

THE THREE MARRIAGES OF ST. ANNE:
POEMS FROM ENGELBERG, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK 117

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THE legend of St. Anne's three marriages developed gradually in Western Europe starting in earnest in the ninth century with the *Historiae sacrae epitome*, attributed to Haimo of Auxerre (†865/6) but probably not by him,¹ and reaching widespread recognition in the thirteenth century through two hugely popular Dominican texts: the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (†1298) and the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (†1264).² In all of these works, Anne's marriages, daughters, and famous grandsons are mentioned in the context of explaining the parentage of the Virgin Mary, and thus also the ancestry of Jesus, rather than making Anne the centerpiece of the story. For this she had to wait until the late fifteenth century when her cult rose to great prominence, especially in Northern Europe where she was venerated as a patron saint by both men and women belonging predominantly to the nobility or the urban middle class.³

¹ See *Clavis scriptorum latinorum medii aevi, Auctores Galliae 735–937*, vol. 3, ed. Marie-Hélène Jullien (Turnhout, 2010), 276–78; and Thomas N. Hall, "The Earliest Anglo-Latin Text of the *Trinubium Annae* (BHL 505zl)," in *Via Crucis. Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. Thomas N. Hall (Morgantown, 2002), 104–37, at 108–11. The *Epitome* is printed in PL 118:817–74; the material on the *trinubium* is found in bk. 2, chap. 3 (PL 118:824BC).

² For excellent accounts on the twists and turns of Anne's story in the West, see Antonio Placanica, "Tradizione, esegesi e teologia nella *Iosephina* di Giovanni Gerson (Il *Trinubium* di Sant'Anna, La Genealogia di Christo, Le Nozze di Maria e Giuseppe)," in *La scrittura infinita. Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica*, ed. Francesco Stella (Florence, 2001), 213–57, at 215–23; Hall, "Earliest Anglo-Latin Text of the *Trinubium Annae*"; Kati Ichnat, "Early Evidence for the Cult of Anne in Twelfth-Century England," *Traditio* 69 (2014): 1–44; and Jennifer Welsh, *The Cult of St. Anne in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London and New York, 2017), 21–27. For the editions of the *Legenda aurea* and the *Speculum historiale*, see nn. 26 and 38 below.

³ Welsh, *Cult of St. Anne*, 11, 35; and see 28–30 for the active promotion of the cult by the Flemish Carmelites in the late fifteenth century.

The fascinating religious, social, and iconographical implications of these later developments are not, however, the focus of the present study. Instead, I will be examining one particular aspect of St. Anne's textual legacy, namely, the corpus of mnemonic verses that were composed in the Middle Ages in an effort to capture in an easily retainable form the saint's intricate genealogical connections, whether real or imaginary.

In his groundbreaking article of 1925 Max Förster collected twelve poems on Anne's *trinubium*, which is still the largest collection of poetic texts on the topic to appear in print.⁴ Since then, there have been a few developments: first, new poems or variations of old ones have emerged, mostly in codices from the fifteenth century and after,⁵ thus providing further confirmation of the interest in St. Anne's cult in the late Middle Ages; second, additional manuscript witnesses have been identified for the already known texts;⁶ and finally, scholars have been interested in exploring the particular contexts in which the poems were copied in the manuscripts. The Engelberg collection of seven poems on St. Anne's family tree, edited and examined below, offers further contributions to these research areas. I have also included an Appendix of nine additional poems, six of which offer revisions and expansions of previously known poems (Appendix, nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9), and another three represent previously unrecorded recensions (Appendix, nos. 1, 2, 3).

⁴ Max Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium der hl. Anna," in *Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift Johannes Hoops zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolfgang Keller (Heidelberg, 1925), 105–30, at 107–12. Förster prints in full the first ten of the poems (his nos. 1–10), and provides only incipits for the last two pieces, which he found in two Cambrai codices. Förster's no. 11 (*inc.* "Sunt duo de quinque: Salome, Cleophas, Ioachimque") is still found only in Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 977 (s. XII–XIII), fol. 162v (8 vv.), whereas his no. 12 (*inc.* "Est, tuus, Anna, pater Ysachar, Nazaphat tua mater") is now known from four fifteenth-century manuscripts rather than Förster's one: Brussels, Royal Library 2653–62, fol. 112r–v; Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 260 (250), incorrectly cited as 259 in Förster; Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek 535, fol. 45r; and Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Leonth. 10 Nr. 3, fol. 53r (upper margin); the manuscript can be consulted at <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/msma/content/pageview/5104749>. The full text of the poem found in this manuscript is included below (Appendix, no. 7). For the moment, it is unclear whether the other manuscript witnesses contain the same text.

⁵ Some examples are included below (Appendix, nos. 7, 8, 9).

⁶ See Hall, "Earliest Anglo-Latin Text of the *Trinubium Annae*," 112 n. 20.

I. THE *TRINUBIUM* POEMS IN ENGELBERG, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK 117

As I have discussed elsewhere,⁷ Engelberg 117 is a composite codex of three booklets, the main codicological unit of which represents a thoroughly refashioned copy of Peter Riga's *Aurora* (fols. 2r–240r). At an unknown date, but probably sometime in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the original manuscript, dated to 1203 in a scribal verse colophon on fol. 4v, was copied, dismantled, and reassembled with the purpose of incorporating into a new codicological reality the expansions to Riga's poem that belong to both the third authorial version of the work and Aegidius of Paris's two later revisions.⁸

The process of updating the *Aurora* text was a complex undertaking compounded by the large number of new verses that needed to be fitted into their appropriate places. While producing a new copy of the original early thirteenth-century codex, the Engelberg scribe or scribal team was faced with various problems which were solved in three ways: 1) by including the shorter new *addenda* in the margins; 2) by creating new full-size quires for the longer accretions such as entire biblical books; and 3) by adding throughout the codex small scraps of parchment on which supplementary text was introduced (as many as twenty-five such pieces were inserted into the manuscript). These various parts, i.e., the recopied quires of the original 1203 codex, the new quires with the complete biblical books of Riga's third version, and the scraps mostly containing Aegidius's accretions, were then reassembled, bound together, and given consecutive numbering. The enterprise was for the most part successful, even though the scribes occasionally had to include instructions for the reader on how to navigate the various rearranged sections.⁹

The inserted pieces of parchment are the most intriguing element of this already fascinating codex. A close examination of their contents reveals that in addition to material belonging to the *Aurora*'s textual realm, such as Aegidius's revisions, they contain some previously unattested verses.¹⁰

⁷ Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "The Verse Book of Revelation in Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 117," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 55/1 (2020): 113–24.

⁸ See Paul E. Beichner, ed., *Aurora: Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata: A Verse Commentary on the Bible*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, 1965), 1:xvii–xx.

⁹ Dinkova-Bruun, "Verse Book of Revelation," 119 nn. 25 and 28.

¹⁰ This phenomenon is observed frequently in the manuscript copies of the *Aurora*, which often preserve additional poetic material copied in the margins and other

The ones of interest for the present study are found on two small parchment pieces added before Riga's *Euangelium* as fols. 154 and 158.¹¹ These verses are printed here, with the orthography of the manuscript adopted throughout. Some letters in the inner margin of fol. 158r are not visible in the digital reproduction of the manuscript,¹² because the scrap was too tightly bound; these have been added in angular brackets.

1.¹³

	Vt scriptura docet, erat Esmeria soror Anne.	154v
	Anna tribus nupsit: Ioachim, Cleophe, Salomeque, ¹⁴	
	Istorum cuiuis unam parit Anna Mariam.	
	Virgo prima Iesum peperit Ioseph sociata;	
5	Iste Ioseph Cleophe germanus dicitur esse.	
	Altera fit Iacobi, Ioseph, Symonisque, Thadei	
	Mater et Alpheo datur uxor et est pater horum:	
	Hic Iacobus minor atque Ioseph Iustus re[...?]. ¹⁵	
	Post Zebedea parit magnum Iacobumque Iohannem.	
10	Esmeria per Achim parit Elyzabeth Eliudque,	
	Baptistam Domini parit Elyzabeth Zacharie,	
	Ast Eliud nati Seruatius ac Emiu sunt [?]. ¹⁶	

blank spaces around Riga's poem. See Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Poetic Attraction: Anonymous Verses in Two Manuscripts of Peter Riga's *Aurora*," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 53 (2018): 423–42. In the context of Anne's *trinubium* poems, see below, Appendix, no. 7, where two further manuscripts of the *Aurora* are discussed.

¹¹ In fact, the two additional scraps with the poems about St. Anne are part of a section of five folios that contain preliminaries to Riga's Gospel versification, including a list of Gospel prose tituli (fols. 155r–156v) and two of Aegidius's later verse accretions (fol. 157r–v). The text of Riga's *Euangelium* begins on fol. 159r. For more detailed description of the contents of the codex, see Dinkova-Bruun, "Verse Book of Revelation," 117–21.

¹² It can be consulted at <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bke/0117>.

¹³ This poem is found neither in Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium" nor in Hans Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum*, 2d ed. (Göttingen, 1969).

¹⁴ The same verse is repeated in the next poem, v. 5, as well as in Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium," 110, no. 7, v. 1. See also Appendix, no. 1, v. 1.

¹⁵ The remaining letters of this word are unclear; perhaps "retinetur" could be proposed as a solution.

¹⁶ The scribe writes here "Emiu duc" or "Emiu suc," neither of which is easy to understand. I propose to read "sunt" for the manuscript's "duc/suc." Another solution

2.¹⁷

⟨E⟩smeriam legimus Annamque fuisse sorores 158r
 ⟨Qu⟩as inter matres fecit genitura priores.
 ⟨Hec⟩ fuit Esmeria mater de matre Iohannis;¹⁸
 Anna uiros habuit plures, sed pluribus annis.
 5 Anna tribus nupsit: Ioachim, Cleophe, Salomeque¹⁹
 Que pregnans partum de quolibet edidit eque:
 De Ioachim matrem Domini sine patre Mariam,
 De Cleopha, que post Alpheo nupta, Mariam.
 ⟨Hec⟩ genuit Iudam, Symonem, Iacobumque minorem
 10 Quos ad apostolicum Christus prouexit honorem.
 Tercia de Saloma concepta Maria Zebedeo
 Nupsit, ab hac satus est euangelista Iohannes
 Et Iacobus maior, qui maior ob hoc reputatus²⁰
 Est, prior a Domino quia dicitur esse uocatus.

3.²¹

Anna uiro Ioachim peperit te, Virgo Marya,
 Ex qua processit sine semine uera sophya.
 ⟨P⟩ost hunc a Cleopha genuit tibi, Virgo, sororem
 Que parit Alpheo Ioseph Iacobumque minorem.

would be to replace “Emiu duc/suc” with “Emineu” which is the more widely accepted name of Eliud’s son attested in the *Legenda aurea* (see n. 47 below). Both these solutions, however, imply that Eliud had two sons, Seruatius and Emiu/Emineu, which is not the case, since Seruatius was Eliud’s grandson, not his son. A possible explanation could be that the poet uses the word “nati” broadly, meaning that both son and grandson stem from Eliud as the patriarch of the family.

¹⁷ This poem is found neither in Förster, “Die Legende vom Trinubium” nor in Walther, *Initia*.

¹⁸ Translate: “And John’s mother [i.e., Elizabeth] was born from her mother Esmeria.” This John is John the Baptist.

¹⁹ The same verse is repeated in the previous poem, v. 2 as well as in Förster, “Die Legende vom Trinubium,” 110, no. 7, v. 1. See also Appendix, no. 1, v. 1.

²⁰ Vv. 13–14: for a similar explanation of the nicknames of the two Jameses, see Appendix, no. 4, vv. 4–5.

²¹ Förster, “Die Legende vom Trinubium,” 108–9, no. 3; and Walther, *Initia*, no. 1067. Förster found the poem in nine manuscripts, the earliest dating from the twelfth century (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 17151, front cover). One verse, “Tres tribus Anna uiris fertur peperisse Marias” (which is also seen below in Engel-

5 ⟨Hoc⟩ quoque defuncto cuidam Salome copulatur,²²
 De qua natorum Zebedei genitrix generatur.
 Sic tribus una uiris peperit tres Anna Marias.

4.²³

Tres Ioachim, Cleophe, Salome parit Anna Marias. 158v
 Prima Ioseph iuncta, media Alpheo, Zebedeo
 Tercia; prima Deum, Ioseph Iacobumque secunda,
 Tercia maiorem Iacobum genuitque Iohannem.

5.²⁴

Tres tribus Anna uiris fertur peperisse Marias.
 Per Ioachim primam fertur genuisse Mariam,
 In qua Saluator fit homo mundique Redemptor.
 Defuncto Ioachim Cleophe mox nupserat Anna
 5 Et mox per Cleopham generata secunda Maria.
 Nupserat Alpheo que concipiebat ab illo
 Ioseph et Symonem, Iudam, Iacobumque minorem.
 Post mortem Cleophe Salome mox nupserat Anna,
 Quo patre concipitur mox tertia nata Maria
 10 Que Zebedeo coniuncta duos generauit
 Ordine maiorem Iacobum sanctumque Iohannem.²⁵

6.²⁶

Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias,
 Quas genuere uiri Ioachim, Cleophas, Salomeque.

berg, no. 5, v. 1), was added at the beginning of the poem in four additional manuscripts from the thirteenth century. The piece, without the added verse, is printed among the *carmina miscellanea* of Hildebert of Le Mans († 1133) in PL 171:1425BC, no. LXXX; and in Placanica, “Tradizione, esegesi e teologia,” 225. For a different expanded version of this poem, see Appendix, no. 8.

²² copulatur] sociatur MS *sup.l.*

²³ See Walther, *Initia*, no. 19394, with two witnesses mentioned, neither of which is Engelberg 117. The poem is missing from Förster’s corpus.

²⁴ See Walther, *Initia*, no. 19420, titled “De tribus Mariis.” Again, the poem is missing from Förster’s corpus, even though he mentions the incipit as preserved in four of the manuscripts for his poem 3 (see n. 21 above).

²⁵ For a discussion of this verse, see n. 28 below.

²⁶ Förster, “Die Legende vom Trinubium,” 110–11, no. 8; and Walther, *Initia*, no.

Has duxere uiri Ioseph, Alpheus, Zebedeus.
 Prima Iesum, Ioseph et Iacobum peperisse secunda
 5 Creditur et preter illos²⁷ cum Symone Iudam.
 Tercia maiorem Iacobum sanctumque²⁸ Iohannem.

7.²⁹

Ex Ioachim, Cleopha, Saloma tres Anna Marias
 Quas habuit, iunxit Ioseph, Alpheo, Zebedeo:
 Vnius hec mater, hec quatuor, illa duorum.

1060, where it is titled “De genealogia trium Mariarum” and said to be preserved in thirty-two manuscripts. The poem exists in versions of five and six verses, both printed in Förster. A version of eight verses is included below (Appendix, no. 9), and a slightly revised recension is seen in Appendix, no. 6. The six-line version was included in the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, which accounts for its huge popularity (on this more below); Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, ed. and trans. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence, 2007), 1006–7, chap. 127: *De natiuitate Sancte Marie uirginis*, 26; printed also in Placanica, “Tradizione, esegesi e teologia,” 222.

²⁷ illos] illas MS

²⁸ This word seems to be a point at which the manuscripts diverge the most. The best-known version has “uolucremque,” while William de Montibus (Appendix, no. 6, v. 6) uses “fratremque.” Förster also gives “filiumque” in his *apparatus criticus* (“Die Legende vom Trinubium,” 111). Verse 6 of the poem is seen also as v. 11 of Engelberg, no. 5; the only difference seems to be the replacement of the initial word “tercia” with “ordine,” a variant that to my knowledge is not attested anywhere else.

²⁹ Förster, “Die Legende vom Trinubium,” 111–12, no. 10; and Walther, *Initia*, no. 5992. The poem exists in two versions; the original version of three verses, as seen here, was later expanded with two additional lines: “Christum prima; Ioseph, Iacobum cum Symone, Iudam || Altera; que sequitur, Iacobum parit atque Iohannem.” See also Appendix, nos. 4 and 7, which preserve two other expansions of the piece. According to Förster, the earliest manuscript witness of the three-line version is Oxford, Trinity College 34, fol. 133v, dating to the end of the twelfth century; see Richard Gameson, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Trinity College, Oxford: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Oxford, 2018), 233–40. The piece is printed in its original three-line version in Placanica, “Tradizione, esegesi e teologia,” 224 n. 67; and Greti Dinkova-Bruun, “Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII): The Biblical Anthology from York Minster Library (Ms. XVI Q 14),” *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002): 61–110, at 83, no. 21.

II. DISCUSSION OF THE ENGELBERG POEMS

It is evident that the *trinubium* poems in Engelberg 117 were intentionally collected and added to the *Aurora* manuscript when it was remodelled in the early fourteenth century. Verses on Anne's three marriages tended to attract each other in the manuscripts,³⁰ but the situation in Engelberg 117 is quite exceptional. If in normal circumstances the clusters of the poems grew organically and gradually,³¹ here we see a collection of poetic texts of different popularity and diffusion: there are some well-known representatives of the tradition that are preserved in multiple manuscript copies and have previously been printed (nos. 3, 6, 7); two of the Engelberg poems have also been identified in other manuscripts but have never previously been printed in full (nos. 4, 5); and the remaining two pieces offer new, previously unattested versions that capture new textual and devotional developments (nos. 1, 2). The general tendency is for the poems to incorporate into Anne's apocryphal genealogy an increasing number of family members. In the following, I will discuss each of the Engelberg poems, from the least detailed to the most complete.

It is tantalizing to imagine that the number of poems collected in Engelberg 117 is not random. The number seven in a Christian context is linked to such important sets of seven as the petitions in the Lord's prayer, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the vices, the virtues, and the Beatitudes.³² This powerful symbolism could have played a role in the creation of this particular poetic dossier on St. Anne and her family.

The order of the poems is also suggestive. The collection opens with two texts that are not only the longest (twelve and fourteen hexameters re-

³⁰ See for instance Oxford, Trinity College 34, where three *trinubium* poems are found on fol. 133v (two in the lower margin) and an additional one on fol. 135v; see Gameson, *Medieval Manuscripts of Trinity College*, 235. These four poems are printed in Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium," nos. 1, 4, 6, 10.

³¹ A frequent scenario observed in the manuscripts is for a second Anne-poem to be added to an already existing one, often by a different hand; see Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. D.4.10 (s. XIII, Reading), fol. 593r; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 56 (s. XIII–XV), fol. 292r; and Reg. lat. 29 (a. 1523–37), fol. 148r. The poems preserved in these manuscripts are discussed below, Appendix, nos. 4, 5 n. 63, and 9.

³² See Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "*Libera nos a malo*: Discussion of *Luxuria* as Evil in the Preaching Manual *Qui bene presunt*," *Mediaeval Studies* 80 (2018): 231–52, at 232 and n. 9.

spectively), but also unique because in addition to being previously unattested they contain information that no other poem in the tradition has ever included (see below, Section II.3). It thus seems that the compiler of the Engelberg corpus wanted to afford a place of prominence to these two texts which might have been composed specifically for this occasion.

II.1. Anne and Her Daughters

The poem giving the bare minimum of information on the *trinubium* is the last one (Engelberg, no. 7). Here only the members of the first two generations are named and altogether ten people are involved: Anne and her three husbands (Joachim, Cleophas, Salome), and the three Marys and their respective husbands (Joseph, Alpheus, Zebedeus). For the third generation, Anne's grandsons, no names are given—the poem simply states that the first Mary gave birth to one child, the second Mary to four, and the third Mary to two. Thus, it is not surprising that the poem was repeatedly expanded, and at present we know of three such revisions:³³ (a) the first expansion, which is the best-known continuation and probably the most logical one, appends the names of all seven sons of the three Marys: Christ, Joseph (Justus or Barsabas), James (the Less), Simon, Judas (or Jude Thaddeus), James (the Greater), and John (the Evangelist), thus increasing the number of family members in the poem from ten to seventeen. The added verses, however, do not provide any of the epithets that distinguish between individuals bearing the same first names (Joseph or James); (b) in the second expansion, the two verses added at the end are less successful, since they speak only about the two Jameses and explain their designations “maior” and “minor,” glossing over the other five boys (Appendix, no. 4); and finally (c), the third expansion, which in fact adds one verse at the beginning of the first expansion, bringing into the picture Anne's apocryphal parents Ysachar and Nazaphat and thus adding yet another, older generation to the family tree as well as two further players, for a total of nineteen (Appendix, no. 7).

II.2. Anne, Her Daughters, and Her Grandsons

The next level of versified information is found in Engelberg, nos. 3 and 4, where Anne and her husbands, the three Marys and their husbands, and

³³ See n. 29 above.

five of Anne's grandsons are included, with Mary Cleophas's sons Simon and Judas Thaddeus missing from this genealogy. Engelberg, no. 4 represents a very standard version, with nothing remarkable to comment upon, but it still diligently provides all fifteen names of the family members in question.

Engelberg, no. 3 is different. This is an acclaimed poem because of its spurious attribution to Hildebert of Le Mans, one of the most celebrated poets of the late eleventh to early twelfth century.³⁴ The piece has poetic ambitions as seen in the use of direct speech to address the Virgin Mary (vv. 1 and 3) and in the fact that the identities of some of the characters are implied rather than spelled out. Thus, Christ is called "uera sophya" born "sine semine," with Joseph completely removed; Mary Cleophas is explicitly called "a sister" of the Virgin; and in an alliterative turn Mary Zebedeus is procreated as the progenitor of her sons James the Greater and John the Evangelist, who are not given names in the poem but are simply referred to as the children of Zebedeus ("De qua natorum Zebedei genitrix generatur," v. 6). As a result, Engelberg, no. 3 gives only eleven of the fifteen names that should have been included here. These "defects" were clearly recognized by the medieval readers, so the poem was reworked at least once in order to remedy the situation (see Appendix, no. 8). In the new version two added verses bring Joseph into the picture, while one line is slightly changed and another is inserted in order to include Simon and Judas Thaddeus among the sons of Mary Cleophas. The revised version also provides the additional nametag "Barsabas" for her son Joseph, thus distinguishing him from the husband of the Virgin.³⁵ The reviser was clearly aware that the original hexameters were of the rhyming variety, so he attempted to follow suit by adding in the second case a rhyming verse as well, although not precisely of the same type as the original.³⁶ The two new verses at the beginning are, however, of the non-rhyming kind and

³⁴ See n. 21 above.

³⁵ For Joseph's additional names, see Acts 1:23: "et statuerunt Ioseph, qui uocabatur Barsabban, qui cognominatus est Iustus, et Matthiam."

³⁶ The Ps.-Hildebert poem was written entirely in *Leonini caudati*, but the reviser provided a simple Leonine hexameter in which the caesura rhymes with the end of the line ("Ioseph Barsabam, Thadeum nomine Iudam," Appendix, no. 6, v. 7). The presence of the *cognomen* "Barsabas" is unique in the poetic tradition, and "Thaddeus" is also relatively rare, the only other cases being Engelberg, no. 1, v. 6; Appendix, no. 3, v. 10; and Appendix, no. 8, v. 7.

thus formally external to the rest of the poem's versifying mode.³⁷ Finally, it should be mentioned that even in this expanded text Christ, James the Greater, and John the Evangelist remain unnamed.

The next two poems (Engelberg, nos. 5 and 6) include from the onset all (or almost all) seventeen members of Anne's immediate family, although Engelberg, no. 5, which, as far as I can tell, has never been expanded, exhibits two peculiarities, both similar to features observed in the Ps.-Hilderbert poem discussed above: first, Christ is called "Saluator" and "mundi Redemptor" rather than being given his proper name (v. 3); and second, the Virgin's husband Joseph is left out of this Holy kinship, so in fact only sixteen family members are recognized in the poem. It is evident that in both the Ps.-Hildebertian text and in this one a conscious effort was made to omit Jesus's human father from the Saviour's ancestry and thus highlight Christ's divine origin.

We now arrive at Engelberg, no. 6, which is probably the most famous of all *trinubium* poems because of its inclusion in the thirteenth century in the hugely popular *Legenda aurea*,³⁸ although the text also circulated in-

³⁷ See Appendix, no. 8, vv. 1–2.

³⁸ See n. 26 above. The only other poem that perhaps comes close in popularity to this one is the four-line epigram included in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (Duaci, 1624), 4:225, chap. 12. This text, not included in the Engelberg collection, is printed in Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium," 110, no. 6; and Placanica, "Tradizione, esegesi e teologia," 223, who emends the first verse, but I think wrongly. I suspect that the seventeenth-century edition of Vincent's works mistakenly printed a conflated version of v. 1 ("Anna viros habuit Ioachim, Cleophe, Salomeque") which probably is not authorial. The text of the epigram reads

Anna tribus Ioachim, Cleophe, Salomeque Marias
Tres parit. Has ducunt Ioseph, Alpheus, Zebedeus.
Christum prima; Ioseph, Iacobum cum Symone, Iudam
Altera; que sequitur Iacobum parit atque Iohannem.

The precise same version is also found in three English poetic anthologies which were unknown to Förster; see Dinkova-Bruun, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII): The Biblical Anthology from York Minster Library (Ms. XVI Q 14)," 83, no. 20, and "Notes on Poetic Composition in the Theological Schools ca. 1200 and the Latin Poetic Anthology from Ms. Harley 956: A Critical Edition," *Sacris Erudiri* 43 (2004): 299–391, at 369, no. 162. The third anthology, preserved in London, Sion College, Ms. Arc. L. 40.2/L. 12 (s. XIII–XIV), fols. 3r–14r, is still unpublished but mentioned in my two articles and I am preparing an edition. The Sion text is given the title "De uiris Anne et de filiabus eius." The contents of the Sion anthology are described cursorily in Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 1 (London, 1969), 271–73. Another manuscript that contains the poem is Oxford, Bodleian Li-

dependently. Jacobus de Voragine had good reasons for choosing this particular recension for his collection of saints' lives. Not only is this epigram one of the earliest examples in the tradition,³⁹ but it is also unambiguous and memorable. All seventeen members of the main branch of Anne's family are named in rapid succession with no one missing and no verses spent on elements that are not absolutely necessary without making the whole appear as a lackluster gathering of names. Despite the supreme quality of this six-line epigram, or perhaps because it also existed in a five-line recension, in which Joseph Justus and Judas Thaddeus were missing, some variations occurred. In fact, our Engelberg, no. 6, as well as Appendix, no. 6 (redaction of William de Montibus), show some deviations from the traditional version. In both instances these deviations are seen in vv. 4–5, with “Prima Iesum, Ioseph et Iacobum peperisse secunda / Creditur et preter illos cum Symone Iudam” replacing the original “Prima parit Christum, Iacobum secunda minorem / Et Ioseph Iustum peperit cum Simone Iudam,” although this is not an improvement, for in the process James the Less and Joseph Justus lost their identifiers and the verb “creditur” introduced uncertainty about the legitimacy of the ancestry of Simon and Judas Thaddeus. It is unclear why the versions in Engelberg, no. 6 and William's *Versarius* share the same revisions. It is conceivable that this particular recension had a wider circulation than has previously been presumed.

The poem “Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias” was rarely expanded. At present I know of only one case, in which two verses were added at the end of the piece. These verses (Appendix, no. 9, vv. 7–8), however, add nothing new to the genealogy. Instead, they offer praise of the great lineage of St. Anne, the matriarch of the family, and read as an aside that could very well have been omitted. In this respect this cannot be considered a genealogical or necessary expansion.

Even more interesting than the textual transformations of this poem is its presence in other unexpected contexts. First, in his 1893 *Der Kultus der heiligen Anna am Ausgange des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte*

brary Auct. D.4.10 (s. XIII, Reading), fol. 593r (see Appendix, no. 4), where the piece is not part of an anthology.

³⁹ It is found in the eleventh-century manuscript Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale 1223, fol. 103v; see Placanica, “Tradizione, esegesi e teologia,” 226, n. 78. There is at least one other *trinubium* poem that is preserved in manuscripts from the eleventh century: *inc.* “Nupta Ioachim mater prius Anna Marie”; see Förster, “Die Legende vom Trinubium,” 107, no. 1, and Walther, *Initia*, no. 12499.

der Religiösen Lebens am Vorabend der Reformation, Ernst Schaumkell prints the text on p. 48, saying that it could be read on the high altar of St. Mary in Zwickau, created in 1479 by the German artist Michael Wolgemut (1434/37–1519),⁴⁰ which is still preserved today. Unfortunately, none of the modern studies of this spectacular piece of late medieval art discusses any poetry,⁴¹ so it is not clear where and how the verses were presented originally, but it seems that they are no longer extant—otherwise, I would have expected their existence to be at least acknowledged in the scholarship. Perhaps the verses somehow became separated from their original context. Still, their attested presence in the past as a caption on such an important religious object confirms their exceptional popularity.

The story becomes even more intriguing in the sixteenth century when the debates about the truthfulness of St. Anne's genealogy were raging in full force. The arguments for and against the "fabula" are not going to be rehearsed here.⁴² What is important for the present study is the fact that the epigram "Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias" was used in two very different religious settings. First, in 1517 the ardent critic of the absurdity of the *trinubium* Jacques Lefèvre includes the poem in his treatise *De una ex tribus Maria* as an example of the ignorance of the people who use such inelegant, erroneous, and non-authoritative sources to support and defend their belief in the three marriages and the three Marys.⁴³ The inclusion of the poem in a tract that actually combatted its message shows how deeply ingrained this text was in the minds of pious Christians and how widespread was its devotional impact. This attitude seems to have continued unabated even after the attacks, as we can see in the journal of the Jerusa-

⁴⁰ The same information is repeated by Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium," 111.

⁴¹ See, for example, Stefan Roller, *Nürnberger Bildhauerkunst der Spätgotik. Beiträge zur Skulptur der Reichsstadt in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Munich and Berlin, 1999), 99–115 ("Das Hochaltarretabel der Marienkirche in Zwickau"); and Maximilian Benker, *Ulm in Nürnberg. Simon Lainberger und die Bildschnitzer für Michael Wolgemut* (Weimar, 2004), 125–40 ("Der Zwickauer Altar").

⁴² For a concise account of the controversy in the early modern period, see Welsh, *Cult of St. Anne*, 138–48. For debates, mostly on Salome's name, in the first half of the twelfth century, see Hall, "Earliest Anglo-Latin Text of the *Trinubium Annae*," 136–37.

⁴³ See Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the *Three Maries Debates*, ed. and trans. Sheila M. Porrer (Geneva, 2009), 342–43.

lem pilgrim Denis Possot who wrote that the day after his entry into the Holy City on 2 July [1532], he visited the Armenian Church where he saw the stone on which James [the Greater] sat when he was decapitated by order of King Herod (Acts 12:2), who is generally identified as Herod Agrippa (reigned 41–44 CE).⁴⁴ This James, adds Possot, “is a relative (*parent*) of Our Lord, as is apparent from the following verses,” at which point he quotes the poem “Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias” first in Latin and then in a French translation, presumably done by himself.⁴⁵ Clearly, Possot shared none of Lefèvre’s misgivings, and it is telling that the text of this particular *trinubium* poem came to his mind, even when he was so far away from home. Truly, this piece must have been the go-to example where Anne’s marriages were concerned.

II.3. Anne and Her Sister Esmeria

The last two poems in the Engelberg corpus to be discussed here (nos. 1 and 2) are previously unattested and also present an expanded network of Holy kinship which is unique in the verse tradition and incorporates the family of Anne’s apocryphal sister Esmeria. If this branch of the genealogical tree is presented in full, it should contain eleven members, many of whom are simply medieval inventions to fill gaps in the lineage. In fact, the earlier sources mostly talk about Esmeria, her daughter Elizabeth, and her grandson John the Baptist. The *Legenda aurea* also presents this branch, and Jacobus de Voragine mentions six of its members: Esmeria, her two children Elizabeth and Eliud, Elizabeth’s son John the Baptist, Eliud’s son Emineu, and Emineu’s son St. Servatius, “whose body is found in the city of Maastricht.”⁴⁶ It is clear that some key players are missing from this list, such as the husbands of both Esmeria and Elizabeth,

⁴⁴ This is the church of St. James in the Armenian quarter, mentioned also by Burchard of Mt. Sion’s in his description of the Holy Land, composed in 1283; see Burchard of Mount Sion, *OP “Descriptio Terrae Sanctae,”* ed. and trans. John R. Bartlett (Oxford, 2019), 134–35, c. 80 and n. 505.

⁴⁵ See Denis Possot, *Voyage de la Terre sainte, composé par Denis Possot at achevé par Charles Philippe [1532]*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1890), 164–65. Possot’s journey, death of sickness on his way home, and burial on Crete are described in Palmira Brummett, *The ‘Book’ of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700* (Leiden, 2009), 212–16.

⁴⁶ See Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. and trans. Maggioni, 1004–5, 16–18.

the wife of Eliud, Emineu's brother Martiales (or Maternus), and Emineu's wife, the mother of Servatius.⁴⁷ Engelberg, no. 1 attempts to fill some of the omissions, so Esmeria's husband is called here Achim (v. 10) and Zacharias is clearly specified as Elizabeth's husband and father of the Lord's Baptist (v. 11). Thus, eight members of Esmeria's branch are included in this poem in addition to all seventeen belonging to Anne's branch. This means that a staggering twenty-five figures are mentioned in this twelve-line epigram, even if it still leaves out three final characters (the second Elizabeth, Martiales, and Memelia). No other *trinubium* poem even comes close to this level of inclusiveness, which is justified by a rather bold opening verse: "Vt scriptura docet, erat Esmeria soror Anne" ("As Scripture teaches, Esmeria was Anne's sister"). Anyone who knew anything about the Bible would have been not a little surprised by this statement, unless the poet understands "scripture" to have the meaning of "religious writing" in general, be it authoritative or legendary.

After thus setting the stage, the poet is deft in not only fitting in so many people but also in incorporating additional identifiers for the homonymous characters who may have confused the reader. Thus, the two Josephs are distinguished by the first being called brother of Cleophas (v. 5) and the second one being named Joseph Justus (v. 8), while the two Jameses are called *minor* and *magnus* in vv. 5 and 6 respectively. The poet also manages to include the *cognomen* Thaddeus for Judas, so that it is clear that the one meant here is not the Betrayer of Jesus.⁴⁸ Overall, it is not easy to supersede this thorough and thoughtful coverage of the family tree of the Holy Kinship, and it is understandable that whoever collected the seven poems for inclusion in the Engelberg manuscript placed it first.

In this light, it is not surprising that Engelberg, no. 2 takes a different approach. This poem of fourteen mostly rhymed hexameters (Engelberg, no. 1 used exclusively the unrhymed variety) starts by mentioning Esmeria

⁴⁷ For a helpful diagram, see Welsh, *Cult of St. Anne*, 2. Here Esmeria's husband is called Assra; Elizabeth's husband is the biblical Zacharias in Luke 1; Eliud's wife, also called Elizabeth, is identified with the widow of Naim in Luke 7:21; the brother of Emiu (Emineu in *Legenda aurea*), named Martiales (Maternus), is the man raised from the dead in Luke 7:15; and finally Emiu's wife and mother of St. Servatius is called Memelia. Assra, the second Elizabeth, Martiales (Maternus), and Memelia were incorporated into the genealogy at an unknown date, but no later than the eleventh century. See also Welsh's discussion on pp. 74–76.

⁴⁸ See n. 36 above.

in the first line and then states that she was the mother of the mother of John the Baptist (v. 3), but subsequently this branch of the family is not considered. Even though this piece is longer than Engelberg, no. 1 by two verses, it contains only eighteen family members, with Esmeria, Elizabeth (not named), and John the Baptist included, thus leaving fifteen people for St. Anne's side of the genealogy. We already know that Anne's branch of the tree comprises a total of seventeen figures, so someone has definitely been omitted, as we have seen in other examples discussed above. The natural expectation is that Simon and Judas Thaddeus would be missing, since they are the last to make it into Anne's family group. This, however, is not the case. In fact, the two excluded characters are Joseph, father of Jesus, and Joseph Justus, son of Mary Cleophas. In the first case, the poet says that the Lord was born without a father ("sine patre," v. 7), and we already observed this removal of the human father of Jesus in the Ps.-Hilbertian poem (Engelberg, no. 3). Coupled with the fact that both poems use the *Leonini caudati* extensively, it is conceivable that the Engelberg poet drew some inspiration from Ps.-Hilbert. He left out the second Joseph because in vv. 9–10 he specifies that three of Mary Cleophas's four sons, i.e., Judas [Thaddeus], Simon, and James the Less, were summoned by Christ to the apostolic honour ("prouexit ad apostolicum honorem," v. 10). Since the fourth son, Joseph Justus, was not one of the apostles, he was not included in this particular treatment of the genealogy. Engelberg, no. 2 contains further unique touches. For example, it specifies that Anne had many husbands, but the multiple marriages happened over a long period of time ("sed pluribus annis," v. 4), and it actually calls the son of Mary Salome John the Evangelist (v. 12), something that no other poem ever does explicitly. The general impression is that in this epigram the poet was more concerned with poetic form and expression than with genealogical completeness.

Despite their different approaches, it is undeniable that the previously unknown *trinubium* poems from Engelberg (nos. 1 and 2) represent a very important addition to the poetic corpus which they enrich by providing new dimensions of both style and lineage.

III. AN EXERCISE IN REVISION AND TRANSFORMATION

As concluding remarks, I would like to offer some general observations on the different ways in which the poems on St. Anne's three marriages

were changed, adapted, and reworked during the many centuries of their existence. It is obvious that this corpus of verse epigrams comprises texts that are variations on one limited but very important theme, and as such they can display ingenuity as well as banality. Still, we now have so many examples of the genre that some revising techniques can be outlined:

1) Pre-existing versions are often expanded by means of additional verses either at the beginning or the end of the original text without any other modifications. The examples of this somewhat mechanical revising method are numerous, and sometimes a poem can be subjected to multiple rounds of expansion (see, for example, Appendix, no. 7). These attached verses can either add information that develops the genealogical content of the core poem, as seen in Appendix, nos. 4, 5, 7, and 8, or they can elaborate further on one of the already mentioned characters, as done in Appendix, no. 9.

2) The second approach is subtler. It involves modifying the content of already existing poems by rewriting their verses and incorporating new lines within the textual fabric of the original, not at its outskirts, as already seen. The best examples of this type of revising effort are seen in Appendix, no. 8, which is a reworked version of Ps.-Hildebert's epigram "Anna uero Ioachim peperit te, Virgo Maria," as well as Engelberg, no. 6, and Appendix, no. 6, which show two slightly different versions of the famous "Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias."

Here it should be mentioned that some verses seem to have become general statements that could be moved around and recycled at will when needed. Two such verses are "Anna tribus nupsit: Ioachim, Cleophe, Salomeque" (Engelberg, nos. 1 and 2, and Appendix, no. 1)⁴⁹ and "Tres tribus Anna uiris fertur pererisse Marias" (Engelberg, nos. 3 [n. 21] and 5, and Appendix, nos. 3 and 8). This type of re-use of known verses is typical in the genre of *versus memoriales*, in which familiar elements were often introduced in order to trigger the already existing knowledge in the mind of the reader.

3) Finally, there are poems that contain so many variations that they should be considered not just new versions of previously known texts but completely new texts in their own right. Here belong Engelberg, nos. 1 and 2, because they also incorporated Esmeria's branch into the tradition;

⁴⁹ See also Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium," 110, no. 7.

Appendix, nos. 1 and 2, because they show a clear bias towards the male representatives of the family; and Appendix, no. 3, because it includes additional elements such as Joseph offering parental support to the Virgin.

The poems of St. Anne's marriages are generally simple and pedestrian mnemonic epigrams. Still, in their variety and multiplicity, these texts capture the complexity of the issue of Jesus's ancestry. As with their prose counterparts, the poems grapple with the theological implications of how to reconcile Christ's human nature with his divine origin. They also demonstrate the great popular appeal of the genealogy of the Holy Family, in which the believers from all layers of society could observe family ties and life situations familiar to them. Despite opposition and ridicule by theological experts, St. Anne's family and the three Marys had a lasting hold on the imaginations of countless Christians. There is no doubt that the *trinubium* poetry played an important role in the fascinating transformation of an apocryphal legend into a widely accepted devotional phenomenon.

APPENDIX

This Appendix does not claim to be exhaustive. Given the fluid nature of the poetic *trinubium* motif, it is quite likely that further variations on the theme may be uncovered in medieval and early modern manuscripts. An important observation should be made in this context, however: since the texts of the poems are so easily transformed, it is necessary to examine each manuscript carefully in order to establish which precise version it contains. Relying on publications that only list incipits is insufficient and can lead to misidentification, because poems that start in the same way may—and often do—end differently. At the same time, the opposite can also be true, meaning that a different first line could be added to an already known text, thus masking the fact that the text in question is simply an expansion.⁵⁰

Only a selection of poems is presented here. These texts have been chosen because they illustrate particular revising activities either by creating clearly defined new versions (nos. 1–3) or by expanding previously known ones (nos. 4–9). The order of the pieces printed below is determined by the dates of the manuscripts in which they have been found. The orthography

⁵⁰ See n. 4 above, and Appendix, no. 7.

of the manuscripts has been preserved throughout. When new verses have been added to a previously known versions, the accretions are printed in bold typeface so that they can be spotted immediately. Other revisions are, however, not marked visually, even though they are discussed in the introductory notes to the texts.

1. Leiden, University Library BPL 130 (s. XII in.), fol. 213v (lower margin); printed in *Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: Miracles of St Edmund*, ed. and trans. Tom Licence (Oxford, 2014), cvii, n. 396. Verse 1 is well known and often recycled;⁵¹ the rest offers an original version of the genealogy, which underscores the active role of the male members of the family in the procreation of the generations. The idea is familiar from the verse “Quas (scil. Marias) genuere Ioachim, Cleophas, Salomeque” (see above, Engelberg, no. 6, v. 2); here, however, not only Anne’s three husbands but also the spouses of the Marys are active progenitors. See vv. 4–5 in which Alpheus, husband of the second Mary (or Mary Cleophas) brings forth *through her* (“hac Alpheus generavit”) all four sons. *Through her* (“hac”) is used also for the Virgin Mary, mother of God (“Deus hac generatur,” v. 3). Only the third Mary actively gives birth to (“peperit,” v. 7) her two sons James the Greater and John the Evangelist, but she still does this for her husband Zebedeus (“illa tibi, Zebedee,” v. 6) in addition to being called explicitly the daughter of Salome (“filiique Salome fuit,” v. 6) which brings her father to the fore rather than her mother Anne.

Anna tribus nupsit: Ioachim, Cleophe, Salomeque.⁵²
 Ex hiis cuique suam genuit secunda⁵³ Mariam.
 Ioseph nata datur Ioachim,⁵⁴ Deus hac generatur.
 Quam Cleophas genuit, hac Alpheus generavit
 5 Ioseph et Symonem, Iudam Iacobumque minorem.
 Filiaque Salome fuit; illa tibi, Zebedee,
 Maiorem Iacobum peperit cum fratre Iohanne.

⁵¹ See nn. 14, 19, and 49 above.

⁵² For the re-use of this verse, see above, Engelberg, nos. 1 and 2.

⁵³ This “secunda” must refer to “Anna” from v. 1, with the meaning “fortunate, lucky.” Generally, in this context “secunda” refers to the second Mary, i.e., Mary Cleophas, but this does not seem to be the case here.

⁵⁴ Ioseph is in dative, and Ioachim in genitive: “The daughter of Joachim is given to Joseph.”

2. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 18961 (s. X–XIII; Tegernsee), fol. 10r (s. XII, second half). At first glance, the poem seems to offer a typical version of Anne’s marriages, but a careful reading shows that this is not so. As with Appendix, no. 1, the poet seems to be interested in underlining the male ties in the family. The vocabulary employed is suggestive: Anna’s second husband Cleophas is explicitly called “father-in-law” (“socer,” v. 3) of Alpheus; Zebedeus is the “son-in-law” (“gener,” v. 4) of her third husband Salome, a relationship that is stressed again in the last verse, where it is declared that the third Mary gave birth twice by Zebedeus, the “son-in-law” of Salome (“genero Salome,” v. 6). For the use of “gener” for Alpheus, see also the next poem, Appendix, no. 3, v. 6.

Tribus Anna uiris tribus alleuiata Mariis.
 Primus erat Ioachim, de quo fuit alma Maria.
 Post nupsit Cleophe, socer Alpei fuit iste.
 Post Salome, cuius gener efficitur Zebedeus.
 5 Prima parit Dominum; Iacobum parit altera, Iustum;
 Tercia bis genero Salome peperit Zebedeo.

3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 3696B (s. XII, second half), fol. 1r–v.⁵⁵ The *trinubium* poem in this miscellaneous manuscript is titled “His uersibus quot maritos Anna habuit demonstratur.” Verse 1 is well known and often recycled,⁵⁶ with its last word changed from “Marias” to “maritis,” probably by mistake. The rest of the poem, however, represents a new version of Anne’s genealogy. It is preceded by a short prose text (on fol. 1r) found in Förster, “Die Legende vom Trinubium,” 112–13 as no. 1 of his prose versions,⁵⁷ which explains some of the

⁵⁵ The *trinubium* poem is followed by eight verses on the canonical hours, attributed to Hildebert; *inc.* “In matutino dampnatur tempore Cristus”; printed in A. Brian Scott, *Hildeberti Cenomanensis Episcopi Carmina minora* (Leipzig, 1969), 54, no. 57: “Versus de horis cottidianis.” See also Walther, *Initia*, no. 8988.

⁵⁶ See above, Engelberg, nos. 3 (n. 21) and 5, and below, Appendix, no. 8.

⁵⁷ Förster’s text is transcribed from the mid-twelfth-century manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 22033. For the reader’s convenience I give the version in the Paris manuscript, which is very close to the one in Munich but not identical; some parts missing in Paris are supplied in angle brackets: “*Ex testimoniis quatuor euangelistarum. Epistola sancti Iheronimi ad Heluidium: (Sancta Maria, mater Domini, et) Maria, mater Iacobi Alpei et Ioseph, et Maria mater filiorum Zebedei, scilicet maioris Iacobi et Iohannis euangeliste, tres sorores fuerunt. Maria,*

poem's unusual elements, such as v. 5, stating that Joseph married the Virgin in order to protect her and share the burden in raising her boy, which clearly reflects the prose "Ioseph . . . cuius (scil. Marie) uirginitatis <custos> et solatium fuit." From the prose source come also the explicit statements that Joseph is Cleophas's brother (v. 4) and that James the Less is Jesus' brother (v. 9). The poem, however, deviates from the prose text in adding to the genealogy first Joseph Justus (vv. 8–9) and then Judas Thaddeus, brother of James the Less (v. 10), thus increasing the number of Anne's grandsons from four in the prose text to six (the seventh, Simon, is still missing). Finally, the poem ends with the somewhat inconsequential statement that it was two, not three, Marys who visited the sepulcher, which has no support in either the prose or verse text.

Tres tribus Anna uiris legitur peperisse maritis,
 Tresque uiri Ioachim, Cleophas, Salomasque fuerunt.
 Virque prior Ioachim genuit Domini genitricem;
 Hac sponsa Ioseph, frater Cleopheꝝ, decoratur,
 5 Hanc ut seruaret puerumque fouens baiularet.
 Fit gener Alpheus Cleopheꝝ, Salomeꝝ Zebedeus.
 Alpei sponsam Cleophae fore scito Mariam;
 Ex hac hic genuit Ioseph Iacobumque minorem.
 Fertur is Alpei Iustus, Domini quoque frater;
 10 Iudas Thadeus Iacobi germanus habetur.
 Styrps generis Salomeꝝ Iacobus fuit atque Iohannes;
 Post horum genitrix Iacobi Salomeꝝque Maria;
 De nato Iacobi, Salomeꝝ de patre uocatur;
 Ergo duꝝ non tres Domini uisere sepulchrum.

mater Domini, filia fuit Ioachim et Anneꝝ, et Cleophas, frater Ioseph, eandem Annam mortuo Ioachim uxorem accepit et generauit ex ea filiam quam uocauit Mariam. Hanc Mariam Cleophas et Anna parentes dederunt cuidam Alpeo. Vnde ille minor Iacobus et frater Domini dictus fuit natus; dictus Iacobus Alpei a patre. Desponsauit autem Cleophas filiastram suam, scil. sanctam Mariam, matrem Domini, Ioseph fratri suo, cuius uirginitatis <custos> et solatium fuit. Mortuo autem Cleopha, quidam Salomas accepit ipsam Annam et generauit ex ea terciam Mariam quam Zebedeus accepit uxorem, et ex ea habuit Iacobum et Iohannem euangelistam. Vnde ita est intelligendum: Maria Iacobi [*sup.l.* MS] mater subauditur et Salomeꝝ subauditur filia. Tres igitur uiros Anna habuit: Ioachim, Cleophas, Salomam. Prima Maria, filia Ioachim, uirgo permansit quam filius Dei sibi matrem elegit et consecrauit."

4. Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. D.4.10 (s. XIII, Reading), fol. 593r; printed in Stella Panayotova, “Peter of Poitiers’s *Compendium in Genealogia Christi: The Early English Copies*,” in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford, 2001), 327–42, at 331–32 and n. 24.⁵⁸ The first three verses are well known,⁵⁹ while the two added ones are previously unattested. This poem was often expanded at the end with additional lines that provided the names of all seven of Anne’s grandsons.⁶⁰ This is why the present accretion is unusual, since it only talks about the two Jameses and their confusing designations *maior* and *minor*: the son of Mary Cleophas and Alpheus is called *minor*, even though he was older by birth (“Natu maiorem Iacobum cognosce minorem”), while the son of Mary Salome and Zebedeus is called *maior* despite being born at a later date (“post natus”), because Jesus summoned him earlier (“prius . . . uocatus”) from the boat in which he was mending nets with his brother John and father Zebedeus (see Matt. 4:21).⁶¹

Ex Ioachim, Cleopha, Saloma tres Anna Marias
 Quas habuit, iunxit Ioseph, Alpheo, Zebedeo:
 Vnius hec mater, hec quatuor, illa duorum.
Natu maiorem Iacobum cognosce minorem;
 5 **Ob quod post natus prius est de naue uocatus.**

5. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 10322 (s. XIII), fol. 102r. This manuscript contains a slightly defective copy of the third authorial version of Peter Riga’s *Aurora*, with two major expansions: 1) the first half of Hildebert’s *De mysterio misse* is copied before Riga’s *Euangelium*, which itself starts imperfectly, so probably a quire is missing at this point; and 2) Mathew of Vendôme’s *Tobias* is appended at the end, after Riga’s

⁵⁸ Nine hexameters are printed here as representing one poem; the first four lines, however, constitute a separate piece printed in Förster, “Die Legende vom Trinitubium,” 110, no. 6; *inc.* “Anna tribus, Ioachim, Cleophe, Salomeque, Marias.” This is also confirmed by the fact that the two poems are written by two similar but still distinct hands. In addition, there is “Aliter” in the right margin by the first verse of the second poem which I include here.

⁵⁹ See also Engelberg, no. 7; and Appendix, no. 7, vv. 2–4.

⁶⁰ See n. 29 above.

⁶¹ For a similar explanation, see Engelberg, no. 2 (last two verses).

Actus apostolorum. A poem on St. Anne's marriages, titled "Versus de Anna et de coniugibus eius," is entered by the same thirteenth-century hand that wrote the entire *Aurora*, on fol. 102r after Riga's *Recapitulationes*. The poem in the Paris manuscript represents a version of Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium," 107–8, no. 2,⁶² expanded with seven additional lines at the end.⁶³ The added verses are quite necessary, because the original version never mentions the sons of the three Marys, whereas here four of Anne's seven grandsons are present, i.e., the Saviour, the two Jameses, and John the Evangelist. Still missing, however, are Joseph Justus, Simon, and Judas Thaddeus, all sons of the second Mary, i.e., Mary Cleophas. Like the rest of the poem, the *addendum* is written in simple Leonine hexameters.

Nupserat Anna uiris tribus; hos si nosse requiris,
Hic manifestatur, quo nomine quisque uocatur.

⁶² See also Walther, *Initia*, no. 6509.

⁶³ Two further manuscripts preserve shorter versions of the "Nupserat Anna uiris tribus" poem: the first is Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Arch. S. Pietro H 11 (s. XII), fol. 321va–vb, where the last verse of the Paris expansion is missing. This omission does not change the content of the poem, since the final Paris verse simply provides the name "John" for the already-mentioned brother of James the Greater. More importantly, Arch. S. Pietro H 11 offers a slightly different v. 13 which reads "Vnde fuit natus Iustus, Iacobus uocitatus" instead of Paris's "Vnde fuit natus Iacobusque minor uocitatus." This "Iustus" is Joseph Justus, Mary Cleophas's second son. Thus, by changing "minor" to "Iustus" this version includes one additional grandson of Anne's, leaving out only Simon and Judas Thaddeus. The second manuscript where the "Nupserat Anna uiris tribus" poem is found is Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 56 (s. XIII–XIV), fol. 144v. This manuscript contains a copy of the second authorial version of Peter Riga's *Aurora*. Two poems on St. Anne are added at the end of Riga's work: 1) the epigram starting with "Ex Ioachim, Cleopha, Saloma tres Anna Marias" in its three-line version (see Engelberg, no. 7), written in a later hand than the one that copied the main text; and 2) the "Nupserat Anna uiris tribus" poem, titled here "Genealogya" and entered by a fifteenth-century hand. This version is expanded with four verses, thus missing the final three lines seen in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 10322, and leaving out both of the last Mary's sons. As in Arch. S. Pietro H 11, Reg. lat. 56 has "Iustus" instead of "minor" in v. 13, reading in a slight variation, "Vnde fuit natus Iacobus, Iustus uocitatus," so at least two of Mary Cleophas's four sons are included together with the Saviour. The precise relationship between the three expanded versions of the poem "Nupserat Anna uiris tribus" is not easy to determine. See also, Walther, *Initia*, no. 12497.

Quod Ioachim scimus hanc duxit in ordine primus;
 Hanc Cleophas duxit, Salomeque postea nupsit.
 5 Nostis nempe piam Ioachim genuisse Mariam.
 Post Ioachim sacre Cleophas coniungitur Anne.
 Filia tunc alia fuit illi dicta Maria.
 Post Cleopham tandem Salomas sibi iunxit eandem,
 De quo mox aliam concepit et Anna Mariam.
 10 **Filia prima datur Ioseph que uirgo uocatur,**⁶⁴
In qua Saluator fit homo mundiue creator.
Alpheus medie sociatur nempe Marie,
Vnde fuit natus Iacobusque minor uocitatus.
Tercia Iudeo desponsatur Zebedeo;
 15 **Hii Iacobum uere fratremque suum genuere,**
Iohanem iustum, uiciis quem scimus inustum.

6. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 186 (s. XIII med.), fol. 55r. This manuscript contains William de Montibus's *Versarius* where the *trinubium* poem is copied under the title "Genealogia Anne" and thus included in Letter "G"; the first verse is printed in Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*, Studies and Texts 108 (Toronto, 1992), 427. In reality, William's poem is a conflation of two elements known from other texts: vv. 2–6 are the epigram "Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias," with "Anna" replaced by "unde" in order to provide a link to v. 1, which is the opening verse from the widely diffused twelve-line poem titled "Genealogia Saluatoris" or "Genealogia Christi."⁶⁵ Because of this change, v. 2 of the original poem was removed since the information it contained was now covered by v. 1. The interesting changes in vv. 4–5 are discussed above, in the context of Engelberg, no. 6 (pp. 11–12 above).

Anna uiros habuit Ioachim, Cleopham, Salomamque (*sic*),
 Vnde solet dici tres concepisse Marias.
 Has duxere uiri Ioseph, Alpheus, Zebedeus.

⁶⁴ Both Vatican manuscripts have "regatur" instead of "uocatur."

⁶⁵ See Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium," 109, no. 4, v. 1, and the note marked ***, where it is noted that the verse could be seen in the cathedral of Mainz on a tapestry from 1501. See also Walther, *Initia*, no. 1068. For "Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias," see Engelberg, no. 6.

- 5 Prima Iesum; Ioseph et Iacobum peperisse secunda
 Creditur et preter illos cum Symone Iudam.
 Tercia maiorem Iacobum fratremque⁶⁶ Iohannem.

7. Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Leonth. 10 Nr. 3 (s. xv in.), fol. 53r (upper margin).⁶⁷ Verse 1 brings into the picture Anne's own apocryphal parents Ysachar and Nazaphat.⁶⁸ The first half of the verse is printed in Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium," 112, no. 12.⁶⁹ The rest of the poem is also well known, preserved here in its traditional expanded version.⁷⁰

- Est, Anna, tuus pater Ysachar, Nazaphat tua mater.**
 De Ioachim, Cleopha, Salome tres Anna Marias
 Quas habuit iunxit Ioseph, Alpheo, Zebedeo.
 Vnius hec mater; hec quatuor; illa duorum.
- 5 **Christum prima; Ioseph, Iacobum cum Symone, Iudam**
Altera; que sequitur Iacobum uolucrumque Iohannem.

8. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2042 (s. XIV–XV), fol. 82v. The main section of the manuscript (fols. 1r–82v) dates to the late fourteenth century, but the material on St. Anne was added later, in the fifteenth century. The verses are preceded by a short prose text (*inc.* "Anna et Esmeria [gloss above: ambe filie fuerunt Ysachar⁷¹] fuerunt sorores").⁷² The prose and verse sections are written by two different hands. This is the well-known *trinubium* poem attributed to Hildebert but with a few changes: first, two extra verses are added at the beginning providing

⁶⁶ fratremque] fratremue MS *p.c.*

⁶⁷ The same manuscript also contains a second *trinubium* poem, this time added in the lower margin of the same folio, 53r, *inc.* "Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias." For the text of this second poem, see Appendix, no. 9, vv. 1–6.

⁶⁸ For different names of Anne's parents, see n. 74 below.

⁶⁹ See n. 29 above.

⁷⁰ See Engelberg, no. 7; and Appendix, no. 4, vv. 1–3.

⁷¹ Interestingly, the name of Anne's father was mentioned in v. 1 of the previous poem, Appendix, no. 7.

⁷² For a text very similar to the one in the Vatican manuscript but not identical, see Förster, "Die Legende vom Trinubium," 115; and Hall, "Earliest Anglo-Latin Text of the *Trinubium Annae*," 115. The main difference in the Vatican text is the addition of Judas (Thaddeus) and Simon to the genealogy.

the general statement that Anne bore three girls each called Mary as well as the names of their respective husbands; second, verses 6–7 are reworked to include Simon and Judas Thaddeus among the sons of Mary Cleophas and Alpheus (vv. 6–7) as well as to provide the additional name “Barsabas” for her son Joseph (v. 7); and third, the final verse in the original epigram is omitted (see Engelberg, no. 3).

Tres tribus Anna uiris fertur peperisse Marias⁷³
Que nupsere uiris Ioseph, Alpheo, Zebedeo.
 Anna uiro Ioachim peperit te, Virgo Maria,
 Ex qua processit sine semine uera sophya.
 5 Post te de Cleopha genuit tibi, Virgo, sororem
 Que parit Alpheo Symonem, Iacobumque minorem,
Ioseph Barsabam, Thadeum nomine Iudam.
 Hoc quoque deffuncto cuidam Salome copulatur,
 Ex quo natorum Zebedei genitrix generatur.

9. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 29 (1523–37), fol. 148r. This folio contains two poems on St. Anne and a diagram representing the family tree, in which Anne’s and Esmeria’s parents Emerentia (here called Emerentiana) and Stollanus are also given at the top.⁷⁴ The second poem and the diagram are written in the same hand but one that is different from the one that copied the first poem. Only the second poem is included here,⁷⁵ since it contains some reworking in vv. 4–5 as well as a previously unattested expansion of two lines at the end.⁷⁶ These added verses do not provide new information about Anne’s family members but

⁷³ For the re-use of this verse, see above, Engelberg, nos. 3 (n. 21) and 5, as well as Appendix, no. 3.

⁷⁴ Emerentia and Stollanus were added to the family in the fifteenth century; see Welsh, *Cult of St. Anne*, 28–31. As we have already seen in Appendix, nos. 7 and 8 the earlier tradition claims that the names of Anne’s parents were Ysachar and Nazaphat. Ysachar (or Achar) is named, for example, in the *Pseudo-Matthei Evangelium* I.1, ed. Jan Gijssels, *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* 9 (Turnhout, 1997), 291.

⁷⁵ The first poem is the Ps.-Hildebertian epigram “Anna uiro Ioachim peperit te, Virgo Maria.” It has only a slightly different first verse which reads “Anna prius Ioachim genuit te, Virgo Maria.” This variation is too minor to warrant inclusion here. For the text of the poem, see Engelberg, no. 3.

⁷⁶ For the original version, see Engelberg, no. 6.

draw the reader's attention to her regal and priestly lineage (*regali et sacerdotali genere*).⁷⁷

Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias,
 Quas genere uiri Ioachim, Cleophas, Salomeque.
 Has duxere uiri Ioseph, Alpheus, Zebedeus.
 Prima parit Christum, Iacobum secunda minorem
 5 Et Ioseph Iustum peperit cum Symone, Iuda.
 Tercia maiorem Iacobum uolucrumque Iohannem.
Fulget beatissima Anna fructu salutis fecunda
Que ex regali et sacerdotali genere est.⁷⁸

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⁷⁷ This idea is expressed in Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. and trans. Maggioni, 1006–7, 28–29: “Constat enim Elizabeth uxorem fuisse Zacharie qui erat de tribu Leui et secundum legem quilibet de sua tribu et familia ducere debebat uxorem et ipsam, de filiabus Aaron Lucas fuisse testatur. Anna autem fuit secundum Ieronimum de Bethlehem que erat de tribu Iuda, sed sciendum quod et ipse Aaron et Ioiada summus sacerdos ambo de tribu Iuda duxerunt uxores, unde tribus sacerdotalis et regalis cognatione semper ad inuicem probantur fuisse coniuncte.”

⁷⁸ est] progenita *add.* MS