

THE IMAGES OF ST. ANNE AND ST. ELIZABETH NURSING IN
MEDIEVAL WESTERN AND EASTERN ART

Patrick LECAQUE (Kirksville, Missouri)

Studies conducted during the last decades of the 20th century at the church of the 40 Martyrs in Veliko Turnovo have shown rather convincingly that the narthex and the exonarthex of the church as we see them today were not part of the original building¹, erected and decorated during the reign of tsar Ivan Asen II (1218–1241) to commemorate the Bulgarian victory over the Byzantine emperor at Klokotnica in 1230.

The church was almost entirely destroyed during the 1913 earthquake, and very few paintings have survived. From the naos only three copies of paintings (today in the Museum of Veliko Turnovo) have been preserved: the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, the Hospitality of Abraham, and Jacob's ladder.² In the narthex part of a wall calendar was preserved on the western wall,³ and in the exonarthex there were standing monks and anachorets in the lower register of the eastern wall, and above them the Vision of Proclus just above the door leading to the narthex, the Prophet Elijah in a cave being fed by a crow on the extreme left (northeast part of the wall), and the visit of St. Anthony to St. Paul the Hermit on the far right (southeast part of the wall).⁴ If proof is needed that the narthex and the exonarthex underwent major construction and reconstruction after the original church was built, among the many structural changes the most evident example of a renovation clearly visible *in situ* is the lunette above the passage between the exonarthex and the narthex. After the *Vision of Proclus* was removed during the renovation of the

¹ Тотев 2004, 199–245; Lecaque 2008, 258–270.

² Grabar 1928, 98–99; Тотев 2004, 223–228 for a bibliography on publications about the wall-paintings of the Church; for an analysis of the iconography of the Dormition at the church of the 40 Martyrs: Lecaque 2008, 259–260.

³ Grabar 1928, 100–101; Тотев 2004 for a detailed study of the calendar, and p. 237 for a color picture of what remains of the calendar.

⁴ Тотев 2004, 235, fig. VII for a diagram of the placement of these paintings on the wall. These frescoes are preserved at the Museum of Veliko Turnovo today.

church at the end of last century, fragments of a previous decoration appeared.⁵

One can only speculate about what was represented originally on this lunette, but on the other side of it, on the lunette of the west door of the narthex, is a rare representation of St. Elizabeth suckling John the Baptist (fig. 1), and in the lunette of the opposite door leading to the narthex was a representation of St. Anne suckling the Virgin Mary (fig. 2).⁶ From an iconographic point of view the representation of both mothers is similar to the representation of the Virgin Galaktotrophousa in Byzantine art of the 13th and 14th centuries.

The *Virgo Lactans* “achieved its greatest popularity and most complex religious symbolism in the 14th and 15th centuries, when the human qualities of the divine Mother and Child captured the popular imagination.”⁷ In his treatise *Gynecology* the great physician from the end of the first – beginning of the second century, Soranus, addresses the issue of nursing in great detail: he recommends the use of “a wet nurse. As for twenty days the maternal milk is in most cases unwholesome”⁸ Despite all of his reservations he adds that: “to be sure. Other things being equal, it is better to feed the child with maternal milk; for this is more suited to it, and the mothers become more sympathetic towards the offspring, and it is more natural to be fed from the mother after parturition just as before parturition.”⁹ Most physicians in Antiquity believed that the blood which nourished the child in the womb through the placenta was transformed into milk after the mother gave birth. Hippocrates, for example, states that: “The glands on the chest are called breasts, and these develop in individuals that make milk, not in those that do not make milk: women make milk, but men do not. In women the substance of the glands is very rarefied, just like the rest of their bodies, and the nourishment these glands draw to themselves they alter into milk. This passes from the uterus to the breast as nourishment for the baby after its birth, being squeezed out by the momentum and cast up to the higher regions of the body when it becomes cramped by the fetus.”¹⁰

⁵ **Toreb 2004**, 239, fig. 7 for a picture of the Vision before its removal, and 240, fig. 8 for a picture the first layer of frescoes discovered after the removal of the Vision; cf. **Koceva – Pyceb 2007**, 649–664.

⁶ **Grabar 1928**, 104–106; **Protić 1930**, 92–93.

⁷ **York – Schlossman 1982**, 39.

⁸ **Soranus, 88**. He discusses in great details how to properly feed a newborn in Book II, XI [XXXI]. He believes that the newborn should receive no food during the first couple of days to let him digest the “maternal food” that he received in the womb. He recommends using a wet nurse during the first days, but if none is available, honey or honey mixed with goat milk should be used during the first three days. Then and only then should the mother’s milk be introduced, but it should be suckled first gently out of the breast to thin it before giving it to the newborn.

⁹ **Soranus, 90**.

¹⁰ **Hippocrates, 123** [16].

This opinion was adopted by Fathers of the Church such as Clement of Alexandria “in the second century [who] goes to great lengths to explain the relationship of breast milk to the blood supplied to the foetus.”¹¹ And the same opinion is held by Western theologians. In the early 7th c., for example, St. Isidore of Seville held that:

*Lac (milk) derives its name from its color, because it is a white liquor, for the Greeks call white λεῦκος and its nature is changed from blood; for after the birth whatever blood has not yet been spent in the nourishing of the womb flows by a natural passage to the breasts, and whitening by their virtue, receives the quality of milk.*¹²

This belief survived until the 19th c. in Western Europe and was widespread in the Middle Ages. And there are many examples showing that blood and milk were used interchangeably.¹³

The implication for the Virgin Galaktotrophousa (or Virgo Lactans in the West) was that her milk shared the same source as the salvific blood of Christ. There are numerous medieval legends about the Virgin suckling saints, or Christ being suckled, at least in visions, by nuns,¹⁴ the best known example being the Vision of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, known also as the lactation of St. Bernard. St. Bernard is often credited with the explosion of the cult of the Virgin Mary in the 12th c. in Western Europe. According to one version of the legend, the saint was in prayer before a statue of the Virgin. He addressed the statue saying “Show yourself to be a mother!” A few drops of milk fell from the breast of the Virgin on the saint’s lips. The miracle is described in greater details in a manual for Christian education based on examples and dated from the beginning of the 14th c.,¹⁵ but many paintings describing the miracle pre-date this manuscript, for example a painting from the Master from Palma de Mallorca dated 1290 (fig. 3). This theme will become particularly popular in Italian and Flemish art. One miniature in a

¹¹ Bynum 1977, 273.

¹² Cited in Wood 1981, 719 and note 24.

¹³ For example in one of the Armenian manuscripts of the Protoevangelium Iacobi describes the sacrifice of the lambs offered by Joachim to the Temple: “But Joachim after presenting his offerings took a single lamb and having presented it slew it there upon the altar. And they all saw on a sudden as it were white milk gushing out of its veins instead of blood. And the priests and all the congregation saw this and marveled and were agape; because never before had such a sign been manifested as there was in the case of this slaying.” In Conybeare 1897, 426.

¹⁴ For example Gertrude the Great. See Bynum 1987, 133.

¹⁵ Berlioz 1988, 270–284.

Flemish Book of Hours dated from the beginning of the 16th c.¹⁶ is one of several examples of an iconography that shows the Virgin Mary seated, holding Jesus who is standing on her knee. The saint is kneeling in front of her. His mouth is at the level of her breast, but several feet away. The milk of the Virgin squirts horizontally from her breast and seems to be going through the mouth of Jesus before reaching the mouth of the saint. The same iconography appears in a manuscript from the end of the 15th c. with minor differences (fig. 4).¹⁷

“Throughout the Middle Ages Milk and blood were understood to be essentially the same substance, the former concocted from the latter to nourish the young.¹⁸ “Next to the blood of Christ, Mary’s milk was the most holy and most miraculous of fluids.”¹⁹ It was thought to cure numerous severe illnesses ranging from blindness to cancer.²⁰ John Calvin observed in the sixteenth century that even the smallest church in Europe seemed to have a phiale of the precious liquid. He adds ironically that “had the breasts of the most Holy Virgin yielded a more copious supply than is given by a cow, or had she continued to nurse during her whole lifetime; she scarcely could have furnished the quantity which is exhibited.”²¹ The milk of the Virgin Mary nourishes both the body and the soul. Numerous stories, poems, and songs in the Middle Ages attest to it, such as this Christmas carol:

“L’enfant prend la mamelle
Et lacte pascitur
C’est du lait de pucelle
Quod non corrumpitur
La chose est bien nouvelle
Quod virgo mater est
Et sans coulpe charnelle
Hic puer natus est.”²²

The representation of a mother nursing her child is well established in classical art, often in the representation of the life of a child,²³ and in mythological scenes.²⁴

¹⁶ Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Ms 5999, f. 96v-97.

¹⁷ In the *Constitutiones* of Pope Clement V, Troyes-BM – incunable 041, t. II, f. 001.

¹⁸ Yalom 1997, 44.

¹⁹ Yalom 1997, 44.

²⁰ Yalom 1997, 44.

²¹ Calvin, 317, cited by Yalom 1997, 45.

²² This Christmas carol “expresses the incorruptibility of the milk of the virgin-mother, and Christ’s birth free from mortal sin.” Bernen 1973, 172; cited in Yalom 1997, 45 and note 62, p. 285.

²³ Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964, 133.

²⁴ Bonfante 1997, 174–196.

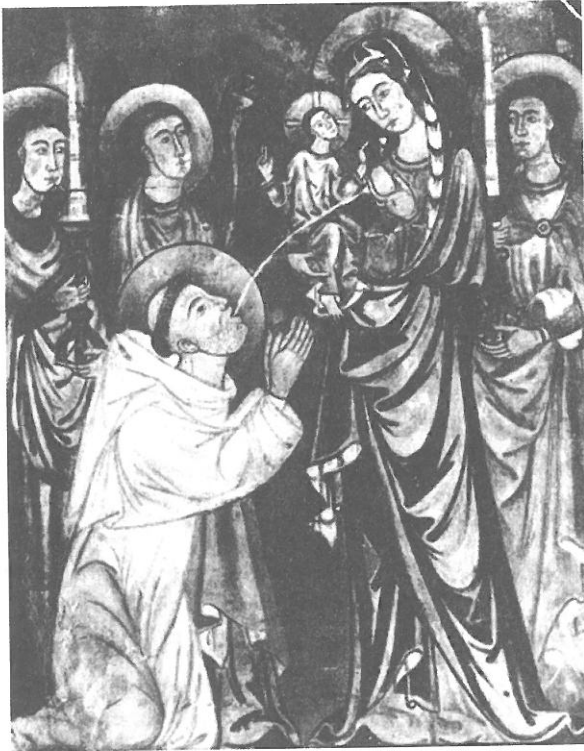


Fig. 3. The Master of Palma de Mallorca (1390).
Lactation of St. Bernard.



Fig. 4. Municipal Library of Troyes. Lactation of St. Bernard
(end of the 15th c.)

The attitude towards nursing throughout the Eastern Roman Empire and later within the Byzantine Empire seems to be a class issue. In a letter from the end of the third century addressed by the father or the mother of a new mother to her husband, we find the following: "I learned that you are forcing her to nurse; if you don't mind, the baby will have a wet-nurse, because I do not allow my daughter to nurse."²⁵ A careful study of papyri from the late empire seems to indicate that by and large the use of wet-nurses is exceptional among rural or poor population and is wide-spread among the upper class.²⁶ This attitude does not seem to change very much during the Byzantine period. According to the pseudo John Chrysostom who is well-known for his broad generalizations, among the lower class a wife "gives birth to a child and becomes a mother and a nurse," among the rich "the mother gives birth but does not become a nurse, because she who became a mother is ashamed to become a nurse."²⁷

There are, however, notable exceptions: "For the imperial dynasty of the 4th century, [...] the representations of the mother were an important topic."²⁸ The Empress Fausta, the wife of Constantine the Great, "had adopted an official image of mother for her coinage. As of 324, Fausta is represented either standing, holding her two sons in her arms,²⁹ or sitting on a throne with a son at her breast in the position of a breast-feeding mother."³⁰

While there seems to be very little change in the attitude towards nursing throughout the Byzantine Empire between the 3rd and the 15th centuries, J. Beaucamp identifies two trends in written sources. In "profane" texts the presence of a wet-nurse is common.³¹ But in hagiographic literature she finds two *topoi*:

- Miracles in favor of mothers lacking enough milk to nurse their child to allow them to feed their child themselves and avoid the use of a wet-nurse.
- Multiple stories of mothers of saints breast feeding their child themselves.³²

What the latter suggests is that the theme of mothers breast feeding their own child becomes a much more acceptable theme in Christian Literature; however, the best choice for those who can afford it is still to hire the services of a professional nurse. Theodore Balsamon, who was the *Nomophylax* in Constantinople in the second half of the 12th century, commenting on a canon on involuntary

²⁵ Beaucamp 1982, 549, "j'ai compris que tu la contrains à allaiter; si tu le veux bien, le bébé aura une nourrice, car je ne permets pas à ma fille d'allaiter".

²⁶ Beaucamp 1982, 551.

²⁷ Beaucamp 1982, 551.

²⁸ Kalavrezou 1990, 166.

²⁹ Gittings 2003, 58, fig. 17b: bronze follis.

³⁰ Kalavrezou 1990, 166, and fig. 3: gold medallion.

³¹ Beaucamp 1982, 555.

³² Beaucamp 1982, 554–55.

manslaughter, gives the example of a woman who was severely punished because she had fed her child herself instead of having hired a wet nurse, causing the death of the child because of her “inexperience” and negligence.³³

But it seems that from the point of view of Fathers of the Church, such as Basil of Caesarea (c. 329–379), Gregory of Nyssa (between 335 and 340–c. 394) and John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), the use of a wet nurse was as appropriate as a nursing mother. The most important thing to them was for the mother to be closely involved with the education of her child.³⁴ Augustine (354–430) in his *Confessions* reconstructs his own experience as an infant: “I was welcomed then with the comfort of woman’s milk....Then all I knew was how to suck, to be content with bodily pleasure, and to be disconnected with bodily pain; that was all.”³⁵ Following the custom of the time and of his milieu, Augustine was raised by his Christian mother and by nurses who provided for his food.³⁶ The eleventh century writer Michael Psellos notes that when he was born they wished him to know only the breast of his mother.³⁷ He states later in the text that he did have a nurse,³⁸ but he mentions his mother’s dedication to giving him an excellent education.³⁹

It is in this social context that the stories of the Infancy of the Virgin Mary and of Jesus were written. As we know the gospels give no information about the infancy of Mary. The Gospel of Mark starts when Jesus is about to be baptized [Mark 1:9], the Gospel of Matthew starts with accounts of Jesus’ genealogy and his birth [Matt 1-2]; and the gospel of Luke starts with the birth and “hidden” lives of Jesus and John the Baptist [Luke 1–2]. The “*Christian of the New Testament period [...] focused their attention instead on the other end of Christ’s life, on his death and resurrection...*”⁴⁰ Our sources for the birth and the life of the Virgin Mary until shortly after the birth of Jesus are the *Protoevangelium Iacobi*, also

³³ **Beaucamp 1982**, 555.

³⁴ **Beaucamp 1982**, 553; **Clark 1993**, 45, 87; **Heintz 2003**, 140.

³⁵ *Confessions*, 1.6. Quoted by **Miles 2008**, 1. In note 1, page 141, she notes that “Although Augustine does not say so, it is likely that the infant he observed so attentively was his own son, Adeodatus.”

³⁶ “But neither my mother nor my nurses filled their breasts of their own accord, for it was you who used them as your law prescribes, to give me infant’s food and a share of the riches that you distribute even among the very humblest of all created things. It was also by your gift that I did not wish for more than you gave, and that my nurses gladly passed on to me what you gave to them.” *Confessions*, 1.6.

³⁷ **Beaucamp 1982**, 555.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ **Heintz 2003**, 140.

⁴⁰ **Hock 1995**, 2.

known as the *Infancy Gospel of James* (the brother of Jesus),⁴¹ and the Pseudo-Matthew.⁴²

After the Council of Ephesus in 431 declared Mary to be the Mother of God or Theotokos, many churches were dedicated to her and “Mary’s life, as presented in the *Infancy Gospel of James*, became the basis of feasts to honor Mary during which the gospel was read liturgically, such as on September 8, as part of the celebration of the birth of Mary, and again on November 21, to mark the presentation of Mary in the Temple.”⁴³ Similarly, detailed cycles of the infancy of the Virgin Mary based on the *Gospel of James* spread in church decorations. “Christians looked for the *Infancy Gospel of James* for information about Mary, and that information, transferred to the pictorial images of church decorations and manuscript illuminations, decisively shaped Christian imagination and understanding regarding important facets of their faith.”⁴⁴

The image of the nursing mother of god appears in early Christian times in the Eastern Mediterranean. Although there are some notable examples in Constantinople, it is a rare iconography in the Byzantine world,⁴⁵ but it will become a very popular motif in late medieval times and in early renaissance first in Italy, and in particular in Tuscany, and will spread to the rest of Western Europe to become a very common iconography.

Most scholars agree that the *Infancy Gospel of James* or *Protoevangelium Iacobi* was written in Greek by a writer probably from Syria or Egypt around A.D. 150. Although the main character of the text is the Virgin, the “*Protoevangelium* lies at the root of the late medieval cult of Anne.”⁴⁶ According to this text the parents of the Virgin, Joachim and Anna, were a wealthy Jewish couple. This is how R. Hock⁴⁷ summarizes the beginning of the Gospel “The circumstances of Mary’s birth revolve around the childlessness of her parents [...] after being

⁴¹ This is a well-known text that has been studied extensively and does not need to be discussed further here. We will use the Scholars Version [Hock 1995], which provides the Greek text with an English translation. There are many different titles, some very long and detailed, for this document. See Hock 1995, 4 for a bibliography.

⁴² For purely practical reasons we used the edition of Dimier-Paupert 2006. The pseudo-Matthew does not provide details on the nativity of the Virgin or on her first years: *Completis IX mensibus post hec peperit anna filiam et vocavit eam mariam. Cum tertio anno ablactasset* [I:6 (p. 140)].

⁴³ Hock 1995, 27.

⁴⁴ Hock 1995, 28.

⁴⁵ For a bibliography on the Virgin Galaktotrophousa (or Virgo Lactans), see Lecaque 2008, 264–67.

⁴⁶ Ashley – Sheingorn 1990, 7.

⁴⁷ Hock 1995, 33.

reproached for not having a child, they both decide to confront God in prayer. A messenger from the Lord tells them that their prayers are answered, and Anna is pregnant. She promises to give the child to God, and Joachim celebrates with a banquet.” One of the issues raised by the text that prevented it from being readily adopted in the West as it was in the East was the issue of the nature of the conception of Mary. Was the conception an act of god, as it would be for Jesus, or was there human intervention? The issue did not seem to bother the Greek Fathers “and language supporting the Immaculate Conception appears in the Eastern liturgy for the Feast of the Conception, called in the East the Conception of Anne.”⁴⁸ Justinian dedicated a church to Anne in Constantinople around 550 and “the Feast of Anne celebrated on July 25, may celebrate the day of the dedication of the church.”⁴⁹ During the reign of St. Justinian the Emperor (527–565), a church was built in honor of St Anna at Deutera. And since St Anna had appeared to his pregnant wife, Emperor Justinian II (685–695; 705–711) restored her church. It was at this time that her body and maphorion (veil) were transferred to Constantinople. According to Bannister St. Anne appears in all Western calendars on July 26.

This might be one of the reasons why, with some very notable exceptions, the cult of St. Anne does not seem to be widespread in the West until the 13th – 14th c.⁵⁰ but the cult of St. Anne appeared in Rome as early as the seventh century. The oldest known iconic representation of St. Anne holding the Virgin Mary in her arms is found at Santa Maria Antiqua in the 7th c. frescoes.⁵¹ When the church was renovated and received a new decoration under Pope John VII at the very beginning of the 8th c., this particular icon was preserved although it is difficult to know whether its preservation was for practical or religious reasons – was this icon particularly venerated?⁵² Over 105 years ago, H. M. Bannister suggested that the cult of Anne in Rome might find its origin with one or several of the Syrian popes who sat on St. Peter’s seat between the sixth and the ninth centuries.⁵³ In any case, around 760 another iconic portrayal of St. Anne was painted in the church. “In a niche in the wall on the right aisle are painted three female saints with their names, Maria, Elizabeth, and Anna (8th c.), each with a child in her arms”(fig. 5).⁵⁴ Another hypothesis is that the second wave of the cult of St. Anne might have been imported

⁴⁸ Ashley – Sheingorn 1990, 9.

⁴⁹ Ashley – Sheingorn 1990, 9.

⁵⁰ Bannister 1903, 107.

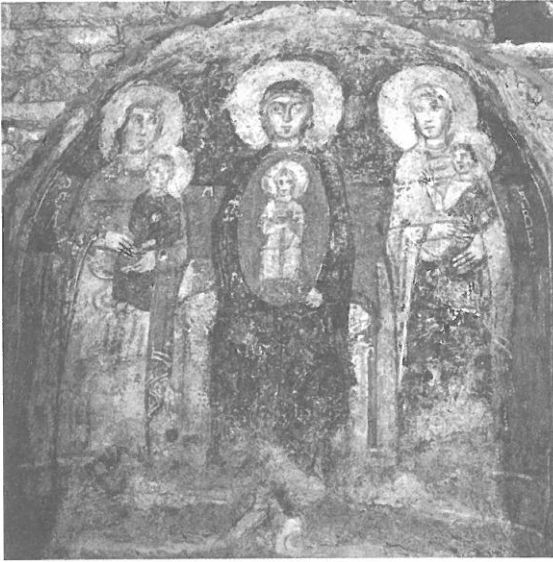
⁵¹ Bannister 1903, 108; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964, 134; Nordhagen 1979, 89–

142.

⁵² Nordhagen 1979, plate XVII – XX.

⁵³ Bannister 1903, 111.

⁵⁴ Bannister 1903, 108; see picture in Grabar 1967, 170.



*Fig. 5. Santa Maria Antiqua.
St. Anne, the Virgin Mary and
St. Elizabeth.*

directly from the East by monks fleeing iconoclastic persecutions,⁵⁵ and might have been limited to very few churches in the West. H. M. Bannister notes further that “the first occurrence of St. Anne in a liturgical manuscript which I have come across is in a tenth-century sacramentary which is undoubtedly of Roman origin and was probably written for some Greek monks in Rome: in its Holy Saturday litany the first two names after the confessors are St. Anne and St. Elizabeth, who have precedence even before all the Roman Virgin martyrs.”⁵⁶ “In a list of relics in the church of St. Angelo in Pescheria [...] The list of female saints (all Eastern) [...] is headed by SS. Anne and Elizabeth.”⁵⁷

While we do not have much information about a possible cult of St. Anne in the West, other than in Rome, before the 13th and 14th c., it is worth noting that the cult of St. Anne is acknowledged in Provence, in Brittany and in Spain at a much earlier date. In Brittany it seems that her cult spread as early as the 7th and 8th century when the region was evangelized, maybe because of the fact that one of the most important Celtic divinities also bears the name “Ana”. Not only did Anne become the patron saint of Brittany, but many churches and chapels are dedicated to her. In Southern France too, the cult is very ancient. According to Provençal tradition the remains of St. Anne were brought from Palestine to Provence by Lazarus and Mary-Magdalene, Mary Salome and Mary Jacobe, in 42 A.D. According to legend, Saint Auspicius, the first bishop of Apt, became the guardian of her relics. He fell victim to the persecutions against Christians during the Reign

⁵⁵ Ashley and Sheingorn 1990, 11.

⁵⁶ Bannister 1903, 111.

⁵⁷ Bannister 1903, 111.

of Trajan, but managed to hide the relics before his martyrdom. They were rediscovered in the crypt in 792 during the reign of Charlemagne. Thus Apt became a major pilgrimage site and from there the cult of St. Anne spread, thanks to the gift of fragments of the relics by Charlemagne himself and then by the chapter of the church for centuries to come.⁵⁸ These “gifts” went as far south as Naples in Italy and at least as far north as Noyon. While the Provençal tradition of the translation of the relics of St. Anne to Apt might be legendary, the existence of relics believed to be authentic in Apt is not. So the cult of St. Anne was given a second wind by the crusaders who brought back more “prétendues reliques”⁵⁹ of St. Anne first from the Holy land and later from Constantinople after the sack of the city. The so-called Veil of St. Anne – in fact an eleventh century linen and silk cloth made in Egypt for a caliph of the Fatimid dynasty - was donated to the cathedral of Apt in 1099 by crusaders of the first crusade, probably by the bishop of Apt himself.⁶⁰ The most precious relic of St. Anne – her head - was brought back from Constantinople after the fourth crusade by the count of Blois who donated it to the cathedral of Chartres.⁶¹ This was not the only “authentic” head of Anne in the West: the Dominicans in Mainz also had the head of St. Anne until it was stolen in the early 16th c, by a mason who took it to the Franciscans of Düren, near Aachen.⁶²

St. Anne was and still is venerated as the patron saint of women in labor, but Also of miners – although she is not the main patron of miners – because Christ has been compared to gold and Mary to silver. In France, Italy, England and Germany “water consecrated to Saint Anne’s worship was credited with wonderful healing values.... It was used to lessen fevers, to help parturients and those who had lost their minds, and, in Germany, to guard against the mumps.”⁶³

As Francesca Sautman noted, contemporary folk customs in France give us a link to her medieval role. “At the spring of Montbrun, Anne was beseeched to give milk to nursing women and animals.”⁶⁴ According to some sources, she was represented with both breasts bare, in a rather unusual pose. But a miniature illustrating the Nativity of the Virgin Mary in a Franciscan missal and Book of Hours dated from 1380 shows her in a similar pose.⁶⁵ She is seated in her bed with her chest naked handing the Virgin Mary to a servant.

⁵⁸ Terris, 1876, especially chapters I and II, 21–42.

⁵⁹ Réau 1959, Vol. 3, 91, cited by Ashley and Sheingorn 1990, 18.

⁶⁰ Baudoin 2006, № 25.

⁶¹ Ashley and Sheingorn 1990, 18.

⁶² Ashley and Sheingorn 1990, 18.

⁶³ Sautman 1990, 82.

⁶⁴ Sautman 1990, 82.

⁶⁵ BN MSS lat. 757, fol. 344 v. see Sautman 1990, 82–83; for a discussion on the donor of the manuscript see Zaccaria – Sutton 1983, 160–61.

The suckling of the Virgin by her mother is mentioned twice in the Infancy Gospel, the first time shortly after the birth:

- 5:9 *When, however, the prescribed days were completed, Anna cleansed herself of the flow of blood.*

- 5:10 *And she offered her breast to the infant and gave her the name Mary.*⁶⁶

and the second time after the presentation of the Virgin to the Temple:

- 6:9 *He [Joachim] presented her to the high priests...*

- 6:10 *Her mother then took her up to the sanctuary – the bedroom – and gave her breast to the child.*⁶⁷

It is also mentioned in the liturgy for the 8 and 9 September, and in homilies from the Pseudo-Athanasius to Euthymius.⁶⁸

The first examples of St. Anne suckling the Virgin Mary appear at a time when nursing scenes appear more frequently in illustrated manuscripts to illustrate scenes of the old testament: Eve suckling Cain,⁶⁹ Azubah nursing Josaphat,⁷⁰ Hanna nursing Samuel,⁷¹ Gomer, the wife of Hosea, nursing one of their children,⁷² Sarah suckling Isaac,⁷³ and others.

It also appears in the illustrations of profane literature⁷⁴ and in allegories.⁷⁵

From the 10th century on there are several examples of St. Anne holding the Virgin in her arms, mostly in the form of painted icons as part of the mural

⁶⁶ Hock 1995, 41.

⁶⁷ Hock 1995, 43.

⁶⁸ Chirat 1950, 106, note 79.

⁶⁹ See for example the bronze doors of the cathedral of Hildesheim from the 11th c. or the Cod. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2334 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France known as the Pentateuch of Ashburnham (or Pentateuch of Tours), fol. 6r. The Pentateuch "was already in Tours during the ninth century." See Kessler 1971, 150–151.

⁷⁰ In a manuscript at the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal in Paris, MS 5080 RES, fol. 371, dated 1333–1350.

⁷¹ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MSS Français 3, fol. 118, Bible historique from the beginning of the 15th century.

⁷² Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MSS Lat. 18, known as the Bible of Clement VII, fol. 304 (13th c.?).

⁷³ In Paris Gr. 923 (9th c.), Weitzmann 1979, fol. 368v, 42 #27 (fig.31).

⁷⁴ For example Elaine nursing Lancelot in a French manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MSS. Français 95, fol. 354 (dated 1280?–1290?), or Melusine nursing Thierry in the Roman de Melusine (or History of Lusignan), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MSS Français 12575, fol.89.

⁷⁵ For example Avarice nursing her children in a 1289 Latin manuscript of Psychomania [MSS LATIN 15158] from the Saint Victor Abbey in Paris, Folio 50.



Fig. 6. *Basilica St. Marco in Venice: St. Anne*

decoration of Byzantine churches.⁷⁶ But this type of representation remains rare. A small (33 x 30 cm) mosaic icon from the beginning of the 14th century gives us an interesting example. St. Anne stands on a pedestal holding the little Virgin in her left arm. This mosaic on wood icon is set framed with a gilded silver mount made of fourteen square panels alternating decorative and figurative motives and two rectangular panels. On the top right and left corners are the half-length figures of the angels Michael and Gabriel; in the middle is the representation of Hetimasia. On each side of the icon is the portrait in full length of Joseph, on her left, and Joachim, her husband, on her right; on the bottom are the half-length portraits of St. Thomas, St. James and St. Philip.⁷⁷

The oldest known representation of Anne suckling the Virgin Mary in a narrative scene might be on one of the columns of the ciborium of the church of San Marco (fig. 6), but the date of the decoration of the ciborium is disputed.⁷⁸ Anne suckling the Virgin also appears in the frescoes of the church near Ispidin,

⁷⁶ At the almost entirely destroyed rock church of Direkli kilise **Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964**, 134; **Lafontaine-Dosogne 1963**, 26–27.

⁷⁷ **Mont Athos 2009**, 156 № 64.

⁷⁸ Cf. **Demus 1960**, 165–183; and **Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964a**, 213–219.



Fig. 1. St. Elizabeth



Fig. 2. St. Anne

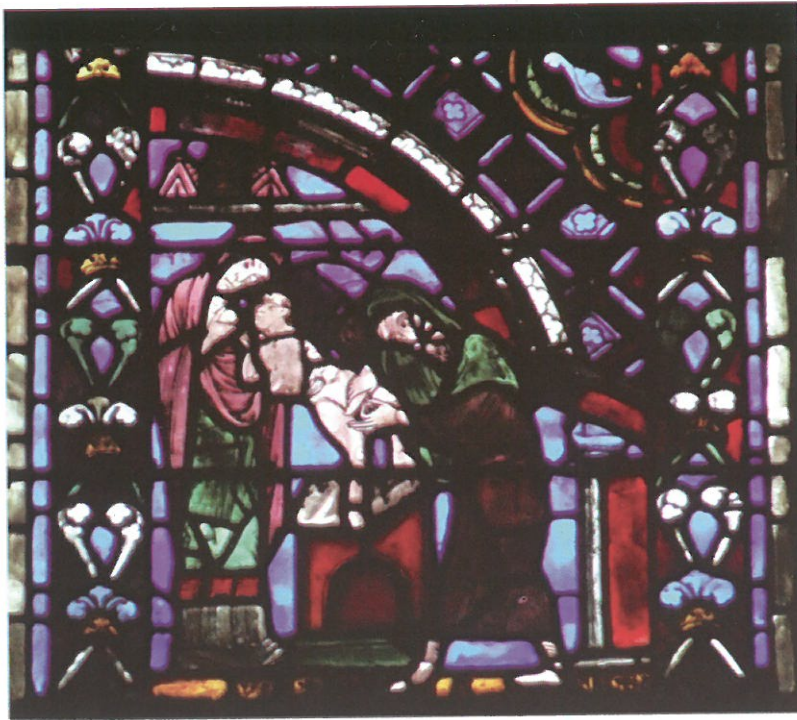


Fig. 7. Cathedral of Rouen: St. John's circumcision



Fig. 8. Domenico Ghirlandaio, The Nativity of St. John the Baptist

in the Kayseri region of Cappadocia, which N. Thierry dates from the 11th c.⁷⁹ It is not a frequent element of the cycle of the infancy of the Virgin in mural painting. Another example is found at the Peribleptos in Mistra (1350-75), but the frescoes of Mistra are close to the art of miniatures.⁸⁰ What is represented at the Peribleptos very faithfully is Protoevangelium, 6:1.⁸¹ Iconic representations of Anne suckling the Virgin Mary appear at the end of the 12th century. André Grabar⁸² and Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne⁸³ suggest that it is a “popular” or “provincial” theme since this iconography does not appear in the major decoration of the Palaiologan period. However, Antony Cutler has very appropriately noted that “popular” and “provincial” are not necessarily the same thing.⁸⁴ Should we consider the representation in Turnovo to be a “provincial” representation?

What might be the oldest example of St. Anne nursing the Virgin in a non-narrative scene appears at Kurbinovo (1191).⁸⁵ Another example from the 12th century, a mosaic icon from Vatopédi, might have to be excluded since it is not clearly established that Anne is suckling the Virgin. This is due not only to the fact that the icon is damaged, but also to the fact that, as we will see below, many of the icons of a mother suckling the child – mostly icons of the Virgin – are symbolic and anatomically challenged.⁸⁶ There is also a 13th century example, although the date of the frescoes is disputed,⁸⁷ of this iconography at Hagios Stephanos in Castoria.⁸⁸ The same scene is represented in the 1361 frescoes of the Church of the Virgin Zaumska on the shores of the Lake of Ohrid.⁸⁹ In Turnovo, at Hagios Stephanos as well as at Zaum, we find a half-length portrait of Anne. In Turnovo and at Hagios Stephanos the infant Mary is sitting up straight in her mother’s arms, her head slightly bent in order to reach her mother’s breast. This position is similar to that of the Virgin Hodegetria in the Vatopedi icon, and there are many examples of the Virgin Mary suckling Jesus with the same non realistic posture

⁷⁹ Jolivet-Lévy 1991, 241.

⁸⁰ Dufrenne 1970, 15 and fig. 66. Unfortunately the scene is not clearly visible in this picture; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964, 133.

⁸¹ Chirat 1950, 104.

⁸² Grabar 1928, 105–106.

⁸³ Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964, 135.

⁸⁴ Cutler 1987, 344.

⁸⁵ Hadermann-Misguich 1975, 253.

⁸⁶ Cf. Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964, 135 and Hadermann-Misguich 1975, 253; see the commentaries in Cutler 1987, 345, note 504; for a picture of the icon: Furlan 1979, № 25.

⁸⁷ The date of these paintings is disputed, cf. Velmans 1977, 143–44 and Pelekanides – Chatzedakes 1985, 6.

⁸⁸ Cf. Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964, 135; Pelekanides 1953, pl. IIN. 101

⁸⁹ Мирковић 1938, 250; Грозданов 1980, 110–11 and fig. 75.

with the breast coming out from under the shoulder blade.⁹⁰ At Zaum the infant Mary is lying in her mother's arm in a more natural position for a suckling child.⁹¹ At Kurbinovo, Anne is standing and Joachim is standing next to her, "la petite Vierge s'élançe avec fougue sur le sein de sa mère,"⁹² as well as in the paintings of St. Anne in Anisaraki, Crete (1457–62).⁹³

While there is a relatively lengthy textual foundation for the story of Anne, very little information is provided in the gospels about Elizabeth. Luke (1:5) tells us that she was 'of the daughters of Aaron' (a brother of Moses) and that she was Mary's kinswoman (Luke 1:36), but their actual relationship is not specified. St. Hippolytus of Rome (d. 236) "explains that Sobe and Anna, their mothers, were sisters, and that Sobe had married a "son of Levi"."⁹⁴ The Pseudo Matthew starts with the genealogy of the Virgin Mary: "Once upon the time there were two sisters: Anne and Emeria (from the descendance of Anne). To Emeria Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, was born. As for Anne, she had three husbands: Joachim, Cleophas and Salome. From Joachim, she gave birth to Mary, mother of the Lord. After Joachim died, Anne married Cleophas. Cleophas gave to Mary, mother of the Lord and his daughter in law, his brother Joseph as a husband..."⁹⁵

Elizabeth, in a story similar to Anne's, was not blessed with a child *because she was barren, and they both were well advanced in years* [Luke 1:7]. The angel Gabriel appeared to her husband Zacharias and told him *your request has been heard, and your wife, Elizabeth, will bear you a son, and you shall call him John* [Luke 1:13]. When, five months later, Elizabeth was visited in her home in

⁹⁰ While Western Art is going to move in the direction of a very sensuous and at time erotic portrayal of the Virgin suckling the child, this archaic representation of the Virgin will coexist for a long period of time. One of the best examples of this type is an icon of the Madonna of Humility by Lorenzo Monaco dated around 1420, in which the child standing on the knee of his mother is suckling her breast which comes out of her neck [The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe (1300–1500), Princeton University Press, 1994, plate 12a]. Another Madonna of Humility by the Olive Master, dated from 1350, shows a young Jesus standing by the side of the Virgin and suckling a breast that comes out of the side of the chest of the Virgin [Williamson 2009, fig. 26]. A post-Byzantine icon of the Virgin Galaktotrophousa c. 1600 reproduces the iconography found in Turnovo [Miles 2008, 34].

⁹¹ Грозданов 1980, fig. 75.

⁹² Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964, 135; cf. Hadermann-Misguich 1975, II, fig. 131.

⁹³ Kalokyris, K. The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete, New York, 1973, 124 et fig. BW83.

⁹⁴ According to the New Advent Encyclopedia, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05387b.htm>

⁹⁵ Translated from the French text, Dimier-Paupert 2006, 59. The original latin text is transcribed on page 138 [166 r°, a] – 1. *Anna et emerita fuerunt sorores. De generatione beate anne. De Emerita nata est Elisabeth mater sancti Johannes baptiste.*

the city of Judah by the Virgin Mary, she was filled with the Holy Spirit [Luke 1:41], and she saluted her cousin as *the mother of my Lord* [Luke 1:43]. There is no mention of Elizabeth in the Gospel after the birth and the circumcision of John the Baptist. Her feast is celebrated on 8 September by the Greeks and 5 November in the Latin Church.

The Infancy Gospel of James, does not provide specific information regarding the relationship between Elizabeth and Mary; it follows Luke 1:5, but it adds a lengthy story about the threats from Herod against the infant John, the flight of Elizabeth and John to the mountain to escape Herod's soldiers, and the martyrdom of John's father Zacharias [22:5 – 24:14].⁹⁶

The Infancy Gospel of James introduces some elements that will be the source of some of the scenes in the later cycles of the Life of John the Baptist. The iconography of the Nativity of John the Baptist usually follows the basic layout used for the nativity of Christ and the nativity of the Virgin. The representation of St. Elizabeth suckling John the Baptist either in the nativity scene or in mural icons is extremely rare. One example appears in the Homilies of the Monk James at the beginning of the 12th c. (Vat. Gr. 1162, fol. 159r),⁹⁷ and there is an identical picture in the Paris Gr. 1208.⁹⁸ In the same manuscript the illustration of the nativity of the Virgin does not represent Anne nursing the Virgin, "les caresses remplacent ainsi l'allaitement que l'homélie, à la différence du récit apocryphe ne mentionne pas."⁹⁹ A *Legendarium* from the library of Chartres had a scene portraying Elizabeth nursing the child. Unfortunately, the manuscript was destroyed in a fire in 1944.¹⁰⁰ In the 13th c. stained glass windows of the cathedral of Rouen

Anna vero tres habuit maritos, Joachim, Cleopham et Salome. De Joachim habuit anna mariam matrem domini. Mortuo Joachim, nupsit cleophe, cleophas autem dedit Joseph fratri suo in uxorem Mariam matrem domini quae filia sua erat.

⁹⁶ For the contradictions and issues raised by this story vs. the birth stories in Luke and Matthew, see **Hock 1995**, 9.

⁹⁷ **Stornajolo 1910**, fig. 67; **Lazarev 1938**, 30 et fig. 3; **Cutler 1987**, 342 and fig. 4.

⁹⁸ **Cutler 1987**, 342, note 37.

⁹⁹ **Chirat 1950**, 104.

¹⁰⁰ In **Le cinquantenaire de la société archéologique d'Eure et Loir**, Tome II, 1906, № XCIII, there is a list of all historiated initials in the manuscript with an entry for fol. 133 : "Élisabeth allaitant saint Jean-Baptiste". I wish to express my thanks to Ms. Michèle Neveu, from the Médiathèque l'Apostrophe in Chartres for providing the following information: "Ce manuscrit est décrit dans le "Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France, Chartres tome XI, 1890. Voilà ce qu'il est noté pour le folio qui vous intéresse: folio 103: "Natalis sancti Albani. Tempore illo, Diocletianus in Oriente..." folio 103 v°: "Natalis sancti Johannis Baptiste. Nativitem sancti Johannis, fratres Karissimi, hodie celebramus...". Ce manuscrit provient de la bibliothèque du chapitre de Notre-Dame de Chartres. Il n'existe pas de reproduction connue de ce document."

there is, from an iconographic point of view, a very interesting representation of Elizabeth nursing St. John while he is being circumcised (fig. 7).

In the frescoes of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, Domenico Ghirlandaio represents the birth of John the Baptist in a manner that follows both the medical practice recommended by Soranus and others, and the practices of the well-to-do circles of Renaissance Tuscany. Elizabeth is seated in her bed, in the background a servant is bringing a tray with two carafes and a glass. In the forefront to the left two servants attend to the child. One is a wet-nurse who is suckling the child, the other, who is extending her arms in the direction of the baby, is about to give him a bath.¹⁰¹ If one doubted that the inspiration for this composition was taken from Florentine customs, a young woman entering the room behind three visiting ladies would confirm it. She “is delivering fruit and wine from the family’s country estate [as] it appears that it was common on such occasions for bourgeois families to receive deliveries of such bounty from the country...”¹⁰²

In Turnovo Elizabeth is flanked by “deux taches rouges en forme de poire, avec des langues de feu, émanant d’un noyau central”.¹⁰³ These “tongues of fire” are common in the iconography of the Pentecost to illustrate the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles.¹⁰⁴ André Grabar suggests that this representation “symbolise la mort glorieuse du Précurseur”, and he compares it to a similar iconography in the 7th c. mosaics of the church Sant’ Agnese in Rome where St. Agnes is surrounded by flames similar to the one in Turnovo. He agrees with Rossi who interprets these flames as “l’indizio [...] della sua morte gloriosa.”¹⁰⁵

The three women, Anne, Mary and Elizabeth, all conceived through divine intervention. Although they are rarely represented together in Byzantine and post-Byzantine art, they are often portrayed together in late medieval and early Renaissance art as the Holy Family or in the Holy Kinship. One of the very well-known functions of these saints was to assist women in labor and a 15th c. prayer attests to this function with the following invocation that must be recited when the woman is in labor:

Anne la prophète enfanta Samuel le prophète
 Sainte Elisabeth enfanta Sainct Jehan Baptiste
 Sainte Anne enfanta la benoite Vierge Marie Mère de Dieu
 La benoiste Vierge Marie sans douleur et sans paine enfanta
 Le doux benoist Jhesuscris Sauveur et racheteur de tout le monde

¹⁰¹ Roettgen 1996, pl. 92.

¹⁰² Roettgen 1996, 172.

¹⁰³ Grabar 1928, 106.

¹⁰⁴ Cotsonis 1994, 223–24 and figs. 12–13.

¹⁰⁵ Cited by Grabar 1928, 106. For a picture of this mosaic, see Trilling 1989, fig. 69.

Par les saintes prieres de ceulx ci et de tous les sains et saintes de paradis nostre
Seigneur veuillez delivre ceste creature
Amen¹⁰⁶

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ashley – Sheingorn 1990** Ashley, K. and Sheingorn, P. Locating Saint Anne in Cultural and Gender Studies, in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols. Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, University of Georgia Press, 1990.
- Bannister 1903** Bannister, H. M. The Introduction of the Cultus of St. Anne into the West, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 69. (Jan., 1903). 107–112.
- Baudoin 2006** Baudoin, J. *Grand livre des saints : culte et iconographie en Occident*, Nonette, 2006.
- Beaucamp 1982** Beaucamp, J. L'allaitement: mère ou nourrice?, XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten II/2, Wien, 1982, 549–558.
- Berlioz 1988** Berlioz, J. La lactation de saint Bernard dans un "exemplum" et une miniature du "Ci Nous Dit" (début du XIV^e siècle) MS. Chantilly, Musée Condé, 1708, 178ro), *Citeaux commentarii cistercienses*, 1988, vol. 39, n°3–4, 270–284.
- Bernen 1973** Bernen, S. & R. *Myth & Religion in European Painting, 1270 – 1700*, New York, 1973.
- Bonfante 1997** Bonfante, L. Nursing Mothers in Classical Art, in *Women, Naked truths: women, sexuality, and gender in classical art and archaeology*, Edited by Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow, and Claire L. Lyons, London – New York, 1997, 174–196.
- Bynum 1977** Bynum, C. W. Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing, *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 70, N° ¾ (Jul. – Oct., 1977), 257–284.
- Bynum 1987** Bynum, C. W. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, University of California Press, 133.
- Calvin** John Calvin, *Tracts and treatises on the reformation of the church*, translated by Henry Beveridge, vol. 1, Edinburgh : Calvin Translation Society, 1844–51.
- Chirat 1950** Chirat, H. La naissance et les trois premières années de la Vierge Marie, dans *l'art byzantin, Mémorial J. Chaîne*, Lyon, 1950, 81–113 .
- Clark 1993** Clark, G. *Women in Late Antiquity : Pagan and Christian Lifestyles*, Oxford and New York, 1993.

¹⁰⁶ **Sonet, J.** Répertoire d'incipit de prières en ancien français, Genève, 1956, N° 77; cited by **Sautman 1990**, 84–85; translation in English note 76.

- Conybeare 1897** Conybeare, C. Protoevangelium Iacobi, *The American Journal of Theology*, Vol. 1, № 2 (Apr., 1897), 424–442.
- Cotsonis 1994** Cotsonis, J. The Virgin with the “Tongues of Fire” on Byzantine Lead Seals, *DOP*, Vol. 48 (1994), 221–227.
- Cutler 1987** Cutler, A. The Cult of the Galaktotrophousa in Byzantium and Italy, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 37, 1987, 335–350.
- Demus 1960** Demus, O. *The Church of San Marco in Venice*, Washington, DC, 1960.
- Dimier-Paupert 2006** Dimier-Paupert, C. *Livre de l’Enfance du Sauveur. Une version médiévale de l’Évangile de l’Enfance du Pseudo-Matthieu (XIII^e siècle)*, Paris, 2006.
- Dufrenne 1970** Dufrenne, S. *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra*, Paris 1970.
- Furlan 1979** Furlan, I. *Le icone bizantini a mosaico*, Milan, 1979.
- Gittings 2003** Gittings, E. A. *Women as Embodiments of Civic Life, Byzantine Women and their World*, Cambridge, New Haven and London, 2003’.
- Grabar 1928** *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, Sofia, 1928.
- Grabar 1967** Grabar, A. *The Golden Age of Justinian*, New York, 1967.
- Грозданов 1980** Грозданов, Цв. *Охридско зидно сликарство XIV века*, Београд, 1980.
- Hadermann-Misguich 1975** Hadermann-Misguich, L. *Kurbinovo: Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture Byzantine du XII^e siècle, I et II*, Bruxelles, 1975, 253.
- Heintz 2003** Heintz, M.F. *The Art and Craft of Earning a Living*, in *Byzantine Women and their World*, Cambridge, New Haven and London, 2003, 140.
- Hock 1995** Hock, R. F. *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas*, Santa Rosa, 1995.
- Hippocrates** *Hippocrates*, Vol. VIII, Ed. And translated by Paul Potter, Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Jolivet-Lévy 1991** Jolivet-Lévy, C. *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l’abside et de ses abords*, Paris, 1991.
- Kessler 1971** Kessler, H. L. *Hic Homo Formatur: The Genesis Frontispieces of the Carolingian Bibles*, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 53. № 2 (June 1971), 143–160.
- Косева-Русев 2007** Косева, Д. Русев, С. *Сваляне на сцената „Видението на Прокъл“ от живописната украса на екзонартекса на Търновската църква „Св. 40 Мъченици“*. — *Търновска Книжовна Школа Т. 8, ВеликоТърново*, 2007, 649–664.
- Lafontaine-Dosogne 1963** Lafontaine-Dosogne, J. *Nouvelles notes cappadociennes*, *Byzantion*, 33, 1963, 141–181.
- Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964** Lafontaine-Dosogne, J. *Iconographie de l’enfance de la Vierge dans l’Empire byzantine et en Occident*, in *Mémoires de la classe*

des Beaux-arts, Collection in-4° – 2° série, T. XI – fascicule 3, 1964.

- Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964a** Lafontaine-Dosogne, J. Iconographie de la colonne A du ciborium de Saint Marc à Venise, Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Ochride 10–16 septembre 1961, Tome III, Beograd, 1964, 213–219.
- Lafontaine-Dosogne 1989** Lafontaine-Dosogne, J. Iconographie comparée de l'enfance de la Vierge à Byzance et en Occident. Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Vol. XXXII, № 4, 1989, 291–303.
- Lazarev 1938** Lazarev, V. (Lasareff). Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 20, № 1 (Mar., 1938), 26–65.
- Lecaque 2008** Notes sur l'iconographie des peintures murales de l'église des Quarante Martyrs à Veliko Tarnovo, В: Християнската култура в средновековна България. Материали от национална научна конференция. Шумен 2–4 май 2007 година по случай 1100 години от смъртта на Св. Княз Борис-Михаил (ок. 835–907 г.), Велико Търново, 2008, 258–270.
- Miles 2008** Miles, M. R. A Complex Delight. The Secularization of the Breast, 1350–1750, University of California Press, 2008.
- Мирковић 1938** Мирковић, Ј. Богородица млекопитателница, В: Иконографске Студие, Нови Сад, 1974 (originally in Богословје, XIII, 1, Beograd, 1938), 239–251.
- Mont Athos 2009** Le Mont Athos et l'empire byzantin. Trésors de la Sainte Montagne. Petit Palais – Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris 10 avril – 5 juillet 2009.
- Nordhagen 1979** Nordhagen, P. J. S. Maria Antiqua; the frescoes of the seventh century, 177–230, in *Studies in Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting*, London, 1990 [first published in *Acta, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae*, VIII, 1979, 89–142].
- Pelekanides 1953** Pelekanides, St. Kastoria, Thessaloniki, 1953.
- Pelekanides – Chatzedakes 1985** Pelekanides, St. M and Chatzedakes, M. Kastoria, Athens, 1985.
- Protić 1930** Protić, A. Le style de l'école de peinture murale de Tirnovo au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle, in *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves, Les Balkans*, 92–101.
- Réau 1959** Réau, L. Iconographie de l'art chrétien, Vol. 3, 91, Paris, 1955–59.
- Roettgen 1996** Roettgen, S. translated by R. Stockman, *Italian Frescoes. The Flowering of the Renaissance. 1470–1510*, New York, 1996, pl. 92.
- Sautman 1990** Sautman, F. Saint Anne in Folk Tradition. *Late Medieval France*. In *Ashley and Sheingorn 1990*, 69–94.
- Sonet 1956** Sonet, J. Répertoire d'incipit de prières en ancien français, Genève, 1956.
- Soranus**. Soranus' Gynecology, Translated with an Introduction by Owsei Temkin, John Hopkins University Press, 1956.

- Stornajolo 1910** Stornajolo, C. Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco (Cod. Vatic. Gr. 1162) e Dell'Evangelario Greco Urbinate (Cod. Vatic. Urbin. Gr. 2), Rome, 1910.
- Terris 1876** Terris, Abbé Paul. Sainte Anne d'Apt. Ses traditions, son histoire d'après les documents authentiques, Avignon 1876.
- Тотев 2004** Тотев, К. Стенописният календар от царската църква Св. 40 Мъченици във Велико Търново. В: Средновековно Търново Юбилеен Сборник. Археологически проучвания. ВеликоТърново, 2004, 199 – 245.
- Trilling 1989** Trilling, J. The Soul of the Empire: Style and Meaning in the Mosaic Pavement of the Byzantine Imperial Palace in Constantinople, *DOP*, Vol. 43 (1989), 27–72.
- Velmans 1977** Velmans, T. La peinture murale Byzantine à la fin du Moyen Âge, Paris, 1977.
- Weitzmann 1979** Weitzmann, K. The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Parisinus Graecus 923, Princeton 1979.
- Williamson 2009** Williamson, B. The Madonna of Humility, Development, Dissemination and Reception c. 1340 – 140, Woodbridge, 2009.
- Wood 1981** Wood, C. T. The Doctor's Dilemma: Sin, Salvation, and the Menstrual Cycle in Medieval Thought, *Speculum*, Vol. 56, № 4 (Oct., 1981), 710–727.
- Yalom 1997** Yalom, M. A History of the Breast, New York, 1997.
- York – Schlossman 1982**, York, H. and Schlossman, B. L. “She Shall Be Called Woman”: Ancient Near Eastern Sources of Imagery, in *Woman's Art Journal*, Vol. 2, № 2 (Autumn, 1981 – Winter, 1982), 37–41.
- Zaccaria – Sutton** Zaccaria, A. and Sutton, K. The Original Patron of MS Latin 757 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 125, № 960 (Mars 1983), 160–61.