

New Approaches to Byzantine History and Culture

Series Editors
Florin Curta
University of Florida
FL, USA

Leonora Neville
University of Wisconsin Madison
WI, USA

Shaun Tougher
Cardiff University
Cardiff, UK

New Approaches to Byzantine History and Culture publishes high-quality scholarship on all aspects of Byzantine culture and society from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries, presenting fresh approaches to key aspects of Byzantine civilization and new studies of unexplored topics to a broad academic audience. The series is a venue for both methodologically innovative work and ground-breaking studies on new topics, seeking to engage medievalists beyond the narrow confines of Byzantine studies. The core of the series is original scholarly monographs on various aspects of Byzantine culture or society, with a particular focus on books that foster the interdisciplinarity and methodological sophistication of Byzantine studies. The series editors are interested in works that combine textual and material sources, that make exemplary use of advanced methods for the analysis of those sources, and that bring theoretical practices of other fields, such as gender theory, subaltern studies, religious studies theory, anthropology, etc. to the study of Byzantine culture and society.

More information about this series at
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14755>

Elena Ene D-Vasilescu

Heavenly Sustenance in Patristic Texts and Byzantine Iconography

Nourished by the Word

palgrave
macmillan

Elena Ene D-Vasilescu
Faculty of History and Wolfson College
University of Oxford
Oxford, UK

New Approaches to Byzantine History and Culture
ISBN 978-3-319-98985-3 ISBN 978-3-319-98986-0 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-98986-0>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018952929

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2018

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: © Science History Images / Alamy Stock Photo

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The ideas within this book are mainly supported by Byzantine, Patristic, and connected religious texts that refer to the spiritual needs of the human soul and to the saints. The first thought about writing it came when I discovered a particular fresco during my research that concerned the cult of St. Anne along the *Via Egnatia*. The image it depicts survived from 1361 in the Church of St. Mary Zahumska, on Ohrid Lake, Macedonia. It represents St. Anne breastfeeding the infant Mary.¹ My study about this piece has established that a local lord, Grgur Brankovic, ordered the shrine to be built and this holy person to be frescoed within—Grgur and his wife were praying for a child, and through their generous act they were hoping for the saint's intercession towards such an end (given the fact that Anne gave birth late in life, she is considered instrumental in mediating supplications with respect to maternity). Such a patronal gesture would have been in line with a long Byzantine tradition. For me personally it was important to determine the Biblical and Patristic sources that allowed such a rendering to be included among the traditional ecclesiastical images.

While doing research for the British Academy and History Faculty in Oxford, I came across seven more churches that have on their walls depictions of Anna breastfeeding. Despite the fact that none of them is dedicated to the saint, they contain the scene *Anna Galaktotrophousa*. All are located along the *Via Egnatia* or within easy access from it (this does

¹ Elena Ene D-Vasilescu, "A Case of Power and Subversion? The fresco of St. Anna nursing the child Mary from the Monastery of Zaum, Ohrid", *Byzantinoslavica*, vol. 70, 2012, nos. 1–2, pp. 241–272.

not mean that those are the only ones in the world containing this depiction—even though I doubt that there are many—but just that those which I found are concentrated in this area). This cannot be a coincidence. Obviously, barren women wishing children existed in other places of which culture was influenced by Byzantium. Especially the conspicuous absence of this iconographic motif in the vast territory of Russia is significant from this point of view; I have tried to find it depicted in the culture of that land with no positive results. Therefore, it does not seem that all these churches have been founded out of yearnings for an offspring. What is more intriguing is the fact that the representation of this iconographic scene began simultaneously (in the twelfth century) at both ends of the above-mentioned Southern European route. This also makes it impossible for the visual representations of *Anna lactans* to be the product of the same iconographic school, especially because the period between one illustration and the other is lengthier than 50 years. Even when the interval between two renderings is shorter, the places in which they occur are too far from one another to allow us reasonably affirm that they were accomplished by the same hand or conceived by the same mind. That observation and the existence of similar instances in history made me think that depictions of Anne breastfeeding scenes are reactions opposed to a particular strand in the theology of the time. As is known and will be further developed in the book, the appearance and rapid proliferation of icons as, for example, “The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul”, was one of the expressions of the hopes espoused by the organisers (some of them patrons of religious establishments) of Council of Ferrara-Florence concerning a reunion of Orthodox and Catholic churches.² Also Nicole Thierry provides an example through the decorative programme in the Church of Sts. Joachim and Anne, *Kızıl Çukur*, Cappadocia. She considers that it was created as “an attempt to comply with various understandings about the nature of Christ”³ specific to the sixth–seventh centuries, particularly to those taking place during the

²Giuseppe Alberigo (ed.), *Christian unity: the Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/9–1989*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1991.

³Nicole Thierry, “La Cappadoce de l’antiquité au moyen âge”, *Melanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Moyen Age*, vol. 110, no. 2 (1998), p. 888 [pp. 867–897]; republished in *Bibliothèque de l’Antiquité tardive* 4, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

reign of Emperor Heraclius (610–641), who supported monenergism⁴ to the detriment of monothelism.⁵

In a similar vein, the peculiarity of St. Anne breastfeeding image to the Southern European areas and to the period twelfth–fourteenth centuries makes it plausible that this was a response to the Bogomil Docetism, which devalued the importance of the matter and especially of the human body. Similarly, as Saska Bogevska-Capuano indicates, a representation as that of Trinity in Omorphokklesia Church near Kastoria (thirteenth century) as a *tricefalous* man could be interpreted as a counterreaction to the Manicheism of the Bogomils, even though she personally considered it rather a mark of Western influence in Byzantine iconography (unfortunately she does not say where in the West one can find a counterpart to it). An image like this suggests extra-corporality; I do not think however that the patron and/or the iconographer necessary conceived it having in mind for this figure to be an indicator from this perspective. Of course, the depictions of *Maria lactans* that circulated in the same period were also a factor in the portrayal of Anne suckling—they can even be considered a subtype of that representation—but the fact that the episode of the saint breastfeeding ceased being painted after the last remains of the Bogomils were eradicated, while that referring to Mary was still represented in the nineteenth century, as I have pointed in some detail somewhere else,⁶ supports my theory.

During my visit to Ohrid and Macedonia in general, and also to Serbia, I noticed how powerful the cult of this holy figure still is in that part of Europe. I already knew how much Sts. Nicholas, George, Dimitrios, and Catherine of Alexandria are revered in the south of the continent from my work on Byzantium and its heritage. During visits in northern countries, I discovered churches dedicated to the same saints. To shortly exemplify, Munich has two dedicated to St. Anne: one monastic and one parochial, both in an area called in its entirety the suburb of St. Anne's/St. Anna-Vorstadt. Also Eindhoven in the Netherlands has a church dedicated to St. George (Sint-Joris Kerk, Eindhoven-Stratum) and one to Saint Catherine of Alexandria (Catharina Kerk). Some of these places of worship hold well-attended evensongs in which they exclusively perform and listen to

⁴ Monenergism was the movement maintaining that in Christ there are two natures but a single energy.

⁵ Monothelism asserted that in Christ there are two natures but one will.

⁶ “A Case of Power and Subversion? The fresco of St. Anna nursing the child Mary from the Monastery of Zaum, Ohrid”, *Byzantinoslavica*, vol. 70, 2012, nos. 1–2, p. 267.

Byzantine music—their clergy publicise these religious services as being “Byzantine”.

My curiosity was incited to find out how the cult of the native southern saints has arrived in the North and survived so well in spite of its distance from the territories of the empire where it originates. Also the discovery of iconography representing breastfeeding compelled me to find out what determined the Byzantine artists to start rendering such scenes concomitantly at the extremities of the Egnatian Way. And I began researching both these topics; they are logically connected since the circulation of the cult of a saint entailed the proliferation of iconographic scenes and motifs related to him or her.

The results of this effort lead to the conclusion that at least in the case of saints’ veneration—and in many others, notably in trade—the divide East-West with which historiography operates should be replaced by a South-North one. There is no need for me to explicitly point out in the book each case which illustrates this necessity; it will be evident throughout. I had discussed the idea with colleagues and students when I came across an article rich in substance, as all his writings are, published by Peter Brown in 1976, “Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of the Ways”, in *The Orthodox Churches and the West* journal.⁷ I was glad to discover in that material the same idea and to find out that it derives from Edward Gibbon’s *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*⁸—a fact acknowledged by the Princeton scholar. Then I obtained a grant from the British Academy to follow my deductions through library and field work and thus the book came into being. Therefore, my thanks go to this institution for sponsoring the project whose results I include in the volume and to the colleagues at the Faculties of History and Theology, University of Oxford, especially those from the Byzantine, Patristics, Late Antiquity, as well as Classical and Mediaeval Studies, who shared their expertise and friendship with me and offered me opportunities to present extracts from the book to students and colleagues. Among them, I am especially grateful to Mark Edwards, Averil Cameron, Jonathan Sheppard, Jane Humphries, Alexander Lingas, Mary

⁷ Peter Brown, “Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of the Ways”, in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, Oxford: Blackwell, vol. 13 (ed. Derek Baker) 1976.

⁸ Edward Gibbon, “Introduction. Notes to the second edition”, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1, 1776; London: Strahan & Cadell, second edition, 1814, vol. 1.

Cunningham, Sebastian Brock (a good friend, who, with his wife Helen, has always been kind and encouraging towards me and my work), Cyril and Marlia Mango, Ralph Cleminson, Elizabeth Jeffreys, Alina Birzache, Mallica Kumbera Landrus, Paul Fiddes, Elizabeth Theokritoff, Bryan Ward-Perkins, the Right Rev. Dr Kallistos Ware, Yoanna Tsvetanova Planchette, John Watts, and Chris Wickham. I thank also the colleagues at San Marco's Procuratoria, especially those from the Technical Office for allowing me to take all the photos from Venice included here. David Smith, the librarian of Saint Anne's College in Oxford; Gilia Slocock, the editor of *Saint Anne in History and Art* (1999) published by the same institution; and their colleagues who put at my disposal all the material they hold in connection to its patron saint. Also the librarians in the Old Bodleian, History, Theology, Sackler, Wolfson College, and Christ Church in Oxford were very solicitous to my efforts in bringing this work to fruition. Peter, my husband, patiently endured my busy schedule and I am grateful to him for this. Other friends and colleagues were involved professionally and morally, sustaining me through discussions, indications regarding bibliography, and in various other ways. I truly regret that I cannot mention all of them here. Of course, all shortcomings of the book are my own responsibility.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
2	The Connection Between Heavenly Nurture and Biological Sustenance in the Ancient World	7
2.1	<i>The Greco-Romans</i>	7
2.2	<i>Scripture and Patristics</i>	9
2.2.1	<i>Nourishment in General</i>	9
2.2.2	<i>Milk Nourishing</i>	15
3	Other Faith Encounters and Instances of Milk Nourishment	33
3.1	<i>Mystics and Milk</i>	33
3.2	<i>Martyrs and Milk</i>	40
4	Anne's Veneration as a Part of the Cult of the Saints	43
5	Patristic Texts About Saint Anne's Role as an Intercessor with Regard to the Alleviation of People's Barrenness and Healing in General: Proliferation of Her Cult	55
5.1	<i>The Origin of St. Anne's Cult and Its Dissemination in Europe and Beyond</i>	58

6	St. Anne as the Prototype of a Saint Connected with Healing and Milk Nourishing: Introducing Various Additional Textual Sources, Including the Apocrypha	79
6.1	<i>Selected Mainstream Christian Literature About Anne Breastfeeding Her Daughter</i>	79
6.2	<i>Apocryphal Texts About Anne Breastfeeding Her Daughter</i>	82
6.2.1	<i>The Protoevangelion</i>	82
6.2.2	<i>Pseudo-Matthew</i>	89
6.2.3	<i>Variant Texts</i>	91
6.3	<i>What These Apocryphal Sources Say About Anne's Biography and the Events Leading to Mary's Birth?</i>	94
6.4	<i>How the Apocryphal Sources Refer to Anne Breastfeeding the Infant Mary?</i>	103
7	<i>Anna Lactans/Galaktotrophousa</i> Iconographic Motif Between the Twelfth and the Fourteenth Centuries	109
7.1	<i>St. Anne Nursing in the Iconography Along the Via Egnatia Between the Twelfth and the Fourteenth Centuries</i>	109
8	The Bogomils and Iconography	141
8.1	<i>The Bogomils</i>	142
8.2	<i>Bogomils and Iconography</i>	152
9	Conclusion	159
	Bibliography	165
	Index	191

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur</i> [Acts of the saints worshiped throughout the world], Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–1940; original ed., 67 vols.—J. Bolland et al. (eds.)
ABull	The Art Bulletin
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
Apocrypha	<i>Apocrypha. Revue internationale des litteratures Apocryphes</i>
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellenique
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica</i> —S. J., (ed.), vols. 1–3, third edition, Brussels, 1957
Bibliotheca veterum Patrum	Bibliotheca veterum Patrum antiquorumque scriptorium ecclesiasticorum graecorum, postrema Lugdunensi longe locupletior atque accuratior—Andreas Gallandi (ed.), 1765–1788—J. B. Albritii Hieron, Venice, vols. 1–14
BMMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
BNJ	Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbuche
Byz	Byzantion. Revue internationale des etudes Byzantines
ByzSlav	Byzantinoslavica
ByzZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CFBS	Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae
CMP	Corpus Marianum patristicum—Sergius Alvarez Campos (ed.), Burgos, 1970–1985, vols. 1–8

CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum: qua optima quaeque scriptorum patrum Graecorum recensione a primaevis saeculis usque ad octavum commode recluduntur—M. Geerard, F. Glorie; F. Winkelmann, and J. Desmet (eds.), Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1987, vols. 1–6
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
HER	English Historical Review, 1886–present
JMEMS	<i>Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies</i>
JTS	<i>The Journal of Theological Studies</i>
JWI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LXX	The Septuagint
MARIANUM	<i>Marianum Journal</i>
MonPiot	Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugene Piot
MS	Mediaeval Studies
NCE	<i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
NPNF	Selected Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers; H. Wace and P. Schaff (eds.)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NRSV 1995	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible: general articles & introduction, commentary & reflections for each book of the Bible, including the Apocryphal/ Deuterocanonical books in twelve volumes.</i> v. 9 [The Gospel of Luke, The Gospel of John], Nashville
NT	Novum Testamentum
Numen	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions</i>
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> A. P. Kazhdan, A. M. Talbot et Alii (eds.), I–III, New York/Oxford, 1991
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>
PG	Patrologia cursus completus, Series Graeca
PL	Patrologia cursus completus, Series Latina
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SCH	Studies in church history
Speculum	<i>Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies</i>
SVTQ	<i>St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly</i>

LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. 3.1 The miraculous lactation of St. Bernard de Clairvaux, The Vision of St Bernard), Alonso Cano, c. 1650, Museo del Prado/Prado Museum, Madrid (Image sourced in https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alonso_Cano_-_The_Vision_of_St_Bernard_-_WGA4005.jpg) 38
- Fig. 5.1 *Saint Anne with the Virgin*, attributed to Angelos Akotantos, second quarter of the fifteenth century; egg tempera on wood primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf; 106×76 cm, Candia, Crete; now in Benaki Museum, Athens; inv. No. 2998 (Maria Vassilaki (ed.), *The Hand of Angelos: an icon-painter in Venetian Crete*, the catalogue of an exhibition with the same title organised in November 2010–January 2011, Farnham: Ashgate, and Athens: Benaki Museum, 2010, pl. 44, p. 190, caption. 191.) The brilliant colour evokes an awareness of the profound sanctity implicit in the composition. A faked signature assumed to be that of Emmanuel Tzanes and the date 1637 were added on the icon at the beginning of the twentieth century. During the recent cleaning and conservation of the icon, it was decided to keep this inscription as evidence of the preferences shown by collectors in those days (© The Archives/Alamy Stock Photo and ©2018 Benaki Museum, Athens; for Benaki the photographer is Leonidas Kourgiantakis) 77
- Fig. 6.1 The Prayer of St. Anne and the annunciation to her; mosaic from Chora Monastery/Kahriye Camii, c. 1310, Istanbul; personal photo, June 2015. (This illustration is documented in A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, Bollingen Series LXX/Pantheon Books, New York, 1966, vol. 1. pp. comments on

- pp. 64–65; image in vol. 2, pl. 85, pp. 92–95; 94 is colour, 93 and 95 details black and white; according to him the images date from c. 1316 to 1321) 101
- Fig. 6.2 The first celebration of Mary's birthday; the priests bless the child. A sequence from the iconographic cycle "Life of the Mother of God", walls of the *gropnița* (burial chamber) of the church at Humor Monastery, Romania, 1535 (Balaban Bara, *The Political and Artistic Program of Prince Petru Rareș of Moldavia*, Annex 1, p. xxii.). The episode is also included in the Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1162 (*Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1162*, fol. 46v, second quarter of twelfth-century, Rome, Vatican Library. The image from this document is reproduced in Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, vol. 1, fig. 75, p. 125.) (The image is used by permission from Dr. Adriana Balaban Bara; she included it herself in her chapter "The Lives of Joachim and Anne Depicted in the Church of Humor Monastery, Moldavia (Romania)" within the book edited by Elena Ene D-Vasilescu, *Devotion to St. Anne from Byzantium to the Middle Ages* (ed.), Palgrave, 2018, pp. 1–31) 105
- Fig. 6.3 The Virgin's first steps towards her mother, Chora Monastery/Kariye Djami, Istanbul, mosaic, c. 1320. (Personal photo, June 2015. The image is reproduced in P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami: the mosaics*, vol. 2, Pl. 88, p. 104 for the colour reproduction; p. 105 for the black and white version. This work contains also an illustration of *Anna Eleousa* from the same period, p. 314. For the first steps scene, see also D. R. Cartlidge and J. K. Elliott, *Art & Christian Apocrypha*, p. 28, fig. 2.6 (a black and white image). The colour photograph shows better that the scene is rendered in mosaic. (In addition to the reproductions of the mosaic depicting the Virgin's first steps in Kariye Djami shown here, there is also a fresco in Nerezi Church which represents St.-Panteleimon, the Nativity of the Virgin (but not the milk-nursing scene), and the Presentation to the Temple. Sašo Korunovski and Elizabeta Dimitrova, *Macédoine Byzantine. Histoire de l'art macédonien du IXe au XIVe siècle*, Thalia, Paris, 2006, trans. A. Cirier (the original Italian edition, Milan: Jaca Book Sp. A, 2006), pp. 67–69, caption p. 67, fig. 46.) The latter two authors state that this image is a fresco, but actually it is a mosaic; this is more noticeable in the colour photograph I have taken in June 2015) 107
- Fig. 7.1 Saints Joachim and Anna (nursing). St. George Church, Kurbinovo, 1191 (Personal photo taken in August 2011. The

- image exists in Cvetan Grozdanov, *Kurbinovo and Other Studies on Prespa Frescoes*, Skopje 2006, p. [172]; it is also reproduced (poorer quality) in Cvetan Grozdanov and Lydie Hadermann Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, Skopje 1991, fig. 26 in the respective book. (In Lydie Hadermann-Misguich's book *Kurbinovo. Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XII siècle*, Brussels, 1975, there is no mention of an image of Anna nursing (or any of Joachim). Looking at the photographs reproduced in the second volume of this book (especially fig. 6 'Interior view of the east part of the church'; black and white) I noticed that this particular fresco is missing from the wall. The only possible explanation for its absence is that when Hadermann-Misguich did her research in Kurbinovo the wall on which Joachim and Anne are depicted was undergoing restoration; today the respective wall is almost half white and I assume that the loss is a consequence of that work.)) 115
- Fig. 7.2 St. Anne, little Mary, and Joachim. The Church of the Twelve Apostles, Thessaloniki. (Personal photos 2011) 116
- Fig. 7.3 St. Anne nursing the child Mary in the Church of the Peribleptos, Mistra, 1348. (The image is presented as a part of the iconographic cycle of Mary's infancy; personal photo, August 2013. (There is a black and white reproduction of this fragment of fresco in Cutler, "The Cult of *Galaktotrophousa* in Byzantium and Italy", fig. 6, p. 181; discussion about St. Anne on p 175)) 118
- Fig. 7.4 St. Anne nursing the child Mary in St. Stephen Church, Kastoria/Castoria, 1360s. (Personal photo; August 2013. (There is reproduction of this image in Ιωάννης Σίσσιου—Ioannes Sisiou, "Η μερική ανανέωση της ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Στεφάνου στην Καστοριά κατά τον 13ο και 14ο αιώνα" (pp. 273–291), in *Nju i Vizantijsa* [Niš and Byzantium] VII; in the publication the image of St. Anne is on p. 290, fig. 8. See also S. Gerstel "Painted Sources for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 52 (1998), pp. 89–111; Pelekanides and Chatzidakis, *Καστοριά*, pp. 6–21 and S. M. Pelekanides, *Καστοριά*, Makedonike Bibliothke 17, Hetaireia Byzantinon Spoudon, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1953, pl. 101b. I have published my photo also in Ene D-Vasilescu "A Case of Power and Subversion?", fig. 20 on p. 270; the editors of the journal gave me permission to include it here)) 119

- Fig. 7.5 (a, b) St Anne nursing the child Mary in the Church of Virgin Mary [Bogorodica] Zahumska, Trpejca village, Peštani, Macedonia, 1361. (Personal photos, August 2011) 120
- Fig. 7.6 (a, b) Sculpture (bas-relief) of St. Anne nursing Mary. Column A supporting the ciborium above the high altar in St. Mark, Venice; 1105 (?). (Photos taken in August 2011) 120
- Fig. 7.7 (a) The birth of the Virgin (*La nascita Della Vergine*)—and her first feeding with milk. Mosaic in the Western Bay of the south transept. The caption referring to Anne giving birth is above: “HECIAPITHECNVTPIT HIC SVSCIPIT HECBENDICIT”/“This [woman] feeds, she nourishes, here [she] sustains and blesses.” Both images, (a) and (b) could be re-workings by Dominicus Gigola/Cicola (1690) of the original tableaux from 1084. (My photo; conditions for taking photographs are difficult as the mosaic is on the high ceiling). (b) “Rejection of Joachim and Anne’s offering” with the misplaced inscription describing the previous scene 130