York and London, 1982).

84 Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: the Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford, 1992).

85 Piero di Marco Parenti, *Storia Fiorentina*, ed. by Andrea Matucci (Florence, 1994).

86 Francesco Guicciardini, *Storie Fiorentine dal 1378 al 1509*, a cura di Alessandro Montevecchi (Milan, 1998).

87 *Storia Fiorentina*, ed. by Giuliana Berti, Studi e Testi Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 31 (Florence, 1994).

88 Iconography and Iconology are most clearly defined in Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York), p. 51.

89 Aby Warburg, *La Rinascità del Paganesimo Antico*, trans. by Emma Cantimori (Florence, 1966).

90 Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century. A Study in Medieval Iconography and its Sources of Inspiration*, trans. by Dora Nussey (London, 1913; repr. 1961); Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: the Late Middle Ages. A Study in Iconography and its Sources*, ed. by Harry Bober, trans. by Marthiel Mathews, Bollingen Series, 90.3 (Princeton, 1986).

the mind.[91] However, Panofsky's analysis of the Mérode altarpiece shows that he was aware of these problems.[92] Gombrich makes the important point that Panofsky's approach is not nebulous Hegelian 'spirit of the age' but an act of concrete collaboration; and the resolution of the problem of translating an idea, in a specific time and context, by individuals such as artist and patron, into a pictorial solution. A complete understanding of that particular time is necessary in order to access meaning.[93] This thesis also uses the work of Gombrich, especially his development of iconographical and iconological issues through the exploration of the problems of perception and cognition[94]. Michael Baxandall has looked at how the cognitive experience of a fifteenth-century merchant has to be recognised as different from the modern viewer, another development of traditional iconography which has been useful. [95]

Using the dates outlined above, an attempt is made to see if the civico-devotional figure of Saint Anne was incorporated into traditional Marian cycles. The chapter will show that Marian iconography remained conservative and largely unaffected by the cult. It will also show that, when devotional concerns were shown for instance in the main panel of an altarpiece, the predella of which contained a Marian narrative, Saint Anne was not included in the main field. Nor was she included in the framing pilasters, medallions or vaults of a frescoed chapel; these were the usual devotional elements of a frescoed scheme. The issue of a dichotomy between narrative and devotional, not only in visual

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[91] A useful discussion of iconography and its critics is contained in *Iconography at the Crossroads. Index of Christian Art. Occasional Papers II. Papers from the Colloquium sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23-24 March, 1990*, ed. by Brendan Cassidy, Occasional Papers (Princeton University, Department of Art and Archaeology. Index of Christian Art) 2 (Princeton, 1993).

[92] Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, (New York, 1971) pp.142-3: 'There is, I am afraid, no other answer to this problem than the use of historical methods, tempered, if possible, by common sense. We have to ask ourselves whether or not the symbolical significance of a given motif is a matter of established representational tradition (as is the case with the lilies); whether or not a symbolical interpretation can be justified by definite texts or agrees with ideas demonstrably alive in this period and presumably familiar to its artists and to what extent such a symbolic interpretation is in keeping with the historical position and personal tendencies of the individual master.'

[93] E.H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images* (London, 1993), pp. 1-26.

[94] E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A study in the Psychology of Pictorial Represention* (London, 1972); *The Image and the Eye* (London, 1982)

[95] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford, 1988).

imagery but also in the texts, is raised. The essay by Charles Hope[96] helped to qualify the terms 'narrative' and 'devotional', while the work by Eve Borsook,[97] and Marilyn Aronberg Lavin[98] enabled fresco cycles to be analysed in terms of their monumentality, complexity and influence on succeeding generations of fresco painters. The *ricordanze* of Neri di Bicci[99] and the documentary evidence supplied by Milanesi in his edition of Vasari,[100] not to mention Vasari himself, were vital in attempting to understand the needs and concerns of patrons. The information on chapel dedications and the subjects of altarpieces and schemes supplied by Paatz and Paatz helped to establish patterns of patronage within the city.[101] Even more useful were the works of antiquarians such as Fineschi[102] and, in particular, Giuseppe Richa,[103] due to their publication of early documents, many of which are now lost.

The sixth chapter explores devotional iconography. It examines the explicitly civic images of Saint Anne, which are only four in number: the image commissioned for the walls of the Carceri delle Stinche or city prison, the altarpiece commissioned by the Calimala and Cambio guilds for the Zecca or mint, the fresco in the vault above the Saint Anne chapel, and the Fra Bartolomeo grisaille commissioned for the Sala del Gran Consiglio. In the first three images Saint Anne is shown with the Palazzo della Signoria, and in the fourth the image was for the Palazzo. These images are examined chronologically within the sections outlined above. Devotional images of Saint Anne are more usually of the *Anna Selbdritt* type and these are placed in the context of the Tuscan artistic tradition of Francesco Traini, Luca di Tomé and others, discussed by Millard

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96 Charles Hope, 'Altarpieces and the Requirements of Patrons', *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. by John Henderson and Timothy Verdon (Syracuse, 1990), pp. 535-71.

97 Eve Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany: from Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto* (Oxford, 1980).

98 Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600* (Chicago and London, 1990).

99 Neri di Bicci, *Ricordanze*, ed. by Bruno Santi (Pisa, 1976).

100 Giorgio Vasari, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari,* ed. by Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols (Florence, 1973).

101 Elizabeth Paatz and Walter Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz* 6 vols (Frankfurt, 1940-1954).

102 Vincenzo Fineschi, *Memorie Istoriche degli Uomini Illustri del Convento di Santa Maria Novella di Firenze* (Florence, 1787; repr. Rome, 1977).

103 Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine: Divise ne' Suoi Quartieri,* 10 vols (Florence, 1754-62)

Meiss,[104] increasing devotion to the Immaculate Conception and the cult of the Eucharist, and civic concerns. The photographic archive of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence enabled a thorough investigation of Saint Anne imagery within Florence and its *contado*, as well as in Italy more generally. Investigations into the *Anna Selbdritt* by Masaccio by Timothy Verdon[105] and Eve Borsook,[106] combined with investigations on the significance of the body of Christ by Leo Steinberg, Caroline Bynum Walker[107] and Richard Trexler,[108] showed that an image of *Anna Selbdritt* could contain many layers of meaning and, although Masaccio's work could be placed within the Tuscan tradition mentioned above, other concerns were also being treated. The figure of Saint Anne attracted the interest of Leonardo and Michelangelo, thus generating, particularly in the case of the former, a wealth of discussion both contemporary and modern. Particularly useful for placing Leonardo's work within Florentine devotion and tradition were the articles published by Ludwig Heydenreich[109] and Jack Wasserman.[110] The clear connection between Fra Bartolomeo della Porta and Savonarola has also been the subject of much scholarly attention which has benefited this thesis.[111]

The concluding section of Chapter Six is concerned with omission rather than representation. The question of how the image of a woman mediated by men related to the experiences of Florentine women and how those experiences were perceived by men

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104 Millard Meiss, 'The Problem of Francesco Traini', *The Art Bulletin*, 15 (1933), pp. 97-173.

105 Timothy Verdon, 'La Sant'Anna Metterza: Riflessioni, Domande, Ipotesi', *Gli Uffizi: Studi e Ricerche,* 5 (1984), pp. 33-58.

106 Eve Borsook, 'Cults and Imagery at Sant' Ambrogio in Florence', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 25 (1981), pp.147-202.

107 Caroline Bynum Walker, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays in Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1992).

108 Richard C. Trexler, 'Gendering Jesus Crucified', *Iconography at the Crossroads,* ed. by Brendan Cassidy (Princeton, 1991), pp.107-119.

109 Ludwig Heydenreich, 'La Sainte Anne de Léonard de Vinci', *Gazette des Beaux -Arts*, 10 (1933), pp. 207-29.

110 Jack Wasserman, 'Michelangelo's Virgin and Child with St. Anne at Oxford', *Burlington Magazine*, 111 (1969), pp.122-131; 'A Re-discovered Cartoon by Leonardo Da Vinci', *Burlington Magazine*, 112 (1970), pp.194-204.

111 For example, *Fra Bartolomeo e la Scuola di San Marco*, ed. by Serena Padovani (Florence and Venice, 1996).

is missing from discussions on Saint Anne in Florence. This thesis builds also upon the work of feminist historians and art historians. The imagery of the Virgin Mary has been explored, and the understanding of this complex symbol has been informed by the feminist approaches of Margaret Miles,[112] Marina Warner,[113] Megan Holmes [114]and others. Churchmen promoted the Virgin for centuries as an exemplar for women, yet no other woman could attain motherhood without losing her virginity. Therefore the exemplar is unattainable. Other representations of female sanctity (visual and textual) inevitably concentrated on the virginity conserved by the saint, usually to the point of martyrdom. Anne's sanctity depended, however, upon her motherhood of the Virgin, and, although theories surrounding the cult of the Immaculate Conception attempted to lift her above the ordinary sexual realities of married life, these theories were undermined by the legends of her three marriages. Anne was, therefore, a complex symbol, neither Virgin Mother, nor Virgin Martyr.

The last section of this thesis attempts understand why certain aspects of the legend of Saint Anne were ignored in the visual arts of her patronal city. These aspects centre upon the legend of her three marriages and the extended kinship group of Christ. Saint Anne, according to this legend, is not only the grandmother of Christ, but also of John the Evangelist and James the Greater, Simon, Jude, James the Lesser and Joseph the Just. Iconography reveals important differences between Northern Europe and Italy in the way Saint Anne was depicted. Study of the iconology may reveal why. The question of why the Holy Kindred is not depicted in Florentine art has not been addressed in any of the studies cited above. Similarly, studies of the iconography of the saints in art have concentrated, in the search for a key text, on official *Vitae* and learned material from the pens of theologians. Devotional and didactic works have rarely been studied in conjunction with iconography, with the notable exception of the work of Emile Mâle on French medieval art.[115] The manuscript material mentioned above revealed that the

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[112] Margaret R. Miles, 'The Virgin's One Bare Breast: Nudity, Gender, and Religious Meaning in Tuscan Early Renaissance Culture', *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, ed. by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York, 1992), pp.27-37.

[113] Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1985).

[114] Megan Holmes, 'Disrobing the Virgin: the *Madonna lactans* in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Art', in *Picturing Women in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, ed. by Geraldine A. Johnson and Sara F. Matthews Grieco (Cambridge, 1997), pp.167-195.

[115] A notable exception to this is *Religious Art in France: the Late Middle Ages* by Emile Mâle.

Holy Kindred was included within the realms of Florentine devotional literature. It also reveals that little connection was made or explored between the figure of Saint Anne as she appeared in narratives and the saint as an object of devotion. The provenance of these manuscripts in some cases showed that, although the language was vernacular and the style simple, they were owned by the upper echelons of Florentine society, those with the power and means to commission images. There is thus a discrepancy between text and image which is explored in this thesis. The symbol of Saint Anne was a complex one, combining the roles of wife, mother, grandmother, and thrice-married widow. How such a symbol was depicted, and what that depiction meant to different groups in Florence is difficult to discern but the ambiguity with which these roles were seen by men plays a key part. Only some of the layers can be peeled back to reveal Saint Anne as an image firmly held in place as a civic icon, and as mother of the Virgin Mary in both narrative and devotional iconography. The *trinubium*, or three marriages of Saint Anne held little interest, or was too threatening for a patrilineal society such as that of the Italian city state. The choice of Saint Anne as a figure who merits investigation is summed up by Ashley and Sheingorn:

> Saint Anne bridges divisions between women's studies and traditional interdisciplinary inquiry, and, following the lead of cultural studies, it also bridges divisions between popular and elite cultures, between sacred and secular concerns, between politics and religion, and between folklore and theology.[116]

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[116] Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, 'Introduction', *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, pp.1-69 (p.2).

CHAPTER I

THE CULT OF SAINT ANNE IN EUROPE

Devotion to a saint reveals much about the society in which the saint was venerated. Similarly, the absence of a cult in a particular area, when that cult was widespread elsewhere, may yield important clues as to socio-cultural taboos operating within the society of that area. The cult of Saint Anne was widespread in medieval and Renaissance Europe. A treatise devoted to Saint Anne, published in 1495 by a German Benedictine monk, Trithemius of Spandheim, conveniently lists the reasons why she was venerated. She cured melancholia, protected those among enemies or thieves, freed prisoners, saved those in peril at sea, protected against plague and pestilence, helped women in labour, and guarded against sudden death and dying.[1] Trithemius wrote this treatise when the cult of Saint Anne was at its height in Northern Europe.

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the origins of the cult of Saint Anne, and to examine devotional patterns and practices in medieval and early modern Europe with a view towards understanding iconographical variations in the treatment of the saint between Italy and trans-alpine Europe. Early Latin sources will be examined, as they indicate official and patristic acknowledgement of the parents of the Virgin, and the increased interest in the mother of the Virgin will be viewed as, at least in part, a natural extension of the Marian devotion of the High Middle Ages. Reference will be made to writings such as sermons, homilies, poems, songs and treatises, which, although they may not deal with Saint Anne as a subject in herself, indicate the presence of some devotional interest. Folkloric practices will be considered, always bearing in mind that, as they were generally catalogued in the nineteenth century, they may post date the Counter Reformation promotion of Saint Anne. Images will be looked at in this chapter only as visual documents of a specific or local cult dedicated to Saint Anne.

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1 Francesca Sautman, 'Saint Anne in Folk Tradition - Late Medieval France', *Interpreting Cultural Symbols, Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, edited by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens, Ga., and London, 1990), pp.69 - 95 (p.81).

I.
Early Sources

In the scriptures there is no reference at all to the Virgin's parents. The earliest important source for transmission of her cult in the West is the apocryphal gospel of Saint James, known from the sixteenth century onwards as the *Protevangelium of James*. This was allegedly written by Saint James the Lesser, who introduces himself as the brother of Christ by an earlier marriage of Joseph. In reality, according to Hennecke, it is probably a Greek or Syriac composition dating to the period around 150 A.D.[2] It was written with the aim of proving the purity of Mary's life before the Annunciation, and recounts the life of the Virgin up to the birth of Christ.

Most of the early Christian sources deal with Saint Anne only as the mother of the Virgin and the grandmother of Christ. Many are sermons on the Nativity of the Virgin, which are intended to prove the virginity of Mary and the miraculous nature of her conception and birth. These sources are important, however, as they were known and used by later medieval writers, and, in many cases, were instrumental in establishing the liturgical practices of the early Christian church. Epiphanius (c. 315 - 403) in his *Laudes Sanctae Mariae Deiparae*, compared Joachim, Anne and the Virgin to a Trinity, and Anne herself to a sterile field that had now been fertilised.

> *Joacim porro, Anna et Maria, hi tres Trinitati palam sacrificium laudis offerebant. Joacim enim interpretatur praeparatio Domini; eo quod ex illo praeparatum sit templum Domini, nempe Virgo. Anna rursum similiter gratia interpretatur, propterea quod Joacim et Anna gratiam acceperunt, ut accedentibus precibus talem fructum germinarent, sanctam Virginem adepti. Joacim siquidem precabatur in monte, et Anna in horto suo.*[3]

John Damascenus (c.676-c.749) in his *In Nativitatem Beatae Virginis Mariae* praises Saint Anne as the crucial link between humanity and God:

> *Per eam siquidem Creator naturam universam media humanitate in medius commutavit. Cum enim homo media inter mentem et materiam sede*

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2 Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, edited by W. Schneemelcher, 2 vols (London, 1963), 1, p. 372.

3 Epiphanius, *Laudes Sanctae Mariae Deiparae*, PG, 120:185-216.

constitutus, verum tum invisibilium, nodus vinculumque sit, profecto rerum artifex Deus Verbum humanae naturae copulatum, ejus beneficio creaturae universae unitum fuit.[4]

He follows this with a passage in praise of the parents of the Virgin, in which he emphasises the chastity and goodness of Saints Anne and Joachim and how their reward was the Virgin Mary.

Beati lumbi et venter ex quibus prodiisti. Beatae ulnae quae te gestaverunt: labia item, quibus castis osculis frui concessa est, parentum nempe duntaxat tuorum, ut in omnibus semper virginitatem coleres.[5]

Andrew of Crete (c. 660 - 740) in a sermon on the nativity of Mary, discusses Saint Anne in very similar terms:

Consonas itaque hisce laudes et nos persolvamus ei, quae sterilis olim vocabatur, nunc autem virginei thalami mater effecta est. Dicamus ad eam una cum sacris paginis, dicamus: Quam felix domus Davidis, ex qua provenisti! Quam felix venter tuus, in quo sanctificationis arcam fabricatus est Deus ! illam videlicet quae sine semine ipsum conciperet.[6]

He also writes a series of verses that deal with the birth of Mary, her childhood, and Anne's joy.[7] Both Damascenus and Andrew write of Saint Anne in sermons regarding the Birth of the Virgin, and both draw on apocryphal sources such as the *Protevangelium* for their descriptions of the sterility of Anne, and the early childhood of Mary. The liturgical offices compiled by Sabas (439-532), Abbot General and Superior of the monasteries of Palestine, show that the feast day of Saint Anne was celebrated as early as the fifth century, and that her feast day was associated with the 26th July.

Tu quoque Anna divinitus clara! Vos gemini estis lychni, à quibus orta est lampas, circa quam nullum umbrae vestigium ipsamet Dei gratia, id est Genitrix Dei.[8]

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4 John Damascenus, *In Nativitatem Beatae Virginis Mariae*, PG, 96:662.

5 Ibid., PG, 96: 670.

6 Andrew of Crete, *In Nativitatem Beatae Virginae Mariae*, PG, 97:842-3.

7 Andrew of Crete, *Die Nona Decembris. Conceptio Sanctae ac Dei Aviae Annae*, PG, 97:306.

8 *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.243.

Romanus (d. 556) in a twelve verse poem dedicated to Joachim and Anne, links their deliverance from sterility by the conception of Mary with the deliverance of Adam and Eve from corruption and death.[9] The images of fertility, and the importance of Saint Anne's conception of Mary as a second Eve, were well established in the Eastern Church by the eighth century.

Interest in Saint Anne was not confined to the Eastern church. Augustine implies a knowledge of apocryphal writings on Mary's origins when he mentions his doubts about her family, in *Liber* III of *Contra Faustum*: *Quod de generatione Mariae Faustus posuit, quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi, sacerdotem quemdam, nomine Joachim, quia canonicum non est, non me constringit.*[10] The *Protevangelium* was cited by Tertullian in the second century and Juvencus in the fourth, although few Latin translations existed and later medieval texts appear to have relied upon two other apocryphal works: the gospel of the *Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Liber de Nativitate Marie.*[11]

The former, a mixture of the *Protevangelium* and the *Apocryphal Gospel of Saint Thomas*, appeared in the West in the eighth or ninth century, purporting to be a translation by Saint Jerome of a secret Hebrew gospel by the apostle Matthew.[12] Some copies of the text attributed it to James, son of Joseph.[13] The *Liber de Nativitate Marie,*[14] largely based on the *Pseudo-Matthew*, also claimed to be by Jerome and enjoyed, perhaps, even greater popularity.

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9 Sister Mary Jerome Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple: an Historical and Literary study* (Washington, D.C., 1941), pp.29-30.

10 *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p. 234.

11 Hennecke, *The New Testament Apocrypha*, pp.370 - 374.

12 *The New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. by Montague Rhodes James (London, 1927), p.71.

13 Ibid., p.72. James cites Hroswitha of Gandersheim's use of such a text. Another example is found in the manuscript in Hereford, Cathedral Library Ms.0.3.9, referred to by Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire Byzantin et en Occident*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1964-5), I (1965), p.12.

14 Paschasius Radbertus, Abbot of Corbie (d.865), *Epistola Hieronymi ad Chromatium et Heliodorum*, PL, 30:297-304, where it is attributed to Jerome. On Paschasius Radbertus, see Eugene F. Rice Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London, 1985), p.39.

The narratives in the *Protevangelium* and the *Pseudo-Matthew* differ in some details. The *Protevangelium* begins with the author introducing himself as James, the brother of Christ. The basic story is as follows: Joachim and Anne were wealthy, and lived righteous lives, giving alms to the poor. When Joachim attempted to make an offering in the temple he was rejected by the high priest, Reuben, and told that it was not lawful for him to make an offering, as he was infertile. Joachim remembered Abraham and Isaac, and withdrew into the wilderness for forty days and nights until he should be visited by the Lord. Anne remained mourning, 'I will bewail my widowhood, and I will bewail my childlessness'. Her maid Judith taunted her, 'How shall I curse thee, seeing the Lord hath shut up thy womb, to give thee no fruit in Israel?' Anne takes off her mourning garments, puts on bridal ones, and withdraws into the garden. She too remembers Isaac and Sarah, and, looking at the fertility around her, laments her childlessness.[15] An angel appears to her and tells her that she will conceive. Anne promises that she will dedicate her offspring to the temple of the Lord. Two messengers then arrive and tell her that Joachim, commanded by an angel, is returning from the fields. She runs to Joachim and they embrace at the gate. The conception of the Virgin is usually presumed to have taken place at this meeting, 'and her months were fulfilled, and in the ninth month Anna brought forth'.[16]

The child walks seven steps when she is only six months old, and Anne promises that she will walk no more until she is within the temple of the Lord. A great feast is held by Joachim when she is a year old, and she is brought to the priests of the temple. Anne rejoices, 'Who shall declare unto the sons of Reuben that Anna giveth suck? ' They decide to wait until the child is three years old before bringing her to the temple. When they do so, Joachim calls for the Hebrew maidens to gather, and to light lamps. The Virgin is received by the priest, and he,'made her to sit upon the third step of the altar [...] And her parents gat them down marvelling, and praising the Lord God because the child was not turned away backward.'[17]

The *Pseudo-Matthew* reiterates this basic narrative, but with some differences. It emphasises the generosity of Joachim who divides his wealth into three parts, one for the poor, one for the pious and the third for his own use. Joachim marries Anne,

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15 *The Apocryphal New Testament*, ed. by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford, 1953), p.39.

16 Ibid., pp.40-41.

17 Ibid., pp.41-42.

'daughter of Ysachar of his own tribe,' at the age of twenty, and they live together for twenty years without children. As in the *Protevangelium* Anne is rebuked by her maid, laments her childlessness and is told by an angel of her conception. More attention is given here to Joachim's time in the wilderness. A youth arrives, promises him a daughter and tells him to return to Anne. Joachim is troubled but does not believe it and is urged by his servants to return. The angel returns to him in a dream and Joachim sets out. The angel then tells Anne to go to the Golden Gate. They meet there and nine months later Mary is born. Again, at the age of three Mary is brought to the temple, but in this version she walks, unaided, up fifteen steps.[18] As in the *Protevangelium*, Anne and Joachim's last appearance is in this scene.

The *Liber de Nativitate Marie* differs in no essential details. The *Protevangelium's* influence in the West was limited by its condemnation by Gelasian decree. Copies of the *Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Liber de Nativitate Marie*, however, proliferated throughout Europe, helped by their attribution to Saint Jerome. These texts were also incorporated into other works, such as Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica,* written in about 1170,[19] and Hroswitha of Gandersheim's *Historia nativitatis laudabilisque conversationis intactae Dei Genitricis, quam scriptam reperi sub nomine sancti Jacobi fratris Domini.*[20]

More influential than these, however, were the *Golden Legend*, which was arranged by the Dominican friar, Jacobus da Voragine (c.1260), and the *Speculum Historiale*, compiled by another Dominican, Vincent of Beauvais, in 1244. The former work was compiled according to the Church calendar. For the Feast of the Birth of the Virgin, Voragine outlined the early life of the Virgin and of Joachim and Anne. The *Golden Legend* was diffused widely through the Dominican order, and would appear to have been devised for transmission among the less learned. Certainly it spread rapidly, and many vernacular forms appeared, tailored to local customs and usage.[21] The *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais was written around 1244, and was an influential work in determining the programme of many French stained glass

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[18] Ibid., p.73.

[19] Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198:1562-4.

[20] Hroswitha of Gandersheim, *Historia Nativitatis*, PL 137:1065.

[21] *Colloque Internationale sur la Legenda Aurea*, ed. by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau (Montreal and Paris, 1986). A number of essays in this volume deal with vernacular editions of the *Golden Legend* and its transmission.

windows and sculptural cycles.[22] It was, according to William Christianson, used by the Spanish poets Gonzalo de Berceo (c.1250) and Alfonso X el Sabio (King of Castile and Leon, 1252 - 84) who added local miracles, as did the compilers of the German versions of the *Golden Legend*.[23]

A Franciscan work, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, erroneously attributed to Saint Bonaventura, was also diffused widely, and, while it recounted the same story, it emphasised a direct emotional relationship between the reader/listener and the figures of the narrative. Written for a Clarissan nun, it advised the reader to imagine such scenes as her holding the Christ Child against her cheek.[24] This emphasis on domestic and familial detail, typical of Franciscan values, may have encouraged the development of a devotion to the grandmother of Christ, and the mother of the Virgin. An English Franciscan, Thomas of Hales, wrote a life of the Virgin in the mid-thirteenth century based on the *De Nativitate Marie*, and other sources, such as the *Historia Scholastica* by Petrus Comestor, the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, apocryphal writings, and accounts of travel to the Holy Land. The large number of manuscript versions of this testify to its popularity. This was not limited to Franciscan circles, since at least two copies are found in Dominican collections, and another two in Carthusian.[25] As is probably the case with most of these texts, and demonstrably with the *Golden Legend* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, the work was diffused and translated. Another similar work was the *Vita Christi* by the Carthusian Ludolphus of Saxony, which has been described as the most widely used

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[22] Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image- Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century. A Study in Medieval Iconography and Its Sources of Inspiration* (London, 1910), p.24.

[23] William Christianson Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, 1981), p.5.

[24] Pseudo-Bonaventura, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, ed. by Isa Ragusa and Rosalie Green (Princeton, 1977), p.38.

[25] Thomas of Hales, *'The Lyf of Oure Lady', the Middle English Translation of Thomas of Hales Vita Sancte Marie, edited from the Ms. St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, ed. by Sarah M. Harrall (Heidelberg, 1985), pp.12-14. Harrall lists seventeen manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with provenances such as Klosterneuburg in Austria, Peterborough Abbey, the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary near Dublin, a house of regular canons in Cologne, a Dominican house and a Carthusian house, both in Basel, the charterhouse in Mainz, and a house in Oxford. The middle English translation is based on two manuscripts, St. George's chapel in Windsor, E.I.I., and Bodleian Land. Misc.174. Harrall doubts that the English translation had wide circulations, as the two copies are textually and linguistically close.

source in Northern Europe.[26] Such texts spread the story of the conception and birth of the Virgin and all gave the legend of Joachim and Anne. A verse life of the Virgin, the *Vita Beate Marie ac Salvatoris Rhythmica*, which was written in the twelfth century, was also influential.[27] The legends were, perhaps more importantly, spread through the performance of plays such as the Middle English N-town play,[28] and the spread of vernacular poetry such as the Priest Wernher's *Drei Lieder von der Magd*,[29] and the Middle English lives of Saint Anne.[30] The diffusion of such details orally, visually, and through written texts, with a large but not exclusive input from the Mendicant orders, was well underway by the late fourteenth century.

The Legend of the Holy Kindred of Christ

The legend of Saint Anne became controversial when the early church, preoccupied with the issue of the virginity of Mary, found itself debating the question of the references to the brothers of Christ in the Bible.[31] If Mary was a virgin, and, equally importantly, remained a virgin *post partum*, how could Christ have brothers? An early solution to the problem was put forward by Helvidius in c.382, when he claimed that Mary had more children after the birth of Christ.[32] Another explanation was provided in the possibility of Joseph having had children by a previous marriage, as explained by Epiphanius, in the ninth century.[33] The author of the *Protevangelium*, as we have seen, introduces himself as the brother of Christ by an earlier marriage of Joseph. The A-version of the *Pseudo-Matthew* indicates that the 'brothers' of Christ were the sons of Joseph, and also describes how Mary Cleophas was related to the Holy Family:

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26 Henk Van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500* (London and Amsterdam, 1994), p.40.

27 *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, ed. by A. Vögtlin, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 180 (Tübingen, 1888).

28 *The Mary Play from the N-town Cycle (Cotton Vespasian D. VIII)*, ed. by Peter Meredith (London, 1987), p.10. The play was written between c.1486 and the early sixteenth century, and probably originated in East Anglia.

29 *Des Priesters Wernher Drei Lieder von der Magd*, ed. by Hermann Degering (Berlin, 1925).

30 *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of St. Anne*, ed. by Roscoe E. Parker (London, 1928).

31 Matthew 12.46-7, 13.55; Mark 3.31; John 7.3; Galatians 1.19.

32 *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by Frank Leslie Cross (London, 1957), p.196.

33 Epiphanius, *De Nativitate Deiparae*, PL, 120:220.

> When Joseph went to a banquet with his sons James, Joseph, Jude and Simon and with his two daughters, they found there also Jesus and His mother Mary, with her sister, Mary, daughter of Cleophas, who the Lord God had conceded to her father Cleophas and her mother Anne, as they had offered to the Lord Mary, the mother of Jesus. And this Mary was called the same name as Mary, for the consolation of the parents.[34]

However, Saint Jerome (342 - 420) dismissed the idea, and discussed the biblical usage of the term 'brother'. According to Saint Jerome the word 'brother' could be understood as 'cousin'.[35] The reference to Christ's kinship could thus be explained by the Hebrew use of the same word to denote 'cousin' as 'brother'. This brought the problem back a generation, if Christ's brothers were in fact his cousins, then their mothers had to be daughters of Saint Anne. As Joachim and Anne had been an elderly infertile couple, and Mary was a miraculous if not immaculate conception, it was not easy to envisage how more children could have been born. A complicated explanation, which arose in the ninth century, was articulated by Haymo of Auxerre, (or Halberstadt, d.853). According to Haymo's theory, Saint Anne had three daughters named Mary, and it is their children who are the brothers of Christ. Saint Anne's first husband was Joachim. After his death, she married Joachim's brother, Cleophas. Mary Cleophas, the daughter of this second union married Alpheus, and her child was Saint James the Lesser. When Cleophas died, Saint Anne married a third husband called Salome. They had a child, Mary Salome, who, in turn, married Zebedee, and gave birth to Saints John the Evangelist and James the Greater.[36] A later version of the *Pseudo-Matthew*, version B, gave the following explanation:

> And when Joseph, decrepit with age, died and was buried with his parents, the blessed Virgin Mary lived with her nephews, the sons of her sisters. In fact Anne and Emerina were sisters: from Emerina was born Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist. Anne, the mother of the blessed Mary, being very beautiful, after the death of Joachim married Cleophas and had by him a second daughter: she called her Maria and gave her as a wife to Alpheus: from them was born James, son of Alpheus, and Philip his brother. The second husband having died also, Anne married a third husband, of the name of

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[34] *Pseudo Matthew*, version A, Vatican, ms. 5257, published in *I Vangeli Apocrifi*, translated by Marcello Craveri (Turin, 1990), p.100.

[35] Jerome, *De Perpetua Verginitate adversum Helvidium*, PL, 22:193-216. Augustine used a similar argument in his *Libro de Quaestionibus Matthaeum, quaest.ione 17*, quoted in *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.240.

[36] Haymo of Auxerre, *Historiae Sacrae Epitome*, PL, 117:823.

> Salome, of him she had a third daughter: she called her also equally Mary, and gave her as a wife to Zebedee, from these were born James, son of Zebedee, and John the Evangelist.[37]

Epiphanius had listed the sisters of Saint Anne as Maria and Sobe.[38] Mary was the mother, according to this source, of Salome the midwife, and Sobe was the mother of the mother of John the Baptist. The *Pseudo-Matthew*, B, as shown above, had given the name of Anne's sister as Emerina instead. By the time of the writing of the *Golden Legend* two more children had been added to the progeny of Mary Cleophas,[39] and the references to Anne's sister had been amplified. Emerina had become Ismeria, and she had two children: Elizabeth and Eliud. Elizabeth married Zacharias and gave birth to Saint John the Baptist. Eliud's son was Eminen, and he was claimed as the father of Saint Servatius, (d.384) bishop of Tongres, and patron of Maastricht (where he died) among other places.[40] The Venetian bishop of Aquila, Pietro de Natali, repeats the legend in his *Catalogus Sanctorum*, written in about 1372, and also supplies the name of Eminen's wife, Memelia.[41] The legend becomes even more bizarre with a Carmelite version which adds the parents of Anne, Emerentiana and Stollanus, to the Holy Kindred.[42]

The legend of the Holy Kindred was never fully accepted, despite its popularity. Fulbert of Chartres (952-1028) denounced it in the following terms:

> *Felix etiam qui non plures, sed unam promeruit suscipere natam, que unicum conciperet et proferret Dei Filium. Nec enim decebat ut hujus singularis Virginis sanctissimi progenitores foedarentur plurimorum propagatione*

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37 *Pseudo Matthew*, B, Codex Laurentiani, in Craveri, *I Vangeli Apocrifi*, pp.110-111.

38 Epiphanius, *De Nativitate*, PL, 120:189.

39 Peter Lombard, *In Epistolam ad Galatas*, PL, 192:101-102.

40 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Lives of the Saints*, translated by William Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, 1993), II, p.150. The Latin text is found in Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea, Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, ed. by T. Graesse (Leipzig, 1850), pp. 585-9.

41 Pietro de Natalibus, *Catalogus Sanctorum* (London, 1519) cviij.

42 Ton Brandenbarg, 'Saint Anne: a Holy Grandmother and Her Children', *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Anneke Mulder-Bakker (New York and London, 1995), pp.31-65 (p.44).

filiorum qui erant futuri unicae matris Domini provisores et educatores egregii.[43]

Despite such denunciations the legend was extremely popular in Northern Europe in the later Middle Ages, and it became further diffused by different versions of the *Pseudo-Matthew*,[44] the *Golden Legend*, Pietro de Natali's *Catalogus Sanctorum*, and, in 1406, the *vita* of Saint Colette of Corbie. Colette was born near Amiens in 1381, the child of a carpenter. Her vision of Saint Anne is put into context by the fact that her mother had been a childless widow of mature age when she married, and that Colette had been born to her when she had reached her sixtieth year. Colette was upset by the remarriage of her mother until Saint Anne appeared to her in a vision with her three daughters, demonstrating the importance of her own three marriages.[45]

The sterile woman who had given birth miraculously to the Virgin was, with the addition of these legends, transformed into a grandmother and matriarch of a large family group. Her popularity was not hindered by such additions, and she provided a welcome contrast to the more usual virgin martyrs or nuns in the calendar of the western church.

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[43] Fulbert of Chartres, *Sermo VI. In Ortu Almae Virginis Mariae Inviolat*ae, PL, 141:326.

[44] Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, 'Introduction', *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, edited by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, pp.1-69 (p.16).

[45] Pierre de Vaux, *Vita Coletae*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii 6, p.556.

II.
The Cult.

The Cult of Saint Anne in the Early Church

Devotion to Saint Anne was promoted by the eastern Emperor Justinian, who founded a church dedicated to her in Constantinople in 550 and celebrated her feast day on the 25th July. By 710 the church claimed to hold the relics of Saint Anne and by the tenth century Constantinople had five other churches dedicated to her.[46] In 770 relics were claimed to be in the Roman church of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, and a century later frescoes depicting Saint Anne and the Virgin were painted in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome. The Provençal church of Apt claimed to have discovered relics of Saint Anne miraculously in the presence of Charlemagne on Easter day 792 and this church was certainly an important pilgrimage site by the thirteenth century.[47] The Crusades resulted in further diffusions of relics in the west. Count Louis of Blois returned from Constantinople in 1205 with the head of Saint Anne, which was given to the Cathedral of Chartres by his widow, Catherine. The event was recorded by the Capitulary of the Cathedral as follows:

> *XVII Kal. Maii obiit Ludovicus illustres comes Blesensis, qui ad partes transmarinas in servitium Dei iter aggrediens septem libras & dimidiam nobis dedit [....] qui etiam caput sanctae Annae, matris beatae Virginis genitricis Dei apud Constantinopolim acquisivit, et huic sanctae ecclesiae cum pallio pretioso transmisit. Unde ex tanti praesentatione thesauri et susceptione materni capitis in domo Filiae, facta laetitia magna in populo. Clerus hujus ecclesiae et comitissa Katerina, quae ex parte praedicti comitis, viri sui, caput praesentavit, in id concorditer convenerunt pio intuitu statuendo, ut singulis annis de oblationibus, factis praedicto sancto capiti, centum solidi in augmentum et ampliorem venerationem anniversarii ejusdem comitis adderentur.*[48]

An image of Saint Anne with the infant Virgin was carved on the trumeau of the north door in the same period, presumably to celebrate the acquisition of such a

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46 Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna, ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstrum* (Düsseldorf, 1930), p.21.

47 Reverend Myles V. Ronan, *Saint Anne: Her Cult and Shrines* (London and Edinburgh, 1927), p.18.

48 *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.256.

treasure.[49] Under the influence of Chartres devotion grew in the Ile-de-France and Normandy regions, with another image of Saint Anne with the Virgin carved in 1313 in Ecouen,[50] and a chapel devoted to Saints Anne and Martin in Notre Dame in Paris in 1328.[51] Devotion to Saint Anne grew throughout the middle ages, partly as a natural extension of the high medieval cult of the Virgin, and partly as a result of the diffusion of relics, frequently brought back from crusades. As early as 1140 Ralph Pincerna le Boteler founded an abbey in Alcester dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, Anne, Joseph, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, [52] and by 1212 the Knights Hospitallers had dedicated a chapel to Saint Anne in Cork, Ireland.[53] Relics of Saints Anne and Peter were brought to Bremen in 1199 by Archbishop Harvicus,[54] and further relics were claimed by Weingarten in 1192, Lützel in 1205, and Mainz in 1212.[55] The Milanese priest, Origo Scaccabarozzi, (d.1292) mentions Saint Anne and the family of Christ in hymns and rhymed offices, as does the Cistercian, Konrad of Cilienfeld (d.1332) and the Swedish bishop, Hermann of Linköping.[56] A thirteenth-century Lectionary from Coutances shows that the story of Saints Joachim and Anne was read aloud on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, and a contemporary breviary from Caen, shows the same.[57] The hymn *Ad Matris Annae Anima*, written around 1200 is found in two manuscripts from England, and also in manuscripts from Northern France, Bohemia and Austria. Many French choir books contained the sequence *Mater Matris Domini*, composed in the thirteenth century.[58] By the fourteenth century relics were found in Douai (1377),[59] and, by the fifteenth

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49 Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p.319.

50 Jacques Baudoin, *La Sculpture Flamboyante en Normadie et Ile-de-France* (Nonette, 1992), p.91.

51 Henry Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar: The Economics of Cathedral Building* (New York, 1994), p.218.

52 David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (London, 1971), pp. 52 and 58.

53 Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in Ireland, with an Appendix to Early Sites* (Blackrock, 1988), p.336.

54 *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.257.

55 Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:169.

56 *Lexikon des Marienkunde*, ed. by Konrad Algermissen *et al.* (Regensburg, 1957), p.232.

57 Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p.240. The Coutances lectionary is cited as Paris, Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève, Ms.131, and the Caen breviary as Arsenal, Ms.279.

58 Algermissen, *Lexikon der Marienkunde*, p.254.

59 *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p. 258.

century, San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome.[60] Relics of Saint Anne continued to be eagerly sought into the fifteenth century. The cranium of Saint Anne received by Bologna from Cardinal Niccolò Albergati in 1435 had been given to him by Henry VI of England. It had been brought to England by Carmelites fleeing the Turkish invasion of Asia Minor.[61] In 1493, the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony presented the church in Annaberg with relics brought from Rhodes, and in 1510 the relics of Mainz were stolen by a stonemason and given to the Franciscans of Düren.[62]

Liturgical development in the cult of Saint Anne

Under the Emperor Justinian, in 550, the Eastern church celebrated the feast of Saint Anne. The feasts of Saints Joachim and Anne and the Conception of the Virgin, known as the *Conceptio Annae* also had their place in the Byzantine calendar (on the 9th September and the 9th December respectively). The *Dormitio* of Saint Anne was celebrated in Naples by the tenth century, and, as cults associated with the relics of Saint Anne spread throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so too did the celebration of her feast.[63] In the thirteenth century the Carmelites celebrated her feast, followed by most of the other orders. [64] Although the feast was formally approved in England by Pope Urban VI in 1381 after the marriage of Richard II with Anne of Bohemia,[65] there appears to have been a flourishing cult in England long before the feast was instituted by the Pope. In 1362 the feast was celebrated in Lincoln Cathedral, while as early as 1339, the Bishop of Exeter, John Grandisson, had instituted the feasts of the Archangel Gabriel, Saint Anne, and the Presentation of the Virgin in the church of Ottery Saint Mary.[66] Similarly, the feast was celebrated in 1333 in Siena. In that year the Sienese council debated instituting the feast as a public holiday. They found in favour of doing so, in response to the statements of

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60 These relics were recorded in the fifteenth century by Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai in his *Zibaldone*. Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai, *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone - I " Il Zibaldone Quaresimale"*, ed. by Alessandro Perosa, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 24 (London, 1960), p.69.

61 *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.255.

62 Ton Brandenbarg, 'Saint Anne and Her Family. The Veneration of Saint Anne in Connection with Concepts of Marriage and the Family in the Early Modern Period', *Saints and She Devils*, ed. by Lène Dresen-Coenders (London, 1987), pp. 101-129 (p.102).

63 Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:168.

64 Ashley and Sheingorn, 'Introduction', *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p.21.

65 Wendy Scase, 'St. Anne and the education of the Virgin', *England in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Nicholas Rogers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, n.s. 3 (Stanford, 1993), pp.81-96 (p.81).

66 Richard William Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), p.109.

petitioners claiming that many already abstained from business on that day.[67] Five years earlier, the prominent Sienese citizen, Giovanni di Tese Tolomei and his wife Andrea had founded a chapel dedicated to Saints Anne and Joachim in the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena.[68] Dublin celebrated the feast as a holiday of obligation in 1351, after a decision made by the Provincial Council.[69] The feast was given official Church sanction at the Council of Copenhagen in 1425, but was later suppressed by Pope Pius V (1566-72),[70] probably as a result of doubts over its links with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Despite its widespread popularity, it was only in 1584 that the feast of Saint Anne was declared obligatory for the universal church by Pope Gregory XIII.[71]

Naturally the cult of Saint Anne was closely associated with the development of the cult of the Virgin, and as feasts concerned with the Virgin's early life, and indeed her very conception, became significant in church calendars so too did the importance of her mother. The Birth of the Virgin was celebrated in the Eastern church and this was adopted by the Roman church in the seventh century, with a litany and a procession composed by Pope Sergius 1st (687-701). Although it is found in early martyrologies,[72] Fulbert of Chartres (952-1028) refers to it as a recent celebration in his sermon on the Birth of Mary.[73] Fulbert's sermons for the feast are the earliest to be composed in Latin. The feast, which grew in popularity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, played an important role in the iconography of the life of the Virgin, as will be shown later.

Two other Marian feasts are directly influential on the cult and iconography of Saint Anne. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple was celebrated as a feast in Constantinople by 730.[74] The feast was papally approved in the West in 1372 by Gregory XI after its promotion by the Chancellor of Cyprus, Philippe de Mézières. Philippe wrote an office and a Mass for the feast, which was celebrated in the

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67 Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: the Saints in the Italian City States* (London,1996), p.110.

68 Hayden B. Maginnis, 'The Lost Facade frescoes from Siena's Ospedale di S. Maria della Scala', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeshichte*, 50 (1988) pp.180 -194 (p.192).

69 Ronan, *Saint Anne*, p.9.

70 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *L'Iconographie*, II, p.18.

71 Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:168.

72 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *L'Iconographie*, II, p.9.

73 Fulbert of Chartres, *Sermo IV. De Nativitate Beatissimae Mariae Virginis*, PL, 141:320.

74 Charland, *Les Trois Légendes*, p.171.

Franciscan church in Avignon.[75] Following this, it was promoted by Gregory and also by the King of France, Charles V, who sent a letter to the Navarrese college in Paris in 1374, recommending its observance.[76] Although the de Mézières office was accepted by the Avignonese papacy and spread throughout the Western church,[77] there is evidence that the feast of the Presentation itself was celebrated much earlier than 1372. In pre-Conquest Benedictine manuscripts examined by Pfaff the Presentation is celebrated on November 21st, usually under the term '*Oblacio*'.[78] He also cites the case of the Bishop of Exeter, John Grandisson, who, as already mentioned, provided in his testament for the celebration of three feasts, those of Gabriel, Saint Anne, and the *missa de oblacione beate marie virginis*. He bought land for the endowment of a chapel in Ottery Saint Mary from the chapter of Rouen where the feast of the '*Oblacio*' was listed in a late thirteenth-century breviary.[79]

The Immaculate Conception

Inevitably linked to these Marian feasts, and to devotion towards Saint Anne, was the nature of Mary herself, and the question of whether she had been conceived without original sin or later purified from it. A brief study of how the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception developed, and more importantly, how it was perceived and understood through its visual and textual transmissions is essential in an analysis of the iconography of Saint Anne. This doctrine was controversial, and was only made dogma in 1854 by the bull *Ineffabilis Deus*.[80] This thesis is not concerned with the iconography of the Immaculate Conception *per se*, as this has been thoroughly

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75 Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation*, pp.92-105, and *passim*.

76 Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts,* p.104.

77 The Roman Missal of 1505 used Philippe's Mass, and Pfaff cites many fifteenth-century English manuscripts which include his office for the feast. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts,* p.113.

78 Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts,* pp.105 ff.

79 Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts,* p.109. A sculpted boss from the church of Ottery St. Mary depicts the Presentation.

80 Pius IX, *Acta*, 2 vols (Rome, 1854-8), II, p.597. A translation of the dogma is provided by R. Aubert, 'that from the first moment of her conception the Blessed Virgin Mary was, by the singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, and in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, Saviour of mankind, kept free from all stain of original sin'. R. Aubert, 'Pius IX', *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. by the Catholic University of America, 18 vols (New York and London, 1867-1989), XI, p.405.

covered elsewhere,[81] but only with how the controversies surrounding the issue affected the cult and iconography of Saint Anne.

The unique position of the Virgin Mary among human beings had been confirmed by the Council of Ephesus in 431 where she was pronounced *Theotokos* or Mother of God. The purity of such a person was implicitly acknowledged by this confirmation but the doctrine of Immaculacy had yet to be developed. The writings of Justin the Martyr and Irenaeus drew a parallel between Eve and Mary, and between Adam and Christ.[82] The link was thus made between Eve as the cause of original sin and Mary as the mother of the Redeemer of humankind from the consequences of that sin. The early sources for the life of the Virgin deal with her conception as a miraculous event rather than focusing upon her purity. The *Protevangelium* is evasive regarding the moment of conception:

> And behold Joachim came with his flocks, and Anna stood at the gate and saw Joachim coming, and ran and hung upon his neck, saying, "now I know that the Lord God has greatly blessed me; for behold the widow is no longer a widow, and I, who was childless (Isa. 54:1) shall conceive. And Joachim rested the first day in his house.[83]

However, as the child is born nine months later the implication is that conception took place around the time of the meeting at the Golden Gate. Some versions of the *Protevangelium*, however, firmly place the conception in the past tense with Anne's use of the word '*concepi* ' at the meeting, which indicates that conception has taken place without the help of Joachim.[84] Epiphanius, writing in the ninth century, attempted to redress the balance:

> *Quamvis autem ex Mariae historia ac traditione illud habeatur, Joacimo ejus patre divinitus hoc in deserto nuntiatum fuisse: "Uxor tua concepit," non ita tamen accipiendum est, quasi hoc citra nuptialem consociationem.[...]*

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[81] Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (New York, 1957).

[82] *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p.681.

[83] James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p.40.

[84] The oldest manuscript of the *Protevangelium*, Papyrus Bodmer V, describes how the angel said to Joachim 'Behold, your wife Anne has conceived in her womb', but the majority of manuscripts use the future tense. Ashley and Sheingorn, 'Introduction', *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p.7.

acciderit. Verum quod futurum erat missus a Deo significavit angelus, ne qua dubitatio foret.[85]

The issue was set forth clearly by the author of the *Menalogion Graecum* in the tenth century:

> *Concepit igitur Anna Mariam et peperit, non ut quidam dicunt, septimestrem, aut sine viri opera; sed angelica quidem praedictione, exactis tamen novem mensibus, atque adeo ex viri conjunctione: solus enim Dominus noster et Deus Jesus Christus sine ulla commixtione aut femine modo quodam, illi soli noto, nobis autem ineffabili et inexplicabili, Virgine sancta natus est.*[86]

The problem was the inability to reconcile the freedom from original sin of the Virgin with the need for Redemption. If the Virgin was conceived free from sin, then how could she need redemption by her son? If God incarnate in the person of Jesus Christ was the only one capable of being conceived without sin, how could the Mother of God, the one from whom He took flesh, be sinful? Similarly, confusion surrounds the exact nature of original sin and how it was contracted. Levi d'Ancona summarises the problem:

> In the beginning Original Sin was not defined, but was considered in its aspects of cause and consequences: its cause, the devil; its consequences, concupiscence, corruption and death. To exempt Mary from Original Sin meant to exempt her from its consequences. True, Mary did not conceive with concupiscence, but was she untouched by it when she was conceived? Was she victorious over sin by resisting temptation or was she free from temptation? Was she at any time of her existence subject to the law of death?[87]

Further, if she was free from Original Sin at the moment of her creation, was this at the creation of the soul or the body, or at the union of body and soul?

The legends of the Birth of the Virgin all agree on one point: the miraculous, if not immaculate, conception of the Virgin Mary by an elderly sterile couple. The feast of

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[85] Epiphanius, *Haeres, 79*, quoted in *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.234.

[86] *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.237.

[87] Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, p.5.

the Conception was celebrated in Naples by the ninth century, probably by colonies of Greek monks.[88] It was known in England before the Norman conquest,[89] and was suppressed by William in the later eleventh century. It was then revived by the early twelfth century.[90] By 1328 the feast of the Conception was a holiday of obligation in England. The cult was celebrated in Ireland as early as the ninth century,[91] and was then introduced in a different form by the Anglo-Normans in the fourteenth century. In 1352 the Provincial Council in Dublin ordered the celebration of the feast days of Saint Anne, the Conception of the Virgin, the Translation of Saint Thomas à Becket and Saint Catherine, as holidays of obligation.[92] Devotion to Saint Anne in the fifteenth century was marked by the founding of a guild and chantry chapel to her by Henry VI. This was based in the church of Saint Audoen's, where, in the course of nineteenth-century excavations, a wall painting depicting the Holy Trinity with Saint Anne was found.[93] **[pl.1.1.]**

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception received its first clear exposition in the West by Eadmer, a follower of Anselm of Bec, in 1123 or 1139, in a treatise entitled *De Conceptione Beatae Virginis Mariae*, which was originally propagated under the name of Anselm himself.[94] The defence was supplemented by a miracle legend of Helsinus.[95] This described how an English abbot by the name of Helsinus was sailing between England and Normandy when he was caught in a violent storm. A vision of the Virgin assured Helsinus that all on board the ship would be saved if the feast of the Immaculate Conception be instituted and celebrated. This legend was popular and its appeal was widespread.[96] The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, however, became the subject of learned debate in the late twelfth and

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88 Ibid., p.12.

89 Ronan, *Saint Anne*, p.81. The Feasts of the Conception and the Presentation were introduced into England at Winchester, c.1030.

90 Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin', p.81.

91 Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, p.12. It was probably imported from Egypt, as the liturgy follows the Coptic rite.

92 Ronan, *Saint Anne*, p.107.

93 *The Irish Builder*, 29 (December 15th, 1887), illustration 349.

94 Eadmer, *De Conceptione B. Virginis Mariae*, PL, 159:301-8.

95 Eadmer's authorship of the treatise and legend is discussed by Richard W. Southern, *Saint Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), p.433.

96 It is found in the side panels of a fourteenth century Dalmatian altarpiece, now in the National Gallery, London, no.4250, and in two Latin manuscripts in Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. L.Plut.17.1, and Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Magliabechiano II.III.412.

Immaculate Conception,[100] which the university accepted as dogma in 1496.[101] The Franciscan pope, Sixtus IV (della Rovere) made it a feast for the entire Church with the bull *Cum Praecelsa* in 1476.[102] The office adopted for the feast was that written by Leonardo Nogarolis, and published in Venice in 1478.[103] The Dominicans still refused to accept the feast, and Sixtus was forced in 1480 and again in 1482 to forbid either side to accuse the other of heresy. In the early years of the sixteenth century Vincenzo Bandello, general of the Dominicans, composed his own office for the feast of the Conception wherein he substituted the word *sanctification* for *conception*.[104] Enmity was recorded as late as 1521 in Venice, where the diarist Sanuto recounted that the Dominicans of Treviso did not want the Franciscans to build a new church and convent in their area due to the dispute over the feast. [105]

The cult of the Immaculate Conception was therefore controversial throughout the early modern period. The Franciscans, as mentioned above, accepted the feast early, and in 1333 the General Chapter of the Carthusians ordered the celebration of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin and replaced the word *sanctification* with *conceptione*. However, the Carthusians were inconsistent in their support for the doctrine, and in 1341 they reversed the decision: *In festo conceptionis beatae Mariae dicitur ubique loco conceptionis, sanctificationis*. This reversal was reinforced in 1368 but after 1439 the word *conceptione* came in again. By 1509 the Carthusians had turned full circle: *Festum gloriosae Virginis Mariae quod solemnitur celebratus*

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100 Cross, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p.681.

101 Emil Mâle, *Religious Art in France: the late Middle Ages*, ed. by Harry Bober, trans. by Marthiel Mathews, Bollingen Series, 90.3(Princeton, 1986), p.198.

102 Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1986), p.58. He also made the feast of Saint Francis a double solemnity in 1472, and canonised Saint Bonaventura in 1482. (Ibid., p.60). The bulls concerning Saint Francis and Saint Bonaventura can be found in Laertius Cherubini, *Magnum Bullarium Romanum, ab Leone Magne usque S.D.N. Innocentium X*, 4 vols (London, 1655), pp.402 and 437 respectively. The bulls concerning the Immaculate Conception were not published by Cherubini. Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: the Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1990), p.77. Warner points out Sixtus's devotion to the Immaculate Conception. He dedicated the Sistine Chapel to the Immaculate Conception and also erected an altar to the Immaculate Virgin in the lower church of San Francesco in Assisi. Also referred to in *Pietro Perugino, Master of the Italian Renaissance*, ed. by Joseph Antenucci Becherer (New York and Grand Rapids, 1997), p.258.

103 Goffen, *Piety and Patronage*, p.58.

104 Ibid., p.77.

105 Ibid., p.74.

early thirteenth centuries and the seeds for the future controversy between the Franciscans and the Dominicans were sown. The freedom of Mary from sin was not in doubt; the doubts arose over the moment of her freedom, with many holding to the view that she was purified after conception, in her mother's womb. Thomas Aquinas voiced similar concerns to the author of the *Menalogion* when he responded to Anselm: *Sed major puritas fuisset beatae Virginis si nunquam fuisset inquinata contagio originalis peccati. Ergo hoc ei praestitum fuit quod, antequam animaretur caro ejus, sanctificaretur.*[97]

A reconciliation between the need for Mary to be free from sin and the need to reserve conception without original sin to Christ alone can be seen here with the doctrine of sanctification. Mary was free from original sin, as she was sanctified within the womb but conceived with original sin in the usual manner. She thus occupied a position similar to John the Baptist, who was popularly held to be sanctified within Saint Elizabeth's womb when Mary visited her. The Oxford Franciscan Duns Scotus (c.1264-1308) however put forth a different view, in stating that Mary would have contracted original sin if the grace of the Mediator had not prevented it: she was thus preserved from original sin by the merit of Christ.[98] The battle lines were laid down, the Franciscans (with the exception of Saint Bonaventura) followed Duns Scotus and accepted the doctrine. The Dominicans followed Saint Thomas Aquinas and promulgated the doctrine of sanctification rather than immaculacy at the moment of conception.

Controversy continued throughout the fifteenth century. The Council of Basle proclaimed the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception to be of 'pious opinion' in 1439.[99] Accusations regarding the schismatic nature of the council rendered its proclamation less than binding, and the Dominicans refused to accept it. However, in 1449 the Sorbonne required all degree candidates to swear an oath defending the

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[97] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, ed. by Thomas R. Heath, 61 vols. (London and New York, 1969), LI, p.8, 3a, *quaest.* 27.2, as.2.

[98] Ioannes Duns Scotus, *In IV Libros Sententiarum* (Venice, 1597), III, dist.III, q.1.

[99] For some of the views and issues discussed at the Council of Basle, see Joannes de Turrecremata, *Tractatus de Veritate Conceptionis Beatissimae Virginis pro Facienda Relatione Coram Patribus Concili Basiliae, Anno Domini MCCCCXXXVII, Mense Julio. De Mandato Sedis Apostolicae Legatorum, eidem Sacro Concilio Praesidentium. Compilatus per Reverendum Patrem, Fratrem Joannem de Turrecremata*, ed. by E.P. Pusey (Brussels, 1966).

sexto idus Decembris, a modo per totum ordinem celebratur nomine conceptionis, iuxta determinationem ecclesiae, statuto non obstante, de sanctificatione mentionem faciente.[106] The Carmelites, Benedictines and Augustinians followed the Franciscans for the most part.

III.
Patronal roles of Saint Anne

By the fourteenth century, certainly in clerical culture, it is clear that Saint Anne was venerated as the mother of the Virgin, the grandmother of Christ and the sign of Christ's matrilineal and earthly ancestry. The most obvious reason to venerate Saint Anne is her relationship with the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child. As Marian devotion increased in the twelfth century, it was natural that people should turn to the folklore surrounding the upbringing and parentage of Mary herself. While Mary, as the mother of God, was the most powerful intercessor for humanity, important intercessory roles were soon accorded to other blood relatives of Christ. Saint John the Baptist, the cousin and prophet of Christ's incarnation, was, after Mary, the most popular intercessor of the Middle Ages. The popularity of Saint Catherine of Alexandria has been attributed to the legend of her mystic marriage which made her the spouse of Christ and the daughter in law of the Virgin.

Saint Anne as Mother

The most obvious role of Saint Anne was that of mother. The earliest extant representations of her in the West show her in this role alone. A fresco of about 755 in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome shows Saint Anne holding the infant Virgin, flanked by Mary herself, holding the Christ Child and Saint Elizabeth and the infant Saint John.[107] **[pl.1.2]** The earliest feasts associated with Saint Anne to be celebrated in the Western church were both, naturally, concerned with her relationship to Mary: the Conception of the Virgin and the Nativity of the Virgin. There was a wealth of maternal imagery associated with the Virgin Mary, such as the frequent depiction of the *Virgo Lactans* and the image of the Madonna's milk as a redemptive force akin to the wounds of Christ, 'Just as their welling water supplies solace and refreshment for the thirsty, your sacred breasts, in giving milk to the Son of God, supplied us in our

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[106] Mary Bodenstedt, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian* (Washington, 1944), p.141.

[107] Raymond Van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, 19 vols (The Hague, 1925-1929), 1, pp.61 and 120.

need with medicine and consolation.'[108] However, the woman depicted as mother was venerated for the very qualities of virginity and supernatural maternity that lifted her beyond the realm of heroic exemplar. Saint Anne however, despite conceiving miraculously, apparently endured the usual conditions of childbirth.

That Saint Anne was regarded as a maternal figure at least in the Netherlands in the late fifteenth century can be shown by the legend of Emmericus. This legend was one of many which were circulating in the Low Countries in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.[109] It was allegedly recorded in 1018, and was printed in the Latin *Legenda seu Beatissime Anne* in the *Speculum Rosarium Jhesu et Mariae*, by Geraert Leeu in Antwerp in 1489.[110] According to this legend, Emmericus loses all his worldly goods and decides to undertake the pilgrimage to the grave of James, his patron saint, in Santiago de Compostela. James appears as a pilgrim and explains that he is a grandson of Mother Anne. She has power, not only because she is his 'old mother' (grandmother), but is also the grandmother of Christ. Emmericus, interestingly, has never heard of Anne, and asks, therefore, who she is. James describes the frequently depicted group of Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child as an 'honourable woman, having with her Mary her daughter with Jesus her son.' [111] Emmericus is then given a task, 'Make such an effigy of her, for it is God's will that people through out the world shall venerate her'.[112]

James also points out that the best day for devotion to Saint Anne is Tuesday, since she was born and died and also gave birth to Mary on that day. Therefore, on Tuesdays 'three Paternosters and three Hail Maries' should be said and a lighted candle placed before her effigy. It is even better if candles are also offered to Mary and Jesus. Emmericus some time after this is given the task of painting a mural of Saint Anne on the west face of the highest tower of the town, so that all will be inspired. He then paints Anne with the Virgin and Child. Above this he inscribes, 'Help us Saint Anne with you three.' A gust of wind blows him off the scaffold and

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[108] Bridget of Sweden, 'Prayer to the Virgin', *Birgitta of Sweden: Life and Selected Revelations*, ed. by Marguerite Jader Harris (New York, 1990), p.234.

[109] The large number of early Flemish printed texts relating the life of Saint Anne are discussed by Brandenbarg, 'Saint Anne: A Holy Grandmother', pp. 31-65.

[110] Brandenbarg, 'Saint Anne: A Holy Grandmother', pp.33 and 65.

[111] Ibid., p.34, who quotes from the version published in Antwerp in 1499 by Wouter Bor, *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.*

[112] Ibid., p.34.

Saint Anne saves him by her cloak. The king is so impressed that he gives him some money, then appoints him mayor and chancellor. At his request the king promotes Saint Anne's cult by ordering the production of a number of effigies and institutes the celebration of her feast day. When Emmericus reaches the end of his life Mary appears to him and addresses him as her brother, explaining that Saint Anne is his mother and that, therefore, she is his sister and Christ is his nephew.[113]

There are many interesting features of this legend: the fact that Saint Anne's power lies in her relationship with Mary and Christ and the emphasis on their three persons which provides a context for the popularity of the depiction of Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child, in a type known in German as *Anna Selbdritt;*[114] the spreading of a cult through the image; the fact that Emmericus does not know who Anne is, and, most importantly for the present discussion, the adoption of Emmericus as son *not* by the Virgin but by Anne herself. Emmericus is thus incorporated into the family of Christ in a specific way, becoming Mary's brother and Christ's uncle, rather than being part of the general family of the Church or of God. The matriarchal figure of Saint Anne, with her large family and three husbands, was, perhaps, easier to approach. Unlike the unknowable God, the Crucified Christ and the Virgin Mother, Saint Anne represented, like countless other medieval saints, an intermediate stage between the human and the celestial, and, more than many other saints, she represented an aspect of sanctity that did not run in opposition to the lives of those who invoked her.

The cult of Saint Anne in Brittany owes its origins to the legend that she was a Breton princess. According to this legend, Anne was married to a cruel and violent man. Angels transported her from this marriage to Palestine where she married Joachim. After his death she returned to Brittany and built a church in the place now known as

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113 A story very similar, if not identical to this one, is found in the account of Peter Dorland, *Miracula Antiquiora. Collecta ab Petro Dorlando Cartusiano Ex Ms. Cartusiae Miracula Coloniensis*, printed in *Acta SS*, Julii 26, pp. 261 - 279. Here the protagonist is referred to only as a young Hungarian, and is not named. Petrus Dorlandus, or Pieter Dorland (1454-1507) was a Carthusian and humanist. (*Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.259). Brandenbarg discusses the texts of Dorland and others in 'A Holy Grandmother', pp.31-65, and in 'Saint Anne and Her Family', pp. 101-129.

114 *Anna Selbdritt* is the term most frequently used to describe this image, and thus, for the sake of convenience, it will be used here to describe the depiction of Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child in a group. The French term, *Sainte-Anne-Trinitaire*, and the Italian *Sant' Anna Metterza* are not used as frequently.

Sainte-Anne d'Auray.[115] This chapel was destroyed in 799 by Vikings, but was restored in the seventeenth century after a ploughman from the town of Keranna (Breton for city of Anne) had a vision of Saint Anne in a field. She told him to dig in a certain place, and a statue was unearthed. She then showed him the site of her chapel and commanded him to rebuild it.[116] The cult of Saint Anne as mother in Brittany survives to this day. In his study of Breton *cantiques* sung at religious festivals in 1976, James Doan cites two *cantiques* dedicated to Saint Anne that address her as mother, the *Rouannez Karet en Arvor* (Beloved Queen of Brittany) and the *Intron Santez Anna*. In the latter, Saint Anne is cited as an example of motherhood also:

> Pray tender mothers,
> For your children;
> Take example from her.
> She has been a mother also.[117]

The veneration of Saint Anne as a mother rather than as a grandmother can explain the prevalence of depictions of *Anna Selbdritt* in which the Virgin herself is represented as a young child.

Saint Anne as Patron of Childbirth

Saint Anne would seem to be a natural patron of childbirth as, although the conception of Mary was seen as at least miraculous and at most immaculate, her birth and Saint Anne's labour were not singled out in any of the legends as unusual. In modern day Abruzzi Saint Anne is invoked in childbirth.[118] However, such invocations could be modern or early modern as the cult of Saint Anne was promoted by clerical authorities in the Tridentine period and again in the nineteenth century when the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was made dogma. Similarly, an Irish prayer invokes Saint Anne for safe childbirth but the date of its origins cannot be ascertained:

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115 James Doan, 'Five Breton Cantiques from Pardons', *Folklore: the Journal of the Folklore Society*, 91 (1980), pp.27-40 (p.36).

116 Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill, 1989), p.134.

117 Doan, 'Five Breton Cantiques', p.36.

118 Sautman, 'Saint Anne and Folk Tradition', p.84.

A bhean beiri do leanbh
Mar rug Anna Muire,
Mar rug Muire Dia,
Gan mairtriù, gan daille,
Gan easba coise nà láimhe.[119]

Certainly Trithemius lists successful childbirth as one of the patronal functions of Saint Anne.[120] In the same period women in Düren (the site of relics taken in 1501 from Mainz) wore an 'Anne girdle' around their waists when pregnant to ensure safe delivery.[121] The association of Saint Anne with childbirth may lie behind the work commissioned by Frederick the Wise of Saxony for the high altar of the chapel of Saint Anne in the Marienkirche in Torgau, installed in 1505. **[pl.1.3]** The work was to consist of Saint Anne and the Fourteen Holy Helpers. A predella panel showing the Fourteen Holy Helpers remains in Torgau, although its identification with the original altarpiece is not certain. What is interesting, however, is that the work was commissioned in memory of John of Saxony's wife, Sophie of Mecklenburg, who died in childbirth in 1503. According to the annals of Torgau, the altar was installed in 1505: *Ara in honorem S. Annae et XIV opitulatorum fuit dedicata in templo b. Mariae Virgine in choro cum perpetuis missis anno MDV die 19 Juli.*[122]

The panel of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, now in Torgau, is usually identified as the predella panel of the altarpiece of the Holy Kindred in the Staedel Institut in Frankfurt, despite the attributed date of 1509 for the latter. The Saint Anne in the grisaille *Anna Selbdritt* to be found on the back of the Frankfurt panel, it has been suggested, was based on a death mask of Sophie and the Christ Child is a portrait of the future John of Saxony, her son.[123] Family portraits were often included in Holy Family scenes, and, indeed, the figures in the Holy Kindred scene on the front of the panel have traditionally been associated with members of the Saxon ruling family.

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[119] Seán O'Súilleabháin, *Nósanna agus Piseoga na nGael* (Dublin, n.d. [c.1930]), p.43. (Woman bear your child as Anne bore Mary, as Mary bore God,/ without disfigurement, without blindness, without lack of foot or hand.) This information was given to me by Dr. Alan McGovern of the Department of Medieval History, Trinity College, Dublin.

[120] Brandenbarg, 'Saint Anne: A Holy Grandmother', p.47.

[121] Ibid., p.56.

[122] Max Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg, *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach* (London, 1978), pp.70-71.

[123] A discussion of this identification is found in Friedländer and Rosenberg, *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach*, pp.70-71.

Although in a discussion of Saint Anne as patroness of childbirth it is tempting to attribute motives of commemoration of death in childbirth to the choice of Saint Anne as the main subject of an altarpiece, other factors must be taken into consideration. Cranach himself painted a large number of *Anna Selbdritts* and Holy Kindreds, and, given his successful studio, this number must have reflected the popularity of such subjects. This is the period in which Luther wrote of the new popularity of Saint Anne.[124] The Saxon family themselves were devotees of Saint Anne; George of Saxony and his wife Barbara commissioned another altarpiece of Lucas Cranach in which Barbara was presented by Saint Anne.[125] **[pl.1.4]** Frederick, the patron of the altarpiece, was a devotee of Saint Anne long before Sophie's death in 1503. As already mentioned, Frederick donated her relics to the church in Annaberg, a town founded by his own family, and named after Saint Anne as patroness of the mines upon which the region's prosperity was founded.[126] It was at Frederick's behest that Pope Alexander VI elevated the feast day of Saint Anne to that of first class status in Germany in 1495, and, fourteen years later, Pope Julius II granted new indulgences for her cult at the Electors Stiftskirche in Wittenberg.[127] Nevertheless, the depiction of Saint Anne as a reminder of childbirth would seem to be a natural choice, given the scarcity of female saints who were not virgins, and given the remoteness of the Virgin Mary from normal female parturition.

Saint Anne as Patron of Fertility

Related to Saint Anne's protection over childbirth was her power to cure infertility. Saint Anne, like Hannah and Sarah of the Old Testament, was barren until she miraculously conceived in old age. The litanies of Apt compared her to a fertile vine, the flower of which is the Virgin, the fruit of which is Christ. As late as the nineteenth century there were reports of how parishioners draped the fruits of the vine harvest around the bust of Saint Anne in Apt; the grapes were known as 'the grapes of Saint Anne' and were afterwards distributed to the sick.[128] A painting in the Wallfahrtskirche in Ering on the river Inn in Austria, dated 1719, shows a man kneeling beside a swaddled child in a crib, with a woman on the other side. Saint

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124 Brandenbarg, 'Saint Anne: A Holy Grandmother', p.35.

125 Gertrud Borghero, *Thyssen-Bornemisza collection.* (Lugano and Milan, 1986), p.84.

126 Thomas Da Costa Kauffman, *Court, Cloister and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450-1800* (London, 1995), p.85.

127 *Hans Baldung Grien: Prints and Drawings*, ed. by James Marrow and Alan Shestack (Washington, 1981), p.125.

128 Francesca Sautman, 'Saint Anne in Folk Tradition', p.77.

Anne hovers in a cloud mandorla above the crib. The painting, which is quite crude, is clearly an *ex voto*, in thanks for the birth of the child. In the seventeenth century Anne of Austria made a pilgrimage to Apt in order to pray for an heir after twenty-three years of a childless marriage.[129] Her prayer was answered with the birth of a son. She subsequently built a reliquary chapel in the Cathedral, and, in 1622 obtained from the chapter the gift of a finger of Saint Anne, which she donated to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris.[130] Evidence is sparse for the medieval period.

Saint Anne's powers of intercession against the problems of human infertility were extended towards fertility and agricultural prosperity in general. The day regarded as sacred to Saint Anne, Tuesday, is considered as the day on which God created life in Genesis and can thus be associated with fertility, both of humanity and of the earth.[131] The litanies of Apt, mentioned above, invoked her for a successful grape harvest right up to the nineteenth century.[132] This type of invocation of Saint Anne in connection with the weather, or with successful harvests is found in widely scattered parts of Europe. In Brittany she was invoked for a successful harvest, and her feast day of 26th July was appropriate for such an association. In Tan Hill church in Ambleside, the rush bearing festival at harvest time is held on the Sunday nearest Saint Anne's day, although the baked tablets produced for the festival bear the image of Saint Oswald.[133] This association with agricultural fertility could also explain her popularity as a 'weather saint'. In Gorges she was invoked for rain, while in Le Plessis they prayed for her intercession for dry weather.[134] Luther turned to Saint Anne in terror during a storm, promising that he would enter the religious life if he was saved.[135] Similarly, the number of miraculous streams and wells named after Saint Anne could be linked with this fertility motif, although they may simply reflect

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129 Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and their Tellers* (London, 1994), p.81.

130 Ronan, *Saint Anne*, p.32.

131 Brandenbarg, 'Saint Anne: a Holy Grandmother', p.61, n.9. It is, therefore, probably no accident that the guild of Saint Anne held their weekly Guild Mass in Antwerp Cathedral on a Tuesday. (Roger Bowers, 'Aristocratic and Popular Piety in the Patronage of Music in the Fifteenth-Century Netherlands', *Studies in Church History* (1992), ed. by Diana Wood, pp.216-7.

132 Sautman, 'Saint Anne in Folk Tradition', p.77.

133 Ralph Whitlock, *A Calendar of Country Customs* (London, 1978), p.121.

134 Sautman in 'Saint Anne and Folk Tradition', p.83.

135 Quoted in Clarissa Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1991), p.161.

the more general popularity of the cult. Often a well or stream is named after the occurrence of miracles or favours granted through the invocation of a particular saint whose very popularity initiated the prayer in the first place. Therefore, such places often indicate which saints are venerated in an area but yield little information as to why. Nearly all saints allegedly have curative powers, which are often manifested through the purity of water. In France, the saint herself apparently chose a spring at Champfremont in the Mayenne region as miraculous,[136] while other foci of the cult included the old fountain in Villefermoy, a well in Pair-sur-Mer, Normandy, and a spring in Montbrun, which reputedly could give milk to nursing women once they bathed in it. In 1794, a statue of Saint Anne was reputed to have shed blood into a stream in Brie, near Vitry in Champagne.[137] In Ireland, there was a well of Saint Anne in Glenasmole (Tallaght), County Dublin, and another in the neighbouring county of Wicklow.[138] The curative spa waters of Altwasser in Czechoslovakia[139] were associated with Saint Anne, and there was a well of Saint Anne in the spa town of Buxton, Derbyshire, of c.1280.[140]

Saint Anne as a Maritime Saint

Protection of those at sea is another function mentioned by Trithemius. Again, the likelihood of any popular saint simply being appropriated for local needs must be considered as a factor in the veneration of Saint Anne as a maritime saint, especially in areas such as Brittany and the Low Countries, where her cult was apparently strong. However, a curious legend of her arrival in France may well have stimulated the idea of Saint Anne as patroness of seafarers. The seventeenth-century breviary of Apt describes how James the Greater, Joseph of Arimathea, Mary Magdalen, Martha and Lazarus left Palestine after the Ascension and carried with them the body of Saint Anne. The company arrived miraculously in the port of Marseilles without oars or rudders on the boat.[141] Again, the problem of sources arises, as the breviary is so late in date, but apparently Saint Anne was invoked as a seafaring patron by the ship

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136 Sautman, 'Saint Anne and Folk Tradition', p.82.

137 Ibid., pp.82-4.

138 Geraldine Lynch, 'The Holy Wells of Co. Wicklow: Traditions and Legends,' *Wicklow: History and Society; Interdisciplinary essays on the History of an Irish County*, ed. by Ken Hannigan and Willian Nolan (Dublin, 1994), pp.625-648 (p.641).

139 Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:170.

140 Sautman, 'Saint Anne in Folk Tradition', p.83.

141 *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.255.

owners of the same city.[142] Unfortunately, Ronan gives no source or date for this information and Kirschbaum tantalises in the same manner, when he states that the ship owners of the Elbe also considered Saint Anne as their patron.[143] The Carthusian Peter Dorland wrote, in c.1509, about how those caught in a storm at sea invoked Saint Anne and were saved in return for promotion of her cult.[144] These tales bear striking similarity to Eadmer's legend of Helsinus described above in relation to the origins of the cult of the Conception of Mary in England.[145] The tradition of Saint Anne being invoked against shipwreck and loss at sea is documented as late as the nineteenth century in Normandy, where the women of Granvilliers marched in silence to the shrine of Saint Anne in order to pray for their seafaring husbands.[146] Ronan lists among the modern miracles of Sainte-Anne d' Auray the saving of over forty vessels at sea.[147]

Saint Anne as a Curative Saint

Saint Anne, like most saints, is credited with curative powers. A Spanish legend claims that the foundation of Sant'Ana in Triana, near Seville, was in fulfilment of the promise made by Alfonso X El Sabio of Castile and Leon to Saint Anne. According to this, Alfonso, in around the year 1250, was struck by blindness. He promised, if cured, to dedicate the church in the parish of Saint George to Saint Anne. The church shared a dedication to Saints Anne and George but the records of the Inquisition of the seventeenth century refer to it by the name of Saint Anne alone.[148] A similar motive apparently lies behind the poem *Ad Anna Mater* composed by Rudolph Agricola in 1483. According to the poem's conclusion, Agricola was seriously ill and promised to write a poem to Saint Anne if he recovered. Karen Tillmans suggests that this is a product of Prudentian-inspired classicism rather than serious devotion to the Saint.[149] However, even if this is the case, the fact that it was Saint Anne who was invoked is itself significant, and, as Tillmans states, Saint

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142 Ronan, *Saint Anne*, p.35.

143 Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:170.

144 Dorland, *Miracula*, in *Acta SS*, Julii 26, pp.262ff.

145 See p.19.

146 Sautman, 'Saint Anne and Folk Tradition', p.83.

147 Ronan, *Saint Anne*, p.69.

148 Carmen Calderón Benjumea, *Iconografía de Santa Ana en Sevilla y Triana* (Seville, 1990), p.12.

149 Karen Tillmans, 'Sancta Mater versus Sanctus Doctus? Saint Anne and the Humanists', *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Anneke Mulder-Bakker (New York and London, 1995), pp.331-335, (pp.336 and 341).

Anne was popular as a fashionable subject in humanist circles. French folklore again shows a number of places associated with Saint Anne's power to cure: a stream in Villefermoy was alleged to cure fever if offerings are left overnight,[150] another stream in Isères served the same function.[151] More specifically, a statue of Saint Anne in the district of Chevain was alleged to be able to cure mumps in the sixteenth century.[152]

Saint Anne as intercessor against the Plague

Like Saints Rochus and Sebastian, Saint Anne was seen as a power against the plague, and is mentioned as such by Trithemius and Bor. Unlike Rochus and Sebastian, however, the reasons for her veneration in this context are obscure. Vasari associated the image of the Virgin shielding people with her cloak, or *Madonna della Misericordia,* with warding off the plague. He discusses the foundation of the Fraternity of the Madonna della Misericordia in his native Arezzo in the time of the Black Death in 1348. He goes on to describe the painting of such an image by Spinello Aretino,

> *e il simile avvenne l'anno 1383, che fu similmente una gran peste. Spinello, adunque, essendo della Compagnia, e toccandogli spesso a visitare infermi, sotterrare morti, e fare altri cotali piissimi esercizj che hanno fattò sempre i migliorati cittadini, e fanno anc'oggi, di quella città; per far di ciò qualche memorie nelle sue pitture, dipinse per quella Compagnia, nella facciata della chiesa di San Laurentino e Pergentino, una Madonna, che avendo aperto dinanzi il mantello, ha sotto esso il popolo di Arezzo: nel quale sono ritratti molti uomini, de' primi della Fraternita, di naturale, con le tasche all collo, e con un martello di legno in mano, simili a quelli che adoperano a picchiar gli usci, quando vanno a cercar limosine.*[153]

He also describes a work by the Abate di San Clemente, of a century later, which depicted Saint Rochus recommending the people of Arezzo to the Madonna.[154] In the life of Parri Spinelli, he describes the miraculous image of the Madonna of Arezzo

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150 Sautman, 'Saint Anne and Folk Tradition', p.82.

151 Ibid., p.83.

152 Ibid., p.81.

153 Giorgio Vasari, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. by Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence, 1973), 1, p.136. See also the Life of Parri Spinelli, vol.2, p.283.

154 Vasari-Milanesi, 3, p.215.

in Santa Maria delle Grazie, allegedly instituted by San Bernardino of Siena. The Madonna in the image again spreads her cloak around the people of Arezzo, although there is no mention of the plague in the list of miracles Vasari attributes to her.[155] Such an iconographical formula must have served many different functions, making it difficult to attribute roles too specifically. Vasari, however, describes his own work in Arezzo, and in so doing outlines some clear artistic intent in determining how the plague and the saints who gave protection against it were to be depicted:

> *Per tanto, tornato in Arezzo, finii la tavola di San Rocco, facendovi la Nostra Donna, sei Santi, ed un Dio Padre, con certe saette in mano figurate per la peste; le quali mentre egli è in atto fulminare, è pregato da San Rocco ed altri Santi per lo popolo. Nella facciata sono molte figure a fresco; le quali, insieme con la tavola, sono come sono.* [156]

No explanation can be found in the documentary sources as to why Saint Anne should be invoked against the plague. Few indeed mention this role at all, the only examples found were Trithemius and Dorlandus, both writing at the turn of the fifteenth century, and both from a Northern viewpoint. That she was so venerated in Northern Europe is shown by a German woodcut, known as a *Pestblatt*, in which an invocatory text against the plague is supplemented by a picture of a *Madonna della Misericordia* and *Anna Selbdritt*.[157] **[pl.1.5]** No Italian texts mentioned Saint Anne as an intercessor against the plague, but an interesting painting by Tiberio d'Assisi shows that in Umbria, at least, she was considered as such. **[pl.1.6]** The painting shows the town of Bettona below an *Anna Selbdritt*. Saint Anne extends her cloak over the town as if she were a *Madonna della Misericordia*, while Christ, in the centre, hurls down arrows of the plague from above. In Arcevia, in the Marche, in 1527 a painting of *Anna Selbdritt* was commissioned as an *ex voto* for delivery from the plague of that year. It was originally found in the church of Santa Maria della Piazza, which was then dedicated to Saint Anne as a sign of gratitude for having spared the region from the contagion.[158] Paintings in which *Anna Selbdritt* is

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155 Ibid., 2, p.280.

156 Ibid., 7, p.662.

157 Kirschbaum refers to another woodcut *Pestblatt* showing Saint Anne, now in the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek Berlin. He also mentions under 1468 a hospital for the plague stricken in Como. . Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:170.

158 Paolo dal Poggetto and Pietro Zampetti, *Lorenzo Lotto nelle Marche. Il suo tempo, il suo influsso* (Florence, 1981), p. 216.

grouped with Saints Sebastian and or Rochus suggest a possible link with this patronal function. A few examples of this were found in Italian painting, all of them were late fifteenth- or early sixteenth- century.[159]

Patron of Mines

Trithemius mentions Saint Anne as a patron saint of miners. This has its origins in a passage in Matthew referring to the Kingdom of God being like a skein of treasure hidden deep in the ground.[160] As Saint Anne had given birth to Mary, who had, in turn, given birth to the greatest treasure, she was like a miner bringing forth treasure from the ground. Remote though the analogy is, Trithemius is not the only source to offer evidence of this role. Several towns in Eastern Europe are named Annaberg after Saint Anne due to their proximity to mines. When Duke George of Saxony founded a mining town between two large mines in the region of Erzebirge in 1496, he named it Annaberg.[161] A shield dating from the sixteenth century shows the city arms below an *Anna Selbdritt*, flanked by two miners. **[pl.1.7]** The church there was also dedicated to her in c. 1500. The Fugger family in Augsburg, whose wealth had to a large degree been founded upon copper mining, had a special devotion to Saint Anne. The funerary chapel in the Carmelite house of Saint Anne in Augsburg, founded by Ulrich and Jacob Fugger in 1509 for their own burial and that of their brother Georg, was also dedicated to Saint Anne.[162] In the Landesmuseum

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[159] The apparent earliest example is a fresco from the church of Santa Caterina in Sestri Levante, (Liguria), in which *Anna Selbdritt* appears with Sebastian and Catherine of Alexandria, Frick Art Reference Library 27571; K.I.F. 184 996 Mal. Ren. (Sansoni 7571); a painting attributed to the so called Maestro di Serumido, now in the church of SS. Jacopo and Maria in Cavallina, near Barberino in the Mugello, shows Saint Anne with Saints Francis and Sebastian, K.I.F. 285584. (Holst); Lorenzo di Alessandro di Sanseverino, in a painting now in the Museo Piersanti in Matelica, shows Anne with Rochus and Sebastian in the centre field, with a Man of Sorrows flanked by Michael and a Dominican saint above. Listed by Bernard Berenson, *Italian Painters of the Renaissance: Central Italian and North Italian Schools, in Three Volumes: a List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places*, 3 vols (London, 1968), I, p.222. Another painting by Sanseverino, in the church of Sant'Angelo in Matelica, also shows *Anna Selbdritt* with Saints Rochus and Sebastian. K.I.F. 298217 Mal.Ren. (Sopr. Urbino, Neg. nr. 27298). Gian Francesco Caroto, in a painting in the Franciscan church of San Fermo in Maggiore, shows *Anna Selbdritt* with Peter, John the Baptist, Francis, Rochus and Sebastian. Berenson, *Venetian Painters*, I, p.80.

[160] Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:170. The source is Matthew 13.44-52.

[161] Kauffman, *Court, City and Cloister*, p.79.

[162] Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints, 1490 -1550* (London, 1995), p.130.

Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck there is a large painted altarpiece depicting *Anna Selbdritt* and donors, originally from the parish church in Landeck, North Tyrol. The donors are Veitjakob Tänzl and his wife, Anna Rindscheit. **[pl.1.8]** The Tänzl family, like the Fugger, owed a great part of their wealth to their ownership of copper mines. The brothers Simon and Veitjakob Tänzl had recently (in 1500) obtained the castle of Tratzberg from the Emperor Maximilian and may have been eager to display their newly acquired wealth; Simon Tänzl promptly embarked upon the building of a lavish palace, while Veitjakob, in 1504 commissioned this altarpiece from the artist known as the Hapsburger Master due to his work at the Hapsburg court.[163] Although Anne is of course the name saint of Anna Rindscheit, the prominence of *Anna Selbdritt* would seem to owe more to her popularity in the region and her patronage of the mines which established Veitjakob. Veitjakob's name saints, Vitus and James, do not seem to play much of a role in determining the iconography; the former does not appear at all while the latter is a subsidiary saint appearing beside the enthroned Saint Anne in the company of Saints John the Evangelist, Peter and Paul.

Not far from Landeck is the small town of Schwaz, once second only to Innsbruck in Tyrol for economic prosperity, which again was built upon mine ownership. In the parish church of Unserer Lieben Frau Maria Himmelfahrt is an early sixteenth-century *Anna Selbdritt* placed upon a Baroque altar. The patronage of the sculpture is uncertain, but both the Tänzl and Fugger families had close links with this church.[164] In here in 1493 was buried Anna Hofer, daughter of Virgil Hofer, a merchant from Salzburg who had become wealthy through mines.[165] A carved altarpiece in the Katharinenskirche in Kitzbühel, also in North Tyrol, provides another link between the choice of *Anna Selbdritt* as the subject of an altarpiece and mining patrons. The altarpiece shows *Anna Selbdritt* surrounded by Saints Christopher, Florian, Denis and Sebastian. The patrons were the owners of the local copper mines.[166] Iconographically, the link between Saint Anne and mining is rarely made, but Kirschbaum cites a Slovak painting from the church in Rosznava, where *Anna Selbdritt* is depicted in front of a smoking slag heap.[167] **[pl.1.9]**

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[163] *Itinerari mostra del Tirolo-Il Gotico. Un' iniziativa della Tirol Werbung ideata da Eva Schubert*, ed. by Saverio Capozzi (Milan, 1994), p.8.

[164] Ibid., p.98.

[165] Ibid., p.99.

[166] Ibid., p.114.

[167] Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:189.

Saint Anne as a Trade and Crafts Patron

The veneration of Saint Anne as the patron saint of woodcarvers appears to be based on as obscure an analogy as that of her patronage of mining. She was seen as the tabernacle that held the most precious treasure of the Virgin Mary and her Son.[168] Francesca Sautman has demonstrated through the use of French folklore how Saint Anne was known in French poetry as a bough, cypress, cedar, rosebush, branch, tree trunk and rod.[169] In many medieval texts Saint Anne is understood to be the root of the tree which flowers in Mary and bears its fruit in Christ.[170] According to modern French folklore the carpenters went to heaven to ask Saint Peter for advice as to what saint they should select for their patron. Saint Peter laughingly told them that they were *ânes* (asses). They misheard or rather, misunderstood, and thought that they were being recommended to the patronage of Saint Anne.[171] In Liège the woodworkers still celebrate the feast of Saint Anne as do the joiners of Sainte-Anne-de-Bois. The patronage of Saint Anne over woodworkers goes back further, as Sautman has shown.[172] The confraternity of carpenters attached to the Carmelite church in Paris chose Saint Anne for their patron; their statutes were confirmed by Louis XIV in 1673.[173] Emil Mâle discussed how the mixture of lime and sawdust used by medieval carpenters was called the 'brains of Saint Anne'.[174]

The textile industry also has a history of being under Saint Anne's patronage. In Italy the feast was celebrated by embroiderers, seamstresses, linen workers and washerwomen, although it is not recorded how old this tradition is.[175] In Antwerp the early sixteenth-century Guild of Saint Anne attached to the church of Our Lady had its origins in a trade guild of hosiers.[176] A poem by Guillaume Cretin, written for the Puy de Rouen, connects to this tradition, in which Mary is the seamless dress that enveloped the Logos made flesh, and Anne and Joachim pull the white silk

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[168] Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p.292.

[169] Sautman, 'Saint Anne and Folk Tradition', p.77.

[170] Petrus Dorlandus, *Vita Beatae Annae. (Historia perpulchra de Anna sanctissima)* written around 1500 in Bruges, published in Paris in 1509. Quoted in *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.263.

[171] Sautman, 'Saint Anne and Folk Tradition', p.77.

[172] Ibid., p.80.

[173] Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p.89.

[174] Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p.292, n.3.

[175] Sautman, 'Saint Anne and Folk Tradition', p.81.

[176] Bowers, 'Aristocratic and Popular Piety', pp.216-7.

threads used to make this dress: *Anna dressa la trayne sans couppeure/ Et Joachim par humble affection/ Fournist la soye et matiere si pure/ Quel neust jamais tache d'infection.*[177]

No evidence has been found to support such a role in medieval Italy. The *Anna Selbdritt* in the Diocesan Museum in Palermo, originally from Santissima Annunziata in that city was, according to Enzo Carli, commissioned by a Pisan silk worker. **[pl.1.10]** However Carli goes on to describe the popularity of the subject in Pisa after Traini's monumental version now in the gallery there **[pl.1.11]** and, given the isolated nature of the example, the patron's occupation is probably coincidental.[178]

Saint Anne as patron of prisoners

Trithemius is not the only source to describe Saint Anne as patroness of prisoners. A French poet, Jean Régnier, while imprisoned in Beauvais, implored Saint Anne to restore his freedom:

> *Glorieuse Dame Saincte Anne,*
> *mere de vierge couronnee,*
> *qui portas la fleur et la manne*
> *dont mainte ame sera sauvee,*
> *toy et ta fille honnoree*
> *priez vostre filz sans actente*
> *que par vous deux soit delivree*
> *ma grief prison de ceste sente.*[179]

The Carthusian Peter Dorland mentions the imprisoned: *Quisquis ille es, qui aut criminum molibus praegavaris, [...] Aut carcerali maceratione afficeris: huc,*

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[177] Poem by Guillaume Cretin, written for the Puy de Rouen, published by A. Hurel, 'La Vierge et les Palinods du Moyen Age', *Annales d'Archéologie*, ed. by Adolphe-Napoléon Didron, 13 (1862), pp.97-111 (p.106). Sautman, 'Saint Anne and Folk Tradition', p.90, n.56, provides a translation, 'Anne set up the warp without break/ And Joachim by humble affection,/ Provided the silk and such pure matter/ That it never was spotted with infection.'

[178] Enzo Carli, *La Pittura a Pisa - Dalle Origini alla Bella Maniera* (Pisa, 1994), p.96. The panel is signed by Jacopo di Michele Gera and was commissioned by a certain 'Cola Setaiuolo' in 1387.

[179] Jean Régnier, *Le Livre de la Prison*, written in 1432 and published in 1526, quoted in *Les Prières aux Saints en Français à la Fin du Moyen Age*, ed. by Pierre Rézau (Geneva, 1982), p.105.

quaeso, huc ad clarissimos miraculorum Annae radios citòs oculos converte.[180] The miracles that centre on prisons in his account, however, deal with those unjustly accused rather than with prisoners in general.[181]

Saint Anne as Patron of a Good Death

Although apparently not as widely venerated as patroness of a good death as Saint Barbara, Saint Anne is mentioned in this role by Trithemius once again. Robles, writing in 1522, cites a miracle in the village of Merzenich, near Düren in Germany. In this legend, a man falls from horseback and is seriously injured. His wife, knowing that he has not received the last rites, prays to Saint Anne that he may live long enough to be shriven, and promises a donation to the shrine of Saint Anne in return. Miraculously, the man lives long enough to confess and receive the last rites and then 'the good Catholic migrated from this life'.[182] Doan's study of Breton *cantiques* seems to indicate that she held this role as recently as 1976, 'How beautiful it is to live, / How sweet it will be to die', 'under the wings of Saint Anne'.[183] The litanies composed by Beisselius, a patrician of Aachen, of c. 1495, also invoke Saint Anne: *Anna, abste neque mortalia pectore frustra/ Poscere; quodque voles, gnate Deusque volet,* [184] as does Erasmus, in his ode to Saint Anne: *O ter quaterque et amplius/ Parens beata, nam, potes,/ Iuva preces mortalium/ Tuo vacantum cultui, / Nam te patrona quidlibet/ speramus assequi, modo/ Voles voletque et filia.*[185]

Saint Anne is depicted with considerable frequency in funerary art. In England, the 1506 will of John Colyns of Hunworth in Norfolk made provisions for 'a table of Alabastr of the story of our lady and sent Anne her moder'.[186] In France the figure of Saint Anne is found depicted upon the tomb of Jacques d'Estouteville and Louise d'Albret, in the company of the Virgin and Saints John the Evangelist, Adrian, Catherine and Louis.[187] A woman called Anna de Blasere is depicted as a donor

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[180] Dorlandus, *Miracula*, *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.261.

[181] Ibid., p.272.

[182] Robles, quoted in *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.288.

[183] Doan, 'Five Breton Cantiques', p.35.

[184] Charland, *Les Trois Légendes*, p.304.

[185] Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, translated by Clarence H. Miller, ed. by Harry Vredeveld (Toronto, 1993) 85, p.8.

[186] Francis Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters. With a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria & Albert Museum* (Oxford, 1984), p.74.

[187] Baudoin, *La Sculpture Flamboyante en Normandie et Ile-de-France,* p.139.

figure in front of *Anna Selbdritt* in a Flemish painting once found in the Nieuwenhove chapel in the Church of Notre Dame in Bruges; the painting is inscribed as follows: *De nieuwenhove coniux Domicella Johannis de Michaelis obit de blasere nata johanne Anna sub iii De quator x. octo . sed excipe totam octobris quinta pace quiescat Amen.*[188] **[pl.1.12]** Of course the fact that Saint Anne was her name saint may have determined the choice rather than Saint Anne's role as patroness of a good death. As already shown, the death of Sophie of Mecklenberg in childbirth had an impact upon the iconography of the Torgau altarpiece. Cardinal Hurtaldo de Mendoza commissioned Settignano to paint *Anna Selbdritt* for his funerary chapel in Seville, in 1508.[189]

The presence of Saint Anne in memorial sculpture and painting is also found in Italian art. The 1425 will of Gregoria di Ugolini de' Gratiani provided for the provision of wall paintings in the Gratiani family chapel of San Lorenzo in the Cathedral of Perugia. The paintings were to consist of the Nativity of the Virgin, and Saints Christopher, Margaret, Laurence and Anne.[190] Interestingly, the only Italian example found of the Holy Kindred was commissioned as part of a bequest. The painting was originally commissioned from Perugino for a chapel in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Perugia. **[pl.1.13]** The will of Ser Angelo di Tommaso Conti, is quoted by Chastel:

> The eminent Messer Angelo di Tommaso Conti of Perugia by this present will [..] desired firstly that his body should be buried in the church of San Domenico in Perugia [...] in his family sepulchre. He then decided, left and requested,[...] that his heirs mentioned below shall be held and obliged, in the year following the death of the testator, to have erected and constructed in the Church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli in Perugia [..] an altar for the celebration of Masses and divine offices, and that upon this altar shall be placed the retable ordered by the testator, and that there shall be therein the images of Saint Anne and her daughters, to wit the Glorious Virgin Mary with her Son Jesus Christ, Saint Mary Cleophas, Saint Mary Salome with her sons, and Saint Joseph and Saint Joachim, in the style and form set out in the model already prepared by the excellent painter Master Pietro Cristofor of Castro

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88 *Les Primitifs Flamands et Leur Temps*, ed. by Brigitte de Patoul and Roger van der Schoute (De Boeck- Wesmael, 1994), p.159.

89 Benjumea, *Iconografía de Santa Ana*, p.93.

90 Samuel Kline Cohn Jnr., *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death. Six Renaissance Cities n Central Italy* (Baltimore and London, 1992), p.224.

> Plebis, citizen of Perugia. And to pay for the picture 55 florins at the rate of 40 bolognese to the florin, as the remainder of 65 which was the price of this painting. The said Master Pietro has already received as earnest money and in part payment ten florins.[191]

These two Perugian examples may be supplemented by a Roman example, and a Venetian one. In Rome, the papal protonotary, Johannes Goritz, a humanist and devotee of Saint Anne planned his funerary chapel around a sculpture of Saint Anne.[192] The altarpiece by Alvise Vivarini, from the Franciscan church of San Francesco in Treviso, (now in the Accademia in Venice), shows the Madonna and Child flanked by Saints Anne and Joachim and various Franciscan saints such as Louis of Toulouse, Anthony of Padua, Francis himself and Bernardino of Siena. **[pl.1.14]** The altarpiece was commissioned by Francesco and Domenico Lancenigo, for the burial chapel of their father, Doctor Francesco Lancenigo, in 1478.[193] Steer suggests that the presence of Saints Anne and Joachim reflects the increasing cult of the Immaculate Conception, which is admittedly more likely than the inclusion of Saint Anne as a patroness of a good death, to which there is no other reference in the painting or the inscription.[194] The fact that the altar is in a Franciscan church itself in a period in which the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was a topic of heated debate adds to the likelihood of this assessment. Treviso and the Veneto were also subject to frequent outbreaks of pestilence against which Saint Anne was supposed to have a protective role; this again warns against a unilateral reading of the picture. It is probable that there are multiple layers of meaning behind the image as there are behind the devotion to the saint. The intentions of either artist or patron, even when known and not merely surmised, cannot be divorced from the prevailing cultural attitudes in which the image was produced and read.

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191 Pierre Chastel, *The Italian Renaissance*, translated by Peter and Linda Murray (London, 1984), p.135. Walter Bombe shows that Angelo Conti's first will was drawn up in 1492. In this he requested that an altar be erected with an image of Saint Anne by the hand of a master. The later will requested the Holy Kindred. (Walter Bombe, *Perugino* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1914), pp.123-4). The image was transferred to the church of the Misericordia in 1790 and then was taken to France after the invasion of Italy. (Umberto Gnoli, *Pietro Perugino* (Spoleto, [1923]), p.56.

192 Virginia Anne Bonito, 'The St. Anne Altar in Sant' Agostino: Restoration and Interpretation', *The Burlington Magazine*, 124 (1982), pp. 268-276.

193 Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1993), p.347.

194 John Steer, *Alvise Vivarini: His Art and Influence* (Cambridge, 1982), pp.151-153.

CHAPTER 2

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SAINT ANNE IN EUROPE

Introduction

In order to provide a context for the discussion how Florentine artists depicted Saint Anne, this chapter will consider how she is depicted in Western European art in general. While the role of Saint Anne in Florentine art will not be covered here, since it is the subject of Chapter Four, the representation of Saint Anne in other cities and regions of Italy will be included in the present chapter. The chapter has been divided into sections in order to discuss different aspects of the iconography of Saint Anne. A distinction will be made, as far as possible, between narrative and devotional representations.[1] The iconography of the Holy Kindred will be looked at in the third section. The issue of the Immaculate Conception is discussed in the context of narrative iconography with images of the Golden Gate, but the relationship between devotional images of Saint Anne and the Immaculate Conception is discussed in a separate section. The final section will discuss the iconography of the *Ostentatio Genitalium*.

Saint Anne has no narrative cycle of her own: her narrative is that of the conception and early life of the Virgin. Just as the Virgin is sometimes difficult to recognise without her main attribute, the Christ Child, Saint Anne is difficult to recognise without *her* attribute, the Virgin. The figure of an elderly, veiled and wimpled woman in a panel by Taddeo Gaddi illustrates this difficulty.[2] The woman has no attribute, and seems to gesture towards the left. Berenson,[3] followed by Offner,[4] identifies the woman as Saint Anne, but Andrew Ladis disagrees and states that she is

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[1] Some images such as the Education of the Virgin and the Meeting at the Golden Gate are of points in a narrative, but could just as simply be single images, suggesting a more devotional function similar to the use of the Annunciation in Italian altarpieces. Distinctions between narrative and devotional, and the problems inherent in the terms, are discussed by Charles Hope, 'Altarpieces and the Requirements of Patrons', *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. by John Henderson and Timothy Verdon (Syracuse, 1990), pp.535-71.

[2] This panel is now in the Museum of Indianapolis, no.52.62.

[3] Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: a List of the Prinicpal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places. Florentine school*, 2 vols (London, 1963), I, p.71.

[4] Richard Offner, 'St. Anne by Taddeo Gaddi', *Bulletin of the Art Association of Indianapolis*, 40.1 (1953) pp.12-13.

more likely to be the Virgin herself.[5] **[pl.2.1]** He suggests that the panel formed the left wing of a triptych, the centre part of which was likely to have been a Crucifixion, and the corresponding right wing to have contained Saint John the Evangelist. The image of an elderly woman with the Virgin and Child could in a number of cases represent Saint Elizabeth rather than Saint Anne, leading to confusion that is not just confined to the modern viewer. Vasari described Mantegna's *Madonna della Vittoria* as a votive painting of Francesco Gonzaga **[pl.2.2]** and outlined the subject matter:

> *Nella qual tavola, che fu lavorata a tempera e posta all' altar maggiore, è dipinta la Nostra Donna col Putto, a sedere sopra un piedistallo; e da basso sono San Michelagnolo, Sant'Anna e Gioacchino che presentano esso Marchese, ritratto di naturale tanto bene che par vivo, alla Madonna che gli porge la mano.*[6]

There is no apparent reason why the elderly woman who kneels at the base of the plinth and is clearly a person of importance should not be Saint Anne. However, Francesco's wife was the well-known Isabella d' Este, and it would appear more likely that he would have commissioned an image of the name saint of his wife, Elizabeth.[7] The presence of the infant Saint John the Baptist also makes this possibility more likely. The difficulty of distinguishing between Saint Anne and Saint Elizabeth is also apparent in Birth scenes, where there is little other than context to distinguish a Birth of the Virgin from a Birth of Saint John the Baptist. In the latter, elements such as Zacharias writing the name of his child or the Virgin attending the labour of her cousin can aid identification, but such elements are not always present.

The iconography of Saint Anne can be divided into four general areas: Marian narrative schemes showing the story of the conception, birth and childhood of Mary; devotional scenes, in which Saint Anne appears with her daughter and grandson, with

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[5] Andrew Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi: A Critical Reappraisal and Catalogue Raisonnée* (New York and London, 1982) p.190.

[6] Vasari-Milanesi, III, p.403.

[7] Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna: with a Complete Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Oxford, 1986), p.178: 'And in place of Isabella d' Este, who was to have been figured kneeling under the other side of the Virgin's mantle opposite to her husband, we find her patron saint, Saint Elizabeth, and the young Baptist, raised above his mother and pointing triumphantly to Christ.' Authors usually refer to the woman as Elizabeth and Lightbown discusses Isabella's early interest in the project.

just her daughter, on her own, or with other saints; scenes of the Holy Kindred; and images of the Immaculate Conception.

I.
Narrative Scenes

The usual sequence of scenes in Western Marian cycles consisted of the following: the Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple; the Annunciations to Anne and Joachim; the Meeting at the Golden Gate; the Birth of the Virgin; the Presentation, and the Betrothal of the Virgin (*Sposalizio*). Cycles continue with the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, episodes from the Childhood of Christ, possibly the Passion of Christ, and conclude with the Assumption or the Coronation of the Virgin.

The selection of scenes in Marian cycles naturally bears a close connection to the textual sources. In Byzantine iconography scenes concerned with the early childhood of the Virgin frequently occur, such as Joachim and Anne caring for the infant Virgin, the first steps of the Virgin Mary, the showing of the infant Virgin to the priests and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.[8] There is emphasis on these in the *Protevangelium* [9] but not in the more widely used *Pseudo-Matthew*[10] and *Evangelium de Nativitate Mariae*[11] which are sources more widely read in Latin Europe. Consequently these scenes are rarely depicted in the West. Similarly, while the Annunciation to Saint Anne is far from rare in Western iconography, it is not as frequently depicted as the Annunciation to Joachim. There is an emphasis on the Annunciation to Saint Anne in the *Pseudo-Matthew;* however, the *Golden Legend* by

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[8] For example: the tenth-century Vatican codex gr. 1162, known as the *Homilies of the Lesser James* or an illuminated *Protevangelium*, illustrated by Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna, ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstrum* (Düsseldorf, 1930) pp.440-449; the twelfth-century ivory in Berlin, illustrated by Gertrude Schiller, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, 4 vols (Gutersloh, 1969) IV, pp. 286, no.455, and the mosaics of Kahrie Djani, Istanbul, c.1313, illustrated by Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna,* p.55, Bild 39, and Schiller, *Ikonographie*, pp.424-5, and p.449.

[9] The *Protevangelium*, translated by M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924, repr. 1953), pp.39-49.

[10] The various recensions of the *Pseudo-Matthew* are translated and published in Marcello Craveri, *I Vangeli Apocrifi* (Turin, 1969, repr.1990), pp.63-111, and in James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp.70-80.

[11] Popularly held to be by Saint Jerome, but in fact by Paschasius Radbertus, Abbot of Corbie (d. 865), *PL* 30: 297 - 305. For a discussion on this work and Paschasius Radbertus, see Eugene F. Rice, Jnr., *Saint Jerome and the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London, 1985), p.46.

the Dominican Jacopo da Voragine (c.1260),[12] and its source, the ninth-century *Evangelium de Nativitate Mariae*, stress the Annunciation to Joachim. Usually there is only one Presentation in the Temple in Western iconography, although two Presentations do occur from time to time, and probably owe their ultimate origins to the use of the twelfth-century *Vita beatae Virginis Mariae et Salvatoris Rhythmica* as a source.[13] In this text Joachim and Anne bring the infant Virgin to the temple, she ascends the steps without aid and is received by the priest. After this presentation she returns home with Joachim and Anne and remains there until the age of seven, when she goes back to the temple to dwell with the other virgins. The emphasis on the Birth of the Virgin is found in nearly all Marian cycles, yet strangely, the Birth itself, with the exception of this source, is not stressed in any of the texts.[14]

The way in which Saint Anne herself is represented in the Marian cycles varies little throughout the medieval and Renaissance period. She is usually shown as a woman of indeterminate age rather than very elderly, and is nearly always veiled. Although she and Joachim are usually nimbed in Byzantine painting, they are not nimbed as consistently in Western medieval art. Marian cycles had the same aim as the texts that informed them: to stress the sanctity of the Virgin's life before the Annunciation by Gabriel, and to highlight her miraculous, though not necessarily immaculate, conception in the womb of Anne. The celebration of liturgical feasts concerning episodes in the Virgin's early life or conception influenced the development of the iconography of both Anne and Joachim. The liturgical episodes involving Anne and Joachim were the Virgin's conception, birth and presentation in the temple. The couple would be introduced in the early scenes of a Marian cycle, and would usually leave it with the Presentation in the Temple. Although there is no apocryphal source for it, sometimes they can be found in the *Sposalizio*, or Betrothal of the Virgin It is very rare to find either Joachim or Anne in later episodes of the Life of the Virgin. The presence of a pictorial narrative devoted to Saint Anne herself is very unusual, but some Flemish examples can be found. One is the altarpiece by Quentin Metsys in Louvain, in which the death of Saint Anne is shown. The patron of the altarpiece was the Confraternity of Saint Anne, which commissioned it for its chapel in the

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[12] Jacopo da Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Lives of the Saints*, translated by William Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, 1993), II, p.152.

[13] *Vita Beatae Virginis Mariae et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, ed. by A. Vögtlin, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 180 (Tübingen, 1888).

[14] Ibid., pp.21-23.

church of Saint Peter, Louvain.[15] The altarpiece has the Holy Kindred at its centre, flanked by the Annunciation to Joachim and the Death of Saint Anne. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and its recent endorsement by the University of Louvain, encouraged interest in Saint Anne.[16] **[pl.2.3]** The second is the altarpiece of Saint Anne in the church of Saint-Sauveur in Bruges.[17] **[pl.2.4]** This altarpiece shows the life of Saint Anne, with the Birth of the Virgin and the Expulsion of Joachim placed in the foreground. The outside wings contain the Holy Kindred. Devotion to Saint Anne, however, was more usually visually expressed with depictions of *Anna Selbdritt* and the Holy Kindred than with her life cycle.

Early Life and Alms Giving

The early life of Joachim and Anne is rarely represented in western European art, but sometimes they are shown giving alms to the poor, as described in most of the textual sources. A thirteenth-century example of this is found in the illuminated *Lied von der Magd* of the Priest Wernher, where Joachim is shown standing behind a table with three bundles placed upon it to show the division of his wealth into three parts: one part for the poor, one part for the priests of the temple and the third part for his own use.[18] This scene precedes one showing his marriage to Saint Anne.[19] In a fresco cycle of c. 1370 in the church of Vidalbone, near Milan, both Joachim and

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[15] It is now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. Details and illustrations in Charles C. Cuttler, *Northern Painting from Pucelle to Breughel* (New York, 1991), pp.419-20, and col.pl.29; other examples include the early sixteenth century altarpiece by a Flemish master, originally from the Carmelite church in Frankfurt, now in Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, B321 - BB335, details and illustrations in Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, 'Introduction' in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens and London, 1990), pp.1-69 (pp.27-48); the late fifteenth-century painting from the Flemish church of Saint-Goedele, now in Paris, Faculté de Médecine - Ton Brandenbarg, 'Saint Anne and Her Family. The Veneration of Saint Anne in Connection with Concepts of Marriage and the Family in the Early-Modern Period', in *Saints and She-Devils*, ed. by Lène Dresen-Coenders (London, 1987), pp. 101-129 (p.117, illustration on p.120).

[16] Jane Campbell Hutchison, 'Quentin Metsys' in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. by Jane Turner, 36 vols (London, 1996), XXI, pp.352-357 (p.353).

[17] Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, p.271, and Brandenbarg, 'St. Anne and her family', p.117.

[18] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 8, Oct. 109, published as *Des Priesters Wernher Drei Lieder von der Magd*, ed. by Hermann Degering (Berlin, 1925), p.16.

[19] Ibid., p.17.

Anne are shown standing behind a table with the parts divided into three.[20] They are similarly shown in the fourteenth-century stained glass cycle in Regensburg cathedral.[21] A Book of Hours illuminated by Giovannino de Grassi for Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan has Joachim and Anne giving alms outside a city. **[pl.2.5a]** Alms-giving scenes usually precede the Refusal of the Offering but exceptions to this include a fourteenth-century ivory casket in the Musée Paul Dupuy in Toulouse, where the alms-giving scene takes place after the Refusal.[22] This sequence also appears in a panel, painted around 1260 to 1280 for the priory of San Martino in Cinzica, near Pisa, which has at its centre the Virgin and Child, with scenes from the life of the Virgin around its sides.[23] **[pl.2.5]**

The Division of the Parts into Three serves to remind the viewers of the righteousness of the lives of the Virgin's parents and enables them to sympathise with the lonely figure of Joachim in the subsequent Expulsion scene. The authors of some of the textual sources also took this opportunity to remind their audience of the exemplary value of such lives. Wouter Bor of Zwolle, in his 1499 *Die Historie vans 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,* recounts how a pious couple divided their goods into three in emulation of the holy lives of Anne and Joachim. They were rewarded for this devotion when Saint Anne, the Virgin and Christ saved their family from fire.[24] The *South English Nativity* play of about 1275 introduces a contemporary note:

> From yere to yere al that thei hadden, that eche man myhte yse
> that o del thei yeuen to the temple and to hem that seueden therinne,
> As we tithen now to holy churche of that we mowen wynne
> that other del hij yeuen to pore men and to weyverynge also;
> By the thridden del hij liueden hemsulue, Godes seruise to do
> ther nere no men in al Israel that so muche of bestayel hadde

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[20] Raymond Van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting,* 19 vols (The Hague, 1925), IV, p.246.

[21] Schiller, *Iconographie*, p.295.

[22] Raymond Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques Francais*, 3 vols (Paris, 1924, repr. 1968), II, p.300.

[23] Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo. Room II, No.7. Edward B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting. An Illustrated Index* (Florence, 1949; repr. New York, 1976), pp.26, 83, 196, ill. fg.63.

[24] Ton Brandenbarg, 'Saint Anne: A Holy Grandmother and Her Children', in *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages,* ed. by Anneke Mulder-Bakker, Garland Medieval Casebooks, 14 (New York and London, 1995), pp. 31-65 (p.55).

As Ioachim and Anne is wif, for treuthe that hij ladde:
For it ferde as it yut deth, that men that wolen bringe
Holy churche rihtes, her good wol wexe thoru al hynne thinge.[25]

The common place book of Robert Reynes of Acle, compiled towards the end of the ffifteenth century contains similar advice: 'And the thred part thei dept for her owyn ffode/to hem and to here serwantys in honest degre /and thus schuld euery man that hath mekyl goode/be the wyl of god dapart his good in three.'[26]

Refusal of the Offering of Joachim

The Refusal of the Offering usually depicts a high priest, fellow supplicants or priests within the temple, and Joachim who stands just outside the temple. The temple in early Italian paintings is represented as a domed structure, following the convention of Byzantine art. An example of this can be found in the San Martino panel, in which a priest thrusts Joachim out of the temple, while he looks backs in apparent supplication. **[pl.2.5]** Giotto's depiction, in the Arena chapel, Padua, is even more dramatic.[27] **[pl.2.6]** The temple is reduced to its basic symbolic parts: an enclosing wall, a tabernacle, and a pulpit. Within the wall, a priest blesses one who has been accepted, while, outside the wall and excluded from the activities within the temple, another priest pushes Joachim away. The very composition of the scene, in which all activity takes place behind Joachim, while he faces nothing but a void, heightens the expression of desolation on Joachim's face and in his defensive contraposto.[28] In some Italian painting, such as the mid to late fourteenth-century fresco by Ugolino di Prete Ilario in Orvieto Cathedral,[29] and a Tuscan panel of around the same date, now in Prague,[30] a sympathetic figure, perhaps one of his shepherds, helps Joachim. The

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[25] *The South English Nativity of Mary and Christ. Edited from MS. BM Stowe 949,* ed. by O. S. Pickering, Middle English Texts, 1 (Heidelberg, 1975), p.58.

[26] The Common place book of Robert Reynes of Acle, in *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of St. Anne*, ed. by Roscoe E. Parker (London, 1928), p.113.

[27] Arena chapel, Padua, c.1304-1313. Many colour reproductions can be found in *Siena, Florence, and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400,* ed. by Diana Norman, 2 vols (New Haven and London, 1995).

[28] James Stubblebine, *Giotto: the Arena Chapel Frescoes: with Source Material and Selected Critical Writings* (New York and London, 1969), p.76.

[29] Schiller, *Iconography*, p.298, fig.478.

[30] Prague, National Museum 011.914. Attributed to the Pseudo Ambrogio Baldese. K.I.F. 374175. Mal. Got.

Saint-Sauveur altarpiece shows a Gothic church interior, with an altarpiece depicting Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac. **[pl.2.4]** This ties in not only with the sacrificial nature of the altar of the holocaust, and as a type for the Eucharist, but also with the texts, in which Joachim, after his refusal, goes to the record of the twelve tribes of Israel:

> I will look upon *the record* of the twelve tribes of Israel, whether I only have not gotten seed in Israel. And he searched, and found *concerning* all the righteous that they had raised up seed in Israel. And he remembered the patriarch Abraham, how in the last days God gave him a son, even Isaac.[31]

While there is little discrepancy in the texts describing Joachim's expulsion for his sterility, some variations in the details occur. In some sources the priest of the temple is named Reuben,[32] in others Ysachar.[33] The *Pseudo-Matthew* describes him as a scribe of the temple, but this does not seem to have been popular in the writings that were modelled on it.[34] In the Saint-Sauveur altarpiece **[pl.2.4]** and in examples

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[31] *Protevangelium*, in James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p.39. Anne, in her lament, remembers Sarah and Isaac: 'O God of our fathers, bless me, and hearken unto my prayer, as thou didst bless the womb of Sarah, and gavest her a son, even Isaac.' (ibid., p.39).

[32] The *Protevangelium*, in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p.39; the *Pseudo-Matthew*, version A, (Vat. 5257) translated by Marcello Craveri, *I Vangeli Apocrifi*, p.102; the *South-English Nativity*, p.58.

[33] *Pseudo-Matthew*, B version (Codex Laurentiani), Craveri, *I Vangeli Apocrifi*, p.110; Ludolphus of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi Domini ac Salvatoris*, edited by Judocus Badius Ascensius (Paris, 1529), f.4; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Maius* (Venice, 1474), the pages are not numbered (chapter lxiiij); *The Lyf of Our Lady, the Middle English translation of Thomas of Hales Vita Sanctae Marie edited from the Ms. St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, E.I.I.* ed. by Sarah M. Harrall, Middle English Texts, 17 (Heidelberg, 1985), p.34; *The N-town play: Facsimile of Cotton MS Vespasian D 8*, ed. by Stephen Spector, 2 vols (Oxford, 1991), I, p.74; Osbern Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen. Edited from Ms. Arundel 327*, ed. by Mary S. Serjeantson (London, 1938), p.45; *Mirk's Festial: a Collection of Homilies*, ed. by Theodore Erbe, Early English Text Society, e.s. 96 (London, 1905), p.15.

[34] *Pseudo-Matthew*, cod. A (the variants also list Reuben as a scribe), Craveri, *I Vangeli Apocrifi*, p.68.

ranging from Italy,[35] Germany,[36] Austria,[37] Switzerland,[38] France,[39] England,[40] and Spain,[41] Saint Anne accompanies Joachim in the Expulsion scene. In a Spanish retable devoted to the life of Saint Anne, in which Saint Anne educating the Virgin occupies the central panel, Anne not only accompanies Joachim, but is herself rejected by the priest.[42] The scene shows a sorrowful priest in the centre with his

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[35] The early fourteenth-century frescoes in Sant'Agostino, Rimini (Berenson, *Italian Painters of the Renaissance: Central Italian and North Italian Schools, in Three Volumes: a List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places,* 3 vols (London, 1968) I, p.359) and the early fifteenth-century frescoes by Ottaviano Nelli in the Cappella Trinci, Foligno (ibid., 1, p.290, and pl. 514-6).

[36] The stained glass windows in Regensburg Cathedral (Schiller, *Ikonographie*, p.295) and the Frankfurt Carmelite altarpiece, referred to above.

[37] An altarpiece from the church of St. Nicholas in Bregenz by Wolf Huber, of c.1515, discussed in Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Western Germany* (New Haven and London, 1980), p.62.

[38] An example is shown by an altarpiece in Basel by Hans Fries, c.1512 (Marburg Index, MAI, 02572, C, 07) and an illuminated manuscript from Hagenau (Munich, Staatsbibliothek. nr. cod.germ. 1101, f.288r. Marburg Index, MAI, 02368).

[39] The capitals in the north porch of Chartres Cathedral, c.1210, discussed by Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France in the 13th century. A Study in Medieval Iconography and its Sources of Inspiration* (London, 1910), pp.240 and 319; the stained glass windows in Le Mans cathedral (ibid, p.240), the ivory casket in Toulouse mentioned earlier, an ivory panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Koechlin, *Les Ivoires*, II, p.349, no.952) and another in the Archaeological Museum in Milan (ibid., pp.346-7, no.947, III, pl. CLXV).

[40] An Opus Anglicanum textile in the Victoria and Albert Museum, T.27 - 1922. (c.1390-1420); a Carmelite Missal in the British Library, Ms. Add. 29704 - 29705, f.165r. c. 1387 - 91, discussed by Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and its Character,* 2 vols (New York and London, 1971), 1, pp.115-118, and II, pl.76, and the Bedford Hours in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod.1855, f.25r., illustrated in Schiller, *Ikonographie*, p.293.

[41] The 1480 altarpiece in Burgos Cathedral, by Gil de Siloe and Diego de la Cruz for the Chapel of the Conception, discussed by Susanne Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge, 1994), p.15; the altarpiece by an Aragonese Master in the New York Cloisters, discussed by Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table: the Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1500* (Columbia, 1989), p.106, fig.95, and Kathleen Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), p.195, pl.38; an altarpiece in the Collegiata, Xativa, (Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table,* p.117, fig.69, identified there as by the Master of Perea, c.1490).

[42] Museo de Arte de Cataluña, in Barcelona, attributed to Bernard de Montflorit by Post, and to Bernardo Puig by Sobré, who dates it a little later at c. 1430. R. Chandler Post, *A History of Spanish*

arms outstretched, pushing both Joachim and Anne away. **[pl.2.7]** Saint Anne does not accompany Joachim in the textual sources, in which Joachim's shame prohibits him from returning to his wife and prompts him to spend forty days in the wilderness with his shepherds and his herdsmen.[43]

Annunciations to Joachim and Anne

The texts and images treat with differing emphases the Annunciations to Joachim and Anne. In the *Protevangelium* and the *Pseudo-Matthew*, the angel appears to Anne after her lament in the garden. She, afraid, retires to her room and is rebuked by her servant. The San Martino panel's Annunciation to Saint Anne **[pl.2.5]** follows the text fairly closely, choosing the moment in which Saint Anne sees a laurel tree with sparrows and laments her childlessness, following it with her retirement to the bedroom and the rebuke by the maid. Early fourteenth-century frescoes in the Ubertini chapel, San Donato, Arezzo, also show Saint Anne seated outside, lamenting beside the laurel tree, with an angel flying from the right.[44] **[pl.2.8]** Giotto's interpretation is more free, transposing the moment of the angel's appearance to the interior of her house and placing the maid outside. **[pl.2.9]** The master of the cycle in San Francesco, Gubbio, adopted this scheme,[45] but the more usual iconography was that used by the San Martino Master, and also found in a Veronese panel in Brussels, of c.1351,[46] the c.1191 cycle in San Giovanni in Porta Latina in Rome,[47] Santa Caterina in Galatina,[48] and the Cappella Trinci in Foligno. Similar depictions

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Painting, 14 vols (Cambridge, Mass., 1930-1966) IV, p.532 ff., fig. 206; Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table*, pp.354 -5; *Ars Hispaniae*: *Historia Universal del Arte Hispanico*, ed. by Gudiol Ricart, 22 vols (1946-), IX, Gudiol Ricart, *La Pintura Gotica* (1956) p.115.

[43] The *Vita Rhythmica* is an exception to this, as it describes Joachim's return to Anne after the Expulsion, and his subsequent decision to retire to the wilderness. (Vögtlin, *Vita*, p.13).

[44] Gregorio and Donato of Arezzo. Angelo Tafi, *Il Duomo di Arezzo (Guida Storico-Artistica)* [Arezzo, 1980], pp.46-47.

[45] Frescoes attributed to Ottaviano Nelli, referred to above.

[46] From the hospital of Sant' Anna in Verona. It is inscribed MCCCLI HOC FECIT FIERI FRATER GUIDO PRIOR HOSPITALIS SANCTAE ANNAE. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1964-5), II, p.31.

[47] Van Marle, *The Italian Schools*, I, pp.184 -5.

[48] K.I.F. 3517 - 19, Mal. Got. (Moscioni).

are found throughout Europe: the Toulouse ivory, the capitals in Chartres, and the choir sculpture of Ely Cathedral.[49]

The Annunciation to Joachim is considerably more elaborate than the Annunciation to Anne and has three clearly separate incidents in the *Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Golden Legend.* These consist of an initial appearance by a youth telling Joachim to return to Anne, Joachim's dream in which the youth is recognisable as an angel and Joachim's sacrifice of thanksgiving. The panel in Pisa by the San Martino master illustrates all of the episodes found in the *Pseudo-Matthew* **[pl.2.5]**, as does the Arena chapel fresco by Giotto. A scene depicted by the Sienese painter Andrea di Bartolo (d.1428) is fairly typical: Joachim sits alone, framed by a hill, while an angel approaches with the good news. As in many examples the shepherds and animals are unaware of the miraculous event.[50] **[pl.2.10]** An angel comforts Joachim and puts his arm around him in the Dalmatian panel in the National Gallery London, a scene that appears to be unique.[51] **[pl.2.11]**

Unlike the *Protevangelium* and the *Pseudo-Matthew*, some sources, such as the *Golden Legend,* the *Speculum Historiale* of around 1244 by the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis,*[52] a typological text written before 1309,[53] and the *Vita Jhesu Christi* by the Carthusian, Ludolphus of Saxony, stress the Annunciation to Joachim and give little detail of the angel's appearance to Anne. This too is reflected in iconography, with many cycles leaving out the Annunciation to Saint Anne and the scene in the garden altogether, as in Cimabue's frescoes in the upper church of San Francesco, Assisi, [54] the Cathedral windows in Regensburg, the

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[49] The Lady Chapel in Ely. Nicholas Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Cambridgeshire.* (Harmondsworth, 1970), p.361.

[50] Andrea di Bartolo, Vatican Gallery, inv.153 (10). Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Il Trecento: Firenze e Siena.* Catalogo della Pinacoteca Vaticana, 2 (Vatican City, 1987), p.51, no.63.

[51] Dalmatian school. National Gallery, London, no.4250, c.1400. Martin Davies, *Earlier Italian Schools,* rev. edn (London, 1986), pp.10-12.

[52] *Speculum Humanae Salvationis,* ed. by J. Lutz, and P. Perdrizet, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1907-1909) Also see *The Mirour of Mans Saluacion - A Middle English translation of Speculum Humanae Salvationis. A Critical Edition of the Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illustrated from Der Spiegel der Menschen Behältnis*, ed. by Avril Henry (Aldershot, 1986).

[53] Mary Bodenstedt, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian* (Washington D.C., 1941), p.13.

[54] John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1200-1400* (Harmondsworth, 1966; rev. ed. 1987, repr.1990), pp.179-182.

altarpiece by Hans Holbein for the Benedictine convent of Weingarten,[55] and Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* prints.[56] Rarely is an Annunciation to Saint Anne depicted without the Joachim scene, but this does occur in an illuminated manuscript of c.1340, from the Benedictine monastery of Krems in Austria.[57] The illumination is for the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, an enormously popular text that juxtaposed scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin with types or prefigurations from the Old Testament or mythology. In the text, the Annunciation to Joachim is paired with the vision of the King Astyages, and no mention is made of the angel appearing to Anne.[58] The illustration, however, shows a scene of the angel appearing to a seated woman. The scene resembles an Annunciation to the Virgin Mary, as there is no laurel tree or sparrows' nest, but the artist identifies the scene by inscribing the haloes with '*angelis*' and '*sancta anna*'. In this manuscript the illumination is not so much an illustration as an amplification of the text. The text itself describes one event; the illumination describes another. The Annunciation to Saint Anne is more prominent in a small number of depictions. In a early sixteenth-century German panel, Bernard Strigel (c.1460-1528) painted an Annunciation to Saint Anne in which she is placed in an interior and is comforted by the angel.[59] The Annunciation to Joachim takes place in the background, visible through an open window. **[pl.2.12]** Similarly, Bernardino Luini (c.1485-1532) in frescoes in the Milanese church of Santa Maria della Pace showed Saint Anne kneeling at a *prie-dieu*, again with the Joachim scene visible in the distance behind her.[60]

The importance of the Annunciations is twofold. There is typological significance in the Annunciation to Saint Anne, as it parallels the Annunciation to the Virgin, while the Annunciation to Joachim could be seen as a type for the apparition of the angel to Zacharias. More importantly, this is the first indication of the conception of the Virgin, the depiction of which could be seen to have theological as well as narrative

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[55] Now in Augsburg Cathedral. Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, p.238, Bild 168.

[56] *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300-1550,* ed. by Ellen Schultz (New York and Munich, 1986), p.302.

[57] Krems Monastery Library, no.243, f.8v. Werner Neumeister, Ferdinand Seibt, and Erich Bachmann, *Gothic Art in Bohemia: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, ed by Erich Bachmann, trans. by Gerald Onn (Oxford, 1977), ill. 80, as Bohemian.

[58] *The Mirour of Mans Saluacion,* p.53.

[59] Lugano, Villa Favorita, Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, no.291a. *Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection:* ed. by Gertrude Borghero (Milan, 1986, repr.1987) p.300.

[60] Now in the Brera gallery, Milan, no.294. Ettore Modigliani, *Catalogo della Brera* (Milan, [n.d.]) p.63-4, illustrated in Berenson, *Central and North Italian painters,* 1, p.231, and pl.1483.

Virgin, the depiction of which could be seen to have theological as well as narrative significance. As already stated, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was controversial, but the actual conception of the Virgin was equally subject to dispute. The miracle of a child being born to elderly parents in this case was universally accepted, but problems arose as to the exact moment and means of her conception. Could so holy a being as the Virgin be conceived in the usual manner? If not, then how was she conceived, and was Joachim involved at any level? The theological implications of the Virgin being conceived without the seed of man were not accepted by senior church figures, but their rebuttals only serve to prove that the popular belief was that the Virgin Mary was conceived without Joachim's help.[61] In many texts, the angel states to Joachim that Anne will conceive, or give birth to a child. In some texts, however, the angel uses the past tense 'Anne has conceived' and will give birth.[62] As Joachim had been absent for forty days by the time of the angel's arrival, the implication is clear: Anne conceived without his agency. This is quite clearly related to - although not the same as - the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception: original sin was perceived as a cause of concupiscence. Frequently, the Meeting at the Golden Gate is combined with the Annunciation to Joachim, as in a panel from Saint Nicholas in Dixmude,[63] a relief sculpture by Veit Stoss (c.1450-1533) for Saint Mary's church in Cracow,[64] the Isselhorst altarpiece of c. 1430,[65] the scene in a large Marian altarpiece by the Master of the Life of the Virgin (fl. c.1470 -80), originally for the church of Saint Ursula in Cologne, [66] the golden altar in the cathedral of Sant'Emidio, Ascoli Piceno,[67] and relief sculpture by Urbano da Cortona in Siena Cathedral.[68] The triptych from San Francesco in Cuneo, by Macrino d'Alba, (fl.

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[61] See for example the remarks of the Franciscan Pelbartus de Themeswar in his *Stellario coronae gloriosissimae Virginis, 'Ipsa concepta est in utero sanctae Annae matris de viro, id est sancto Joachim, concubitu matrimoniali: & hoc non est verum, quod simplices putant, scilicet Annam concepisse per solum osculum Joachim'*, *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.136.

[62] *Protevangelium* in James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p.40, and in Craveri, *I Vangeli Apocrifi*, as Protevangelium Codex B, p.26.

[63] Now in Brussels. Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, nos. 219 and 220. E. Hosten and Eg. I. Strubbe, *Catalogue Illustré du Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts à Bruges* (Bruges, 1935), p.212

[64] Gottfried Sello, *Veit Stoss* (Munich, 1988), pl.27.

[65] Münster, Westfalisches Landesmuseum, inv.nr.7., c.1430. Marburg Index, MAI, 02445,A, 04-02445,A,06.

[66] Munich: Bayerisches Staatsgemäldesaammlungen, Alte Pinacothek, WAF 618 (Annunciation to Joachim and the Meeting at the Golden Gate). Schiller, *Ikonographie*, pp.507, 519, 541.

[67] Lafontaine-Dosogne, *L'Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, II, p.31.

[68] K.I.F. 11983.4 Sc. Ren. (Lombardi 246.9)

1495 - 1515, d. before 1528) pairs the Annunciation to Joachim with the Meeting at the Golden Gate by making them flank a central panel of the Virgin and Child.[69] Thus the depiction of the Annunciation to Joachim can be seen as a report of a conception which has already taken place. However, the prevalence of the scenes devoted to the Annunciation to Joachim has a more probable cause in the use of the *Golden Legend*, *Speculum Historiale* or Ludolphus' *Vita Christi* as source material than in the expression of such theological complexities.

Meeting at the Golden Gate and the Conception of the Virgin

The Meeting at the Golden Gate is one of the most frequently depicted, and theologically important scenes in the Marian narrative. Although the texts stress the Golden Gate of Jerusalem as the place where Joachim and Anne meet after their separation, it is not given the same prominence in the visual depictions. The gates themselves are usually expressed as a mere opening in a city wall. The Arena chapel fresco differs in this respect, as in so many others. **[pl.2.13]** Giotto outlines the arch of the city gate in gold leaf, and gold threads run through Saint Anne's dress in this scene, but not in the previous ones. Within this scene there is a mysterious woman dressed in black, with a veil drawn over her face. This figure is seen as an expression of the Old Law or of Synagoga.[70] Whatever her meaning, she did not become part of the formula of Golden Gate iconography.

As the Meeting at the Golden Gate was associated with the conception of the Virgin, naturally it was also appropriated as a sign of the Immaculate Conception. In Flemish painting Anna and Joachim are sometimes joined by a root, which blossoms in the centre with the Virgin Mary, as in a triptych by the Master of the Morrison Triptych (fl. c.1500),[71] now in Brussels but originally from Antwerp; **[pl.2.14]** and a Book of Hours, now in Vienna.[72] The sources for this iconography, however, may not relate exclusively to the Immaculate Conception. Vernacular poetry in fifteenth-century France refers to Anne as bough, cypress, cedar, rosebush, branch, tree, trunk

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[69] Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, no.837. Klaus Gallwitz and Hans-Joachim Ziemke, *Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie. Verzeichnis der Gemälde* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1987), p.63.

[70] Don Denny, 'Some Symbols in the Arena Chapel Frescoes', *Art Bulletin*, 55 (1973), pp. 205-211.

[71] Brandenbarg, 'St. Anne and her family', p.104.

[72] Schiller, *Iconographie* p.427, ill.473.

and rod.[73] Although contextual evidence often suggests that such depictions were clearly linked with the doctrine, the Meeting at the Golden Gate can by no means be seen as a symbol of the Immaculate Conception *per se*, although it can be seen as a symbol of a miraculous Conception. The belief that Saint Anne conceived without carnal knowledge of Joachim was common later in the fifteenth century. The humanist Cornelius Aurelius expounded on how, through the grace of God, Saint Anne became pregnant while she slept separately from Joachim.[74] As discussed above, such views were vigorously repudiated, but clearly held some currency. One legend that Saint Anne had conceived by smelling a rose in Abraham's orchard [75] enjoyed enough popularity to be refuted by William Wace, in his poem *On the Conception of the Virgin* :

> Of a flower she was not engendered,
> This you must know for sure,
> But by a man conceived carnally.
> May they be confounded, those men and women,
> Who believe the story that was,
> Which says that from a flower came
> Saint Anne and was engendered.[76]

Such beliefs were associated with, but not identical to, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The association of carnality with original sin was common; the early awareness of Adam and Eve of their nakedness in the Garden was the first indication that things had irrevocably changed. The Virgin, due to her freedom from original sin, was spared the pain of childbearing forecast for Eve. The conception of the Virgin, however, with or without the agency of Joachim, was clearly a miraculous event. The elderly couple had been ostracised for sterility and then had been told by an angel that conception would occur. For this reason alone one could expect to find many depictions of the Meeting at the Golden Gate.

Despite these reservations there is clear evidence that the Golden Gate, for obvious reasons, was used as an Immaculist symbol. An explicit example is provided by a

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[73] Francesca Sautman,' Saint Anne in Folk Tradition: Late Medieval France', in Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, pp. 69-95 (p.77).

[74] Karen Tilmans, '*Sancta Mater versus Sanctus Doctus*: Saint Anne and the Humanists', in Mulder-Bakker, *Sanctity and Motherhood*, pp. 331-355 (p.342).

[75] The Legend of Fanuel, Sautman, 'Saint Anne in Folk Tradition', pp.70 - 71.

[76] Ibid., p.71.

fresco by Matteo da Gualdo, (c.1435-documented to 1503) or possibly his son, Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo, in Gualdo Tadino.[77] **[pl.2.15]** The Virgin Immaculate, or *Immacolata,* standing on a cloud within a mandorla of rays, looks down at Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate, while God the Father watches above. The Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove completes the scene. Similarly, a painting of the Golden Gate in the Pinacoteca in Nocera, Umbria, also by Matteo da Gualdo, shows a young, dark haired Joachim embracing Anne, below the *Immacolata,* who stands, crowned on a winged head, in the mandorla of sun rays. Christ is above with angels and God the Father. Two angels appear on either side of the Virgin. The fact that the painting was originally in the Cappella della Concezione in the Cathedral of Nocera Umbria accounts for its Immaculatist iconography.[78]

The iconography of the *Immacolata* between Joachim and Anna is found again in a painting by Giuliano Presutti, in the parish church of Serrungarina[79] **[pl.2.16]** and in one by Bartolomeo Morganti, from the church of Santa Maria del Soccorso, in Cartoceto.[80] **pl.2.17]** Both paintings date from the 1520s. Presutti depicts Joachim and Anna as kneeling figures in the foreground of the painting, with the Virgin in a mandorla of clouds floating in between them. Above the Virgin is God the Father, holding the world orb and raising his hand in blessing. In the background, the narrative scenes leading to the conception of the Virgin can be seen. In the left: the Annunciation to Joachim; in the right: the Annunciation to Anne; while the Meeting at the Golden Gate takes place in the centre, directly below the *Immacolata.* The painting by Morganti has some of the same elements. Joachim and Anne stand in the centre below the *Immacolata* who is standing on clouds, within a glowing mandorla, while God the Father surges forward from the clouds.

Frequently Saint Anne alone is nimbed in representations of the Meeting at the Golden Gate.[81] This too points to a link with the Immaculate Conception as, if it

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[77] Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (New York: College Art Association, 1957), p.49.

[78] Nocera Umbra: Pinacoteca, from the Duomo, Cappella della Concezione. Late fifteenth century. Berenson, *Central and North Italian painters*, 1, p.263.

[79] Giuliano Presutti, Meeting of Joachim and Anne, c.1527. *Pittura a Fano 1480-1550,* ed. by Paolo dal Poggetto and others (Fano, [c. 1984]), p.67.

[80] Ibid., p.42.

[81] Paris, BN. Ms.lat.1043, f.442v, and BN, Ms.lat.1052, f.294v, both fourteenth-century manuscripts, discussed by Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, p.45; and the fourteenth-century Schotten altarpiece, illustrated in Schiller, *Ikonographie,* p.298.

were an image of a miraculous conception only, one could reasonably expect the Virgin's father to be nimbed also. The Master of the Divisio Apostolorum, in a painting of 1494, gives Saint Anne a halo while leaving Joachim bare-headed, but also inserts other references to the Immaculate Conception by the depiction of sculptural decoration on the sides of the Gothic Golden Gate. This decoration depicts the temptation of Adam and Eve, who are placed on either side of the Tree of Knowledge. The tree culminates in the crowned head of the Virgin, who has been destined for all time as part of the plan of Redemption.[82]

It appears that few unambiguous renderings of the Immaculate Conception occur in Italian art in the fourteenth century. An example can be cited, however, in the Dalmatian painting mentioned earlier. **[pl.2.11]** The painting is an altarpiece of the Virgin Mary, with, on its left side, the story of the Life of the Virgin, and, on its right, miracles associated with the Conception of the Virgin. The scenes of the Life of the Virgin are the Refusal of the Offering of Joachim, the Annunciation to Joachim, the Meeting at the Golden Gate and the Birth of the Virgin. The narrative sequence runs from left to right. The Meeting at the Golden Gate shows Anne and Joachim, both nimbed, embracing in front of a city gate. Nothing distinguishes this scene from countless other depictions of the same scene, and, in isolation, there is nothing to suggest that it is an Immaculatist image. On the other side of the altarpiece, however, are shown the Miracles of the Virgin associated with the feast of the Conception: Helsinus saved from shipwreck, Helsinus preaching in favour of the the celebration of the Conception, a French canon being drowned by devils and then being restored to life by the Virgin upon promising to celebrate the feast. These miracles could simply be associated with the conception of the Virgin, about which, there was no controversy. However, the miracle of Helsinus is taken from later editions of the *Golden Legend*,[83] and ultimately has its source in Eadmer's *De Conceptione Beatae Virginis Mariae*,[84] an explicit defence of the Immaculate Conception. The linking of these scenes in a Marian altarpiece with the Meeting at the Golden Gate would suggest a visual defence of the doctrine.

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[82] Master of the Divisio Apostolorum, Vienna, Osterreichisches Galerie, Belvedere, no.4862. Schiller, *Ikonographie*, p.510. The same link is made by the master who illuminated a manuscript in the Siraudon collection, cited by Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der Christliche Ikonographie*, 8 vols (Freiburg, 1968-1973), V (1973) col.175. Again Anne is nimbed while Joachim is not, and representations of Adam and Eve occur on the gate.

[83] Martin Davies, *The earlier Italian Schools*, rev. edn (London, 1986), pp.10-12.

[84] *PL* 159: 301-326, there attributed to Anselm.

It has been suggested that the panel of the Meeting at the Golden Gate by the Master of Moulins (fl. c.1480-1500) with Charlemagne, now in the National Gallery London, originally came from the Cathedral of Moulins.[85] **[pl.2.18]** Without this identifying context, the iconography of the embrace would appear to be neither Maculatist, nor Immaculatist. A triptych commissioned by Pierre de Bourbon II, again from the Master of Moulins, has as its centre panel, the Woman of the Apocalypse, identified as the *Immacolata*. On the outside wings are Pierre de Bourbon, presented by his name saint, Peter, and his wife, Anne of France, and daughter, Susanne, being presented by Saint Anne.[86] **[pl.2.19]** This altarpiece was commissioned for the altar of the Immaculate Conception in the cathedral of Moulins, a chapel which Pierre's brother Jean had founded in 1474 and endowed with a stained glass window showing the Woman of the Apocalypse.[87]

An angel is sometimes present in scenes of the Golden Gate, emphasising the miraculous nature of the event, and possibly alluding to the previous Annunciation scenes.[88] An angel hovering above the couple is found in Bartolomeo Vivarini's altarpiece in the Franciscan church of Santa Maria Formosa in Venice.[89] **[pl.2.20]** The thirteenth-century stained glass window in the the chapel of the Virgin in Le Mans Cathedral shows the angel reaching down to the head of Saint Anne.[90] This scene is also unusual as Joachim and Anna face the same way. In Germany, the Schottenaltar of 1370-90 shows a full length angel who virtually pushes the two together.[91] The angel has been taken as a symbol of the Immaculate Conception, and the context of many of the representations supports this thesis. The Vivarini

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[85] Gillian Dunkerton, *Giotto to Dürer: Early Renaissance painting in the National Gallery* (London and New Haven, 1991), p.359. The presence of Charlemagne, apart from his importance to the French royal family, can be linked perhaps with the legend that the body of Saint Anne in Apt was discovered (by miraculous means) in his presence in 776. Myles V. Ronan, *Saint Anne, Her Cult and Her Shrines* (London and Edinburgh, 1927), p.18.

[86] Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting, 1400-1500* (London, 1949), p.162.

[87] James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, the Graphic Arts from 1350 to 1575* (New York, 1985), p.251.

[88] Even where the Meeting at the Golden Gate is the only scene, or where it initiates the Life of the Virgin, such an angel would remind viewers of the previous episodes in the lives of Joachim and Anne, episodes of which they would be aware from other sources.

[89] Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1993), p.97, pl.91, and appendix 15.

[90] Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, p.240.

[91] Schiller, *Iconographie*, p.479.

painting is in a Franciscan church and flanks a *Madonna della Misericordia*, a frequently used, although not exclusively Immaculatist image. A French fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris with the angel present is also likely to be Immaculatist, as it is a book of hours of Franciscan use and contains the legend of Helsinus as part of its office of the Conception.[92] The angel reappears in a painting of 1499 by Nicholas d'Ypres, which was commissioned for the cathedral of Carpentras by the Confrérie de la Conception.[93] The fact that the angel at the Golden Gate was not always accepted as an Immaculatist symbol, however, is demonstrated by the presence of the scene in the fourteenth-century frescoes in Santa Maria Novella, **[pl.5.17]** a church belonging to the Dominicans who were vehemently opposed to the doctrine.[94] Once again, the angel may simply be a means of highlighting the miraculous nature of the conception. The angel's role was observed by Bridget of Sweden (1303-1373). Bridget wrote that the Virgin had told her of the circumstances of her conception in the following way:

> The marriage of my father and my mother was so chaste that there has never been anything more chaste. They would not come together except to beget children according to the law. And when the angel had made known to them that of them should be born a virgin of whom should come the salvation of the world, they would rather die than come together in carnal love, and all sensual rapture was dead in them [...] They came together at the bidding of an angel, but against their own will.[95]

As outlined in the previous chapter, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was controversial, and, moreover, difficult to depict. The Meeting at the Golden Gate could be interpreted as an Immaculatist image but, as it formed an important episode in Marian iconography, it was also used by Maculatists. The depiction of events which occurred before Mary's life within her life cycle could imply that a pictorial attempt at Scotist theory of predetermination is being attempted. The Scotist view is expressed well in a nearly contemporary *Middle English Life of Saint Anne*:

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[92] Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Cod. lat. 760, f.327v. Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, p.45.

[93] Carpentras, Musée de la Bibliothèque Inquimbertine, from the Cathedral of Saint Siffron. Dominique Costa, *Sainte-Anne: Musées Departementaux de Loire-Atlantique. Musée Dobrée, Nantes. 15 Octobre-15 Décembre, 1966* (Nantes, 1966), p.19, pl.12.

[94] Frescoes, c.1360, attributed to Nardo di Cione, Steccuti chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence. These frescoes will be discussed in detail in Part II of the thesis.

[95] *Saint Bridget of Sweden*, ed. by Johannes Jørgenson, 2 vols (New York, 1954), I, p. 55.

O Blessyd Anne aboue predestinate,
Chose by the godhede of hys gret goodnes
To be moder of that inuiolate!
Most glorious vyrgyn, grounde of mekenes,
Moder to the secund person pereles
Abydyng styll in pure virgynyte
And ever shall in perpetuyte!
[...] Blyssed Anne [...]
Of oure redempcion ya gone out
Lyke as the rote hath dominacion
Of the tre and the braunches rounde about,
Of whom the heuynly rodde withouten dout
[...] Ys comen out that most blyssyd virgyne,
Seynt mary, thys derk world to enlumyne
[...] Of bethlem, forsooth, that nobyll cyte
Of Dauid Anne ys gone out sycurly
And come out of the hygh rote of Iesse.[96]

The placement of Joachim, Anne, the Virgin, in the Tree of Jesse within one scene in a panel by Matteo da Gualdo seems to be clearly symbolic of the Immaculate Conception.[97] **[pl.2.21]** The panel, now in the gallery of Gualdo Tadino, but originally from the church of Santa Maria, shows Jesse asleep on the ground, with the root issuing from his stomach. Roundels, formed by the branches of the tree contain the ancestors of the Virgin, culminating in the two largest roundels flanking the central root on which the Immaculate Virgin stands. These last two roundels contain Joachim and Anna. Lilies, symbols of purity, are found on the ground, 'while Jesse is covered by a thorny branch of roses to symbolize that he is still tied by sin.'[98] The Virgin is here shown at the meeting of Joachim and Anne, thus could be read as pre-existent in the mind of God, as she has only just been conceived, or, is just about to be conceived. However, it could well be asked, how does one portray a conception, miraculous or otherwise? Many Medieval and Renaissance paintings depend upon the viewer to decode the symbols, and also to make allowances and adjustments in terms of pictorial space, perspective, continuous narrative, and other pictorial devices.

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[96] Trinity College Cambridge, Ms.601, published by Roscoe Parker, *The Middle English Stanzaic Lives*, p.95.

[97] Matteo da Gualdo, Gualdo Tadino. Van Marle, *The Italian Schools*, XIV, pp.95-97.

[98] Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, p.49.

The viewer must also be able to understand the convention of typology, in which incidents, or symbols, from the Old Testament are juxtaposed with incidents from the New. The Tree of Jesse in reminding the viewer of the Virgin's lineage need not necessarily be an Immaculatist symbol.

Two examples in which similar symbols are used, but with different doctrinal implications can be shown. The first one, already cited above, by Matteo da Gualdo, shows Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate with the Virgin floating between them. This was clearly an Immaculatist image, as it was commissioned by the Confraternità della Concezione for the Cathedral in Nocera Umbra. A much earlier German manuscript, of c.1395, also shows Joachim and Anne with the Virgin and the Tree of Jesse between them.[99] **[pl.2.22]** Without a context, this could be interpreted as an Immaculatist image showing the conception of the Virgin and her eternal predestination in the mind of God. However, this is an illumination for the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, a text which uses types and prefigurations throughout its narrative, and which links the Birth of the Virgin with the Tree of Jesse.[100] Furthermore, the manuscript was held by a Dominican convent in Auerbach, and the Dominicans, as already stated, were opposed to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[101] The eighth of December was celebrated as the feast of the Conception of the Virgin, but, as pointed out already, the feast was also retained by opponents of the doctrine, with the word 'Conception' replaced by 'Sanctification'. By retaining a feast commemorating the miraculous conception of the Virgin and her sanctification at some point between that conception and her birth, Maculist and Immaculatist imagery becomes difficult to distinguish in the absence of contextual evidence. Although the Meeting at the Golden Gate was often used as a symbol of the Immaculate Conception there were many reasons why this scene could have been represented. It was an episode in the narrative of the Virgin, which required illustration, and it represented, at the very least, a miraculous conception. So popular was the meeting between Joachim and Anna that it often formed a scene in itself, without the rest of the Marian narrative. Some examples of this type of treatment can be seen in wooden sculptures, for instance, a Dutch wood sculpture **[pl.2.23]** of

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[99] New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.140, f.6v. Schultz, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, p.125.

[100] *The Mirour of Mans Saluacion,* Chapter iv.

[101] Schultz, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, p.125.

c.1460,[102] and an early sixteenth-century Flemish sculpture.[103] **[pl.2.24]** Both of these show the couple loosely embracing, with no overt Immaculatist imagery being shown.

The Birth of the Virgin

The Birth is the most frequently represented part of the Life of the Virgin, probably due to its celebration as a liturgical feast. The Birth itself is rarely shown; instead what is depicted is a lying-in chamber, with Saint Anne seated or reclining on a bed, two or three women bathing or swaddling the infant Virgin in the foreground, and women entering the room to give her gifts. Byzantine prototypes must be taken into consideration before using the numerous Birth of the Virgin scenes extant from medieval and Renaissance Europe as visual documents of contemporary lying-in chambers. While individual details, such as the swaddling and textiles on the bed, the decoration of the room and often the differentiation through costume of the women bathing the child and the women visiting the mother, can perhaps serve the historian, it must be remembered that the gender of the artist would, in the majority of cases, have excluded him from such rooms. Lying-in chambers are already found in Byzantine depictions such as the mosaics at Daphni[104] and the illuminated *Protevangelium* in the Vatican Museum.[105] **[pl.2.25]** The mosaic in Santa Maria Trastevere, Rome, (1291) by Pietro Cavallini follows the Byzantine convention,[106] **[pl.2.26]** as does the scene in the San Martino panel. **[pl.2.5]** The women bathing the child, and the women entering the room with gifts are standard elements of the Birth scene and recur in countless Births of the Virgin throughout Europe. Often the rooms are lavish, as in the Sienese panel by the Osservanza Master,[107] dating from the

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[102] North Netherlandish wooden sculpture, *Meeting of Joachim and Anne*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Theodore Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain: 1400-1500,* (Harmondsworth, 1966), pl. p.105, (B), pp.88, 90.

[103] Flemish wooden sculpture. Limerick, The Hunt Museum.

[104] Daphni, Koimesis Church, mosaics, eleventh- century. Schiller, *Ikonographie*, p.498; Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, pp.37-38.

[105] *Homilies of the Lesser James*. Vatican Library: cod.vat.gr.1156. Eleventh-century. Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:176, 179; Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, pp.440 - 9.

[106] White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250-1400,* pp.148-152.

[107] Osservanza Master, Museo di Arte Sacra, Asciano. Discussed by Henk Van Os, *Sienese Altarpiece, 1215-1460*, 2 vols, Mediaevalia Gronigana, 4 and 9 (Groningen, 1984 - 1990), II, pp.107-112.

1430s **[pl.2.27]** and the contemporary panel by Cennino Cennini,[108] **[pl.2.28]** and have been used by historians to reconstruct typical Renaissance interiors.[109] Joachim is not usually present in the Birth scene but exceptions to this include works in the Veneto,[110] Naples,[111] Rome,[112] Germany,[113] the Netherlands,[114]France,[115] and can be illustrated here by a panel by Vrancke van der Stockt (c.1420 - 1495/6) now in the Museo in the Escorial,[116] **[pl.2.29]** and by the Saint-Sauveur panel, already mentioned above. **[pl.2.4]**

An unusual, probably unique, variation is found in Sienese painting. The scene includes a small anteroom to the left, in which Joachim and another elderly man sit, while a small child stands apparently telling them of the events next door. This scene is not mentioned in any of the textual sources, or indeed the liturgical offices of the Birth of the Virgin, yet it is found in many Sienese Births from Pietro Lorenzetti's Birth of the Virgin triptych for the San Savino chapel in Siena Cathedral in 1342[117] **[pl.2.30]** and the late fourteenth-century panel by Paolo di Giovanni Fei for the

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[108] Cennnino Cennini. Pinacoteca, Siena (c. 1430). Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400 - 1600* (London, 1991), p. 242, fig. 274.

[109] Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400-1600* (London, 1991).

[110] Michele da Giambono's mosaic in the Cappella dei Mascoli, San Marco, of c.1440 (M. Muraro, 'The Statutes of the Venetian Arte and the Mosaics of the Mascoli Chapel', *Art Bulletin*, 62 (1961) pp.263-274), and Carpaccio's Birth of the Virgin for the Scuola degli Albanesi, now in Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, c.1502 (Peter Humfrey, *Carpaccio: Catalogo Completo* (Florence, 1991), p.80, ill.p.81).

[111] Roderigo Oderisi's fresco in San Lorenzo, Naples. (Berenson, *Central and North Italian Painters*, I, p.364).

[112] The fresco in the Museo of Tarquinia, of c.1500 (K.I.F. 167104 Mal.Ren.)

[113] The fourteenth-century stained glass window in Mulhouse. (Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, II, p.92), and the sculpted retable of c.1400 in the Lorenzkirche in Ohrdorf (Marburg Index, 114|8008).

[114] The fifteenth-century Skepptuna altarpiece, discussed by Lynn Jacobs, 'The Marketing and Standardization of South Netherlandish carved altarpieces', *Art Bulletin*, 71 (1989), pp.208-229 (p.221, ill.11).

[115] The panel by Nicholas d'Ypres referred to above, and a small ivory diptych in the Cluny Museum in Paris. (Koechlin, *Les Ivoires*, II, p.327, no.874).

[116] Maryan W. Ainsworth, *Les Primitifs Flamands et leur Temps* (De Boeck-Wesmael, 1994), pp.527-8, il.

[117] Van Os, *Sienese altarpieces*, 1, pp.80-81, and p.144, fig.94, which shows the diagram of the back of the altarpiece.

church of San Maurizio,[118] **[pl.2.31]** to the late fifteenth-century altarpieces of Benvenuto di Giovanni for San Girolamo, Volterra,[119] and the Giovanni di Pietro altarpiece in the Louvre,[120] formerly in San Pietro Ovile in Siena.[121] The Lorenzetti painting was extremely influential in altarpiece design and iconography. The altarpiece was commissioned by the Opera del Duomo in 1342 as part of a series, along with Simone Martini's Annunciation, and Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation of Christ in the Temple. **[pl.2.32]** The paintings of these three feasts of the Virgin stood on altars dedicated to Siena's patron saints, Savinus, Ansanus and Crescentius.[122] The painting of the Birth of the Virgin includes the figure of a woman seated on the bed chest looking at Anne and holding a fly switch and derives from Byzantine panels. The foreground, as usual, is occupied by the two women bathing the child, while at the far right, two more approach with food and drink. The elements in this scene are, thus far, completely conventional and even archaic. What distinguishes the chamber itself, rather than Pietro Lorenzetti's innovatory use of internal space, is its richness and decorative detail. The robes of all the women, even those usually characterised by plain dress such as those bathing the virgin, are all bordered with gold, some of them even having Islamic inscriptions showing their

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[118] Siena, Gallery, no.116. Van Os, *Sienese altarpieces*, 1, pp. 107-108.

[119] Berenson, *North Italian Painters*, 1, p.42.

[120] Christiansen, *Painting in Renaissance Siena*, pp.265-8.

[121] Other examples include: the late fourteenth-century frescoes by Benedetto di Bindo in Siena cathedral sacristy (Christiansen, *Painting in Renaissance Siena*, p.150); the miniature by Lippo Vanni in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice, (K.I.F. Min. Got. 98919); the panel by the Osservanza Master, the polyptych by Bartolo di Fredi in San Francesco in Montalcino (Gaudenz Freuler, 'Bartolo de Fredis Altar für die Annunziata-Kapelle in S. Francesco in Montalcino', *Pantheon*, 43 (1985), pp.21 -39), the Andrea di Bartolo predella panel in the Kress collection, Washington (Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 2 vols (London, 1966), 1, p.66), the panel by Sano di Pietro in San Quirico d'Orcia (Van Os, *Sienese altarpieces*, II, p.206, ill. pl.214, also text p.199), a panel attributed to Sano di Pietro and sold in the Matthieson Gallery, Berlin in 1928 (Berenson, *Central and North Italian Painters*, p.378; Van Os, *Sienese altarpieces*, II, p.206), the panel by Pellegrino di Mariano in the Vatican (Christiansen, *Painting in Renaissance Siena*, p.243), the Sano di Pietro, also in the Vatican, and originally for the Palazzo dei Priori in Siena (Hayden B. J. Maginnis, 'The Lost Façade Frescoes from Siena's Ospedale di S. Maria della Scala', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 50 (1988), pp.180-194, and Marvin Eisenberg, 'The First Altarpiece for the Cappella de' Signori of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena...tales figure sunt adeo pulcre', *Burlington Magazine*, 123 (1981), pp.134-148).

[122] Van Os, *Sienese altarpieces*, 1, p.80.

importation as costly fabric.[123] In the Lorenzetti painting Joachim, his companion, and the child are placed in what looks like a side chapel or porch in a large church. The space in which they sit has a groin vault, and, read at ceiling level only, is continuous with the main groin vault of the centre panel and the smaller one at the left. However, the floor level shows that two different rooms are depicted, with grey flagstones replacing the coloured tiles of the other two panels. The window at the left is a Gothic two-light window, instead of the diamond-shaped ones of the lying-in chamber. Beyond an arched doorway behind Joachim and the child can be seen what seems to be the crossing of a Gothic church built of Sienese rose pink stone, although it may possibly be a courtyard. The connection between the church and Mary is often made in liturgical sources, so symbolically the placement of Joachim beside a church interior makes perfect sense.[124]

The debt owed by Paolo di Giovanni Fei in his Birth of the Virgin, now in the Pinacoteca in Siena **[pl.2.31]** to the painting discussed above is clear. As in the Lorenzetti altarpiece the viewer is led into the painting by the external framing elements from which the interior space is projected. In this case, instead of the actual frame forming a front plane as in the Lorenzetti, the artist has two painted pillars simulating the framing elements of the earlier altarpiece. These pillars rise to meet the corbels of the actual frame. The central panel is thus divided into three bays by these painted pillars and the Gothic pinnacles of the frame. In many ways the scene is like a mirror or reverse image of the Lorenzetti scene, although Anne is placed much further back in the interior. The bathing of the Virgin takes place in the foreground, with, as in the Lorenzetti, the girl clad in red with gold trimming seated on the end of the bed. Here, however, the girl holds a cloth instead of a fly switch. The left bay contains the women bringing food to Anne, while the telling of the news to Joachim occurs in the right bay. The three bays are unified by the continuity of the flooring tiles and the groin-vaulted ceiling. Joachim is placed in an anteroom to the birthing chamber, or a porch, articulated by two Gothic windows with rose bushes visible outside. The four saints of the side panels preside over the scene in the centre. Saints James and Bartholomew, on the left and right respectively, look at the spectator, while behind them Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Elizabeth of Hungary, gaze in at the scene. Thus a powerful link between the devotional and narrative functions of the altarpiece is established, with the spectator being led by the

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[123] I owe this information to Dr. Anna Contadini of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

[124] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, pp.144-148.

intermediary saints to the birth of the most powerful intercessor of all, the Virgin herself.

Peculiarities in Sienese iconography may owe much to the fresco cycle on the exterior of Santa Maria della Scala, executed in the 1330s and the 1340s, and now lost. Saint Anne held no place in the pantheon of civic protectors in her own right, yet as mother of the Virgin, a uniquely Sienese iconography evolved around her in those scenes from the Virgin's early life in which she appeared. The feast of Anne and Joachim was celebrated as a public holiday in Siena from 1333 onwards, having been promoted by the rector of the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala, Giovanni di Tese Tolomei, who also founded a chapel in the Pellegrinaio Nuovo dedicated to them.[125] There is evidence of a flourishing cult centred on the Ospedale by the time of the petition to make the feast day a public holiday in 1333; the petitioners alleged that many Sienese were already abstaining from business on that day.[126]

The scenes illustrated in Santa Maria della Scala appear to have been taken from the early life of the Virgin, and are thought to have been the Birth of the Virgin, the Presentation of the Virgin, the Return of the Virgin to the Home of her Parents, and the *Sposalizio*. Some information is provided by a contract of 1448 between the Priori of the Comune of Siena and Sano di Pietro. This contract provided for predella panels to be placed below an existing altarpiece in the chapel of the Palazzo dei Priori. Sano is asked to depict the life of the Virgin in the same way as is found on the Ospedale della Scala:

> *vi si debba fare cinque storie di nostra donna alla similitudine di quelle che sonno a capo le porti dello spedale della scala, mettendo in mezo l'Asumptione.*[127]

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[125] Maginnis, 'The Lost Façade frescoes', p.192. Giovanni di Tese Tolomei assumed office as rector in 1314 and remained until his death in February 1339. Giovanni and his wife Andrea shared a devotion to Joachim and Anne. They had offered to build a chapel dedicated to Anne and Joachim in the *novo Pellegrinaio* of the hospital in 1328, and Giovanni's will specified that the hospital was to celebrate the feast of Joachim and Anne in the chapel. In August of 1333 Siena's *Consiglio Generale* debated and approved a resolution that the feast of SS Joachim and Anne be celebrated every year, on the 26th July, in the hospital.

[126] Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: the Saints in the Italian City States* (London, 1996), p.110.

[127] Christiansen, *Painting in Renaissance Siena*, p.146.

This supports the probability that there were more than three scenes, and it can be reasonably supposed that these scenes consisted of the Birth, Presentation, Return and *Sposalizio*, the same scenes as are found in Sano's predella panels, the latter including also the Assumption as specifically required by the contract. This emphasis on the early life of the Virgin naturally means that Anne and Joachim play more important roles than is the case in many contemporary depictions. An unusual feature found in the Ospedale frescoes, and in subsequent representations, is the omission of the Meeting at the Golden Gate, and indeed the miraculous nature of the conception by an elderly barren woman. This, however, has escaped both contemporary and modern comment despite its implications for analysis of the cult of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin in the city dedicated to her.[128]

Angels sometimes appear at the Birth scene, with an early example in a fresco in Santa Maria in Porto Fuori, Ravenna,[129] followed by the Osservanza panel in which the angel actually carries a crown above the Virgin. **[pl.2.27]** An angel carries a thurible in the Bregenz altarpiece by Wolf Huber.[130] A circle of angels dominates the Birth of the Virgin by Altdorfer, which takes place in a church-like interior, once again demonstrating the link between the Virgin and *Ecclesia*. **[pl.2.33]** The joy of the angels in heaven is recounted by Mary to Bridget of Sweden in her revelations:

> When I was born, the feendes thoght that I suld do thame mekill harme, for I was so wele strenthed with grace that there was noght in me als mekill a place as the poynte of a nedill in the whilke sin might reste. And therefore thai mad mekill sorow. Bot Goddes frendes, that longe time had abiding, saide, "Make we mirth, for the light is born throw the whilke the derkeness of us sall be lightened and oure desire be performed". The aungells saide with

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[128] The only Golden Gate depictions found were a single panel by an anonymous Sienese painter now in Turin (Christiansen, *Painting in Renaissance Siena,* p.151), and the marble relief panels by Urbano da Cortona in Siena cathedral (K.I.F. 11983.4 Sc.Ren.). The story of the expulsion of Joachim and the Annunciations to both Anne and Joachim was found only in Bartolo di Fredi's Montalcino altarpiece and the panels by Andrea di Bartolo, now in the Kress collection in Washington.

[129] Dated to after 1332 and attributed by Van Marle to Baronzio, in *The Italian Schools*, IV, p.318, and by Berenson to an anonymous Riminese painter, *Central and North Italian Painters,* p.359.

[130] Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptures*, p.62.

grete ioy, "Sho is born in erth bi whome oure felows places sall be restored".[131]

Presentation of the Virgin

There are further discrepancies between the main texts and the images. The feast of the Presentation, although celebrated in the Eastern church by 730[132] was only incorporated into the Western calendar after 1372 at the instigation of Philippe de Mézières, Chancellor of the Kingdom of Cyprus. He persuaded both Gregory IX, then resident in Avignon, and King Charles V of France to introduce it. Philippe's enthusiasm for the feast extended to writing its office and also a liturgical drama, the latter being performed originally in Venice.[133] Although there is evidence that the Presentation was celebrated before its official insertion into calendars, the number of representations of it in Florence alone before 1372 is still surprisingly high.[134]

Western iconography usually showed only one Presentation scene, placing it directly after the Birth of the Virgin. Exceptions to this are found in the manuscript illuminations of Giovannino dei Grassi **[pl.2.34a]** and the Bedford Master.[135] The Presentations in many cases followed the *Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Golden Legend* in the depicting of fifteen steps, but almost as frequently the number of steps seems to be arbitrary. Three steps are often found, as are ten and seven, and often the number of steps is obscured either by objects or by people at the bottom of the steps. In the literary versions the number of steps the Virgin has to ascend is often highly symbolic: fifteen is the number of gradual psalms and is equated with this in the *Golden Legend*:

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[131] *The Liber Celestis of Saint Bridget of Sweden - the Middle English Version in BL Ms Claudius Bi; and a Life of the Saint from the same Manuscript*, ed. by Roger Ellis, Early English Text Society, no.291 (Oxford, 1987), p.396.

[132] Sr. Mary Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin May in the Temple: An Historical and Literary Study* (Washington D.C., 1941), p.vii.

[133] Ibid., p.95. A Presentation play was performed in Avignon in 1385, and is presumed to be the same as the Venetian play, published by Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1933), II, pp.227- 248.

[134] David Rosand, 'Titian's Presentation of the Virgin and the Scuola della Carità', *Art Bulletin,* 58 (1976), pp.55-84 (p.62).

[135] Book of Hours illuminated in Paris, 1422-1425, now in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. Schiller, *Iconographie*, p.293, fig.467.

> Around the Temple there were fifteen steps, corresponding to the fifteen Gradual Psalms, and because the Temple was built on a hill, there was no way to go to the altar of the holocaust, which stood in the open, except by climbing up the steps. The virgin child was set down at the lowest step and mounted to the top without help from anyone, as if she were already fully grown up.[136]

The link between the fifteen gradual psalms and the fifteen steps is rarely made visually. One such visual link, however, can be seen in the illumination for the beginning of the psalter in a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript, which shows the Presentation of the Virgin within the initial 'I' of *Incipiunt Psalmi Graduales*.[137] In the English *N-town play,* the child's admission to the temple depends upon her correct recitation of the psalms which is then followed by her recitation of the ten commandments.[138] The latter requirement could provide an explanation for the number of presentations with ten steps.

Sometimes the texts are directly contradicted. Most, if not all, of the texts emphasise that the Virgin ascended the steps as if she were an adult instead of a child of three, without aid from anyone, and that this was in fact a proof of her grace, as recounted by Osbern Bokenham, who used Voragine as his source:

> Were xv grees of marble grey and brounn,
> As olde scriptures wel declare can,
> Be whiche to the temple was the ascencyon,
> and the netherest was maria set down,
> and she anon ryht vp ouyr on alle dede pace
> Wyth- owt ony help saf only of grace.[139]

In contrast, Giotto's depiction of the Presentation in the Arena chapel shows Saint Anne gently helping her daughter up the staircase of the temple. The temple is a

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[136] Jacopo de Voragine, *The Golden Legend,* p.152. (Graesse, *Legenda Aurea*, p.588).

[137] British Museum Ms. Add. 19417, f.233, Paolo D' Ancona, *La Miniatura Fiorentina (Secoli XI - XVI)*, 2 vols (Florence, 1914) II, p.858, n.1671.

[138] Peter Meredith, *The Mary Play from the N-Town Ms* (London and New York, 1987), p.16. An Italian *lauda* recorded in 1294 also mentions ten steps to the temple. *Laude della Nativitade della Beata Vergine Maria*, published by Pietro Franceschini, *L'Oratorio di San Michele in Orto in Firenze* (Florence, 1892), p.255.

[139] Osbern Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, p.56.

mirror image of the temple found in the Expulsion scene; the Virgin is accepted into the sanctuary from which her father was rejected.[140] **[pl.2.34]** In the Arena chapel fresco and the Strassengl glass, the Virgin is assisted, despite the texts' descriptions of how she ascended alone and unaided except by the grace of God. **[pl.2.35]** In later Northern painting,[141] such as Vrancke van der Stockt's Presentation in the Escorial **[pl.2.29]** and an altarpiece by the Master of the Halberstadt Crucifixion,[142] the Virgin is not assisted by her parents but by an angel, who mounts the stairs at her side, its arm intertwined with hers.[143] In the stained glass windows in Strassengl pilgrimage church Anne helps her daughter to the altar, and offers a candle while her daughter offers the turtle doves.[144] **[pl.2.35]** Despite the textual stress on the fact that the Virgin looks straight ahead and never turns back, the visual arts repeatedly show her pausing on the steps and gazing back calmly at her parents, as in the Lippo Vanni fresco in San Leonardo al Lago, of c.1360,[145] **[pl.2.36]** and Giusto de Menabuoi's 1370s fresco cycle in the Baptistery in Padua.[146] **[pl.2.37]**

A Presentation of the Virgin which used to decorate the front of a gabelle book of the Sienese Comune shows the Virgin ascending the steps while an angel, carrying a chalice, flies above her head. **[pl.2.38]** The scene is also unusual as Saint Anne is

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[140] This contradicts most of the texts. However, the Trinity College Cambridge Ms.601 verse life of Saint Anne, published in Roscoe Parker, *Middle English Stanzaic Lives*, p.102, describes how the Virgin was 'In the temple bothe fadyr and modyr, To God presented hyr there both tweyn' which appears to describe some aid.

[141] Nicholas d'Ypres' altarpiece in the Louvre and a mid fifteenth-century panel by a Netherlandish master in Berlin (Jacobs, 'The Marketing and Standardization', pp.208 - 209). It was a painted side panel to an altarpiece of the Annunciation.

[142] Schiller, *Ikonographie*, p.327, ill.545. Saint Anne alone helps the Virgin in the stained glass windows in Eßlingen, Frauenkirche (Schiller, *Ikonographie*, p.326, fig.542a) and in the Icelandic textile, now in Copenhagen Museum (ibid., p.327, fig.543). Both of these works are fourteenth-century.

[143] A choir of angels rejoices as Mary ascends the stairs in the play by de Mézières, and quite prominent parts are played by Raphael and Gabriel. Young, *Drama in the Medieval Church*, II, p.230. In most of the texts the Virgin is fed daily by angels, and in the English *N-town* play an angel approaches her in the temple with a cup of gold.

[144] A candle is specifically mentioned in Martial d'Auvergne's (1430/35-1508) *Les Matines de la Vièrge*, ed. by Yves Le Hir (Geneva, 1970), p.56.

[145] Carli, *Sienese Painting* (London, 1983), pp 48-49.

[146] Catherine King, 'Women as Patrons: Nuns, Widows and Rulers', in *Siena, Florence and Padua*, ed. by Diana Norman, II, pp.243-267 (illustrated on p.251).

present, but instead of Joachim, another nimbed woman stands beside the priest, who is also nimbed.[147] The Sienese painter Sano di Pietro, in the predella panels for the Palazzo dei Priori, also depicted an angel carrying a chalice, flying above the Virgin, and an empty, or closed, tabernacle upon the altar.[148] **[pls.2.39, 2.39a]** Another Sienese painter, in his Presentation, depicted an altar surmounted by a large chalice.[149] The theme of sacrifice was frequently invoked when describing the offering of the Virgin to the temple by her parents, and the figure of the Christ Child reminds the viewer of the sacrifice of the Mass in the New Order. The use of the word *oblatio*, 'offering' instead of 'Presentation' in the liturgical office used in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts long before the de Mézières office links the future offering of Christ in the Eucharist with the offering of the Virgin in the temple:

> *Et quia sacerdos iste ministerque sanctorum futurorum in corpore suo pro genere humano offerre disponebat. sacrificium; quod in oblatione predicti regis et sacerdotis constat ante presignatum; ista virginalis infancie merito prefigurata innotescit oblatio. que hodierna die gratulantibus angelis ab utroque parente facta sollempniter declaratur in templo.*[150]

In the literary sources the Presentation in the Temple is used in a similar way. The priest in the *Protevangelium* recognises the future role of Mary when he welcomes her into the temple: 'And the priest took her and kissed her and blessed her, saying: "The Lord has magnified thy name among all generations: in thee in the latter days shall the Lord make manifest his redemption unto the children of Israel."[151] Bokenham describes how Anne rejoices when her child is offered in the temple, by referring to the future salvation of mankind:

> He hathe vysyted so marcyfully
> that thoroghe my fruht, lord, gra mercy,
> not I alone but al mankynde

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[147] Guidoccio Cozzarelli, gabelle cover of 1483, Archivio di Stato, Siena, K.I.F. Mal. ren. 455 750 (Alinari 9981). Guidoccio Cozzarelli, *Presentation of the Virgin*, gabelle cover of 1483. Archivio di Stato, Siena. *Le Biccherne: Tavole Dipinte delle Magistrature Senesi (Secoli XIII-XVIII)*, ed. by L. Borgia and others (Rome, 1984), p.187.

[148] Rome, Vatican Gallery, inv.136 (166). Keith Christiansen, 'Simone Martini's Altar-piece for the Commune di Siena', *Burlington Magazine*, 136 (1994) pp.148-160, and Volbach, *Il Trecento*, p.48.

[149] Rome, Vatican Gallery, no.237.

[150] Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation*, pp.85-86.

[151] *Protevangelium*, in James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p.42.

shal comforth fynde wyth-owten ende.[152]

The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* emphasises the sacrificial theme by recounting prefigurations of the Presentation:

The fift chaptle vs telles Oure Ladys oblacioune
In the temple, by thre figures of premonstracioune:
The sonnes borde, offered sometyme in the temple materiale,
Signed Oure Lady offerred in the Temple of the sonne eternale;
And be the doghter of Jepte offred to God thogh indescretly
Was Mary figured, offred to God most perfittely.
Out of the garding suspensil beheld the qwhene of Perce hir lande,
And Mary in Goddes Temple was euer heven contemplande.[153]

This kind of sacrificial imagery may have increased the significance and therefore the popularity of the Presentation as a liturgical feast.

Tuscan Presentations vary in the number of steps and peripheral figures, but often, especially in Sienese painting, show a centralised temple with steps running around it, from which the Virgin looks back at her parents, with her arms crossed across her chest. A typical example is Lippo Memmi's Presentation of the Virgin in San Leonardo al Lago of the 1360s. **[pl.2.36]** A significant number of Tuscan Presentations, however, feature a strong diagonal staircase, **[pls. 5.7, 5.43, 5.44]** a compositional emphasis that became very popular in the Veneto and blossomed in designs such as those of Jacopo Bellini for the Servite church in Sant' Alessandro, Brescia of 1444,[154] **[pl.2.40]** Carpaccio's Presentation for the Scuola degli Albanesi, of c.1503, [155] **[pl.2.41]** and Titian's Presentation of the Virgin for the Scuola della Carità of 1539.

A much discussed figure in Venetian Presentations is the egg-seller sitting beneath the staircase in the paintings by Titian, Cima da Conegliano,[156] **[pl.2.42]** Dürer and

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[152] Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, p.56.

[153] *Mirroure of Mans Salvacioun*, p.36

[154] Predella panel. The main panel is an *Annunciation*. Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*, p.168.

[155] Milan, Brera, no.171. Humfrey, *Carpaccio*, p.82, no.17b, col. ill. p.83.

[156] Dresden, Gemäldegalerie no. 63. Peter Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano* (Cambridge, 1983), illustrated on p.99.

others.[157] This figure has been interpreted on the one hand as a mere genre figure, secularising a religious narrative, and, on the other, as symbol of the Old Law, of unconverted Judaism and, more specifically, as Synagoga. The identification of the figure as Synagoga is largely derived from de Mézières' play, in which Ecclesia and Synagoga play prominent roles. However, although Synagoga is described as *mulier prouecte etatis*,[158] there is no mention of her trading. Even more importantly, in these depictions, there is no corresponding figure of Ecclesia (who is described as beautiful and young).[159]

The egg-seller is not the only enigmatic figure to recur in Presentations. Two male figures invariably stand at the side of the staircase, usually gesturing to the Virgin and, to all appearances, disputing with each other.[160] These figures have also been interpreted as symbols of unconverted Judaism.[161] Unusually, in the Presentation by Bartolo di Fredi, in Sant' Agostino, San Gimignano, one of the figures is nimbed **[pl.2.43]** which could simply be a mistake on di Fredi's part. The fresco is in a damaged state, however, making it impossible to decide whether Joachim is behind Anne, or whether he is the nimbed figure on the right. The gestures of the two figures may well be demonstrative rather than negative, and are not dissimilar to the gestures of Joachim and Anna themselves in many Presentations, such as Pinturicchio's fresco in the Chigi chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome. **[pl.2.44]**

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[157] For instance, a fifteenth century alabaster retable in Celles. I owe this information to Dr. Sam Riches, of the Department of the History of Art, Leicester University.

[158] Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, II, p.7.

[159] The arguments are summarised by Rosand, 'Titian's Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the Scuola della Carità' pp.55 - 77, and Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, mostly Iconographic*, The Wrightsman Lectures, 2 (London, 1969).

[160] For example: the Arena Chapel by Giotto, c.1308-1311; the fresco by Baronzio in Santa Maria Porto Fuori, Ravenna; the frescoes by Giusto de' Menabuoi in the Baptistery in Padua; and the Presentation by Cima da Conegliano in Dresden; the fresco by Cesare Luini for the church of Madonna di Loreto, Varallo Sesia (K.I.F. 40751 - Alinari 15977, 78); the fresco by Lippo Vanni in San Leonardo al Lago, referred to above; the panel by Sano di Pietro, Rome, Vatican Gallery, inv.136 (166); the panel by Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Washington: National Gallery of Art, (1361) Samuel H. Kress Collection, K2045, 1954; and the predella by Bartolomeo di Giovanni in Volterra, all referred to above; the panel in Palma de Mallorca, Iglesia de Montesión (Guidol Ricart, *La Pintura Gotica*, fig.99, ill. p.130). All these examples are, with the exception of Palma, Italian. This motif does not appear in Northern Europe.

[161] Panofsky, *Problems in Titian*, p.38.

In Italian, and particularly Venetian painting, the priest in the Presentation scene is frequently nimbed, as in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Cappella dei Mascoli, San Marco, Venice.[162] **[pl.2.45]** In Byzantine iconography the priest in the Presentation scene is usually nimbed.[163] **[pl.2.46]** The closeness of Venice to the Eastern Mediterranean left it open to such iconographic influences, and indeed, to the earlier Greek legends which were, for the most part, unknown in the rest of Europe. One of the earliest Latin translations of Epiphanius' *De Vita Sanctissimae Deiparae* by Paschalis Romanus, an Italian writer at Constantinople, was dedicated to the Venetian, Enrico Dandolo, Patriarch of Grado (1130-1182).[164] Confusion in such texts regarding the identity of the high priest may explain why the priest is sometimes nimbed. Some parts of the texts refer to the high priest as Reuben,[165] and some as Ysachar.[166] Some Greek and Coptic sources, however, identify the priest as as Zacharias, father of John the Baptist and thus a relative of the Virgin.[167] This could

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[162] Also the San Martino panel in Pisa **[pl.2.5]**, the panel in the Kress collection, Washington, by Paolo di Giovanni Fei (National Gallery of Art, (1361) Samuel H. Kress Collection, K2045, 1954), the frescoes in Santa Maria Porta fuori, Ravenna, (Van Marle, *The Italian Schools*, IV, p.318; Berenson, *Central and North Italian Painters*, p.359), the predella panel by Bellini for Sant' Alessandro, Brescia, **[pl.2.40]**, the Visconti Hours (The Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence, Banco Rari 397, f.3, reproduced in Millard Meiss and Edith Kirsch, *The Visconti Hours* (New York and London, 1972).

[163] See for example the fourteenth-century painting in Ohrid, St. Clement, and the Chora church in Istanbul, of c.1315-1320. Schiller, *Ikonographie*, p.337.

[164] Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation*, p.36

[165] The *Pseudo- Matthew*, Craveri, *I Vangeli Apocrifi*, p.102; The *South English Nativity*, p.59.

[166] Eckius, *Homilies*, in *Acta SS*, Julii 26, p.235; Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, p.45. In the *N-town* play, Isakar is both Anne's father and the name of the priest in the Expulsion. In the Presentation scene the priest is called Isakar, but there is also another figure, called the Episcopus (Spector, *The N-Town Play*, 1, play 9, pp.81-94). Similarly in the South English Nativity, a distinction is made between the 'bischop', known as Byathar (Abiathar) and the 'maystres' (*South English Nativity*, pp.62-63). In Italian manuscripts there are distinctions between the words *sacerdote, ministri,* and *pontifex.*

[167] Epiphanius, *Sermo de Vita Sanctissimae Deiparae*, PG, 120:185, and 120: 209-10; Germanus of Constantinople, *In SS. D.N. Genitr. Natalem Diem. et Encomium de Virgine*, PG, 98:299; George of Nicomedia, *Idiomelon*, PG, 100:1528; *Menalogion Basileios*, PG, 117:172-3; Cyril of Alexandria, *The Twentieth Explanation which the Holy Patriarch, Apa Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem, Composed on the Life of the Holy Theotokos Mary* (Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation*, p.26, and E. A. Wallis Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915), pp.629-633), and a sermon by Damianos (Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation*, pp.26-7; W. E. Crum, *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri* (Oxford, 1913), pp.11-16).

explain why the high priest is sometimes nimbed in Presentations (and in *Sposalizios* as in Ghirlandaio's *Sposalizio* in the Tornabuoni chapel, and Sodoma's *Sposalizio* in the Compagnia di San Bernardino in Siena).[168] This could also explain the presence of the nimbed woman on the Sienese gabelle cover. **[pl.2.38]** If the high priest can be identified as Zacharias, then the nimbed woman can be seen as Elizabeth. The fact that this feature occurs mainly in Italian painting may be a consequence of Italy's proximity to the Byzantine world.

The Education of the Virgin

Scenes of the Education of the Virgin are rare in Italy before the Counter-Reformation period, but an example is found in a painting in the gallery in Gualdo Tadino, by Antonio da Fabriano, in which a monumental Saint Anne instructs the child virgin seated on her lap.[169] **[pl.2.47]** However, images of the Education of the Virgin such as the one in a manuscript kept in Keble college,[170] **[pl.2.48]** a sculpture from the church of Notre-Dame, Poissy,[171] **[pl.2.49]** a French breviary of c. 1415,[172] **[pl.2.50]** and a Catalan panel,[173] are common elsewhere in Europe, particularly in England and France. In Northern Europe, the scene sometimes occupies a place in narratives of the Virgin, but is more usually represented as an isolated image. When it occurs in narrative cycles it is placed after the Presentation but before the *Sposalizio*, as in the early fourteenth-century textile in the Victoria and Albert

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[168] Berenson, *Central and North Italian painters*, 1, p. 307, ill., pl.1557; Giulitta Chelazzi Dini, Alessandra Angelini and Bernardina Sani, *Five Centuries of Sienese Painting: From Duccio to the Birth of the Baroque* (London, 1998), p.358.

[169] Pietro Zampetti, *Paintings from the Marches, Gentile to Raphael* (London, 1971), p.41, ill. pl.44. Another example of the theme includes the painting by Lorenzo Costa, listed by Berenson as being in the Collection of the Marchese Brivio in Milan (Berenson, *Central and North Italian Painters*, 1, p.97)

[170] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Keble, fol. 148v. Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, ed. by Jonathan Alexander, 2 vols (London, 1986), I, no.138, p.157.

[171] *La Vierge dans l' Art Français. Musée de Petit Palais*, ed. by Suzanne Kahn and Jacques Dupont (Paris, 1950), p.38.

[172] British Library, Harley Ms. 2897, f.340v.

[173] Bernardo Puig or de Montflorit, Saint Anne educating the Virgin and scenes of the Life of the Virgin. Barcelona, Museo de Arte de Cataluña, c. 1430, in Lafontaine-Dosogne, *L'iconographie de la Vierge*, II, pl.7.

Museum,[174] in an early fifteenth-century wall painting in Haddon Hall[175] and a fourteenth-century painting in the church at Croughton.[176] This, of course, raises problems in attempting to reconcile the scene with the textual sources. According to the traditional sources the Virgin remained in the temple until her marriage, and thus would not, one presumes, have been educated there by Saint Anne. The use of legends ultimately derived from the *Vita Rhythmica* account, in which the Virgin is presented in the temple at the age of three, returns home and is presented again at the age of seven, could explain the narrative sequence. Alternatively, Epiphanius narrates how, after the death of Joachim, Saint Anne joined her daughter in the temple and lived with her there.[177] In this scheme Saint Anne could have continued to teach the Virgin while she grew up in the temple.

The Education of the Virgin is sometimes juxtaposed with the Annunciation, as in the case of an early fourteenth-century English altar frontal in the Cluny Museum,[178] a wall painting from Headington[179] from the same period and a fifteenth-century wall painting from the Rochford tower in Lincolnshire.[180] The Education of the Virgin has been seen in these scenes, and where it occurs as a single image, as a prefiguration of the Incarnation. The Book held by either Saint Anne or the Virgin or both, is interpreted as the Word to be made flesh by the conception of the Virgin,

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[174] Victoria & Albert Museum, (18128 - 1863), in Christopher Norton, David Park and Paul Binski, *Dominican Painting: East Anglia, The Thornton Parra Retable and the Musée de Cluny Frontal* (Woodbridge, 1987), p.51, no.7.

[175] Wall painting, c.1425, chapel, south wall of chancel. C. E. Keyser, *A List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland having Mural and Other Painted Decoration of Dates Prior to the Latter Part of the 16th Century with Historical Introduction and an Alphabetical Index of Subjects* (London, 1883), p.119.

[176] Croughton, All Saints, south wall of the nave. Meredith, *The Mary Play*, pp.9-12.

[177] Epiphanius, *Sermo de Vita Sanctissimae Deiparae*, PG, 120:185.

[178] Paris, Musée de Cluny acq. 1864, cl.7726. Believed to be from Thetford Dominican church. Norton, Park and Binski, *Dominican Painting*. passim.

[179] Oxford, Saint Andrew's church. Destroyed wall painting, c.1330-1340, referred to by Wendy Scase, 'Saint Anne and the Education of the Virgin', in *England in the Fourteenth Century: proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Nicholas Rogers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, ns. 3 (Stamford, 1993), pp.81-96 (p.96), and Norton, Park and Binski, *Dominican Painting*, p.51, no.19.

[180] An early sixteenth-century wall painting. Keyser, *A List of Buildings*, p.53.

herself miraculously conceived by Saint Anne.[181] This purely typological reading is rejected by some feminist historians who see it as a scene of female education, pointing out that most of the owners were women.[182] In the Fitzwarin psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 765, f.7) the female donor (Amice de Haddon) [183]kneels in front of the Virgin and Saint Anne. The Book held by the women is inscribed *Domine labia mea aperies*, which is the first line of the Office of the Little Hours of the Virgin. This text was often used as a Prymer, or instruction manual in teaching children to read. In an early fourteenth-century manuscript from the Bodleian Library (Ms. Douce, 231, f.3) the women hold a book in which the letters are separated, as if in a learning book. These letters spell out *Domine*, again, probably the beginning of the Little Hours of the Virgin.[184]

The Sposalizio, or Betrothal of the Virgin.

In continental cycles, the Presentation is followed by scenes of the Virgin's life in the temple, the *Sposalizio*, the Annunciation and then by the early life of Christ, which concludes, in a Marian cycle, not with the Resurrection but with either Mary's Dormition, her Assumption, or her Coronation in Heaven. Saint Anne disappears from the narrative with the Presentation but then frequently returns in the *Sposalizio*. The implications of this return will be discussed below in more detail. Other literary sources in which Joachim and Anne are explicitly stated to be present at the Virgin's betrothal are the lays of Martial d'Auvergne,[185] and the *N-town* play.[186]

The scene of the *Sposalizio* varies little in its essential elements. Usually, the high priest joins the hands of Joseph and the Virgin. Saint Anne often stands behind the Virgin with her hand placed on her daughter's arm, while Joachim stands behind Joseph and attempts to restrain the angry suitors. These features are found, for example, in the predella panel by Sano di Pietro **[pls. 2.39, 2.39b]**, the fresco at San Leonardo al Lago by Lippo Memmi, **[pl.2.54]** and a predella panel by Giovanni di

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[181] Pamela Sheingorn, '"The Wise Mother": The Image of Saint Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary', *Gesta*, 37.1 (1993), pp.69-80 (p.93).

[182] Susan Gloag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by S. M. Erler and M. Kowaleski (Athens and London, 1988), pp.149-187.

[183] Sheingorn, 'The Wise Mother' p.74.

[184] Ibid., p.76.

[185] Martial d'Auvergne, *Les Matines de la Vierge*, p.60.

[186] Spector, *The N-Town Play*, 1, play 10, pp.95-111.

Paolo in the Doria gallery in Rome.[187] **[pl.2.51]** The geographical distribution of scenes of the betrothal that include Joachim and Anne appears to be concentrated in France[188] and in Italy.[189] In Germanic regions Anne also appears in the *Sposalizio*, but frequently without Joachim. Some sources state that Elizabeth was with Mary in the temple; as only one nimbed woman is present beside the Virgin in *Sposalizio* scenes,[190] it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that this woman is Saint Anne. The scene by the Master of the Life of the Virgin for the church of Saint Ursula in

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[187] Giovanni di Paolo, Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili, no.134. Christiansen, *Painting in Renaissance Siena*, p.168-9.

[188] Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod.1855.fol.25r., by the Bedford Master (Schiller, *Iconographie*, p.293), Book of Hours by the Boucicault Master, use of Paris, now in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms.469, f.38, discussed in Charles Sterling, *La Peinture Medievale à Paris, 1300 - 1500* (Paris, 1987), p.390. In sculpture, the following examples can be cited: the Toulouse ivory, and the ivory in the British Museum, Dalton 316, both referred to above; Jumièges Abbey choir screen, c.1500, commissioned by Abbot Jacques d'Amboise (1474-1505), who was brother of George I d'Amboise, Cardinal, archbishop of Rouen in 1493 and minister of Louis XII. Now in New York Metropolitan Museum, the Cloisters. Discussed by Jacques Baudoin, *La Sculpture flamboyante en Normandie et Ile-de-France, Sculpure et Imagiers* (Nonette, 1989) p.25.

[189] Atri Cathedral, cycle by Andrea da Lecce (K.I.F. 416 753/5 Mal.ren.), fresco by Giovanni Canavasio, in Santa Maria del Fontan, near Nice (K.I.F. 183 952 Mal.ren.), Ottaviano Nelli, fresco cycle, in Foligno, Palazzo Trinci. In Sienese painting examples are found by Benedetto di Bindo in the Siena Cathedral sacristy, Sano di Pietro, Vatican Gallery 136 (166); Bartolo di Fredi's Montalcino altarpiece; the panels in Volterra Museo Civico; Sodoma's fresco in the Compagnia di San Bernardino, all referred to above; and a panel by Niccolò di Buoninsegna, now in London, National Gallery, 1109, previously in Santa Maria Nuova, Florence, discussed in Martin Davies, *The Early Italian School before 1400*, pp.86-87; Giovanni di Paolo, Rome, Galleria Doria 134, in Christiansen, *Painting in Renaissance Siena*, p.168-9; the panel by Giovanni di Pietro, c.1470, from the Sienese church of San Pietro Ovile, Philadelphia, G.Johnson collection, no.108, in Christiansen, *Painting in Renaissance Siena*, pp.265-8; and in Venetian art, by Antonio Vivarini, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, no.1058, in Henning Bock, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Berlin, 1996), pp.127, 510; Carpaccio, Brera, 169, part of the Scuola degli Albanesi series, in Humfrey, *Carpaccio*, pp.84-85, and Domenico Campagnola, Santa Maria del Carmine, in Berenson, *Central and North Italian Painters*, 1, p.52.

[190] British Library, Additional Ms.62523, f.7, Book of Hours, c.1450, use of Sarum, by the Caesar Master, in *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, edited by Kathleen L. Scott, 2 vols (London, 1996), 1, pp.277-279; and a panel, c.1400, by the Constance Master, in Schiller, *Ikonographie*, pl.578, p.344.

Cologne, however, removes all doubt by inscribing on the nimbus of this woman '*Sta Anna*'.[191] **[pl.2.51a]**

The Return of the Virgin

Although in pictorial cycles, the *Sposalizio* is usually followed by the Annunciation, sometimes the depiction of the Virgin's return to the home of her parents is interposed. This is the point in the textual narratives when the Virgin returns to her home, after her betrothal to Saint Joseph, accompanied by her handmaidens from the temple. A typical Sienese representation of the scene can be seen in the panel by a contemporary of Sano di Pietro in the Vatican Gallery, where the Virgin, followed by her handmaidens, grasps the hands of her mother.[192] **[pl.2.52]** The scene is depicted in Sienese painting more frequently than elsewhere; examples can be found in the early fifteenth-century fresco cycle in the sacristy of Siena Cathedral, the altarpiece of 1388 by Bartolo di Fredi for San Francesco in Montalcino **[pl.2.53]** and, later in the fifteenth century (c. 1470), a predella panel by Giovanni di Pietro from San Pietro Ovile, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Among the few examples of this scene originating from outside Siena are Giotto's depiction of the scene in the Arena chapel in which the Virgin's parents do not appear, and an ivory panel, believed to be French, of the late fifteenth century in the Archaeological Museum in Milan. [193]

Saint Anne is rarely if ever identified in Marian narrative cycles after the Return of the Virgin.[194] Some texts however do go on to describe the later lives of Joachim and Anne. As already mentioned, Epiphanius discusses Anne's retirement to the temple after the death of Joachim. Another source describes how, after the death of Joseph, Mary and Jesus went to live with Mary's sisters and her mother, Saint Anne.[195] There are no depictions of this event, unless scenes of the the Holy Kindred can be interpreted as such. The later life of Saint Anne is hardly ever depicted, although an example is found in the altarpiece by Quentin Metsys. **[pl.2.3]** The altarpiece is a triptych, with its centre panel containing a Holy Kindred, and with the

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[191] Munich: Bayerisches Staatsgemaldesaammlungen, Alte Pinacothek, WAF 621.

[192] Christiansen, *Painting in Renaissance Siena*, p.151.

[193] Koechlin, *Les Ivoires,* II, p.348, no.949.

[194] Sometimes iconographical dictionaries list her as being present at the Presentation of Christ, or Purification of the Virgin. This is probably a confusion with Anna the Prophetess, daughter of Fanuel, whose appearance in iconography is similar to that of Saint Anne, the mother of the Virgin.

[195] For example, the early English life of the Virgin contained in Minnesota Ms. z.822, N.81, in Foscoe Parker, *The Middle English Stanzaic Life,* p.78 and p.90.

Annunciation to Joachim in the left wing and the Death of Saint Anne, a very rare scene, in the right.

II.
Devotional Imagery

Influenced in part by the cult of the Immaculate Conception, the depiction of Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child as a group (*Anna Selbdritt*) was enormously popular in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Broadly, six different types can be discerned: a hieratic composition in which Saint Anne is enthroned, or standing, with the Virgin and Child directly in front of her (**A**); a similar composition, but one in which the Virgin and Child are placed to one side (**B**); a group which consists of the Virgin and Saint Anne seated side by side, with the Child either between them or held by one of the two women (**C**); Anne seated with the Virgin on one knee and the Christ Child on the other (**D**); Anne, seated or standing, holding the Christ Child while the Virgin stands or sits at a lower level (**E**); Anne standing, with the Child on one arm, and the miniature Virgin on the other (**F**); and finally, Anne, usually standing, but sometimes seated, with the miniature Virgin and Child on one arm (**G**).

Types (**A**) and (**B**) were popular throughout Europe. An example of type (**A**) is a frescoed altarpiece by a follower of Antoniazzo Romano, in San Pietro in Montorio, Rome.[196] **[pl.2.55]** Here Saint Anne is an imposing, monumental figure with the Virgin seated directly in front of her and the Child seated on the Virgin's knee. This type was common in Tuscany, particularly after Francesco Traini's monumental *Anna Selbdritt* of the mid-fourteenth-century.[197] **[pl.1.11]** The commissioning of a Pisan artist, Jacopo di Michele Gera, in the 1380s to paint an altarpiece for the Neapolitan church of San Lorenzo was perhaps instrumental in the spread of the iconography further south.[198] **[pl.1.10]** In central Italy, examples in Umbrian painting include the

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[196] Vincenzo Golzio and Giusepe Zander, *Le Chiese di Roma dall' XI al XVI secolo* (Bologna, 1963), p. 229; Berenson, *Central and North Italian Schools*, I, p.18.

[197] Princeton University Art Museum 63-2, ex Mather collection. Millard Meiss, 'The Problem of Francesco Traini', *Art Bulletin*, 15 (1933), pp. 97- 173.

[198] Palermo, Diocesan Museum, c.1387. Enzo Carli, *La Pittura a Pisa: Dalle Origini alla 'Bella Maniera'* (Pisa, 1994), p. 96.

Bettona plague altarpiece,[199] **[pl.1.6]** and Perugino's Holy Kindred in Marseilles.[200] **[pl.1.13]** An example further north is found in the Museo Civico in Novara,[201] where the group is seated in front of a narrow-backed throne flanked by sunflowers **[pl.2.56]**, and a Sienese one is found in the church of Sant' Andrea in Siena, by Martino di Bartolomeo di Biagio.[202] **[pl.2.57]** Examples of this type in Northern European art are also plentiful: the numerous examples include an ivory sculpture in Compiègne of the fourteenth century,[203] a sculpture in Regensburg Cathedral of the same period,[204] an *Anna Selbdritt* in the centre panel of the *Holy Kindred* in Soest[205] **[pl.2.58]** of the fifteenth century, and a panel from the church of Sant' Ana in Palma de Mallorca.[206] **[pl.2.59]** The combination of *Anna Selbdritt* and *Virgo Lactans* is not uncommon, with an example from the south of Italy provided by an *Anna Selbdritt* by Pietro Befulco.[207] **[pl.2.60]**

A slight variation on this theme is the placing of the Virgin to one side **(B)** instead of directly in front of Saint Anne in the manner discussed above. Examples of this are to be found in the San Quirico altarpiece by Luca di Tomè[208] **[pl.2.61]** and, later, the *Anna Selbdritt* in the church of San Michele, Celle Ligure, near Siena, [209] **[pl.2.62]** and the *Anna Selbdritt* in the church of Santa Caterina in Sestri Levante.[210] **[pl.2.63]** Another variation is the placing of the Virgin and Child at a much lower level than Saint Anne, for example the painting by a follower of Memling in the Munich Alte

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[199] Bettona: Santa Maria Maggiore. Berenson, *Central and North Italian Schools,* I, pp.325, 412, and 427.

[200] Marseilles, Musée des Beaux - Arts, no.788. André Chastel, *Art of the Italian Renaissance*, translated by Linda and Peter Murray (London, 1984), p.135.

[201] Frick Art Reference Library, 26691.

[202] Peter Anselm Riedl and Max Seidel, *Die Kirchen von Siena*, 2 vols in 7 parts (Munich, 1985-) I, pp.282-3, 296, and II, ill.337-42.

[203] Musée Vivenel. Koechlin, *Les Ivoires*, II, no.710, III, pl. CXVII.

[204] Regensburg Cathedral crossing, c.1330. *Lexikon der Marienkunde*, ed. Konrad Algermissen and others (Regensburg, 1957-67), I, p.187. Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5: 249.

[205] Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art,* p.232.

[206] Sobré, *Behind the altar table,* p.235, fig. 150.

[207] *Il Polittico di San Severino. Restauri e recuperi. Napoli, Museo di Capodimonte 18 Dicembre 1989 - 4 marzo 1990,* ed. by Ferdinando Bologna (Naples, 1989) pp.31 - 37, 101.

[208] Siena, Accademia, no.309. Van Os, *Sienese altarpieces*, p.140, ill. pl.140.

[209] Frick Art Reference Library, 28015.

[210] Frick Art Reference Library , 27571; K.I.F. 184 996 Mal. ren. (Sansoni 7571).

Pinakothek,[211] and by a Castilian master in the New York Metropolitan Museum.[212] Another slight variation, included here because of the pyramidal composition of the Saint Anne at the apex, and the Virgin and Child at a lower level, is seen in an Alsatian panel in the Louvre.[213] **[pl.2.64]**

The type **(C)** is also a common method of depicting the *Anna Selbdritt* group. This type can be illustrated by the Hungarian Leibic altarpiece[214] **[pl.2.65]** and the Kisszeben altarpiece,[215] **[pl.2.66]** both dating from the early sixteenth century, the Torgau altarpiece by Lucas Cranach,[216] **[pl.1.3]** a Holy Kindred, by Daniel Mauch, commissioned by an Augsburg couple,[217] **[pl.2.67]** the Roznava painting which shows Saint Anne seated in front of mining works,[218] **[pl.1.9]** a Holy Kindred commissioned by the Hackeney family in Cologne,[219] **[pl.2.68]** and the Holy Kindred from the Peterskirche in Louvain by Quentin Metsys.[220] **[pl.2.3]** Further examples include a sculpture from Flambémont Abbey by a Burgundian sculptor, [221] and a medieval painting in Triana, Seville.[222] Used less frequently in Italy, this type appears in a Sienese panel, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which is unusual in a number

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[211] Munich, Alte Pinakothek no.1401.

[212] The Cloisters, 88.3.82. Katherine Baetjer, *European Painting*, I p.178; II, p.196.

[213] Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (Chicago and London, 1996), p.43, fig.56.

[214] Gyöngyi Török, *Késögótikus Szárnyasoltárok-Late Gothic Altarpieces- Retables du Gothique Tardif- Spätgotische Flügelaltäre*, trans. by Judit Pokoly (Budapest, 1989), pl.X.

[215] Ibid., pl.IX.

[216] Frankfurt: Städelsches Kunstinstitut, nr.1398. Gallwitz and Ziemke, *Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie*, pp.39-40.

[217] This is a limewood sculpture, commissioned by Johann Rehlinger and Anna Dietenheimer. Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors*, p. 303, pl.81-3.

[218] Kirschbaum, *Lexikon,* 5:189, ill.fig. 5.

[219] Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum. 0165, old nr. WI, 1824, nr. 102 (f.236r.) formerly in the Dominican Convent church. Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p.228, ill. 219.

[220] Brussels: Koninklijk Musea voor Schone Kunsten van Belgie. Cuttler, *Northern Painting*, p. 452, pl. 29.

[221] Jacques Baudoin, *La Sculpture Flamboyante en Champagne, Lorraine* (Nonette [c.1990]), p.317.

[222] In the church of Sant' Ana, Triana (Seville), mid- to late thirteenth-century. Discussed by Carmen Calderòn Benjumea, *Iconografia de Santa Ana en Sevilla y Triana* (Seville, 1990), pp.74, 139, 140, col.ill. p.141.

of respects.[223] **[pl.2.69]** The panel dates from c. 1360 and has been attributed to a follower of Barna da Siena,[224] and to the Master of the Straus Madonna.[225]

More common in Italy is the type in which the Virgin appears as an adult sitting beside her mother, but still contained within a triangular composition, in which the two women are seated closely together with the head of the Virgin slightly lower than that of Saint Anne. This may be seen as a natural step from the Luca di Tomè type of painting in which the Virgin is an adult, but smaller than her mother and thus contained within a triangular composition. Paintings like Gian Martino Spanzotti's *Anna Selbdritt*[226] **[pl.2.70]** and Girolamo da Verona's National Gallery *Anna Selbdritt* [227] fall in between these two types and demonstrate the endless qualifications which must be borne in mind in an exercise of this kind.

In type (**E**) Saint Anne holds the Child on her knee, while the Virgin, who is often represented as a child, is seated on the other one. An example is found in Lorenzo di Alessandro da Sanseverino's painting in the Museo Piersanti, Matelica.[228] **[pl.2.71]** This can be seen in Northern Europe in the plague broadsheet **[pl.1.4]** and the Annaberg city arms.[229] **[pl.1.6]** Again, this type is found throughout Europe. A variant of this type is a pyramidal composition, where it is Saint Anne that holds the Child and the Virgin either sits, or stands beside her, as in the painting by the Master of the Saint Bartholomew altarpiece, which is now in Munich.[230] **[pl. 2.72]** It is also found in the sculpture in the parish church of Saint Anna in Reutte, Tirol, by Jorg Lederer, in which a corpulent Saint Anne is seated with the Christ Child on her knee, and the child Virgin standing beside her.[231] **[pl.2.73]**

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[223] Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Sarah Wyman Whitman fund, 1915, 15.1145. S. Lane Faison Jr., 'Barna and Bartolo di Fredi', *Art Bulletin*, 14 (1932), pp. 285-15.

[224] Ibid.

[225] Dini, *Five Centuries of Sienese Painting*, p.102.

[226] Frick Art Reference Library, 26578.

[227] Girolamo dai Libri, National Gallery London, 748, formerly in Verona, la Scala, c.1511-12. Schiller, *Ikonographie*, p.428.

[228] Berenson, *Central and North Italian painters*, I, p.222.

[229] Another example is the sculpture in Genoa Cathedral, c. 1320, illustrated by Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, p.223, Bild153.

[230] Munich: Alte Pinakothek, Inv. nr. 10738. Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p.204, and col.pl.

[231] Veronika Biebl, *Heilige Mutter Anna, hilf! Die heilige Anna in Kunst und Volksfrömmigkeit, Ausstellung in der Pfarrkirche St. Anna im Lehel, München vom 28. April bis Ende September 1996* (Munich, 1996), p.9, no.30.

Types (**F**) and (**G**) are found principally in central and northern Europe. In type (**F**) a standing Saint Anne holds the Christ Child on one arm, and a miniature (often also a child) Virgin on the other. An early example in the Museum in Vienna is mentioned by Kleinschmidt as dating from c.1340, [232] and another is to be found in the church in Ebrach,[233] but most examples tend to date from the late fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century, such as the altarpiece of c.1480 by Ludwig Konraiter from the Premonstratensian convent in Wilten, where *Anna Selbdritt* is one of many female saints,[234] **[pl.2.74]** and a sculpted altarpiece in the parish church of SanktJohannes der Taufer in Tessenberg, near Heinfels.[235] The type, which is popular in Tyrol and Austria is also found in Hungary. The Csikszentlelek altarpiece has as its centre panel the Pentecost, with *Anna Selbdritt* and Saints Elizabeth of Hungary and Mary Magdalen on one side panel, and Saints Barbara, Dorothy and Catherine on the other.[236]

Type (**F**) is essentially German and central European and is not found in Italy. Another type, (**G**), which is frequently found in Northern Europe, but only rarely in Italy, is that in which Saint Anne stands holding the miniature Virgin and Child on one arm, as in an early sixteenth-century reliquary sculpture in Paderborn.[237] **[pl.2.75]** This type is found as early 1320 in Erfurt Cathedral.[238] Unlike type (**F**) , type (**G**) is found throughout Northern Europe, with Netherlandish and Flemish examples by artists such as Cornelius van Oostanen [239] and Quentin Metsys.[240] Examples can also be found as far east as Hungary[241] and as far west as northern France.[242] The type

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[232] Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, p.187.

[233] *Lexikon*, ed. Algermissen, p.249.

[234] *Itinerari Mostra del Tirolo. Il Gotico. Un Iniziativa della Tirol Werbung ideata da Eva Schubert*, ed. by Saverio Capozzi (Milan, 1994), p.48; Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, p.222, Bild 152, attributed there to Hans von Wilten.

[235] *Il Gotico*, ed. Capozzi, p.133.

[236] Török, *Late Gothic Altarpieces*, p.XII.

[237] Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:187.

[238] Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:186; *Lexikon*, ed. Algermissen, p.249.

[239] Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no.607. Bock, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin*, p.33 and p.235.

[240] Munich, Staatsgemäldegalerie. Algermissen, *Lexikon*, p.248.

[241] An altarpiece of c.1500 from Berserke-Radacs, now in the Hungarian National Gallery in Budapest.

[242] A sculpture in the church of Saint-Ghislain, Wattignies-la-Victoire. John W. Steyaert, *Late Gothic Sculpture. The Burgundian Netherlands. Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent, September 1994* (Ghent, 1994),

extended into the Iberian pensinsula: examples include the *Anna Selbdritt* painted by Joan Rexach in the altarpiece for the Augustinian church of Rubielos de Mora in Valencia, [243] the *Anna Selbdritt* in the altarpiece of Burgos Cathedral of c. 1489,[244] and one in the church of Saint Antonin in Medina del Campo.[245] The type occurs in Italy but it was not popular. The Zaganalli brothers painted a predella panel with Saints Catherine, *Anna Selbdritt* and Lucy, which is now in the Walters Art Gallery.[246] Another example is a fresco by Manfredino Boxilio in the church of Santissimi Anna e Giovanni da Campo Fregosa in Novi Ligure, in which *Anna Selbdritt* appears with a female donor, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Margaret.[247] **[pl.2.76]**

III.
Scenes of the Holy Kindred

As outlined in the previous chapter, the legend of the Holy Kindred of Christ originated in the ninth century. The earliest representation of the scene is in an illuminated manuscript of Gautier de Coincy's[248] *La Geneaologie de Nostre Dame,* in which circles connect Saint Anne, her three daughters and their children. The six husbands are outside the circles, as they are not blood relatives of Christ. **[pl.2.77]** This distinction between the blood relatives and the marital kin continued in later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century painting. This was often achieved by the use of a *Hortus Conclusus* image, in which the women and children are contained within a garden, clearly separated from their husbands by a wall, as in a group of paintings

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p.254, and a sculpture now in the Musée de Cluny, Cl. 15379, acquired in 1906 in Paris, originally from the Malines area.

[243] Now in the Museum of Catalan Art, Barcelona. Sobré, *Behind the Atar Table*, p.307, and pp.368-9.

[244] *Ars Hispaniae. Historia Universal del Arte Hispánico,* ed. by Gudiol Ricart, 22 vols (Madrid, 1946-), VIII, Augustín Durán Sanpere and Juan Ainaud De Lasarte, *Escultura Gótica* (1956), p.350.

[245] Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, p.32.

[246] No.739. Berenson, *Central and North Italian Painters*, I, p.451, pl. 1039.

[247] Alfonso Vittorio Giardini and Elena Baggio, *Italy: Provincial Art, Northern Italy* (Novara, 1954), p.14.

[248] Paris: Arsenal, Ms.3517, fol.7r. Pamela Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship', in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, pp. 169-188 (p.172).

from the North Rhine area, dating from the 1420s to the 1430s.[249] A panel in Cologne, originally from the Sankt-Heribert Hospital in that city, is attributed to a follower of the Master of Saint Veronica. **[pl.2.78]** The scene shows the mothers seated in a group on a low bench within a garden. All of the women are nimbed, but of the children only Christ and John the Baptist have haloes; the other children, like their fathers outside the wall, are not nimbed and can be identified by scrolls. The women can be identified from left to right as follows: Mary Salome, with Saints James the Greater and John the Evangelist; Mary Cleophas with Saints James the Minor, Joseph the Just, Simon and Jude; Saint Anne, with an open book on her knee; the Virgin and Child; Saint Elizabeth, with the child Baptist on her knee; Esmeria, sister of Saint Anne and mother of Saint Elizabeth, with a closed book on her knee; and finally, Memelia, with her son, Saint Servatius, as a child on her knee. The husbands stand behind their spouses and behind the wall, and as observed by Pamela Sheingorn, are partly obscured by the women's ample haloes.[250]

A painting of the same subject by the Master of the Ortenberg altarpiece is similar in its naïvety of style, but unlike the Cologne panel, includes only one husband, Saint Joseph. **[pl.2.79]** The painting combines the themes of the Holy Kindred with the *Virgo inter Virgines*, and may have been commissioned for the Premonstratensian convent of canonesses in Sancta Maria in Konradsdorf, near Ortenberg.[251] In the foreground are Mary Salome with her two children (all of the children are nimbed in this painting, like their mothers; Saint Joseph alone appears without a nimbus); Saint Agnes, who has her lamb on her knees and holds a lily up to the Virgin seated above her; Saint Barbara with her tower and chalice, and Saint Dorothy with her wreath of flowers. The figures in the back row are identified by their haloes as follows; Mary Cleophas with her four children, Mary Alpheus, Saint Anne, again shown with an open book; the head of Saint Joseph, awkwardly interjecting; the Virgin, centrally placed, with the Child on her knee nestling his face against the cheek of his neighbour, Saint Elizabeth, who has the Baptist on her knee; Saint Memelia, and her son Saint Servatius, included this time as an adult with his bishop's robes and an open book. The interest of this panel lies in the mistake made by the painter in including both Mary Cleophas and Mary Alpheus when they are in fact not two people, but one. Thus the panel, which in its appearance is clear and explanatory, with each figure

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[249] Darmstadt Hessisches Landesmuseum, Inv. GK-66 (8565), Costa, *Sainte-Anne*, pl.19, and in Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, no.59; Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p.82, ill. 80.

[250] Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship', p.174.

[251] Hans Georg Gmelin, 'The Master of the Ortenberg Altar' in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. by Jane Turner, 34 vols (New York and London, 1996), XX, p.738

given its own attribute and inscribed halo, is in fact transmitting a misunderstanding. Although this does not appear to be a frequently copied mistake, it illustrates the divide between textual legends and their visual counterparts. Given that narratives could be misinterpreted in such a way, the question of how the complexities of doctrines such as the Immaculate Conception of Christ could be rendered pictorially must have been a perplexing one.

There is another interesting Holy Kindred in the Darmstadt museum dating from the same period.[252] **[pl.2.80]** Again, the women are placed in the foreground and are divided from the men by a wall. In this case, however, they are placed in a loggia rather than a rose garden. Thee women are again nimbed and the men are not, and in this case, like the Cologne altarpiece and unlike the Ortenberg altarpiece, the children, with the exceptions of Christ and Saint John the Baptist, are not nimbed. Servatius is here presented as an adult and is nimbed. The grouping of the figures is, with the exception of Servatius and Memelia, very similar to the Cologne panel, and indeed, the relationship between Christ and John the Baptist is similar in all three panels. The men in this panel are not only pictorially discriminated against by their lack of scrolls and their position outside the wall, but also by their much smaller scale.

A feature of this altarpiece is the representation of the God the Father with the dove of the Holy Spirit above the Virgin's head. With this, the charming, somewhat naive grouping of the relatives of Christ takes on a more profound religious dimension. The vertical Trinity consisting of God the Father, the Holy Spirit and Christ intersects with the horizontally composed earthly trinity of Saint Anne, the Virgin, and the Christ Child. This juxtaposition of lineages is found in later Holy Kindreds, such as an engraving by Israhel von Meckenem of c.1475,[253] the altarpiece by a Flemish Master for the Dominican church in Frankfurt,[254] and a sculpted wooden predella from Carinthia of c.1525.[255]

Other visual means were used to remind the viewer of the future fate of the Child, and those of his cousins, or 'brothers'. A panel by Geertgen tot sint Jans, of c.1480, was

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[252] Darmstadt Hessisches Landesmuseum, Inv. GK 6. I am grateful to Dr. Theo Jülich for information on this panel.

[253] James H. Marrow and Alan Shestack, *Hans Baldung Grien: Prints and Drawings* (Washington, 1981), p.126, fig.20a.

[254] Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, no. B259 - 264.

[255] Herbert Schindler, *Der Schnitzaltar. Meisterwerke und Meister in Süddeutschland, Österreich und Südtirol* (Regensburg, 1978) p.187.

commissioned by the Knights of Saint John for the chapel dedicated to Mary, Elizabeth and Saint John.[256] **[pl.2.81]** The Holy Kindred are placed within a high, vaulted church interior. In the foreground is Saint Anne, veiled and wimpled, an open book on her knee and spectacles resting upon the book. Beside her is a child, his head turned away from the viewer, holding a staff. The Virgin and Child sit at her other side, and behind the two women stand two men, presumably Joachim and Joseph. Across the nave, sit the two Marys, and Elizabeth. In the middle distance, some of the children are gathered: Saint John the Evangelist with his chalice, Saint James with his pilgrim's canteen, and Saint Simon with the saw of his future martyrdom. In the background is an altar with a wooden carving showing the Sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham. The remaining men cluster around the altar in groups of two and three, and a small figure, perhaps a dwarf, snuffs out the candles at the top of the rood screen. Again, the themes of the Old and New Laws can be recognised here. The Kindred are in the nave of the church, not the high altar area, which can be identified by the apsidal form of the east end, visible over the rood screen. The New Law has not yet come about; the snuffing of the candles indicates the transitional stage.

As is to be expected, the division of the blood relatives of Christ from those related only by marriage, was not always a clear one. In the panels discussed earlier, for instance, Joachim is placed outside the wall, yet he was the earthly grandfather of Christ. This placing can of course be explained by the popular belief that Saint Anne had conceived the Virgin without the aid of Joachim. An early sixteenth-century painting by Gert van Lon from the Benedictine Convent at Corvey shows Joachim placed within the wall and the other husbands without.[257] However, when a division was made, it was usually absolute, with the women and children clearly demarcated from the husbands. The Holy Kindred could include many people, and was far from restricted to Saint Anne's three husbands. When the three husbands were entirely excluded the *trinubium* was not explicitly represented, but the grouping of the three Marys with their children and Saint Anne could hardly have avoided at least an implication that Anne was the mother of all three. Sometimes the Holy Kindred was represented in a much simpler way, with only Saint Anne, her daughters and her grandchildren being shown. This arrangement was particularly popular in French representations; an early example is found in the manuscript illuminated by Jean

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[256] Geertgen tot sint Jans. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1, p439 and Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p.179.

[257] Münster, Westfalischer Kunstverein, Inv. nos. 51 -55. Ashley and Sheingorn, 'Introduction', in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p.26, fig.8.

Fouquet for Etienne Chevalier, the treasurer of King Charles VII of France.[258] Here the metaphor of the *Hortus Conclusus* and the rose bower is used again, with Saint Anne and her three daughters depicted in a contemporary French garden with a castle behind. Although a shadowy male figure could possibly be identified as Joseph, his presence is unobtrusive. The exclusion of the husbands is likewise found in the stained glass of Chapelle-Saint-Luc,[259] Saint-Vincent, Rouen,[260] and Bulgnéville.[261]

Another version of the Holy Kindred, or at least of Saint Anne's three children, is a type known as the Education of the Marys, in which Saint Anne is seen teaching three little girls instead of just the Virgin Mary. This too was popular in France and is found in a sculpture in Jonquerets-le-Livet, commissioned by Nicholas Delory, canon of Lisieux and curé of Jonquerets.[262] Similar representations are also found in Plessis-Sainte-Opportune,[263] and, much earlier than the sculptures cited here, in a manuscript dated between 1396 and 1407 from the Benedictine church of Saint Mary in Dorset.[264]

Possibly unique, is the representation of the husbands of Saint Anne and her daughters without their offspring. This occurs in the Bedford Hours,[265] **[pl.2.82]** commissioned, according to Sheingorn,[266] by John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, on his marriage to Anne of Burgundy in 1423, although Sterling suggests the most likely donor to have been Philip of Burgundy.[267] The page shows Anne of Burgundy in devotion before Saint Anne with the figures of Mary and Christ. Joseph stands behind a chair, and the entire group is placed in front of a cloth held by angels, dividing them from a vaulted Gothic background. At the side, in the large border, are the three husbands of Saint Anne, each contained within his own architectural niche.

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[258] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. lat.1416. Hours of Etienne Chevalier. Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship', p.175.

[259] Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France. The Late Middle Ages. A Study in Iconography and its sources*, ed. by Harry Bober, trans. by Marthiel Mathews, Bollingen Series, 90.3 (Princeton, 1986), p.207.

[260] Ibid., p.205

[261] Baudoin, *La Sculpture Flamboyante en Normandie*, pp.316-317.

[262] Ibid., p. 90 and p.244.

[263] Ibid., p.91.

[264] Now in Alnwick Castle. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, I, pp.45-60.

[265] London: British Library, Ms. Add. 18840, fol. 257v.

[266] Sheinghorn, 'The Wise Mother', p.75.

[267] Charles Sterling, *La Peinture Medievale à Paris, 1300-1500* (Paris, 1987), pp.419-21.

Remarkably, no children are shown. That the presence of 'brothers of Christ' was the very *raison d'être* of the *trinubium* failed to signify with the Bedford Master and/or his patrons. The stress on the marriages alone makes it likely, as pointed out by Thomas, that Lancaster marriage alliances are being celebrated.[268]

At its simplest the Holy Kindred consisted of Saint Anne, her three daughters and their children, but the cult of the Holy Kindred, particularly in the Netherlandish and Germanic speaking regions, became more complicated as time passed. Esmeria was known as the sister of Saint Anne from the twelfth century at least,[269] and, as shown above, was frequently included in painting. The biblical details relating that John the Baptist was a cousin of Christ, and Elizabeth a cousin of Mary, were embellished by the addition of Esmeria, who was said to be Anne's sister and the mother of Elizabeth. By the time Voragine wrote the *Golden Legend*, Esmeria had become the mother of two children, Elizabeth and Eliud. Eliud was claimed as the ancestor of Saint Servatius of Liège and Maastricht. As shown above, this satellite branch is frequently represented in painting in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The next development in the legend of the Holy Kindred was the addition of the names of Saint Anne's parents. Although writers had speculated about Anne's parentage, few gave more details than the tribe into which she had been born. Some, as we have already seen, named her father as Isachar. In the later fifteenth century however, the legend of Anne's parents, then named as Emerentiana and Stollanus, grew in popularity. This legend was attributed to the Church Father Cyril of Alexandria, who was claimed by the Carmelites as one of their early predecessors on Mount Carmel. However, the earliest mention of Emerentiana and Stollanus is in the text by the Ghent Carmelite Arnoldus Bostius, *De Patronatu et Patrocinio Beatissimae Virginis Mariae in dicatum sibi Carmeli Ordinem*, of 1479.[270] According to the legend, Emerentiana went to visit the monks on Mount Carmel in order to ascertain whether she should marry or not. She was told in a vision that she was the root which would culminate in the Redeemer, and that she should, therefore, marry.

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[268] Marcel Thomas, *The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the time of Jean, Duke of Berry* (New York, 1979), p. 83.

[269] Max Förster, ' Die Legende vom Trinubium der Heilige Anna', in *Probleme der Englischen Sprache und Kultur: Festschrift für Johannes Hoops zum 60 Geburstag*, ed. by Wolfgang Keller (Heidelberg, 1925), pp.105-131 (p.116).

[270] Brandenbarg, 'St. Anne, a Holy Grandmother', p.63.

A series of panels now in Ghent by the Master of the Family of Saint Anne shows branches of the Holy Kindred as small nuclear family groups. In one, aided by inscriptions, Stollanus and Emerentiana are found seated on a throne with a tapestry behind them. **[pl.2.83]** Both are nimbed, and above them hovers the dove of the Holy Spirit. As in many of the representations discussed here, it is the woman who holds the open book on her knee, while the man holds a closed scroll. Another panel in the series shows Joachim and Anne (both nimbed) seated in a similar arrangement. **[pl.2.84]** Saint Anne holds the open book, and Joachim holds a flowering branch with the Virgin and Child as its blossom. The Virgin and Child also sit on the ground below, between Anne and Joachim. The panel is thus entirely devotional, requiring the viewer to recognise that the Virgin and Child are shown twice in the same scene. Brandenbarg comments on the series:

> In his propaganda of the veneration the author does not usuallly stop at representing the "facts". He incorporates theological theses or insights from moral theology into his text and allows pastoral intentions which are connected with the particular public for whom the texts are intended to play a part.[271]

The altarpiece of Saint Goedele, now in Paris, was produced from within the circle of Christian humanists. The canon of Saint Goedele was Joannes Oudewater, a close friend of Arnoldus Bostius.[272] Like the Ghent panels, this altarpiece recounts the stories of Emerentiana and Stollanus, and Joachim and Anna. The centre piece of the interior panel shows a type **(A)** *Anna Selbdritt*, while the scenes of the life of Saint Anne and the Holy Kindred take place around it. At the top are Stollanus and Emerentiana with their two daughters, Esmeria and Anne. Read from left to right, the next scene is the Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple, followed by the Meeting at the Golden Gate (in which Anne alone is nimbed). The *Anna Selbdritt* is flanked by panels showing Anne with her other husbands and further two children. Below, in the centre, are Anne, Joachim and Mary, with Mary's sisters with their husbands and children on each side. The side wings each show a tree. On the left is Emerentiana, with a root coming from her stomach. This root divides into three: the central one carries the Virgin and, above her, the Christ Child, while the two side ones show Anne and Esmeria. Carmelites kneel at each side. On the other wing, the root

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[271] Ghent, Mus. voor shone Kunsten. Brandenbarg, 'St Anne and her family', p.103.

[272] On the activities of these Northern Humanists and their promotion of Saint Anne, see Tillmans, '*Sancta Mater versus Sanctus Doctus*'.

connects Emerentiana and Stollanus to Servatius at the top, with off-shoots bearing figures such as Saint Elizabeth and Saint John the Baptist.[273]

A panel in Madrid uses the same imagery of a stem bearing fruit. **[pl.2.85]** In this panel, Emerentiana kneels on the ground, leaning forward so that she rests on her elbows while the stem pierces through her centre. The bud opens into a flower which supports Saint Anne holding the infant Virgin, and a subsequent stem connects the child Virgin to a flower bearing the Christ Child. The Child carries a cross, thus reminding the viewer of the purpose that his incarnation, with the flesh inherited from the female line, must serve.[274]

Naturally, as a Carmelite invention, the story of Emerentiana and Stollanus was promoted by the Carmelite order. The entire narrative - one of the lengthiest pictorial narratives with Saint Anne as its heroine - is recounted in the altarpiece by a Flemish master commissioned for the Carmelite church in Frankfurt.[275] **[pl.2. 86]** The patrons of the altarpiece were the members of the Confraternity of Saint Anne, an organisation which was composed largely of foreign merchants resident in Frankfurt. It was for this brotherhood that Trithemius wrote his *De Laudibus Sanctae Annae* in 1493 and it was because of lobbying by the confraternity that Saint Anne's relics were brought from Lyons to the church in Frankfurt. In a letter the confraternity stated that, as the Carmelite friars had known both Anne and Emerentiana, the relics would have a more suitable home with them in Frankfurt, rather than with the Benedictines in Lyon. In this letter much of the imagery encountered above is used:

> We further deem that it would be of great value if the fruitful tree that has produced such abundant beneficial fruit should be venerated on a richer larger scale. Several things have sprouted fron this tree: not only the wood of many apostles and saints but also a branch from which the Son of Justice has sprung without the seed of a man; and 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.[276]

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[273] Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family', p.117 and p.120.

[274] Kirshbaum, *Lexikon*, 5:191.

[275] Frankfurt Historisches Museum, B321 - BB335. Ashley and Sheingorn, 'Introduction', *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, pp.27 - 48.

[276] Brandenbarg, 'St. Anne and her family', p.114.

In the interior wings of this large altarpiece, panel after panel recounts the birth and childhood of Saint Anne, and then the more usual story of the conception and early life of the Virgin. Thus Saint Anne's immediate birth family is depicted: her mother, Emerentiana, her father, Stollanus, and her sister, Esmeria. The outer wings contain scenes peculiar to this altarpiece. One panel contains the vision of Elijah, who sees Saint Anne kneeling on the sea below a mandorla containing the Virgin and Child.[277] The outer right wing shows a visit of the Holy Kindred to Mount Carmel itself. In the foreground, the Holy Kindred, consisting of the Virgin and Child, Saint Anne, and the two Marys with their children, face a procession of the Carmelite hermits. In the background, the same group is again present, this time in an interior with Carmelites seated on benches at the side walls. The *Anna Selbdritt* group, in a (C) type arrangement, is seated below an ornate Gothic throne with the two Marys on either side. In front of the throne is an altar, on which is a three-branched candelabra, flanked by the seated older children. In front of this arrangement are two oblates, swinging censers. The allusion to the Mass is obvious, while the Incarnation is powerfully evoked by the placement of the naked Christ Child between his mother and grandmother.

The other outer wings show the Immaculate Conception, and the other scenes of the Holy Kindred concern the life of Saint Colette of Corbie. Colette, distressed by her mother's remarriage, sees a vision of Saint Anne with her offspring, demonstrating the importance of her own remarriages. Unlike the scene on Mount Carmel, the men accompany the women, although they are very much kept to the background, and are not nimbed. The other scene shows Saint Colette, now much older, kneeling in front of a carved altarpiece of the Holy Kindred. She sees a vision in which Saint Anne asks saints in heaven for prayers of intercession on her behalf.

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[277] Ibid. Ashley and Sheingorn (p.35) explain that this is according to a Carmelite exegesis of Kings, Bk.3:18:42-45 in which the cloud which produces rain ending a drought represented the Virgin herself.

IV.
Iconography of the Immaculate Conception

Narrative and devotional iconography can be seen to coincide in the iconography of the Immaculate Conception. As has already been shown, many aspects of the narrative scenes, in particular scenes of the Meeting at the Golden Gate, could contain references to the Immaculate Conception. There are also some devotional images that may have the Immaculate Conception as their main focus: *Anna Selbdritt*, and the *Madonna dell'Umiltà*. Whereas from the seventeenth century onwards, a standard iconography of the Immaculate Conception can be traced, particularly in Spain, in which the *Immacolata* is shown as the woman of the Apocalypse, standing on a crescent moon and crushing a serpent beneath her feet, [278] it is far less clear in pre-Tridentine European art. The problems in uncovering layers of meaning within visual representations of doctrinal issues such as this are immense. In order to carry out his patron's wishes, a painter did not need to be well versed in doctrine; and both a patron and painter might have adopted iconographical formulae out of context, thus changing the original meaning. Visually the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is difficult to represent. Although the *Immacolata* is often represented as the Woman of the Apocalypse, depictions of the Madonna of Humility frequently show the symbols of the Apocalypse without any reference, it appears, to the Immaculate Conception.[279]

As indicated in the previous chapter, the Maculist response to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was that of the Sanctification: that the Virgin had been sanctified at some point between her conception and birth. The representation of *Anna gravida* does not solve the problem of distinguishing between the Immaculate Conception and the Sanctification. In the illumination in the book of hours illustrated for the regent Margaret of the Netherlands, Saint Anne sits enthroned with the tiny infant Virgin within her. Rays of light from God the Father above beam

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[278] See the advice given by the seventeenth-century painter Francisco Pachecho, *El Arte de la Pintura*, ed. by Bonaventura Bossegoda i Hugas (Seville, 1649, repr. Madrid, 1990), p.575.

[279] See for an analysis of these types: Millard Meiss,'The Madonna of Humility', *Art Bulletin*, 18 (1936), pp.435-465, and Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, passim.

down straight to the Child.[280] **[pl.2.87]** This, in purely visual terms, is consistent with the sanctification of the Virgin in the womb of her mother. However, in view of the fact that the illumination illustrates the feast for the eighth of December, which is the feast of the Conception, one can conclude that the Immaculate Conception is indeed represented. Levi d'Ancona uses this illumination as an example of a representation of the Immaculate Conception, and compares it with a manuscript illumination by a Flemish artist of the fourteenth century which depicts the sanctification. This shows Saint Anne lying on a bed, and, within her womb, the infant Virgin at prayer. The Dove of the Holy Spirit descends and sanctifies the Virgin from above.[281] Even if this distinction can be accepted, (and in some manuscript illumination, provided by scriptoria in clerical centres, such subtleties could, perhaps, be appreciated), it is difficult to see how such complex meanings could have been translated to large scale media commissioned by lay patrons without considerable clerical involvement. Levi d'Ancona sees the image of Saint Anne holding the Virgin as an Immaculatist image: 'As the image of the Virgin holding the Child is symbolic of the Divine Incarnation of Christ, so the image of Saint Anne holding the Virgin Mary is symbolic of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin'. The premise from which she argues is dependent, however, upon the reading of the Virgin and Child image as symbolic of the Incarnation. This unilateral understanding of an image is inconsistent with the approach of recent art historians who argue for multivalent readings of such images.[282] The incarnation could be symbolised by many things, and, given the extensive Marian cult of the high middle ages, it can also be proposed that, however theologically incorrect, the Virgin herself commanded more devotion than God the Father or Son. The wealth of Marian art which resulted from this devotion was such that Charles Hope has commented that the Christ Child was more of an attribute of the Virgin than an individual focus of devotion.[283] Equally, as Levi d'Ancona herself states clearly, before reading certain images as Immaculatist, context is needed.

Anna Selbdritt is even more problematic as an Immaculatist image. Levi d'Ancona, assumes that the standard *Anna Selbdritt* image is in itself Immaculatist, even while she ackowledges exceptions:

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[280] Master of the Grimani Breviary, The Immaculate Conception, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York., c.1515. Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of Virgin Mary* (London, 1990), pl. VI. fig.8.

[281] BM, Add. 29434, fol.9v.

[282] A. L. Rees and Frances Borzello, *The New Art History* (London, 1986).

[283] Charles Hope, 'Altarpieces and the Requirements of Patrons'.

> This lack of awareness of the real meaning of images is true for most of the images of the Immaculate Conception mentioned in our monograph. As for the three-figure group of Saint Anne with Mary and the Christ Child, although the theme is Immaculatist, it appears sometimes in Maculist centres. The image in the Princeton Museum, for instance, has a Dominican nun as a donor.[284] **[pl.1.11]**

The number of Dominican images, not only of *Anna Selbdritt* but of *Anna Selbdritt* within the Holy Kindred, is a strong argument against accepting that the 'theme is Immaculatist'.[285]

In the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the iconography of the Immaculate Conception becomes more standard, and is often recognisable by the inclusion of Apocalyptic symbols and the symbols of the litanies, such as an engraving produced in the Diocese of Angers for The Hours of Simon Vostre, which shows *Anna Gravida*, but this time surrounded by the symbols taken from the litanies of the

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[284] Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, p.39.

[285] In addition to the image (attributed to Francesco Traini) cited by Levi d'Ancona, there is the *Anna Selbdritt* by Benozzo Gozzoli, in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, from the Dominican convent of Santa Marta, discussed in *Benozzo Gozzoli in Toscana*, ed. by Anna Padoa Rizzo (Florence, 1997) p.135, col. ill.; the *Anna Selbdritt* in San Pietro Martire, Udine, in Berenson, *Venetian School*, I, p.111; the Saint Anne altarpiece by Niklas Manuel Deutsch, now in the Kunstmuseum in Basel, but originally for the Dominican church in Berne, discussed by Hans Christoph von Tavel, *Museum of Fine Arts* (Berne, Zurich and Geneva, 1994), pp.24-25, ill.p.25; the *Anna Selbdritt* with Saints Apollonia and Barbara by Hans von Kulmbach from Frankfurt Dominican church, now in the Historisches Museum, B306, *Gemälde des Historischen Museums* (Frankfurt am Main, 1957), p.74; also from the Dominican church in Frankfurt, the Holy Kindred altarpiece by a Flemish Master, also in in the Historisches Museum, no. B259 - 264 - *Gemälde des Historischen Museums*, pp.50-56; the Holy Kindred commissioned by Nicasius Hackeney for the Dominican church of Saint Achatius in Cologne, now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, 0165,old nor. WI, 1824, nr. 102 (f.236r.), discussed by Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, p.228, ill. 219; the *Anna Selbdritt* from the Dominican church of Saint Nicholas in Kalkar, discussed by Guido de Werd, 'Die Kreuzigungsgruppe der ehemaligen Dominikanerkirche zu Kalkar und das Oeuvre des Meisters des Kalkarer Annenaltars', *Pantheon*, 29 (1971), pp. 459-473; and the *Anna Selbdritt* in a fifteenth-century Book of Hours of Dominican use, the Hours of Adolphe of Cleves and La Marck in the Walters Art Gallery, MS.W.439, f.70v. Discussed by Roger S.Wieck, *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (London, 1988), pp.215-216, no.98.

Virgin.[286] **[pl.2.88]** The Frankfurt Carmelite altarpiece of the life of Saint Anne depicts the Immaculate Conception represented on the outside panels. In this altarpiece, Saint Anne is represented as a statue on an altar with the figure of Mary in her womb. **[pl.2.89]** Over her head is God the Father with the world orb. Her scroll is inscribed with the standard Immaculatist text of *Tota pulchra es et macula originalis non est in te* (Cant. 4, 7), while she is flanked by David and Solomon, who bear another Immaculatist text *Nondum erant abyssi, et ego iam concepta eram* (Prov. 8, 24). Below the altar stand the reputed supporters of the doctrine, such as Sixtus IV, Saint Anselm, and Augustine, while nearby are a Cardinal and some Carmelites.

Two Venetian altarpieces commissioned for Franciscan churches show Saints Anne and Joachim flanking the Virgin Mary. The first is the polyptych of 1513 by Cima da Conegliano, which was commissioned by Franciscan Observants for the church of Sant' Anna in Capodistria.[287] **[pl.2.90]** The provenance of the painting suggests its likely Immaculatist imagery. The second is the painting by Alvise Vivarini, which has already been referred to in Chapter One. **[pl.1.14]** It was commissioned by Francesco Lancenigo in 1480 for the church of San Francesco in Treviso. The dedication of the altar to Saint Bernardino of Siena, and the depiction of Franciscan saints make it highly probable that a reference to the Immaculate Conception is being made.[288] In 1515 Carpaccio was commissioned to paint an altarpiece within the same church. His patron was Libera de Claudis, the widow of a lawyer, Alvise da Prato. Alvise had died in 1513 and the altarpiece was for his funerary chapel. Carpaccio depicted the Meeting at the Golden Gate, with Saints Louis IX and Liberata, and the Expulsion of Joachim in the background. Again, due to its location in a church of the Franciscan Observants which housed Immaculatist images, one can conclude that the iconography was Immaculatist.[289]

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[286] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Re 25, f.82v. Printed Book of Hours, Mâle, *Religious Art in France - The Late Middle Ages*, p.209, fig.121. For the appropriation of the litanies as Immaculate imagery, see Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, p.67.

[287] Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano*, pp.91-2.

[288] John Steer, *Alvise Vivarini, His Art and Influence* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 151-3.

[289] Peter Humfrey, *Carpaccio: Catalogo Completo* (Florence, 1991), pp.131-132, col.pl.39. The painting is now in the Accademia in Venice, no.90.

V.

Saint Anne and the *Ostentatio Genitalium*

Before leaving the imagery of *Anna Selbdritt* and the Holy Kindred, the important debate between Jean Wirth and Leo Steinberg must be considered. In an article published in 1978, Wirth drew attention to the gestures made by Saint Anne in various northern paintings and prints.[290] He pointed out, that in engravings such as Hans Baldung Grien's *Anna Selbdritt* with Saint Joseph of 1511 **[pl. 2.91]** and *Anna Selbdritt* with Saints Joachim and Joseph of around the same date **[pl.2.92]**, Saint Anne is clearly gesturing towards the genitals of the Christ Child, and in the former print actually touches them. Wirth argues that this gesture is in fact a charm or spell placed on the child by Saint Anne in order to withstand his mother's desire to save him from his ultimate fate. Wirth uses the famous description of Leonardo da Vinci's cartoon of Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child, in a letter, dated 3rd April, 1501, from the Carmelite Friar, Pietro Novalara to Isabella d'Este:

> Since he has been in Florence, he has worked on just one cartoon, which represents a Christ Child of about one year, who, freeing himself from his mother's arms, seizes a lamb and seems to embrace it. The mother almost rising from the lap of Saint Anne catches the Child to draw it away from the lamb, that sacrificial animal which signifies the Passion. Saint Anne, barely rising from her seat, seems to wish to restrain her daughter from parting the Child from the lamb, which perhaps signifies the Church that would not wish that the Passion of Christ be prevented. The figures are all life size, but they are in a small cartoon, because all are either seated or bent forward, and each one is placed before the other towards the left; and this sketch is not yet finished.[291]

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[290] Jean Wirth, 'Sainte Anne est une sorcière?', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de la Renaissance,* 40 (1978), pp. 449-480.

[291] Jack Wasserman, 'Michelangelo's Virgin and Child with St. Anne at Oxford', *Burlington Magazine*, 111 (1969), pp.122-31 (p.131). The Italian text is given in a note, it was first published by A. Luzio, *I Precettori di Isabella d'Este* (Ancona, [1887]), p.32, n.1. It reads in part: *Ha facto solo dipoi che è ad Firenci uno schizo in uno cartone, finge uno christo bambino di età cerca uno anno che uscindo quasi de bracci ad la mamma piglia uno agnello et pare che lo stinga. La mamma quasi levandosene de grembo ad S.ta Anna piglia el bambino per spiccarlo da lo agnellino (animale immolatile) che significa la Passione. S. ta Anna alquanto levandose da sedere pare che voglia ritenere la figliola che*

Whether this view lies behind many depictions of Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child, or is simply the view of one erudite Carmelite, given the evidence, is difficult to ascertain. The gesture of Saint Anne certainly requires explanation, and Wirth's theory that she was a white witch ensuring that Christ would fulfil his role as Redeemer is an interesting one.

The arguments summoned by Steinberg to refute Wirth's thesis, however, are more convincing.[292] Steinberg explains that the nudity of the Child, and the gesture of Saint Anne are perfectly explicable within medieval concepts of the body, and within the context of the Eucharistic cult. The Eucharist is the body of Christ, the fleshly, human body which was sacrificed to atone for the sins of mankind. The Eucharist is thus directly relevant to the Incarnation itself, which in turn leads to the necessity of the conception, immaculate or otherwise, of the Virgin Mary. By showing the Child naked the artist reveals the vulnerability of the flesh which was to be sacrificed and then consumed in the form of the Eucharist. The Child's awkward pose becomes clear if the importance of the feast of the Circumcision of Christ is taken into account. The humanity of Christ was most evident in his circumcision, in which the wounds inflicted upon him were typological of those to come in the Crucifixion. Similarly, the blood which ran from the wound of the circumcision showed that Christ was human and could suffer pain and was thus the first proof of the Incarnation of God as man. Saint Anne becomes important here as she is the carnal grandmother of Christ, representing the fleshly lineage and not the spiritual. The importance of the humanity of Christ, indicated by his circumcision, can provide an explanation for the unusual representation of *Anna Selbdritt* in the Sienese panel of the Mystic Marriage of Christ, mentioned above. The main subject of the panel is the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine to an adult Christ. These two figures dominate the panel, while the *Anna Selbdritt* group is found, on a much smaller scale, between them. In the predella there are three more unusual scenes. The first shows Saint Margaret vanquishing the dragon with a hammer, the second an angel

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non spicca el bambino da lo agnellino, che forse vole figure grande al naturale, ma stano in picolo cartone, perché tutte o sedino o stano curve, et una stae alquante dinanci ad l'altra verso la man sinistra; et questo schizo ancora non è finito.

[292] Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, 2nd edn (Chicago and London, 1996). Also interesting are the arguments of Richard C. Trexler, 'Gendering Jesus Crucified', in *Iconography at the Crossroads*, ed. by Brendan Cassidy (Princeton, 1991), pp.107-119, and Caroline Bynum Walker, 'The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39 (1986), pp.399-439.

reconciling two warring knights, and the third Saint Michael also conquering a dragon.[293] The placement of a small *Anna Selbdritt* between the large figures of an adult Christ and Saint Catherine is unusual and suggests that the themes of marriage and family are being addressed by the painter. Furthermore, the contemporary Saint Catherine of Siena had a vision in which she, like her role model, Saint Catherine of Alexandria, was mystically married to Christ. Saint Catherine of Siena describes her wedding ring as a circlet of flesh, the foreskin of Christ.[294] This imagery may not have been unique to Saint Catherine of Siena and may have drawn on the legends surrounding the foreskin of Christ. The carnality of Christ was thus connected to the mystic marriage, and this carnality itself was received from the maternal line. In the light of this tradition the depiction of *Anna Selbdritt* directly underneath the exchange of rings is not so unusual as it shows the Child between his two blood relatives underneath the very proof of his Incarnation.

The prints by Baldung Grien can be explained as the grandmother of the Child investigating his manhood, the most potent symbol of his incarnation. The nakedness and vulnerability of the Child are clear in a number of the paintings discussed above. The Child in the Novara *Anna Selbdritt* is held by the Virgin in such a way as to reveal his genitals (as the the robes are caught in her hands). **[pl.2.56]** The Alsatian *Anna Selbdritt* shows the Child riding a play-horse, his robes parted in order to do so. **[pl.2.64]** As Steinberg has pointed out, these robes are in fact priestly robes, and add to the Eucharistic significance of the image. These examples can be multiplied, and, of course, qualified. The nakedness of the Child reveals not only his incarnation but also his vulnerability. However, the gesture of Saint Anne in the Baldung Grien prints, and other examples cited by Wirth and Steinberg, is too deliberate to be ignored: the redemption depended upon the humanity and sacrifice of the body of Christ. What better way to indicate this fact than by the gesture of his maternal, fleshly and only grandmother?

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[293] The panel is inscribed *Arico di Neri Arighetti fece fare questa tavola.* This inscription is, according to Lois Drewer, a modern addition. Lois Drewer, 'Margaret of Antioch the Demon-Slayer, East and West: The Iconography of the Predella of the Boston Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine', *Gesta*, 32.1 (1993), pp.11-20 (p.18,n.5).

[294] *The Letters of Saint Catherine of Siena*, ed. by Suzanne Noffke (New York, 1988), p.128. Discussed by Daniel Bornstein, 'Spiritual Kinship and Domestic Devotions' in *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis (London and New York, 1998), pp.173-192 (p.179, n.)

PART II

THE CULT AND ICONOGRAPHY OF SAINT ANNE IN FLORENCE

Saint Anne became a patroness of civic liberty in Florence when the city expelled the tyrant, Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens, on her feast day. The overthrow is best described by the chronicler Giovanni Villani, when he writes of the events surrounding the expulsion of the Duke of Athens in 1343:

> *E nota, che come il detto duca occupò con frode e tradimento la libertà della repubblica di Firenze il dì di nostra Donna di Settembre, non guardando sua reverenza, quasi per vendetta divina così permise Iddio, che i franchi cittadini con armata mano la racquistassono il dì della sua madre madonna santa Anna, a dì 26 di Luglio 1343; per la qual grazia s'ordinò per lo comune, che la festa di santa Anna si guardasse come Pasqua sempre in Firenze, e si celebrasse solenne ufficio e grande offerta per lo comune e per tutte l'arti di Firenze.*[1]

Villani outlines here the formal incorporation of Saint Anne into the pantheon of the protector saints of Florence. This devotion was political in its nature, marking a republican victory over tyranny. The first two chapters of this part examine the textual lives of Saint Anne available in Florence, the institution of the cult in Orsanmichele, the people involved in the confraternity of Orsanmichele and their relationship to the cult and iconography of Saint Anne. The final two chapters look at the iconography of Saint Anne. The same division between narrative and devotional imagery as used in Chapter Two has been used here as a tool for analysis. This division is useful because the Florentines themselves, in both visual and textual imagery of Saint Anne, appear to have made little explicit connection between the two.

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[1] Giovanni Villani, *Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, ed. by Francesco Gherardi Dragomanni, 4 vols (Florence, 1844; repr. Frankfurt, 1969), IV, p.37.

CHAPTER 3

THE CULT OF SAINT ANNE IN FLORENCE: THE TEXTS.

Narrative Sources

Manuscript sources of the life of Saint Anne available in Florence can be grouped into versions of four main texts: the account contained in the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine; the *Evangelium de Nativitate Marie*; the *Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Vita Beate Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*. The legend of the Birth of the Virgin is found, in one or other of the above forms, in thirteen manuscripts in Florentine libraries.[1] Two of these - Panciatichi 40 and Magliabechiano II.III.415 - date from the fourteenth century, while the others date from the fifteenth century. In most of these manuscripts the story of Saint Anne is narrated as far as it relates to the life of the Virgin, nearly always appearing under the title *Vita della Nostra Donna* or *Della Nativitade della Nostra Donna.* Three other manuscripts do not fit into these groups: B.N.F. Magliabechiano II.VII.8; Biblioteca Medicea-Ashburnham 142, and Palatino 73. These are respectively, a sixteenth-century play, *la Rappresentazione di San Gioacchino*; a Latin account based on Epiphanius' life of the Virgin; and a fifteenth-century account of the Feasts of the Virgin. These will be discussed after the main groups discerned here.

Florentine Sources based on the Golden Legend or Evangelium de Nativitate Mariae: B.N.F. Ms. Conventi Soppressi C.5, B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 97, B.N.F. Panciatichi 40, Riccardiano 1408, Riccardiano 1431, B.N.F. Ms.Palatino 30, B.N.F. Ms.Magliabechiano XXVIII.70, Riccardiano1048.

The first two manuscripts under discussion are Florentine versions of the *Golden Legend.* The first of these is dated to around 1270, and originated from the Franciscan convent of Santa Croce, and was therefore presumably written for conventual use.[2] The second was, according to its inscription, written between February and September of 1430 (Pisan style):

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[1] B.N.F.Conventi Soppressi C.5; B.N.F. Mss. Magliabechiano II.III.415; Magliabechiano XXXVIII.70; Panciatichi 40; Palatino 97; Palatino 30; Palatino 120; Palatino 125. Biblioteca Riccardiana: Mss. 1341; 1362; 1408; 1431; 1052.

[2] B.N.F., Ms. Conventi Soppressi C.5.

Finite le leggende nuove de santi composte e ordjnate de frate Jacopo da voragine dellordine di frati predichiatori da scribbe da mano di mariano Conegholj cominciate adj vn di settenbre e finite adj xi dj febraio MCCCCXXX *sechondo ilcorso di pisa che laude nabbj lo omni potente Dio e lasua santissima madre madonna santa vergine maria amen.*[3]

The legends found in Panciatichi 40, Palatino 30, Magliabechiano XXXVIII.70, Riccardiano Ms.1052, 1048 and 1431 are all, in a general sense, based on the *Evangelium de Nativitate Marie* or the *Golden Legend*. Much of the descriptive material of this sources has, however, been excluded. An example of this simplicity of treatment is found in the account of the Holy Kindred in Palatino 30:

La groriosa vergine maria laquale fu madre del nostro Signore giesu Cristo creatore del cielo e della terra nacque edisceso della schiatta del re davit il quale fu re di gerusalem dopo la morte del suo padre e del parentado di questo Salamone nacque Jovachino e debbe per moglie santa anna. Questa santa anna fu sirochia dismera laquale ismera fue madre di santa elisabetta chefu madre di santo giovannj batista e santa anna ebbe tre maritj il primo sifu giovacchino del quale ebbe lavergine Maria madre di Yesu Cristo. E dopo la morte di giovacchino ebbe cleofa delquale ebbe unaltra figluola che ebbe nome maria e fu moglie d'alfeo del quale ingenero quatro figluolj i quali furono questj cioe il primo santo iachopo minore el secondo santo simone el terzosanto taddeo el quatro santo giusep giusto E dopo la morte de cleoffe tolse per marito Salamone delquale ebbe unaltra figluola chebbe nome maria e fue maritata a Zebedeo del quale ebbe due figluolj Lo primo santo iachopo maggiore Il sechondo santo giovani evangelista.[4]

No mention is made of Eliud or Saint Servatius. The rhyme mnemonic of the *Golden Legend* is also omitted.

Ms. Panciatichi 40 is the earliest of this group. It is a legendary in form, and contains little overtly didactic or devotional material. The manuscript is marked with the *stemma* of the Bizzeri family, which may indicate that it was copied for, or acquired by, a lay owner.[5] It contains the legend of the Birth of the Virgin based on

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[3] B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 97, f.190v.

[4] B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 30, f.127v.

[5] In the Catasto of 1427, the following family names are recorded: Bischeri (3 households); Bizeri (one household), Bizieri (one household), and Bizzeri (one household). Matteo di Foreze Bizzeri,

the *Golden Legend,* prayers to the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist, a vision of Purgatory, Hell and Paradise by 'Bernia' [Brendan?], tales and legends of the Shame of the Saracen Kings, of Faustina, of the miracle of a 'gentile' woman of Rome and a monk, of Adam and Eve, of a gambler from the city of Ravenna, of Semplicio and Cusastino, and of Santa Smera. These are followed by the Lives of the Desert Fathers and legends of Reparata, Nastasia, Giustina, Mary of Egypt, Ursula, Margaret of Antioch, Tebayde, Petronilla, Alessandria, Beatrice, Juletta, Galla, Irene and Eustace.

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aged thirty-five, was a member of the Arte della Lana and lived in the Bue *gonfalone* in the quarter of Santa Croce (A.S.F. Catasto, vol.69, p.177); Giovanni di Bartolomeo Bizieri, aged thirty-five, lived in the Ruote *gonfalone* of Santa Croce (A.S.F. Catasto, vol.73, p.268); Piero di Giovanni Bizieri, aged eighty, also lived in the Ruote (A.S.F. Catasto, vol.73, p.337); (David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Census and Property Survey of Florentine Domains in the Province of Tuscany, 1427-1480.* Machine readable data file. *Online Catasto of 1427 Version1.1.* Online Florentine Renaissance Resources: Brown University, Providence, R.I., 1996). The Bizzeri may perhaps be identified with the Bischeri family, many of whom served as captains in Orsanmichele, including Bartolo di Nofri, in October 1424 (Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents 1336-1452* (Ferrara, 1996), p.199) and who was a consul of the Lana guild in January 1405 (Buonaccorso Pitti, *Chronica*, in *Mercanti Scrittori: Ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. by Vittore Branca (Milan, 1986), p.438) exiled in 1434 (Dale Kent, *The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence*, (Oxford, 1978), p.68,n.). Giovanni di Nofri, his brother, who was a captain of Orsanmichele for the quarter of San Giovanni in February 1400 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.182), October 1420 (ibid., p.197) and August 1428 (ibid., p.202); Lotto di Bartolo di Onofrio, captain for San Giovanni in February 1434 (ibid., p.205); Nofri di Giovanni (the father of Bartolo and Giovanni), captain for San Giovanni in August 1390 (ibid., p.176) and October 1412 (ibid., p.191). He was also a prior between January 1376 and January 1377 (Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, *Cronica Fiorentina*, ed. by Niccolò Rodolico, Rerum Italicum Scriptores, 30.i. (Città di Castello, 1903), p.307) a magistrate in 1410 (Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine* (Florence, 1647), p.714) Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in 1412 (ibid., p.964), an *arroto* for the Vaio district in 1413 (Pitti, *Chronica*, p.465), gonfaloniere for the same district (ibid., p.495), and a member of the *squittino* for the Lana guild in August 1412 (ibid., p.448). A Simone Bisceri, *pollaiolo*, was purveyor of Orsanmichele in May 1397 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.207). The Bischeri family contributed to the priorate many times in the fourteenth century: Bartolo Bischeri was a prior in February 1308 (Stefani, p.104), 1310 (ibid., 108), 1313-1314 (ibid., p.116) , 1315-1316 (ibid., p.121), and 1324-1325 (ibid., p.147); Giovanni di Bartolo Bischeri was selected for the priorate for January 1351-1352 (ibid., p.240), 1356-1357 (p.250), 1361-1362 (ibid., p.259). The family was anti-Medicean, and was exiled after 1434 (D. Kent, *The Rise of the Medici*, p.145n; Benedetto Dei, *Benedetto Dei: La Chronica dall'anno 1400 all'anno 1500*, ed. by Roberto Barducci (Florence, 1984), p.52.

Riccardiano Ms.1408 and Ms.1431 both contain Lives of the Virgin based on the *Golden Legend.* Riccardiano 1408 has been dated to the fifteenth century and appears to be written by two different, but contemporary, hands. This manuscript is, for the most part, a legendary, with lives of Petronilla, Thais, Beatrice, Theodora, Ursula, Theodosia, Scholastica, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Margaret of Antioch, Mary Magdalen, Juliana, Julitta, Justina, Christina, Eugenia, Domitilla, Anastasia, Galla, Musa, Tarsilla, and Romila. These are preceded by a legend of Saint John the Baptist, Jerome and the Thirty Steps of the Celestial Ladder, and the Birth, Life and Miracles of the Virgin; the manuscript ends with the Vision of Tundal. The selection of female saints is remarkably similar to that in Panciatichi 40. There is no inscription recording ownership, but the inclusion of Scholastica could indicate a female Benedictine provenance.[6] Riccardiano 1431 contains a life of the Virgin with a number of *laude, (*or praises) and some apocalyptic political prophecies. It is inscribed with the date 1469, and the name Luigi di Donato di Pagholo di Messer Pagholo Rucellai.[7] Luigi was born in 1455, and was the nephew of Giovanni Rucellai, the builder of the Rucellai palace and author of the *Zibaldone*. Giovanni became guardian to Luigi and his brothers after the death of their father, Donato. Luigi di Donato later became *castellano* of Livorno.[8] In addition to the Life of the Virgin, the manuscript contains a number of *Laude* by Jacopone da Todi, and some apocalyptic political prophecies.[9]

The contents of Palatino 30 are very different. The codex is inscribed on f.71v. *Conpiuto a dì xiii d'aghosto 1456 in monte varchi, per me francesco di lucha di roxo speziale*. It is probable that the *speziale* Francesco was the owner, and not the copier of the manuscript. In addition to the Life of the Virgin the codex contains some of the sermons of Saint Bernard and Saint Augustine, a treatise on the Eight Desires of the World, more sermons of Saint Augustine, translated by a Fra Agostino

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[6] Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms.1408. The manuscript consists of two parts, both written in the fifteenth century.

[7] The catalogue, by S. Morpurgo, *I Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze* (Rome, 1900), p.466, describes the owner as being Pagholo di Messer Pagholo Rucellai, however the inscription clearly states that it is Luigi di Donato. It could of course have been inherited by Luigi di Donato.

[8] Luigi Passerini, *Genealogia e Storia della Famiglia Rucellai* (Florence, 1861), tavola XVI.

[9] These prophecies are similar in nature to those discussed by Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Political Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1970), p.57.

della Scarperia of the Eremitic Augustinians,[10] and in a hand older than the rest of the manuscript. It also contains Albertano of Brescia's Doctrine on Six Words, a *trattato d'una angelicha chosa mostra dall'una divotissima visione amaestrandosi chome perfettemente la tua vita menare si debbi*, the Thirty Steps attributed to Saint Jerome, prayers, and an *Orazione fatta per maestro Antonio d'Arezzo* to the Holy Cross. This last, together with the inscription on f.71v, points to the Aretine nature of the codex. In addition to this learned material there is a Rule on Discourse, and Cato's *De Costume*.

Magliabechiano XXVIII.70 is a later manuscript, which, like Palatino 30, has a mixture of didactic, devotional and narrative material. According to its inscription, it was finished on the feast day of the Annunciation in March, 1499, *finita di coppiare questa operetta p[er] me Antonio di Piero da Filichaja questo di N.B.di Marzo 1499.*[11] In addition to the Life of the Virgin, there are the Miracles of the Virgin, the *Ordine della Vita Cristiana da Fra Simone da Chascia*, a treatise on the religious life by Fra Cherubino, the Catechism, the *Credo* of Dante, and a sermon of Saint Augustine's on Prudence.

Riccardiano 1052 is a mixture of didactic, devotional and secular material even more varied than that in Panciatichi 40. It is handsomely illustrated in ink, and contains vignettes of the *Sposalizio*, the Annunciation, the Virgin and Son in Glory, the Crucificixion, the Deposition, the Tree and Fall, the Resurrection and the Man of Sorrows. **[pl.3.1]**.[12] The manuscript also contains the Precepts of Cato; a discussion on the Mass; Dante's *Credo*; two *Laudi* by Niccolò Cieco; the *ternario* of Eugene IV; the legend of Saint Cecilia; the *Meditationes Vitae Christi;* the Twelve Fridays of Pope Clement; the *Paternoster* of Dante taken from *Purgatorio* XI; the oration made by Pope John to Christ, and some carnival songs of drunken soldiers. The manuscript can thus be seen to be a mixture of didactic, devotional and secular material. The owner, whom one can presume to have been the inscribed Francesco di Nicholò di Teri di Lorenzo Teri, was clearly well educated and of eclectic taste.

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[10] 1377 'And then a sermon was given there by a wise monk of Santo Spirito, whose name was Fra Agostino della Scarperia, and he said good and solemn words in honor of almighty God and of Victory. And so be it.' *Diario d'Anonimo,* p.341, quoted by Richard C. Trexler, *The Spiritual Power: Republican Florence under Interdict*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 9 (Leiden, 1974), p.151.

[11] B.N.F., Ms. Magliabechiano XXXVIII.70, f.185.

[12] The manuscript may have contained another illustration which is now lost. Morpurgo, *Catalogo*, p.47.

His father, Nicholò had been prior in 1489, and the family, although perhaps not prominent, were well connected in Florence. Francesco's grandmother was Andreuola di Tommaso Gianfigliazzi, a member of an ancient Florentine noble family. Francesco himself married Margherita di Benedetto Bartoli in 1511.[13]

The most interesting legend for the investigation of the cult of Saint Anne in this group of manuscripts is not, however, the Birth of Mary derived from the *Golden Legend*, but the Legend of Santa Smera which appears in both Panciatichi 40 and Riccardiano 1052. This is a uniquely Florentine account of Saint Anne's parents. It is quite distinct from the Northern European fifteenth-century legends of Emerentiana and Stollanus, with their Carmelite associations, and appears to have had no impact upon iconography. According to the legend, Smera was the daughter of Nabon of the people of Judea, and of the tribe of King David. She was *molto bellissima del suo corpo effue grande amicha didio*.[14] She married Santo Listo [?], described as the patriarch of the people of God. Smera asked Listo on their wedding day for two graces. Listo replied that he would refuse her nothing as long as it was pleasing to God. Smera then lifted her eyes and praised God while Listo gave her the ring. In the room, when Smera asked if Listo wished to sleep, he replied that when day passes night must follow, and when the light of day appears he praised and thanked God and his power. Smera was pleased with this and recommended him to sleep, and then prayed to God that he would give her that which would save their souls. Listo gave thanks to God for his wise companion, and then Smera fell on her knees, raised her hands and heart to God, and said: *alto Re di gloria chemaj messa nella santa ordine delmatrimonio allumina ylquore [d]ellanime nostre eamaestra lavita nostra accio chevoj*. She then reminded Listo of the two graces that she had requested, addressing him as *Conpagnio dato dadio*. She asked that he would grant her the holy contemplative life, and that they would stay together in the matrimonial bed *unsonno* each month, except for the holy month of June. Listo agreed to this, they would thus stay *ystare luno sanza laltro insieme sacordarono dipiaciere addio*. They lived together for twelve years in great joy and in penitence, and then had a beautiful daughter whom they named Anne. They made Anne learn her letters, and then they married her to a *grande amicho didio*

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13 Bruno Casini, *I "Libri d'Oro" della Nobiltà Fiorentina e Fiesolana* (Florence, 1993), p.75, no.161. Francesco's date of birth is not given in Casini, but his parents married in 1464. The family lived in the quarter of Santa Maria Novella, *gonfalone* Leon Bianco. In 1427, Tieri di Lorenzo Tieri, aged 38, lived in the same *gonfalone*. He declared 7 *bocche* dependent upon him. (A.S.F. Catasto, vol.77, p.144, Online Catasto).

14 B.N.F., Ms. Panciatichi 40, f.79r.

whose name was Giovacchino. After twelve years Santa Smera became an elderly and wealthy widow. She prayed night and day, and lamented, *perche yddio lavea lasciata dopo la morte del suo chonpagnio e preghava yddio chella traesse di questa vita*.[15] Her relatives came, took all her riches and left her with nothing. She went to the *spedale* and asked the *spedalingo* to take her in. He replied that she could remain in the *spedale* for as long as she lived, because he knew that she was a most holy woman, and also because the Virgin Mary was her grand-daughter and he would like to have the mother of Christ come to the *spedale*. The *spedalingo* is then described as *grandissimo amicho didio*. Miracles were performed by Smera. One day a sick man came to the *spedale*. Smera was discouraged by the *spedalingo* from talking to him because he was mutilated and dirty. She ignored this advice and asked the sick man to tell her, in the name of God, where he felt sick: the sick man replied that he was now cured, and thanked God. She begged him to eat something, and he replied that he had no *talenti* with which to buy food. As she too had no money, she asked the *spedalingo* for a conch shell, prayed, and the conch was then filled with fish, enough to feed all the sick of the *spedale*. All were then cured, and praised Santa Smera. After this miracle, she retired to her room and prayed to God to take her as she had fear of the vainglory of this world, *ynpercio chella avea paura della vana gloria di questo mondo*. God called her to Paradise, and the sweetest song filled the air when the angels took her soul to heaven. The *spedalingo* informed the Virgin Mary and her Son, and they departed for the *spedale* together with the twelve Apostles, Mary Magdalene, Mary Salome and Mary Cleophas. All paid *grandissimo onore a quello benedetto chorpo*[16] and Christ preached that many would rise after death. On being questioned by the *spedalingo* on what should be done with the body, Christ replied that he must make a monument of marble and bury it there. The *spedalingo* did this, and then prayed, mentioning the earth, sun, twelve corporal stars and the Queen of Mercy.

The importance of this legend lies in its unique portrayal of the lives of the parents of Anne, here named as Smera and Listo, and its emphasis on the female lineage of the Virgin. There is hardly any mention of Saint Anne at all. The stress is laid on the virtues of married life, and its compatibility with a life of sanctity. Yet both manuscripts also contain accounts of the life of the Virgin and listings of the Holy Kindred in which Anne's remarriages are described. The accounts of the Holy Kindred and the *trinubium* are wholly inconsistent with the legend of Santa Smera. According to Ms. Panciatichi 40:

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[15] B.N.F., Ms. Panciatichi 40, f.80v.

[16] Ibid., f.81v.

Questa santa Anna fu pizorchia di Smeria e questo Smeria fu madre di santa Elisabetta. La quale Santa Elisabetta fu madre di Santo Giovanni batista e santa Anna ebe tre mariti. Lo primo fu giovacchino di il quale ebe la vergine maria - madre di Cristo e dopo la morte di Giovacchino prende Cliofa di li quale Cliofa ebi un altra figluola chi ebi nome Maria che fu moglie d'Alfeo di il quale ebbe [...] quattro figliuoli. Ebbe sancto Jacopo minor e santo Simone e sancto Taddeo e Giuseppe Giusto e dopo la morte di Cliofa ebi per marito Salamone di il quali ebii un altra figliuola la quale ebi nome Maria e fu marita a Zebidio di l quali ebi due figluoli [...] Santo Iacopo magior e santo Giovanni Evangelista.[17]

The fifteenth-century Ms. Riccardiano 1052 presents a very similar, although somewhat more descriptive account, with a typically Florentine intervention stating that Saint John the Baptist is 'our advocate':

naque Joachino ilquale ebbe per moglie lagloriosa....madonna Santanna laqual santanna fu sirochia dimadonna santa smeria laquale smeria fu madre asanta elisabeta laquale santa elisabetta fu madre dello glorioso avochato per noi dinanzi a Cristo Sangiovanani batista[...] e questa gloriosa santa anna diasi chellebbe tre maritj chel primo si Sancti Joachino delquale Joachino Nebbe lagliorosa madre Vergine marie madre delnostro Singnor Jesu Cristo. E dipoi lamorte diquesto glorioso Joachino ebbe permarito uno elquale che nome Cleofa.[18]

Smera is described as a *sister* of Saint Anne rather than her mother. In the legend of the mother Smera the holy state of marriage is stressed, and the potential for a holy life within marriage is shown. The attachment between Smera and Listo is clearly demonstrated: he praises her as a good and wise companion, while, upon his death, she prays to God to let her leave this world as she cannot live without him. No emphasis is laid on the virtues of remaining a widow, and indeed as a widow, Smera makes herself vulnerable to the rapacity of her relatives.

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[17] B.N.F., Ms. Panciatichi 40, f.31-31v.

[18] Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms.1052, f.90.

Legends based on the Pseudo-Matthew: B.N.F. Magliabechiano II.III.415, Riccardiano 1341.

B.N.F. Ms. Magliabechiano II.III.415 is a mixture of the didactic and the devotional. It contains, in addition to the Life of the Virgin, the Lament of the Virgin attributed to Saint Bernard, a treatise on how to pray, *li quindicj gradi della Nostra Donna*, the Gospel of the Birth of Christ and the coming of the Magi, an explanation of the Ten Commandments, the legend of Saint George, words from the Gospel which teach the reader how to love God and how to bear tribulation, a tract upon the desires of the flesh, a discussion on death, the lives of Saints Ursula and Clement, the Gospel of Saint John, the *Exemplum* of Saint Albert, the Seven Words of Christ from the Cross, and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.* Doctrine and modes of prayer are clearly explained, possibly as a response to the Fourth Lateran Council's decision to make Communion and thus Confession an annual obligation. Clearly the laity, and in many cases the local clergy, needed education on what exactly sinful behaviour was, and what penance to expect. That this was certainly the case in England is demonstrated by the Provincial Council of Lambeth, held in 1281, where a *schema* of instruction was drawn up for the clergy, *De informacione simplicium*, which was to be expounded in the vernacular to parishioners four times yearly. This was structured around the Creed, the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament and the Two of the New, the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven Virtues, the Seven Vices and the Seven Sacraments.[19] B.N.F. Magliabechiano II.III.415 appears to follow this didactic pattern, and was probably written for nuns, as the example given for confession refers to fellow sisters: *E non sono patiente ne obediente adio e alla sue Creatore oncio doverei e potrei essere spesso volte e alcuna volta sono cagione discandalo e dimale essemplo alle sorore mie perlo mio peccato.*[20] In this category of manuscript, the Holy Kindred is ignored.

Ms. Riccardiano 1341 resembles B.N.F. Magliabechiano II.III.415 in its contents, although it is more devotional in its overall tendency. It too contains a Life of the Virgin based on the *Pseudo-Matthew* (it retains the fifteen steps in the Presentation however, unlike the Magliabechiano manuscript),[21] with Bernard's tract on the

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[19] Eamonn Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp.53-54.

[20] B.N.F., Ms. Magliabechiano II.III.415, f.34v-35r.

[21] B.N.F., Ms. Magliabechiano II.III.415, gives the number of steps as 'xvj',possibly due to an error of the scribe.

Lament of the Virgin, and, again, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. It also contains the Legend of Saint Margaret and the *Corso della Vita.*

Legends based on the Vita Beate Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica: B.N.F. Palatino 120 and B.N.F. Palatino 125.

The third category consists of two manuscripts, B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 120, and B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 125. These manuscripts contain the Life of the Virgin based on the anonymous, twelfth-century *Vita Beate Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica.*[22] As already discussed in the first chapter, this *Vita* was unusual in many respects, and its presence in at least two Florentine manuscripts is significant. B.N.F. Palatino 120 is dated between 1415 and 1433, and is written by a Ser Silvestro di Ristoro di Cristofano Ristori. He has identified himself in many places, *Manus scriptoris salvetur omnibus horis 1415. dì 15. giugnio Salvesstro de Ristoro àne scritta questa legenda.*[23] At the end of the book is written, *Questo libro d'à lecto suora Dionisia Di Polione Guida, da una assicella e l'altra per grazia di dio lo'ntende benissimo.* A note on the cover in a modern hand states that Ser Silvestro di Ristoro di Cristofano Ristori was said to be a noble citizen of Cortona. The manuscript includes the life of the Virgin, in a translation attributed to a 'Maestro Guglielmo' of Rome. This has a prologue which is dedicated in the standard fashion *al nome di dyo al la sua madre Santa Maria e di tutti ysanti ele sante dela corte del paradyso.* Guglielmo then explains his wish to translate the life, and prays for knowledge and perfection in his work. The manuscript also contains a verse legend of Saint Mary Magdalen, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, the legends of Saints Justina and Cyprian, and of Saint John the Baptist, the Oration of Saint Brendan the monk, the Debt of Fortune, the Life of Margaret of Cortona, and the *Fioretti di San Francesco.* The inclusion of the *Meditationes*, the life of the Franciscan tertiary Margaret of Cortona and the *Fioretti* suggest that Suora Dionisia was a Clarissan nun.

The legend of the Virgin found in B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 125 is more or less identical to that in Palatino 120. It is preceded by a German rubric *Dys is der vrolich dot/ Des doch Iummer wesen muot*[24] and at the end is inscribed: *scritto per many dy Gherardo di Nichola Bueri da Firenze, e chonpiuto questo dy xxiij di dicenbre*

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[22] *Vita Beate Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, ed. by A. Vögtlin, Literarischer Verein Stuttgart, 180 (Tübingen, 1888).

[23] B.N.F., Ms. Palatino 120, f.48v.

[24] This is garbled medieval German and is not translatable. I am grateful for the help of Dr. Tim Jackson, Department of Germanic Studies, Trinity College, Dublin.

MCCCCXXXIJ. Given the German rubric, this figure can probably be identified with the Gherardo Bueri of Gherardo Bueri and Partners, correspondents of the Medici in Lübeck. Gherardo Bueri was first cousin once removed of Piccarda Bueri, wife of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici.[25] He and his brother Edoardo were both in Lübeck in 1432.[26] Documents cited by Gutkind show that they were referred to as *Eduardus de Boeris de Wale* and *Gherardus de' Boeris* in a transfer payment to the Grand Master of the Order of Saint John of Rhodes.[27] Gherardo is described as a citizen of Lübeck in 1435 which suggests, due to the rules governing citizenship in Lübeck, that he had been there for at least fifteen years. Gherardo died in 1449 and his business affairs in Lübeck were liquidated. The will, made in favour of Cosimo de'Medici, requested that his goods be transferred to Florence and that a legacy be paid to his widow, Tibbeke.[28] The manuscript is clearly dated 1432 and thus was almost certainly written in Lübeck and later transferred to Florence with the rest of Gherardo's estate. The text is here entitled *De Infantia Christi* and is attributed to Saint Jerome.

Miscellaneous Manuscript Sources: B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 73, Medicea-Laurenziana, Ms. Ashburnham 142, and B.N.F. Magliabechiano VII.8.

B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 73 also contains a text attributed to Saint Jerome.[29] The manuscript is composed of parts dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but

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[25] D. Kent, *The Rise of the Medici*, p.76. Only one household is listed in the online 1427 Catasto for Bueri, that of Pippa di Niccolò, a widow, aged 55, who lived in rented accommodation in the Leon Rosso *gonfalone* of the quarter of Santa Maria Novella, and declared 5 *bocche* as being dependent on her. (A.S.F. Catasto, vol.76, p.124). Pippa may thus have been Gherardo's mother or step-mother. Gherardo is named as the brother of Piccarda Bueri by Curt S. Gutkind, *Cosimo de' Medici: Pater Patriae, 1389-1464* (Oxford, 1938), p.192 'Gherardus de Bueri, a member of the Florentine family of Bueri, was no less than Giovanni de' Medici's brother-in-law and Cosimo's uncle-Piccarda de' Bueri was Cosimo's mother!'. If Piccarda was, as the family tree given in the appendix of G.F. Young, *The Medici* (New York, 1933) suggests, the daughter of Adovardo, and her dates were (1368-1432) then it would appear that the relationship given by Kent is more likely.

[26] Gutkind, *Cosimo de' Medici*, p.192. Edoardo married Ginevra di Bartolomeo Cocchi.

[27] Two other Florentine partners are identified in a document of 1445 as *Nikolaus Buusi* and *Francisus de Ruselarn de Wale*. The latter is then more clearly identified in a 1449 document as Francesco Rucellai (ibid., p.192).

[28] Ibid., p.93. This was not passed by the Council of Lübeck until August 1450 and was not completed until August 1454.(ibid., p.193).

[29] B.N.F., Ms.Palatino 73, f.99-111.

the part which deals with the Life of the Virgin appears to be of a fifteenth-century hand. On f.139r, the scribe who had written the manuscript up to that point inscribed the following words, *iscresse pagholo di piero del persa...* The same hand also wrote on f.89v: *Qui ò finito di scrivere questi capitoli, e non posso iscrivere gli altri che seguono per ordine dopo questi, perch'io non posso più tenere questo libro ch'è della compagnia di santa brigida di Firenze*. Henderson lists two confraternities of this name in fifteenth century Florence. One, first documented in 1428, was a Flagellant company which met in Santissimi Apostoli.[30] The other was a company of *fanciulli*, first documented in 1454, which met in the church of Santa Brigida.[31] The legend of the Virgin begins on f.99, *Qui comincia ilprimo capitolo della nostra donna ilquale sitrassa sancto girolamo inuno sermone chegli feccie*. The author begins by stressing the importance of the Virgin who can deliver us from our suffering as she delivered Jerome from his sufferings on Mount Lebanon, where he had taken refuge. The work, he tells us, will be divided into six principal parts, the first of which will deal with the seven feasts of *nostra donna*. The first feast to be dealt with is the Conception of the Virgin Mary, which, according to him, is not celebrated by the universal church. He is at pains to point out that this is the feast of the fleshly conception of the Virgin: *Choncettazione charnale della donna principale mente inquanto ella fu ingieneratte chol peccato originale ma intanso la festa sua choncettazione charnale e inquesto chella fu via alla prima santifichazione che ella ricevetta nelcorpo disanta anna sua madre*. The first sanctification was therefore in her mother's womb where she was purified from the inclination to venial sin. The second sanctification was when she conceived Christ, then she was purified from the inclination to mortal sin.[32] The story of the conception is then narrated, and begins thus: *neltenpo digiulio cesere inperadore sifu un sancto uomo natto della citta dinazarette chebbe nome giovachino ilquale prese per moglie una sancta donna della citta dibelliemme chebbe nome sancta anna edera isterile*.[33] It follows the standard *Golden Legend*-type narrative, and ends with the meeting at the Golden Gate. The author then recounts the way in which the Feast of the Conception was first celebrated. This is, of course, the Helsinus legend. The feast of the Nativity of the Virgin follows: *si fu rosa natto dello ispino giudea essinaque dischiatta nobilissimo cioe dischiatta nobilisime edischiatta disanti padre edisanti*

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[30] John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford, 1994), p.449.

[31] Ibid., p.450.

[32] B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 73, f.100.

[33] Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Jesu Christi* (Paris, 1529) p.iiij, gives the same account of the conception as this, but attributes its source as Augustine, not Jerome.

profeti.[34] Then follows an account of a number of the miracles of the Virgin, and the story and celebration of the feast of the Annunciation.

The codex itself contains a great deal of varied material. Until f.139, it is in the same hand as the 'Jerome' text, and includes the Vision of Saint Paul, the Legend of Saint Margaret, the teachings of the Holy Fathers, the Letters of Saint Anthony, the *modo di pregare in ciascun giorno della settimana santa, per ottenere una grazia*, the indulgences attached to the churches of Fiesole, Saint Bernard's *Contenzione d'un'anima e d'un chorpo*, followed by an account of Creation, and *qui voglio iscrivere certi chapitoli di Christo per nostro esenpro, e della ecellenzia, edella perfessione della charità.* The manuscript continues with the legends of a number of saints: Eustace, Christina, Barbara, Juliana, Olessa, Mary of Egypt, Marina and Theodora, followed by a treatise on confession. A different hand is responsible for the Life of Christ taken from the Gospels, and the original hand for the ensuing Miracles of the Madonna. The codex concludes with the Capitoli of the Compagnia di SS. Piero e Paolo di Firenze, in a sixteenth-century hand.

The account of the Virgin's birth given in Ashburnham 142[35] is unlike the others examined here in that it is written in Latin and follows the account by Epiphanius in his *De Nativitate Deiparae.*[36] The manuscript was compiled by a Fra Sebastiano of Verona between 1471 and 1481. Fra Sebastiano's northern background may account for his use of Epiphanius as a source: the first Latin translation of *De Nativitate Deiparae* was by Paschalis Romanis, an Italian writer at the court of Constantinople and was dedicated to the Venetian, Enrico Dandolo, Patriarch of Grado (1130-1182).[37] The manuscript also refers to the Holy Kindred with the rhyme mnemonic *Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias.*[38]

Ms. Magliabechiano II.VII.8 is very different. It dates from the early sixteenth century and contains a play entitled *La Rappresentazione di San Gioacchino.*[39] The play is divided into five acts and has several characters who are not named in usual sources, for instance: two shepherds, Parmo and Nichio; two maids, Abram and

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34 B.N.F., Ms. Palatino 73, f.102.

35 Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Ashburnham 142, f.195-199.

36 Epiphanius, *De Nativitate Deiparae*, PG, 120:220.

37 Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation*, p.36. This has already been discussed in Chapter Two, p.73.

38 Ms. Ashburnham 142, f.195.

39 B.N.F., Ms. Magliabechiano II.VII.8, ff.1-32v.

Falisca; and two women, Microtia and Tegenia. The main narrative is the standard *Golden Legend*-type but many dialogues have been added. These are frequently sprinkled with references to different foodstuffs, which may indicate that the play was produced or performed by a group of foodsellers or grocers.[40] The play concludes with the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and is thus concerned with the story of Joachim and Anne only.[41] The focus of attention, however, is clearly Joachim and his mercantile milieu, not Saint Anne.

The contents of these manuscripts appear to be widely-read devotional works, typical of late-medieval households. Ser Lapo Mazzei, the friend of Francesco di Marco di Datino, the merchant of Prato, described in a letter to Francesco how his epileptic son delighted in the tales of *Fioretti* being read aloud to him by the fireside. The book had been lent to him by Margherita Datini.[42] Ser Lapo also read the Epistles of Saint Jerome and Saint Gregory, the *laudi* of Jacopone da Todi, and, most of all, the *Revelations* of Saint Bridget of Sweden.[43] The *Revelations* of Saint Bridget and the *Golden Legend* would also appear to have been among the books bequeathed in the Venetian testament of Maddalena Scrovegni (who died before the 5th February, 1431). She left *uno libro de la doctrina de san baxeio[...] uno libro de sancti zoe de le legende.[...] uno libro de sancta brigida.*[44] Bridget of Sweden herself read the lives of the Saints and the Bible 'which she had caused to be written out for herself in her own language'.[45] The Ménagier de Paris instructed his wife to read the Bible, the *Golden Legend*, the Apocalypse and the *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, 'et autres pluseurs bons livres en français.'[46] Susan Connell, writing about

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40 Many different food types are mentioned, firstly by the shepherds who refer to their herds and the produce such as different cheeses, butter, and meat from sheep, cows and goats. Later in the play, after the birth of the Virgin, a curious scene involves a parasite, *parasito*, explaining the causes of his satiety after consuming celebratory food in Joachim's house. The foods listed here include different types of pork and confectionery.

41 The manuscript also has drawings on ff.33, 34, 34v, 45v, 47 and 47v. These drawings appear to be sketches of characters and costumes. A male nude appears on f.1v and a negro figure on f.47v.

42 Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato* (London, 1979), p.217.

43 Ibid., p.220.

44 Susan Connell, 'Books and their Owners in Venice, 1345-1480', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972), pp.163-186 (p.163).

45 *Birgitta of Sweden, Life and Selected Revelations*, ed. by Marguerite Tjader Harris, trans. by Alfred Ryle Kezel (Mahwah, 1990), p.75.

46 Diana M. Webb, 'Woman and Home: the Domestic Setting of Late Medieval Spirituality', *Studies in Church History*, 27 (Oxford, 1990), pp. 159-173 (p.172).

Venetian book ownership, demonstrates how such devotional texts were owned by merchants, lawyers, priests, a goldsmith, and women. She cites the example of Guglielmo Querini, a magistrate, and at one time head of the Council of Ten, who sent Febro Capello on a legation to Milan in 1443 to procure for him, amongst other works, the *Letters* of Saint Jerome. In 1439 Querini gave his *Lives of the Saints* to Padre Clemente of Santa Maria Nuova to be repaired. The *Miracles of the Virgin* also feature in the inventories and testaments studied by Connell: a Padre Matteo Peregrino, parish priest of San Jeremiah owned such a book.[47] Katherine Gill has similarly demonstrated the popularity of such works in her studies of the scriptoria of the convents of Perugia.[48] She cites among her examples that of Battista da Montefeltro, wife of Galeazzo di Malatesta, Lord of Pesaro, whose testament demanded that her granddaughter Constantia, wife of Duke Alessandro Sforza, transfer her '*librictum sermonulm Jacobi de Voragine*' to the Dominican friars in Foligno, and her *Letters* of Saint Jerome to the Observant Franciscans of Pesaro.[49] A copy of Cavalca's *Lives of the Desert Fathers* is inscribed *Questo libro è ffato fare per chonsolatione dell'anima sua e secondariamente a chonsolazione delle sue figliuole*.[50] Gill demonstrates the popularity of the *Lives of the Desert Fathers* both before and after Cavalca's translation. A life of Saint Margaret was in circulation amongst the Medici in 1479, as it is referred to in a letter by Bianca de' Medici to Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici, on the 15th July:

> *Io non v'ò scritto per nonn esere achaduto, e perché ò mandato ispesso a chasa vostra a March[o] per malvagìa, e chosì pe. libro di santa Margherita, e ongni chosa ò avuta, e da llui ò sentito novelle di voi.*[51]

The inventories of many Florentine *laudesi* companies show that they possessed not only books of *laude* but also saints' lives, creeds, prayers, vernacular versions of the Gospels, and the Passion.[52] As late as 1526, and as far away as Ireland, the inventory of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, reveals such familiar titles as the

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47 Connell, 'Books and their Owners', p.172.

48 Katherine Gill, 'Women and the Production of Religious Literature in the Vernacular, 1300-1500', in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance,* ed. by E. Ann Matter and John Wayland Coakley (Philadelphia, 1994), pp.64-104.

49 Ibid., p.69.

50 Ibid., p.76.

51 Lucrezia Tornabuoni, *Lettere*, ed. by Patrizia Salvadori (Florence, 1993), p.160.

52 Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford, 1992), p.244.

Dialogues of Saint Gregory (in Latin) *Le legend de toute Sauncte* and Augustine's *City of God* (in French), and the *Passion* by Saint Bernard (in Irish).[53]

The owners of the Florentine manuscripts discussed above ranged from nuns (B.N.F. Magliabechiano II.III.415; B.N.F. Palatino 120), to a *speziale* (Riccardiano 1052), to a confraternity (B.N.F. Palatino 73), and to the prominent Florentine families of the Bizzeri (B.N.F. Panciatichi 40), the De Filicaria (B.N.F. Magliabechiano XXXVIII.70), the Bueri (B.N.F. Palatino 125) and the Rucellai (Riccardiano 1431). Were the interests of these owners the same as those who determined the iconography of the city?

The Immaculate Conception in Florence

The cult of Saint Anne in Florence will be shown to have been primarily political, but it was also intimately connected with the the liturgical feasts of the Virgin. The question of the Immaculate Conception, the doctrine that the Virgin was conceived free of a state of original sin, cannot be separated from the cult. The cult of the Immaculate Conception was celebrated in Florence: a thirteenth-century legendary in Latin, from the Badia Fiorentina, narrates the Helsinus Legend, attributing it to Saint *Anselmus Venerabili[s] Cantuarientis archepiscopus et pastor anglorum*[54] and an illuminated choir-book from Santa Croce has an historiated initial in which the Meeting at the Golden Gate is shown. **[pl.3.2]** The initial is the H of *Hodie nata est*, which was the beginning of the office for the Birth of the Virgin, and which was used for the feast of the Immaculate Conception until the late fifteenth century. As in the rest of Europe, the subject was also controversial in Florence. The issue was raised by the popular preachers such as the Dominican Giovanni Dominici and the Franciscan San Bernardino of Siena. Dominici wrote a treatise against the doctrine in Latin.[55] Bernardino preached in favour of it in the vernacular, allowing that those who did not follow the doctrine were not necessarily damned.

O se tu tenesse il contrario? Non sareti però dannato, però che la santa Chiesa non l'ha approbato. Ma che debba tenere la mente devota? Che senza il peccato originale fusse concetta. O, se santo Giovanni e cotanti Santi sono

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[53] The Marquis of Kildare, *The Earls of Kildare and their ancestors from 1057 to 1773* (Dublin, 1864), pp.258-230.

[54] B.N.F., Ms. Magliabechiano, Ms.II.I.412.f.

[55] Giovanni Dominici, *Linguaggio e Pensiero di Giovanni Dominici nel "De Conceptione B. Virginis" (Trattato inedito 1390)*, ed. Pino da Prati (Mezzogiorno, 1965).

stati santificati nel ventre della madre, come non avrebbe Iddio fatto più onore alla sua Madre, che agli altri ? Con ciò sia cosa che comandò: Honorem patrem tuum et matrem tuam.[56]

Vernacular manuscripts dealing with the Life of the Virgin naturally follow their primary sources. In these sources the angel's speech to Joachim provides the vehicle confirming, or more often, denying, the Immaculate Conception. Usually the angel describes how the barren womb of Anne will bear fruit, and how this fruit will be sanctified by the Holy Spirit in her womb. The angel in the account in Panciatichi 40, which is based on the *Golden Legend*, tells Joachim that *quella sara santa nel ventre della madre*, [57] and the account in Palatino 120, which is based on the *Vita Rhythmica*, expands this: *E quello Angelicho frutto sera una vergine senza machula una vergene incorutibile senza peccato, E quella sara santificata nel ventre dela sua madre e quella eletta Vergine sara chiamata Maria esenpre per maña vergene e santificata in vita.*[58] Here *sara santificata* merely means made holy rather than purified from original sin. While some manuscripts explicity refer to the Immaculate Conception, most use the Annunciation to Joachim as a vehicle to express the unique nature of Mary. In the *Golden Legend*, Anna and Joachim are merely told by the angel to await each other at the Golden Gate of Jerusalem:

> Thus it was that, following the angel's command, they came face to face, and shared their joy over the vision which they had both seen, and over the certainty that they were to have offspring. Then they adored God and set out for their home, awaiting the Lord's promise in gladness of heart. And Anna conceived and bore a girl child, and called her name Mary.[59]

Riccardiano 1408 follows this version:

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[56] San Bernardino da Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari,* ed. by P. Dionisio Pacetti (Siena, 1935), pp.329 - 330.

[57] B.N.F., Ms. Panciatichi 40, f.32r, echoed by the 1469 manuscript in the Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze, Riccardiana 1431, f.51r.

[58] B.N.F., Ms. Palatino 120 f.12r.

[59] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, translated and adapted from the Latin by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, 2 vols (New York, 1969) II, p. 523; the Latin text is found in Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea, Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, ed. by T. Graesse (Leipzig, 1850), pp.585-9.

et ella ando et trovarosi insieme secondo che avea detto langelo Et trovando alloro albergo con molta letitia aspettavano dadio la promissione dello angelo Et cosi aspectando Anna ingravido del suo marito et quando fu nata lafanciulla silla chiamano maria,[60]

as does Panciatichiani 40[61] and Riccardiano 1431.[62] B.N.F. Magliabechiano II.III.415, however, follows the *Pseudo-Matthew*. Anne is told to await Joachim at the Golden Gate of Jerusalem; presently she sees him come with his flocks and greets him with the following words, *io era vedova et ora non sono, io non portava figliuolo e ora sono gravida.*[63] This implies that she has already conceived without the help of Joachim. Palatino 120 combines the two versions: *io era in anzi veddova e dapoj che tu se retornato dame io spero in dyo che in no siro più sterile.* The *Pseudo-Matthew* versions imply that conception takes place at the Meeting with the words 'I was sterile but now I am pregnant', but the use of exactly these words in Palatino 120, followed by an account of the conception taking place later during Joachim's stay renders this meaning less clear. Certainly the *Golden Legend* versions leave no room for doubt: Anna and Joachim await the fulfilment of the angel's prophecy, Anna's conception, at home. Two manuscripts, Palatino 120 and Palatino 73, mentioned above, are clearer than the others in their opposition to the Immaculate Conception. In Palatino 120, as usual, the angel announces that the child will be sanctified in the mother's womb. Whether this is a conscious rejection of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception or not is open to doubt, but the link between freedom from sin and incorruptibility is clearly articulated: *una vergene sanza machula una vergene incorutible senza peccato, e quella sara santificata nel ventre dela sua madre.* Conception does not take place at the Golden Gate but later, *Essendo demorato Giovachino con la sua moglie Anna per Alchuno dj como fu in piacemente del Creatore Anna si engravido di Giovachino passando picholo tempo Anna ossendo gravida del suo ventre si comenzo a ingrassare.*[64] A great feast is then held by all the *parenti*. There follows an account of the Virgin's formation in the womb and a lengthy denial of the Immaculate Conception, purportedly by Saints Augustine and Jerome.[65] Jerome is quoted on the formation of the Virgin in the

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[60] Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 1408, f.102v - 103r.

[61] B.N.F. Ms.Panciatichi 40 f.32r.

[62] Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms.1431 f.51v

[63] B.N.F., Ms. Magliabechiano II.III.415 f.20r.

[64] B.N.F., Ms. Palatino 120 f.14v.

[65] These authorities are not cited in the account of the Virgin's purification in the womb in the *Vita Beate Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, pp.20-21.

womb, and the various virtues found in her. Here a clear denial of the Immaculate Conception, purportedly by Augustine, is put forward,

> *E Avendo el Signore dyo mandata quella santissima anima in quel pretioso corpo dela vergene essendo per quella Gloriosa anima virificata in quello virtuoso corpo dela vergene Maria Allora lospirito santo discese delcielo enterra ello ventre dela sua madre Anna e santificho quello Angelicho corpo e puoj el netto e purifollo da omne [...][66] sozzura e dal peccato originale.*

While the phrases *santissima anima* and *gloriosa anima* in the opening sentences could imply immaculacy, the qualification of the final sentence makes the message clear: the Virgin was not pure from original sin at conception but was purified in her mother's womb. The likelihood that the manuscript was written for a Franciscan audience makes this denial more interesting. For the modern reader of both vernacular texts and images, and probably for the lay audience of the time, the area is a minefield of misinterpretation.

According to the author of Palatino 73 the Conception of the Virgin Mary was not celebrated by the universal church. He is at pains to point out that this is the feast of the fleshly conception of the virgin, *choncettazione charnale della donna principale mente inquanto ella fu ingieneratte chol peccato originale ma intanto sa festa sua choncettazione charnale e inquesto chella fu via alla prima santifichazione che ella ricevette nelcorpo disanta anna sua madre.*[67] The first sanctification was therefore in her mother's womb where she was purified from the inclination to venial sin. When she conceived Christ, the second sanctification, she was purified from mortal sin.[68] The story of the conception, attributed to Saint Jerome, is then narrated. The story begins thus: *neltenpo digulio cesere inperadore sifu uno sancto uomo natto della citta dinazarette chebbe nome giovachino ilquale prese per moglie una sancta donna della citta dibelliemme chebbe nome sancta anna edera isterile.*[69] It follows standard sources and ends with the meeting at the Golden Gate. The author then recounts the way in which the Feast of the Conception was first celebrated. This,

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[66] The word in the manuscript is illegible.

[67] B.N.F., Ms. Palatino 73, f.100.

[68] Ludolphus de Saxonia treats of the same account of the conception on p.iiij in his *Vita Jesu Christi*, an undated incunabulum published in Paris by Udalricus Gering and Master Bercthoidus Rembolt. Here Ludolph attributes the source as Augustine.

[69] B.N.F., Ms. Palatino 73 f.101.

once again, involves the Helsinus legend. What is interesting about this latter manuscript is the use of the Helsinus legend in a Maculatist context. It is possible that this legend, usually associated with the promotion of the Immaculate Conception, is included because the author wishes to point out that it refers only to the carnal conception of the Virgin.

Both Palatino 120 and Palatino 73, unlike the other manuscripts devoted to the Life of the Virgin, are concerned with the matter of the conception of the Virgin, but neither is a straightforward, unambiguous account of either the Maculist or Immaculatist view. The former is a Franciscan manuscript apparently adopting a Dominican view, with language that is far from clear, and the latter takes a legend used for Immaculatist propaganda and adapts it to its own purposes.

The legends of Saint Anne contained in these manuscripts, with the exception of the legend of Santa Smera, do not differ significantly from those in Northern Europe. The emphasis often placed on Saint Anne in Northern Europe, however, is missing. The important life is that of the Virgin, not of her mother. The narratives of the Life of the Virgin contained in Florentine manuscripts show that the Saint Anne of the legend of the Virgin's early years and the Saviour of Republican Florence were rarely, if ever, discussed as one and the same person. The same is true of visual imagery, as will be shown in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CULT OF SAINT ANNE IN FLORENCE

Introduction: Devotion to Saint Anne before 1343

The cult of Saint Anne in Florence assumed its real significance with the expulsion of the Duke of Athens from Florence on Saint Anne's day in 1343. In the years before 1343 Saint Anne only held a minor role in the devotions of the city. A monastery dedicated to Saint Anne was founded in the *popolo* of Santa Maria in Verzaia just inside the gate of San Frediano by Buonaccorso di Maffeo Pitti in 1318.[1]

> *Ricordo che io Bonacorso Pitti comperai una casa con terra infino ad Arno nel popolo di santa Maria a Verzaia da ser Andrea Masi notaio del popolo di san Brocolo per prezzo di fiorini novantatre d'oro per fare una chiesa con munistero di donne di santa Anna, e il vescovo ci diede la parola e fecela sagrare e diede la lettera dell'accatto e fece ogn'altra cosa che a ciò bisognava e acconciocci con santa Maria a Verzaia, e dee avere ogn'anno uno cero da santa Anna; fece la carte della compera per Stefano Fighini; fecila dire in Neri per più mia sicurtà per l'un metà, ma io Bonacorso pagai fiorini 93 d'oro, come la costò, in manno del detto ser Andrea Masi adì 29 di giugno l'anno 1318.*

There is also evidence to suggest that the Compagnia della Madonna di Orsanmichele had some devotion towards Saint Anne. The confraternity was founded on the feast day of Saint Laurence, 10th August, 1291[2] in honour of a miraculous fresco of the Madonna on one of the pillars of the old grain market. One of the *laude* which was sung by the confraternity describes Joachim's expulsion from the temple, the birth of the Virgin and her Presentation.[3] As is so often the case, however, this *lauda* is centred upon the Virgin's conception and birth and its interest in Saint Anne is confined to narrative necessity. There is no other mention of Saint Anne in the

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[1] Bonaccorso Pitti, *Cronica*, p.498, and Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie*, IV, pp.220 - 221.

[2] Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1992), I, p.21. The statutes of the Confraternity are recorded by Richa, *Notizie*, I, p.4.

[3] *Lauda della Nativitade della Beata Vergine Maria*, published by Pietro Franceschini, *L'Oratorio di San Michele in Orto in Firenze* (Florence, 1892), p.255.

confraternity's statutes or devotional practices before 1343.[4] However, the *lauda* is of interest in that it was sung by the confraternity which would later be entrusted by the city with the cult of Saint Anne. It was also sung by another *laudesi* confraternity which met in the church of Sant'Egidio.[5]

The feast of the Birth of the Virgin was celebrated in Florence, as elsewhere, from the eleventh century at least,[6] perhaps even earlier.[7] The Virgin's nativity assumed civic importance when the consecration of the new cathedral took place upon her feast day:

> *Nel detto anno 1294, essendo la città di Firenze in assai tranquillo stato, essendo passate le fortune del popolo per le novità di Giano della Bella, i cittadini s'accordarono di rinnovare la chiesa maggiore di Firenze, la quale era molto di grossa forma e piccola a comparazione di si fatta cittade, e ordinarono di crescerla e di trarla addietro, e di farla tutta di marmi e con figure intagliate. E fondossi con grande solennitade il dì di santa Maria di Settembre, per lo legato del papa cardinale e più vescovi, e fuvvi la podestà e'l capitano e ' priori, e tutti l'ordini delle signorie di Firenze, e consagrossi ad onore di Dio e di santa Maria, nominandola santa Maria del Fiore, con tutto che mai non le si mutò il primo nome per l'universo popolo, santa Reparata. E ordinossi per lo comune alla fabbrica e lavorio della chiesa, una gabella di danari quattro per libbra di ciò che usciva dalla camera del comune, e soldi due per capo d'uomo; e il legato e' vescovi vi lasciarono grandi indulgenze e perdonanze, a chi vi facesse aiuto e limosina.*[8]

The Consuls of the Arte della Lana were obliged to make offerings of wax on the vigil of the feast in the church of Santa Maria Nuova.[9] Another indication of the feast's importance in the fourteenth century was the dedication of an altar in the church of Santa Maria Novella to the Birth of the Virgin and Saint Laurence endowed by a Fra Domenico Pantaleoni who died in 1367.[10]

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4 Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, I, p.60.

5 B.N.F, Ms. Magliabechiano, II.I.212, f.34.

6 *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by Frank Leslie Cross (London, 1957), p.940.

7 Richa cites a ninth-century Sacramentary in the Cathedral which included the celebration of the Birth of the Virgin in September. Richa, *Notizie*, VI, p.84.

8 Villani, *Cronica*, II, p.16.

9 Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, p.211.

10 J. Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella: an Historical, Architectural and Artistic Study* (Edinburgh, 1902), p.123; Richa, *Notizie*, III, p.51.

The feast of the Conception of the Virgin was also observed by some. A thirteenth century legendary from the Badia contains, in Latin, the legend of Helsinus and the institution of the cult of the Conception of the Virgin.[11] The *laudesi* of Sant'Egidio also honoured the conception of the Virgin in their *laude*, celebrating the feast on the eighth of December.[12] The feast of the Presentation appears to have had little impact in the Florentine liturgy before its official introduction into the west by Philippe de Mézières in 1372.[13]

Devotional interest in Saint Anne in Florence before 1343 appears, therefore, to have been slight. The 1343 date is crucial in the development of the cult of Saint Anne in the city. The way in which the cult was imposed on the city by means of political imagery ensured that the role in which Saint Anne was venerated was primarily that of a civic defender, rather than the maternal figure more familiar in Northern Europe.

I.
The Cult 1343-1382

The Overthrow of the Duke of Athens

The Duke of Athens was invited to the city to command the Florentine forces during the siege of Lucca in 1342. In the summer he installed himself in Santa Croce, and then, on the 8th of September, 1342, he received power officially from the Twenty. According to Villani the people so loved him that when the government announced that he was to be appointed for a year, the crowds shouted 'for life'.[14] Although initially supported by the nobles and the middle classes, the Duke gradually alienated them through extreme measures taken against members of prominent families. Victims of the Duke's repressive policies were Giovanni di Bernardino de' Medici, Guglielmo degli Altoviti, Matteo di Borgo Rinaldi, Naddo di Cenni Rucellai, Rosso di Ricciardo de' Ricci and a member of the Bardi family. These figures were variously accused of negligence, treason and profiteering in the recent campaign against Lucca, or of conspiring to overthrow the Duke with the aid of Siena or of Perugia. The execution, or more rarely, imprisonment of such figures roused the ire of the leading families of Florence who began to conspire against the Duke. He,

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[11] B.N.F., Ms. Magliabechiano II.III.412.

[12] B.N.F., Ms. Magliabechiano II.I.212.

[13] See Chapter Two, p.67.

[14] Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.8.

increasingly suspicious of the noble and middle classes, involved the *popolo minuto* in civic festivals to a greater level than it had previously enjoyed and organised local neighbourhood *brigate* in which individuals wore particuar colours and elected their own leaders. Villani gives various examples of these *brigate*, the most interesting being that in Santa Croce, where the leader was called the *imperadore*.[15] Tension between the Duke and different factions in the city mounted throughout the early months of 1343. Three main conspiracies formed: the first was led by the Bishop of Florence, Angelo Acciaiuoli, who, like most of his fellow conspirators, had initially not only welcomed the Duke but glorified him in his sermon delivered during the octave of the Birth of the Virgin in 1342.[16] His co-conspirators were members of the Bardi family, Salvestrino and Pino de' Rossi, Iacopo Frescobaldi, prior of San Iacopo, with other members of the Frescobaldi family, Ugo di Vieri degli Scali and members of the Altoviti, Magalotti, Strozzi and Mancini families. Close links united this group. The members of the Bardi and Frescobaldi families, along with Salvestrino de' Rossi, had been exiled from Florence in 1340 for their part in a conspiracy to overthrow the commune,[17] and were back in the city in 1343 at the Duke's invitation.[18] The Acciaiuoli had close business links with the Bardi and the Frescobaldi,[19] and all were powerful families of the *sesto* of Oltrarno.[20] The Altoviti were a *popolano* family of the Borgo,[21] motivitated largely by the desire for revenge for the execution of Guglielmo degli Altoviti by the Duke.[22] The Magalotti were *popolani* of the Quona *sesto*,[23] *amici o parentado* with the Altoviti,[24] while the Mancini were a *popolani* household of the *sesto* of San Piero Scheraggio,[25] who were tied to the Frescobaldi through marriage.[26] The houses of the Mancini family had

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15 Ibid., p.20.

16 Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine*, p.459. Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.28.

17 Villani, *Cronica*, III, pp.348-9.

18 Ibid., p.20.

19 Gene Brucker, *Florence: The Golden Age: 1138-1737* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1996), p.260.

20 Villani, *Cronica*, I, p.303.

21 Ibid., p.303.

22 Ibid. IV, p.7. Guglielmo had been a prominent member of the state, having been gonfaloniere in 1315 and governor of Arezzo in 1341 (Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.454).

23 Villani, *Cronica*, I, p.303

24 Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.466

25 Villani, *Cronica*, I, p.303

26 Gene Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378* (Princeton, 1962), p.153.

been destroyed by Brienne to lay foundations for a fortress.[27] These families had little to offer the city in terms of inclusive government.

The second conspiracy was led by powerful figures from the San Piero *sesto*: Manno Donati and his kinsman, Corso di messer Amerigo Donati, members of the Pazzi family, Niccolò di messer Alamanno, Tile di Guido Benzi degli Adimari and some of the Albizzi. The Donati family were magnates from the *sesto* of Porta San Piero.[28] Manno Donati had been one of those who led the Duke into the city only to regret it later. The Donati had not, according to the sixteenth-century historian Scipione Ammirato, personally suffered, but were motivated by *amor della patria, e da un desiderio di secondare con alcun fatto illustre la riputazione, benché infelice di Corso lor avolo.*[29] The Pazzi and Adimari were also magnates of the same *sesto*[30] and, like most of those involved in conspiring against the Duke, had initially supported him.[31] Although some of the Albizzi family continued to support the Duke, others joined the conspiracies against him, to the extent that his capture was originally planned to take place in the Albizzi house from which the Duke intended to view the ceremonies of the feast of Saint John the Baptist.[32]

The third conspiracy was led by another member of the Adimari family, Antonio di Baldinaccio, and was supported by Luigi di Lippo Aldobrandini, and the Medici, Bordoni, and Rucellai families. It was revealed to the Duke by Francesco Brunelleschi *per paura di non n'essere incolpato, ovvero per male de' suoi nimici, che di tali erano caporali alla detta congiura.*[33] This resulted in the imprisonment of two conspirators, Pagolo del Manzeca and Simone da Monterrapoli, and, after their confession, the arrest of Antonio di Baldinaccio degli Adimari.

Events moved quickly after this, and on the morning of 26th July 1343, the Donati, Adimari and Medici incited the citizens in the Mercato Vecchio to revolt. The Palazzo dei Priori was assaulted and the Stinche, a prison which housed many of the Duke's victims, was stormed. Some individuals, such as Uguccione Buondelmonti,

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27 Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.17; Matteo Villani, *Cronica, con la continuazione di Filippo Villani*, ed. by Giuseppe Porta (Parma, 1995), p.439.

28 Villani, *Cronica*, I, p.303.

29 Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.466.

30 Villani, *Cronica*, I, p.303.

31 Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.8.

32 Ibid., p.28.

33 Ibid., p.29.

Giannozzo Cavalcanti, and members of the Peruzzi, dell'Antella and Acciaiuoli families, along with *certi scardassieri e alcuno beccaio* continued to shout support for the Duke. The Duke fell from power and was forced to flee Florence.

The following Monday, under the leadership of Bishop Acciaiuoli, an assembly was held in Santa Reparata in which a temporary government was set up. Fourteen members were elected according to the *sesto* divisions: for Oltrarno, Ridolfo de' Bardi, Pino de Rossi,[34] and Sandro di Cenni di Biliotti;[35] for San Piero Scheraggio, Giannozzo Cavalcanti,[36] Simone Peruzzi[37] and Filippo Magalotti;[38] for Borgo, Giovanni Gianfigliazzi and Bindo Altoviti;[39] for San Pancrazio, Testa Tornaquinci and Marco degli Strozzi;[40] for Porta del Duomo, Bindo della Tosa and Francesco de'

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34 Pino de' Rossi later became ambassador for the Florentine Republic to the emperor in 1352 (Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, p.344) and was a correspondent of Boccaccio's. In one of his letters to Boccaccio he was critical of a Commune filled with 'new men' (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.149, n.). He was exiled in 1360 after his part in a conspiracy to overthrow the government was discovered (ibid., p.187, n.).

35 He served as a captain of Orsanmichele in 1348. Savero La Sorsa, *La Compagnia di Or San Michele ovvero una pagina della benificenza in Toscana nel secolo XIV* (Trani, 1902), p.226. His brother Bartolo also served in Orsanmichele as captain, for the *quartiere* of Santo Spirito in 1347 (ibid., p.158). Bartolo was a victim of a smear campaign in 1368 when he was accused of supporting San Miniato's rebellion against Florence (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.200).

36 The Cavalcanti were usually conservative in politics. Giannozzo Cavalcanti continued to support the Duke of Athens after the July revolt in 1343 (ibid., p.31). His career prospered despite this blot, and he was sent on an embassy to the emperor in 1358 (Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, p.220).

37 Simone was an important figure in Florentine politics. He was leader of the oligarchic party throughout much of the period 1343-1378 (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.176). According to Brucker he combined management of an international trading company with communal politics. He was one of the wealthiest men in Florence (ibid., p.18). Despite his involvement in the oligarchic faction, he frequently voiced independent opinions (ibid., p.176).

38 Filippo too was on the 1352 embassy to the emperor (Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, p.344). He was from a conservative family which was generally pro-Albizzi, but he was noted for the independence of his opinions (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.151).

39 Bindo Altoviti was an Albizzi partisan, and was in 1349 on a commission to investigate the divisions between patricians and the *gente nuova* (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.115). He was a friend of the conservative chancellor Nicola Acciaiuoli of Naples (ibid., p.47)

40 Marco degli Strozzi was a 'wealthy industrialist', and stated publicly in September 1354 that he was the only member of his family that was liberal in politics (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.161).

Medici, and for porta San Piero, Talano degli Adimari and Bartolo de' Ricci.[41] As their chosen *podestà* rejected the post, they decided to elect in his place six officials as lieutenants, composed of three magnates and three *popolani,* these were: for Oltrarno, Berto di Stoldo Frescobaldi; for San Piero Scheraggio, Taddeo di Donato dell'Antella;[42] for Borgo, Nepo degli Spini; for San Pancrazio, Pagolo Bordoni;[43] for Porta del Duomo, Francesco Brunelleschi and for Porta San Piero, Antonio degli Albizzi.[44]

This stop-gap political measure had only limited success. Notable among the figures in the new government were supporters of the Duke such as Giannozzo Cavalcanti, and Francesco Brunelleschi, who had betrayed the plans of revolt to the Duke. The inclusion of the powerful patrician families of the Bardi, Rossi, Peruzzi, Cavalcanti, Tornaquinci, della Tosa, Frescobaldi and Albizzi is indicative of their influence and led to disturbances later in the year when the *popolo* burned their houses and demanded political reform. In response to these events certain measures were introduced in order to create stability and to appease the magnate class. The city was divided into four *quartieri,* replacing the old *sesti,* from which the new priors could be drawn.[45] The new priors were to consist of one magnate and two *popolani* per *quartiere*. The magnates drawn were Lapo Manelli,[46] Razzante Foraboschi,[47]

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41 Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.34.

42 Taddeo dell'Antella was Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in 1339 (Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie* p.431). In the 1340's he avoided the financial crises suffered by the Peruzzi and Bardi by making fictitious sales of property and hiding the company books (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.17).

43 Pagolo Bordoni had been a prior in the 1338-9 priorate lists (Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, *Cronaca Fiorentina*, ed. by Nicolo Rodolico, Rerum Italicum Scriptores, 30.i (Città di Castello, 1903), p.188), and was also selected for the priorate of September-October 1358 (ibid., p.240). He was selected as Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in the 1350-51 period (ibid., p.222).

44 Antonio di Lando degli Albizzi was ambassador for the Republic to the King of Hungary in 1347 (Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.162). He had been sent to negotiate with the Sienese in 1340 as his *famiglia che veniva allora sorgendo in molta riputazione, e tra questi particolarmente chiaro fu il nome di Antonio figliuolo di Lando stàto Gonfaloniere quattro anni addietro* (Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie*, p466). He died of the plague in 1348 (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.11).

45 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.209; Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.39.

46 The Manelli had suffered from attacks on their property in 1343, (Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p. 46). Four of their members were made *popolani* in the political reforms of 1343 (ibid., p.50). Stefani, *Cronaca*, p210 states that this was Zanobi di messer Lapo Manelli.

47 Razzante Foraboschi had served as Podestà of Bologna, and prior of Florence in 1321 (Brucker, *Florence: The Golden Age*, p.261).

Ugo di Lapo degli Spini,[48] Francesco della Trita degli Adimari,[49] while the *popolani* group consisted of Sandro di Simone da Quarata,[50] Niccolò di Cione Ridolfi,[51] Borghino Taddei,[52] Nastagio di Bonaguida Tolosini,[53] Marco Marchi,[54]Antonio d'Orso Valentini, Bellincione degli Albizzi and Neri di Lippo.[55] The upper council of eight counsellors were Bartolo di messer Ridolfo de' Bardi, Adoardo Belfredelli, Domenico di Ciampolo Cavalcanti, Francesco di messer Lotto Salviati *giudice*,[56] Nepo di Dotto degli Spini, Piero di ser Feo da Signa, Beltramo de' Pazzi,[57] and Piero Regaletti. These were the significant political figures in the government which promoted the cult of Saint Anne, a government which was largely aristocratic in nature, and which was driven by a need to impose unity upon a discontented and faction-riven society.

Many groups were jostling for power in Florence. The patrician class was composed of two tiers: magnates, or those who were deemed to be of the old feudal aristocracy and, since the 1291 Ordinances of Justice, declared to be ineligible to sit in

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48 The Spini too benefited from the 1343 reforms (Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.49).

49 Stefani has Francesco di Lapo Adimari (*Cronaca*, p.211).

50 A rentier, allied to the Ricci faction (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.205,n.). He was Gonfalonier of Justice in 1356 (Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.580) and November-December 1369 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.250). He served as prior in 1347-8 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, 229), 1364 (ibid., p.256) and 1366 (ibid., 264). He was also a captain of Orsanmichele in 1366 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.162).

51 He was Gonfalonier of Justice in 1330 (Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.39). He was Gonfaloniere again in 1349-50 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.234) and was a prior in 1339 (ibid., p.188), 1353 (ibid., p.242) and 1358 (ibid., p.254). He was a captain of the confraternity of Orsanmichele in July 1337 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.147), December 1345 (ibid., p.157) and September 1360 (ibid., p.160). He served in an election of 1346 to choose eight members of a judicial review commission (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.107).

52 He was a captain of Orsanmichele from December 1346 to April 1347 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p157).

53 He was drawn for the priorate again in the 1346-1347 period (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.229).

54 A Marco Marchi, *iudex*, was a captain of Orsanmichele in January 1341 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p149).

55 Neri di Lippo appears in the records as a captain of Orsanmichele in February 1330, where he is described as *tintor* (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia* p.142).

56 He was drawn for the priorate again in 1345-6 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, 227).

57 Beltramo had been directly involved in the attack on the Stinche prison and on the Palazzo del Podestà in July (Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p. 32). In 1350 he was involved in a plot to discredit the Commune and the *podestà* (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.113).

government, and the *popolani*, or wealthy mercantile class, who, by and large, governed the city.[58] These two tiers were often indistinguishable due to intermarriage, while magnates circumvented the Ordinances of Justice by joining the trade guilds of the city. The middle class was composed of lower guildsmen and a growing entrepreneurial group known, often derisively, as the *gente nuova*. Brucker discusses the increasing factionalism of Florentine politics during the period 1343-1378.[59] The Albizzi faction was characterised by conservatism, oligarchic tendencies, and pro-papal/pro Parte Guelfa policies. The opposing Ricci faction consisted of those who feared the growing power of the Parte Guelfa and favoured more inclusive representation in the Signoria. Broadly, the Albizzi faction numbered in its membership the old semi-feudal families of Florence, while the Ricci faction included smaller, although frequently equally patrician families, along with the *gente nuova*, whose only chance of political advancement lay outside the confines of the Parte Guelfa. Below this was a large labouring class, the *popolo minuto*, which was denied guild membership, perceived as subversive and often given to riot and revolt throughout the fourteenth century, culminating in the 1378 Ciompi revolution.

Many of the city's most influential families had been instrumental not only in the overthrow of the Duke, but also in his initial rise to power. The great banking and mercantile families of the Peruzzi, Acciaiuoli, Dell'Antella, Buonaccorsi, Rucellai, Medici and Altoviti are all listed by Machiavelli as those who helped him to power.[60] Machiavelli also describes how:

> *E quando e' passava per le strade, con voce alta la franchezza del suo animo era lodata, e ciascuno pubblicamente a ritrovare le fraudi de'cittadini e gastigarle lo confortava. Era l'ufficio de' Venti venuto meno, e la riputazione del duca grande, ed il timore grandissimo; talchè ciascuno per mostrarsegli amico la sua insegna sopra la casa sua faceva dipignere; nè gli mancava ad esser principe altro che il titolo*[61].

These former supporters of the Duke hoped that by adopting a powerful republican symbol their earlier behaviour would be forgotten.

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58 By 1343 the patrician class used these terms loosely in order to define opposing factions; the origins of the words held little real significance.

59 Gene Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378* (Princeton, 1962).

60 Niccolò Machiavelli, *Le Istorie Fiorentine*, ed. by Enrico Bianchi (Florence, 1965), p.136.

61 Machiavelli, *Le Istorie*, pp.136-7.

The decision to honour Saint Anne in a civic festival of solemnity was enacted in law by a provision of the 11th January 1345. By this provision the city and district of Florence were to make offerings to the image of her in Orsanmichele:

> *Item pro parte dictorum Capitaneorum et aliorum bonorum virorum de civitate predicta ad perpetuam memoriam gratie facte a domino Deo nostro Comuni et populo florentie, in die beate Anne matris Virginis Gloriose super liberatione civitatis predicte ac civium ac districtualium ipsius a iugo pernitiose tirampnidis [...] Et quia in tali festivitate sine sumptibus transiri non potest, placeat vobis etiam ordinare quod oblationes huiusmodi fiant coram ymagine dicte sancte que est et pro tempore erit in Orto Sancti Michaelis predicti, et perveniant et pervenire debeant ad manus dictorum capitaneorum seu camerariorum dicte Sotietatis.*

These offerings were to be divided into thirds, two thirds of which would be given to the captains to be devoted to the the poor, while the other third then would be offered to the Pitti foundation of Sant'Anna *prope Florentia* with a procession of the civic officials, the leaders of the guilds and the captains of Orsanmichele. All shops and studios were to be closed and no one was to be seized for debt on that day.[62]

With this provision Saint Anne joined a pantheon of saints which the city invoked according to need. These saints can be grouped according to their different associations. The cults of some of these saints, such as Reparata,[63] Zenobius,[64] and

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62 *Provvisione*, 11 gennaio 1344. Published by La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.219. Zervas explains how the provision is, in fact, 1344, *stile fiorentino*, and 1345 by the modern style. Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents* 1336-1452 (Ferrara, 1996), p.26.

63 Reparata was the original titular of the Cathedral. A *palio* was run every year in her honour (Villani, *Cronica*, III, p.323) and in 1353 it was elevated from a foot race to a horse race (Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, p.569). The cult survived a scandal involving her relics in 1352, in which the Commune had obtained relics from the nuns of Teano through the intercession of the King of France. They were displayed in the Duomo, but when goldsmiths measured them in order to make a reliquary they discovered that the bones were in fact wood and gesso. (Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, pp.15-16). The symbolism of Saint Reparata remained strong in this period; Mass was celebrated by order of the *Signoria* on the morning of her feast day in 1377 despite the interdict. (Trexler, *The Spiritual Power*, p.147).

64 The Florentine liturgy prescribed that for the feast of Saint Zenobius the bishop himself had to preach from the pulpit in the Cathedral. The only other feasts where he was obliged to do this were at

Philip[65] were associated with the Cathedral or the Baptistery, the religious heart of the city. Saint Mary Magdalen[66] and Saint Bernard[67] were associated with the governmental-administrative centre of Florence, the chapels and rooms of the Palazzo della Signoria, Palazzo del Podestà and other offices. Each guild was under the patronage of a particular saint, most of whom came to be represented in Orsanmichele. Important military victories had taken place on the feast days of

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Easter and Calendimaggio. (Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, p.119). The discovery of Saint Zenobius's body in 1331 is recounted by Giovanni Villani (Villani, *Cronica*, III, p.155).

65 The cathedral possessed a relic of Saint Philip since 1205, with which the bishop blessed the population (Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, p.112). Dei records an even earlier date of 1190 for relics of Saint Philip in San Giovanni (Benedetto Dei, *Cronica dall'anno 1400 all'anno 1500*, ed. by Roberto Barducci, (Florence, 1984), p.111). From at least 1325 the guilds of Florence were required to offer a candle to Saint Philip at the Baptistery every year (Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, p.218).

66 Saint Mary Magdalen was associated with the victory of the Commune over a conspiracy of exiled White Guelphs and Ghibellines in July 1304 (Dino Compagni, *La Cronica*, p.111). The chapel of the Podestà was dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalen and her feast day was honoured by the Commune as a double feast, with the Podestà bearing the costs of both the religious and lay feasts which were held on this day (Luca Landucci, *Diario Fiorentino del 1450 al 1516*, ed. Iodoco Del Badia (Florence, 1883), notes, p.233). The interior of the chapel was frescoed in c.1340 with the narratives of Saints Mary of Egypt, Mary Magdalen, John the Baptist, *Inferno, Paradiso* and a portrait of Dante (Touring Club Italiano, *Firenze e Provincia* (Milan, 1995), p.379).

67 The chapel of the Palazzo dei Priori was dedicated to Bernard. The most precious possessions of the Signoria were kept there, under guard of the Cistercians. Dino Compagni, *Cronica*, p.71; Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca and London, 1980), p.31.

68 Victor was incorporated into the pantheon after the Florentines won a victory over Pisa on his feast day in 1364. (Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.646). The Parte Guelfa fostered his cult by endowing a chapel dedicated to him in the cathedral, and ensuring that each year the captains of the party would give offerings there. A *palio* was also instituted (ibid., p.651). This *palio* was recorded by Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli, writing of the 1390s (Morelli, *Ricordi*, pp.217-8); del Corazza in 1405 (Bartolomeo del Corazza, *Diario Fiorentino*, ed. by Roberto Gentile (Anzio, 1991), p.19) and Luca Landucci, in 1485 (Landucci, *Diario*, p.50).

69 Barnabas was venerated because of military victories won on his feast day on the 11th June 1269, over the Sienese at Colle Val d'Elsa, and in 1289, over the Aretines at Campaldino (DianaWebb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in Italian City States* (London, 1995), p.152). In 1311 Cardinal Arnaut de Pellegrue presented the city with his relics (Villani, *Cronica*, II, p.154; Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.248; Richa, *Notizie*, IX, p.42). Diana Webb discusses how Saint Barnabas was identified as a Guelph patron in the early years of the fourteenth century. A foot race was underway by 1325, and

Victor,[68] Barnabas[69] and Bartholomew[70] who were therefore held in high esteem. Saint Anne was established as a symbol of an internal civic victory, as Julian,[71] Sebastian[72] and Anthony[73] were to be after the Ciompi defeat. The cults of such

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this was upgraded to a horse race in 1355 (Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, p.124). In a manner foreshadowing the cult of Saint Anne, a resolution was passed that a church be dedicated to him 'as it is fitting that the commune and people of Florence and the Parte Guelfa should honour the blessed apostle Barnabas'. The church was built by 1322 (Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, I, p.319). Despite the patrician interests served by the Parte Guelfa, or maybe, because of them, it was in this church that the guildsmen swore loyalty to the Ciompi on the 21st July 1378 (Gene Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (New York and Chichester, 1969), p.45). The *palio* of Saint Barnabas was recorded by Benedetto Dei in the 1470's, (Benedetto Dei, *La Cronica*, p.93) and by Vasari in his life of Sodoma (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p.389).

70 Saint Bartholomew was celebrated as the battle of Tagliacozzo had been won on the vigil of his feast in 1268 (Villani, *Cronica*, p.354). An even earlier victory is discussed by Wood Brown in his account of Santa Maria Novella. On the 24th of August Saint Peter Martyr defeated the Patarenes. Like Barnabas, Bartholomew came to be seen as a Guelph patron due to the association of Patarenism with Ghibellinism. (Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church*, p.55). In 1303 and 1304 Giordano da Rivolto preached to Florentines gathered in Santa Maria Novella that Saint Bartholomew had not protected them in their recent siege as his relics had been scattered by his enemies. The citizens were urged to go and gather his relics together in one place (Trexler, *Public Life*, p.600).

71 The Ciompi were defeated on the feast day of Saint Julian in 1378 (Trexler, *Public Life*, p.222; Richa, *Notizie*, IV, p .204). The guild of Albergatori, or Innkeepers, who venerated Julian as their patron saint, petitioned the Signoria for his feast to be made a holiday, celebrated by all the guilds at Orsanmichele and the Mercanzia, as was done on the feast day of Saint Bartholomew. (Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, I, p.144, and Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.114). Morelli noted the celebration of the feast as follows: *Lunedì, a dì 31 d'agosto, e nel dì di Santo Giuliano, a un'ora di notte ci fu la novella: fecesene gran festa, ma non si fece fuoco pel Comune; per molti cittadini sì'* (Giovanni Morelli, *Ricordi*, p.287). Saint Julian was seen in a document of 1379 cited by Richa (*Notizie*, IV, p.204) as one who delivered the city from the hands of *coloro i quali tirannicamente governavano.*

72 The government of 1386 decided to celebrate the feast of Saint Sebastian every year as the return to power of the oligarchy had been planned for his feast day in 1381 (Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.776; Trexler, *Public Life*, p.222).

73 The feast day of Saint Anthony was also held as one of the important dates for the demise of the guild regime. Trexler, *Public Life*, p.76. The index states that this is Saint Anthony of Padua, however, the feast cited, 17th January, is that of Saint Anthony Abbot. The references in the index are more consistent with Saint Anthony Abbot who is not listed. The feast day of Saint Anthony of Padua is the 13th June.

saints were particularly susceptible to political manipulation. In popular rhetoric, the overthrow of the Duke of Athens represented a victory of republican values over tyranny. However, it could also be perceived as a bid by the ruling classes to disguise their own mistake in inviting the Duke to the city in the first place and to quell the ambitions of the *popolo minuto* which had made many gains under him.

In addition to these saints, who can all be perceived as 'civic saints', there were other competing claims for prominence in the pantheon, such as the new saints of the Mendicant orders: Dominic, Francis, Thomas Aquinas, Anthony of Padua, and Florentine saints such as Saint Peter Martyr, Giovanni Gualberto, Umiliana dei Cerchi, and Villana de' Botti. In the fifteenth century, these would be joined by figures such as Bernardino of Siena, Saint Catherine of Siena, who was the saint closely associated with the machinations of the Parte Guelfa, and the saints that came to be associated almost uniquely with the Medici: Cosmas and Damian. Certain saints were associated with particular families: Zenobius was claimed as an ancestor by the Girolami;[74] Catherine of Siena was associated with the Soderini family with whom she frequently stayed;[75] Onophrius, as patron saint of the *Tintori*, or dyers, who congregated in the area around the Alberti houses, was associated with the Alberti family.[76] Saint Anne's status must be seen in the context of these competing symbols

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74 In 1385, the procession of the 18th October was marred by disputes between the Girolami and the Buondelmonti over the precedence of relics claimed by the commune but associated with each family. The Girolami claimed descent from Saint Zenobius, and claimed that his relics should preceded the Miraculous Image of the Virgin of Impruneta, whose home lay in territory controlled by the Buondelmonti family. The row ended with the Virgin of Impruneta being placed second, and the anger of the mob was such that the bishop had to seek refuge in a nearby house. The identification with the Girolami was such that only in 1392 was Zenobius recognised by the Parte Guelfa. According to a contemporary, this was due to the association of the Girolami with Ghibellinism (Trexler, *Public Life*, p.272).

75 Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, pp.332-3.

76 The dyers met in the church of Sant' Onofrio, to which there was annexed a hospital maintained at their expense (Davidsohn, IV, ii, p.136). The hospital existed since 1280 at least. Michelangelo was housed within this hospital, according to Vasari's life of Michelangelo, p.118. A *palio* was instituted on the 12th June, 1331, with the prize being conferred on the winners by the guilds (Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, iii, p.570; Richa, II, p.205). In 1391 the Compagnia del Corso, one of the *brigate*, rode through the city. As the dyers and their organisation, known as the Università dei Tintori were closely associated with the Alberti family, this display was seen as an Alberti attempt to maintain a presence within a regime hostile to it (Trexler, *Public Life*, p.229).

of power. Each saint represented not only his or her own personal narrative but also his or her adoption by an individual or group to be used almost as a form of advertisement.

Orsanmichele

The decision to grant the petition of the captains of Orsanmichele and entrust them with the cult reflects its prosperity and standing in the city. Orsanmichele was originally a grain market, built on the site of an old oratory to Saint Michael, hence the name, and it became the focus of devotion when an the image of the Madonna painted on a pillar, mentioned earlier, began to work miracles. A lay confraternity was set up in order to sing *laude*, or praises, in front of the image and to perform charitable works. Already in 1294 the popularity of the image aroused the hostility of the mendicant orders; Villani, writing about fifty years later, records that *i frati predicatori e ancora i minori per invidia o per altra cagione non vi davano fede, onde caddono in grande infamia de' Fiorentini.*[77] This miraculous image was destroyed by fire in 1303 and was replaced by another, also destroyed by fire which was in turn replaced by the present image by Bernardo Daddi. These substitutions did not diminish the popularity of the cult. In 1333, the city suffered from severe grain shortages and the Commune decided to rebuild the grain market to its present form. Supervision of the work was entrusted to the silk merchants' Guild of Por Santa Maria, whose patron saint was Saint John the Evangelist. Each of the twenty-one guilds was required to exhibit an image of its patron saint on a pillar in the interior of the Oratory.

From the 1340s the confraternity went from strength to strength. Contributions and testaments increased with the Madonna of Orsanmichele being declared official protectress of the city in 1365, 1386, and 1388.[78] It was decided to house the latest image of the Madonna (by Bernardo Daddi) in a tabernacle, commissioned from Orcagna and completed in 1359.[79] In 1357,[80] it was decided to cease grain trading

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77 Villani, *Cronica*, I, p.479.

78 Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford, 1992), p.75.

79 On the fortunes of the Confraternity, see Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, pp.75ff. and John Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, pp.175 ff. and 196 ff.

80 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, citing the *Provvisione* of 27th aprile 1357, pp.256 - 7.

activities in the building, and in 1366 the open arcades were closed. Provision was made for services at the oratory to be rotated amongst the city's clergy. [81]

The shrine of Orsanmichele was thus a flourishing religio-civic centre. Moreover, it contained an altar dedicated to Saint Anne, and in 1344 the confraternity had celebrated on Saint Anne's day the first anniversary of the Duke's defeat. The petition of the confraternity to administer the Saint Anne's day celebrations decreed in the *Provvisione* of 11th January 1345 is further evidence of the captains' desire to make Orsanmichele the centre of devotion to this new civic saint. Given the factional nature of Florentine politics between 1343 and 1378, and the fierce competition between different groups to appropriate civic and political symbols to serve their own needs, it is interesting to identify the captains of the confraternity when the cult was instigated in 1344 and 1345.

The captains of Orsanmichele for the early part of 1344, that is, December 1343 to April 1344, were: Giovanni Ramaglianti, for Santo Spirito; Cambino Signorini, for Santa Croce; Dino Stefani, for Santa Maria Novella, and Nepo di Paolo Tosinghi for San Giovanni. [82] Giovanni Ramaglianti was an experienced Orsanmichele captain; he had served twice before as captain, in 1330[83] and in 1338.[84] Another member of the Ramaglianti family had served in October 1339.[85] Cambino Signorini was a member of the *gente nuova*.[86] Like many of the Orsanmichele captains, he was prominent in Florentine politics and served in the priorate in 1350,[87] 1353,[88] 1358 [89]and 1363.[90] Dino Stefani, like Ramaglianti, had been a captain twice before, in October 1333[91]

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81 Diane Finiello Zervas. 'Lorenzo Monaco, Lorenzo Ghiberti, and Orsanmichele: Part 1', *The Burlington Magazine*, 133 (1991), pp.748-759 (p.748).

82 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.154.

83 Ibid., p.142.

84 Ibid., p.148.

85 Ibid., p.149. Paolo Ramaglianti. A Mazza Ramaglianti suffered accusations of Ghibellinism in 1358, according to Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, p.175.

86 Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, p.177. In December 1358 he spoke out against the conclusion of a league with the papal captain, Albornoz.

87 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p. 234.

88 Ibid., p. 242.

89 Ibid., p.254.

90 Ibid., p.261.

91 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.114.

and April 1334.[92] Nepo Tosinghi was a member of a magnate family which found itself in a vulnerable position in Florence in the mid 1340s.[93] In 1345 the commune confiscated the estates that had been given to them many years before in recognition of military service,[94] and in 1361, taking advantage of recently passed laws, many of the Tosinghi family became *popolani*.[95] The family was typical of many patrician families in Florence in that one of its members, Giovanni della Tosa, had been one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Brienne in 1342,[96] while another, Salvestro, was later involved in the conspiracy against him.[97] The family had an early connection with Orsanmichele in the person of Pino della Tosa, who was entrusted by the Commune with the construction of the grain hall in 1336.[98] Pino, who died in 1337, had a reputation as a war hero which the Duke attempted to tarnish after his death.[99] The *camerlinghi* elected for May and June of 1344 were Simone Cionelli, *setaiuolo*, Bernardo Buonaccorso de Colli, Giovanni Cenni[100] and Benedetto Vanni.[101] The captains for this term were thus composed of a magnate, a member of the *gente nuova*, and two men who were experienced in the running of the confraternity.

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92 Ibid., p.145.

93 The Tosinghi family had a chapel in Santa Croce until 1440, dedicated to the Assumption. (Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, I, p.572). This was decorated by Giotto with the Life of the Virgin (ibid., p.600). They were also patrons of the spedale di San Eusebio. (Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, II, p. 411).

94 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.114.

95 Ibid., p.155.

96 Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.9. Although Giovanni is not named in the conspiracies against the Duke, he was active politically in 1343 according to Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.477, where he records a speech made against the Bardi family. Giovanni was also involved in the *Provvisione* of 1363 where accusations of financial irregularity in Orsanmichele were investigated (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.260).

97 Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.465. He was involved in the first conspiracy led by Bishop Acciaiuoli.

98 Ibid., p.410.

99 Ibid., pp.410 and 423-424. Ammirato later recalls how Pino had been praised by Boccaccio for his literary interests (p.465).

100 The *camerlinghi* are difficult to identify because they seldom bear the names of prominent families. For instance, a Giovanni di Cenno, or Giovanni Cenni is the name of a *fornaciaio* who was a prior in 1353 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.242), a *forficaio* who was prior in 1358 (ibid., p.254), and a *vinattiere* who was prior in 1371 (ibid., p.276). The Orsanmichele *camerlingo* Giovanni Cenni is described as a *rigattiere* (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.154).

101 Benedetto Vanni had already been *camerlingo* in 1342 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.152).

The captains elected for the period April to August 1344 were: Francesco Benini, for Santo Spirito; Fatio Tegne, *farsettaio*, for Santa Croce; Ser Tommaso Lamberti, for Santa Maria Novella, and Bonaiunti Bonaiuti, for San Giovanni.[102] Francesco Benini, silk manufacturer and member of the *gente nuova*,[103] was active in Florentine politics from the1340s until at least 1365.[104] He was hostile to the magnate faction and argued in these years for a reinforcement of the Ordinances of Justice.[105] Fatio Tegne was clearly a member of the *popolo minuto* and was an experienced member of the confraternity. He had been a *camerlingo* in the winter of 1340,[106] June 1342,[107] and was to serve again in April 1347.[108] His son, Barone, was *camerlingo* in January 1345.[109] Ser Tommaso Lamberti was notary to the priors in 1350;[110] his name appears as a *capitano* only on this one occasion.[111] Bonaiunti Bonaiuti was a member of a rich family from Oltrarno (despite his election for the quarter of San Giovanni).[112] Originally Buonamici, the family had changed its name to achieve *popolano* status. Although this is the only time Bonaiunti served as captain, other family members regularly feature in the Orsanmichele records.[113] Here a member of the *gente nuova* is serving with a member of the patrician class, but the balance in these elections appeared to swing in favour of the middle and lower classes. The *camerlinghi* were, for July 1344, Lapo Ciacchi and Filippo Rustichi.[114]

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102 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.154.

103 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.217.

104 Ibid., p.225. In that year he argued against joining the papal alliance.

105 Ibid., p.115.

106 Ibid., p.149.

107 Ibid., p.151.

108 Ibid., p.158.

109 Ibid., p.155.

110 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.234.

111 The Lamberti family had patronal interests in San Miniato fra le Torre. (Richa, *Notizie*, IV, p.65ff).

112 Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, iii, p.727. It would appear that the family had interests in the *quartiere* of San Giovanni, even if some members did not in fact live there. The family founded a chapel in San Lorenzo in 1319. (Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, II, p.510).

113 For instance: Francesco di Lapo Bonaiuti, captain in September 1352 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.159); Gallieno di Tommaso, captain in January 1345 (ibid., p.154); Bonaiunti's son, Jacopo, *camerlingo* in March 1347 (ibid., p.157); Lorino Bonaiuti, captain in February 1330 (ibid., p.141); Nazzareno di Tommaso, captain in April-August, 1343 (ibid., p.153); Tommaso, captain in June-December 1345, for the quarter of Santa Croce (ibid., p.156).

114 Filippo Rustichi had served as *camerlingo* in 1342 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.152).

In June-October 1344[115] the mixture is similar, but perhaps can be considered as, on the whole, less patrician. A captain listed as Cappone Recchi, for the quarter of Santo Spirito, can almost certainly be identified as Cappone di Recco Capponi, a member of an extremely wealthy *popolano* family[116] with membership in the Cambio and Lana guilds.[117] The Capponi were opposed to the oligarchic conservative tendency in Florentine politics and were allied to the Ricci faction. Cappone and his brother Filippo were both mentioned in a document of 1369 which listed those allowed to use the port at Pisa.[118] Filippo was named in the provision of December 1358, as one of those to be responsible for the construction of the church of Sant'Anna.[119] Cappone's son, Andrea, was also to become a captain, in July 1363.[120] Lemmo di Ser Cambi was a druggist[121] who was elected as *camerlingo* in 1347.[122] Lapo di Cione Pollini had been a consul of the Arte della Lana in 1319,[123] and was the son of the founder of San Martino della Scala.[124] Andrea Cosini is listed only once as captain and nothing is known of him. The *camerlinghi* were Bartolo Tanucci, who also served in this position in June 1347,[125] Nuccio Martelli, a member of a family that was gaining in importance in Florence.[126] Lando Fei is listed as a

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115 The periods overlap.

116 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.26.

117 Ibid., p.30.

118 Ibid., p.205.

119 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.257.

120 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.162. Another member of the Capponi family, Bartolo, was a captain in April, 1335 (ibid., p.146).

121 Brucker, *Florentine politics*, p.17, n. where he is listed as a creditor of the dell'Antella family for 24 florins.

122 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.158. A Cambio Cambi, married to Sapia dello Spedito Cocchi-Sacchetti, founded Santa Maria Maddalena delle Convertite in 1322-3 on the site of an old brothel. (Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, II, p.300).

123 Richa, *Notizie*, III, p.329.

124 Ronald Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli: His Life and Work*, 2 vols (London, 1978), II, p.41. It had been founded by Cione di Lapo di Gherardo Pollini in 1313. Richa states that he too had been a consul for the Arte della Lana in 1308. He died in 1348 and is buried in Santa Maria Novella. Richa, *Notizie*, III, pp. 329-330.

125 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.158.

126 Martello Alessio Martelli had been one of those who petitioned the duke of Calabria in 1327, and who, according to Davidsohn, expressed pride in the family's origins and fame (Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, ii, p.41). Roberto Martelli will be discussed in connection with the 1349 *provvisione*. Ugolino Martelli was captain in the winter of 1372 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p. 163).

casciaiuolo, a member of the lower guilds. The name Fei recurs frequently in the Orsanmichele records. Bartolo Fei, who was a *camerlingo* in March 1345-6,[127] was probably a member of the same family as Lando Fei as he too is listed as a *casciaiuolo*.[128] Cambio di Arrigo Fei was a member of the *gente nuova*, a consul of the Cambio guild,[129] and, presumably, a son of the Arrigo Fei who had befriended the Duke of Athens.[130]

The captains for the period August-December 1344 were Ventura Meglini (Santo Spirito), who had served in 1339; Giovanni Geri del Bello (Santa Croce), Niccolò Falcone, *iudex*, (Santa Maria Novella) and Bindo Gili (San Giovanni). The *camerlinghi* were Tommaso di Bartolo Albizzi Orlandini,[131] Jacopo di Ghani, *aurifex*, Francesco Montanelli and Cinozzio di Sere, another goldsmith.

Ugolino Vieri, a *speziaiuolo* (Santo Spirito), Piero Bonaventura (Santa Croce), Vanni Pucci (Santa Maria Novella), and Guido del Pecora (San Giovanni) were the captains elected for October-February 1344. The *camerlinghi* were Piero Bacci, *calzaiuolo*, Domenico Guidi, *rigattiere*, Barone di Fabio Tegne and Gallieno di Tommaso Bonaiuti. Ugolino had already served in January 1339[132] and was to serve again in 1355.[133] In 1353, as a Florentine official and citizen, he witnessed the amendments to the Statutes of the guild of Por Santa Maria.[134] Guido del Pecora too is mentioned in the context of the revision of statutes, in his case, those of the guild of Correggiai, Tavolacciai e Scudai, Vaiai, Pellicciai,[135] and also the guild of Clavaiolarium,

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127 Ibid., p.156.

128 Ibid. p.149. He was also listed in 1337 in the same role. Other *camerlinghi* called Fei were Lapo di Ser Fei, listed as a *setaiuolo* in August 1346 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.156) and March 1341 (ibid., p.151), and Terruccio Fei in 1328 (ibid., p.141). A certain Primerano Fei is found as a captain for the *sesto* of Borgo, in June-October 1341 (Ibid., p.150).

129 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.24.

130 Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.18 and p.35.

131 Donato Albizzi Orlandini had served as a captain in 1340 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.150).

132 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.150.

133 Ibid., p.150.

134 *Statuti dell'Arte di Por Santa Maria del Tempo della Repubblica*, ed. by Umberto Dorini (Florence, 1934), p.260.

135 *Statuti delle Arti dei Correggiai, Tavolacciai e Scudai, dei Vaiai, e Pellicciai di Firenze, 1338-86*, ed. by Giulia Camerani Marri (Florence, 1960), p.20.

Ferraiuoli Veteri et Novi, et Calderai, in the year 1353.[136] Guido is mentioned as an absent colleague in the documents in which Florentine officials ensure that Saint Anthony Abbot's feast day is kept as a holiday.[137] Gallieno di Tommaso Bonaiuti's family, as mentioned above, was only too eager to establish its *popolano* status.

The captains of January 1345, at the time the provision to celebrate Saint Anne's day was passed, were Forese da Rabatta (San Giovanni), Simone dell'Ischia (Santo Spirito), Francesco Rinuccini (Santa Croce) and Coppo Stefani (Santa Maria Novella) - the father of Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, the chronicler. The *camerlinghi* were Simone di Alberti, Bono de Baroni, Francesco Ser Gherardi and Bandino Rinaldi.[138] Forese was the most experienced of these; he had served as captain four times previously, in February 1320,[139] where he is described as *iudex*, February 1323,[140] January, 1331[141] and January 1338.[142] Francesco Rinuccini was a merchant, shown in the *estimo* of 1352 to be among the wealthiest men in Florence.[143] The Rinuccini was a *popolano* family of the Santa Croce quarter, liberal in its politics. Francesco is listed as a representative of the guild of Medici e Speziali in the Por Santa Maria, in 1355.[144] The Guidalotti chapel in Santa Croce passed into Rinuccini ownership in 1371, when Francesco was buried there.

The captains between the years 1345 and 1347 included Nicolo de Castro, elected many times between June 1323 and 1345.[145] He was described in the documents as *iudex* and is found listed as a witness in a document of the 23rd January, 1342, where he is described as *'Dom. Nicolaio de Castro Flor. Iud. Iurisperto'*.[146] Simon Folchi

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136 *Statuti degl'Arti dei Chiavaioli, Ferraioli e Calderai,* ed. by Giulia Camerani Marri (Florence, 1957), p.61.

137 *per probos viros...et alios eorum collegas, excepto tamen Guidone del Pecora eorum collega, statutarios et approbatores statutorum artium civitatis Florentie.* (ibid., p.61.)

138 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia,* p.155.

139 Ibid., p.137.

140 Ibid., p.138.

141 Ibid., p.143.

142 Ibid., p.148.

143 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.21.

144 Dorini, *Statuti*, p.261. Francesco was to be active in Orsanmichele; he was captain again in April, 1366 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.162) and *camerlingo* in May 1351(ibid., p.167) and September 1363. (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.164).

145 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, pp.113, 138, 155.

146 Richa, *Notizie*, V, p.187.

(Santo Spirito)[147] was a member of a family described by Donato Velluti as inferior, 'because they do not have our status nor are they of our condition',[148] but which had married into the patrician family of the da Castiglionchio[149] as well as the Velluti. The Folchi also had, in a sense, their own patron saint, the blessed Gherardo da Villamagna, who had been the son of a labourer on their estates and had been patronised by the family.[150] Uberto degli Infangati was a member of a family which had been Ghibelline in the thirteenth century.[151] Uberto (Santa Croce), a prominent businessman and banker,[152] was elected as captain in February - June 1346, but the following year was accused of Ghibellinism due to his acceptance of a role in a commission on bankruptcy which was suspected by the Parte Guelfa.[153] Uberto rode the storm, and entered the Signoria in 1348 and became a member of an important advisory college in 1349, as well as being part of the Twelve.[154] Michele di Lapi Aldobrandini and his brother Aldobrandino (San Giovanni) were both elected in the 1340s.[155] Aldobrandino was also a member of the *balìa* (commission) for the construction of the Porta San Piero in Gattolino in 1339.[156] Two members of the Alberti family, Albertazzio degli Alberti (Santa Croce) and Ugo di Piero degli Alberti, *iudex* (Santa Maria Novella) were elected captains in the same term in October-Febrary 1345-1346.[157] Usually allied with the Alberti were members of the Ridolfi family, represented in the captainship of Orsanmichele in February-June 1346

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147 Elected February -June 1345-6., La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.155.

148 Donato Velluti, *Cronica*, p.42, quoted and translated in Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.39.

149 Margherita di Bernardo Folchi married Lapo da Castiglionchio (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.37).

150 Richa, *Notizie*, III, p.297.

151 Villani, *Cronica*, p.286.

152 He was a consul of the Cambio guild in 1351.

153 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.118.

154 Ibid., p.160. His luck did not last, however, and he became one of the *ammoniti* between 1360 and 1365 (ibid., p.190).

155 Michele Lapi was a captain from February-June 1346 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia,* p.155) and Aldobrandino was a captain in December-April 1346-7 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.157), October 1333 (ibid., p.114) and April-August 1342 (of the *sesto* of San Pietro, ibid., p. 152). A Lapi 'detto' Aldobrandini, possibly the father of Michele, commissioned a Pietà for the church of Santa Maria Nipetocosa, of Santa Maria degli Adimari (Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, III, p.657). Another member of the family, Alderio Lapi Tanaglia was a captain in October 1327. (ibid., p.140).

156 Richa, *Notizie*, I, p.183.

157 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.156.

by Jacopo di Gucucci Ridolfi (Santo Spirito).[158] A more prominent member of the Ridolfi family, Niccolò di Cione Ridolfi (Santa Croce) was also captain of Orsanmichele, in October-February, 1346-1347.[159] He was experienced in the role, having served in July 1337,[160] and was indeed to serve again in September 1359.[161] He was a patrician whose family had been prominent in the oligarchy of the 1330s, and had himself been elected to the Signoria in 1339.[162] He was one of those elected in August 1343 in the attempt to set up a new government,[163] and continued to prosper in politics throughout the 1340s, being involved in the commission of 1346 to choose eight members of a judicial review,[164] and then became Gonfaloniere of Justice in 1350,[165] and again in 1371.[166] The Ricci family was represented by Uguccione di Ricciardo de' Ricci (San Giovanni) also in February-June 1346.[167] Uguccione devoted his entire life to politics and died in 1383 in poverty.[168] His brother, Rosso di Ricciardo, had been one of the Duke's targets in 1342, and was saved only by the pleas and power of his family.[169] He was a captain of Orsanmichele in May 1361,[170] and served on a commission in 1349 which sought to revise the Ordinances of Justice. Although opposed to the oligarchic faction, he was

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158 Ibid., p.156. A Jacopo Ridolfi had served as *camerlingo* in February 1331. His occupation is given there as *correggiarius* (La Sorsa, pp. 143).

159 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.157.

160 Ibid., p.147.

161 Ibid., p.160.

162 John Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics 1280-1400* (Chapel Hill, 1982), p.132. His father, Cione, had been in the Signoria in 1321 and 1334. (ibid.)

163 Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.39.

164 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.107.

165 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.242. His sister, Margherita di Cione Ridolfi, married Baldinaccio del Verre, and, with him, founded a chapel in Santo Spirito. They also patronised the high altar of San Eusebio. (Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, III, p.412).

166 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.276.

167 Ibid., p.156.

168 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.34. He was a member of the Florentine embassy to the Emperor in 1352 (Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, p.344). He corresponded with Boccaccio, and eagerly awaited his report on the situation at the papal court in Avignon in 1367 (Marvin Becker, *Florence in Transition* (Baltimore, 1967-8), p.75).

169 Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.7. He was later Captain of the Florentine army routed at Lozole by the Ubaldini in 1351 (Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, p.310). He is described by Brucker as a wealthy banker of the San Giovanni quarter (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.34).

170 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.160.

moderate, and wished to limit the responsibility of magnates to the third degree of kinship.[171] Another brother, Giorgio di Ricciardo was captain in September 1360[172] and November 1366.[173] Other patricians within the captainship were members of the Peruzzi,[174] Albizzi,[175] Guasconi,[176] Biliotti and Covoni[177] families. The Peruzzi were members of many of the greater guilds, such as the Calimala, Cambio, Lana and the Medici e Speziali.[178] They too had supported the Duke initially in 1342 and some members of the family had continued to support him through the events of July 1343.[179] They were generally allied to the oligarchic faction. Also allied to the Albizzi faction were the Guasconi family, a *popolano* house of San Giovanni, which was promiment in the Lana guild.[180] Bartolo di Cenno Biliotti was captain for Santo Spirito, in February-June, 1347.[181] Although a member of an ancient patrician house, Bartolo, like Matteo Villani, became a victim of the oligarchic paranoia of the1350s and 1360s.[182] The Covoni family were allied to the Ricci. They were involved in woollen cloth production and were also patricians.[183]

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171 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.115.

172 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.160.

173 Ibid., p.162. Giorgio was a member of the Calimala guild, and in 1371 was part of a committee which overlooked the construction of the font in San Giovanni (Richa, *Notizie*, V, p.XXVI).

174 Luigi di Ranieri de' Peruzzi, captain in June-October, 1346. (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.157). His brother Simone was active in politics, and was a leader of the Parte Guelfa and oligarchic faction (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, passim.). He had been one of the fourteen in the *balia* of 1343, for the *sesto* of San Piero Scheraggio (Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.34).

175 Manno di Pagno Albizzi, captain for June-October, 1346 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.157).

176 Maso di Attaviano Guasconi, captain, August-December, 1346 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.157).

177 Giovanni Covoni, captain, February -June, 1347 (Santa Croce) (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.158).

178 Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, ii, p.251.

179 Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.31.

180 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.34.

181 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.158.

182 In 1368 he was accused of supporting San Miniato's rebellion against Florence (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.200). His son was later a leader of the Parte Guelfa and was condemned for his part in a rebellion against the guild government in 1379 (Samuel Kline Cohn, *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca and London, 1980), p.142). His brother, Sandro, was one of the *balia* of 14 in 1343, for the *sesto* of Oltrarno (Villani, *Cronica*, IV, bk.12, p.34). He was a moderate and urged caution regarding the visit of the emperor to Italy in 1355 (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.164, n.).

183 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.205.

These were some of the families and personalities involved in Orsanmichele between 1343 and 1347 when the cult of Saint Anne was established at the site. The captains and *camerlinghi* of Orsanmichele were, like the officials of the state, a mixture of old Guelph families who belonged to the Albizzi faction, *gente nuova* and liberal patricians who, by and large, belonged to the Ricci faction, and a number of lower guildsmen and *popolo minuto*, many of whom did not possess family names and thus appear in the records with little more than their own names and their father's names to identify them.

Villani does not record how the feast of Saint Anne was celebrated in the years between 1343 and 1348, the year Florence was devastated by the plague, which also took his life. The captains of 1348 had been irregularly elected due to the crisis of the plague. A provision of the 13th August 1348[184] confirmed the captaincy of Niccolò di Cione Ridolfi, Sandro di Cenni Biliotti, Schiatta Ridolfi,[185] Giovanni Covoni, Braccino di Piero Durante,[186] Giorgio di Ricciardo di Ricci, Guillielmo Lupicini, Niccolo Rainucci, Lando di Antonio Albizzi,[187] Francesco Falconetti, Francesco Borghini[188] and Francesco di Ser Bartolo.[189] The *provvisione* also confirmed the legitimacy of the existing captains, Andrea di Neri Lippi,[190] Salvestro

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184 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia,* p.226.

185 Schiatta Ridolfi was an Albizzi partisan (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.124). He was also captain of Orsanmichele in September 1352 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.159).

186 Also captain in October-February, 1346-1347 s.m., 1346 s.f.

187 A Lando degli Albizzi in 1300 brought back relics of the Crown of Thorns from Jerusalem to the church of San Pier Maggiore. Given the naming patterns of Florentine families, it is probable that the Lando is the grandson of this man (Richa, *Notizie*, I, p.137).

188 Also captain in October 1331 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.143), and October 1339 (ibid., p.149).

189 Also captain in December 1346, elected from the quartiere of Santa Croce (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p. 157).

190 It is possible that Andrea's father, was the Nerio di Lippo who had been elected to the August 1343 priorate, for the quartiere of San Giovanni (Villani, *Cronica*, IV, bk.12, p.39). Villani names him as a member of the *Popolani*. A Nerio Lippi was elected as captain in Orsanmichele in February 1330, where he is described as a dyer, *tintor* (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.142). A Tommaso di Nerio Lippi, probably Andrea's brother, was elected to Orsanmichele in May 1364 (ibid., p.161). Andrea himself had served as captain in June-October 1347, and was to serve again in June 1360 (ibid., pp.158 and 160 respectively).

Mannetti, Giovanni di Lapi Arnolfi,[191] and Iacopo di Banco Pucci,[192] despite the irregularity of their election: *et adhuc exercent, et multa et varia pro d. Sot., egerunt - tamquam veri et legiptimi Capitanei d. Sot., que omnia possent revocari in dubium utrum valeant vel non, maxime propter obmissam solempnitatem, que obmissa fuit in eorum nominatione.* The Commune intervened in a similar manner in December of that year:

> *Et considerantes multa, que imminenti Societati pred., que pro utilitate comuni pauperum et aliarum multarum personarum convenit expediri, habita prius deliberatione etc. - providerunt - quod prudentes viri Pierus Bini, Iohannes Gherardi Lanfredini, Pierus Dini maniscalcus, Bernardus Nerozzi de Abbatibus, Conte del Brancha, Pierus Lippi Aldobrandini, Manettus Spigliati de Filicaia et Boccaccius domini Ottavini, civies honorabiles flor. sint - veri et legictimi Capitanei Sot. beate Marie s. M. in O., non obstante quod eorum electiones facte non fuerint rite et secundum formam statutorum Sot. pred. pro tempore et termino in electione contentis.*[193]

Piero Bini was a banker, and member of the *gente nuova*,[194] Piero di Lippo Aldobrandini was a member of the Ricci faction,[195] and Manetto da Filicaia was a member of a powerful notarial family.[196] Also elected were the patricians Giovanni di

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191 Giovanni was one of the four patricians elected to an eight post judicial review commission in 1346 (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.107). His father, Lapo, was an Orsanmichele captain in July 1335 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.146).

192 He was later a captain in April 1350 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.158) and May 1363 (ibid., p.161).

193 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.234. Provision of the 4th December, 1348.

194 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, pp.40, 293 and 297. He was elected to the Signoria in 1352, 1363, 1365, and 1375. He had a career with the Bardi family before setting up a company in 1353 with Roggiero Lippi and Iacopo Renzi. He had business connections with the Alberti company in Avignon.

195 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, pp.33, 224, and 298. He was a liberal from the quarter of Santa Maria Novella.

196 Sharon T. Strocchia, 'Remembering the Family: Women, Kin, and Commemorative Masses in Renaissance Florence', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42 (1989), pp.635-654 (p.644), notes a bequest of his brother, Piero di Spigliato da Filicaia, in 1367, and states that the da Filicaia was a powerful notarial family.

Gherardo Lanfredini,[197] Nerozzo degli Abati[198] and his son, Bernardo di Nerozzo, Conte del Branca,[199] and Boccaccio di Ottaviano, who can be identified as Boccaccio di Ottaviano Brunelleschi from his earlier election in February 1348 under that name.[200] Well known family names, such as Uberto di Pagno Albizzi, Giovanni del Bello[201] and Luigi di Lippo Aldobrandini,[202] figure in the records of early 1349.

The plague had important consequences for Orsanmichele. One of the effects was to increase the fortunes of the confraternity through testamentary bequests and legacies, making it the wealthiest company in Florence in the late 1340s and early 1350s.[203] In July 1349 the Signoria voted to erect a chapel or church dedicated to Saint Anne, 'protectress and saviour of the city of Florence',[204] to be undertaken by the captains of Orsanmichele at their own expense by means of these bequests:

> *considerantes multitudinem legatorum, seu relictorum factorum Societati Beatae Mariae Virginis Sancti Michaelis in Orto ad pias causas, et ipsa relicta, difficile, imo quasi impossibile esset indigentibus pauperibus benemeritis erogare cum multum defecerint per epidemiam retroactam. Et considerantes quod aedifiatio ecclesiarum lucet inter opera.*

Construction of the church was to be entrusted to an annually-elected *balìa*, consisting of two men from each of the four quarters:

> *ut dictum est, et super terrenos Comunis Florentiae unam pulchram et honorabilem ecclesiam, vel cappellam ad honorem et reverentiam Beatae*

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197 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.163.

198 The Abati family had been exiled as Ghibellines in 1258 (Villani, *Cronica*, I, bk.6, p.286). Their arms, as an old family, were displayed in Santa Maria del Fiore despite this (Richa, *Notizie*, IV, pp.109-110).

199 The Branca were a branch of the Brancacci family. The Brancacci lived in the quarter of Santo Spirito, the Branca in Santa Maria Novella (Milanesi, in Vasari-Milanesi, II, p.295).

200 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.158.

201 He served many times in Orsanmichele, in June 1328 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.141), August-December 1344 (ibid., p.155), and May 1361 (ibid., p.160).

202 He had fought against the Duke of Athens in the third conspiracy (Villani, *Cronica*, IV, bk.12, p.28). He was liberal in his politics and belonged to the Ricci faction (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, pp.33 and 298).

203 Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, p.19; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, pp.208 ff.

204 *Provvisione* of the 2nd July 1349, published by La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.238.

Sanctae Annae propitiatricis et fautricis civitatis Florentiae et eius nomine, vocabulo et titulo specialiter insignita. Qui officiales sic electi possint, teneantur, et debeant ipsi vel duae partes eorum aliis etiam absentibus et inrequisitis et non receptantibus vel defunctis diligenter et sollicite facere construi et aedificari ipsam Ecclesiam, sive cappella, ut praedicitur et in loco ut praedicitur declarando et domum sive domos et aedificia pro habitatione praesbiteri, seu rectoris Ecclesiae supradictae.

The provision clearly states that the new building is to be a church or a chapel.[205] In a petition of the 26th October 1349 two of the eight delegates responsible for the construction of the church are named as representing the other six. These delegates were Niccolò di Cione Ridolfi and Cambino Signorini:

exponitur reverenter pro parte Niccholay Cionis Ridolfi et Cambini Signorini et collegarum eorum electorum per Comune florentie, seu habentium auctoritatem a dicto Comunj in offitiales et pro offitialibus ad faciendum construj et edificarj in civitate florentie quamdam pulcram et honoribilem ecclesiam sive Cappellam ad honorem et reverentiam beate sancte Anne propitie et fautricis Civitatis florentie.[206]

Cambino, as discussed earlier, was a member of the *gente nuova* and a former captain of the confraternity. In a further petition of 23rd December, Niccolò is again named, but here his co-representative is Giachetto Mancini.[207] This petition requests licence to act independently of the confraternity in the acquisition and demolition of houses and properties necessary for the construction of the new church:

et electione facta de eis iamdicti offitiales habuerunt et habent baliam, licentiam et auctoritatem ab ipso Comuni pro constructione et hedificatione iamdicta emere vel alio iusto titulo acquirere, seu emi et acquiri facere vice et nomine ipsius ecclesie omnes et singulas domos, plateas vel terrenum et res

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[205] Zervas, *Orsanmichele*, p.73, discusses the provision of the 20th July in detail, and discusses how in the same provision, the Signoria decided that in future four of the eight captains were to be elected by the Council of the People from a group of eight nominees, two per quarter, and the remaining four were to be elected directly by the confraternity. These nominees were increased to four per quarter in November 1350.

[206] *Provvisione* of the 26th October 1349, La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.240.

[207] A.S.F. Codex 247, Archivio of the Capitani of Orsanmichele, published in La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, pp.244-6.

quaslibet, quas pro hedificatione et constructione dicte ecclesie, seu cappelle pro habitatione et substentatione futuri presbiteri et rectoris eiusdem ecclesie viderint expedire.

The proposed location of the church is given as *iuxta plateam Sancti Michaelis in orto*, now in modern Via Calzaiuoli. The names of all eight representatives are revealed in the records of the Compagnia for August 1350: Niccolò Cione Ridolfi and Luigi Guicciardini (Santo Spirito); Cambino Signorini and Giachetto Mancini (Santa Croce); Iacopo Francesco del Bene and Giannozzo Strozzi (Santa Maria Novella); and Roberto Martelli and Tuccio Diedi [Falconieri][208] (San Giovanni).

The *balìa* was licensed to elect a *camerlingho* and all other personnel necessary for its work. Niccolò Albizzi, of the *popolo* of Santa Felicita was nominated by Luca Guicciardini and elected as *camerlingho* for the first six months of the coming year, his successor, elected at the same time through the nomination of Giannozzo Strozzi, was *Loysius Iohanni*, of the *popolo* of San Miniato fra le Torre. Bolognino Vanni of the p*opolo* of San Frediano was elected as *nuntius*, nominated by Cambino Signorini under the same terms,[209] with his successor being Stefano Arrighi, of the *popolo* of Santissimi Apostoli, nominated by Iacopo del Bene. On 26th August 1350 the *camerlingo* of Orsanmichele was instructed to give funds to Niccolò Albizzi. On 3rd September, another officer, Filippo Bruni of the *popolo* of San Iacopo Oltrarno, is mentioned. On this date money is transferred from the *camerario* of Orsanmichele, Giovanni Dominici,[210] to the *camerario* of the *balìa*, Niccolo Albizzi. Another name to occur in the documention of 1350 is that of Lapino Migliore, of the *popolo* of San Benedetto, *procuratore* of the captains of Orsanmichele.[211]

The *capomaestri* are recorded as Nerio Fioravanti and Benci di Cione, who were given money to pay the salaries of the *maestri di pietra e legname*: Francesco Talenti, Stefano Pucci, Ristoro Cione. The names of these architects, craftsmen and stone-masons are, like those of so many of the captains, to be found in the records of

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[208] The *Provissione* of the 12th August 1350, which is reported in Codex 247, gives his name in full as Tuccio Diedi Falconieri (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.248).

[209] Ibid., p.244.

[210] Later in the document he is said to be of the *popolo* of San Lorenzo.

[211] Lapino was a member of the Cambio guild, who had worked in a branch of the Bardi bank in Naples (Giulio Gandi, *Le Arti Maggiori e Minori in Firenze* (Florence, 1929; repr. Rome, 1971), p.106).

Florentine political life: Nerio Fioravanti was a prior in 1345,[212] 1353,[213] 1358,[214] 1363 [215]and 1366,[216] and served as an Orsanmichele captain in 1359;[217] Benci di Cione was a prior in 1367[218] and 1374,[219] and he represented the comune as an ambassador in 1375,[220] when he accompanied Niccolò Delli,[221] Donato Acciaiuoli and Tommaso Soldani[222] to Bologna; Stefano Pucci was a prior in 1345[223] and in 1354;[224] and Ristoro di Cione served in the priorate three times, in 1364,[225] 1370[226] and 1376.[227]

The factional politics which centred on the two families of Albizzi and Ricci around 1350 can be seen in microcosm in the composition of the *balìa*. The liberal element is represented by three patricians, Niccolò Cione Ridolfi, Tuccio di Diede Falconieri. Jacopo Francesco del Bene, and two members of the *gente nuova*, Cambino Signorini, and Roberto Martelli. The Ridolfi family were represented many times in the *capitani* lists of Orsanmichele, with Niccolò himself having been a captain in July 1337, December 1345 and again in September 1359.[228] Niccolò was one of the *popolani* elected to the priorate for the quarter of Santo Spirito in August 1343, after the overthrow of the Duke,[229] and was to become Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in

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212 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.222.

213 Ibid., p.242.

214 Ibid., p.252.

215 Ibid., p.261.

216 Ibid., p.266, n.

217 Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.51,n; La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.160.

218 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.266, n.

219 Ibid., p.289.

220 Brucker, *Florentine Politics* , p.300.

221 Delli was an Orsanmichele captain in 1367 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.57, n.) and was an Oratory *operaio* in 1366 (Ibid.). He served as prior in 1355 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.247).

222 Soldani was a captain of Orsanmichele in 1350 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.159), 1360 (ibid., p.160) and 1370 (ibid., p.163).

223 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p. 228.

224 Ibid., p.245.

225 Ibid., p.264, n.

226 Ibid., p.275.

227 Ibid., p.299.

228 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia,* p.147.

229 Villani, IV, p.39. Brucker, *Florentine Politics,* p.107 mentions Niccolò as a member of the patriciate.

1350.[230] He was also one of the eight members of a judicial review commission elected in 1346[231] and one of the twelve citizens named in an emergency provision of 1348.[232] Iacopo del Bene had been a captain in 1334[233] and 1338,[234] and was to become Gonfaloniere in 1352,[235] 1355 [236]and 1366.[237] Tuccio Diedi Falconieri was a member of the popular faction, and suffered proscription in 1358.[238] Cambino Signorini was a member of the *gente nuova* who, like Ridolfi, opposed entry into the Papal League in 1358.[239] Roberto Martelli was an immigrant from Valdisieve; although as a swordmaker he belonged to the lower guilds, he was nevertheless elected to the Signoria several times between 1343 and 1378.[240]

The oligarchic faction is represented by Luca Guicciardini, Giannozzo Strozzi, and Niccolo Albizzi. Luca Guicciardini was to be a prior in 1353[241] and Gianozzo Strozzi was to be Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in 1356.[242]

The *Provvisione* of August 1350 waives any penalties incumbent on the *balìa* for not completing the work before their remit had expired in July, because neither a suitable place nor sufficient money had been found:

> *que quidem perfectio locum et effectum habere non possit, nisi preesent offitiales, qui curam et solicitudinem haberent de predictis, et nisi maior quantitas pecunie deputetur, pro ipsa constructione et edificatione de pecunia*

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230 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.234.

231 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.107.

232 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia,* p.226.

233 Ibid., p.145.

234 Ibid., p.148.

235 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.241.

236 Ibid., 248.

237 Ibid., p.265, n.

238 Ibid., p.254.

239 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia,* p.147.

240 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p. 41, and p.68. He was in the priorate in 1350 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.234), 1354 (ibid., p.246), 1358 (ibid., p.254), 1364 (ibid., p.264), 1368 (ibid., p.268) and 1373 (ibid., p.284).

241 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.242.

242 Ibid., p.250.

perventa, vel pervenienda ad Capitaneos sotietatis Beate Marie Virginis sancti Michaelis in orto seu eorum camerarios.[243]

In addition to this, the builders were unavailable, as they had to work on the fortification of the Florentine hills, in anticipation of conflict with the Ubaldini, a powerful dangerous feudal family who lived in the Apennines:

Et considerantes etiam quod dicti offitiales pro eo quia non potuerunt, infra tempus contentum in eorum electione et balia incipere construi nec compleri facere dictam ecclesiam seu Capellam ob defectum magistrorum tam lapidum, quam lignaminum, quos habere non potuerunt ad dictam constructionem fiendam occasione destructionis castrorum et fortilitiarum montanee florentine, que detinebatur (sic) per Comitem Galeoctum, et occasione exercitus fatti contra Ubaldinos et pluribus aliis oppurtunis de causis, dici posset eos incurrisse vel incurrere certas penas, quod esset inconveniens et non iustum.[244]

The *balìa* was given extraordinary powers and another year to complete its work.

A *Provvisione* of 18th July 1351 again absolves the *balìa* from responsiblity for the delay in construction which had been brought about by conflict not only with the Ubaldini but also with the city of Pistoia:

nec complere propter exercitum dicti Comunis contra inimicos Ubaldinos per ipsum Comune factum. Ac etiam propter felicim exotum (sic) dicti Comunis contra pistorcenses et civitatem Pistoriam, ex eo quia magistri et capo magistri dicti laborerii beate Anne fuerunt et steterunt pro ipso Comuni in dictis exercitibus dicti Comunis dictis temporibus laborare in dicto laborerio nequierunt. [245]

This *Provvisione* lists an almost entirely new set of representatives; the only name which appears from the previous year is that of Luca Guicciardini. The new officials

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243 *Provvisione* of 26th October, 1349, La Sorsa, *La Compagnia,* p.248.

244 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia,* p.248.

245 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.255.

are listed as Sandro del Sulto,[246] Matteo Buonaccorso,[247] Simone dell'Antella, Bernardo Bene del Pepe, Leonardo Strozzi, Guido di Pere Baldovinetti, Marco de Filicaria and Biagio de Guasconi. Again, some of these figures served as priors. Bernardo Bene del Pepe had served as a prior in 1348[248] and Marco de Filicaria was to serve as a prior in 1371[249] and 1376.[250] Simone dell' Antella and Biagio Guasconi were active in the years 1343 to 1378.[251] Simone was Gonfaloniere in 1351[252] and again in 1357.[253] He was a member of the powerful Cambio guild,[254] roughly aligned with the conservative anti-*popolo* faction of the Albizzi, but also known for voicing independent opinions which were sometimes in disagreement with oligarchical policy:[255] he was opposed to entry to the Papal League in 1358[256] and to the sending of aid to Bologna when it was threatened by a Visconti invasion.[257] Guasconi also belonged nominally to the Albizzi faction but like Simone dell' Antella voiced opposition to the papal alliance.[258] He was Gonfaloniere in 1376[259] and again in 1386, and was made a knight by the popular government in 1378.[260] He was one of the leaders of the Parte Guelfa[261] and was one of the figures identified by Stefani as a leader of the oligarchic campaign of proscriptions in 1378.[262] The Guasconi family

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246 A Sandro del Soldo was a prior in 1368 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.267) and an Orsanmichele captain in 1367 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.163).

247 A Matteo di Buonaccorso Alderotti is found listed as an Orsanmichele captain in 1360 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.160). He was a prior in 1364 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p. 264, n), 1370 (ibid., p.275), and 1375 (ibid., p.291). He was admonished as ghibelline in 1378 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.305), and was then a prior in January 1378 (ibid., p.308) and was also a prior in the popular government in early 1379 (ibid., p.341).

248 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.230.

249 Ibid., p.276.

250 Ibid., p.299.

251 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, pp.76, 151, 176-7, 182, 219, 274, 285, 381.

252 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.239.

253 Ibid., p.250.

254 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.24. La Sorsa, *L'Organizazzione dei Cambiatori*, p.85.

255 Brucker, *Florentine Politics,* p.151, describing the years 1354-1361.

256 Ibid., p.176.

257 Ibid., p.182.

258 Ibid., p.222.

259 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.299.

260 Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.737.

261 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.222.

262 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p. 308.

was frequently represented in the Lana guild.[263] Leonardo Strozzi was also of the oligarchic faction; he was deemed eligible for election to the important vicariate of Valdinievole in the *squittino* (scrutiny) of 1349,[264] and was a prior in 1374 [265]and 1378.[266] There is no evidence to show the banker Guido di Pere Baldovinetti's political affiliations[267] as the Baldovinetti family had members in both factions.[268] His brother, however, Priore di Pere was proscribed in 1378 and was thus, at least then, in opposition to the Parte oligarchy.[269]

The building of the church was further troubled by famines in 1351 and 1353 and by increasing communal supervision of confraternity funds[270] following the conviction of seven Orsanmichele officials for fraudulent dealings with the Monte. In November 1358 a record of the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore[271] shows that the Confraternity captains, Filippo di Recco Capponi, Gerozzio Nastagio Soderini,[272] Bartolomeo di Rucco Savini, Scolaio Franchi and Biagio Guasconi, had ordered that, when the tabernacle was finished, funds were to be diverted from the confraternity's Monte shares into the repair of the back wall of Santa Reparata.[273] The captains again represent different political views and factions. Biagio Guasconi's views have been noted above. Filippo di Recco Capponi was a Ricci partisan, but, like Biagio Guasconi and Simone dell'Antella, he was noted for the independence of his

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263 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p. 34.

264 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.122,n.

265 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.288.

266 Ibid., p.314. He served as a captain of Orsanmichele in 1364 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.161) and 1373 (ibid., p.163).

267 A Guido Baldovinetti was brother-in-law of Donna Niccolosa di Domenico di Lippo de' Guidalotti, who, according to a document of 1351, was widowed in 1361, and contributed from her dowry to the chapter house of Santa Maria Novella (Richa, *Notizie*, III, p.82). Guido di Pere Baldovinetti is listed by La Sorsa as a consul of the Cambio guild in 1352 (La Sorsa, *L'Organizazzione dei Cambiatori*, p.86).

268 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.203.

269 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.383. Priore di Pere was *camerlingo* of Orsanmichele in January 1367. (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.167).

270 Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, p.73.

271 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.257.

272 The document names him only as *Gerozzius Nastagii* but a Gerozzio di Nastagio Soderini was a captain in July 1375 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.164) and is likely to be the same individual.

273 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p. 257.

opinions.[274] He was a *lanaiuolo* and director of a large mercantile company,[275] who had supported measures in 1350 to reform the Parte Guelfa by increasing its number of captains.[276] He was a prior in 1350,[277] 1365,[278] and 1377.[279] Bartolomeo di Rucco Savini's[280] opinions are not known, but another member of the family, Giovanni di Rucco, was a close friend of the conservative Chancellor Acciaiuoli in Naples.[281] This did not stop his proscription, however, in 1378.[282] Giovanni di Rucco was then elected prior in the popular government of 1379.[283]

On 28th December 1358, the captains revoked the decision about the wall of Santa Reparata and decided to use the funds to construct a chapel dedicated to Saint Anne instead: *Ac etiam quod iam ordinatum fuit - quod fieri debebatur penes honoratorium Virginis gloriose O.S.M. unam capellam seu cappellas ad honorem et reverentiam S. Anne supter alium archum.* When the chapel was complete, the funds would then be diverted back to the Cathedral.[284] The document refers clearly to a chapel rather than a church. La Sorsa and Zervas agree that the confraternity, having completed, or almost completed Orcagna's tabernacle, wished to furnish the oratory with another altar, independently of the church being constructed near Orsanmichele. This arrangement would provide the building with a certain symmetry.[285]

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274 In 1363 he supported the idea of a papal league, support which did not follow the traditional 'party line' (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.222).

275 Ibid., p.94.

276 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.211.

277 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.234.

278 Ibid., p.264, n.

279 Ibid., p.306.

280 He served as a prior in 1363 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.261).

281 Ibid., p.157. Giovanni was active in politics, having been on the commission to reform election procedures in 1349. He was probably the Giovanni di Rucco listed as a *camerlingo* of Orsanmichele in April, 1350 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.158), and as a captain in November 1350 (ibid., p.167). Bartolomeo was listed as a *camerlingo* in April 1366 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.162), and probably again, as Bartolomeo Rucchi, as captain in April 1360 and November 1363 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.167).

282 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.316.

283 Ibid., p.346.

284 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, pp. 257-8; Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.51, n.44.

285 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.114.

Thus by the spring of 1359 there were three sites dedicated to the cult of Saint Anne and connected with the confraternity of Orsanmichele: the old Benedictine convent of Sant'Anna in Verzaia, which received a third of the offerings made at Orsanmichele under the communal decree of 1345; the church commissioned by the Commune in 1349, paid for by the confraternity; and the altar or chapel commissioned for Orsanmichele itself. On the basis of surviving evidence the devotion manifested at these sites appears to be entirely political and civic. The only private chapel dedicated to Saint Anne during the fourteenth century was the Steccuti chapel in Santa Maria Novella.[286]

By 1380, the unfinished church had lost its dedication to Saint Anne and instead was dedicated to Saint Michael. The last mention of the church of Saint Anne is in a document of 18th December 1379 instructing the master, Bartolo Dini, to make a roof for the church: *Item providerunt quod Bartolommeus Dini magister fieri faciat in Ecclesia Sanctae Annae Orti Sancti Michaelis de Florentia unum cavallettum protecto dictae ecclesiae ut operas solvendas ut deliberatum fuit per Capitaneos.*[287] On 8th March 1380, the church is referred to as San Michele in a document about its roofing: *Simili modo et forma stantiaverunt Jacopo Arrighetti legnaiolo qui exhibuit lignamina pro faciendo tectum seu partem tetti Ecclesiae S. Michaelis in orto.*[288] The captains for the November to March period were Giovanni Bellocci, Francesco di Arrigo Perrachi, Duccio di Giovanni, *sellaio*,[289] Nardo Cambio, *fornaciao*, Jacopo di Alessandro Guidetti,[290] Filippo di Tedesco Foraboschi, Ventura Pucci, *corazzaio* and Francesco di Lippo Antinori.[291] The names which figure prominently in the factions of Florence are absent from this list, which contains a higher proportion of lower guildsmen than in the years before the Ciompi revolt. Filippo di Tedesco Foraboschi, also known as *Filippo, vocato Foraboscho, copertaio*, was in fact one of the Gonfalonieri di Compagnia of the guild-led government of 1379.[292] The Commune had promised to construct a church dedicated to Saint Michael near Orsanmichele to replace the one originally there. Perhaps the identification of Saint Anne with the existing Orsanmichele was already so complete that an altar within the building,

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286 This will be discussed in Chapter Six, when the iconography of its fresco scheme will be analysed.

287 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p. 238.

288 Ibid., p.238.

289 He was a prior in 1370 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.274) and in 1376 (ibid., p.299).

290 He was a prior in 1372. (ibid., p.279).

291 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.165.

292 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.326. Filippo was also treasurer of the confraternity in November 1378 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.76, n.142).

instead of a new church, seemed appropriate, or, perhaps the guild-led government preferred the dedication to Michael, another protector of Florence, according to the statute of the Podestà of 1325. This refers to Saint Michael, along with Saint John the Baptist, as *precipui, patroni ac defensores Comunis Florentie.*[293] The very name Orto San Michele, the place of Saint Michael, refers to an original church on this site dedicated to him.[294] This church had been destroyed in the thirteenth century.

This change may be linked to the factional politics of Florence in these years. The leading patrician families of Florence had participated in the overthrow of the Duke of Athens in 1343. This was a victory that had been won at the cost of the *popolo minuto*, who had benefited from the Duke's attempts to build a power base among the discontented labourers of Florence. The regime which was established after his fall was one which was more inclusive than before, but which continued to suffer from factional disputes, oligarchic struggles, and labour revolts. Could the symbol of Saint Anne be identified with an exclusive oligarchic regime, which, from the viewpoint of the lower guilds and the *popolo minuto*, was composed solely of patricians, regardless of the factions which divided that group? The documents listing the personnel involved in the confraternity at this particular stage are incomplete: they exist for January 1378, and, after a gap, begin again in February 1379. From the beginning of 1378, the names of the captains become markedly less patrician. The captains for January 1378[295] were Nardo di Cambio, *fornaciaio*, Ventura Pucci, *carozzaio*, Simone di Tucci, *ospitatore*,[296] Michele Carelli, *bottaio*, Miniato Nacci, and the more prominent names of Piero di Simone Orlandini, Iacopo di Alessandro Guidetti, and Filippo di Tedesco Foraboschi. Like Foraboschi, Michele Carelli was a member of the guild-led regime: he was one of the priors elected, representing the fourteen lower guilds, from the quarter of Santo Spirito, on the 29th August 1378.[297] The next extant list of captains is for the following year, February 1379. Orlandini, Tucci and Carelli served as captains again, with Minore di Nuccio, *setaiuolo*, Leonardo di Giovanni di Nicola, Domenico di Vanni, *cardatore*, and Michele Rulesi, *merciaio*, as their companions.[298] In March-July 1380, four of the captains were Giovanni di Conte

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293 *Statuti della repubblica fiorentina*, ed. by Romolo Caggese, 2 vols (Florence, 1921), II, *Statuto del Podestà dell'anno 1325*, p.1.

294 Arturo Bencini and Raffaello Busigniani, *Le Chiese di Firenze: Quartiere di Santa Croce* (Florence, 1982), p.156.

295 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.164.

296 A Simone di Tucci, *albergatore*, was a prior in 1372 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.279).

297 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.331.

298 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.164.

Ammanati, *pizzicagnolo*, a member of the *gente nuova* who had served in the priorate twice,[299] Nicola Guidacci, *calzolaio*, Bruno di Salvio Bruni and Bernardo di Giovanni, *cimatore*.[300] For May, the captains are listed as Dinuzzio di Stefano Lippi, Zenobio Bruni, *bicchieraio*, Gattolo di Berto Ciardi, *vetturaio*, Tommaso di Bartoli, *cordaiuolo*, Lapo Martini, *maestro*, and Tommaso di Guccio Martini, *lavoratore di lana*.[301] Only two patricians, Taddeo Bucci de Mancini and Stoldo di Matteo Gianfigliazzi, are listed. In August there is a similar mixture of lower and higher guildsmen, with Iacopo di Giovanni Chini, *spadaio*, Michele Ciati, *corazzaio*, Mato Cenni, *maestro*, Giovanni Bartoli, *spadaio*, Pierozzo di Giovanni, *lanaiuolo*, and Giovanni di Lapo Corsi. The latter was a successful politician, and sat in the Signoria in 1370 and 1375.[302] Michele Ciati had been one of the Dodici Buoni Uomini in 1378.[303] Giovanni di Lapo Corsi served again in October with Matteo Cenni, *maestro*, Iacopo Acceriti, *lanaiuolo*, Piero di Tommaso de Pascularibus,[304] Pierozzo di Govanni (again), Antonio Lippi, *maniscalco*, and Balsinello di Piero, *beccaio*. There is another break in the documents until December-March, 1382, in which the captains are named as Pietro Signorini, *lanaiuolo*,[305] Berto Martini, *oliandolo*, Nicola di Giovanni Niccolini, Giovanni di Cecco Michi,[306] Manetto di ser Piero Pucci, Nardo di Chele Pagnini,[307] who had served as Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in July-August 1379,[308] Lorenzo di ser Matteo Becchi, and Andrea Cioffi *maestro*. By the time of the next extant list, for May 1383, the popular guild government had been replaced by the old oligarchy. The captains are listed as Bindaccio di Antonio

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299 In 1366 and 1370 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, pp.266, n. and 279).

300 Ibid., p.165.

301 The descriptions of the occupations of the last two may be somewhat disingenuous: Lapo Martini was prior in 1404 (Buonaccorso Pitti, *Cronica*, p.437) and Tommaso's son Antonio, prior in 1422 (ibid., p.463). Tommaso himself had been prior in 1373 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.284).

302 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.68n. His brother Simone, a baker, sat in the Signoria in 1357, 1364 and 1376, (ibid., p.68n.) and was an *operaio* for the oratory of Orsanmichele on the 10th of March 1369. (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.67, n.117). Another brother, Francesco, was a counsellor for the Opera del Duomo in 1367 (ibid., p.67, n.) . He was a *lanaiouolo*, and sat in the Signoria in 1362 and 1366. (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.68n.)

303 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.326.

304 His name is in Latin, unlike the others which are given in Italian.

305 Pietro Signorini was *camerlingo* of the confraternity in 1336 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.147).

306 He was a prior in 1377 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.306).

307 *Operaio* for the Oratory in 1369. Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.67, n.117.

308 Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.346.

Benizio [Benizi?], Brancaccio di Berto Corsi, Donati Bonifazio di ser Donati,[309] Matteo Silvestri, Lorenzo di Giovanni Bentaccadi, Lapo di Martino *maestro*, Bartolomeo di Iacopo Dini, Lodovico di Taldino Tedaldi.

However, although the personnel of the Signoria during the guild-led government reflected a democratising tendency, the leading families of Florence continued to dominate. As Brucker, Cohn,[310] and others have shown, the Ciompi revolt was far from a purely proletarian revolution in Marxist terms. The class boundaries, although they existed, are not easily discernible. Many prominent patrician families were represented in the lower guilds, and after 1343 the number of *gente nuova* represented in the higher ranks of government rose. The Ciompi, as these authors and Richard Trexler note, used the old symbols of power such as banners and the conferral of knighthoods on various citizens.[311] The defeat of the Ciompi was welcomed not only by the patricians but also by members of the lower guilds, who felt alienated from the more radical demands of the Ciompi leaders. It was the guild of innkeepers who petitioned the Signoria that the feast of their patron, Saint Julian, be celebrated as a communal holiday because the Ciompi had been defeated on that day.[312] The scarce documentation allows little analysis of what the leaders of the Ciompi thought of republican symbols such as Saint Anne. The chroniclers tell us little about how the feast was kept, falling, as it did, on the 26th July, right in the middle of the Ciompi revolt. The membership of the new government continued to overlap with the captaincy lists of Orsanmichele. It is difficult to discern whether Saint Anne was a symbol uniquely associated with the patrician classes and the Parte Guelfa. All that is certain is that the communal church of Saint Anne lost its dedication in this period. However the cult of Saint Anne was not forgotten or shelved. The Orsanmichele documents show that her patronage had simply shifted from a memorial church planned by the commune, to the oratory of Orsanmichele itself.

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309 His father, Bonifazio, had been a prior in 1377 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.307).

310 Samuel Kline Cohn Junior, *The Laboring Classes of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore and London [1980]).

311 Trexler, *Public Life*, pp.340-47; on the knighthoods, see Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, pp.381-2, and Ammirato, p.728.

312 Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, I, p.144.

II.
The Cult 1382-1434

The oligarchic regime of 1382 to 1434 kept the imagery of Saint Anne as protectress of Florentine liberty alive. There is ample evidence to show that the cult was observed. In 1386 the Signoria passed a provision requiring the heads of all the city's churches and religious institutions to take part in the procession and to make offerings at the altar of Saint Anne on her feast day. According to this provision, the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia was to make a special offering at the altar.[313] Although in July 1389 [314] the captains limited the amount spent on the feast day of Saint Anne, and in 1403, the government also demanded that excessive expenditure on the feast be curtailed,[315] devotion at the site does not seem to have waned. In 1388 the writer Franco Sacchetti placed his translation of *Stabat Mater*, the prayer attributed to Saint Gregory, behind the altar of Saint Anne,[316] as he records in his poem about the Bianchi:

Cantavano divota orazïone
di San Gregorio fu il suo sermone;
comincia: 'Stabat mater dolorosa,
seguendo: iuxta crucem lacrimosa'.
(In Orto san Michele ell'è descritta,
nell'altar di sant'Anna, vera e dritta:
venendo alle mani a me scrittore,
di farla scriver là io fui autore
nell'ottantotto, del mese d'agosto,
là dove'l nostro Signore è disposto).[317]

Sacchetti was closely connected with the later development of the cult of Saint Anne in Orsanmichele. He was elected *operaio* of the Oratory frequently between 1389

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313 Richa, *Notizie*, I, p.12.

314 Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.107, no.237. The captains for that period are listed on p.176 as Agnolo di Sandro Biliotti, Niccolò di Rosso Bagnesi, M. Stoldo di M. Bindo Altoviti and Salvestro di maestro Benvenuti.

315 Ibid., p.118, no.275.

316 Ibid., pp.101-102.

317 Franco Sacchetti, *Il Libro delle Rime*, ed. by Franca Brambilla Ageno (Florence, 1990), p.466, and quoted in Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.115.

and his death in 1400. He was also the author of the decorative scheme of the late fourteenth century in Orsanmichele, described in another poem.[318] There are records of payments made to craftsmen for embellishments made to the altar in 1402[319] and 1409.[320] A *palio* was instituted in 1404, which showed that, even if expenses were to be curtailed, the interest in the cult was still to be fostered:

> *talis est videlicet: pro honore rei publice et ad perpetuam memoriam liberatis civitatis florentie et ut civium mentibus sit infixum qualiter de Sce Anne de mense Julii populis florentinus per dei gratiam et virtutem bonorum civium extitit a tyrannide attenarum ducis liberatus.*[321]

The *palio* was described by the wine merchant, Bartolommeo del Corazza, in his journal in 1405:

> *Memoria che addì 25 di luglio, il dì di Sant' Anna, si corse di rosato orrevole e bello; dieronsi le mosse alla capannuccia, fuori della porta della Croce. Tennesi il palio alla piazza de' Tornaquinci; ebbe il palio quello da Urbino.* [322]

In 1390 the chancellor of Florence, Coluccio Salutati, wrote a letter to the pope describing the work of the confraternity and the miracles attributed to the Madonna of Orsanmichele. He requested that indulgences be granted in order to aid the construction of the oratory:

> *Quocirca benignitati vestre sanctitatis devotione quanta possumus supplicamus, quatenus illud venerabile tabernaculum visitantibus ac societati per quam ille locus regitur, que dicitur societas Sancte Marie in Orto Sancti Michaelis, que non solum illam sumptuosissimam fabricam construxit, instituit et ornavit, sed ignis elemosine dispensatione vestit pauperes*

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318 Ibid., pp.480-482, and Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.115. This scheme will be discussed in Chapter Six.

319 Ibid., p.162, no.262.

320 Ibid., p.122, no.290.

321 A.S.F. *Provvisioni registri*, no.93, April 1404, f.114r. I owe this reference to Professor Samuel Kline Cohn Jr., Department of History, Glasgow University.

322 Del Corazza, *Diario*, p.19. The date of the 25th is explicable by the *Provvisione* of 1344, which clearly states that the feast of Saint Anne should be celebrated on the 26th or *near* that date. The 25th is also the vigil of the feast.

indigentibus subvenit et constitutis dotibus derelictas virgines nuptui tradit, manus porrexerit adiutrices in singulis festivitatibus virginis gloriose, Conceptionis videlicet, Nativitatis, Annuntiationis, Assumptionis et Purificationis, ac etiam in die beate Anne, matris Virginis supradicte, ac ipsarum solemnitatum Vigiliis et octabis, et omnibus diebus quadragesimalibus, ac etiam cunctis temporibus, quarta feria et quolibet dictorum dierum, illam remissionem concedere dignetur vestra benignitas, quam in largitate vestre clementie decreveritis indulgere, ut crescat ad verum Deum frequens et crebra devotio et amplo determinate gratie dono qui locum illum adierint et societatem prefatam adiuverint, sperent in Dei misericordia munerari.[323]

Salutati makes it clear that the Conception of the Virgin was celebrated at Orsanmichele by this date. The indulgences were granted; in 1402 the captains applied for their renewal.[324] The use of communal musicians at Orsanmichele for the feasts of the Virgin and Saint Anne was instituted in 1388;[325] from 1413, the musicians were to be used only for the feast day of Saint Anne. That same year the papal singers of Pope John XXIII celebrated the feast day of Saint Anne at Orsanmichele.[326] The oratory was given collegiate status in 1415.[327] The following year the captains decreed the days on which the miraculous Virgin could be unveiled: Saturday evenings, Sunday mornings, the four principal feasts of the Virgin, Christmas, Easter, the two feasts of Saint Michael, the Ascension of Christ, the Visitation of Saint Elizabeth, the feast of Saint Anne, and for all processions.[328] In 1427 the Calimala guild hired musicians only for the feasts of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Anne.[329] At this date, the confraternity hired musicians regularly only for the feast of Saint Anne.[330] Thus, in the late 1420s, the cult of Saint Anne was being maintained both by the government and the captains of Orsanmichele. Even in the midst of the competition between the guilds for the best means of displaying the images of their own patron saints, and despite more recent additions to the Florentine pantheon, her status was protected.

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323 Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.107, no.250.

324 Ibid.

325 Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, p.160.

326 Wilson, *Music and Merchants,* p.86.

327 Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, p.187.

328 Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, p.87, n.

329 Ibid., p.82.

330 Ibid., p.86.

III.
The Cult 1434-1494

The cult continued to be celebrated under the Medici. Cosimo himself had served as a captain of Orsanmichele in August 1418,[331] while Giovanni di Bicci, his father, was an Orsanmichele captain in August 1419[332] and August 1422,[333] and his brother, Lorenzo di Giovanni, was a captain in October 1421.[334] Piero di Cosimo de' Medici was an *operaio* for the tabernacle of the Mercanzia in Orsanmichele in 1463.[335] In February 1461 the government reduced the number of feasts to be celebrated, but retained the feasts of Saints Anne, Barnabas, Peter and Paul, Victor, Reparata, and Dionysius.[336] The *Provvisione* also mentions Orsanmichele as the Oratory of Saint Anne, thus renewing terminology used in the 1380s.[337]

The celebration of Saint Anne's day on the 26th July in commemoration of the overthrow of the Duke of Athens continued throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the *palio* and procession being described by Benedetto Dei in the 1470s, *fàssi la gran festa della chorssa del palio di Sant' Anna per 1ª vettoria auta*[338] and by Luca Landucci in the 1480s:

> *E insino a questo dì, Gostanzo mio fratello aveva vinto 20 palii col suo barbergo Draghetto, cioè 20 palii da dì 8 d'ottobre 1481, insino a dì 25 di giugno 1485; che fu el primo Santa Liperata, e poi di Sant'Anna; San Vettorio più volte.*[339]

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331 Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.195.

332 Ibid., p.196.

333 Ibid., p.198. Giovanni di Bicci had matriculated in the Cambio guild in 1386. Dale Kent, *The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence* (Oxford, 1978), p.38.

334 Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.197. Other members of the Medici family who served as captains in Orsanmichele were: Averardo di Francesco in December 1425 (ibid., p.200), Fantino di Giovanni in August 1387 (ibid., p.175), Francesco di Bicci in June 1396 (ibid., p.180), Manetto di Neri in June 1392 (ibid., p.178), Niccolò di Vieri in June 1427 (ibid., p.201).

335 Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, p.217.

336 Ibid., p.210.

337 Ibid., p.145. Zervas cites a number of other documents relating to the Guelf party and to the Mercanzia in which the words Oratory of Saint Anne are used to describe Orsanmichele.

338 Benedetto Dei, *Cronica*, p.93.

339 Luca Landucci, *Diario*, p.50.

Although the cult of Saint Anne was perhaps not as enthusiastically championed by the Medici as, for instance, the cult of the three Magi or of Saints Thomas, Laurence or Julian, neither was it suppressed. The Medici, although in practice the rulers of Florence, had perhaps more need than most to pay lip-service to the ideals of fepublicanism. They too had participated in the overthrow of the Duke of Athens and had no reason to fear the symbolism of Saint Anne more than that of any of the other 'victory' saints mentioned earlier.

IV.
The Cult 1494-1528

Savonarola discussed the intercessionary powers not only of Saint Anne but also of Joachim in his *Compendio di Rivelazioni*. This was published with a foreword by Savonarola, who explained that his text was in the vernacular as well as in Latin so that it could be read by all, men and women alike:

> *acciocché le cose sue non venghino in derisione, massime essendomi detto che queste nostre cose così scorrette e piene d'errori sarebbon messe in stampa e pubblicate per tutto; e acciocché per nessun modo elle possino esser viziate e estorte l'ho pubblicate così latine come vulgare, perchè così saranno più comune a ciascheduno. Pregando tutti li uomini e le donne che le leggeranno che, se odono dire me aver prenunziate altre cose nel tempo passato insino al presente giorno nel quale è stato composto questo libretto che quelle le quale in esso siene scritte, non le credino, perché li nostri amici tepidi e sapienti di questo mondo mi hanno apposte molte cose false così dentro da Firenze come di fuori, benché più fuori che dentro.*[340]

Savonarola, interestingly, does not speak of Saint Anne here as a republican symbol, but as a married saint who represented those who were *nel governo delle cose terrene, per lo impedimento delle quale non si può l'uomo elevare tanto da terra come quegli che menano vita continente*. Such people nevertheless lived as good Christians and thus gave to the world *virtute grande odore: come la viola mammola, la quale, benché molto non sia elevata da terra, è però molto piacevole e odorifera.*[341] Savonarola, in narrating his vision, describes these married saints as follows:

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[340] Girolamo Savonarola, *Compendio di Rivelazioni. Testo Volgare e Latino. E Dialogus de Veritate Prophetica*, ed. by Angela Crucitti (Rome, 1974), pp.4-5.

[341] Savonarola, *Compendio*, p.86.

Questi che tu vedi sedere alla destra e alla sinistra in terra, al primo grado, sono in questa tua causa speziali avvocati e parleranno a te per tutti li altri. Di questi alla destra l'uno è santo Ioachin e l'altra è santa Anna, l'uno padre e l'altra madre di Maria Virgine gloriosa. Questi altri alla sinistra sono santo Zaccaria e santa Elisabet, padre e madre di santo Ioanni Battista -. Li quali io vedendo, con grande reverenzia gli salutai e dissi: - Adiciat Dominus super vos, super vos et super filios vestros - . Risposono: - Benedicti vos a Domino, qui fecit caelum et terram - . E esposto a loro quel che io andavo a fare e il misterio della corona, dopo molte dolce parole domandai lo adiutorio delle loro orazioni. E statim furono da loro conteste due bellissime grillandette di viole mammole e applicate alle base di dua de' primi cuori della nostra corona, e disseno: - Queste sono le nostre orazione, le quali vi aiuteranno; e pregheremo Dio che dia tanta grazia nella città di Firenze, che li loro matrimonii siano casti e immaculati come richiede tale sacramento, el quale significa la unione di Cristo e della Chiesa -. E levoronsi tutti e quattro per seguitarci e darci adiutorio, e l'altra loro compagnia tutta si messe in orazione devotamente.[342]

Although the interest here appears to be in Saint Anne's status as a married saint, it cannot be assumed that the general perception of Saint Anne had changed from that of her as a symbol of Republicanism. The political significance of the cult of Saint Anne continued throughout the Renaissance period. Vasari[343] describes the *palio* in the 1530s, and Bocchi writes of it as being run as late as 1591, when he mentions it it in his *Bellezze*.[344] Writing in 1754 Richa uses the imperfect *correva* in connection with the *palio*, implying that the *palio* was no longer being run even though the feast itself may still have been celebrated.[345]

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342 Ibid., p.87.

343 Vasari, Life of Pontormo, describes the altarpiece painted for the nuns of Sant' Anna in Florence, now in the Louvre **[pl. 6.32]** in which the procession of the Signoria is painted (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p.273).

344 Francesco Bocchi, *Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze, dove a pieno di pittura, di scultura, di sacri Templi, di Palazzi, i più notabili artifizj, e più preziosi si contengono*, ed. by John Shearman (Florence, 1591, repr. Farnborough, 1971), p.99.

345 Richa, *Notizie*, I, p.29: *A 26. di Luglio la Signoria v' interveniva ogni anno a offerta con tutte le Capitudini delle Arti, si correva un palio, ed altre cose di somma allegrezza facevansi quel giorno, ordinate nello Statuto fatto nel 1343. a i.28. di Ottobre.* It must also be noted that Roger Crum and David Wilkins, 'In Defence of Florentine Republicanism: Saint Anne and Florentine Art, 1343-1575',

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All the existing documentary evidence shows that the cult of Saint Anne in Florence was administered by individuals significant in civic affairs who came from both the patrician and popular factions. Many were experienced not only in the affairs of government and Orsanmichele, but also served as *operai* for various Cathedral projects. Members of the Alberti, Medici and Ricci families promoted the cult as did the families of opposing factions such as the Albizzi and the Guasconi. To judge from the surviving evidence, the cult in Florence was wholly political, whereas in other places the Saint was venerated for more maternal and feminine qualities. Although the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception may have influenced the Florentine cult, no connection was made between it and the political nature of the feast.

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in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens, Georgia, 1990), pp.131-169 (p.152), suggested on the basis of Vasari's use of the imperfect tense that the feast was no longer celebrated in his day: this is in fact unlikely as it is recorded by Bocchi, fifty years later. The imperfect tense may refer to the *way* in which it was celebrated by the procession to Sant' Anna in Verzaia.

CHAPTER 5

NARRATIVE ICONOGRAPHY OF SAINT ANNE IN FLORENCE

The year 1343 marks a turning point in the political identity of Florence and a new role for a saint usually seen only as a mother or grandmother: that of protectress of Republican liberty and the Florentine civic identity. The questions that need addressing are whether this new role yielded a new iconography appropriate to such a function, and whether the traditional iconography of Saint Anne changed significantly after 1343. In an attempt to address these questions, this chapter is divided into three sections: the first section discusses narrative iconography; the second looks at devotional images, and the third examines why the Holy Kindred was not depicted in Florentine art despite its appearance in Florentine texts.

Introduction: Narrative Art before 1343

An examination of the pre-1343 cycles such as those in the Baroncelli chapel, and the predella panel of a polyptych attributed to Bernardo Daddi and dated to 1333, may be contrasted with later cycles in order to ascertain the extent to which the cult which was instituted in 1343 influenced Marian iconography.

The earliest monumental narrative scenes in Florence to depict Saint Anne are in the Baroncelli chapel in the Franciscan church of Santa Croce **[pls. 5.1, 5.2]**. The patronage of the frescoes is uncertain, but a tombstone, bearing the date 1327 and the names of members of the Baroncelli family, indicates Baroncelli ownership of the chapel contemporary to the fresco cycle.[1] Documents discovered by Milanesi[2] and published by Sapori[3] seemed to suggest that the patrons of the frescoes were Tano and Mico Baroncelli. Later scholars, however, believe that this documentation refers

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[1] The inscription reads as follows: IN NOMINE DOMINI ANNI MCCCXVII DEL MESE DI FEBRAIO SI DIFIGHO ET CHOMINCIO QUESTA CHAPELLA PER BIVIGLIANO ET BARTOLO ET SALVESTRO MANETTI ET PER VANNI ET PIERO BANDINI DE BARONCELLI. Vasari (1550) I, p.160.

[2] Vasari-Milanesi, I, p.573.

[3] Armando Sapori, *I Libri del Comercio dei Peruzzi* (Milan, 1934), III, p.33 and IV, p.26.

to the other Baroncelli chapel in the same church.[4] The inscription clearly states that the members of the family responsible for endowing the chapel were Bivigliano, Bartolo, and Salvestro di Manetto, for Vanni and Piero Bandini Baroncelli. A Salvestro Baroncelli was a godparent of Giovanni Villani, and was important in the negotiations with Charles of Calabria in 1327,[5] a Bartolo dealt with the custom duties of Bologna in 1319, and a Bivigliano was prior of the city in 1331-1332, and 1339, and a consul of the Calimala guild in 1329.[6]

The narrative was painted by Taddeo Gaddi. It begins with the Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple and the Annunciation to Joachim and Anne. **[pl.5.3]** These two scenes are shown in continuous narrative in the lunette on the left wall of the chapel. The narrative reads in two tiers of two scenes each, from top to bottom and from left to right: the Meeting at the Golden Gate and the Birth of the Virgin below the lunette, with the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the Betrothal of the Virgin on the lowest tier. There are illusionistic painted niches at dado level that contain various still life objects, including liturgical equipment. The narrative then wraps around to the altar wall where it must fit around a Gothic two-light window. The three-tier structure is used again, with the Annunciation to the Virgin on the left hand side of the window, followed by the Visitation on the right. The narrative returns to the left and the lower tier, with the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and the Nativity, and concludes with the Journey of the Magi and the Adoration of the Magi on the third tier.

The Expulsion in the Baroncelli chapel **[pl.5.4]** occupies just over half of the lunette, and little attempt is made to relate the composition to the Annunciation to Joachim which is depicted in the other half. The scenes below are all clearly separated by means of a fictive Solomonic order but no such device divides the lunette area. The temple is shown in an almost schematic way with very little attempt to suggest monumentality or substance, although interesting spatial depth is conveyed by the open arcade on the right. The temple's style is Italian Gothic, and it is shown obliquely, with a high nave area and side aisles supported on impossibly slender columns. Joachim retreats to the left, clutching the sacrificial lamb in his arms. Three men gesture to him while others are engaged in sacrifice or prayer. There are

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[4] Diana Norman, 'Those who pay, those who pray and those who paint: two funerary chapels', in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion, 1280 - 1400,* ed. by Diana Norman (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 169-195 (p.169).

[5] Villani, *Cronica*, p.22; Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, p.725.

[6] Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, p.725.

no women present. The overall design, with its compositional emphasis based on a right to left diagonal, works effectively in a narrow chapel where the view is oblique rather than direct.

There is no depiction of the Annunciation to Saint Anne, although, as indicated previously, the episode is found in many fourteenth-century manuscript lives of the Virgin. It is also depicted in medieval Tuscan art, as discussed in Chapter Two, for instance in the San Martino Panel in Pisa **[pl.2.5]** the frescoes in the Ubertini chapel in Arezzo **[pl.2.8]** and, even more importantly, in the frescoes in the Arena Chapel by Gaddi's master, Giotto **[pl.2.6]**. Faced with the problem of a large cycle on quite a small wall area, Gaddi simplified the stages of the legend which were depicted by Giotto; Joachim's time in the wilderness, his loneliness and shame after the expulsion, the first appearance of the angel, his sacrifice and the second appearance of the angel in a dream in which he is told to go to the Golden Gate are all omitted, and only the Annunciation is shown. Joachim is seated in the hills with the angel flying down from the left. The angel is isolated in a warm golden light which casts its glow on the surrounding mountains.

In the Baroncelli cycle Saint Anne makes her first appearance in the Meeting at the Golden Gate in the second tier of frescoes. **[pl.5.2]** Anne and Joachim are placed centrally, she to the right, he to the left. The city itself is clearly identifiable as Florence because of the distinctive shape of Santa Maria del Fiore. This can be read as an identification of Florence with the new Jerusalem or as part of the Mendicant aim to make sacred narrative more immediate by the use of local detail.[7] Saint Anne is veiled and wimpled befitting her married status, and wears a pale green dress lined with gold. Three women behind her seem to gossip among themselves, one indicating the couple with an upturned thumb. Behind Joachim a shepherd, carrying a dead sheep on a stick over his shoulder, looks out of the picture space. The city gates are shown behind the group of women at the right, but, as in so many of the Golden Gate scenes previously discussed, appear to be of little significance beyond fulfilling the requirements of the narrative.

The Birth scene is largely destroyed, but enough remains to show that it conforms to the standard Byzantine formula of a horizontal axis defined by the bed, with the bathing of the Virgin by midwives or servants in the foreground and women visiting or entering the room at the left. Although Giotto's frescoes of the Life of the Virgin for the Tosinghi chapel in the same church have been destroyed, the composition of

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[7] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford, 1972), pp.40-46.

his Birth of Saint John the Baptist in the Peruzzi chapel, of c.1325, is similar to what remains of the Baroncelli birth scene.[8] **[pl. 5.5]**

Gaddi's rendering of the Presentation in the lowest tier of the Baroncelli chapel is, however, far from formulaic. **[pl.5.6]** It sets a precedent not only for later Italian depictions of the same subject but also for Northern European art by means of a miniature in the *Très Riches Heures* for the Duke de Berry, by the Limbourg brothers which was based on Taddeo's design. The scene at first sight appears chaotic. The emphasis is vertical, with the fifteen steps to the temple ranged in zig-zag flights of five in the centre of the picture. The Virgin stands at the top of the first flight and looks back at her parents. Little attention is paid to scale. Anne and Joachim stand like monumental statues in profile, balanced at the right by the two standard male figures, one of whom points to the Virgin. The severity of the scene is counteracted by children watching excitedly, one of them clambering on to the bottom step, and by the tenderness of a priest who stoops down to receive the Virgin. Apart from the side wing containing the maidens and the fifteen steps, the temple is the same open-sided structure as in the Expulsion scene. Many of the elements found in European representations are here: the two male figures, the flight of fifteen steps which conforms to the texts, and the Virgin looking back at her parents, which does not.

The iconography of the cycle is, as to be expected, influenced by Giotto's work in the neighbouring frescoes and Byzantine-like prototypes such as the San Martino panel in Pisa. **[pl.2.5]** The Presentation in the Temple, however, shows a high degree of individuality. Interestingly Saint Anne's age is indicated more by her dress than by posture or face; while clearly not young, she is not discernibly old, unlike Joachim with his long white beard and haggard face. In this, too, the frescoes are typical of European art generally. The choice of colour for Saint Anne's robe may have been symbolic, as green is the colour of hope[9] and thus an appropriate colour for the grandmother of the Redeemer, especially as her first appearance in the cycle is outside the Golden Gate where Mary is usually understood to have been conceived.

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[8] Giotto worked not only in the Tosinghi and Peruzzi chapels, but also in the Bardi chapel, where he painted a Life of Saint Francis (Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, I, p.603).

[9] Dante, *Purgatorio,* Canto III, lines 133-5, refers to green as the colour of hope: *Per lor maladizion sì non si perde,/Che non possa tornar l'eterno amore,/ Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde.* Dante Alighieri, *Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri,* ed. by Arnaldo della Torre and Giustiniano degli Azzi (Florence, 1921),p.54. This is just one of many medieval references to the colour, but one with which Taddeo may have been conversant.

The Marian narrative in the Baroncelli chapel is contained within a greater programme, encompassing not only the walls but also the outside of the chapel. The viewer is welcomed into the chapel by four prophets, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel. Below is Christ among the Doctors, and in the intrados of the arch are more Old Testament types. The overall scheme is one of the Old Law being superseded by the New.[10] The Baroncelli chapel was enormously influential on Florentine painting in the second half of the fourteenth century, not only in stylistic terms, but also, as will be shown, in iconographic content.

Another life of the Virgin is to be found in a textile designed to cover the high altar of the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella, dating from c.1336, by Jacopo di Cambio.[11] **[pl.5.7]** The narrative begins with the Birth of the Virgin and continues to the Virgin's Dormition. In the Birth, Saint Anne reclines in a bed which is placed obliquely to the picture plane. The women bathe the Virgin in the foreground, and another woman approaches from the background. In the presentation scene, Anne and Joachim stand beside a staircase which rises diagonally from left to right. This, as shown before, was a popular composition in Tuscan painting. The Virgin, dressed in white, kneels at the bottom of the staircase. The main scene of the textile is the Coronation of the Virgin, which is flanked by figures of saints, including Saint John the Baptist, Saints Peter and Paul, and naturally, Dominic.

A contemporary life is in the predella to Bernardo Daddi's altarpiece of c.1340 now in the Uffizi. **[pl.5.8]** The altarpiece was originally painted for Florence Cathedral but was recorded in 1677 as being behind the high altar of San Pancrazio. It suffered serious damage in the nineteenth century when it was placed in a modern frame and it separated from one of the panels of the predella.[12] The main field of the altarpiece shows the Madonna and Child; she is surrounded by Saints John the Evangelist, Nereus and Pancras on one side, and on the other, Saints John the Baptist, Achilles and Reparata. John the Evangelist, one the foremost intercessors in the Middle Ages, Nereus and his companion martyr, Pancras (whose presence naturally led

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[10] Julian Gardner,'The Decoration of the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 34 (1971), pp.89-114 (p.103).

[11] Now in the Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti. Described in Christopher Norton, David Park and Paul Binski, *Dominican Painting in East Anglia: The Thornton Parva Retable and the Musée de Cluny Frontal* (Woodbridge, 1987), p.47; Richa mentions a *paliotto* used for the high altar of Santa Maria Novella (Richa, *Notizie*, III, p.79).

[12] Enrica Neri Lusanna, 'Daddi, Bernardo' in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. by Jane Turner, 36 vols (London, 1996), VIII, pp.441-444 (p.443).

historians to believe that the altarpiece was originally painted for San Pancrazio), John the Baptist, patron of Florence itself, Achilles, a youthful companion of Nereus and Pancras, and Reparata, original titular of the Cathedral and one of the city's protector saints. The predella had eight panels featuring the following scenes: the Expulsion from the Temple, the Annunciation to Joachim, the Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Birth of the Virgin, the Presentation of the Virgin, the missing scene (probably the *Sposalizio*), the Annunciation, and the Birth of Christ.

The Expulsion scene is much simpler than in the near-contemporary Baroncelli fresco cycle. Daddi shows the temple as a centralised building and fills the panel with it, as in Sienese depictions of the temple of the period. This temple structure is composed of three frontal bays which form a clearly articulated tall Gothic central arch flanked by side arches, all of which appear parallel to the picture plane. A sense of spatial recession is achieved by the Gothic vaults. The priest is placed centrally, behind a deep altar, in which burns the fire of the holocaust. Joachim is nimbed, looks back at the priest, and is pushed away by one figure only. Unlike the Baroncelli Expulsion, one of the figures appears to sympathise with Joachim, looking at him sorrowfully.[13] The Annunciation to Joachim follows the formula of the Baroncelli chapel but with a reversed composition. The Meeting at the Golden Gate also repeats the Baroncelli Golden Gate with the embracing couple, and the shepherds and women. The presence of the angel pushing Anne and Joachim's heads together implies that no ordinary conception is taking place.

The Birth scene in this altarpiece is directly below the main panel together with the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.**[pl.5.9]** Saint Anne is seated in bed; in the foreground the Virgin is being bathed, in the background women are bringing gifts of food and water, just as in Byzantine painting and the San Martino panel. Daddi's panel is interesting in that it suggests a church-like interior, with a row of two-light Gothic windows situated high above the canopied bed. Such an interior is also suggested by Giusto da Padova's fresco of the Birth of the Virgin in the cathedral baptistery in Padua. **[pl.2.37]** In the light of other Sienese elements it is interesting to note that Pietro Lorenzetti's altarpiece of the Birth of the Virgin for the cathedral in Siena also suggests a church interior. **[pl.2.30]** The complex symbolism of Northern European art can provide explanations for the use of architecture to convey meaning

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[13] Sympathy for Joachim is shown by figures in the frescoes by Ugolino di Prete Ilario in Orvieto Cathedral, and in a Tuscan panel now in the National Gallery in Prague, both discussed in Chapter Two.

in paintings such as Jan Van Eyck's Madonna and Child in a Church[14] **[pl.5.10]** and, much later and much further afield Altdorfer's Birth of the Virgin in a Church, **[pl.2.33]** are symbolic expressions of the identification of the Virgin as the Church of Christ. Such complexity would appear to have no place in the interpretation of fourteenth-century Italian fresco painting and altarpiece design, in which the narrative appears to be relatively straightforward, and the detailed realism, essential to the Panofskian interpretation of Northern symbolism, is absent. Perhaps these interiors are simply church-like domestic interiors, or perhaps a devotional link *is* being made between the liturgical feast of the Birth of the Virgin and *Ecclesia*.

In the Presentation in the Temple Daddi depicts ten steps, which occupy most of the panel in a series of broad shallow tiers, the middle one, upon which the Virgin stands, being wider than the others and thus dividing the staircase into two flights. Saints Anne and Joachim stand at the bottom while the Virgin is welcomed by a priest with outstretched arms. Unusually, the high priest is standing in the side bay rather than the central bay. Here Daddi appears to be looking to Sienese models again, rather than the contemporary Baroncelli frescoes. The steps, unlike Gaddi's narrow zig-zag staircase, nearly fill the entire picture. The arrangement of the steps, curving around a three-bay structure, suggests a hexagonal temple, typical of the centralised structures of Sienese painting, as in the The Presentation in the Temple of Ambrogio Lorenzetti (1342). **[pl.2.32]**

It appears that little devotional significance can be attached to the depiction of Saint Anne in these predella scenes. As in narrative art elsewhere, Saint Anne played a prominent part in cycles of the Life of the Virgin, in which she appeared as a woman identifiable by her nimbus, veil, wimple, and, perhaps most importantly, the narrative order in which she appeared. Saint Anne appeared in Florentine narrative scenes of the Life of the Virgin before 1343 as and when the narrative required.

I.
Narrative Art 1343-1382

The earliest Marian cycle to be commissioned after the devastating Black Death was the high altar area of the Dominican Santa Maria Novella. Although the frescoes are now destroyed, Vasari states that Ghirlandaio, who painted the chancel in the late fifteenth century, followed the original compositions:

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[14] Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 2 vols (New York, 1971), I, pp.144-148.

[...]*poi, essendo disideroso, per fare vaghi componimenti d'istorie, d'esser abbondante nell' invenzioni, attesto con tanto studio al disegno, [...] che, come una cosa tira l'altra, provatosi a dipignere con i colori a tempera e a fresco, riuscì tanto bene con l'aiuto di Bernardo Orgagna suo fratello, che esso Bernardo lo tolse in compagnia a fare in Santa Maria Novella, nella cappella maggiore, che allora era della famiglia de' Ricci, la vita di Nostra Donna. La quale opera finita, fu tenuta molto bella; sebbene, per trascuraggine di chi n'ebbe poi cura, non passarono molti anni, che, essendo rotti i tetti, fu guasta dall'acque, e perciò fatta nelmodo ch'ell' è oggi, come si dirà al luogo suo; bastando per ora dire che Domenico Grillandai, che la ridipinse, si servì assai dell' invenzioni che v'erano dell' Orgagna.*[15]

It is of course impossible to tell what scenes were painted, much less how Saint Anne was represented within them, but if Ghirlandaio followed the original sequence as suggested, the scenes concerning Anne would have run from the Expulsion of Joachim to the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, the standard scenes to be found in Marian cycles and depicted in the Baroncelli cycle of twenty years earlier.

Little can be said about the commission, except that, if Vasari can be believed, the chapel was in the hands of the prominent Ricci family: a family whose wealth derived from banking and the cloth trade and which was mainly based in the district of San Giovanni.[16] Although the iconography cannot be reconstructed, the decoration of the high altar area of a large Mendicant church is a prominent display of the Ricci's wealth and power in the post plague period. However, Patricia Simons suggests that the Tornaquinci family were in fact more likely to have had patronal rights over the high altar area, in which case the continuity between the frescoes commissioned from Orcagna, and those of Ghirlandaio nearly a century and a half later may be greater than even Vasari proposed.[17] In either case, the patronal family

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15 Vasari -Milanesi, I, pp.594-5.

16 Gene Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society: 1343-1378*, Princeton Studies in History, 12 (Princeton, 1962), p.125. See Chapter Four.

17 Patrician Simons, 'Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence', in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by F. W. Kent, Patricia Simons, with J.C. Eade (Canberra and Oxford, 1987), pp.221-250; Richa, *Notizie*, III, pp.8-9. The Tornaquinci were a patrician family of the San Pancrazio *sesto* (Villani, *Cronica*, III, p.303). They had close connections with Santa Maria Novella. Forese Tornaquinci gave land for the construction of the church in 1222

of this chapel was a prominent family in Florentine politics. The role of the Ricci family in Florentine politics, and its activities in Orsanmichele, have already been described. The Tornaquinci, although deemed to be of magnate status, were also prominent. As already shown, Testa Tornaquinci was one of those elected in the emergency *balìa* of 1343.[18] Unlike the Ricci, however, the Tornaquinci are not found in the lists of captains of Orsanmichele in the post-1343 period.[19]

More revealing is another work by Orcagna, the sculptural relief of the tabernacle of the miraculous Virgin in Orsanmichele dating to the 1350s and thus post-dating both the overthrow of the Duke and the outbreak of the Black Death. As has already been discussed, Orsanmichele was one of the most important devotional centres of Florence, and the confraternity of Orsanmichele had already been entrusted with the fostering of the cult of Saint Anne. The tabernacle was commissioned around 1352[20] and was signed and dated by Orcagna in 1359.[21] The captains appointed four officials, a treasurer and a notary for the oratory in 1352.[22] These individuals were

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(Richa, *Notizie*, III, p.9). Ghita di Cardinale Tornaquinci, and her mother, Guardina, founded a chapel in the church in 1325, dedicated to St. Luke (ibid., p.69).

18 Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.34.

19 Members of one branch of the family are found in the records of Orsanmichele before 1343: Cino di Bernardo Tornaquinci was captain in 1308 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia di Orsanmichele ovvero una Pagina della Benificenza in Toscana nel Secolo XIV* (Trani, 1902), p.136, and 1327, p.141). Marabottino di Bernardo was captain in 1320 (ibid., p.137), 1326 (ibid., p.140), and 1332 (ibid., p.144); Piero di Bernardo was captain in 1334 (ibid., p.145), and 1339 (ibid., p.149). Consorts of the Tornaquinci, the Popoleschi, are represented in Orsanmichele captain lists in the later fourteenth century: Aghinolfo di Niccolò di Gino Popoleschi in 1392 (Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents, 1336-1452* (Modena, 1996), p.177), and in the early fifteenth century, Salvestro di Tomaso Popoleschi, in 1421 (ibid., p.197).

20 La Sorsa, *La Compagnia di Orsanmichele*, p.107. Cassidy points out that the idea for a tabernacle probably originated in 1346-7 when Daddi was engaged on the painting of the new Madonna, thus pre-dating the plague. This has implications more for the financing of the tabernacle than for Orcagna's compositions. Brendan Cassidy, 'The Financing of the Tabernacle of Orsanmichele', *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 8.1 (1988), pp.1-8 (p.1).

21 Nancy Rash Fabbri and Nina Rutenberg, 'The Tabernacle of Orsanmichele in Context', *Art Bulletin*, 63 (1981), pp.385-405 (p.385).

22 Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.33.

Schiatta Ridolfi[23] of the quarter of Santo Spirito, Giovanni dell'Antella of Santa Croce,[24] Giovanni Perini of Santa Maria Novella, Richardo di Francieschino degli Albizzi of San Giovanni,[25] and, Bernardo di Niccolò di Bocchino Rimbaldesi as *camerlingo*.

Schiatta Ridolfi was already a confraternity captain when he was appointed to look after the tabernacle.[26] He was an experienced captain, having already served in the crisis of 1348.[27] He was allied with the popular faction, and spoke in favour of the October 1350 provision restoring the fourteen lower guilds.[28] The Dell'Antella family was usually allied with the Albizzi faction, and, as already shown, had many members represented in the captain lists of Orsanmichele. As the politics of Giovanni Perini and Bernardo Rimbaldesi are not known, the committee cannot be defined as either Albizzi or Ricci, but with Schiatta Ridolfi and Francesco Albizzi in its number it can at least be seen, as having representatives of both factions.

The tabernacle was placed in the south east corner of Orsanmichele and could be approached on all four sides until the arches of the loggia were closed in 1366.[29] The front of the tabernacle contained the miraculous image of the Virgin, and at the back Orcagna sculpted the large image of the *Madonna della Cintola*. Beneath these images were small narrative panels of the Life of the Virgin, interspersed with images of the Virtues and the Patriarchs. Joachim and Anne appear only in the Birth of the Virgin and in the following scene of the Presentation which are the only narrative scenes on the north side of the tabernacle. **[pl.5.11]** The other Marian scenes are the Sposalizio, Annunciation, the Nativity of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Annunciation to the Virgin of her death, and, occupying the main field at the back of the tabernacle, the *Madonna della Cintola*.

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[23]Schiatta was confirmed as a captain of Orsanmichele in the 1348 provvision. (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.34). He was also a captain in 1352 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.159), and was a treasurer of the Opera del Duomo in 1357 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.34).

[24] He was also a counsellor for the Opera del Duomo in 1357 (ibid.).

[25] Also counsellor for the Opera del Duomo in 1355 and again in 1357 (ibid.).

[26] La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.159, and Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.34.

[27] La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.226, and Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.34.

[28] Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, p.124. As shown in the previous chapter, not all of the Ridolfi family were allied with the popular faction. Niccolò di Cione Ridolfi and his brother Antonio were both allied with the Albizzi family.

[29] Ibid. p.386.

It can be argued that this tabernacle celebrates not just one, but four cults: the miraculous image of the Virgin of Orsanmichele itself, Saint Anne, Saint Michael (the original titular of the site), and the *Madonna della Cintola.*[30] The prominence of the Assumption, hitherto rarely depicted in this form, on the corresponding face to the miraculous image shows its importance as both a didactic and devotional image. However, the dichotomy between the devotional and the narrative again throws doubt on a clear reading of the Life of the Virgin being synonymous with the cult of Saint Anne. Given the evidence linking Orsanmichele to the cult, it is unlikely that the iconographical choices made were arbitrary, yet the number of scenes representing Saint Anne is drastically reduced from the four in the Baroncelli cycle to two. This may, partially at least, be explained by the fact that the scale and medium of the tabernacle is very different from that of a frescoed chapel, and also by the proximity of the altar and statue of Saint Anne on the north corner, which may have rendered further imagery devoted to her unnecessary. It must also be remembered that the Capitani were at the time, on command of the Signoria, engaged in building the church, then dedicated to Saint Anne, in which an altarpiece and decorative scheme would presumably have been projected.[31]

The sequence of scenes in the bas-reliefs has been shown to be influenced by the texts sung by the Confraternity.[32] The Birth **[pl.5.12]** differs little from the iconography of the Baroncelli chapel and the San Pancrazio altarpiece. As in most of the birth scenes, Saint Anne reclines on a bed with her head propped on her hand. A woman behind the bed approaches with a pitcher and basin, and two conversing women enter from the left. No direct source suggests itself for these figures, but the composition and arrangement changed little from Byzantine imagery.[33] A midwife or servant holds the swaddled child beside the bath in the foreground, and Saint Anne stretches

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[30] Brendan Cassidy has demonstrated the link between the girdles depicted in Florentine Assumptions and the popularity of the subject matter itself and the presence of the nearby relic of the Virgin's girdle in Prato. 'A Relic, Some Pictures and the Mothers of Florence in the late Fourteenth Century', *Gesta*, 30.2 (1991), pp.91-99.

[31] La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.238ff.

[32] Fabbri and Rutenberg, 'The Tabernacle of Orsanmichele', p.400.

[33] Similarities have been drawn between Orcagna's composition and those by Giotto in the Arena Chapel, Taddeo Gaddi in the Baroncelli chapel and Pietro Lorenzetti, also Giotto's Birth of Saint John in the Peruzzi chapel (Fabbri and Rutenberg,'The tabernacle at Orsanmichele', p.394). The repertoire of props such as the woman or women, the still life, the bath and the midwife or midwives seems to be so strongly part of the artistic tradition at this stage that no definite link beyond the likelihood of Orcagna's familiarity with these images seems worth establishing for the present argument.

her hand to touch the child tenderly on the cheek. The scene is framed by the curtains of Anne's bed, pulled back at the corners like the curtains which covered sacred pictures and indeed would have covered the miraculous Virgin most of the time.[34] On the other hand, the Presentation **[pl.5.13]** is wholly unlike its Byzantine precedents or even the obvious prototypes of the Baroncelli **[pl.5.6]** and Arena Chapels. **[pl.2.34]** A strong vertical staircase consisting of the traditional fifteen steps divides the composition neatly in half. The Virgin ascends the steps but looks back at her parents on either side of the staircase. She holds a book in one hand and gestures to the priest with her other hand. On the viewer's left appears a kneeling Joachim, massive in scale compared to the staircase and the Virgin. He is presented in profile, as is Saint Anne, who is kneeling on the right with her hands joined. The only figure to be placed frontally is the priest, who greets the Virgin at the top of the steps. At either side are the maidens of the temple. The composition was used by Meiss to advance his thesis of the return to duecentesque forms and severe, sombre tone in the art after the Black Death, but Fabbri and Rutenberg point out that such a criticism does not take into account the tenderness visible in the neighbouring Birth of the Virgin, or in details borrowed from the Baroncelli chapel such as the maidens in the temple or the Virgin herself, pausing halfway up the steps.[35] Clearly Orcagna's iconography draws from contemporary and near-contemporary artistic tradition, if not direct iconographic precedents, and does little to establish a powerful new role for Saint Anne as protectress of the city.

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[34] Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), I, p.114. La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.202, quotes from the 1333 *Capitoli*: *La ymagine de la nostra Donna si debbia tenere coperta com velo o vero com veli sottili e gentile di seta; e fatta la predica sotto la loggia, si debbia scoprire e mostrare le domeniche e le feste[...] E quando venissono forestieri, che la volessono vedere, debbasi scoprire e sparare di licenza del proposto o d'alchuno de'Capitani*.' This is also quoted and translated by Brendan Cassidy, 'Orcagna's Tabernacle in Florence: Design and Function', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 55 (1992), pp.180-211 (p.189).

[35] Fabbri and Rutenberg,'The tabernacle of Orsanmichele' p.395. As Brendan Cassidy demonstrates, views like those of Millard Meiss were based on Vasari's erroneous assertion that the tabernacle had been paid for by post plague legacies: 'A star witness in Meiss's argument for a postplague style in the art of the mid-trecento was Orcagna's tabernacle in Orsanmichele [...] by dissociating the tabernacle from the immediate effects of the plague by demonstrating, first, that a new tabernacle was probably foreseen before 1348 and, second, that it was not paid for from the donations of plague sufferers, the way is made clear for a more disinterested examination of the style and iconography of the figure sculpture.' Cassidy, 'The Financing of the Tabernacle', pp.3-4.

Two Marian schemes were executed in the 1360s, both in Mendicant churches. The earlier, of around 1360, is in the Steccuti chapel in Santa Maria Novella, and is attributed to Nardo di Cione,[36] **[pl.5.14]** and the second in the Rinuccini chapel in Santa Croce, dating to around 1365, was by Giovanni di Milano and the Rinuccini master.[37] **[pl.5.15]** The Steccuti chapel frescoes, like Orcagna's tabernacle, provide an interesting example of how narrative and devotional functions can combine in the iconography of the Virgin's life. The two-bay chapel is outside the church in the cloister known as the Chiostrino dei Morti adjoining the north wall. The patronage of the chapel was assigned in the fourteenth century to the Steccuti family, and in 1360, Ser Giovanni di Bartolo Isteccuto was buried here.[38] The cycle starts on the east wall with the Annunciation to Joachim at the top, then wraps around to the south wall (presumably the altar wall) with the Meeting at the Golden Gate in one bay, and the Birth of the Virgin in another. The west wall is taken up with the Presentation of the Virgin. Saints are depicted in the corners. The sequence is similar to the Baroncelli chapel although the disposition of scenes is much simpler. The lower area of the Steccuti chapel is entirely taken up with grave slabs. Both chapels present the Meeting at the Golden Gate in its normal position within the narrative and neither gives it undue emphasis, despite the different doctrinal viewpoints of the Franciscan and Dominican orders.

In 1780 Fineschi recorded the following inscription in the chapel: *Il Fondatore di questa Cappella fu sepolto nel 1360. Qui si faceva la Festa di S. Anna nel di 11 di Dicembre.*[39] In addition to this, Fineschi also records an altarpiece depicting Saints Anne and Joachim in the same chapel: *All'altare poi vi è un'antica Tavola con Sant'Anna, San Giovacchino.*[40] Although this interest in Saint Anne cannot be securely dated, Fineschi implies that the feast was celebrated in the same period as the

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[36] Raymond Van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, 19 vols (The Hague, 1923-38), III, p.482.

[37] Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, I, p.564.

[38] Vincenzo Fineschi, *Memorie sull'Antico Cimitero della Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella* (Rome, 1977), p.83; Paatz & Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, III, p.724. A Giovanni di Bartolo Steccuti was listed as a captain of Orsanmichele in April 1395 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.179). This was probably a grandson of the man buried in Santa Maria Novella.

[39] Fineschi, *Memorie sull'Antico Cimitero,* p.83.

[40] Ibid., p.79: *Nel mezzo di essa un sepolcro di marmo con arme, e lettere, che dicono Ser Giovanni di Bartolo Isteccuto et suorum.* As Fineschi was writing in the eighteenth century, his definition of *antica* is open to interpretation. His near contemporary, Giuseppe Richa, frequently used the word *antica* to refer to paintings as late as the mid-sixteenth century.

foundation of the chapel. If there was a patronal interest in Saint Anne, it may have produced differing iconography or emphasis, yet as will be shown, the same formulae used in depicting the Marian cycle were applied here. However the feast day recorded by Fineschi is the 11th December, not the 26th of July, Saint Anne's canonical feast and the day on which the Duke was overthrown. If Fineschi's date is taken as correct, it must cast doubt upon the civic significance of the chapel, perhaps indicating a private cult and the confusion between a patron's birthday or anniversary and the feast day of the Saint. Whatever the reason behind the enigmatic date, the difficulty in determining an iconography specific to Saint Anne remains.

Nardo di Cione started the fresco cycle with the Annunciation to Joachim rather than with the Expulsion from the Temple. **[pl.5.16]** The painting, very similar in composition to that of Taddeo Gaddi, shows Joachim seated on the hillside with the angel flying down from the left. Unlike the other scenes, however, another angel (or the same angel in continuous narrative) flies towards a window in a building located in the top right of the fresco, in which a woman's head and shoulders can be seen. The Annunciation to Anne is therefore taking place simultaneously, as recounted in the Golden Legend.[41] The meeting at the Golden Gate differs little from the Baroncelli meeting and others, except for the presence of a little angel pushing together the heads of Joachim and Anne. **[pl.5.17]** This appears to have been the first time an angel is placed in the scene in Florentine fresco cycles, but it does occur in the predella panel of the polyptych by Bernardo Daddi described above. **[pl.5.8]** Although it has been argued that this motif suggests the Immaculate Conception, its inclusion in a Dominican fresco cycle in Santa Maria Novella would suggest the opposite.

The pose of Saint Anne in the birth scene is reminiscent of the Orsanmichele tabernacle **[pl.5.18]** with Anne resting her head on one hand and stretching the other towards her child. The prominence of the sloping bed in a diagonally foreshortened interior is, like the Meeting at the Golden Gate, similar to the San Pancrazio polyptych, and also to a fourteenth-century fresco in San Domenico in San Miniato[42] but is quite different from the horizontal axis formed by the bed in the Orcagna relief and the Baroncelli fresco. Nardo's Presentation is quite different from those of his predecessors in the Baroncelli chapel, the Orsanmichele tabernacle and the San

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[41] The *Pseudo-Matthew* shows Anna lamenting in the garden, and then the angel appears and comforts her. This is the standard setting for Byzantine and Byzantinising representations.

[42] This fresco is attributed by Van Marle to the school of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (K.I.F. 14393 Mal. Got. (Alinari 19268 as Agnolo Gaddi) (Van Marle, *The Italian Schools*, III, p.633).

Pancrazio polyptych. **[pl.5.19]** The fresco is faded, but clearly the staircase has no more than ten steps and no fewer than eight. The staircase is steep and rises in an unbroken flight from right to left, with a richly dressed priest, surrounded by his acolytes, welcoming the Virgin at the top. The Virgin ascends looking directly ahead, thus according with the texts and not the iconographic tradition of the Tuscan Trecento. A figure crouches at the bottom of the steps, as if kissing her robe, which is a detail not found hitherto, although it is hinted at in the Baroncelli frescoes with the figure kneeling beside two children.[43] Joachim and Anna stand behind this figure, hands folded, gravely watching their daughter enter the temple, and behind them are two more figures, too badly damaged to analyse. The temple itself is not the ornate structure of the Baroncelli chapel; in fact its only visible wall is that which contains the staircase of the temple and which excludes the laity who must remain outside. This wall is bare except for a two-light Gothic window. The fact that the cycle ends with the Presentation and not with the Annunciation is unusual, and may in fact echo the patronal interest in Saint Anne already demonstrated by the altarpiece that Fineschi recorded. The figures of Saints Anne and Joachim are clearly recognisable once again by the consistency of their costume in the context of Florentine representation. Joachim is bearded, and continues to wear the rose robe. Anne, once again, is veiled, wimpled and nimbed, although here she wears blue instead of the green of the Baroncelli and San Pancrazio representations.

The scenes are interspersed with images of individual saints which may provide more information on the devotional interests of the patrons of the chapel. As befitting the site in the cloister of a Dominican church, two of the Saints are Dominicans, presumably Dominic himself **[pl.5.20]** and perhaps Thomas Aquinas. **[pl.5.21]** The other two can be identified as Saints Luke and John the Evangelist.[44] **[pl.5.22]**

The frescoes in the Rinuccini chapel are roughly contemporaneous with those of the Steccuti chapel. **[pls.5.15, 5.23]** A document, dated the 26th May 1365, shows the

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[43] Ruskin believed it to be among the earliest of such figures, although he attributed these frescoes to Giotto. John Ruskin, *Mornings in Florence, being Simple Studies of Christian Art for English Travellers* (Florence, 1892), p.22.

[44] Saint John the Evangelist's popularity as an intercessor has already been discussed. Luke's inclusion may reflect a cult within Santa Maria Novella, as the friars laid the first stone of the new church on the feast day of Saint Luke in 1279. Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine* (Florence, 1647), p.153; Richa, *Notizie*, III, p.15.

patrons of the frescoes to have been the Capitani of Orsanmichele, executing the terms of a bequest, with the testator identified as Lupo di Lizio Guidalotti.[45]

> *Domini Capitanei, actendentes quod Johanne pictor de Kaverzaio, secundum formam quorundam pactorum initorum inter eum ex una parte, et fratrem Luodovicum Johannis Custodem Sancte Crucis Fratrum Minorum de Florentia, ed parte altera, debet pinxisse cappellam sacristie Sancte Crucis intra certum tempus, certo modo et forma contentis in quadam scriptura facta manu dicit Johannis: facto partito etc. prorogaverunt illud tempus usque ad kal. novembris proxime secuturas.*[46]

The chapel is in the sacristy of Santa Croce and occupies a long narrow rectangular space. The Life of the Virgin is shown on the east wall, and, as in the Baroncelli chapel, the narrative runs from the Expulsion in the lunette at the top to the Betrothal of the Virgin in the lower right-hand corner of the wall. The same scenes are represented, running from top to bottom and from left to right. The west wall has a cycle of the lives of Saint Mary Magdalen and Christ.

Giovanni da Milano fills the top lunette with a five-bay section of a Tuscan church, the middle bay being taller than the others.[47] **[pl.5.23]** The priest pushes Joachim out of the temple, rendering him the only figure to be completely outside the building. Another figure kneels in supplication on the entrance step. The composition is dramatic, with rows of stony-faced supplicants occupying the side aisles of the church. In the final bay to the right are two rows of standing women, in the first row young and bare-headed women, and in the second, wearing veils. A row of male figures kneels just in front of the female ones, but in the next bay. The other side of the church has, in the outermost bay, two groups of standing men, some holding lambs, while in the nearest bay other men hold lambs up for the sacrifice with dramatic gestures.[48]

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[45] The document is published in Raffaello Bencini and Alberto Busignani, *Le Chiese di Firenze: Quartiere di Santa Croce* (Florence, 1982), p.33.

[46] Vasari-Milanesi, I, p.572, n. Johannes de Kavarzaio, according to Milanesi, can be read as Giovanni da Caverzajo, as Caverzajo is a small place in the territory of Como.

[47] The depiction of a church section indicating quite a degree of depth and a double scale regarding architecture and figures is not common in Florentine painting but is more usually found in Sienese art, for instance, Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation in the Temple*, 1342, in the Uffizi.

[48] The near contemporary sermons of Fra Bernardino of Siena would indicate a similar division of men and women in the audience of popular preachers, visually attested to by Sano di Pietro's panel of

The Annunciation to Joachim owes more to the Baroncelli chapel and its prototypes. **[pl.5.23]** Giovanni da Milano places the scene in continuous narrative with the Meeting at the Golden Gate and connects the two scenes by means of the hooded shepherd (taken from the Baroncelli fresco). This shepherd has a staff over his shoulder, stares out of the picture space and appears to walk from one scene to another; he is placed centrally with the angel of the Annunciation scene on a cloud directly above him. The direction in which the angel is turned leads the eye to Joachim, who is seated with his flocks and another shepherd on the hillside, looking up to the angel and protecting his eyes against the heavenly light. It should be noted that in these scenes Saint Anne wears a similar green robe to that of her predecessor in the Baroncelli chapel, and indeed Joachim's robes are also similar to those worn in the earlier cycle.

The Birth scene is similar to the Baroncelli birth in that its horizontal axis is formed by the bed and Saint Anne is depicted facing left, but the composition is busier, with two seated women caring for the child and another stretching her hands out for her. **[pl.5.24]** A greater discrepancy in dress can be seen between these women and the two standing near the doorway. The latter are dressed in clothes lined with gold, and one hands the other a tray covered with a cloth bordered in Islamic pattern. The woman seated on a stool holding her hands out for the child, while simply dressed in a plain green gown nonetheless has a gold fillet above her wimple and below her veil, indicating that the use of gold may be a pictorial device and not an indicator of social status.

At first glance the Rinuccini Presentation in the Temple **[pls.5.15, 5.23, 5.25]** is almost identical to the neighbouring Baroncelli fresco, **[pls.5.2, 5.6]** but Giovanni da Milano has simplified the spatial structure and allowed the figures to interact with each other in terms of scale and gesture. The elements are the same: Joachim and Anne on the left, the fifteen steps, the Virgin and the temple in the middle, the priests above, and on the right, the two kneeling women, the disputing men, and above, the maidens in the temple. Here, however, Joachim gestures towards the Virgin while Anne looks towards him, the Virgin climbs the steps and, as in the texts, looks straight ahead, two children look on while a third gestures for the women to look. Although in the same zig-zag arrangement, the steps are wider and shallower. The high priest occupies the centre bay of the temple, the stooping priest is less

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Fra Bernardino in the Campo in Siena; Richa also provides documentation of such divisions in Florentine churches in the Trecento (Richa, *Notizie*, I, p.64).

prominent, here occupying a side bay, and the other priests appear to dispute among themselves. More spatial depth is found in the the temple itself and in the adjoining annexe housing the Virgins. The temple, while certainly not identical to Santa Maria del Fiore, would not have been unfamiliar to the Florentine viewer with its Lombard arcading, marble panels, cusping and a campanile closely resembling the campanile of the cathedral.

In the *Sposalizio* scene in the Rinuccini chapel **[pl.5.23]** Joachim and Anne appear behind Joseph and Mary respectively as witnesses to the betrothal. They do not appear in the Baroncelli chapel, or in Orcagna's panel, but their appearance in the *Sposalizio* is not uncommon, nor, as discussed earlier, is it confined to fourteenth-century Florence, having a wide distribution over two centuries at least.

An Annunciation to Joachim in the Vatican Gallery **[pl.5.26]**[49] and a Birth of the Virgin in the Ashmolean Museum **[pl.5.27]** believed to have been painted as part of a series of predella panels in the 1370s have been attributed to Orcagna.[50] The other panels are suggested as The Flight into Egypt (also in the Vatican) and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Florence, Private Collection). No provenance has been found for the panels. The iconography of the Annunciation repeats the formula of a seated Joachim, framed by rocks, and shielding his eyes from the light. **[pl.5.26]** Rose robes are effectively contrasted with the dark colours of the stone. Interestingly, the iconography of the Steccuti chapel is repeated, with the Annunciation to Saint Anne taking place in the background. If the artist was indeed Orcagna, and the dating of the panels to the 1370s is correct, it shows the influence of the Steccuti frescoes on altarpiece design. The Birth is similar to the Orsamichele birth and is notable for the materials decorated with prominent Islamic characters. **[pl.5.27]**

In conclusion, narrative iconography appears to have been little affected in the fourteenth century by the cult instituted in 1343. Artists and patrons preferred to look to the artistic models of the early fourteenth century, in particular the Baroncelli chapel frescoes. In those narrative cycles, executed between the overthrow of the Duke in 1343 and the oligarchic government of 1382, Saint Anne is given no special

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[49] Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Il Trecento. Firenze e Siena*, translated and revised by Francesca Pomarici, Catalogo della Pinacoteca Vaticana, 2 (Vatican City, 1987), pp.18-19, no.13.

[50] *A Catalogue of the Earlier Italian Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum*, compiled by Christopher Lloyd (Oxford, 1977), pp.137-8, pl.96.

significance or civic symbols, even in those cases where a specific cult to her can be traced, such as the Orcagna tabernacle in Orsanmichele and the Steccuti chapel in Santa Maria Novella. Although little is known of the individual patrons of these frescoes, it should be assumed that all of them would have been familiar with the political symbolism of Saint Anne and most would have had some connection with Orsanmichele, the home of her cult. The families involved- the Ricci,[51] or perhaps the Tornaquinci,[52] the Steccuti, and the Guidalotti - [53] were all involved in the civic

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[51] Giovanni Ricci was *operaio* of the the Duomo in 1367 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.67) Giorgio Ricciardo Ricci was one of the officials of the Calimala guild, responsible for commissioning the font by Pisano of 1370 in San Giovanni, according to Giulio Gandi, *Le Arti Maggiori e Minori in Firenze* (Florence, 1921; repr. Rome, 1971), p.56. Giuliano Ricci was archbishop of Pisa according to Gene Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (New York and Chichester, 1969), p.186; Ugucciozzo di Ricciardo was counsellor for the Opera del Duomo repeatedly in 1366 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.87). Members of the Ricci family involved in Orsanmichele in this period included: Schiatta Ricci, *galigario*, who was captain of Orsanmichele in 1349 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia,* p.158), and was elected *operaio* for the oratory in March 1369, a position he refused. (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.67, nos.117 and 118); Giorgio Ricciardo, who was confirmed as captain in 1348 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.226), and November 1366 (ibid., p.162); Niccolò, *ritagliatere*, who was *camerlingo* in June 1346 (ibid., p.157); Paolo, captain from the quarter of Santa Croce in November 1352 (ibid., p.160); Piero di Jacopo, *camerlingo* in February 1348 (ibid., p.158); Tedaldino Ricci, the patron of the *occhio* of Santa Maria Novella (Richa, *Notizie*, III, p.23) was *camerlingo* in March 1348 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.166); Uguccione di Riccardo, captain in 1345-6 and adviser on the tracery infill and piazza extensions in April 1367 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.61, no.87). The Ricci certainly had some connections with the high altar area. Rosso de' Ricci was buried there beneath the altar in 1381(Simons, 'Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel', p.230). Rosso was a captain in May 1361 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.160). Rosso de Ricciardo Ricci, who can probably be identified as the aforementioned Rosso, was a wealthy banker of the Santa Croce quarter (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.34) and captain of the Florentine army that was routed by the Ubaldini at Lozole in 1351 (Matteo Villani, *Crronica*, p.310).

[52] The Tornaquinci had been captains of Orsanmichele but their participation seems to end with the captaincy of Piero di Bernardo Tornaquinci in October of 1339 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.149). They were somewhat under threat at this time: at the end of 1356 the Signoria demolished the Tornaquinci tower in order to embellish the piazza and the city (Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.581), and some members of the family changed their names to Popoleschi and Cardinali to benefit from the 1361 legislation enabling them to become *popolani* (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.23). The behaviour of two members of the Tornaquinci family had been less than exemplary in 1343: Giovanni Tornaquinci ceded the citadel of Pistoia and Sandro Tornquinci also ceded Florentine territory during the revolt of

life of the commune and would have been aware of Saint Anne's status as a civic saint of importance, but there is little reflection of this in the fresco cycles mentioned.

II.
Narrative Art 1382-1434

In the late fourteenth-century two Marian schemes were executed by Agnolo Gaddi, the son of Taddeo Gaddi, the artist of the Baroncelli chapel. The first, in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, was whitewashed in the eighteenth century.[54] Vasari, who thought it inferior to the same artist's Resurrection of Lazarus, gives the following grudging description:

> *perciocchè in tutta quella così grand'opera non è altro di buono che una storia, dove intorno alla Nostra Donna in una stanza sono molte fanciulle, che, come hanno diversi gli abiti e l'acconciature del capo, secondo che era diverso l'uso di que' tempi, così fanno diversi esercizj; questa fila, quella cuce, quell' altra incanna, una tesse, e altre altri lavori, assai bene da Agnolo considerati e condotti.*[55]

Unfortunately, presuming this to be a description of the Virgin's life in the Temple, there is no description of how Saint Anne appeared. The scenes depicted by Agnolo, known through descriptions by Albertini and Baldinucci, were the Birth of the Virgin, her Presentation, Visitation, Annunciation, Birth of Christ, Dormition and

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1343 (Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.473). This may have contributed to a reluctance to remember the symbolism of Saint Anne, but their actions were not isolated and many others also gave up territory.

53 The Guidalotti were important patrons of Santa Maria Novella in this period (Richa, *Notizie*, III, pp.80-82), especially the brothers Domenico, Mico and Branca di Lapo and Domenico's daughter, Niccolosa. All three men were captains of Orsanmichele: Domenico in June 1330 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.142), July 1337 (ibid., p.147), October-February 1342-1343 (ibid., p.152); Mico , a member of the Pellicciai e Vaiai (Gandi, *L'Arti*, p.33), in October 1333 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.144); and Branca in June 1320 (ibid., p.137), June 1323 (ibid., p.138), June 1328 (ibid., p.141), October 1334 (ibid., p.145) and June-October 1340 (ibid., p.150). The father of the testator Lupo di Lizio, Lizio, was captain in February 1308 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.136), June 1322 (ibid., p.137), October 1326 (ibid., p.140) and June 1332 (ibid., p.144). There is no record of Lupo's involvement as captain, but the documents are incomplete.

54 Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, III, p.215.

55 Vasari-Milanesi, 1, p.637.

Assumption.[56] According to Vasari the frescoes were commissioned by the Soderini family, but little more than this is known. The scenes are standard components of the Life of the Virgin, and frustratingly little is to be discovered as to how Saint Anne was regarded by this Guelph family, which had close connections with Saint Catherine of Siena.[57]

Fortunately the second of the cycles mentioned above survives intact in the Cappella della Sacra Cintola in Prato. The sacred relic of the Virgin's girdle had been brought to Prato by a merchant, Michele Dragomari, whose story is depicted in the same chapel. The paintings by Gaddi in the Cappella della Cintola are thus not only concerned with the life of the Virgin, but also with the story of the relic to which the chapel was dedicated. The Life of the Virgin starts in the entrance lunette with the Expulsion from the Temple and the Annunciation to Joachim and continues inside the chapel on the west wall. The wall is divided into three tiers, starting from the top tier with the Golden Gate; then, running from left to right, with the Birth of the Virgin on the next bay, goes back to the Presentation under the Golden Gate, returns to the *Sposalizio*, which is under the Birth, and similarly with the Annunciation and the Birth of Christ, which are under the Presentation and *Sposalizio* respectively. The altar wall, as is to be expected, is adorned with the Dormition, Assumption and the giving of the girdle to Saint Thomas, and the Coronation of the Virgin, while the east wall is filled with the story of Michele Dragomari and the coming of the Sacred Cintola to Prato.

Agnolo uses continuous narrative in the first lunette to depict the Expulsion from the Temple **[pl.5.28]** and the Annunciation to Joachim **[pl.5.29]** like the fresco in the

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[56] Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, III, p.215.

[57] Marvin Becker, *Florence in Transition*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1967-8), II, p.81. The Soderini also contributed captains to Orsanmichele: Gerio di Stefano in 1334 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.145); Francesco di Geri Soderini in June 1373 (ibid., p.163); his brother Niccolò was prominent in the Comune and was allied with the Albizzi: 'The wealthy patrician merchant, Niccolò Soderini, naturally associated with the party of the Guelf aristocracy' (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.126). Niccolò housed Catherine of Siena when she visited Florence and several of her letters were addressed to him (ibid., p.332); Gerozzio di Nastagio Soderini, was a captain of Orsanmichele in July 1375 (La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.164), and *camerlingo* in January 1374 (ibid., p.167); Iacopo di Piero Zucheri Soderini was captain in December of 1412, representing the quarter of Santo Spirito (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.191); Guccio di Piero Zucheri Soderini in June 1418 (ibid., p.195), and again in February 1426 (ibid., p.200); Francesco di Tommaso Soderini in June 1428, for Santo Spirito (ibid., p.202).

Baroncelli chapel painted many years before by his father, Taddeo. Several men in a group on the left dispute among themselves while Joachim departs to the right, looking back at the high priest. For the first time in Florentine art, some sympathy for Joachim is evident in the gestures of the men surrounding him, one of whom leads him off rather than pushing him away. The Annunciation to Joachim is similar to those described above, but the Golden Gate, **[pl.5.30]** while conventional in its overall composition, shows, in continuous narrative, the Annunciation to Anne in the city in the background, placing her in a window of a tower with the angel flying from the left. This composition is also found in the Golden Gate scene in the book of Hours illuminated by Giovannino dei Grassi for Gian Galeazzo Visconti. **[pl.5.31]** In Florence, only a couple of decades earlier Nardo di Cione had used a similar device in the continuous narrative in the Steccuti chapel, only in that case it was in the Annunciation to Joachim rather than the Golden Gate. **[pl.5.16]** The colours used for the robes are the familiar ones of Florentine cycles, rose for Joachim and green for Anne. Prophets waving scrolls intrude into the narrative picture space from the borders of the lunette; this is also to be seen in the lunette of the Birth of the Virgin. The layout of the Birth scene is similar to what remains in the Baroncelli chapel. The Presentation, **[pl.5.32]** unlike the strongly vertical image in the Baroncelli chapel, resembles earlier *Sposalizio* scenes in its horizontal emphasis, especially those of Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Croce,**[pls. 5.2, 5.4]** and of Giovanni da Milano in the Rinuccini chapel. **[pl.5.25]** It also strongly resembles, in its horizontal character, the Presentation of the Virgin by Bartolo di Fredi in San Gimignano.**[pl.2.43]** Anne and Joachim stand behind two kneeling women; Anne extends her hand towards the Virgin while Joachim raises his in an apparent gesture of blessing. The Virgin, holding a book, pauses on the third step and looks back at her parents, while the high priest bends down and extends his arms to her. The maidens of the temple crowd behind the priest, but two stand outside the side door talking to each other, and it appears to be at them that the priest on the far side casts a rebuking glance. Beyond the wall is an obvious borrowing from the Baroncelli chapel in which a figure hangs over a balcony looking at the scene below. The same temple and composition are used in the *Sposalizio*, but the wall is now hung with festive tapestries. Saints Anne and Joachim do not appear.

The iconography and composition of these frescoes owes much to the fourteenth-century cycles in Santa Croce, in both the Baroncelli and Rinuccini chapels. The emphasis throughout is, as is to be expected in a Marian cycle in a reliquary chapel, upon the young Virgin, not on her parents. No political symbolism appears within the chapel and no such significance can be attached to Saint Anne in this context. The devotional interests are clearly expounded on the walls in the narratives

themselves and are entirely focussed on the Cintola, and its new home in Prato, rather than any concerns of neighbouring Florence.

Another cycle of the 1380s also comes from the district, rather than the city of Florence. The polyptych of Santa Maria Impruneta **[pl.5.33]** was commissioned in 1383 by the *Pievano* Stefano and the men of the Confraternity of Santa Maria Impruneta.[58] The church, like Orsanmichele, was the home of a miraculous image of the Virgin, and is mentioned as a rival to Orsanmichele and Santissima Annunziata by Franco Sacchetti.[59] The artists Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza, painted a Coronation of the Virgin in the main field, flanked by side panels containing the twelve apostles. The predella panels and small panels surmounting the main ones depict the Life of the Virgin. The narrative of these panels is interrupted in the centre in order to depict the Man of Sorrows with Saints in the predella and the *Madonna della Cintola* in the upper tier. Above the *Madonna della Cintola* is a pinnacle panel containing the Coronation of the Virgin. Unusually, in the context of Florentine Marian narrative, the scenes include the early episodes of almsgiving: in the first Anne prays while a monk appears to be writing in a corner and Joachim is outside giving alms; in the second, three people are seated at a meal, which Joachim and Anne appear to be serving to them; and in the third, Joachim and Anne look at the table while two male figures stand outside. The narrative then continues with the Expulsion, the Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Birth, and the Presentation of the Virgin. The scenes are similar to those discussed above. The Expulsion **[pl.5.34]** is reminiscent of the Bernardo Daddi altarpiece **[pl.5.8]** in its centrally planned temple, and the priest placed behind the altar of the holocaust while an acolyte pushes Joachim to the right. The Annunciation to Joachim is also similar to other Florentine depictions, in particular the Annunciation by the Ashmolean Master. **[pl.5.26]** The Meeting at the Golden Gate and the Birth of the Virgin are also traditional, with, in the one, the retinue of women behind Saint Anne, and, in the other, the two women bathing the child in the foreground, women entering from the left, and the strong horizontal plane established by the bed. The Presentation looks back to the Baroncelli and Rinuccini chapels. The artists depict a Tuscan church type as the temple; the priest stands in the centre, ready to welcome the Virgin; and the kneeling

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[58] Richard Fremantle, *Florentine Gothic Painters from Giotto to Masaccio: A Guide to Painting in and near Florence, 1300 -1450* (London, 1975), pp. 331 and 332; Van Marle, *The Italian Schools*, III, pp.646-9.

[59] Franco Sacchetti, Letter to Iacomo di Conte da Perogia, in *Opere*, ed. by Aldo Borlenghi (Milan, 1957), pp.1115-6.

figures at the right are found. As usual, Anne and Joachim no longer figure in the narrative of the Virgin after this point.

The Sienese artist Niccolò di Buonaccorso's paintings of the life of the Virgin were probably painted for the Florentine hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, but are now divided between London, Florence and New York. These panels consist of a Presentation of the Virgin, a *Sposalizio*, **[pl.5.35]** and a Coronation. The *Sposalizio* is signed NICCOLO DE SENIS ME PINXIT; because the signature is centrally placed it has been suggested that the panel formed the centre of a triptych with the other two panels as its side wings. As the painter indicated that he was from Siena, it is unlikely that the painting was commissioned for a Sienese location.[60] The Presentation is typically Sienese, with a centrally-planned temple and the Virgin at the top of the steps, looking down at her parents with her arms crossed across her breast. The *Sposalizio* shows Saints Joachim and Anne; Saint Anne is clad in the same mauve robes that she wears in some other depictions such as the *Anna Selbdritt* by Luca di Tomè, now in the Siena Gallery. **[pl.2.61]**

The paintings by Lorenzo Monaco in the Bartolini-Salimbene chapel in Santa Trinita include both the altarpiece and the frescoes, both of which were planned and painted as part of the same scheme. The chapel belonged to the Bartolini family from 1363[61] and was dedicated to the Annunciation. Salimbene Bartolini[62] and his brother, Bartolomeo di Lionardo di Bartololomeo Bartolini Salimbene,[63] joined to *terminare*,

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60 Martin Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools*, rev. edn. (London, 1988), p.87.

61 Giuseppe Castellazi, *La Basilica di Santa Trinità: I Suoi Tempi ed il Progetto del Suo Restauro* (Florence, 1887), p.46.

62 Salimbene Bartolini was one of the *Maestri della ghabella del vino* in 1420. (*Mercanti Scrittori: Ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento - Paolo da Certaldo, Giovanni Morelli, Bonaccorso Pitti, e Domenico Lenzi, Donato Velluti, Goro Dati, Francesco Datini, Lapo Niccolini, Bernardo Machiavelli* , ed. by Vittore Branca (Milan, 1986), p.495), and an Orsanmichele captain from the quarter of Santa Maria Novella in February 1429 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.202).

63 He was a captain of Orsanmichele in October 1419 (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.190), and was an *arroto* for the Unicorno district in 1413 (Pitti, *Cronica*, p.464).

abellire, ornare, e finalmente dotare la loro Cappella gentilizia in 1405.[64] In 1407 they entrusted the administration of the chapel to the Arte del Cambio.[65]

The narrative wraps around the entire chapel, in two tiers, which are read from top to bottom, and moving clockwise, starting in the lunette on the left wall with the Expulsion, and continuing with the Meeting at the Golden Gate in the second tier. The narrative sequence is disturbed somewhat on the altar wall, where the Miracle of the Snows occupies the lunette while the Birth of the Virgin and the Presentation in the second tier are interrupted by the altarpiece in the centre, which features the Annunciation. Then the narrative, instead of following the more conventional top to bottom sequence, moves straight to the *Sposalizio* on the bottom tier and terminates with the Dormition above it.

This sequence of scenes is intended to expound the Marian life and liturgy rather than a particular devotion to Saint Anne. The chapel's dedication is clearly reflected in the altarpiece, while an interest in the Assumption and the Miracle of the Snows is shown not only by the frescoes, but also by the documentary evidence listing the feasts to be celebrated in the chapel.[66]

The Expulsion scene is badly damaged, but Joachim can be seen beside a figure who is pushing him away. **[pl.5.36]** The temple is behind, and figures move towards it from the left. As in the Steccuti chapel an angel pushes the couple's heads together. **[pl.5.37]** Joachim's robes are a deep orange, Anne's are yellow rather than the usual 'narrative' green. A shepherd moves behind Joachim, but instead of looking at the couple his attention is engaged by two small children playing in the lower left corner. The three women behind Anne appear equally uninterested in the meeting, talking amongst themselves. As in previous Florentine representations the gate itself is not emphasised; instead a city is shown encircled within the walls thus showing that they are on the oustkirts. More ambiguous is the left side of the picture, where two

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64 Castellazzi, *La Basilica di Santa Trinita*, p.45. Marvin Eisenberg, *Lorenzo Monaco* (Princeton, 1989), p.130.

65 Eisenberg, *Lorenzo Monaco*, pp.131 and 216; Frederick Antal, *Florentine Painting and its Social Background: the Bourgeois Republic before Cosimo de' Medici's Advent to Power: XIV and early XV Centuries* (London, 1947), p.300.

66 A document of 1407, published by Eisenberg, *Lorenzo Monaco*, p.216, in which the supervision of the chapel is ceded by the family to the Arte del Cambio, prescribes that masses be celebrated annually on the Feast of the Annunciation (25th March) and on another unspecified day in August, which could possibly have been the Feast of the Snow on the 5th day of that month, or the Assumption on the 15th.

children are shown sitting on a rocky ledge, which curves around to reveal a rose-coloured bridge over a blue river or stream leading to the sea. Beyond is a rocky island with tall pink buildings on it, and in the further distance the sail of a boat can be seen. The presence of these features and of the two small children is highly enigmatic. A link with the Immaculatist legend of Helsinus has been suggested as an explanation for the sea, but this seems unlikely.

The Birth scene is crammed into the oblong area on the left side of the altar. **[pl.5.38]** It is badly damaged, but the composition itself is fairly standard in the way that the main horizontal axis is formed by the bed, and the two women bathe the child in front of the bed. Saint Anne here appears more animated than usual, sitting up in bed with one hand raised as if telling the maid what to do. The Presentation **[pl.5.39]** on the right side of the altar, is like the Golden Gate, reminiscent of the Steccuti chapel Presentation **[pl.5.19]**in its overall effect. As in the Steccuti chapel image the staircase rises from right to left, and Joachim and Anne occupy the right side. Like Nardo di Cione, Lorenzo Monaco places a wall to divide the sacred from the profane, with the staircase here leading from one to the other. Unlike the Steccuti chapel, the staircase which appears to have thirteen steps, rises in two flights, the Virgin ascends the lowest steps, looking straight ahead. The Priest welcomes her on the top flight, with the acolytes of the temple behind him. The *Sposalizio* scene is reminiscent of much of Lorenzo's other work in its almost stage-set quality of its architectural background.**[pl.5.40]** The temple is presented as a backdrop, a succession of arches which support an entablature crowned with parapets.[67] No indication is given that these support a roof or that an interior lies beyond. The only clear architectural space is the porch at the left, in front of which stand the Virgin and the Priest. As in the Rinuccini chapel, Saints Anne and Joachim are included in the scene. Saint Anne is in the same golden robes as in the preceding scene of the Presentation except for the addition of a red cloak. In both scenes Joachim's figure is quite badly decayed, and details are impossible to make out.

Anne and Joachim's role in the frescoes finishes with the *Sposalizio*. The narrative in the chapel moves back to the altarpiece, which has the Annunciation in its centre, and continues in its predella panels which show the early scenes of the Life of Christ. The devotional needs of the Bartolini were clearly answered in the chapel with the

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[67] This stage-set architecture can be seen in the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi, and many other works.

depiction of the Annunciation, the Miracle of the Snows and the Assumption.[68] Apart from the possibility of the feast of the Immaculate Conception being celebrated, there is no evidence of a particular interest in Saint Anne despite her civic cult. On the other hand, the saints depicted near the entrance are those other civic patrons: Bartholomew, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and Paul.[69]

The life of the Virgin was the subject of schemes projected for two important civic sites in the early fifteenth century: the Cathedral, Santa Maria del Fiore and Orsanmichele. Lorenzo Ghiberti designed stained-glass windows in c.1415 for the cathedral, now destroyed, which related the story of the Virgin from the Expulsion from the Temple.[70] The windows in Orsanmichele depicted the Life and Miracles of the Virgin and were executed in two campaigns between c.1388 and c.1419, and again between c.1429 and 1432. The Annunciation to Joachim, **[pl.5.41]**which belongs to the earlier campaign, was designed by Lorenzo Monaco and executed by Niccolò di Piero Tedesco. In the process of restoration much of the original design has been lost. It appears unlikely that the beardless youth who looks up at the angel is a copy of the original Joachim.[71] In the Presentation, **[pl.5.42]** Anne and Joachim stand at the side of the composition, while the Virgin, holding a book, ascends the fifteen steps. As in the Baroncelli and Rinuccini chapels, she turns around to look at her parents. Other features from these two earlier cycles are also found, such as the two male disputing figures on the other side of the staircase, the kneeling man and woman in front of them, and the figure stooping at the foot of the steps.

Two other Presentation of the Virgin scenes may be noted here. One is a panel by a Tuscan artist of the mid-fifteenth century, now in the Saibene collection, Milan,

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[68] The celebration in the chapel of a 'feast in August' noted in the documents could refer to either of the last two feasts. Eisenberg, *Lorenzo Monaco*, p.216.

[69] Eisenberg, *Lorenzo Monaco*, p.69, further points out that the Baptist stands as the forerunner of Christ and, as the son of Elizabeth, kinswoman of the Virgin, as cousin of Christ; Bartholomew is in fact the onomastic saint, and the principal intercessor of the Bartolini family. Works by Spinello Aretino were discovered in the 1961-2 restoration. These date probably from an earlier campaign of the 1390s, and feature Saint Bartholomew (Eisenberg, *Lorenzo Monaco*, p.130). Saint John the Evangelist was entrusted with Mary by Christ; Paul gave emphasis to Christ's body as the vehicle of the Church and to the Virgin as the source of that body (Eisenberg, *Lorenzo Monaco*, p.69). The Feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul was added to some of the guild's calendars in 1355 (see pp.220-1).

[70] Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, p.587; Vasari-Milanesi, II, 260.

[71] Diane Finiello Zervas, 'Lorenzo Monaco, Lorenzo Ghiberti and Orsanmichele', *Burlington Magazine*, 133 (1991), pp.748-759 (p.750).

[pl.5.43] and the other is a Florentine engraving of c.1460. **[pl.5.44]** In the Saibene panel, the Virgin ascends the staircase looking straight ahead. The temple is simple and astylar, with no decorative detail. A child sits at the bottom of the staircase, and a woman, presumably Saint Anne, kneels. The diagonal emphasis of the staircase which was seen in the in the early fourteenth-century *paliotto* by Jacopo di Cambio again demonstrates the conservatism of Marian iconography.[72] **[pl.5.7]** In the engraving the number of steps is not clear, as a seated beggar blocks the bottom of them. Joachim and Anne stand on one side, while the two disputing figures, this time wearing Jewish hats, stand at the other. The Virgin looks straight ahead in this depiction also.

In the 1420s Bicci di Lorenzo painted two cycles of the Virgin, one an altarpiece, the other a fresco cycle. According to Vasari the latter was commissioned for the Martini chapel in San Marco.[73] The frescoes were destroyed in the rebuilding of San Marco.[74] Bicci's altarpiece, dated to c.1430, survives in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. **[pl.5.45]** Its original provenance is not known. The main field contains the Annunciation to the Virgin, while the predella shows the narrative of the Life the Virgin. This begins with the Birth of the Virgin and concludes with her Dormition. The order of the scenes is chronological, and Anne and Joachim disappear after the Presentation. Both the Birth and the Presentation scenes are similar to earlier cycles, although the Birth scene contains not only the lying-in chamber but also the exterior of the room where a woman opens the door to a male figure, with no nimbus, dressed as a shepherd. He does not seem to be Joachim, who is shown in the following scene, dressed in biblical style robes and nimbed. In the Presentation Saints Anne and Joachim stand beside the temple watching their daughter mount the lowest steps. The Gothic temple is reached by the ten steps in two flights and is truncated at the top by the frame of the altarpiece. The Virgin, as in most of the previous Florentine cycles, looks back at her parents. The priests and virgins are at the top, and the disputing male figures are found at the right hand side of the image. There is nothing in this altarpiece to suggest a specific interest in Saint Anne.

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72 The diagonal staircase has been discussed in chapter two. The three arches below, supporting the staircase, are found in other representations such as the stained glass window in Le Mans Cathedral, of the thirteenth century, illustrated in Emile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe siècle en France: Etude sur l'Iconographie du Moyen Age et sur ses Sources d'Inspiration* (Paris, 1898; repr.1948), p.443.

73 Vasari-Milanesi, II, p.50. Vasari confuses Lorenzo di Bicci with his son, Bicci di Lorenzo. These paintings date from the period of the son. Milanesi provides documents showing that they were executed in 1423 by Bicci di Lorenzo.

74 Vasari, I, 1550, notes, p.205.

The same can be said of the altarpiece by Mariotto di Nardo **[pl.5.46]** originally from the monastery of San Gaggio and commissioned by the Corsini family, in 1393-4.[75] Mariotto di Nardo was the son of Nardo di Cione and nephew of Orcagna (Andrea di Cione) and Jacopo di Cione. The main field shows the Madonna and Child with Saints Lawrence, John the Evangelist, Sebastian and James. Below is the Life of the Virgin, beginning with the Annunciation to Joachim, followed by the Birth of the Virgin. Unlike the Bicci di Lorenzo the narrative is interrupted by the Dormition, and is then picked up by the Presentation and the *Sposalizio*. The pinnacles above the altarpiece show the Crucifixion, flanked by the Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation.

Mariotto's Annunciation to Joachim is strikingly similar to the panel by Orcagna or the Ashmolean Master in the Vatican gallery mentioned earlier. **[pl.5.26]** Joachim appears in his usual rose robes and looks up towards the angel flying from the left. The Meeting at the Golden Gate is omitted, unless the buildings in the top right hand corner refer to it obliquely. The Birth scene shows a sharply tilted bed, and differs from its predecessors in the way the attendant woman hands the baby to her mother. These first two scenes are entirely separate from each other, yet occupy the same panel, the division between them being painted rather than carved. The Dormition occupies the same amount of space as two scenes, and, given its size and location, forms the focus of the predella panel. The Presentation is simple, with Joachim and Anne kneeling at the side of the temple steps. The Virgin ascends the ten temple steps, without looking back, and is received by the priest at the top. The temple is simple gothic, and no other figures appear outside it. The *Sposalizio*, interestingly, takes place in the porch of an apparently different building, one with only two shallow steps instead of the ten of the previous scene. Anne and Joachim do not appear in the latter scene. Once again, we are faced with a narrative in which Saint Anne's appearance is incidental rather than obviously devotional. The Corsini, an old Guelph family of aristocratic origins, may instead have devotional and civic interests represented within the choice of saints for the main panels of this triptych.[76]

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[75] Now in the Accademia, Inv. nos. 3258, 3260, 8612 - 8613.

[76] A Giovanni di Matteo Corsini was an *arroto* to the captains of Orsanmichele in July 1417, for the quarter of Santo Spirito. (Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents*, p.194), while a Iacopo di Iacopo Corsini was captain in October 1387 (ibid, p.175). Both of these have names represented by the saints. The Catasto lists a Corsino di Jacopo Corsini in 1427, a Giovanni di Matteo Corsini, a Giovanni di Stefano Corsini and a Neri di Giovanni Corsini. David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Census and Property Survey of Florentine Domains in the Province of Tuscany, 1427-1480*. Machine readable

A small altarpiece attributed to Bicci di Lorenzo or Giovanni da Ponte **[pl.5.47]** is to be found in the Compagni chapel, Santa Trinita. It was placed there in 1890 from museum deposits,[77] and its original location is not known. The main subject of the altarpiece is the Coronation of the Virgin, and the Birth, Presentation, Annunciation and Dormition are depicted in the predella scenes below. These scenes too look back towards traditional Florentine Marian images: the Birth scene resembles the Rinuccini birth scene, the Presentation - with the two male disputing figures, the kneeling couple in front, the Gothic church type for the temple, the position of Joachim and Anne - is similar to the Presentations of the Baroncelli chapel, the Rinuccini chapel and the contemporary window by Ghiberti in Orsanmichele. The donors of the altarpiece, portrayed in the main field, have not been identified.

III.
Narrative Art 1434-1494

A much later altarpiece of around 1472 - 1475 by Bicci's son, Neri, for the convent of San Francesco a Montecarlo, near San Giovanni Valdarno, **[pl.5.48]** begins the narrative with the Meeting at the Golden Gate instead of the Annunciation to Joachim or the Birth of the Virgin. The Golden Gate is barely discernible, appearing as a small aperture in the wall. Joachim and Anne greet each other in the middle of a landscape. Behind Joachim is the usual shepherd with the stick over his shoulder, and behind Anne is a maidservant. The gate, barely discernible as a small aperture in the wall is at the extreme right of the picture. The other scenes are equally traditional: in the Birth scene, Saint Anne looks at the midwives bathing the child, from her bed, leaning her chin on her hand just as in the Orcagna tabernacle in Orsanmichele; in the *Sposalizio*, Saint Anne stands behind her daughter and places a hand on her back. The final two scenes in the narrative predella are the Annunciation and the Visitation. The main subject of the altarpiece is the Coronation of the Virgin, surrounded by Saints John the Baptist, Bernardino of Siena, Francis, Anthony, a bishop saint, and Laurence.

It can be seen that the iconography of the Life of the Virgin in altarpiece design changed little between the late fourteenth and the late fifteenth century and that little devotional significance can be read into such formulaic narrative scenes. Saint Anne

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data file. *Online Catasto of 1427 Version 1.1.* Online Florentine Renaissance Re sources: Brown University, Providence, R.I., 1996. v. CORSINI.

[77] Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, V, p.301.

never appears in the main field of any of these altarpieces, thus suggesting that the devotional requirements of the patrons do not include the protectress of the city.

There was a similar iconographic continuity in monumental fresco painting. The decoration of the church of Sant'Egidio, or San Gilio, attached to the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, which was commissioned in 1439 no longer exists but was recorded by Vasari. This was the only monumental Marian scheme of the mid fifteenth-century within the city; however, those that were painted within the Florentine jurisdiction include the frescoes by the Prato Master and Paolo Uccello in the Assunta chapel of Prato Cathedral and the frescoed tabernacle by Gozzoli in Castelfiorentino. Altarpieces include the San Fortunato altarpiece, also by Gozzoli,[78] the altarpiece by Neri di Bicci in the convent of San Francesco in Montecarlo,Valdarno, of c.1472-5, and the highly unusual Birth of the Virgin tondo by Filippo Lippi, now in the Palazzo Pitti.

The church of Sant'Egidio was a small church subsumed into the hospital complex of Santa Maria Nuova and ultimately transformed into the hospital chapel.[79] The frescoes were in the choir area and consisted of the Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Birth of the Virgin, the Presentation of the Virgin, the Annunciation and the Dormition; they involved the work of Domenico Veneziano, Andrea del Castagno, Piero della Francesca and Bicci di Lorenzo. Paatz and Paatz have attributed the Golden Gate, Birth and *Sposalizio* to Veneziano, Piero della Francesca and Bicci di Lorenzo dating them between 1439 and 1445, and the Annunciation, Presentation and Dormition to Castagno dated between 1451 and 1453.[80] Vasari indicates that the Portinari family were involved in the commission: *acquistato grazia con la casa dei Portinari e con lo spedalingo, fu datogli a dipignere una parte della cappella maggiore; essendo stata allogata l'altra ad Alesso Baldovinetti, e la terza al molto allora celebrato pittore Domenico da Vinezia.*[81]

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[78] Rome, Vatican Gallery. From the Franciscan church of San Fortunato in Montefalco. The main field shows the Assumption with, in the predella below, the Birth of the Virgin, the *Sposalizio*, the Nativity, the Circumcision, the Dormition. The six saints in the pilasters are Anthony of Padua, Louis of Toulouse, Francis, Fortunatus, Severus, Bernardino of Siena. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pctures of the Renaissance: a List of the Principal Artists and their Works with an Index of Places. Florentine School*, 2 vols (London, 1963), I, p.96, ill. pl.881.

[79] Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, IV, p.1ff; Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, p.79.

[80] Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, IV, p.24.

[81] Vasari-Milanesi, II, p.673.

The frescoes of Veneziano were to be on the left wall while those on the right were given to Castagno.[82] The work was well under way on the left wall by September 1439, as indicated by an invoice of payment of 12th September:

> Maestro Domenico di Bartolomeo da Venezia who is painting the choir of Sant'Egidio, is debited on the 12th September 44 florins, credited in the receipts in the ledger marked DDC.185 [...] He is debited on the 12th September 2 florins 15 soldi a oro taken by Pietro di Benedetto da Borgo San Sepolcro who is with him.[83]

The Birth was probably begun in 1441.[84] According to Chastel, Baldovinetti finished the work of Veneziano in 1461, while Castagno completed his programme in 1453.

The frescoes were partially covered in the decoration of the church in c.1650, and then completely in 1938-9.[85] Chastel suggests the hand of Piero de Medici in the patronage of the fresco cycle, as the Portinari heirs were still minors at the time of the commission.[86] The little that is known about the frescoes comes from Vasari who also is responsible for the celebrated myth that Castagno was so consumed with envy of Veneziano's talent that he murdered him. The size of the undertaking, however, and the importation of a Venetian artist, probably by the Medici, has led Chastel to state that the influence of such a cycle must have been comparable to the influence of the Brancacci chapel frescoes a generation earlier.

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82 Carlo Bertelli, *Piero della Francesca*, translated by Edward Farrelly (New Haven and London, 1992), p.46.

83 Pierre Chastel, *The Italian Renaissance*, translated by Peter and Linda Murray (London, 1984), p.77.

84 Ibid.

85 Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, IV, p.24.

86 Chastel, *The Italian Renaissance*, p.77. On Folco Portinari's death, Cosimo de' Medici assumed responsibility for his children. Pigello di Folco later managed a branch of the Medici bank and was a frequent correspondent of Lorenzo de' Medici. For this relationship, see Lorenzo de' Medici, *Lettere*, ed. by R. Fubini and Nicolai Rubinstein, 6 vols (Florence, 1977-), I, p.186; Dale Kent, *The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence* (Oxford, 1978), p .74. Tommaso di Folco, born in 1428, became the Medici agent in Bruges. He married Maria Baroncelli and was the patron of Hugo van der Goes' altarpiece of the Nativity.

The fresco cycle in the Cappella dell'Assunta in the Duomo in Prato has been looked to in order to provide some idea of what the Sant'Egidio frescoes would have looked like.[87] The Prato frescoes are themselves undocumented. The Cappella dell'Assunta was the site of a relic of one of the stones which killed Saint Stephen. Therefore, the two Pratese cults of Saint Stephen and the Miraculous Girdle of the Virgin are celebrated pictorially in the fresco scheme. The Life of Saint Stephen is represented on the right wall of the chapel and the Life of the Virgin on the left. The walls are divided into three tiers, and the narrative runs from top to bottom. The Birth of the Virgin occupies the lunette, with the Presentation below and the *Sposalizio* on the bottom. The scenes on the opposite wall show the Disputation with Saint Stephen, the Stoning of Saint Stephen and the Martyrdom of Saint Laurence. The altar wall shows the Assumption, which reflects the dedication of the chapel itself and also refers to Prato's most famous relic, the Miraculous Girdle, housed in the Cathedral's Cappella della Cintola which was frescoed by Agnolo Gaddi forty years previously. The frescoes also depicted Saints Paul, Francis, Jerome, Dominic and Jacopone da Todi.[88]

The cycle was covered in 1665 by a Baroque tabernacle, and was not brought to light until a restoration of 1870 to 1871.[89] Nineteenth-century scholars assumed that the decoration was by a *trecento* artist, probably a follower of Giotto. In the late nineteenth century art historians questioned this and the frescoes were attributed to Veneziano. The attribution to Veneziano was maintained into the early years of this century, but in 1904 Siren observed the existence of two hands in the chapel, and made a clear distinction between the upper zone, consisting of the Birth of the Virgin and the Presentation on one wall and the Disputation on the other, and the lower scenes, which consisted of the *Sposalizio,* the Stoning of Saint Stephen and the Finding of the Body respectively. The traditional practice in fresco painting was for the upper zones to be completed first so the first painter to be hired in the chapel would, in all probability, have been the author of the upper scenes. Siren retained the attribution of these upper scenes to Veneziano but attributed the lower ones to Andrea

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87 The attribution history is given in *Frescoes from Florence: An Exhibition Organised by the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie per le Provincie di Firenze e Pistoia*, introduced by Ugo Procacci ([n.pl.], [1969]), pp.135 - 8.

88 The Franciscan mystic and poet (c.1230-c.1306) was 'popularly venerated as "Blessed" and "Saint" [and] is inscribed in the Franciscan Martyrology. Attempts as late as 1869 to confirm his cult have been unsuccessful.' A.H. Lograsso, 'Jacopone da Todi', *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. by the Catholic University of America, 18 vols (New York and London, 1967-1989), VII, p.797.

89 *Frescoes from Florence*, pp.135 - 8.

di Giusto. The perspectival experimentation, the colouring (consisting of a strong *terra verde* base for the flesh tones) and the facial types are strongly Uccellesque, and scholars have generally been preoccupied as to whether these frescoes are by Uccello or a close follower of his, known as the Prato Master and linked by some to the Master of the Karlsruhe Adoration.[90]

The dating of the frescoes is equally problematic, but most historians have at least agreed on a period between 1430 and 1447.[91] The earlier date is largely based upon the style and iconography of the frescoes. Both of these aspects depend upon the perspectival experiments of Masaccio and Brunelleschi and the architecture of the latter, although the influence of Ghiberti is also apparent. The later date is based upon documents of 1447 discovered by Baldanzi, in which the canons of the cathedral complained that Niccolò Milanesi, provost of the Cathedral from 1428 to 1445, had not replaced the two stained-glass windows that he had taken out two years previously. These windows had been put in place about forty years before this. Baldanzi concludes that the removal of these windows was to facilitate the painting of the fresco scheme.[92] Many other historians have followed Baldanzi in linking these documents to the fresco cycle and thus postulating a date of the mid 1440s. Andrea di Giusto died in 1450, providing, if the attribution to him is secure, *terminus ante quem*.

Patronage of the chapel offers few clues to the date of the frescoes. The chapel was founded as early as 1418 when money was bequeathed by the wife of Giovanni di Francesco di Ruffolo, Monna Tommasa de' Pelei or Betazzi.[93] Further money was left in 1435 by Michele di Giovannino di Sandro da Prato, *lanaiolo*.[94] Padoa Rizzo presents convincing documentary evidence that Michele di Giovannino was in fact the patron of the frescoes themselves.[95] Although his will endowing the chapel was made in 1435, Padoa Rizzo shows that Michele was still living in 1441 when he was

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[90] Mario Salmi, 'Paolo Uccello, Domenico Veneziano, Piero della Francesca e gli Affreschi del Duomo di Prato', *Bolletino d'Arte*, 28 (1934), pp.1-27 (p.8).

[91] The attribution history is given in *Frescoes from Florence: An Exhibition organised by the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie per le provincie di Firenze e Pistoia*, introduced by Ugo Procacci ([n.pl.], [1969], pp.135-8.

[92] Eve Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany: from Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto* (Oxford, 1980), pp.80 - 81.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid. p.81.

[95] Anna Padoa Rizzo, *Paolo Uccello: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florence, 1991), p.43.

imprisoned for debt, a misfortune that recurred in 1447.[96] However, This knowledge brings us no further to discovering the actual date of the cycle. Borsook cites the confirmation of the relics of Saint Stephen in 1447 as a possible starting date for the cycle, but Borsi counters this with the equally convincing date of 1433, the year in which Bernardino of Siena made his second visit to Prato and the year in which the body of Jacopone da Todi was found in Todi itself. Padoa Rizzo and Borsi agree on the attribution of the upper zones to Uccello, with the former dating them to the winter of 1435 to 1436 and postulating its continuation throughout 1436 by Andrea di Giusto. Di Giusto had been commissioned in 1435 to paint a polyptych for the convent of San Bartolomeo delle Sacca in Prato, which not only indicates a date for his arrival in Prato, but also shows how he would have become known to the patrons of Prato Cathedral.[97]

The Birth of the Virgin of the Prato cycle is a familiar scene. **[pl.5.49]** Saint Anne is in the background, washing her hands, while the women in the foreground hold the bathed and swaddled infant. The servants bring food and drink, and again there is a stately procession of women entering the scene from the right, with one woman looking at the spectator. The prevalence of textiles with Islamic designs in the painting is interesting; such textiles would have been imported in the period and suggest the chamber of a reasonably wealthy woman.[98] The high shaved foreheads of the women in the processional group at the right were fashionable at the time, and again suggest a setting of material comfort if not wealth.[99] At the left side of the room a servant girl, carrying a dish in each hand, runs down a staircase; her lively movement contrasts with the stately entry of the women on the opposite side. The stylisation of the fluttering draperies of the servant's head-dress and the exaggerated curve of her body exhibit an International Gothic character typical of the work of Lorenzo Monaco and Lorenzo Ghiberti in Florence, and this too contrasts with the more monumental, volumetric character of the women on the opposite side, and

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[96] Ibid.

[97] These arguments are cited by Padoa Rizzo, *Paolo Uccello*, pp.46-47, where she also points out a Saint Christopher by Andrea di Giusto in the Church of San Michele in Carmignano, stylistically close to the Prato frescoes, which demonstrates other commissions in the vicinity.

[98] I owe this information to Dr. Anna Contadini of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

[99] Such shaved foreheads can be seen in the portraits of Roger van der Weyden, and, closer to Prato, the portrait of the Lady in Yellow by Baldovinetti. The gold buttons on the sleeve of the first woman and her earring are further indications of discreetly shown luxury. The bed has been shown by Borsi to be typical of the most up to date in Florentine furniture at the time.

indeed with the seated woman holding the child, whose drapery falls more naturally around her body. Saint Anne herself is dressed in green, as in previous cycles, but not in devotional paintings.

Saint Anne reappears, wearing the same green robes, in the Presentation of the Virgin. **[pl.5.50]** She and Joachim stand at the left, with their hands joined, watching their daughter skip up the staircase to the temple. Like the Virgin, both Joachim and Anna are nimbed. The steps to the temple number fifteen, following the texts derived from the *Golden Legend* and the *Pseudo-Matthew*. The first flight of stairs, emphasised by the balustrades on each side, rises in a gentle diagonal to the circular area of the temple. This area is composed of the five remaining steps of the staircase, which are wide and shallow, curving around the circular, centrally planned temple. The entire staircase and temple is enclosed within the railings of the balustrade, expressing a clear division is made between the secular and the holy, as in the frescoes of Santa Trinita and the Steccuti chapel. **[pls.5.39, 5.19]** The Virgin, dressed in pinkish-white, runs lightly up the bottom flight of stairs, her hands joined, and looking straight ahead. The temple is a conical-roofed, circular structure, with an egg and dart classical moulding surmounting a colourful frieze and an entablature supported by elegant solomonic columns. The high priest is framed by two of these columns in the centre, and is surrounded by men, who, according to the texts, should be elders or priests of the temple, but, as they are for the most part wearing contemporary clothing, are here probably portraits. Behind these men, are female figures, probably the maidens mentioned in the texts. The two disputing figures frequently found in such scenes are absent here. The kneeling clean-shaven figure on the right, wearing contemporary dress with his hands joined, is reminiscent of fifteenth-century donor-portraits, and it is likely that this man, together with the two men standing behind him, are portraits. It has been argued that the furthest figure on the right is a self portrait of the painter himself.[100]

At first glance the Presentation of the Virgin appears radical with its gleaming white temple and staircase centrally placed in the composition, the strong orthogonals converging in a single vanishing point and the carefully balanced groups of Saints Anne and Joachim on one side and the three men on the other, framing the Virgin in the centre. In fact, the originality of the composition resides in the marriage of Uccello's legendary interest in perspective and traditional iconographical elements. The circular or centrally planned temple is familiar from Sienese painting and from Florentine altarpiece depictions of the same subject. The two children at the foot of

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100 Franco Borsi, *Paolo Uccello* (London, 1994), p.299.

the staircase are found in the Rinuccini chapel frescoes **[pl.5.25]** and have their ultimate source in the frescoes in the Baroncelli chapel **[pl.5.6]** again, in the same scene of the Presentation. The clothing of Joachim and Anne is the same as in most of the fresco cycles in Florence of the preceding decades. While no obvious Florentine associations occur in the Marian scenes in the upper tier, many Florentine buildings are evoked in the Disputation of Saint Stephen **[pl.5.51]** on the other wall of the chapel,[101] and indeed in the work of Andrea di Giusto, in the *Sposalizio.*[102] These links with Florence are natural in a city so geographically close and politically subordinate to its powerful neighbour. The fact that the artists were Florentine and that the largest Marian fresco cycles were to be found in Florence also reinforces these associations. There is no evidence of deliberate political iconography, at least in the depiction of a Florentine patron saint. As usual Saint Anne is present only as she is necessary in the early life of the Virgin and no further emphasis is given to her than that which fulfils this requirement. The saints represented in the chapel - Jerome, Dominic, Paul, and Francis - are popular, and cannot be exclusively associated with either Prato or Florence. The depiction of Jacopone da Todi is more unusual, and has been linked to the influence of the Franciscan Observant movement in Prato.[103]

Another Marian cycle to be painted in the *contado* rather than the city itself was the frescoed tabernacle in the Cappella della Visitazione, Santa Chiara, Castelfiorentino.[104] **[pl.5.52]** This was the later of two tabernacles commissioned by Messer Grazia di Francesco di Cristoforo, Prior of Castelnuovo, painted, according to a lost inscription (on the face) on the 12th of February 1491 by Benozzo Gozzoli and

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[101] These buildings are pointed out by Borsi, *Paolo Uccello*, p.188, and are the Bargello tower, the bishop's palace at San Miniato, the old Sacristy at San Lorenzo, the campanile of the Badia and the designs of Ghiberti for the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore. He also points out the similarity of the loggia on the tower to the Torre delle Ore in Lucca.

[102] The Temple, very different from that in the Presentation, has its origins in the Tuscan vernacular, with its pediment, polychromed marble, and loggia type porch. The façade is not unlike that of San Miniato al Monte in Florence, while the tower behind is again, typical of Tuscan bell towers. The heavy rusticated building on the left is similar to Florentine palazzo design while the loggia on the right is reminiscient of the work of Brunelleschi in the Loggia degli Innocenti in Florence.

[103] Borsi, *Paolo Uccello*, p.300.

[104] Most of the lower section of the tabernacle was destroyed by flood waters from the river Elsa. Originally the shrine contained two rows of frescoes surrounded by fictive architecture. Of this, the niches survive, flanked by half pilasters capped by Corinthian capitals. *Frescoes from Florence*, p.160, no.46.

his sons.[105] Joachim is wearing the usual yellow robes, while Anne once again is dressed in green. The Expulsion is depicted in a contemporary church with a Gothic window in the east wall.[106] **[pl.5.53]** Joachim is pushed towards the right while children watch. The other adults of the scene are all placed to the left, behind the priest, as they are accepted in the temple of Israel. As is appropriate to the mid- to late fifteenth century, the architecture is classical, the space well-defined and the figural compositions complex.[107] The formula of a central priest behind an altar used in the Rinuccini frescoes and in the Gaddi frescoes in Prato, is retained. Here Joachim has empty hands while he looks back towards the priest. In his Annunciation to Joachim **[pl.5.54]** Gozzoli uses the traditional formula of a seated Joachim and an angel swooping down from the left, but also includes the Annunciation to Saint Anne in the background in exactly the same way as Nardo di Cione **[pl.5.17]** and the Ashmolean Master **[pl.5.26]** had done over a century earlier, and as Agnolo Gaddi had done in his Meeting at the Golden Gate in the Cappella della Cintola in Prato **[pl.5.30]** only slightly later. Saint Anne looks out of a window in her house behind the rocky landscape in which Joachim is placed. The upper part of the fresco is destroyed, but she is presumably greeting an angel flying from the right. The Meeting at the Golden Gate **[pl.5.55]** is also strikingly similar in iconographical terms to the scene as depicted in the early Florentine frescoes of Taddeo Gaddi, **[5.4]** Giovanni da Milano, **[pl.5.23]** Nardo di Cione **[pl.5.17]** and Lorenzo Monaco. **[pl.5.37]** Again Joachim and Anne are placed centrally, Anne followed by a retinue of women, Joachim by his shepherds, including the usual shepherd with a stick over his shoulder and a dog in front of him. The Golden Gate itself is once again, not apparent, and the city is clearly modelled on Florence, not Castelfiorentino, thus showing the political as well as the artistic dominance of this new Jerusalem. The Birth of the Virgin **[pl.5.56]** is also traditional in its iconography with the two women playing with the swaddled child, the serving women behind the bed and visiting women entering from the left. The wealth of the Virgin's parents is clearly shown by the handsome room with coloured marble panels framed by pilasters and an arched aperture in the centre leading to a garden. The influences in this cycle are not confined to the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The woman gracefully entering on the left is clearly modelled upon the woman in the birth scene in the Prato fresco **[pl.5.49]**, although her positions is reversed. The

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[105] Diane Cole Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (London and New Haven, 1996), p.190.

[106] The composition of a group surrounding an altar in front of a Gothic apse with a two -light window is very similar to the predella panel in the San Fortunato altarpiece by Gozzoli of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple.

[107] Of course the Sant'Egidio fresco may well have provided a prototype.

attempted perspective of the halo of Saint Anne in the same scene is a characteristic in the works of contemporaries such as Uccello, Castagno, Fra Angelico, Filippo Lippi[108] and many others.

The frescoes have narrative inscriptions in the vernacular, also posing the question of how such images were normally read without inscriptions. Was the by now apparently familiar formula of the Virgin's life not clear enough without verbal inscription? The Castelfiorentino frescoes are all accompanied by explanatory inscriptions, which provide a rare opportunity to read the narratives through their images and the text. The inscriptions are large and are written in the vernacular. The one accompanying The Expulsion reads like a rubric in a contemporary legendary: *CHOME GIOVACCHINO PADRE DE LLA VE RGINE MARIA FUCHACHACCIATO DI TENPIO [? ?] SACERDOTE PERCHEGLERA STERILE.* The following inscriptions are similar in style, explaining what the narrative above is about, but going into no further detail.[109] The inscriptions in fact serve the same purpose as rubrics: they summarise and qualify the scene above, but the scene itself is necessary to fulfil the narrative. The inscription below the Annunciation to Joachim **[pl.5.54]**, for instance, makes no reference to the Annunciation to Saint Anne taking place simultaneously. This scene is in itself unusual due to the presence of a seemingly inappropriate inscription within the scene itself. Behind Joachim is a cave with a drinking trough within it. A shadowy vase or urn stands on top, now nearly faded to oblivion. On the front of this trough is the following inscription: *PN REX VENIT INPACE ET DEVS/ OMO FACTVS EST.* This inscription clearly alludes to the Incarnation, and its place within this scene is unusual and difficult to reconcile with the apparent straightforwardness of both the visual and textual narratives. The allusion is not picked up in either the Meeting at the Golden Gate or The Birth of the

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[108] See for example the Madonna and Child by Uccello in the National Gallery, Dublin (c.1435-40) the Last Supper by Castagno in the refectory of Sant'Apollonia (c.1445-50), the Strozzi Deposition for Santa Trinita by Fra Angelico (Museo di San Marco), the Barbadori altarpiece by Filippo Lippi (Louvre), Masaccio's Trinity in Santa Maria Novella (1425), and the Brancacci chapel frescoes in Santa Maria del Carmine.

[109] The other narratives are: under the Annunciation to Joachim, " COME GIOVACHINO ESSENDO ? CHACCIATO DEL TE[M]PIO PER ? ? SENA[N]DO CHOSUOI PASTORI ALLE SVE POSESIONI ', under the Meeting at the Golden Gate, "COME GIOVAC[I]NO PER DETTO ELA[N]GELO DIDDIO SENETORNO IGERVSALEN EALAPORTA AVREA TROVO LASVA DON[N]A S[AN]CTA ANNA CHEPERELDETTO DELANGELO DIDDIO GLIERA VENVTA INCONTRO ", and under the Birth of the Virgin "COME SANTA ANNA PARTORI LAGLORIOSA VERGINE MARIA LAQVALE FV POI MADRE DEL NOSTRO REDENTORE VESV CRISTO ".

Virgin, both of which scenes seem more directly relevant to the Incarnation. However, as discussed in Chapter Two, the Annunciation to Joachim could be seen as the first visual signpost of the conception of the Virgin.

Some mid-fifteenth-century Marian altarpieces reflect the contemporary interest in the cult of the Immaculate Conception. A painting by Filippo Lippi, now in the Ashmolean collection, which depicts the Meeting at the Golden Gate **[pl.5.57]** is in all probability a predella panel which was painted for the high altarpiece of the Benedictine convent of Le Murate in Florence. The main panel, if this identification is correct, was an Annunciation which is now in Munich.[110] Several features distinguishes the predella panel from other depictions of the same scene. The city gates are placed on the left instead of the more usual right, and it is Joachim who emerges from them instead of Anne, who faces him. This makes little narrative sense unless one takes the city in the far right background to be Jerusalem, in which case it is difficult to see how the the meeting can be taking place outside the Golden Gate of the City. An angel brings them together, but, as shown above, this cannot only automatically be read as a sign of the Immaculate Conception. The entourage of shepherds is missing, but a single young woman stands behind Saint Anne. With her pointing gesture and face turned toward the viewer, she resembles an Albertian theatrical type whose function is to indicate the importance of the encounter taking place to the left. Saint Anne wears mauve not green, and both Joachim and Anne appear younger than usual; Joachim indeed has golden hair instead of the normal grey. A possible solution to the iconographical difficulties posed by the panel is put forward by Ruda. He argues that the meaning of the young girl behind Saint Anne can be found in the allegory of the human soul that seeks God in Psalm 42. Thus the walls of the buildings behind Joachim represent the earthly realm, those behind Anne the heavenly. Psalm 42 could also be a source for the animals near the river on the right of the picture.[111] However Ruda offers no suggestion as to why Psalm 42 should have been used as a source for the Meeting at the Golden Gate. In the Visconti Hours, another Psalm, Psalm 1 was placed between the illuminated Expulsion from the Temple and the Annunciation to Joachim. The text of the psalm says that the good man 'shall be like a tree which is planted near the running waters,

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[110] Jeffrey Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi* (London, 1993), p.410.

[111] Ibid., p.244. Ruda cites Psalm 42 - the deer thus represents the hart who 'panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God '. Ruda suggests that the birds near the water are herons, whose constancy of diet represents the steady rejection of false doctrine.

which shall bring forth its fruit, in due season'.[112] This psalm would be an appropriate text as a type for the conception of the Virgin after the lengthy sterility of her parents.

The Copenhagen Golden Gate by Filippino Lippi,[**pl.5.58**] signed and dated 1497, is in many ways less complex iconographically than the painting in the Ashmolean. Saints Joachim and Anna embrace tenderly in the centre of the composition; Anne is followed by two maidens, and Joachim is followed by a herdsman. The city is in the background and a classical entablature balances the composition at the left side. This entablature contains relief sculptures of classical mythology whose subjects have yet to be identified, but which certainly conform to no obvious typology of the Immaculate Conception.

The tondo by Filippo Lippi in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, **[pl.5.59]** is unique in its combination of the devotional and the narrative. The Madonna and Child with a pomegranate is central, with the Birth of the Virgin taking place in the immediate background. Saint Anne is sitting up in the bed, looking towards one of her attendants and gesturing to her child. The usual bathing or post-bathing scene is omitted. This entire group appears to be elevated on a base or pedestal, with another group approaching, on a lower level, from the right. This group is composed of three women, the central one of whom is a classical figure with a basket on her head. The woman on the right is slightly stooped and is pulled back by a child who may to be attempting to draw the woman's attention to the Madonna and Child. Narrative orthodoxy is further disturbed by the scene taking place in the far right background. The tiled floor would seem to indicate that the location is an interior. A man climbs up a steep flight of steps welcomed at the top by a woman. Neither figure is nimbed, although the Madonna, Child and the Saint Anne of the birth scene all have nimbi. The scene has been identified as the Meeting at the Golden Gate, and indeed, despite the unusual iconography of Joachim ascending an interior staircase to Anne, no other scene could provide an explanation of the identity of these two figures. The scene is separated from the Birth scene by a wall, and from the rest of the painting by the fact that it is placed on a higher level than either the Birth scene or the Madonna in the foreground. The narrative sequence of reading from left to right normally found in altarpiece design is subverted here suggesting that more important devotional issues are being raised. However, it could be argued that the devotional format of Lippi's altarpiece with the Madonna and Child placed centrally and narrative scenes placed

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112 *The Visconti Hours: Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence*, ed. by Millard Meiss and Edith W. Kirsch (London, 1972), pages not numbered, commentary on f.3.

behind, while highly original in itself, does not raise expectations of narrative fulfilment on behalf of the viewer as it is clearly not narrative in its intention. Further, although the handling of narrative is highly unusual, it can be followed if Lippi's interest in perspective is taken into account.[113] The perspective itself is used as a narrative device; the Meeting at the Golden Gate is placed in the deepest recession as it took place before the Birth of the Virgin. The Birth scene is placed to the left, and the ordinary reading sequence in both panel and fresco is left to right, therefore the Meeting, which is placed on the right cannot be continuous narrative in a conventional sequence. Similarly, the juxtaposition of the fully grown Madonna with her Child with scenes of her conception and birth highlights the devotional nature of the piece. Lippi's scenes hang in space, one has no clear relationship with the other and there are no unifying elements, thus the separation of scenes can be seen.

The embrace between Joachim and Anne occuring at the top of a domestic staircase is found in only one other Florentine representation of the period, the Tornabuoni chapel in Santa Maria Novella. **[pl.5.60]** In the Tornabuoni fresco, Saint Anne is closest to the door, thus further subverting narrative as it appears that Joachim could only have appeared by mounting this staircase from below: the room in which the birth of his yet to be conceived child has just taken place. The placing of Joachim below Anne in a subordinate position in the Pitti tondo has been read by Ruda as Immaculatist. However no commentators have compared this scene with the Meeting at the Golden Gate in Santa Maria Novella, a Dominican church. The motif may have been modified, showing Joachim and Anne on the same level due to the Dominican position on the Immaculate Conception.

The question of what devotional function such a spatially and iconographically intriguing painting as the Pitti tondo could have served remains unsolved. The provenance can be traced only as far back as 1761 when it was recorded as being in the Pitti Palace in the room overlooking the church of Santa Felicita.[114] There is disagreement amongst art historians as to whether or not this painting can be identified with a painting known to have been commissioned in 1452 by Lionardo di Bartolomeo Bartolini. Bartolini commissioned a tondo from Filippo Lippi for which the Ceppo Vecchio of Prato promised to pay an indemnity of 22 florins if Fra Filippo had not finished it by the following 8th of December 1452 *cioè di dipignerlo di certa*

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113 I owe this point to Ann Martha Rowan of the Irish Architectural Archive.

114 Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, p.453.

storia ch'egli avea chominciato della Vergine Maria.[115] Payments of indemnity are recorded on 16th of April 1453, indicating that the work had not been finished by the previous December.[116] The evidence is clear that a tondo, featuring a Marian subject was ordered, and the need for it to be ready by the 8th of December, the feast of the Conception, makes the identification of the Pitti tondo with the Bartolini commission a tempting one. Added to this is the possibly Immaculatist imagery painted by Lorenzo Monaco in the Bartolini chapel in Santa Trinita.[117] However, an indistinct coat of arms on the back of the painting appears to resemble that of the Martelli family, with whom Filippo Lippi had close links.[118]

The monumental fresco cycle by Ghirlandaio in Santa Maria Novella was commissioned by Giovanni Tornabuoni in 1486. **[pl.5.61]** The chapel was dedicated to the Virgin of the Assumption and was originally painted by Orcagna, as already mentioned. The patronage rights of the chapel were ceded by the Dominicans to Giovanni Tornabuoni on 13th of October 1486.[119] Claims were also made over the high altar area by Francesco Sassetti, who had been granted patronage rights over the altar itself in 1470.[120] The promise made by Francesco to renew the altarpiece was still unfulfilled by the 1480s, so the friars transferred their hopes to Giovanni Tornabuoni. Ghirlandaio was first commissioned to paint the walls of the chapel in 1485, before Giovanni's patronal rights were confirmed.[121]

Acquisition of patronal rights over the high chapel was the culmination of Giovanni Tornabuoni's protracted negotiations with the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella and Francesco Sassetti. He was at least partially fired by the ancient links of his family with the Dominican church and his own particular association with it.[122] The

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115 Ibid., p.531.

116 Ibid., p.531.

117 Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, V, p.291.

118 Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, p.454 and pp.240-2.

119 Patricia Simons, 'Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel', p.222. The patronage of the Ricci and Tornaquinci families over the choir is discussed earlier in this chapter, in Section I, in connection with Orcagna's decoration.

120 Ibid., p.225.

121 Ronald G. Kecks, *Ghirlandaio: Catalogo Completo* (Florence, 1995), p.127. The document is published by D. S. Chambers, *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1970), p.173.

122 Simons, 'Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel', p.234 ff. for Giovanni's election by the friars as one of the four captains of the Confraternity of S. Peter Martyr on the 1st of September 1486, the feast of the Church's latest consecration.

frescoes reflect the pride of Giovanni in his lineage as well as in his own particular circle of the leading figures of Medicean Florence.[123] The cycle also displays narratives centred on two Florentine patrons, Saint Anne and Saint John the Baptist, the latter of whom was Giovanni's name saint. The original dedication of the chancel was to the Virgin of the Assumption, which was depicted on the north wall. The Life of the Virgin unfolds here on the north wall, the life of Saint John the Baptist on the south. Painted on either side of the stained-glass windows at the back of the altar are Giovanni Tornabuoni and his wife, Francesca Pitti. Giovanni kneels and gazes in the direction of the life of his name saint John the Baptist, while Francesca looks towards the life of the Virgin. The narrative sequence, instead of running from top to bottom, as is most common in the previous Florentine cycles, runs bottom to top in a right to left sequence, culminating with the Assumption of the Virgin in the lunette at the top.[124] Like the Gozzoli frescoes in Castelfiorentino, the cycle begins with the Expulsion of Joachim from the temple. **[pl.5.62]** The figure of Joachim in Ghirlandaio's fresco is similar to Gozzoli's; **[pl.5.53]** he moves towards the right but looking backwards but here he holds the usual lamb. Another figure pushes him from behind, while a group of men in contemporary Florentine dress stands at the right corner, answered at the left by a similar group. These have been identified as portraits by critics from Vasari onwards. The priest retains his central position, but here he is placed deep within the temple, in a pulpit like structure. A figure approaches from the left with a lamb which the priest receives, his attention utterly removed from Joachim. Women approach from the right with offerings. The architecture of the temple is classical, three bays deep and three wide, with relief sculptures of classical winged figures in the spandrels of the central arch and grotesque ornament on the bases of the pilasters. A Latin inscription runs along the entablature: VENIET AD TEMPLUM SANCTUS VV DONIATOR. The painting is a clear evocation of contemporary Florence, not only in the figures depicted in the foreground corner, but in the background architecture. The artist has placed the temple in front of a cortile which is reminiscient of the Loggia dei Mercatanti opposite the church of Santa Maria Novella itself; in so doing he may be indicating a connection between the temple of Solomon and the modern church. The buildings in

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123 In the document of commission Tornabuoni states that his reasons for having the chapel decorated were 'as an act of piety and love of God, to the exaltation of his house and family and the enhancement of the said church and chapel.' Chambers, *Patrons and Artists*, p.173.

124 This narrative sequence is laid out in the commission, 'he is to paint the seven stories of the Virgin Mary, the first of which, the Nativity of the Virgin, should begin on the lower part of the wall; and thus in ascending order, second, the betrothal and marriage of the Virgin.' Chambers, *Patrons and Artists*, p.173.

the furthest background of the painting are typical Florentine palace types, with heavy masonry and open cortili on the top storey.

Ghirlandaio accommodates two stages in the narrative - the Meeting at the Golden Gate and the Birth of the Virgin - within the one scene. **[pl.5.63]** Although at first the painting appears to be realistic in its depiction of space, on closer examination the illusion of realism breaks down. The opulent interior is framed by pilasters at each end; these are echoed by the piers which divide the meeting between Joachim and Anne from the lying-in space. Although the room is thus divided, the spaces are unified by the entablature which runs around the entire ceiling area, by the light from the window on the right which falls consistently across the entire scene, reinforcing the direction of the natural light in the chapel itself, and by the train of women who move from one space into the other, in front of the outer pier. Again, near-contemporary Florentine surroundings are evoked by the frieze of cherubs which is similar to the Cantoria of the Duomo by Donatello, and to work by Luca della Robbia. The half-barrel vault interrupted by the pilaster recalls Masaccio's Holy Trinity in the same church and echoes the architecture of Brunelleschi. The vault rises, only to be cut off by the piers at the end of Anne's room. No space is provided for the vault to descend, yet the perspective lines indicate a full vault not merely an abutment on to a wall. Behind the bed the room is defined by what appear to be wood panels inlaid with gold intarsia work, surmounted by an inscribed entablature and a frieze, clearly derived from Donatello's cantoria. The inscription reads NATIVITAS DEI GENITRIX VIRGO GAUDEAM ANNUNTIAVIT UNIVERSO MUNDO.

The figures and objects within the birth scene follow the standard iconographic formulae discussed in this chapter. Saint Anne reclines on the bed in a mauve dress and looks to the left. A seated woman holds the child on her knee, another kneels beside her. A third, the only figure in the scene whose dress suggests classical influences, pours water from a jug into a bowl. The women entering from the left are almost entirely composed of portraits. The importance of these and other portraits in the frescoes, and their significance as regards the iconography of family and kinship groups in the context of Florentine devotion to Saint Anne, will be discussed further.

Vasari, in describing the Tornabuoni frescoes, draws attention to the window and to the natural gestures of the women attending the child but makes no mention of the peculiarity of the Golden Gate scene in the corner:

Nella seconda storia è la Natività della Nostra Donna fatta con una diligenzia grande; e tra le altre cose notabili che egli vi facesse, nel casamento o prospettiva, è una finestra che dà il lume a quella camera, la quale inganna chi la guarda. Oltre questo, mentre Santa Anna è nel letto e certe donne la visitano, pose alcune femmine che lavano la Madonna con gran cura, e chi mette acque, e chi fa le fascie, e chi fa un servizio, chi ne fa un altro; e mentre ognuna attende al suo, vi è una femmina che ha in collo quella puttina, e ghignando la fa ridere, con una grazia donnesca, degna veramente di un'opera simile a questa, oltre a molti altri affetti che sono in ciascuna figura.[125]

Bocchi repeats Vasari's description drawing attention to the window, although he also notes the way in which the scene is *artifizio divisato.*[126] The diary of Luca Landucci in the entry of 22nd December, 1490, frustratingly records the impact of the chapel only in terms of expense:

E a dì 22 di dicenbre 1490, si scoprì la capella di Santa Maria Novella, cioè la capella maggiore. L' aveva dipinta Domenico del Grillandaio; e fecela dipigniere Giovanni Tornabuoni. E fece il coro di legname intorno alla capella. Che costò solo la pittura fiorini 1000 d'oro.[127]

The placement of the Meeting of Joachim and Anne is so unusual in both the Ghirlandaio fresco and the Lippi tondo that it is difficult to understand how it escaped contemporary comment. If these images were part of a Maculist/Immaculatist debate, its significance was not recorded by pious contemporaries such as Landucci.

In the Presentation, Ghirlandaio depicts a different temple to the one indicated in the Expulsion scene. **[pl.5.64]** Here is a more ponderous structure with a deep portico. It is approached by fifteen steps; the first ten lead up the portico, a further five are contained within it. The priest stands at the top of the first flight, shown in profile instead of the more usual frontal position. The Presentation itself takes place in the middle ground; the Virgin faces the viewer. In the foreground are the two children,

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125 Vasari-Milanesi, III, p.263.

126 Francesco Bocchi, *Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze dove a Pieno di Pittura di Scultura di Sacri Templi, di Palazzi, i Più Notabili Artifizi, e Più Preziosi si Contengono,* introduction by John Shearman (Florence: [s.n.], 1591; repr. Farnborough, 1971), p.117.

127 Luca Landucci, *Diario Fiorentino dal 1450 al 1515,* edited by Iodoco del Badia (Florence, 1969), p. 60.

the two male disputing figures, and on the extreme right a scantily clad man. This man strikes a somewhat discordant note. He may be a beggar, in which case he has a precedent in the engraving examined earlier, **[pl.5.44]** or Ghirlandaio may simply have siezed the opportunity to paint a classical nude. Saint Anne looks at the Virgin while Joachim looks towards her and points to his daughter. Although the scene contains familiar Presentation types - the two disputing men, the two children, the priest, the maidens of the temple and the onlookers - their placement in the scene differs from previous depictions. Unusually, both Joachim and Anne are in clothes of a different colour from their previous appearances in the cycle. Most of the figures wear either classical or biblical robes, with the exception of the two children. This scene contains no obvious portraits.[128] The *Sposalizio* takes place outside yet another different temple front, composed of heavy barrel vaulted arcades surrounding a courtyard. As usual in these cycles Saints Anne and Joachim do not appear here and there are no obvious portraits within the scene. An unusual feature is the nimbus of the High Priest who joins the hands of Mary and Joseph.[129]

As in most of the cycles discussed in this chapter, with the possible exception of the Steccuti chapel, Saint Anne is present only as a necessary component of the Marian narrative, and no particular devotional significance can be attached to the way in which she is shown. An interest in the Conception of the Virgin is demonstrated by the depictions of Saints Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate, but iconography alone does not reveal whether Maculist or Immaculist views are being promoted.

IV.
Narrative Art 1494-1528

The frescoes by Ghirlandaio in Santa Maria Novella represent the last monumental Florentine Marian cycle of the fifteenth century. Between the completion of this fresco cycle in 1498, and the beginning of the frescoes of the life of the Virgin in the Chiostro dei Voti of Santissima Annunziata in 1511, Florentine depictions of the early Marian life were painted on altarpieces and in illuminated manuscripts.

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[128] The children may be portraits, although their faces are more or less hidden. Similarly the group behind Joachim and Anna, obscured by the women, may also be portraits.

[129] Also unusual are the nimbi over the heads of the women on the left of the Visitation. These figures are presumably the temple maidens who accompanied the Virgin to her home after her betrothal.

A series of panels by the Maestro di Marradi depicts the Life of the Virgin from the Birth to the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Three of the panels are in the Musée Jacquemart in Paris; the fourth is in the museum in Geneva. The four are considered to be part of the same altarpiece, although their relationship to each other is not clear, as the sequence of scenes currently assembled shows the Birth of the Virgin flanked by the *Sposalizio* and the Presentation of the Virgin. This arrangement works for a series of three panels, as the Birth of the Virgin could be seen as the central scene of importance and thus its chronological placement after the *Sposalizio* is not troubling. However, if the Presentation of the Virgin belongs to the same series, the entire sequence is chronologically at odds with the narrative.

The panels feature in a discussion by Filippini of a 'Trecento revivalism' current in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[130] According to Filippini the archaism of the style is manifested in the lack of depth in the composition, the lack of single vanishing point perspective, and the use of the old 'double-scale' system to show figures in buildings; yet as scenes of the Life of the Virgin changed very little in their content over the century and a half under review, the iconography of the panels may be described as traditional rather than revivalist. The Birth scene shows Saint Anne seated in bed attended by women. The bed establishes a strong horizontal axis as in the Baroncelli and Rinuccini chapel frescoes of the fourteenth century. The women bathing the child in front can also be seen these frescoes as in other depictions. The Presentation shows the fifteen steps rising in a diagonal from left to right. The Virgin ascends, an open book in her hand, and Joachim and Anne stand at the right, Anne gesturing to her daughter, while Joachim has his hand raised.

An illuminated book of hours was commissioned in 1502 for Laudomia di Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici and her husband, Francesco Salviati.[131] On f.117v, the illuminator Boccardi il Vecchio (Giovanni de' Boccardi) painted a Presentation of the Virgin within a decorated border. **[pl.5.65]** The staircase of fifteen steps rises in a steep diagonal from left to right. The Virgin, halfway up the stairs, looks straight ahead and is greeted by the high priest at the top. Saints Joachim and Anne are on the right, but here only their heads and shoulders are shown. The high priest is nimbed, as in the Presentation by the Maestro di Marradi. The scene takes place in front of an arched opening beyond which is an enclosed ecclesiastical courtyard

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[130] Cecilia Filippini, 'Il Recupero del Fondo d'Oro e Altre Tendenze Arcaizzanti', in *Maestri e Botteghe: Pittura a Firenze alla fine del Quattrocento*, ed. by Mina Gregori, Antonio Paolucci and Cristina Acidini Luchinat (Florence, 1992), pp.181-190.

[131] London, British Library, Ms. Codex Yates Thompson 30, f.117v.

populated with small figures. The border is a mixture of secular ornament and religious imagery. At the four corners are four figures of martyrs: Saints Laurence and Stephen, and two virgin martyrs whose attributes are unclear. In the panels between there are various classical figures and emblems; in the top panel, a cherub points out a tablet inscribed with Laudomia's name. As is the case of all the narrative scenes already discussed, it is impossible to attach political significance to these images or to view them as in any way indicative of a cult devoted to Saint Anne. What they do reveal is an interest in the life and, perhaps even more importantly, the feasts of the Virgin. The long-established feasts of the Birth and Purification of the Virgin are emphasised, along with more recent additions such as the Presentation and the Conception.

A depiction of the Meeting at the Golden Gate is also found in a Latin breviary illuminated by Giovanni and Francesco Boccardi[132] in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence. This breviary was presented by the city of Todi to Pope Leo X **[pl.5.66].** The continuity with earlier representations of the Meeting at the Golden Gate such as those by Gozzoli in Castelfiorentino **[pl.5.55]** is shown by the clear identification of Jerusalem with Florence and indeed, the lack of emphasis on the gates themselves. As in the Lippi Golden Gate **[pl.5.57]** Joachim is a more youthful figure than usual. As in the San Pancrazio altarpiece **[pl.5.8]** the Steccuti chapel frescoes **[pl.5.17]**, the Santa Trinita frescoes **[pl.5.37]**, and the Filippo Lippi panel an angel unites the two figures. The image illustrates Eadmer's story of the Miracle of the Immaculate Conception, here attributed to Anselm, which makes an Immaculatist interpretation attractive.[133]

The increase in devotion to the Immaculate Conception is shown by a painting commissioned by Bishop Lionardo da Buonafede of Cortona for the church dedicated to that very cult: la Santissima Concezione.[134] **[pl.5.67]** The artist was Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, son of the painter of the Tornabuoni chapel frescoes. The painting is clearly related to the feast of the Conception, as the Meeting at the Golden Gate is the main subject of the altarpiece and is not confined to a predella or subsidiary element. Joachim and Anne clasp hands, God looks down upon them from above, holding a

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132 Paolo D'Ancona, *La Miniatura Fiorentina* (Florence, 1914), p.820, n.1612.

133 Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms.Plut. 17,1, f.266.

134 Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, I, 490; Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 540; Richa, *Notizie*, VIII, p.140; Bocchi, *Le Bellezze*, p.409. Lionardo da Buonafede was chosen to baptise Caterina di Lorenzo di Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici in the church of Le Murate in 1519, when he was then Spedalingo of Santa Maria Nuova (Richa, *Notizie*, I, pp.94-95).

book inscribed with alpha and omega, the beginning and the end. The immaculately conceived Virgin was destined from all time to be the mother of God; thus Christ is conceived in her as she is conceived in the mind of God.

Another scene of the Life of the Virgin which was treated as an independent subject in altarpiece design was the Presentation of the Virgin. A painting by Domenico Puligo of 1525, now destroyed, for the church of Santa Maria degli Angiolini showed the Presentation of the Virgin with Saints Helen, Lucy, Catherine of Siena, Dominic and two monks.[135] The church, not to be confused with the Camaldolese Santa Maria degli Angeli, belonged to Dominican Tertiaries from 1509. Later in the sixteenth century it exhibited a devotion to Saints Anne and Joachim, as a result of which it was known as San Giovacchino.[136] The convent also housed an altarpiece of *Anna Selbdritt*, which will be discussed later.

More traditional monumental narratives are presented in the fresco cycle in the *cortile* of Santissima Annunziata. These were commissioned by the Servite friars from two artists, Franciabigio, and Andrea del Sarto. The contract was drawn up at Christmas 1511 and the work was well under way by 1513.[137] The life of the Virgin was to be painted from her Nativity to her Assumption. Saint Anne appears in only one scene, that of the Birth. **[pl.5.68]** The fresco, completed by 1514, which has been described as a document of 'ordinary bourgeois life',[138] shows the bathing of the Virgin in the foreground, and Saint Anne seated in the bed in the background. Unlike other Florentine Births, the room is crowded with figures, and Joachim is present. The arms of the Medici are entwined with those of the Servi on the lintel over the fireplace.

Santissima Annunziata was important as a site of potential political imagery. The Servites had their origins in a lay penitential company, the Compagnia dei Laudesi di Santa Maria Vergine, which in its 1451 statutes, stated that it had been founded on the feast day of the Birth of the Virgin, 1263.[139] Since the thirteenth century the church was also the home of a miraculous image of the Virgin, one which was reputed by

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135 Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, III, p.150; Richa, *Notizie*, II, p.286.

136 Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, III, 148.

137 John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1965), I, p.29.

138 Ibid.

139 Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: the Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford, 1992), p.105.

Sacchetti to be the rival of the Impruneta and Orsanmichele Madonnas.[140] The cult of this image, which is still strong today, appears to have flourished in the early sixteenth century. Landucci recorded the uncovering of the image in 1506 for four cardinals, and described the need for utmost secrecy, as, had the people known about it, the event would have drawn great crowds.[141] Two years later he describes the crowds surrounding the image when it was taken to greet the Cardinal Legate and the swooning of a woman who had to give birth to her child in San Bastiano (Santissima Annunziata).[142] The church from its early history was also associated with the Guelf party and thus with the ruling families of Florence.[143] A law of 1401 restricted those who wished to place *voti* in the church to those who held office in the commune or belonged to one of the higher guilds.[144] The Medici had contributed much to the church. In 1461 Piero de' Medici had commissioned Michelozzo Michelozzi to design the large chapel housing the miraculous image.[145] The church also contained the chapel of Orlando de' Medici, painted by Castagno, and Orlando's tomb, which, according to Vasari, was designed by the brother of Donatello.[146] Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici), in whose time the fresco was painted, had granted a Jubilee on Marian feasts and had consecrated an altar in 1516.[147] He also enriched the church by granting it the convent of Santa Maria in Elmo in the same year[148] and confirmed the indulgences granted by Cardinal Legate Giulio de' Medici in 1521.[149] Leo's arms, sculpted by Giuliano da Sangallo, were placed on the central arch of the the loggia,

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[140] *E' fu un tempo che a Santa Maria da Cigoli ciascuno correa; poi s'andava a Santa Maria de la Selva; poi ampliò la fama di Santa Maria in Pruneta; poi a Fiesole a Santa Maria Primerana; e poi a Nostra Donna d'Orto San Michele; poi s'abandonorono tutte, e la Nunziata de' servi ogni persona ha concorso con gran cerimonia.* Franco Sacchetti, Letter to Iacomo di Conte da Perogia, in *Opere*, ed. by Aldo Borlenghi (Milan, 1957), pp.1115-6.

[141] Luca Landucci, *Diario*, p.281.

[142] Ibid., p.287.

[143] Villani recounts how the Guelphs met in the church after the defeat of Manfred and awaited help from King Charles and the French (Villani, *Cronica*, I, p.337). The practice of Guelphs meeting in the church is recorded by Richa to the year 1394 (Richa, *Notizie*, VIII, p.12).

[144] Trexler, *Public Life*, p.99; Richa, *Notizie*, VIII, p.12; the letters of Alessandra Strozzi show, however, that she was able to place effigies there despite the exiled position of the family (Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi, *Lettere*, pp.129, 197).

[145] Vasari-Milanesi, II, p.444.

[146] Richa, *Notizie*, VIII, p.32.

[147] Ibid., p.10.

[148] Ibid., p.24.

[149] Ibid., p.11.

while deeds of his papacy were painted by Pontormo.[150] These Medicean associations did not affect the popularity of the church or the cult as Landucci's diary demonstrates. In fact, the church appears to have been ritually cleansed of any existing political associations with the birth of each new regime: the wax effigy of Piero Soderini was destroyed in 1512 when the Medici came back to power,[151] and in turn, the arms of the Medici were defaced when they were expelled in 1527.[152] Yet even here, Saint Anne is shown only in her role as the mother of the Virgin not as a political symbol. Medicean influence over the frescoes may have been the reason for the omission of such political imagery, yet as will be shown the image of Saint Anne was appropriated by the Medici in Orsanmichele as it had been by the Republican government of Soderini, and, over a century earlier, by the Guelph dominated government of the 1370s.

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It can be seen from the narrative cycles and scenes considered above that the role of Saint Anne in these works was purely that of the person who conceived, bore and nurtured the Virgin. Saint Anne was regularly depicted. She appears in narrative cycles of the Life of the Virgin. The iconography of these cycles was conservative. The basic elements were established by the frescoes of Taddeo Gaddi in the Baroncelli chapel in 1328-1334 and the Florentine artists looked to these for their inspiration. The establishment of Saint Anne as a civic patroness in 1343 had no discernible effects on narrative cycles.

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[150] Ibid., p.51.

[151] Landucci, *Diario*, p.330.

[152] Trexler, *Public Life*, p.123.

CHAPTER 6

DEVOTIONAL ICONOGRAPHY OF SAINT ANNE IN FLORENCE

I.
Devotional Art 1343-1382

Devotional images of Saint Anne in Florentine art fall into two groups, those which show her as civic patroness with the city as her attribute instead of the usual Virgin and Child, and those of the *Anna Selbdritt* type. Extant images of Saint Anne as civic protrectress number only three, two of which, an image commissioned in the 1360s for the Stinche, and an altarpiece commissioned by the Cambio and Calimala guilds for the Zecca, fall within the period 1343 to 1382. The third, a frescoed vault above her altar in Orsanmichele painted in 1398-1400, will be discussed in the next section.

The first image to be commissioned as a result of the victory over the Duke of Athens was probably the one on the altar in Orsanmichele mentioned by the *Provvisione* of 1345: *Et quia in tali festivitate sine sumptibus transiri non potest, placeat vobis etiam ordinare, quod oblationes huiusmodi fiant coram ymagine dicte Sancte que est et pro tempore erit in Orto S. Michaelis predicti.*[1] However, the *Provvisione* simply mentions the image as being in existence; there is no evidence to prove that it was actually made as a result of the political situation. This image has been identified with a sculpture of *Anna Selbdritt* now in the Bargello. **[pl.6.1]** Nonetheless, Crum and Wilkins argue that the sculpture looks later than the 1340s, and is unlikely to be Italian.[2] This suggests that the original sculpture or image is missing and that the imported Bargello sculpture was placed upon the altar after the overthrow of the Duke. Another image mentioned in the documents is a *tavola* of 1347.[3] This too has been lost.

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[1] *Provvisione*, 11 gennaio 1344 (s.f.), 1345 (s.m.). Published by Savero La Sorsa, *La Compagnia di Or San Michele ovvero una pagina della benificenza in Toscana nel secolo XIV* (Trani, 1902), p.219 and Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele: Documents* 1336-1452 (Ferrara, 1996), p.26.

[2] Roger Crum and David Wilkins, 'In Defence of Florentine Republicanism: Saint Anne and Florentine Art, 1343-1575', *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, pp.131-169 (p.135).

[3] This image has already been discussed in Chapter Four.

The image of Saint Anne in the Stinche **[pl.6.2]** was commissioned for the Carceri delle Stinche, a prison in Florence, which was usually reserved for those convicted of political rather than criminal offences. Because enemies of the Duke of Athens had been interned in it, it was a potent symbol of repression and according to Villani, was one of the first buildings to be stormed in 1343.[4] The dating of the fresco is uncertain, as is its attribution. Crum and Wilkins, attributing it to an artist close to Orcagna, suggest a date of 1344.[5] It was attributed by Castellazzi to Cennino Cennini: *Il sentimento dell'inganno nel quale si librava il basso animo del Gualtieri e dipinto collo stesso fare simbolico dell' arte medioevale, nel bel mezzo del petto del traditore*.[6] Freedberg dates it to the1360s;[7] this was a period of tension between the Albizzi and Ricci factions over whether Florence should join the Papal League against the Visconti, and it was also the decade which saw the victorious war with Pisa.

Vasari spoke of a fresco by Giottino, commissioned by Agnolo Acciaiuoli, the bishop of Florence and one of those instrumental in both the installation and the expulsion of the Duke and the Council of the Twelve. He identified some of the figures in the fresco:

> *Che furono messer Ceritieri Visdomini, messer Maladiasse, il suo Conservatore, e messer Ranieri da San Gimignano, tutti con le mitere di giustizia in capo vituperosamente. Intorno alla testa del duca erano molti animali rapaci e d'altre sorti, significanti la natura e qualità di lui; ed uno di que' suoi consiglieri aveva in mano il Palagio de' Priori della città, e come disleale e traditore della patria glielo porgeva: e tutti avevano sotto l'arme e l'insegne delle famiglie loro, ed alcune scritte, che oggi si possono malamente leggere per essere consumate dal tempo.*[8]

This is now lost, but the Stinche version is considered to be closely related in terms of iconography and composition.

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4 Villani, *Cronica*, IV, p.32.

5 Crum and Wilkins, 'Florentine Republicanism', p.135.

6 Giuseppe Castellazzi, *Il Palazzo di Or San Michele - I suoi Tempi ed il Progetto del suo Restauro* (Florence and Rome, 1883), p.43.

7 David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London, 1989), p.255.

8 Vasari-Milanesi, I, pp.625-6.

The fresco establishes a civic image of Saint Anne which is unique to Florence. She is shown enthroned next to the Palazzo della Signoria with the defenders of Florence to her right, dressed in red and white and carrying civic standards. She is veiled and wimpled and wears red, the traditional colour of the Parte Guelfa,[9] instead of the green seen in many earlier narrative representations. She grasps the central standard with her right hand an extends her left hand palm down towards the Duke in the traditional gesture of damnation. On the ground in front of the Duke are a broken sword, scales and a law book, while there is a shield at the feet of Saint Anne. The inscriptions are now illegible. The winged bearded figure has been identified as Constancy,[10] he holds a column in his left hand and and may have held a spear in the other. The creature held by Brienne has the face of a man, the body of a serpent, and a scorpion's tail, and can be identified possibly with Gerione of Dante's *Inferno*: a creature whose face was that of an honest man with a serpentine body, a fitting symbol of fraud and treachery.[11] It must be noted that there was a tradition in Florence of painting the portraits of criminals, known as *pittura infamante*, on the walls of the prison.[12] A representation such as this on the walls of the Stinche clearly labelled the Duke as a criminal. In order to understand this painting, which shows Saint Anne as a powerful protectress of the city and an intercessor for the Florentines at her side, knowledge of the events of July 1343 is essential.

The panel by Jacopo di Cione, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, and Simone di Lapo di Nuccio which was commissioned by the Cambio and Calimala guilds of 1373 for the Zecca[13] **[pl.6.3]** depicts the Coronation of the Virgin with the protector saints of Florence including Saint Anne. She is shown as the second kneeling figure from the left, veiled and wimpled and holding the Palazzo della Signoria, the seat of

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[9] Timothy Verdon, 'La Sant'Anna Metterza: Riflessioni, Domande, Ipotesi', *Gli Uffizi: Studi e Ricerche,* 5 (1984), pp. 33-58 (p.7).

[10] Crum and Wilkins, 'Florentine Republicanism', p.138.

[11] Dante: *E quella sozza imagine di froda/ Sen venne, ed arrivò la testa e il busto,/ Ma in su la riva non trasse la coda./ La faccia sua era faccia d'uom giusto,/ Tanto benigna avea di fuor la pelle,/ E d'un serpente tutto l'altro fusto. Inf.,* XVII, 7-12. Dante Alighieri, *Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri,* ed. by Arnaldo della Torre and Giustiniano degli Azzi (Florence, 1921), p.138. The link between the image in this fresco and Dante's Gerione is made by Crum and Wilkins, 'In Defence of Florentine Republicanism', p.138.

[12] Samuel J. Edgerton, *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca and London, 1985).

[13] Giorgio Bonsanti, *La Galleria dell' Accademia* (Florence, 1987), p.66, and Crum and Wilkins, 'Florentine Republicanism', p.141.

Republican government which she had saved from tyranny. She is accompanied by, reading from the left, Saints John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Barnabas, Zenobius, Reparata, Anthony the Abbot, Matthew, Victor, and Catherine of Alexandria. The presence of most of these saints is readily explained by their patronage either of Florence or of the guilds concerned: Saints John the Baptist, Zenobius and Reparata were ancient patrons of Florence; Saints Barnabas and Victor, like Anne joined the pantheon because of victories obtained on their feast days.[14] Saints John the Evangelist and Matthew were patrons of the Calimala and Cambio guilds respectively. Less easy to explain in terms of civic or guild significance are Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Anthony Abbot. Saint Catherine was celebrated in Florence as early as 1325[15] and most guilds recognised her feast day by this date.[16] The celebration of the feast day of Anthony Abbot was added to the statutes of the Arte dei Correggiai, Tavolacciai e Scudai along with that of the conversion of Saint Paul, at the instigation in 1355 of Piero Gucci and Bernardo di Nerozzo degli Alberti, officials of the commune.[17] These officials, along with a certain Piero de Bonizi, were also responsible for ensuring the insertion of the same two feast days in the

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[14] These saints are discussed in Chapter Four, with references.

[15] The Rucellai founded a chapel dedicated to her in Santa Maria Novella in that year. J. Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella: An Historical, Architectural and Artistic Study* (Edinburgh, 1902), pp.125-7.

[16] The following guilds recognised her feast day: Por Santa Maria in 1335 (*Statuti dell'Arte Por Santa Maria del Tempo della Repubblica,* ed. by Umberto Dorini (Florence, 1934), p.32) *Statuti Delle Arti degli Oliandoli e Pizzicagnoli e dei Beccai di Firenze, 1318-1346*, ed. by Francesca Morandini (Florence, 1961), p.117 (1345); *Statuti delle Arti dei Correggiai, Tavolacciai e Scudai, dei Vaiai e Pellicciai da Firenze (1338 -1386)*, ed. by Giulia Camerani Marri (Florence, 1960), p.22 (1338); *Statuti delle Arti dei Fornai e Vinattieri di Firenze (1337-1339) con Appendice di Documenti Relativi alle Arte dei Farsettai e dei Tintori (1378-1379)*, ed. by Francesca Morandini (Florence, 1956), p.23 (1337); *Statuti delle Arti dei Corazzai, dei Chiavaioli, Ferraioli e Calderai e dei Fabbri di Firenze (1321-1344) con Appendice dei Marchi di Fabbrica dei Fabbri, dal 1369*, ed. by Giulia Camerani Marri (Florence, 1957), p.64 (the Arte dei Chaivaiuoli, Ferraiouli e Calderai, 1355) and p.196 (the Arte dei Fabbri, 1344). In addition to this a group of weavers formed a confraternity under her protection which met in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine. Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, p.211.

[17] *Statuti delle Arti dei Correggiai*,p.20

calendar of the Arte dei Chiavaiuoli, Ferraiuoli e Calderai in the same year.[18] The feast had already been celebrated by the Arte dei Fabbri from 1344.[19]

The patrons of the painting, the Cambio and Calimala guilds, were the most influential in the city. Members of the Cambio guild during this period included Gregorio Cardinali and Niccolò di Pagnozzo Cardinali,[20] Nofri dell'Antella,[21] Simone dell'Antella,[22] Simone di Tieri Tornaquinci,[23] and Giovanni Uzzano.[24] Members of the Calimala guild included Bernardo di Covone Covoni,[25] Giovanni del Bene,[26] Giorgio Riccardo Ricci,[27] Paolo di Michele Rondinelli,[28] Tommaso di Marco

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18 *Statuti delle Arti dei Chiavaioli, Ferraioli e Calderai*, p.62; *Statuti dell'Arte dei Fornai e dei Vinattieri di Firenze,* p.21.

19 *Statuti delle Arti dei Corazzai, dei Chiavaioli, Ferraioli e Calderai e dei Fabbri di Firenze,* p.191. The reasons why Saint Anthony was inserted into these calendars at this time are unclear, but may have been connected with the arrival of the Canons regular in Florence and its environs in the previous twenty years, and the construction of a church near the Porta Faenza, completed in 1358 (Richa, *Notizie*, IV, p.5). Later, the feast of Saint Anthony was celebrated due to the victory over the Ciompi achieved on his feast day and became closely associated with the Parte Guelfa (Trexler, *Public Life*, p.222; Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, p.165).

20 Gene Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society: 1343-1378*, Princeton Studies in History, 12 (Princeton, 1962), p.23, documented in 1378. A Gregorio Cardinali was executed under the Guild-led government for conspiracy. (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.338).

21 Ibid., p.341, he was proscribed in 1378. Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, *Cronaca Fiorentina*, ed. by Niccolò Rodolico, Rerum Italicum Scriptores, 30.i (Città di Castello, 1903), p.316).

22 Savero La Sorsa, *L'Organizzazione dei Cambiatori Fiorentini nel Medioevo* (Cerignola, 1904), p.93, and Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.24. He was a consul of the Cambio guild in 1355. His family was also proscribed in 1378 (ibid., p.341).

23 Ibid., p.23.

24 Ibid., p.81. In 1374 he was involved in a property scandal.

25 Giulio Gandi, *Le Arti Maggiori e Minori in Firenze* (Florence, 1929; repr. Rome, 1971), p.55. In 1366 Bernardo was one of the officials of the Calimala guild responsible for commissioning the silver altar of San Giovanni. He was a prior in 1368 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.267n.) and was proscribed in 1377 (ibid., p.309).

26 Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.341. He was a prior in 1371 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.276), and was proscribed in 1378. (ibid., pp.305 and 309).

27 Gandi, *Le Arte*, p.56.

28 Gandi, *Le Arte*, p.55. He was an official of the Calimala responible for the silver altar dossal in San Giovanni in 1366 and in 1370 (ibid., p.56). He was a prior in 1364 (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.264n.) and in 1369 (ibid., p.273).

Strozzi,[29] Benedetto di Nerozzo Alberti,[30] Alessandro degli Alessandri,[31] and Bartolomeo degli Alessandri.[32] The inclusion of Saint Anne in the altarpiece is a powerful endorsement of her status as a civic saint. Many of those involved in the cult at Orsanmichele were members of these guilds in the 1370s. The guilds' coats of arms flank the row of arms at the bottom of the altarpiece which include the keys of the papacy, the fleurs-de-lys of France, the Florentine lily, the eagle of the Parte Guelfa, and the Zecca itself. The inclusion of these arms leaves no doubt as to the political orthodoxy of the guilds at this time.

Thus, in the period immediately before the tumult of 1378, a civic iconography had been established for Saint Anne. Few Florentine *Anna Selbdritts* were placed in prominent positions during this period. Instead, the civic image consisted of Saint Anne alone without her attributes of the Virgin and Child, but linked with the city through the representations of the Palazzo della Signoria rather than the Cathedral or the incomplete Orsanmichele.

II.
Devotional Art 1382-1434

By 1378, the year of the Ciompi revolt, the civic iconography of Saint Anne, such as it was, had been established. Many of those oligarchic families prominently represented in the Signoria and the lists of the Capitani of Orsanmichele between 1343 and 1378 found themselves banished from political office or from the city itself in the years between 1378 and 1382.[33] These were the very families whose names occur in the lists of those responsible for the construction of the church of Saint Anne and possibly for the very maintenance of the cult. The Capitani records show an increase in the positions held by men from the lower guilds. It is possible that these men repudiated those saints which had been so prominently linked with the oligarchic faction in the Zecca altarpiece. Undoubtedly the Guelph proscriptions in the 1370s and particularly in 1378 gave rise to much bitternes. For whatever reason the cult of Saint Anne does not seem to have flourished in those years when her unfinished

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[29] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.32 (1378).

[30] Ibid., p.55 (1366).

[31] Ibid., p.51. He was a prior in 1373. (Stefani, *Cronaca*, p.284).

[32] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.51.

[33] For example: the Baldovinetti, Capponi, dell'Antella, Del Bene, Rinuccini, Guasconi, Guicciardini, Soderini and Strozzi.

church was re-dedicated Saint Michael.[34] It was not until well after the oligarchs had returned and consolidated their grip on power that the third and final extant image of Saint Anne as civic protrectress, the fresco in Orsanmichele was commissioned.

The Orsanmichele fresco scheme was conceived by Franco Sacchetti, the writer, and a captain of Orsanmichele himself in 1380,[35] and 1398.[36] **[pls 6.4, 6.5]** It was undertaken at the end of the fourteenth century by various different artists, among them Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Maso di Banco and Mariotto di Nardo. Individual images, overpainted and restored in the course of several centuries, have not been securely attributed. In February 1385 the Capitani were authorised by the Signoria to spend ten percent of their annual revenues (excluding candle sales) on the decoration of the interior of the oratory by the Signoria in February 1385.[37] Three years later this was increased to twenty percent.[38] The ceiling vaults were, however, probably not executed until 1398-1400. The altar of Saint Anne occupies the left side of the same wall as the tabernacle of Orcagna. Presumably, in the fourteenth century, the image referred to in the 1345 *Provvisione*, and possibly identifiable with the wooden statue now in the Bargello, stood upon the altar itself, while representations of different Saints occupied the surrounding walls and pilasters. Above the altar is a groin vault with a frescoed saint in each quarter; the quarter closest to the window overlooking the modern Via de' Calzaiuoli is decorated with the figure of Saint Anne.[39] The artist appears to have drawn upon the imagery of the Zecca panel in showing Saint Anne as a protectress of Florence who holds a model of the city. As usual, she is veiled and wimpled, and wears robes of mauve. Moving clockwise from the figure of Saint Anne, the other quarters are occupied by Saint Mary Magdalen holding her jar of ointment, the Virgin Mary herself wearing a rich embroidered dress and crown, and finally, a female saint wearing a crown and holding a book and lily, attributes which, though by no means unique to her, suggest that she may be Saint Catherine. Sacchetti's iconography was based on the idea of Three Laws: Natural Law, (from Adam to Moses); Written Law (from Moses to the advent of Christ); and the Law of Grace (from the advent of Christ). Figures of men

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[34] See Chapter Four.

[35] La Sorsa, *La Compagnia*, p.167,

[36] Ibid., p.170.

[37] Diane Finiello Zervas, 'Lorenzo Monaco, Lorenzo Ghiberti and Orsanmichele', *Burlington Magazine*, 133 (1991) pp.748-759 (p.750).

[38] Ibid.

[39] Attributed to Mariotto di Nardo. Diane Finiello Zervas, *Orsanmichele a Firenze*, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), I, p.566.

occupied the southern bays and women the northern. Appropriately, the northern side culminates with the figure of Saint Anne who, by conceiving the Mother of Christ, formed the bridge between the Written Law and the Law of Grace. Sacchetti's political affiliation is clearly indicated by the emblem of the Parte Guelfa in the centre of the vault over the Saint Anne altar. The other emblems depicted in the remaining vaults are those of the Angevin House, the Florentine Commune, the Popolo, the Papacy and the Giglio of Florence itself. This fresco is the last depiction of Saint Anne with the city as her attribute, and it is not until the government of Piero Soderini commissioned Fra Bartolomeo in 1498 to execute a painting for the Sala del Gran Consiglio that she was explicitly linked to political iconography again.

Various images of Saint Anne of a non-political nature were painted in Florence and its surroundings between 1382 and 1434. An unusual one which shows her with the youthful Virgin was painted at the end of the fourteenth century in Santa Croce **[pl.6.6]**. She is shown as a young woman seated in an interior, winding yarn, helped by a young child. Both figures are nimbed; Saint Anne wears a white dress and veil, and the Virgin wears a short white tunic. At first sight the image could appear to be a domestic scene featuring the Virgin and Child, and it was listed by Paatz and Paatz as the Madonna winding yarn. However, close inspection reveals the SANTA MARIA faintly inscribed on the child's halo.[40] The scene is extraordinary in the context of Florentine iconography. The youthfulness of Saint Anne is unprecedented and appears much more typical of depictions of the Virgin. The child with its short hair and short tunic, resembles a male toddler more than the child Virgin seen in Presentation scenes. However, some similarity can be seen between this child's appearance and the child figures in depictions such as Antonio da Fabriano's Education of the Virgin **[pl.2.47]** and the Maestro di Martino's Saint Anne with the Infant Virgin. **[pl.6.7]** The winding of yarn could possibly have been seen as a symbol of the Immaculate Conception. A late medieval poem published by Didron describes the Virgin as a 'seamless robe', *quel neust jamais tache d'infection.*[41] This

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[40] The image is labelled as *Sant'Anna con la Vergine* in the Museo dell'Opera in Santa Croce.

[41] *Anna dressa la trayme sans couppeure/ Et Joachim par humble affection/ Fournist de soye et matière si pure/ Quel neust jamais tache d'infection*. Poem by Guillaume Cretin, written for the Puy de Rouen, published by A. Hurel, 'La Vierge et les Palinods du Moyen Age', *Annales Archéologique*, ed. by Adolphe-Napoléon Didron, 13 (1862), pp.97-111 (p.106). Francesca Sautman provides a translation, 'Anne set up the warp without break/ And Joachim by humble affection,/ Provided the silk and such pure matter/ That it never was spotted with infection.' Francesca Sautman, 'Saint Anne in Folk Tradition - Late Medieval France', in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols, Saint Anne in Late Medieval*

poem could clearly be used as a support for the Immaculate Conception and could be linked with an image such as this. The painting's location in a Franciscan church is another reason to suggest an Immaculatist iconography. The absence of civic symbols in the fresco suggests that it is not political in intention.

While documentary sources indicate that Saint Anne's civic patronage was not forgotten and that her feast continued to be celebrated as a civic festival throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in this period the image of Saint Anne as civic patroness was replaced by the more widespread and traditional *Anna Selbdritt* type. Even this type was not particularly common in Florence. The panel by Masaccio and Masolino now in the Accademia in Florence **[pl.6.8]** **(A)** is probably the best known image of the saint in Florentine art, and, with the possible exception of Leonardo's Louvre painting, in European art.[42] The sculpture in the Bargello is more problematic **[pl.6.1]** **(A)** for no proof exists that this was generally accessible, or indeed was in Florence at all at this date. An *Anna Selbdritt* was painted for a Tabernacle belonging to the Migliorati family in Figline, near Prato,[43] **(A)** and in the church of San Francesco in nearby Pescia there was a triptych of the same subject. **[pl.6.9]** **(A)** The Migliorati *Anna Selbdritt* is accompanied by Saints Laurence and Mark, and the two wings (when they are closed) show Saints John and Stephen. The Pescia panel shows *Anna Selbdritt* with Saints Jude, Simon, Lawrence and Dominic.[44] **[pl.6.9]** In addition to these, there is a panel by the Florentine painter Bicci di Lorenzo, which is now in the Bob Jones University Museum, Greenville.[45] **[pl.6.10]** **(A)** All of these date from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries. Many extant Tuscan *Anna Selbdritt* images from this period are of Pisan or Sienese provenance. These include the panel by Luca di Tomè from the monastery of San

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Society, edited by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens, Georgia & London, 1990), pp.69-95 (p.90, n.56).

42 The question of the collaboration between Masaccio and Masolino is a controversial one, and is outside the scope of this thesis.

43 Mary Pittaluga, 'Il tabernacolo di Figline presso Prato', *L'Arte*, 2.3 (1931), fasc. II. pp.105-119.

44 Graziano Concioni, Claudio Ferri, and Giuseppe Ghilarducci, *Arte e Pittura nel Medioevo Lucchese* (Lucca,1994), pp.320-323. The church was originally a Benedictine foundation but in 1405 Chiavello Chiavelli, lord of Fabriano, rebuilt it for the Franciscan order (Tim Benton and others, *Art in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Milton Keynes, 1986), p.8). This fact explains the absence of Saint Francis, although it does not account for the presence of Saint Dominic.

45 Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: a List of the Principal Artists and their Works with an Index of Places. Florentine School*, 2 vols (London, 1963),I, p.29, plate 503; Verdon, 'La Sant' Anna Metterza', ill. p.37.

Quirico val d'Orcia, near Siena,[46] **[pl.2.61]** (**B**) an altarpiece by Martino di Bartolommeo in Sant' Andrea, Siena,[47] **[pl.2.57]** (**A**) a badly damaged fresco in Sant'Agostino, San Gimignano **[pl.6.11]**, a panel commissioned by a Pisan patron from a Pisan artist in the church of Santissima Annunziata **[pl.1.10]** (**A**) a panel by Francesco Traini in Princeton **[pl.1.11]** (**A**) and one attributed to a follower of his in Cologne.[48] Later, in 1470, Benozzo Gozzoli painted an *Anna Selbdritt* (**B**) with female donors, probably for the Dominican convent of Santa Marta in Pisa.[49] **[pl.6.12]**

Saint Anne was not common in devotional imagery in the years spanning the Masaccio *Anna Selbdritt* (**A**) and an *Anna Selbdritt* of 1471, now in Berlin, once attributed to Cosimo Rosselli and recently attributed to Giovanni da Piamonte. (**A**). **[pl.6.13]** The Masaccio image was recorded by Vasari in his revised edition of his *Vite* in 1568 as being in the Cappella dei Buonamici in the Benedictine Church of Sant'Ambrogio in Florence: **[pl.6.8]**

> *E di sua mano una tavola fatta a tempera, nella quale è una Nostra Donna in grembo a Sant' Anna, col figliuolo in collo; la quale tavola è oggi in Sant'Ambrogio di Firenze, nella cappella che è allato alla porta che va al parlatorio delle monache.*[50]

It was apparently in the same place when it was seen by Richa who describes it in almost identical terms in 1754: *e alla Cappella de' Buonamici contigua alla porta laterale, che conduce in Monastero, e questa si crede di Masaccio, che vi dipinse nostra Donna in grembo a S. Anna col Figliuolo in collo.*[51] The phrasing is significant, since, as Verdon has pointed out, the Madonna is seated on the lower step

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46 Siena, Accademia, No.309. Ludwig Heydenreich, 'La Sainte Anne de Léonard de Vinci', *Gazette des Beaux -Arts*, 10 (1933), pp.207 - 29 (p.212) ; Henk Van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces 1215 - 1460*, 2 vols. Mediaevalia Gronigana, 4 and 9 (Groningen, 1984-1990), I, p. 140; Millard Meiss, ' The Problem of Francesco Traini', *Art Bulletin*, 15 (1933), pp.97 - 173 (p.119); Enzo Carli, *Sienese Painting* (London, 1983), p.48, pl.68 .

47 Enzo Carli, *La Pittura a Pisa - Dalle Origini alla 'Bella Maniera'* (Pisa, 1994), p.174; Van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces*, II, p.219, n.35; Peter Anselm Riedl and Max Seidel, *Die Kirchen von Siena*, 2 vols in 7 parts (Munich, 1985 - [c.1992]) , I, pp.282-3, 296, and II, ill.337- 42.

48 Millard Meiss, ' The Problem of Francesco Traini', p.124.

49 Carli, *La Pittura a Pisa*, pp.174, 197.

50 Vasari-Milanesi, II, p.290.

51 Richa, *Notizie*, II, p.8.

of the throne, and is not in the lap of Saint Anne.[52] Verdon also notes the way in which Vasari states that the painting is *oggi* in Sant'Ambrogio in Florence, possibly implying that it had been moved there from elsewhere. Vasari had omitted the *Anna Selbdritt* from the 1550 edition altogether, which suggests that he had only seen the painting after this date when it had been moved from its original location to Sant'Ambrogio. However, one could also suggest that, as Vasari had clearly not seen the image or thought it of enough importance to describe in 1550, the word *oggi* may simply be nothing more than one of his many inaccuracies; perhaps the painting was in the Buonamici chapel all along, or in another chapel within the same church. Verdon suggests that the painting may originally have been on the altar of Saint Anne in Orsanmichele.[53] Although the suggestion is an attractive one, it fails to take into consideration the sculpture of Saint Anne mentioned by the *Provvisione* of 1345, which was seen both by both Poggi and Castellazzi in the nineteenth century.[54] Poggi described it thus:

> *L'antica immagine di Sant'Anna con la Beata Vergine e col Bambino scolpita in legno, opera di uno scultore antico, con un manto rosso soleva porsi in onore sull'altar maggiore, che era votivo alla Resurrezione di Cristo, nella festa della santa il 26 di luglio; e poi riportavasi in guardaroba.*

Castellazzi, evidently describing the same sculpture, described it as *vestita tutta di rosso*.[55] That a lavish image like the Masaccio/Masolino one would have been replaced by the Sangallo sculpture in 1523 is unlikely according to the artistic standards of the early sixteenth century, and indeed our own time; Masaccio was - and is - admired as the inheritor of the Giottesque traditions. It is more likely that an old anonymous wooden sculpture would have been seen as a candidate for replacement. Moreover Vasari, as a twelve-year old being educated in Florence with members of the Medici family, would have been unlikely to have been unaware of such a transfer.[56] Both Verdon and Borsook have given strong reasons for believing

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[52] Verdon, 'La Sant' Anna Metterza', p.33.

[53] Ibid., p.42.

[54] Girolamo Poggi, *Or San Michele* (Florence, 1895), p.75.

[55] Castellazzi, *Il Palazzo di Or San Michele*, p.43.

[56] Vasari was born in 1511 in Arezzo and died in 1574. He was educated in Florence along with the young Ippolito and Alessandro de' Medici (J.R. Hale, 'Vasari, Giorgio', in *The Encyclopaedia of the Italian Renaissance*, ed. by J.R. Hale (London, 1981; repr. 1989), pp.326-7).

the painting to have been commissioned for a chapel within Sant'Ambrogio itself.[57] The church, while not a civic site on the scale of Orsanmichele, possessed strong civic links with both the Signoria and the Arte dei Giudici e Notai, so the image of the civic protectress would not have been inappropriate. Borsook points out that the Arte dei Giudici e Notai was anxious to free itself from the charges of Ghibellinism, and, as shown above, the image of Saint Anne had been used with the arms of the Guelph party at least twice. Saint Ambrose was a saint closely associated with the more consistently venerated civic saint Zenobius. Moreover Sant'Ambrogio was the focus of two important cults, the Eucharist and the Immaculate Conception, both of which were connected with the veneration of Saint Anne. The cult of the Eucharist stemmed from a miracle that took place in the church in 1230 when a priest named Uguccione saw the Host bleeding.[58] The cult appears to have been thriving in the fourteenth century; in 1340 a procession with the Miraculous Host from Sant'Ambrogio took place throughout the city to alleviate an influenza epidemic,[59] and in 1399 Pope Boniface IX granted plenary indulgences to all who visited the church on prescribed days.[60] However, the cult of the Eucharist shifted to Santa Maria Novella in the early fifteenth century while that of the Immaculate Conception grew in Sant'Ambrogio, perhaps as a conscious replacement.[61]

The iconography of the Masaccio *Anna Selbdritt* can be linked with both of these cults. The halo of Saint Anne is inscribed *S[anta] Anna è di Nostra Donna fast[igio]* (Saint Anne is the Pinnacle of the Virgin) in Gothic script[62] and the halo of the Virgin is inscribed also in Gothic script, *Ave Maria Gratia Plena Dominus Tecum Benedicta Tu*, and this is repeated in Roman capitals on the base of the throne, foreshortened where the base curves.[63] The lettering and the language of the inscriptions may represent the old and new orders: Saint Anne with her Gothic and

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57 Verdon, 'La Sant' Anna Metterza' passim, and Eve Borsook,' Cults and Imagery at Sant' Ambrogio in Florence', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 25 (1981), pp.147-202.

58 Francesco Bocchi, *Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze dove a pieno di Pittura di Sultura di Sacri Templi, di Palazzi, i più notabili artifizi, e Più Preziosi si contengono,*introduction by John Shearman (Florence: [s.n.], 1591; repr. Farnborough, 1971), p.71; Stefani, *Cronaca*, pp.32-33.

59 Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine* (Florence, 1647), p.434.

60 Richa, *Notizie*, II, p.247.

61 Verdon, 'La Sant' Anna Metterza', p.54; Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church*, p.115, records that the procession on Corpus Christi proceeded from the Duomo to Santa Maria Novella, and that this practice was regulated by a papal bull in 1458 after a dispute in 1457.

62 Perri Lee Roberts, *Masolino da Panicale* (Oxford, 1984), p.76.

63 Ibid., p.81.

vernacular inscription could be seen to represent the old order, and the Virgin with her Gothic inscription in Latin could be seen as the mediating point between old and new. There is thus a juxtaposition between old and new, perhaps representing the old and new orders symbolised in the group: Saint Anne is the representative of the Old Law, while the Virgin is the mediating point between old and new, in her womb the Redeemer of the world is conceived through the Holy Spirit.[64] The repetition of the the angelic salutation at the Annunciation of the conception of Christ emphasises the Incarnation and the Eucharist.

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception may be read into the altarpiece but is not explicitly referred to in either inscription or iconography. As has been shown in Chapter Two, the *Anna Selbdritt* type was common in European art and can be found in Dominican churches as frequently as it is found elsewhere. Where this *Anna Selbdritt* differs from others of its type is in the nudity of the Child, the gesture of Saint Anne, and the actions of the two angels kneeling beside the throne. The first and last of these features can be directly related to the Eucharistic cult, although this does not necessarily imply that the painting was not originally painted for Sant'Ambrogio.[65] The Child's nudity is unusual but perfectly explicable within the Eucharistic cult. The Eucharist is the body of Christ, the fleshly, human body which was sacrificed to atone for the sins of mankind. The Eucharist is thus directly relevant to the Incarnation itself, which, in turn leads back to the necessity of the conception, immaculate or otherwise, of the Virgin Mary. By showing the Child naked the artist reveals the vulnerability of the flesh which is to be sacrificed and then consumed in the form of the Eucharist. The deliberate exposure of the Child's genitalia by the Virgin becomes clear if the theories of Steinberg[66] and Trexler [67] are taken into account. According to these writers the humanity of Christ was most evident in his circumcision, in which the wounds inflicted upon him were typological

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64 Erwin Panofsky in *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 2 vols (New York, 1971), I, pp.144 -148, pointed out such symbolism in his analysis of the architectural details in Van Ecyk's Madonna and Child in a Church and in Hugo van der Goes' Portinari Altarpiece (pp. 333-4).

65 The Cult of Corpus Christi was common in Europe and many churches, including some in Florence, maintained a miraculous Host.

66 Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (Chicago and London, 1996).

67 Richard C. Trexler, 'Gendering Christ Crucified', *Iconography at the Crossroads. Index of Christian Art. Occasional Papers II. Papers from the Colloquium sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23 - 24 March, 1990*, ed. by Brendan Cassidy (Princeton University, Department of Art and Archaeology. Index of Christian Art), 2 (Princeton, 1993), pp.107-121.

evident in his circumcision, in which the wounds inflicted upon him were typological of those to come in the Crucifixion. Similarly, the blood which ran from the wound of the circumcision showed that he was human and could suffer pain, and was the first proof of the Incarnation of God as man. Saint Anne becomes important here as she is the carnal grandmother of Christ, representing the fleshly lineage and not the spiritual. The angels with thuribles on each side of the throne clearly refer to a liturgical ceremony, and most probably to the moment in the Mass when the priest consecrates the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ.

The cycle of redemption is linked to the composition of the Masaccio/Masolino *Anna Selbdritt*. Saint Anne is at the top of the pyramid formed by the three figures, and the inscription on her halo has additional significance if read in architectural terms as the apex. She is the forerunner of the other two figures, yet all the figures have their origin in God.[68] Similarly, the only figure looking directly at the spectator is the Child; while Mary looks to her left Anne looks downwards.[69] The eyes of the Child and his raised hand are what lead into the painting, while the eyes of the two women deny access. The suggestion by Verdon that this painting could have formed the centrepiece of the Eucharistic tabernacle on the high altar itself is particularly attractive in the light of its Eucharistic imagery.[70]

While no overt civic iconography is present the gesture of the hand of Saint Anne has been seen as a reference to the Jacopo di Cione Saint Anne protecting the City of Florence in the Stinche.[71] **[pl. 6.2]** However, the gesture of Saint Anne in the latter is clearly one of damnation and thus cannot be read as identical to the gesture here. It is more probable that the gesture in the Masaccio/Masolino painting is one of protection over the Child.[72] The reddish-pink robe of the saint has also been cited as

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[68] Verdon, 'Sant' Anna Metterza', p.44.

[69] The gaze of Mary has been interpreted as a look of intensity as she listens to the words of the Holy Spirit, and it has been linked in a very interesting way by Verdon with the Rule of the Benedictine convent, *Asculta filii* (pp.42-44). This too fits in with the likelihood of its original site being Sant'Ambrogio.

[70] Ibid., pp.46-55. The narrow dimensions of the panel (178 x 103 cm) led Verdon to consider this possibility, although he states that it could also have formed part of a larger altarpiece structure, for example, the central part of a triptych or polyptych. He shows how the Saint Anne group, if part of this tabernacle, would then become the *Archa Dei*, containing and protecting the Host.

[71] Ibid., p.38.

[72] A similar, although not identical gesture is also found in the *Anna Selbdritt* in San Pietro Montorio **[pl.2.55]** and the *Anna Selbdritt* in the Museo in Mallorca **[pl.2.59]**. In both of these instances the

a link with older civic imagery for, it will be recalled, that both the Orsanmichele sculpture and the Stinche image were dressed in red. Such a connection is possible and even likely, given that civic and Eucharistic iconography are not mutually exclusive. It appears nevertheless that the primary role of this image is not to promote Saint Anne as protectress of republican values, but to show her as grandmother of the Saviour.

III.
Devotional Art 1434-1494

There seems to be a hiatus in devotional representations of Saint Anne after the Masaccio *Anna Selbdritt* until the late fifteenth century.[73] The next to appear were the *Anna Selbdritt* of Cosimo Rosselli or Giovanni da Piamonte of 1471, and an enigmatic Visitation with Saint Anne by Pietro Perugino dated to around the same time. There is then another gap until 1499-1500, which years see the beginning of Leonardo and Michelangelo's interest in the compositional problems presented by a group of three interlocking figures, and the image by a follower of Piero di Cosimo in Santa Maria degli Angiolini. The paintings by Rosselli/ da Piamonte and Perugino display little, if any, civic iconography. The painting is in the Bode Museum in Berlin **[pl.6.13]** and was formerly attributed to Cosimo Rosselli but it is now attributed as a possible work of Giovanni da Piamonte. The figure of Saint Anne is veiled but not wimpled, and is not an elderly woman. The central *Anna Selbdritt* group is emphasised by its recession and by the classical aedicule behind it. Flanking the group are Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Mary Magdalen, while Saints George and Francis stand in the foreground. The group is similar to the Masaccio *Anna Selbdritt* only in terms of its subject matter. Unlike the Masaccio painting both Saint Anne and the Virgin gaze at the spectator. The Child here stands and raises his hand in benediction. He is naked except for a strip of drapery around his waist which sees the Virgin as being about to remove it an as an action of revelation;[74] or demonstration of the flesh of Christ, which, as in the Masaccio, can be seen as symbolic of the Eucharist.

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hand of Saint Anne is tilted more upwards than in the Masaccio, but the protective nature of the raised hand is retained.

[73] A possible exception to this is a painting of *Anna Selbdritt* attributed to Alesso Baldovinetti and sold in Lempertz, Cologne in 1974, catalogue no.212. No provenance is recorded and the painting is now in a private collection.

[74] Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ,* p.24.

A late fifteenth-century *Anna Selbdritt* by the Florentine Maestro di Stratonic **[pl.6.14]** **(A)** is one of a number of paintings for which a similar argument could be deployed. The painting, sold in 1966, depicts *Anna Selbdritt* enthroned, flanked by angels. The Child is naked except for the gauzy drapery held around him by the Virgin. The Child holds a goldfinch, a bird which recalled his Passion. Another painting which can be linked to the *ostentatio genitalium* is the *Anna Selbdritt* by a follower of Domenico Ghirlandaio, in San Biagio, Passignano **[pl.6.15]** **(A)** in which the Virgin's hand is placed over the Child's genitals. A donor kneels beside the group and angels flank the throne, as in the Stratonice painting.

The painting of the Visitation in the Accademia **[pl.6.16]** with Saint Anne is unique. Presumed to be a predella panel to an unidentified altarpiece, it has been widely attributed to Perugino and dated to approximately 1470.[75] The inclusion of Saint Anne at the Visitation is highly unusual; it has no precedent in either narrative or devotional imagery concerned with the legend of the Virgin and her mother. Saint Anne stands in the left foreground, clearly identified by the inscription S. ANNA on her halo. She wears a yellow cloak and red dress and gestures in the direction of Mary and Elizabeth. Her pose is a reminder of the usual stance of Saint John the Baptist in Florentine devotional works, where he points to the Virgin and Child in his role as New Testament prophet, in the manner approved by Alberti.[76] Saint Anne is at the extreme front of the painting: Mary and Elizabeth are slightly further back so that the eye is drawn first to Anne and then led by her gesture to the women. In the background on the right the infant Saint John the Baptist can be seen, while on the left Saint Francis kneels to receive the stigmata, an event watched by another Franciscan half-obscured by the hills. The presence of Saint Francis suggests that the painting may have been executed in accordance with Immaculatist teachings. On the other hand, the painting came to the Accademia in 1861 from the Dominican convent of the Crocetta in Florence. Although this convent, founded in the sixteenth century, was not the original location of the painting, it seems unlikely that the nuns, who had

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75 Gregori, *Maestri e Botteghe*, p.72; Bonsanti, *The Galleria della Accademia*, pp.37 and 42; Pietro Scarpellini, *Perugino* (Milan, 1984), p.73.

76 'Then, I like there to be someone in the 'historia' who tells the spectators what is going on, and either beckons them with his hand to look, or with ferocious expression and forbidding glance challenges them not to come near, as if he wished their business to be secret, or points to some danger or remarkable thing in the picture, or by his gestures invites you to laugh or weep with them.' Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. by Cecil Grayson (Harmondsworth, 1972), pp.77-8.

already demonstrated active commitment [77] to an order which was so adamantly opposed to the doctrine would have housed the Perugino if a link with the Immaculate Conception was perceived.[78] The doctrine of sanctification within the womb espoused by the Dominicans would not have resulted in a different iconography. The doctrine of sanctification may be alluded to by the background figures of Saint John and Saint Francis. The presence of Saint Anne links the conception of the Virgin with the conception of Christ and the sanctifaction of Saint John the Baptist in the womb. Saint Thomas Aquinas equates the sanctification of the Virgin in her mother's womb with the sanctification of John the Baptist, indicated by his leaping in Elizabeth's womb at the approach of the Virgin.[79] Thus a sanctification sub-text could be read into this painting, reinforced by the image of the stigmatisation of Saint Francis which is an example of sanctification whereby divine grace is conferred upon a human being.

IV.
Devotional Art 1494-1528

By 1494, the year of the expulsion of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici, a clear link between Saint Anne and the 1343 victory over tyranny had been absent from civic iconography for nearly a century. Of the images commissioned between 1400 and 1494 all were either of the *Anna Selbdritt* type or of Saint Anne in the *Life of the Virgin*. The only civic images of the patroness of the city were commissioned in the years between 1343 and c. 1405, and were centred upon the guilds and Orsanmichele. Those images of Saint Anne that were commissioned and executed in fifteenth-century Florence celebrated her cult as mother of the Virgin, grandmother of Christ, and, probably, the focus of the Immaculate Conception debate. Between the years 1498 and 1512, however, there appears to have been a conscious revival of republican imagery, and in particular the deliberate association of Saint Anne with the role of protector of the Republic. In 1498, only a few days before the execution of Savonarola, Filippino Lippi was commissioned to paint an altarpiece for the chapel of the hall of the Great Council which Savonarola had inspired. Lippi's role in the altarpiece is recorded in the commission for decoration given to Antonio da Sangallo

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[77] They had fought for a long time in order to be allowed to wear the Dominican habit. Richa, *Notizie*, I, p.270.

[78] Richa, *Notizie*, I, p.270, gives the foundation date as 1511 and the consecration date as 1573. (p.273).

[79] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, ed. by Thomas R. Heath, 61 vols (London and New York, 1969), LI, p.8, 3a, *quaest.* 27.2, as.2.

and Baccio d'Agnolo. The subject matter is not recorded there, but in 1510 Filippino's successor in the commission, Fra Bartolomeo della Porta, was instructed by the government of Piero Soderini to complete it according to the original design, *eo modo et formis et cum eisdem condicionibus et mercede*.[80] The altarpiece was never fully completed, however. It was removed to San Marco after the return of the Medici in 1512, and by the time of Fra Bartolomeo's death in 1517 only the underdrawing had been executed. **[pl.6.17]**

The iconography of this painting was thus decided upon in 1498 with the original commission. Due to the unfinished state many of the figures cannot be identified with accuracy, as they lack detailed costume and attributes. Vasari states that Fra Bartolomeo painted all the patron saints of Florence.[81] This pantheon was continually changing according to military and civic victories won on the feast days of certain saints. Other saints were promoted according to the interests of individuals, guilds, or the religious orders to which many of them had belonged. If we assume that the saints depicted in the Fra Bartolomeo altarpiece were indeed exactly the same as those that Filippino Lippi undertook to paint, then the iconography can be taken to reflect the interests of the Signoria only a few days before the execution of Savonarola. This raises the question as to whether the protector saints who were included can be identified with those held dear by the followers of Savonarola or by the Republican government which ordered his death. Steinberg places this painting in the context of Savonarolan ideas, relating the doctrine of sanctification to Savonarola's metaphor of Justice refusing to descend to earth until a proper place is prepared for her to enter. Savonarola preached to the Florentines on 13th December 1496, the feast day of Saint Lucy, linking the Incarnation with the descent of truth and justice to earth:

> *La verità, dice el salmo nostro, è nata della terra e la iustizia ha risguardato di cielo. Questa è la prima verità. Deh, guarda quanto ella è benigna che, essendo prima in cielo, volse venire in terra e incarnare della Vergine. Questa verità uscì adunque della terra, idest prese carne umana. Ora è venuta un'altra volta la verità, che è nata della terra, idest uscita della Scrittura santa che ti è stata esposta e predicata. Et iustitia de coelo*

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80 *L'Età di Savonarola: Fra Bartolomeo e la Scuola di San Marco*, ed. by Serena Padovani (Florence and Venice, 1996), p.101.

81 Vasari-Milanesi, IV, pp.198-199.

prospexit [...]*Falli una bella camera, fa'che la possa venire, non la impedire*.[82]

As the womb of Saint Anne was made pure for the Virgin Mary, and thus made possible the conception of Christ, so, according to Steinberg, the Sala del Gran Consiglio had to be made ready for the descent of Justice. The familiarity of Savonarola and Fra Bartolomeo with the doctrine of sanctification, and the political nature of the commission support this interpretation.[83] Savonarola had in fact urged the Florentines to bring Justice to the city in his sermon on the 8th of December, 1496, the feast of the Conception or the Sanctification of the Virgin Mary:[84] *Secundo, ama el bene comune, fa' iustizia, iustizia, iustizia: se tu non fai iustizia, male per te. Acconciate el Consiglio dove voi l'avete guasto, e dove el non sta bene*.[85]

Saint Anne is placed in the centre of the painting, forming the apex of an essentially pyramidal group, composed of herself, the Virgin and Child. Immediately above her is a book and above this, the Trinity.[86] The conjunction of the earthly and spiritual Trinities is unusual in Italian *Anna Selbdritt* depictions although quite common in Northern European painting. The book between Saint Anne and the Trinity represents the *Logos*, the Word which became flesh and was born of the Virgin Mary. Christ was the son of God but his humanity came from the Virgin Mary. The Virgin and Child look down at the infant Saint John the Baptist. Beside John the Baptist is Saint Bernard who is balanced by Saint Reparata on the other side of the *Anna*

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[82] Girolamo Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Ezechiele*, ed. by Roberto Ridolfi, 2 vols (Rome 1955), p.100.

[83] Ronald M. Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola, Florentine Art, and Renaissance Historiography* (Athens, Ohio, 1977), pp.101-2.

[84] The rubric is as follows: *Fatta a dì 8 di Dicembre. El dì della Santificazione della Vergine Maria.* Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Ezechiele*, p.42.

[85] Ibid., p.51.

[86] The Trinity is represented as having three faces. This can be traced to Savonarola's *Triumphis Crucis: E sopra el capo suo sia una luce come solo che abbia tre faccie in figura della Santa Trinità, dalle quale proceda mirabile splendore che illustri la sua umanità con tutta la Chiesa.* Girolamo Savonarola, *Triumphis Crucis: Testo Latino e Volgare*, ed. by Mario Ferrara (Rome, 1961), p.296. Steinberg points out that this way of depicting the Trinity had been condemned by Antoninus. (Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, p.139, n.). Antoninus' views on art and iconography are discussed by Creighton Gilbert, 'The Archbishop and the Painters of Florence', *Art Bulletin*, 41 (1959), pp.83-5.

Selbdritt group. Saint Bernard's connection in the Palazzo della Signoria had been established in the fourteenth century when the chapel was dedicated to him and entrusted to the Cistercians of the Badia of Settimo. In 1447 Filippo Lippi was paid for a painting of the Vision of Saint Bernard to be placed above the door of the chancery.[87] Saint Reparata's popularity did not appear to wane significantly in the fifteenth century possibly because she was patroness of the powerful Arte della Lana.[88] The other Saints have been identified as Zenobius, Antoninus, Victor and Giovanni Gualberto. The least surpising of these is perhaps Zenobius, who occupied a place in the mythology of the city similar to that of Reparata.[89] Like Reparata, he was associated with the conversion of Florence to Christianity, and he was consistently represented in painting throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A wine merchant, Bartolomeo Del Corazza records the visit of Pope Eugenius IV to the marble panel in the Borgo degli Albizzi in 1438, which was believed to have been the site of a miracle of Saint Zenobius.

> *Andò dritto per via di San Gallo, volse al Canto alla Paglia e andò a Santa Maria del Fiore, e smontò sul palco fatto a piè le scale; e andò su ver panni lini bianchi insino all'altare, dove s'ingonocchiò due volte e diè l'incenso alla testa di san Zenobi e all'altare. E detta l'orazione, diè la benedizione e lasciò il perdono; e poi montò a cavallo e andò da' Fondamenti, sotto le stendardo della Parte, però che quello de' Signori fu stracciato in su la piazza, e per Borgo Sant' Apostolo, da' Legnaiuoli, per la via della Scala, dove fu stracciato lo stendardo della Parte e tolto il suo cavallo: ebbelo il vecchio comendatore dei Signori, con loro aiuto.*[90]

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[87] Nicolai Rubinstein, *The Palazzo Vecchio 1298 - 1532: Government, Architecture and Imagery in the Civic Palace of the Florentine Republic* (Oxford, 1995), p.57.

[88] The painting of her by Mariotto di Nardo in the Accademia (3460) hung originally in the Palazzo dell' Arte della Lana. This shows Saint Reparata with the banner of the Popolo, beside the Virgin and Child and Saint Stephen, who holds the banner of the Arte della Lana. The same combination of saints occurs in Accademia 5919 by Giovanni Toscani (Bonsanti, *Accademia*, p.94).

[89] Like Reparata he is mentioned as a civic patron in the letter of indulgence to the Confraternity of San Lorenzo in 1338 (Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford, 1992), p.239), and in the 1325 Statuti, (*Statuti della repubblica fiorentina editi a cura del comune di Firenze*, ed. by Romolo Caggese, 2 vols (Florence, 1921), II, *Statuto del Podestà dell'anno 1325*, p.1) and is found in the statutes of Montopoli, a city which had been conquered by Florence and whose statutes also included Saint Anne. Diana M. Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City States* (London, 1996), p.108.

[90] Bartolomeo Del Corazza, *Diario fiorentino 1405-1439,* ed. by Roberto Gentile (Anzio, 1991), p.79.

There was a play celebrating the life of Zenobius being performed in the 1470s,[91] and the confraternity of boys which held its meetings in San Marco, and was closely linked with the Medici, was known as the Compagnia di San Marco e di San Zanobi. Savonarola in his preaching recommended that Florentines invoke Saint Zenobius, as he would have a particular interest in interceding on their behalf.[92] Zenobius was represented frequently in the Palazzo della Signoria, and, by 1482, when the councils authorised payment for a painting of the Virgin and Saint Zenobius in the Sala dei Gigli, there was clearly little if any political ambiguity attached to his image.[93] This painting in fresco was completed by Domenico Ghirlandaio and shows the saint flanked by Saints Eugenius and Crescentius with the Virgin and Child above. Below, in the frieze of the entablature of the arch is the Florentine lily, while the lions on either side of it hold the standard of the Popolo and the standard of the city.[94] Saint Victor never seems to have reached the heights of popularity scaled by Saints Zenobius and Reparata, although the *palio* run on his feast day was recorded as late as 1591 by Bocchi.[95] He was, however, credited with the Florentine victory over Pisa in 1364, so that his appearance in the Fra Bartolomeo painting is not surprising, given the rebellion of Pisa in 1494. Florence regained Pisa in 1509, possibly while the painting was still being executed which would have given it an additional significance. The victory over Pisa in 1364 was also the subject of the commission given to Leonardo in 1504. Saints Victor, Zenobius, Reparata and John the Baptist all appeared in the 1372 Zecca panel. Antoninus (Antonino Pierozzi, 1389-1459) was not canonised until 1523, but as early as 1453-5 Pope Nicholas V (1397-1455) declared that he was as worthy of veneration as Saint Bernardino of Siena, canonised in 1450.[96] Like Zenobius, Savonarola recommended that Florentines invoke him, and his portrait or likeness was painted in several places in San Marco, both during his lifetime by Fra Angelico and afterwards by Antonio del Pollaiuolo and Cosimo Rosselli. A manuscript calendar dating to around 1487 includes Antoninus within

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[91] *Le Tems revient 'l Tempo si rinuova. Feste e spettacoli nella Firenze di Lorenzo il Magnifico,* ed. by Paola Ventrone (Florence 1992), p.116.

[92] Trexler, *Public Life,* p.67.

[93] Rubinstein, *The Palazzo Vecchio,* p.61. Rubinstein discusses the commission, given to Domenico Ghirlandaio in the context of the interior decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio, and states (p.62) that this is the first record of Saint Zenobius being depicted in the Palazzo.

[94] Rubinstein, *The Palazzo Vecchio*, p.63

[95] Bocchi, *Le Bellezze*, p.91.

[96] *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, ed. by David Hugh Farmer (Oxford , 1978, repr. 1992), p.25.

the liturgy of saints whose days should be noted.[97] Saint Giovanni Gualberto (c.995-1073, canonised 1193) founded the Vallombrosan order and was a member of the prominent Florentine family of the Visdomini. His feast day was celebrated in the city of Florence by 1415,[98] and his cult appears to have gained some momentum in this period. A deliberation of 1500 cited by Richa stated that the day of Saint Giovanni Gualberto would be celebrated as a solemnity and that all the shops of Florence should be closed.[99] A miraculous image of the saint is recorded by the same source as being in the convent of Le Murate in Florence.[100]

The other saints cannot, unfortunately, be identified. All that can be said is that they are male, and probably clerical. Given the personal interests of Fra Bartolomeo and the presence of Antoninus surely at least one of these shadowy figures is another Dominican. In view of the presence of Victor, the exclusion of Saint Barnabas would be strange, as the victory of Campaldino was still being celebrated every year in a *palio* run on his feast day.[101]

Some of the same saints appear in the altarpiece of 1486 by Filippino Lippi for the earlier council hall in the Palazzo della Signoria. In this the Virgin is surrounded by John the Baptist (depicted as an adult), Victor, Zenobius and Bernard,[102] but Saints Reparata and Anne do not appear. As the original contract with Filippino Lippi for the Sala del Gran Consiglio is lost, it is impossible to state with certainty that Saint Anne was planned to have such a dominant role in 1498. The context of this

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[97] Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, Ms. Palatino 13, f.2 of the second part. This is a fifteenth-century codex with a seventeenth-century inscription recording that Bastiano di Giovanni di Bastiano di Niccolò Monti (Gonfaloniere, 1458) wrote this in 1487.

[98] Richa, *Notizie*, III, p.151.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid. It is noteworthy that he was of the Visdomini family. Cerettieri Visdomini was a prominent advisor of the Duke of Athens, (Villani, *Cronica*, IV, pp.9, 19, 36), and, unlike other families such as the Pazzi and the Peruzzi, the Visdomini family did not appear to regain an important position in fourteenth-century politics (Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.25). The verses recorded under the Stinche fresco allegedly referred in vilificatory terms to Cerettieri (Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.490), and the church of San Michele Visdomini housed a fresco of Hell in which the Duke of Athens was depicted (Crum and Wilkins, 'Florentine Republicanism', p.141). The choice of San Giovanni Gualberto may have reflected a more positive Visdomini contribution to Florentine life.

[101] Bocchi, *Le Bellezze*, p.91. The church of San Barnaba received a new altarpiece by Botticelli during this period.

[102] Rubinstein, *The Palazzo Vecchio*, p.66.

altarpiece, however, is an important element in decoding its iconography. Both the provenance and the original documentation of the painting show that it was a work commissioned by civic authorities for a public or semi-public space and that other works commissioned for that space had significant republican or patriotic overtones. Without this information the painting could be mistaken for an ordinary *Anna Selbdritt* with saints reflecting the interests of its patrons and the place for which it was commissioned, which, in the absence of any information other than the visual, could be assumed to have been San Marco or another Dominican church connected with Fra Bartolomeo.

There was a definite revival of interest in the theme of Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child in the early sixteenth century which was not only political but artistic, humanist and devotional. Leonardo's variations on the theme of Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child were manifold, and confusion surrounds the attempts to link specific versions with the surviving documentary evidence. This documentary evidence consists of Vasari's descriptions of Leonardo's work, and a letter from the Vicar of the Carmelites, Fra Pietro Nuvolara to his patron Isabella d' Este. Vasari describes how Leonardo returned fom Milan to Florence, where Filippino Lippi took pity on him and allowed him to take up the commission awarded to him by the Servites:

> *et i frati perché Leonardo la dipignesse, se lo tolsero in casa, facendo le spese a llui et a tutta la sua famiglia. E cosí li tenne in pratica lungo tempo, né mai cominciò nulla. In questo mezzo fece un cartone dentrovi una Nostra Donna et una Santa Anna con un Cristo, la quale non pure fece maravigliare tutti gli artefici, ma finita ch'ella fu, nella stanza durarono duoi giorni di andare a vederla gli uomini e le donne, i giovani e vecchi, come si va a le feste solenni, per vedere le maraviglie di Lionardo, che fecero stupire quel popolo.*[103]

This description is far from reliable as Saint Anne is not included in the paintings finally completed for Santissima Annunziata by Filippino and Perugino, nor does she appear in the original contract for the high altar piece.[104] However, a sixteenth-century drawing inscribed *Leonardo alla Nuntiata* does show that Leonardo executed

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[103] Vasari, II, 1550, p.551.

[104] Jonathan Nelson, 'The High Altar-piece of SS. Annunziata in Florence: History, Form and Function', *Burlington Magazine*, 139 (1997), pp.84-94 (pp.93-4).

such a work in the convent, although perhaps not for the convent.[105] Vasari goes on to describe the protagonists in the cartoon:

> *Perché si vedeva nel viso di quella Nostra Donna tutto quello che di semplice e di bello può con semplicità e bellezza dare grazia a una madre di Cristo; volendo di allegrezza del vedere la bellezza del suo figliuolo, che con tenerezza sosteneva in grembo; e mentre che ella con onestissima guardatura a basso scorgeva un santo Giovanni piccol fanciullo che si andava trastullando con un pecorino, non senza un ghigno d'una Santa Anna che, colma di letizia, vedeva la sua progenie terrena esser divenuta celeste.*[106]

As the description accords with no known Leonardo cartoon, it is thought Vasari conflated the work now in the National Gallery of London **[pl.6.18]** with the painting in the Louvre; **[pl.6.19]** in the former Saint John appears without the lamb, and in the latter the lamb appears without Saint John.[107] It is also possible that Vasari was describing a lost cartoon which he had seen himself or been informed about.[108] Vasari does not link the iconography with the role of Saint Anne as patroness of Florence, but nor does he in his descriptions of the Masaccio and Fra Bartolomeo paintings; in fact he only points out a republican significance in the painting of saint Anne which he ascribes to Giottino. He relates that the King of France wanted Leonardo to paint the cartoon of Saint Anne in colours.[109] According to Vasari Leonardo died in the King's arms, which would date this commission to around 1519 and the King as being Francis I.[110]

The letter by Fra Pietro Novalara to Isabella d'Este, discussed in Chapter Two,[111] is iconographically more informative. Fra Pietro expounds the meaning and symbolism of the figures at at some length.[112] Although the imagery is difficult to reconcile

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105 Nelson, 'Filippino Lippi and the High-altar', p.87.

106 Vasari, 1550, II, p.551.

107 Jack Wasserman, 'A Re-discovered Cartoon by Leonardo da Vinci', *Burlington Magazine*, 112 (1970)pp. 194-204 (p.194).

108 Ibid.

109 Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p.48.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid., p.95.

112 Jack Wasserman, 'Michelangelo's Virgin and Child with Saint Anne at Oxford', *Burlington Magazine*, 111 (1969), pp. 122-131 (p.131). 'Since he has been in Florence, he has worked on just one

with that of other compositions executed by Leonardo, the letter is an interesting statement in itself on how contemporaries could have read meaning into an image of the Holy Family.[113] However it may be no more than a reaction of an educated Carmelite to the work of a highly individualistic painter, who, in terms of both iconography and style failed to follow the formulae established often centuries beforehand.[114]

Heydenreich believed that there were three variants of the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne by Leonardo: the cartoon in London (National Gallery), the lost cartoon of 1501 referred to by Vasari in Santissima Annunziata, and the Louvre painting which was executed between 1507 and 1513 in Milan, and that the differences between the Fra Pietro letter and the Louvre painting are a reflection of misinterpretation by Fra Pietro.[115] Wasserman believes that some confusion has arisen due to a misinterpretation of Vasari. He points out that the 1550 edition of Vasari uses the words *in questo mezzo*, (meanwhile) and not *finalmente*, and that Vasari is referring to the earlier commission of the King of France; the subject matter of the Santissima Annunziata altarpiece is not specified here, and is only later identified as a Deposition in the life of Perugino.[116] Wasserman proposes a date of February or March 1503[117] for Leonardo's acceptance of the Santissima Annunziata commission and September 1503 for the return of the commission to Lippi.[118] This would explain, why

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cartoon, which represents a Christ Child of about one year, who, freeing himself from his mother's arms, seizes a lamb and seems to embrace it. The mother almost rising from the lap of St. Anne catches the Child to draw it away from the lamb, that sacrificial animal which signifies the Passion. St. Anne, barely rising from her seat, seems to wish to restrain her daughter from parting the Child from the lamb, which perhaps signifies the Church that would not wish that the Passion of Christ be prevented. The figures are all life size, but they are in a small cartoon, because all are either seated or bent forward, and each one is placed before the other towards left; and this sketch is not yet finished.' This document is also published in D.S. Chambers, *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1970), p. 145.

113 The painting by Brescianino in Berlin and the drawing attributed to Leonardo in Venice have both been seen as reflections of this description. Wasserman, 'Michelangelo's Virgin and Child', p.131.

114 The Saint Anne variants, the Last Supper, the Adoration of the Magi, the Mona Lisa, the Madonna of the Rocks - all these works break with iconographic precedent.

115 Ludwig Heydenreich, 'La sainte Anne de Léonard de Vinci', p.208.

116 Wasserman, 'A Re-discovered Cartoon by Leonardo da Vinci', p.201.

117 Ibid., p.202.

118 Ibid., p.203.

Leonardo in a letter to Isabella d' Este, expresses his desire to work for her if he could be released from his obligations to the King of France.[119]

Leonardo's creativity is manifest in the Saint Anne variants regardless of their relationship with each other. In the Louvre painting **[pl.6.19]** the pyramidal *Anna Selbdritt* arrangement typified in the compositions of Masaccio **[pl.6.8]** and Rosselli/da Piamonte **[pl.6.13]** has been transformed into a dynamic grouping with a strong diagonal emphasis created by Mary's right arm and leg which is mimicked by the arm of the Child. The body of Saint Anne provides the central axis of this swirling movement. The figures are placed in an ethereal landscape of strange mountains and rock formations. The similarity in the ages of the Madonna and Saint Anne has often been commented on,[120] but in this Leonardo is not breaking with a tradition. In previous Florentine representations she is never strikingly older than her daughter despite the textual traditions which recount her great age. Giovanni di Piamonte's *Anna Selbdritt* of 1470 **[pl.6.13]** shows an age difference similar to that in Leonardo's painting. Saint Anne is however more elderly in a drawing by Leonardo in the Louvre,[121] where she is shown with sharper features and a cap rather than the gauzy veil of the Louvre painting.

The London design is more static in its composition, **[pl.6.18]** with the two women, intertwined, apparently of equal status. Here, the standard *Anna Selbdritt* which shows the two women seated side by side on a bench is transformed.[122] In the type the women are seated separately with the Child between them. Here there is an interlocking composition where the Virgin appears to be half seated on Saint Anne's knee, but her torso is upright instead of leaning forward as it does in the Louvre painting. The Child leans forward to the Saint John who rests his arms on Anne's

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[119] Ibid.

[120] Freud in particular found this to be evidence of Leonardo's troubled childhood memories concerning his life with his natural mother and his step mother. Sigmund Freud, 'Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood', *Art and Literature*, ed. by Angela Richards, Pelican Freud Library,14 (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp.205-8. Discussed by Kenneth Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci* (Harmondsworth, 1936), pp.137-8, and Meyer Schapiro, 'Freud and Leonardo: An Art Historical Study', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 17.2 (1956), pp.147-178.

[121] Paris: Louvre. C.R.F. 460, Cabinet des Dessins. It has been given several dates between 1501 and 1510. (Wasserman, 'Michelangelo's Virgin and Child', p.129).

[122] This type appears to have been less common in Florence than the Masaccio type, but was certainly known and used in Italy, an example being the panel in Boston by a follower of Barna da Siena, dated to around 1360. **[pl.2.69]**

knee while Anne points towards Heaven, a unique gesture. Again, there is the fantastic rocky background.

Michelangelo also experimented with the *Anna Selbdritt* theme, **[pl.6.20]** perhaps in reaction to Leonardo's cartoon in Santissima Annunziata.[123] The problem of a composition in which two adult figures are seated together in an interlocking pose appears to have fascinated both Leonardo **[pl.6.21]** and Michelangelo to judge from the extant drawings. Michelangelo's drawings,however, which appear more private in nature, were not resolved in finished works on the subject.

By the close of the fifteenth century devotion to Saint Anne had reached its height throughout Europe. A number of paintings of Saint Anne were executed in Florence or its environs in the years between the expulsion of Piero de'Medici in 1494 and the Fra Bartolomeo grisaille of 1510. The most enigmatic of these is an *Anna Selbdritt*, by Andrea Salaino, of around 1500, **[pl.6.22]** now in the Uffizi, but formerly in the chapel of San Giovacchino in the Dominican church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence.[124] Unlike previous depictions of *Anna Selbdritt* both Saints Joseph and Joachim appear here. The increasing devotion to the Holy Family explains their presence, quite apart from the fact that Joachim was the name saint of the Chapel itself. The other saints in the painting are Catherine of Alexandria who kneels on one side and John the Evangelist.[125]

At least two terracotta depictions of *Anna Selbdritt* survive: one attributed to Giovanni della Robbia in the Louvre, and the other by an unknown artist in the New York Metropolitan Museum. The provenance of the both of these works is unknown. The former is a tympanum with *Anna Selbdritt* flanked by Saints Anthony of Padua and Anthony Abbot.[126]**[pl.6.23]** The fluidity of movement and the handling of the three superimposed figures is reminiscent of Leonardo's workings of the theme; the treatment of the legs and the drapery covering them is quite close to the handling by Leonardo of the legs of Saint Anne in the National Gallery cartoon. This raises again the question of whether the cartoon in the National Gallery can be identified with the work exhibited in Santissima Annunziata. On the other hand the pose is not unlike

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123 Wasserman, 'Michelangelo's Virgin and Child,' p.125, challenges this view, proposing that Michelangelo only worked on it in 1504 and not earlier.

124 Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, III, p.151.

125 Ibid.

126 I am grateful to Doctor Jean-René Gaborit of the Louvre for this information, and for a reproduction of the work.

the Virgin in Leonardo's Adoration of the Magi (1481) or indeed Botticelli's Fortitude (1470) and is possibly simply part of the common artistic repertoire of the early sixteenth century. The sculpture in the Metropolitan museum in New York is very similar to the Leonardo Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child in the Louvre.**[pl.6.24]** Saint Anne looks down on her daughter and raises her arm in a repetition of the pose painted by Leonardo. These sculptures certainly show that the artistic solutions proposed by Leonardo for the grouping of three figures were of interest to artists in the early sixteenth century.

A painting commissioned by the Compagnia di Sant'Anna, a confraternity of the small town of Doccia in the Florentine hinterland, for the church of Sant' Andrea, shows *Anna Selbdritt* framed between Saints Philip and John the Baptist. **[pl.6.25]** Saint Anne is elderly and gentle. The composition follows the traditional pyramidal structure, with Saint Anne seated, the Virgin seated lower down (in this case on the lower step of the throne) while the naked Child, stands on the Virgin's knee, his extended right hand held by Saint Anne. Saint John the Baptist stands on the right while Saint Philip stands on the left. The main figures are set within an arcade; in the landscape behind the child John the Baptist and, interestingly, the Visitation are seen. Exotic birds perch on the cornices and trees. The small arched picture within a picture in foreground, here depicting the Man of Sorrows and the Crucifix, harks back to early Florentine altarpieces such as that painted by Fra Angelico for San Marco. The fact that the commissioning confraternity was dedicated to Saint Anne and two Florentine patronal saints could indicate the domination of Florence over the surrounding district, but the symbolism of the Visitation in the background coupled with the reminder of the Eucharistic sacrifice of the Naked Child by the presence of the Crucifix and Man of Sorrows directly below him once again indicates that devotional rather than civic requirements are being met in this altarpiece. This is not the only example of an *Anna Selbdritt* in the contado of Florence. The small church of San Biagio in Passignano possesses a painting of *Anna Selbdritt* of the school of Domenico Ghirlandaio. **[pl.6.15]** A painting of *Anna Selbdritt* by Il Papacello now in the Pinacoteca in Castiglion Fiorentino[127] probably came from the surrounding countryside. The church of Santissimi Jacopo e Maria in Cavallina, near Barberino in the Mugello also houses an *Anna Selbdritt*. The painting, which is attributed to the Maestro di Serumido, shows *Anna Selbdritt* between Saints Francis and Sebastian. This was, according to its inscription, commissioned by Francesco Pacino.[128] The

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[127] K.I.F. 50861 Mal.Ren. (Alinari 42450) K.I.F. 166447 Mal.Ren. (Sansoni 2878 as Signorelli)

[128] The inscription is: QA TAVOLA AFATA FARE FRANCESCO OPACINO. K.I.F. 285584 Mal. Ren (Holst)

Immaculate Conception may have played its part in the diffusion of Saint Anne imagery throughout Florentine territory. A large terracotta altarpiece from the convent of San Lucchese in Poggibonsi shows a clear interest in the Immaculate Conception. The sculpture is by Giovanni della Robbia, and depicts in its centre Saint Anne with the Virgin appearing out of the folds of her dress. The centre is flanked by Franciscan saints and the lunette above depicts the Coronation of the Virgin. **[pl.6.26]** The depiction of the Virgin in the womb of Saint Anne has been discussed earlier, and can be seen in **[pl.2.87]** and **[pl.2.88]**. The Franciscan nature of the altarpiece demonstrates that it is the Immaculate Conception that is its devotional focus, not necessarily the figure of Saint Anne. These images, however, serve to illustrate the increased enthusiasm for the image of Saint Anne in the closing years of the fifteenth century and the opening years of the sixteenth. It is less clear whether her role as patron saint of Florence stimulated this interest, or whether other devotional needs were being fulfilled.

Within the city, apart from the examples mentioned above, there was an *Anna Selbdritt* with Saints John the Baptist, Silvester,[129] Martin[130] and Anthony of Padua in the Amadori chapel in Santa Lucia dei Bardi (dei Magnoli).[131] The *Anna Selbdritt* is quite conventional, with Saint Anne standing behind her seated daughter, resting one hand on her shoulder. The sacrifice of the Child is foreshadowed in the way he lies across his mother's lap in a pose similar to a pietà.[132]

The *Sposalizio* by Rosso Fiorentino **[pl.6.27]** was commissioned by Carlo di Lionardo Ginori (1477-1527) in the strongly Medicean church of San Lorenzo in 1523.[133] The figures of Mary and Joseph are surrounded by Saints Anne, Apollonia and

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129 Silvester is listed in the Florentine calendar contained in B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 13, f.4v.

130 Martin was patron saint of the the Arte dei Vinattieri and his feast day was by 1325 celebrated by the Commune. (Caggese, *Statuti della Repubblica*, II, p.95). His inclusion here may have something to do with the site: Santa Lucia was also known as Santa Lucia delle Rovinate (of the landslides) due to its location on the slopes of the hill of San Giorgio and its vulnerability to landslides. In 1506 Luca Landucci noted that a small earthquake, which caused no damage, had taken place on the feast day of Saint Martin. Luca Landucci, *Diario fiorentino del 1450 al 1516*, ed. by Iodoco del Badia (Florence, 1883), p.278.

131 Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, II, p.610.

132 An Alessandro Amadori, Canon of Fiesole, was uncle to Leonardo da Vinci. In May 1506 he wrote to Isabella d'Este in response to her appeal for his help in obtaining Leonardo's services for her court. D. S. Chambers, *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1970), p.148.

133 Vasari, III, 1550, p.751; Richa, *Notizie*, p.24-5.

Vincent Ferrer. This altarpiece may use the figure of Saint Anne in a political sense. Ginori was an important political figure in the new Medicean regime of 1512, serving as *Signore della Zecca* in that year, as prior in 1513, Gonfaloniere di Compagnia in 1514, and Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in 1527.[134] Ginori, whose family had been one of the original seven involved in its early rebuilding of the church, according to a codicil to his will of 1516, desired to dedicate a funerary chapel to Saints Anne and Apollonia.[135] The altarpiece originally intended for this chapel was to be: *una Sancta Anna colla Vergine Maria in grembo et una Sancta Appolonia a mano diritta.*[136] However after Ginori had written this codicil, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici in 1520 granted him a chapel in San Lorenzo which was formerly under the patronage of Ludovico Masi[137] then dedicated to the Virgin. The terms of a chaplaincy drawn up in 1522 state that the altar is dedicated to the Virgin and Saint Joseph.[138] The choice of the *Spozalizio* is thus explained by this dedication. The reasons behind the choice of the other saints are more obscure. Anne and Apollonia were, from the very beginning, included in the project. Saint Apollonia was sometimes depicted in Florentine art, but Ginori's choice of her has yet to be explained.[139] Franklin suggests that Saint Vincent Ferrer was depicted as an expression of Ginori's devotion to the Dominican order. Despite commissioning this chapel, Ginori was buried in the Dominican church of San Romano in Lucca, and four cousins were placed in Dominican convents, including two in the convent of San Vincenzo in Prato.[140] The choice of Saint Anne represents a choice that may have been influenced by issues in Ginori's private life, rather than representing a civic cult, or an interest in the Immaculate Conception. Ginori's marriage was childless, and, in Franklin's words, 'it is not difficult to imagine how someone interested in a self-conscious, concrete way in family dignity and continuity would have been attracted to saints like Anne and

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134 David Franklin, 'Rosso Fiorentino's Betrothal of the Virgin: Patronage and Interpretation', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55 (1992), pp.180-199 (p.180). Richa states that he was *Zecchiere* in 1511, and describes a miracle which took place in the Monastery of the Crocetta (the house of Dominican tertiaries which housed the Perugino Visitation) in which a nun received money from the Virgin herself. On the miraculous coins, kept in the convent, were the images of Saint John the Baptist and the arms of the *Zecchiere*, Carlo di Lionardo Ginori (Richa, *Notizie*, II, p.264).

135 Ibid., p.181.

136 Ibid., p.194.

137 Ibid., pp.194-5.

138 Ibid., p.196.

139 Ibid., p.191. Franklin discusses possible reasons for the inclusion of the saints, but states that they are enigmatic choices and do not reflect naming patterns in the Ginori family.

140 Ibid., p.191.

Joseph, who belonged to the family of Christ.'[141] The late conception of Joachim and Anne would have been of particular interest to the childless Carlo Ginori.

In the 1520s an *Anna Selbdritt* with Saints Dominic, Mary Magdalen, Catherine, Antoninus, Thomas Aquinas and Augustine was executed by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and Michele di Ridolfo Ghirlandaio for the Segni chapel in Santo Spirito. **[pl.6.28]** The number of Dominican Saints in an altarpiece for an Augustinian church is unusual, and, combined with the *Anna Selbdritt* may perhaps indicate the Dominican position on the Immaculate Conception. Augustine's view of the Immaculate Conception was unclear and was used by both sides of the debate.[142]

The *Anna Selbdritt* sculpted group in Orsanmichele by Francesco da Sangallo **[pls., 6.29 6.30, 6.31]** is humanist in its concerns. Like the sculpture in Sant' Agostino, Rome, by Jacopo Sansovino, it probably has a source in the cartoon exhibited by Leonardo in 1501,[143], although the Sangallo sculpture is a more literal interpretation of Leonardo's workings on the theme. The two women in the Sangallo sculpture wear classical clothing particularly evident in the case of the Virgin, whose hair is tied up and curled in front *all'antica*. A Hebrew inscription is used here at the base of the sculpture.[144] The sculpture was commissioned by the Confraternity on 12th February 1522 and was completed in 1526. The *modello* was shown to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici for approval, and presumably the inscription was provided by a member of Giulio's circle.[145] Once again, as in the case of the Fra Bartolomeo, the

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141 Ibid., p.191.

142 The author of Palatino 120 claimed that Saint Augustine wrote the following: *E Avendo el Signore dyo mandata quella santissima anima in quel pretioso corpo dela vergene essendo per quella Gloriosa anima virificata in quello virtuoso corpo dela vergene Maria Allora lospirito santo discese delcielo enterra ello ventre dela sua madre Anna e santificho quello Angelicho corpo e puoj el netto e purifollo da omne[...] sozzura e dal peccato originale*. B.N.F. Ms. Palatino 120, f.15v.

143 Charles Avery, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture* (London, 1970, repr. 1990), p.157.

144 For humanist interest in the figure of Saint Anne, see Karen Tillmans, 'Sancta Mater versus Sanctus Doctus? Saint Anne and the Humanists, ' *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Anneke Mulder-Bakker (New York and London, 1995), pp.331-335. The sculpture of *Anna Selbdritt* by Andrea Sansovino for the chapel of the papal protonotary, Johannes Goritz, also had a Hebrew inscription. For the relationship between Sansovino's sculpture and Sangallo, see Virginia Anne Bonito, 'The St. Anne Altar in Sant' Agostino: Restoration and Interpretation', in *Burlington Magazine*, (1982), pp. 268-276.

145 Giulio de' Medici (1478 -1534, Pope Clement VII, 1523 - 1534) was a learned man who took a deep interest in the artistic projects that he commissioned, for instance he asked Michelangelo to

location of the work leaves little room for doubt regarding its republican significance. The sculpture was executed as a replacement for the altarpiece in the chapel of Saint Anne, the very chapel dedicated to the Saint after the overthrow of the Duke of Athens. What is more doubtful, however, is the equation of this republicanism with anti-Mediceanism. Giulio de' Medici had approved the Sangallo sculpture, and the 1522-1526 period was well after the Medicean restoration of 1512. The attempt to use the cult of saints as a form of political propaganda was exploited to the maximum by Cosimo and Lorenzo who promoted the name Saints of the Medici.[146] As pointed out by Crum and Wilkins,[147] the Medici themselves may have been using the imagery and the cult of Saint Anne to advertise the dangers of tyranny (obviously not referring to themselves) and the benefits of strong leadership. Although the Fra Bartolomeo altarpiece was removed to San Marco in 1512, it was placed on an altar in San Lorenzo in 1517 and later was bought by Ottaviano de' Medici. The republicanism of Saint Anne was, it appears, the republicanism of the dominant party in Florence at any given time.

This could also be said of the altarpiece commissioned by the Signoria in 1528 from Pontormo for the Benedictine convent of Sant'Anna in Verzaia. **[pl.6.32]** The painting is much more a *Sacra Conversazione* than an *Anna Selbdritt*, with Saint Anne standing behind the Virgin and Child with Saints Sebastian, Peter, Benedict and Philip on either side. There is a tondo at the base representing the procession of the capitani and officials to Sant'Anna on the feast day of Saint Anne. The reference to a feast day kept in honour of a victory over tyranny is obviously political, but Saint Anne is the patron of the convent and appears with other politically neutral saints (with the exception of Saint Philip). The convent is Benedictine, hence the appearance of Saint Benedict, and Saint Peter occurs so often that any attempt at analysis is impossible. The frequent outbursts of plague in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries explain the presence of Sebastian, who is often coupled with both Rochus and the *Anna Selbdritt* group. Patronal interests as well as civic are being served in the altarpiece.

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design a library in San Lorenzo in Florence and asked Paolo Giovo to devise an inscription for the entrance to the reading room. Unfortunately, his alliance with the League of Cognac led to the Sack of Rome in 1527. John Hale, *Florence and the Medici* (London, 1977), pp.109-113.

146 For instance, the altarpiece by Fra Angelico commissioned by Cosimo for the high altar of San Marco of 1444 (Florence, Museo di San Marco), and Fra Filippo Lippi's lunettes of the Annunciation and Seven Saints for the Palazzo Medici (London, National Gallery).

147 Crum and Wilkins, 'Florentine Republicanism', pp.153-8.

It is thus clear that there was a level of devotion to Saint Anne within Florence and its contado which was consistent with but did not exceed, her popularity elsewhere. Apart from the important exceptions of the Fra Bartolomeo altarpiece, the Francesco Sangallo sculpture and the Pontormo *Sacra Conversazione*, the iconography seems to be largely unconcerned with republican imagery and the overthrow of ruthless tyrants. The representation of Saint Anne as a civic symbol, without her attributes of the Madonna and Child was short-lived, and the depiction of her with the Madonna and Child was more usual. This preference may well have been influenced by the cult of the Immaculate Conception, or of sanctification of Mary.

CONCLUSION

FLORENCE AND THE HOLY KINDRED

While representations of Saint Anne in the Life of the Virgin and *Anna Selbdritt* are no less common in Florence than elsewhere, it is striking that no representations of her occur in Holy Kindred scenes, despite the availability of texts of that legendary genealogy in the city. This omission is even more surprising given the fact that Florentine patrician families were passionately interested in their own genealogies and were happy to draw attention to their own families by introducing portraits of family members into sacred narratives. One of the most striking examples of this is the decoration of the Tornabuoni chapel in Santa Maria Novella, described earlier. The lavishly decorated chapel celebrates the importance of the Tornabuoni *consorteria* by means of the insertion of family portraits and the display of the arms of all the branches of the family. It provides a clear indication of the pride Giovanni Tornabuoni took in his family history, and is a good example of a Florentine method in merging the story of a contemporary family with that of the Holy Family. A large number of figures in the frescoes are dressed in contemporary clothes, many gaze out at the spectator and appear to play little role in the narrative. Twenty one of these figures were identified from memory by Benedetto di Luca Landucci in the mid-sixteenth century, and recorded by an ancestor of Giovanni's, Vincenzo Tornaquinci. These portraits include members of the Tornabuoni/Tornaquinci *consorteria*, of the Medici family, of the circle of scholars which gathered around Lorenzo de' Medici *il Magnifico*, and supporters of the Medici.[148] **[pl.6.33]** The female members of this cast are fewer in number and appear in the birth scenes **[pl.6.35]** and in the Visitation. **[pl.6.36]** In the Birth of the Virgin **[pl.5.63]** the retinue of women is headed by a young, bare headed, ornately dressed young woman, identified as Giovanna degli

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148 Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church*, p.130; the portraits listed by Landucci are found in the *Annunciation to Zacharias* (Giovanni Tornabuoni, Pietro Popoleschi, Girolamo Giachinotti, and Gianfrancesco Tornabuoni with, opposite them, Giuliano Tornabuoni, Giovanni Tornaquinci, and Gianfrancesco Tornabuoni, and nearby, Andrea dei Medici, Federico Sassetti, Gianfrancesco Ridolfi; Marsilio Ficino, Cristoforo Landino, Demetrio Greco, Angelo Poliziano, and in the *Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple* (Piero Tornabuoni, Cosimo di Leonardo Bartolini Salimbeni, Alessandro di Francesco Lutozzo Nasi, and Lorenzo di Giovanni Tornabuoni). The document is published by Milanesi in Vasari-Milanesi, III, pp.266-7.

Albizzi, Giovanni Tornabuoni's daughter in law,[149] mother of Giovanni's grandson, who was born on 11th October 1487.[150] The third woman on the right has been identified as Lucrezia Tornabuoni, Giovanni's sister, wife of Piero de' Medici and mother of Lorenzo de Medici *il Magnifico*. Alternative identifications indicate that the young girl is in fact the daughter of Giovanni Tornabuoni and Francesca Pitti, Ludovica Tornabuoni, and the woman behind, wearing blue, as Francesca herself. Giovanna degli Albizzi, appears in the Birth of John the Baptist as the woman in rich brocade and with elaborately coiffed hair, holding a handkerchief. **[pl.6.35]** Her appearance here may be compared with her portrait, which was painted by Ghirlandaio in 1488. **[pl.6.34]**

Through these portraits, Giovanni Tornabuoni showed the importance of his family and its connections. Simons has shown how carefully Giovanni planned the acquisition of patronage rights over the chancel and the depiction of the arms of all branches of the Tornabuoni/Tornaquinci lineage.[151] The Tornabuoni support of the Medici was political and also personal, with the marriage of Giovanni's sister Lucrezia to Piero de' Medici. The power of the personal connection, often through marriage, is shown by his own marriage to Francesca Pitti, sister of Luca Pitti; a marriage connection which, according to Machiavelli, prevented Luca joining an anti-Medicean conspiracy in 1466.[152] Giovanni was also connected with the powerful Rucellai family,[153] again typical of the ruling class of Florence and the class which determined the iconography of public and semi public images:[154]the facade of the same church which houses the frescoes was commissioned by Giovanni Rucellai.[155]

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149 Welch, *Art and Society in Italy*, p.196.

150 Simons, 'Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel', p.235.

151 Simons, 'Patronage in the Tornaquinci Chapel', pp.221-250.

152 Niccolò Machiavelli, *Le Istorie Fiorentine*, ed. by Enrico Bianchi (Florence, 1965), p.418.

153 Nannina, the daughter of Lucrezia Tornabuoni and Piero de' Medici, married Bernardo, the son of Giovanni Rucellai in 1461.

154 The commission states clearly that Giovanni was interested in the iconography and was prepared to interefere if his wishes were not met. 'It is further agreed between the said commissioner and the contractor that the aforesaid contractor shall begin to paint [...] only after first doing a drawing of the said story which he must show to the said Giovanni'. Chambers, *Patrons and Artists*, p.175.

155 F. W. Kent discusses Giovanni's links with humanist circles in Florence and his interest in the arts, in 'The Making of a Renaissance Patron', *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, 2 vols (London, 1981), II, pp.9-95, esp. pp.41-53.

The Holy Kindred was certainly known to this dominant class. Inscriptions on the Florentine manuscript versions of the Holy Kindred discussed above identify at least five as being owned by the laity, and two belonged in fact to well known Florentine families, the Rucellai [156]and the de Filicaria.[157] Riccardiana 1431, as discussed earlier, is inscribed with the date 1469 and is inscribed with the name of Giovanni Rucellai's nephew and ward, Luigi di Donato.[158]

There is thus a discrepancy between what was read and what was represented visually. A possible explanation for this can be sought in the attitudes towards female sanctity throughout the Middle Ages, which was defined almost exclusively by celibacy and by martyrdom. In contrast, although the hagiography of male saints was also characterised by a certain emphasis on these virtues, it also stressed the more active roles of preaching and miracles. The attitude towards both women and marriage changed somewhat in the thirteenth century with an increasing number of lay and married saints attaining canonisation.[159] However, in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy the number of female married saints represented is minimal in comparison to the large numbers of virgin martyrs, such as Catherine of Alexandria, Agnes, Barbara, and Dorothy, who are to be found in virtually every church. Furthermore the sanctity of figures such as Elizabeth of Hungary and Bridget of Sweden had been attained *despite* their marriages and children. Indeed the renunciation of children is a recurring *topos* in the *Vitae* of many female saints. The German mystic Dorothy of Montau (1347 - 1394) was called 'mother' by her followers despite the renunciation of her own children.[160] The Dominican Jacopo de Voragine in the *Golden Legend*, written in the mid-thirteenth century, stresses how Elizabeth of Hungary (1207 - 1231, canonised 1235) married out of respect for her parents' wishes rather than carnal desire, and that upon her husband's death she refused to remarry, donning the habit of the Franciscan tertiary instead. He then recounts how Elizabeth prayed to be rid of maternal love in order to free herself to serve God:

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156 Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. Riccardiana 1431

157 B.N.F., Ms. Magliabechiano XXXVIII.70

158 Luigi Passerini, *Genealogia e Storia della Famiglia Rucellai* (Florence, 1861), tavola XVI. For Giovanni Rucellai's guardianship of Luigi and his brothers after the death of Donato, see Kent, *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, p.76.

159 André Vauchez, *La Santità nel Medioevo* (Bologna, 1987), pp.164, ff.

160 Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago and London, 1984), p.32.

> Then, in order that her spirit might move more totally to God and her devotion be unhampered by distraction or impediment, she prayed the Lord to fill her with contempt for all temporal goods, to take from her heart her love for her children, and to grant her indifference and constancy in the face if every insult.[161]

Her prayer was answered and she told her women that she cared for her children no more than for others around her. Like Dorothy, her motherhood was instead available to all in a spiritual way:

> In this same house Elizabeth saw to it that the children of poor women were well fed and cared for. She was so gentle and kind to them that they all called her Mother and, when she came into the house, followed her around as if she were in fact their mother.[162]

So, while the reality of motherhood in the context of medieval sanctity was not desirable, the symbol of motherhood remained a powerful one. Male writers such as Guibert de Nogent reproached his own mother for leaving him in order to go into the religious life, 'Knowing I say, that I should be exposed to such want of care, yet the love and fear of God hardened her heart'.[163]

Many female mystics such as Marghery Kempe and Dorothy of Montau, regarded the Christ Child as if he were their own child, while the blessed Gherardesca of Pisa in her visions behaved maternally towards the Christ Child but also towards the infant John the Evangelist; she had been married in obedience to her own mother 'that is to say, being ignorant of this world, against her own will, she immersed herself in considerable danger and in the pleasures of marriage'.[164] The writer of the life of the saint goes on to describe how the Lord answered the prayer of her mother:

> But since the Lord had already chosen Gherardesca as his own, he

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161 Jacopo de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, ed. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, 1984), II, p.307. The Latin text is found in Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea, Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, ed. by T. Graesse (Leipzig, 1850), p.760.

162 *Golden Legend*, p.307; *Legenda Aurea*, p.756.

163 Elizabeth Hunt, *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Source-book* (New York and London, 1993), p.149.

164 Quoted by Elizabeth Petroff from the *Vita* of Gherardesca, in *The Consolation of the Blessed* (New York, 1979), p.85.

> appeared to her mother in her sleep saying: "Since you desire your daughter to have children from her husband, in order that your devout petition may be fulfilled, I offer as her son Saint John the Evangelist.[165]

This of course strengthened the role of Gherardesca as an intercessor, despite her lack of formal canonisation: Truly it is fitting to give joyful thanks to this saint, who had a son as intercessor in heaven and protector.'[166]

Writers such as Caroline Bynum Walker have demonstrated that the image of Christ as mother was important to both male and female mystics.[167] There was thus a curious dichotomy at the heart of medieval devotion in which motherhood was used as a spiritual image while its physical reality was rejected as a locus of sanctity. The perfect example of this contradiction was of course the Virgin Mary. In contrast, Saint Anne's position depended upon her being the mother of the Virgin Mary; the roles in which she was seen were those of mother, grandmother, and thrice married matriarch of a large extended kinship group. However this perception of female sanctity was widespread throughout Europe, and in Northern Europe did not preclude the representation of Saint Anne with the Holy Kindred, while the reasons for the omission of the Holy Kindred in Florence must be sought more locally.

The reason may lie in a different attitude to inheritance and the remarriage of widows in Florentine society. The *parentado*, or kinship group that could be forged through marriage, was, as shown in the case of Luca Pitti, of the utmost importance in the political life of Florence. Morelli recorded the marriage of his uncle:

> *Ebbe per moglie, Giovanni, la figliuola del Rosso Bagnesi: ebbe nome monna Lisa. Egli era savio, com'è detto, e in questo parentado dimostrò anche senno, ché si imparentò nella sua vicinanza e in uno medesimo gonfalone e con antiche genti guelfe: e nello istato erano e sono grandi e amati.*[168]

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165 Ibid.

166 Ibid. p.95.

167 Caroline Bynum Walker, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1992).

168 Giovanni Morelli, *Ricordi,* in *Mercanti Scrittori: Ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento - Paolo da Certaldo, Giovanni Morelli, Bonaccorso Pitti, e Domenico Lenzi, Donato Velluti, Goro Dati, Francesco Datini, Lapo Niccolini, Bernardo Machiavelli*, ed. by Vittore Branca (Milan, 1986), p.133.

The use of the word *parentado* instead of marriage is significant: by contracting this marriage Giovanni not only joined the Morelli to the Bagnesi but enlarged the network of family alliances each could bring to the other. Donato Velluti wrote of how well connected he was through marriage connections: *Ora seguita di scrivere di me Donato giudice, figliuolo che fui del detto Lamberto, e miei discendenti e parentadi acquistadi per mie donne e figliuoli.*[169] In a letter to her son Filippo in 1463 Alessandra Strozzi wrote of the marriage between Margherita di Benedetto di Piero Strozzi and Ruberto Pitti in the following terms:

> *Avvisoti come gli Strozzi hanno fatto parentado co' Pitti, e questo si è una figliuola di Benedetto di Pieraccione, che ha' uto duo mariti: è d'età d'anni da 49 a 50: ha tolto Ruberto...è 'l terzo marito. Essene fatto festa di questo parentado, che dicono è così buono.*[170]

This marriage was of particular interest in this context as Ruberto was Margherita's third husband.[171] On the other hand Leonardo Strozzi regarded the possible remarriage of his mother's sister-in-law, the widow of Iacopo di Leonardo Strozzi, who had died in Bruges, with misgiving:

> *Però le cose sua restano qua forte inviluppate: e Iddio sa al pericolo e obrigo io mi sono messo e sono per salvare l'onore della casa e suo. [...]La donna aspetta risposta da Niccolò per tornarsene a Firenze con i figliuoli. Dice non si vuole rimaritare; ma io nollo credo. Iacopo li ha lasciato tutta sua roba, e cintole e uno collare che vale 70 ducati. E ella comprendo s'è avviluppata con molte altre cose sottile: ma davanti ella parta di qua, se vorrà ne la mandi, bisognerà parli a me; e forse li farò porre su tutto trasse fuori di casa sanza mia saputa. E ancora me ne sia crucciato, nulla giova. Poi n'ho el carico, intendo fare mio debito, e che 'l nostro non vada fuori di casa. Ell' è dappoca e superbiosa.* [172]

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169 Donato Velluti, *La Cronica Domestica*, in Branca, *Mercanti Scrittori*, pp.538-9.

170 Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi, *Lettere di una Gentildonna Fiorentina del Secolo XV ai Figliuoli Esuli*, ed. by Cesare Guasti (Florence, 1877; repr. 1972), p.267.

171 She had first married Zanobi di Giovanni Panciatichi, and then Lorenzo di Pigello Adimari (Guasti, notes, in Strozzi, *Lettere di una Gentildonna*, p.269).

172 Letter of Leonardo di Matteo Strozzi in Bruges, 11th April, 1461. (Guasti, *Lettere di una Gentildonna*, notes, p.240).

The joining of lineages was cemented by women, but was always to further the interests of the patriarchy. In Florentine society the paternal line is the constant against which women were seen as mere *entrate* or *uscite*.[173] Giovanni Rucellai in his *Zibaldone* recorded his lineage proudly, but remarks: 'Of the marriage alliances of the Rucellai, I do not mention the girls who entered and those who left the *consorteria*, who are a very great number, so that they carry behind them half the city.'[174] Alessandra Strozzi wrote of the death of two Strozzi women of plague in 1464 and recorded them in the following way: *Ègli morto a questi dì, di pesta, dua sirocchie della madre; quella che fu in casa e Salviati, e questa di Giachinotti; che ci hanno molto isbigottiti.*[175] A woman would be born into one house but would not be seen as a constant of the family, as she would one day leave to forge a marriage link with another powerful family. She would then occupy a curious middle ground, a new person in the husband's household but not of that bloodline and therefore not to be wholly trusted.

The question of the remarriage of widows could bring this conflict to light. The chief problem was the loss of the often enormous dowry[176] on the remarriage of the widow, in addition to the male-defined betrayal of honour in the preference shown to another lineage. If a woman remarried her children would rarely if ever accompany her. If she remained an 'honest widow' and did not remarry, she could usually remain in her husband's home and be supported by his family; if she remained unmarried and lived apart from her children but did not claim her dowry, she was left use of her husband's patrimony for her lifetime, afterwards it would revert to the male line.[177] Seven

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173 Literally, 'entrances' and 'exits'. This is how women were recorded in family diaries and journals. Christiane Klapisch - Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago and London, 1985), p.118.

174 Anthony Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence* (Cambridge, Ma., and London, 1994), p.343. This is in a part of the *Zibaldone* not yet published.

175 Alessandra Strozzi, *Lettere*, p.314.

176 The dowry was often very high - deposits were made with the *Monte delle Doti,* a sort of communal dowry insurance fund when the bride was only a child. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual*, p.214; Julius Kirshner and Anthony Molho, 'The Dowry Fund and the Marriage Market in Early Fourteenth-Century Florence', *Journal of Modern History,* 50 (1978), pp.420-28.

177 Christine Klapisch Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual*, chapter 6.

tenths of widows were named as guardians of children as long as they remained unmarried.[178] The children belonged to the lineage of their father.[179]

The abandonment of the children was seen in a harsh light and was defined in monetary terms. An example of this was the case of Giovanni Morelli, who, although he lived with his mother and stepfather, accused her of abandonment and cruelty, because she remarried and transferred the dowry to another lineage.[180] In 1430 Manno di Cambio Petrucci, after the death of his father through plague begged Simona, his stepmother, to stay. His pleas were to no avail: 'If Madonna Simona had agreed to remain with us, we would not have had to sell our things at half their price, wasting our substance so that we could give her back some of our dowry'.[181]
Giovanni Rucellai thanks God that his mother did not remarry:

> *anchora lo ringratio d'una notabile madre che lui m'à concieduta per nome Chaterina, la quale, avendo quattro figliuoli maschi al tempo che Pagholo nostro padre morì ed essendo d'età d'anni 19, non ci volle abandonare e fè gran risistentia di non rimaritarsi contro al volere de' fratelli e della madre. E prestomela lunghissimo tempo, perchè visse più d'anni 80, che mi fu di grandissima consolatione; fu figliuola di Filippo Pandolfini.*[182]

Pressure would usually be exerted upon a young widow to remarry, and thus forge a link with another lineage. Giovanni remarked that Caterina had resisted the attempts of brothers and mother to force her to remarry.[183]

Prescriptive literature exists detailing the role of widows in Florence. Writing in about 1330 Francesco da Barberino urges a widow to think of the husband awaiting her in God's presence and to look at her sons and daughters who are in essence a mirror of him. She is fortunate in that she need no longer worry about pregnancy. She should stay in her husband's house for a year after and then, if she wishes, remarry; he admonishes widows who cannot wait that long. He gives advice to those

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178 Ann Morton Crabb,' How Typical was Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi of Fifteenth-Century Florentine widows?' in *Upon My Husband's Death - Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, ed. by Louise Mirrer (Michigan, 1992), p.50.

179 Klapisch Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual,* p.125.

180 Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli, *Ricordi*, in Branca, *Mercanti Scrittori,* pp.165-8 and passim.

181 Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual*, p.127.

182 Rucellai, *Zibaldone,* p.118.

183 Ibid., p.118.

who choose to remain widows on a range of issues including the patrimony, which is to be managed with the help of the best of her husband's advisors. She should immure herself from the world and be careful even about entertaining priests and clerics lest her honour or that of her husband be besmirched.[184] A century later the Franciscan friar Fra Bernardino of Siena preaches in a similar tone. Widows should keep busy in order to be widows of God, reading the office of Our Lady and saying their Pater Nosters, and they must not be familiar with any man, even a priest or a cleric. He then gives reasons why second marriages should be avoided: the second husband could be worse than the first; in the case of his being better then the woman will be jealous and fearful of his leaving her; in either event the woman will not have a single day of happiness.[185] He also exhorts the families of widows to support them in their widowhood, and not to pressure them into remarriage: *Serà una giovana: rimane vedova: il padre e frategli, i parenti, tutti, sono come draghi a tendere, a rubbarla. Chi la pilucca di qua e chi di là, chi gli rubba questo, e chi quell'altro.*[186] Significantly, he uses Anna the prophetess as an example of a widow of God, not Saint Anne:

> *Hai di quella Anna, vedova di sessant'anni, che non si partiva del tempio, dì e notte, e stava in orazione et in digiuno. Sai, che dice notte e dì? Il dì vuol dire che debba stare in digiuno, che tiene la mente nella orazione, tiene il corpo sobrio. E queste sono quelle vedove che, istando così, sono di Dio.*[187]

A widow therefore had to leave her children in order to claim the only wealth she could hold in her own right, her dowry. Her birth family would be anxious to force a second marriage in order to make an alliance with another house, and also to remove the threat a single female posed to the honour of the house. This remarriage, although frequent, was frowned on by society which cast her in the role of a 'Cruel Mother'.[188]

The situation of widows in Northern Europe was less restrictive due to the system of dower instead of, or as well as, a dowry. This was a portion of land, estate or

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184 Francesco da Barberino, *Reggimento e Costume di Donna*, ed. by Giuseppe E. Sansone (Turin, 1957), p.116, ff.

185 San Bernardino da Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari Inedite, Firenze 1424, 1425, Siena 1425.* ed. by Padre Dionisio Pacetti, O.F.M. (Siena, 1935), pp.242-259.

186 San Bernardino da Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari Inedite,* p.257.

187 San Bernardino da Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari Inedite,* pp.249-250.

188 Klapisch Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual*, p.117, ff.

movables granted to a woman on her marriage by the husband or his family for use in the event of his death. In the event of a woman making a second marriage, the threat to the family of her first marriage was not as great as in Florence. This was due to the fact that her land or goods, although alienated during her lifetime, would revert to that family upon her death. In Ghent, both sexes could inherit equally. A widow was entitled to half the common property that she held with her late husband and dower rights, including life use on half the remaining half. However, a woman could not act as guardian or have physical custody of the children without the consent of her husband.[189] Cases of multiple dower were not uncommon in England, with two or three marriages taking place. Elizabeth Talbot (b. 1518) or 'Bess of Hardwick' survived four husbands and ended life as a countess with an annual income of £60,000.[190] In Paris, regulations were introduced in 1510 precisely to protect the children of the first marriage from the loss of revenue upon the remarriage of the widow.[191] The relative freedom of widows to inherit and remarry may have resulted in a greater sympathy for and interest in legends and images of the Holy Kindred and the matrilineal descent of Christ.

Florentine society in the fifteenth century was patrilineal. A woman was forced to leave the paternal home to forge an alliance with another lineage, yet within that lineage she was not to be trusted and upon her husband's death she was placed under pressure from her own lineage to remarry and from her husband's to remain with her children. An image of a kinship group presided over by a thrice married *maternal* grandmother can have had little relevance in such a society. Clearly the legend of the *trinubium* and the Holy Kindred held no interest for those involved in defining what was represented in the patrilinear world of late Medieval and Renaissance Florence.

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Images mattered in medieval society. Power resided in images, as is seen from the miraculous images of the Virgin in Orsanmichele, Impruneta, Santissima Annunziata and elsewhere. The crucifix in the room of the Umbrian mystic Angela of Foligno spoke to her, and she felt the pains of the Passion herself when she witnessed it in

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189 David Nicholas, *The Domestic Life of a Medieval City - Women, Children and the Family in Fourteenth Century Ghent* (Lincoln, Nebraska, and London, 1988), p.28.

190 Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser, *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present*, 2 vols (London, 1988), I, p.329.

191 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, 1995), p.106.

pictures, [192] while Ludolph of Saxony recounts a similar story of how a nun was so deeply affected by Christ's Passion that whenever she saw an image of Christ crucified she would lose control of herself and fall to the ground.[193] In England, a wall painting of Saint Christopher is inscribed: KI CEST IMAGE VERRA LE JUR DE MALE MORT NE MURRA (who looks upon this image, that day shall not die an ill death), thus demonstrating the efficacy of the image.[194] Luca Landucci wrote of many miraculous images, including the Madonna of Bibbona:

> *E in questo tenpo molto si parlava d'una divozione di Nostra Donna trovato a Bibbona, d'un tabernacolo fuora di Bibbona, un trarre di balestro; chè una Vergine Maria a sedere con Cristo in braccio come si levò di croce, come si dipingono l'altre Piatà. La quale cominciò insino a dì 5 d'aprile 1482, la quale si trasfigurava, cioè diventava d'azzura rossa, e di rossa poi nera e di diversi colori. E questo dicono avere fatto molte [volte] insino a questo dì, e sanato diversi infermi e fatto molti miracoli e di molte paci, intanto che vi correva tutto mondo. E non si dice altro in questo tenpo; e io ò parlato a molti che dicono di veduta averla veduta trasfigurare, in modo ch'egli è necessario a crederlo.*[195]

Another miracle recorded by Landucci is that of an image of the Virgin, painted near the Stufa (baths), who shut her eyes in order not to see the sins committed there.[196] The statutes of Pisa required the city gates to be protected by the images of the Virgin and of the saints.[197] Giovanni Morelli recorded how his dying son requested an image of *Nostra Donna*:

> *E' si raccomandò moltissime volte a Dio e alla sua madre Vergine Maria, facendosi recare la tavola della Donna innanzi, quella abbracciando con tante invenie e con tanti prieghi e boti, che non è sì duro cuore che non fusse mosse a gran pietà di vederlo. Appresso, e' si raccomandava al padre, alla*

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[192] *Angela of Foligno: the Complete Works*, edited by Paul Lachanze (New York, 1993), pp. 175, 141, and *passim*.

[193] Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Iesu Christi* (Paris, 1529), Lviii.

[194] The wall painting is in the church of Wood Eaton, Oxfordshire. M.D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches* (Cambridge, 1963) p.137.

[195] Landucci, *Diario*, pp.41-2.

[196] Landucci, *Diario*, p.279.

[197] Diara M. Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, p.125.

madre, ai parenti e a chi era presente, con tanta umiltà e con tanta effezione di parole ch'era mirabile cosa.[198]

The confraternity of Nostra Donna della Pura owed its origins to a miraculous image of the Virgin in Santa Maria Novella.[199] Many of the Miracles of the Virgin concern her *image* rather than the Virgin herself. An example of this is as follows; a painter is painting in a church an image of the Virgin Mary. The devil appears and asks him why he paints the Virgin as being so beautiful and he himself as being so ugly. The painter replies that he does so because it is the truth. The devil, enraged, causes the painter to fall from a great height to the floor of the church. The *image* of the Madonna stretches out her hand and catches the painter as he falls. The devil departs, 'confuso'. [200] In these cases, it is the devotional object that is seen as being suffused with the real presence of the object of veneration. In such a society, images were not merely the literature of the laity. Trexler defined the difference between idols and images in late medieval Florence: 'An idol, when the term referred to a sacred representation, was no more nor less than a representation that was not working [...] The *image* was a valid, participatory intelligence; the *idol* was pure object, without spirit, without efficacy'.[201]

The way in which Saint Anne was represented in European and Florentine art was part of a tradition which was formed around apocryphal texts, liturgical texts, popular legends, and folklore. The wealth of folklore and devotional material concerning Saint Anne in Northern Europe is not found in Florence, her patronal city. In a city which owed a large proportion of its wealth to textile manufacture, Saint Anne was not appropriated as a patroness of textile workers, as she was in France. The patroness of childbirth in Florence was Saint Margaret, or the *Madonna della Cintola*, not Saint Anne. There is no evidence in Florence of the groundswell of devotion to Saint Anne that Europe experienced, apart from the political cult instituted by the government in 1343. This political cult was imposed on the city by the government and celebrated mainly in Orsanmichele. There was no popular cult in the city which could serve as a basis for the success of this cult. Devotion to the Immaculate Conception contributed to an interest in Saint Anne in Florence as elsewhere, but this remained largely independent of the political cult.

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198 Giovanni Morelli, *Ricordi,* in Branca, *Mercanti Scrittori*, pp.293-4.

199 J. Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella*, pp.69-70; Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford, 1994), p.470.

200 Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 1408, Fifteenth-century, f.112r

201 Trexler, *Public Life*, p.71.

The story of Saint Anne was the same as the early life of the Virgin. In European art generally, the devotional parts of a pictorial cycle frequently showed that Saint Anne was the object of interest. This does not occur in Florentine art. The narrative cycles depicting Saint Anne in Florence are always concentrated on the Life of the Virgin and the devotional elements show the Virgin and other saints. There is no instance of an altarpiece in which the main field is occupied by Saint Anne or *Anna Selbdritt* with the predella occupied by the life of Saint Anne. In this, there is a marked difference between Saint Anne and the much more important patron of Florence, Saint John the Baptist. The popularity of Saint John the Baptist remained undiminished despite Medicean attempts to reduce it.[202] The Baptist was identified with the city in a number of ways, the Baptistery was dedicated to him, his image was found on the coins of the city,[203] and his festival was the most important civic celebration of the year. Images of Saint John the Baptist, both narrative and devotional, are found throughout the city. Despite Saint Anne's kinship with Saint John the Baptist, she did not share in his popularity. The Ricordanze of Neri di Bicci record hundreds of commissions; in not one does a patron request an image of Saint Anne.[204]

The patrons of Florence did not choose to have the Holy Kindred represented, and despite her role as civic protectress, did not give the attention to Saint Anne that she received elsewhere. Those patrons who are documented were all important individuals in the civic life of Florence. Patrons of the narrative cycles such as the Steccuti, Guidalotti, Corsini, Bartolini, and Tornabuoni were all members of the priorate, and of Orsanmichele. The captains of Orsanmichele itself commissioned the tabernacle by Orcagna, yet gave remarkably little emphasis in the Marian narrative to scenes in which Saint Anne featured. The images of Saint Anne that are clearly civic in nature are few: the fourteenth-century imagery in Orsanmichele, the Zecca altarpiece, the Stinche fresco and, after a gap of nearly a century, the Fra Bartolomeo altarpiece. The emphasis on this altarpiece is on republican values in which Saint Anne clearly features as the saviour of Florence, yet it is also informed by theories of grace and sanctification - theories which owed more to contemporary debate over the Immaculate Conception than to Saint Anne's popularity in Florence.

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202 Ibid., p. 409.

203 Villani, *Cronica*, II, p.276; III, p.320; Ammirato, *Istorie*, p.97.

204 Neri di Bicci, *Le Ricordanze*, ed. by Bruno Santi (Pisa, 1976).

The reasons why Saint Anne was ignored in political and civic iconography for over a century are complex. The political nature of the feast may have given it a factional character. Not all Florentines were pleased to see the departure of the Duke of Athens and a much larger group was discontented with the newly formed government. The lack of a significant cult before 1343 meant that it was almost entirely imposed from above; its connection with Orsanmichele kept it firmly tied to civic politics. When the oligarchy fell from power in 1379 the momentum of the initial devotion to the saviour of the city may have been lost. In the fifteenth century, the declining fortunes of Orsanmichele, the official centre of her cult, was also significant. Unlike other civic patrons, there were aspects to her cult that, in visual imagery, were ignored or suppressed. The legend of Saint Anne's three marriages, known to Florentines, must have contributed to a certain unease given the patrilinearity of Florentine society. Saint Anne as civic symbol was tied to the factional politics of fourteenth-century Florence; Saint Anne as a figure in narrative painting bore no relationship to her civic, or her devotional image; Saint Anne as devotional image was one of a maternal grandmother with her daughter and grandson which would have been utterly unfamiliar to a Florentine audience where social structures demanded that the only grandmothers within the same house would be the paternal ones.

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Il Fondo Magliabechiano

II.I.122 (Banco Rari 18)

Fourteenth-century illuminated *laudarium* which belonged to the Compagnia di Santo Spirito. It includes the following *laude*:

inc. *Piange Maria con dolore*

inc. *Or piangiamo che piange Maria*

inc. *Davanti a una colonna*

inc. *Ave Maria stella diana*

and *laude* in honour of Saints John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Andrew, John the Evangelist, James the Greater, Bartholomew, Philip, James the Lesser, Simon and Jude, Matthew, Thomas the Apostle, Matthias, Luke, Mark, the Apostles, Stephen, Laurence, Peter of Verona, Vincent, Blaise, George, the Holy Martyrs, Augustine, Ambrose, Peter the Comb-Seller, Nicholas, Paul the Hermit, Anthony Abbot, Alessio, Dominic, Francis, Mary Magdalen, Reparata, Catherine, Agnes, and Miniatus.

II.I.127.

A fifteenth-century manuscript. *Libro delle famiglie fiorentine descritto per quartieri e gonfalioni e per alfabetico*. The alphabetical ordering referred to in the rubric is arranged according to first names, not family names.

II.I.136 (Magl. XXV, 523.4)

A fifteenth-century manuscript written on parchment, which has antiquarian notes at the beginning describing part of it as the autograph copy of Filippo Nerli's *Commentari de' fatti civili occorsi dentro nella citta di Firenze dal 1215 al 1343*.

II.I.212. (Magl.XXXV.182) (Banco Rari 13)

Fourteenth-century illuminated *laudarium* which belonged to the Compagnia di Sant'Egidio. It includes the following *laude*:

inc. *Ave Maria stella diana..*

inc. *Santo Giovacchino glorioso..*

inc. *Piange Maria con dolore..*

and *laude* in honour of Saints Mary Magdalen, Agnes, Catherine, Lucy, Margaret and Claire.

II.I.412

A thirteenth-century legendary from the Badia Fiorentina, written on vellum. It contains the *De Conceptione Virginis*, or Legend of the Conception of the Virgin, here attributed to Anselm but now usually attributed to Eadmer.

II.III.415 (Magl.XXXV, 186)

This is a fourteenth-century manuscript written on parchment by one hand, containing a mixture of devotional and didactic material. Contents include: the legend of the Birth of Mary (largely based on the account in the *Pseudo-Matthew*, ff. 18-24); the *trattato di San Bernardo; un bello exemplo dell'orare; un bello exemplo della confessione; li quindici gradi della Nostra Donna;* the legend of the Nativity of Christ and the coming of the Magi; the legend of St. George; *parole sono tucte del santo evangelio edano amaestramento come noi dobiamo amare Idio eportare inpace letribulatione*; the legend of St. Ursula; the legend of St. Clement; part of the Gospel of St. John; and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.*

II.IV.314 (Magl. XXV.195)

Codex of miscellanea, dating from the fifteenth century onwards. The codex begins with *versi scritti nella pittura oramai lacera della cacciata da Firenze del Duca d'Atene, che e sotto il campanile del Bargello*.

II.VII.8 (Magl. VII.1228)

A largely sixteenth-century manuscript written on parchment. It contains a *Rappresentazione di San Gioacchino*. This is a five-act play, with drawings on ff.33, 34, 34v, 45v, 47 and 47v. These drawings appear to be sketches of characters and costumes. A male nude appears on f.1v and a negro figure on f.47v. The main script is sixteenth-century, but there is an older hand in the middle of the codex (the folios of which are under a different numerical sequence from the folios containing the play). The material written in this hand is largely didactic material relating to the ten commandments and the seven mortal sins. The hand responsible for the *Rappresentazione* resumes on f.45 with a sermon for Holy Thursday. On f.48 there are some eighteenth-century notes of indulgences granted in 1679 to the Compagnia of the Duca di San Girolamo.

VIII.1500

Thirteenth-century statutes of the Compagnia di Sant'Agnese, the confraternity which met in Santa Maria del Carmine.

XXXVIII.70

Fifteenth-century manuscript written on parchment, containing a Life of the Virgin (based mainly on the *Evangelium de Nativitate Marie*), Miracles of the Virgin, the *Ordine della Vita Cristiana* of Fra Simone da Cascia, *della Marcha dalli Ordine de Frati minori, che sono detti Frati di Sancto Agustino, intorno agli anni Domini 1333 quando stava in Firenze Pradichatore nel convento di detti Frati di Santo Spirito,* didactic material attributed to Fra Cherubino, *dell'Ordine dei Minori Regole*, a catechism, the *Credo* of Dante, and a *sermone di Santo Agustino della Prudentia*. It is inscribed as *finita di coppiare questa operetta p[er] me Antonio di Piero da Filichaja questo di N.B. di Marzo 1499*.

Il Fondo Panciatichiani

Ms.38.

Fourteenth-century manuscript written on vellum. It includes the *Dottrina della Beata Angela da Foligno*, legends of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, Saint John the Almsgiver, the miracle of a holy woman who was daughter of a good father and a bad mother, Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, two youths, and Saint Nicholas of Bari.

Ms. 40.

Fourteenth-century manuscript written on parchment. A stemma on c.120 has been identified as belonging to the Bizzeri family. The codex is a legendary, and includes the Life of the Virgin (ff.31-34v. Based mainly on the *Evangelium de Nativitate Marie*). Completely separate from this is the legend of Santa Smera, mother of Saint Anne (ff.79v-81). It also contains legends of Saints Eugenia, Reparata, Anastasia, Justina, Mary of Egypt, Ursula, a virgin of the city of Antioch (not Saint Margaret), Thais, Petronella, Alessandra, wife of the King of Persia, Beatrice, Juletta, Galla, Irene, Eustace, the Lives of the Desert Fathers, the Vision of Tundal, the legends of Vergogna, Faustina, the Miracle of a gentlewoman of Rome and a monk, the legends of Adam and Eve, Margaret of Antioch, Queen Rosana and her daughter, and Dorothy.

Ms.41.

A fifteenth-century manuscript written on parchment. Inscriptions on f.62v and 114 identify the owner or writer as Antonio Bizeeri. The manuscript was owned by the antiquarian Baccio Valori whose stemma appears on f.1r. It contains the legends of St. John the Baptist, material attributed to Saint Bernard, *Laude*, an account of the Passion of Christ, material by Sennuccio del Bene, Antonio Pucci and Giovanni di Gherardo da Prato and legends of Saints Zenobius *de Girolami*, his disciples, Eugenius and Crescentius, Reparata, Felicity and her seven martyred sons, Ursula, Eustace, and Agatha.

Il Fondo Palatino

Ms.13.

This was originally two codices, written and numbered by the same hand in the fifteenth century. It is inscribed on f.140 as *finito oggi questo dì XXX di dicienbre 1387 per me.* At the back of the codex a seventeenth-century hand has noted that *Questo libro è scritto di mano di m. Bastiano figliolo di Gio. di Bastiano di Niccolò Monti che fu uno de' Priori della Repubblica Fiorentina l'anno 1458, e detto m. Bastiano lo scrisse l'anno 1487.* It contains a calendar (ff.2-8) which includes the feast days of Saints Anne, Victor, Barnabas, Onophrius, Bartholomew, Cosmas and Damian, Jerome, Zenobius, and Reparata. Marian feasts include the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Madonna of the Snows and *la concezione della Virgine Maria* on the 8th of December. The codex also includes letters of Saints Eusebius, Augustine, Cyril, and Jerome; Fra Lorenzo da San Martino's *Flos Doctorum*; a letter of Fra Tommaso di Antonio Caffarini to Saint Catherine of Siena; legends of Saints Martha and Mary Magdalen; Saint Bernard's *Dottrina data ad un peccatore*; the legend of the *Transito della Nostra Donna*; Saint Bernard's *Regola della Vita*; *Laude* of *un Bianco Ingesuato*, B. Jacopone da Todi, and Catherine of Siena; a *terzine* of a young Aretine converted by the Virgin; Maestro Antonio da Ferrara's prayer to the Virgin; Fra Agnoluccio di Santo Agostino's *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*; prayers to Saint Mary Magdalen and *laude* of Fra Girolamo *de Frati Romitani di Santo'Agostino*; a *lauda* to the *Vergine Maria che si chiama Nostra Donna del Parto*; and the dialogue of the Quick and the Dead.

Ms.30

Mainly a fifteenth-century codex, with some blank pages filled in with sixteenth-century script. On f.71v it is inscribed as *Conpiuto a dì xiiii d'aghosto 1456 in monte Varchi, per me francesco di lucha de roxo speziale.* It includes a Life of the Virgin

(ff.127v-129, based on the *Evangelium de Nativitate Marie*) and accounts of two miracles of Corpus Christi, one in Sant'Ambrogio, Florence, the other in a chapel near the *Sala del Re* in Paris in 1257, the life of Saint Francis, the sermons of Fra Agostino dalla Scarperia *dell'ordine de' frati Romitani*, letters regarding the *diversità e rebellione che nasce e consiste tra la volontà e'llopere*, a letter of Saint Jerome to Saint Paula, Albertano of Brescia's *Dottrina sopra le sei parole*, Cato's *De Costumi*, a *Trattato d'una angelicha chosa mostrata per una divotissima visione, amaestrandoti chome perfettamente lo tuo vita menare si debbi*, the *Regola del Favellare*, Saint Jerome's *Trenta Gradi della Scala Celestiale*, and sermons attributed to Saint Bernard and Saint Augustine.

Ms.41.

A fifteenth-century manuscript written on parchment. At the end of the codex is an inscription: *finitus est per me Nicholaio d'aghostino bonaventura, a llade di Jesu christo: chi ll'achatta lo renda presto Et prieghi iddio per me*. It contains Fra Domenico Cavalca's translation of Saint Jerome's letter to Eustochium; the legend of Saint Agnes, *Christo parla alla sposa*; and material attributed to Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, and Bernard.

Ms.73.

A codex made up of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hands. On f.3 there is an inscription of the scribe who wrote the codex to f.139, *iscrisse pagholo di piero del perso*. On f.89v he wrote *Qui ò finito di scrivere questi capitoli, e non possono scrivere gli altri che seguono per ordine dopo questi, perch'io nonposso più tenere questo libro ch'è della conpagnia di santa brigida di Firenze*. It contains an account of the feasts of the Virgin (ff.99v-102v) attributed here to Saint Jerome but it is by Paschasius Radbertus. The codex also includes a vision of Saint Paul; some teachings of Saint Paul; the legend of Saint Margaret; a letter of Saint Anthony; instructions on how to pray; Saint Bernard's *Contenzione d'un animo e d'un chorpo;* an account of Creation; a sermon by Saint Jerome on virginity; the lives of saints Christina, *Barbera e Giuliana*, *Olessa*, Mary of Egypt, Marina and Theodora; a treatise on confession; and the life of Christ. The sixteenth-century part contains the Capitoli of the Compagnia di San Piero e di San Paolo di Firenze.

Ms.97.

Fifteenth-century *Golden Legend* written on parchment. On f.190v it is inscribed as follows: *Finite le leggende nuove de santi conposte e ordjnate de frate Jacopo da Voragine dellordine di frati predichatori e scritte per mano di mariano da ciegoli, cominciato a dì VII di settenbre e finite a dì XI di febbraio MCCCCXXX, sechondo il*

corso di Pisa, che laude n'abbi lo omnipotente e la sua santissima madre madonna santa vergine maria amen, and on f.244: *cominciato a dì XII d'aprile e finito a dì VII di giugno MCCCCXXX.*

The legend is recognisable in its form as the *Golden Legend,* but although much of Voragine's scheme has been omitted, there are no particularly Florentine replacements. Saints such as Lucy, Patrick, Elizabeth of Hungary, Sophia and Ambrose are missing, but have not been replaced by figures such as Zenobius or Reparata. The rest of the manuscript contains a treatise on confession; Bono Giamboni's *Libro dei vizi e delle virtù*; *La Vendetta della Passione di Cristo*, Saint Bernard's Lament on the Passion; and the *Libro dello stimolo dell'amore; Libro della meditazione sopra il pianto della nostra donna*; letters of Saint Bernard; a sermon on *vera ubidienza* by Saint Augustine; and Saint Bernard's Meditation on the Song of Songs.

Ms.120

Fifteenth-century manuscript written on parchment by a Ser Silvestro di Ristoro di Cristofano Ristori who identifies himself in many places throughout the codex: f.48v, *Manus scriptoris salvetur omnibus horis. 1415 adì 15 giugnio Salvesstro de Ristoro àne scritta questa legenda*, f90v: *Fenito libro issto referemus gratiam christo Manus scriptoris benedicat deus omnibus oris Qui scripsit scripbat Silvester senper quem deus eum benedisit Anno domini 1415 dì 15 mensis agusstj completum fuit*, f.46v: *1418 a dì 14 de giugnio 1418*, f.287v: *a forniti a dì 25 d'agossto 1433.* At the end is an inscription saying that *Questo libro l'à lecto suora Dionisia Di Polione Guidi, da una assicella e l'altra per grazia de dio lo'ntende benissimo*. On the cover is a note in a modern hand which states that the writer is *ser Silvestro di Ristoro di Cristofano Ristori, che è detto nobile cittadino cortonese*. The manuscript contains the Life of the Virgin in a translation attributed to *Maestro Guglielmo da Roma* (f.10-48v. It is based on the *Vita Beate Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*). It also includes a legend of Saint Mary Magdalen, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, legends of Saints Giustina and Cipriano, John the Baptist, a prayer of Saint Brendan the monk, Niccolò di Mino Cicerchia's Passion of Christ, *Il detto della Fortuna*, Fra Giunta Bevignati's life of Saint Margaret of Cortona and the *Fioretti* of Saint Francis.

Ms.125.

This is a fifteenth-century manuscript with an inscription at the end stating that it is written *scritto per mano dy Gherardo di Nichola Bueri da firenze, e chonpiuto questo dy xxiij di dicienbre MCCCCXXXIJ* and beneath this are two German verses written in red, insc. *Dys ist der vrolich dot* and fin. *Der doch Iummer wesen muot*. It

contains the Life of the Virgin based on the *Vita Beate Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica.*

Ms. 154.

A fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscript written on vellum, containing the *Statuti* and *Capitoli* of the Compagnia di San Frediano of Florence.

Conventi Soppressi

C.5

A *Golden Legend* dated to c.1270, from Santa Croce.

BIBLIOTECA RICCARDIANA

Riccardiana 1052

A fifteenth-century codex, inscribed on f.95 by a contemporary hand, *questo libro è di Francesco di Nicholo di Teri di Lorenzo Teri fiorentino: chi l'achatta lo renda.* At the back one finds: *Questo libro tracta della vita et della morte di Mess. Jesu Christo. Laud. Deo senper.* Ff.1-11 and 89v-95 v are in a different hand from that which wrote ff.12r-88v. On the recto of ff.3-8 are fifteenth-century drawings of the *Spozalizio* (f.3), the Annunciation (f.4), the Virgin and Child (f.5), the Crucifixion (f.6), the Deposition (f.7), and the Tree of Knowledge (f.8). On f.89 there is a figure of Christ rising from the tomb. The manuscript contains the Legend of Santa Smera, *che fu avola della gloriosa madre Vergine Maria* (ff.93-95v); the Legend of the Birth of the Virgin (ff.89v-92v, based on the *Evangelium de Nativitate Marie*); the Precepts of Cato; didactic material on the Mass, original sin and redemption; the *Credo* of Dante; *laude*; *Niccolò Cieco, ternario a Eugenio IV*, the legend of Saint Cecilia; the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*; the *Dodici Venerdì di Papa Clemente*; and *Canto carnascialescho* of the drunken soldiers.

Riccardiana 1341

An early fifteenth-century codex containing the Legend of the Birth of the Virgin (ff.3-16, based on the *Evangelium de Nativitate Marie*); Saint Bernard's *Contemplazione della Passione;* the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*; the legend of Saint Margaret; and the *Corso della Vita.*

Riccardiana 1362

A fifteenth-century codex which contains: the Legend of the Birth of the Virgin (ff.1-8v, based on the *Evangelium de Nativitate Marie*); the Lament of Saint Bernard; the Assumption of the Virgin; the Gospel of Nicodemus; the Destruction of Judea; the

seven penitential psalms; ceremonies of the Mass; and Fra Simone da Cascia's *L'Ordine della Vita Christiana*.

Riccardiana 1408

A fifteenth-century codex consisting of two parts, probably distinct in origin and written in different, but contemporary, hands. The second hand begins at f.120. The manuscript contains the Legend of the Birth of the Virgin (f.102-116, based on the *Evangelium de Nativitate Marie*); Miracles of the Virgin; the legend of Saint John the Baptist; Saint Jerome's *Trenta Gradi della Scala Celestiale*; legends of Saints Petronella, Thais, Beatrice, Alessandria, Margaret Pelagia, Mary of Egypt and Zosimus, Reparata, Theodora, Ursula, Theodosia, Scholastica, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Margaret of Antioch, Mary Magdalen, Giuliana, Giuletta, Christina, Cecilia, Eugenia, Domitilla, Anastasia, Galla, Musa, Tarsilla, and Romola; and the vision of Tundal.

Riccardiana 1431

A fifteenth-century codex. Inscribed on the back is: *1469. Questa di messer Luigi di Donato di Pagholo di messer Pagholo Ruciellaj....O tu che lleggi, priegha Idio per me pechatore*. The codex contains the Life and Miracles of the Virgin (f.50-79v, based on the *Evangelium de Nativitate Marie*); *la vendetta di Cristo*; the legend of Saint Ursula; and *laude* of B. Jacopone da Todi. The manuscript is concluded by two political prophecies which appear to be in a different hand from the rest of the codex and which are similar to those discussed by Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1970), p.57.

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Ashburnham 142 (Ashburnham 69 [142-74])

A fifteenth-century Franciscan codex in the hand of Fra Sebastiano da Verona, dated the 22nd November 1470, 19th April 1471, and 20th March 1481. The codex contains the *Genealogia Virginis Marie*, which consists of the rhyme beginning: *Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias* (f.195). The manuscript also contains the *Vita et Educatio Beate dei Genetricis Marie, secundum beatum Epiphanium* (ff.195-199).

Ashburnham 317 (396)

A fourteenth-century codex containing the legend of the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine, written in the vernacular.

L.Plut.17.1

Late fifteenth-century illuminated breviary, following the use of Rome. The arms of Pope Leo X are shown, flanked by the arms of the town of Todi, alluding to the gift of this volume to Leo by the town of Todi. The manuscript was illuminated by Giovanni Boccardi the elder. It contains Eadmer's legend of the Conception of the Virgin, with an illumination showing the Meeting at the Golden Gate on f.266.

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55

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461

471

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80.123

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291

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