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Chapter three

The German Iconography of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*: Documenting Its Context

Amy M. Morris

Described as “the most famous and significant Magdalene altar in Germany,”¹ there have been few comprehensive iconographic studies of Lucas Moser’s *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* (1432), especially in recent decades (fig. 3.1a, 3.1b). previous considerations of the altarpiece’s iconography were embedded in broad examinations of the artist’s style and mainly identified the textual sources for the various scenes and established their general meaning.² While a complete iconographic analysis, one that includes the symbolism of the myriad details of individual scenes is beyond the scope of this discussion, by clarifying misunderstandings in the early literature and calling attention to the regional and local influences present in the altarpiece, this essay is the necessary point of departure for any further consideration of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*’s iconography.

The Magdalene altarpiece: Description and textual sources

Similar to most extant Magdalene cycles, a combination of textual sources, including the New testament Gospels and medieval legend served as the foundation for the scenes portrayed on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*. In its closed position, the altarpiece consists of five separate scenes, four of which represent episodes from the life of Mary Magdalene. the cycle begins at the top in the arch-shaped lunette with the *anointing* where Mary Magdalene is depicted washing the feet of Christ with her tears and drying them with her hair. the two most detailed Gospel accounts for the scene are Luke 7:36–50 and John 12:1–18 both of which informed Moser’s representation of the scene.³ seated at the table with Christ are Simon the pharisee, Lazarus, and peter.⁴ to the right, Martha, the Magdalene’s legendary sister, approaches the table carrying a serving dish and a spoon.⁵

The central body of the altarpiece below the lunette consists of three scenes, which are separated from one another by a green border containing the altar’s dedication, the promise of indulgence, and the artist’s inscription.⁶ together these scenes illustrate the Magdalene’s legendary life after Christ’s ascension.

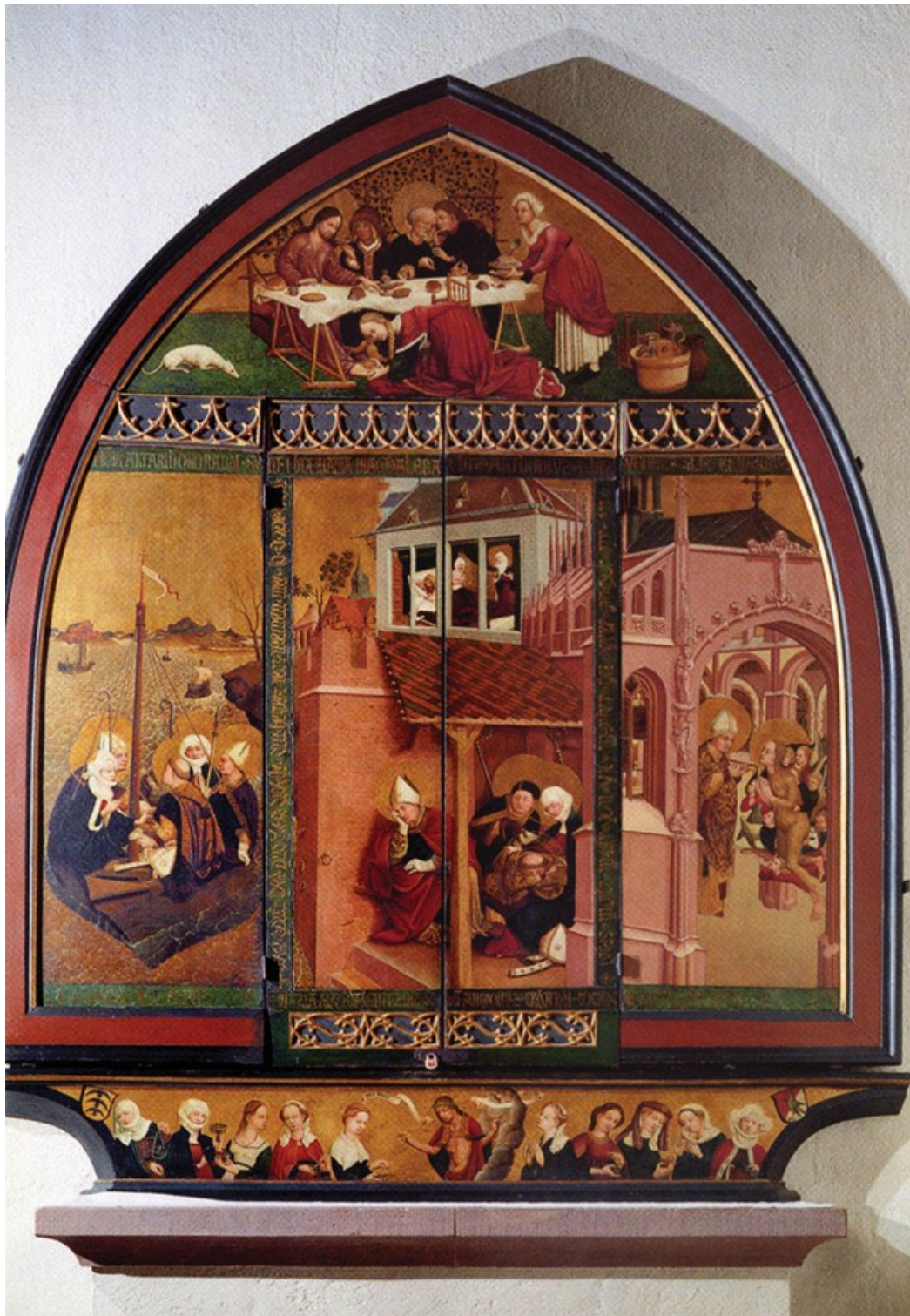


fig. 3.1a. Lucas Moser, *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, 1432, panel, 300 x 240 cm. st. Maria Magdalena Church, tiefenbronn, Germany. photo: Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg.



fig. 3.1b. Lucas Moser, *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, altarpiece opened, 1432, panel, 300 x 240 cm. st. Maria Magdalena Church, tiefenbronn, Germany. photo: Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg.

In the late Middle Ages and Renaissance the most widely circulated source for saints' legends was Jacobus da Voragine's *golden Legend*.⁷ In the Magdalene's vita, Voragine recounted her expulsion from Judea, subsequent Christianization of France, and hermetical retreat in the wilderness. reading from left to right on the main body of the altar- piece the first scene, the *Sea Journey*, shows the Magdalene and her companions floating at sea in a rudderless boat. according to Voragine, the Magdalene and her followers were set adrift at sea to perish, but instead landed safely in the pagan city of Marseilles in southern France. the second scene of the *Magdalene altarpiece*, the *arrival of Mary Magdalene and her companions in Marseilles* depicts this segment of Voragine's legend. In the lower half of the *arrival*, her companions, including Martha, Lazarus, Maximin, and Cedonius, sleep under the shelter of a portico outside the city gates of Marseilles while Mary Magdalene appears to the city's rulers in the upper half of the image demanding that they convert to Christianity. according to her legend, after performing miracles for the rulers of Marseilles and leading a life of penitential seclusion in the wilderness, prior to her death, Mary Magdalene received her Last Communion from Maximin, the bishop of aix-en-provence. In the third scene of the central part of the altarpiece, the *last communion*, Moser placed the figures of Maximin and the Magdalene, who is supported by angels, in an elaborate Gothic portal lined with tracery and sculpted figures.

The predella of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* does not portray a scene from the Magdalene's life as one would expect, but rather the bust-length figures of Christ as the Man of sorrows flanked by the Wise and foolish Virgins. along with a few surviving visual examples, considered below, textual sources may account for the unique pairing of a Magdalene leg- end with Matthew's parable (25:1–13) of the Wise and foolish Virgins.⁸

The predella is also significant as the location for the patrons' coats of arms. Displayed in its outer corners are two coats of arms that presumably belonged to the original donors of the altarpiece. Hansmartin Deckerhauff identified these as the heraldic devices of a couple who married around 1410.⁹ the shield on the left, which consists of three vertically aligned stone axes against a gold ground belonged to the husband of the couple, Bernhard von stein zu steinegg. the owner of the coat of arms on the right, which display a bird placed before a diagonally divided red and white field was frau Agnes Maiser von Berg. It is worth noting here that Agnes Maiser von Berg was possibly a sibling of the abbot of the nearby Hirsau monastery. as will be discussed in the following paragraphs, Hirsau's role in the creation of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* is

documented in the work's iconography. the relationship of this couple to the iconographic details of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* remains unclear, since the present coats of arms belong to a second work phase.¹⁰ It has not been established definitively if they represent the original donors or slightly later owners of the altarpiece.

In the open position of the altarpiece, the lunette and the predella remain visible. When the central shrine doors, which form the central scene of the *arrival* are opened, the viewer is confronted with a magnificent sculpted depiction of Mary Magdalene's *elevation*. Because this work is not original, but added nearly a century after the altarpiece's completion, its iconography will not be considered.¹¹ Belonging to the original altar-piece, however, are the painted interior wings, which flank the sculpted elevation and portray the standing figures of Martha and Lazarus, Mary Magdalene's legendary siblings.

France and the "saint Magdalene altarpiece": A Misconception

In the early art historical literature Hans Rott described the *Magdalene altarpiece* as a sphinx that beckons with a thousand riddles.¹² In this statement he was acknowledging the absence of documentation about the artist, the patron, circumstances surrounding its commission, and the selection of Mary Magdalene as the subject for an altarpiece in tiefenbronn, a small village in the Swabian Black forest, near pforzheim. The *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* still resides in the church of Santa Maria Magdalena for which it was created and is located on an altar in the south-east corner of the church. When Rott described the tiefenbronn altar-piece as a sphinx, he certainly could not have predicted that decades later, in 1969, the preeminent archivist and scholar, Gerhard Piccard, would claim that it was never made for tiefenbronn but only came there later and that some of its features were forged to make it "look" as if it were German.¹³ Piccard claimed that the *Magdalene altarpiece* hailed from Vézelay, the Magdalene's cult center and that its artist was a follower of Simone Martini. although a subsequent technical examination¹⁴ of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* proved that its inscriptions were original and that it was made for its current location, with respect to its iconography, the idea that France influenced it has never been corrected in the art historical literature—one of the aims of the present study.

In the early literature on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, suggesting that a work devoted to the Magdalene was somehow out of place in the German village of tiefenbronn, several scholars contended that a connection to France inspired its subject. Hans Rott and Georg Troescher

implied that Moser's artistic training in France played a role in promoting the Magdalene at tiefenbronn. In the discussion of Moser's artistic formation, both Hans Rott¹⁵ and Georg troesch¹⁶ argued that Moser was active in France, where he would have been acquainted with the important pilgrimage destinations dedicated to the Magdalene and her siblings. Moreover, these scholars observed that through a prolonged stay in France the artist would have seen the many painted cyclical depictions of her life.

Not all scholars who acknowledged a French presence in the imagery of the tiefenbronn Magdalene altar attributed it to the artist's travels in France. Charles sterling claimed that the selection of Mary Magdalene as the subject of the altarpiece came about through French visitors in the region of southwest Germany.¹⁷ he proposed that the Council of Basel (convened in 1431) accounted for what he perceived to be an unusual theme for the location. according to him, the presence of the Provençal high clergy, who had gathered in southwest Germany for the Council, may have sparked the donor's interest in provence.¹⁸ Instead of attributing the selection of the subject to the artist, which is highly unlikely considering the artistic practices of the time period, sterling acknowledged that it was the donor who would have determined the subject.¹⁹

Along with acknowledging the value of the donor, sterling identified particular features of the altarpiece's iconography that he viewed as French. Generally speaking, sterling perceived the prominence of Lazarus and Martha and the portrayal of the Marseilles legend as indicating a connection to France. recall that Martha and Lazarus not only appear in the *anointing*, *Sea Journey*, and *arrival*, but also are prominently featured as isolated individuals on the interior wings of the altarpiece. More specifically, sterling described the phosphorescent creatures (birds, lions, dragons, snakes, starfish, and snails) inhabiting the ground on which Martha and Lazarus stand (on the interior wings) as an "ingenious allusion to the Provençal mission of Martha and Lazarus."²⁰ these symbols, according to him, refer to the triumph of Christianity in France, which was brought forth through the efforts of the Bethany siblings. The same message was contained in the use of two different architectural styles for the church in the scene of the *last communion*. While rounded arches (Romanesque) comprise the nave arcade, the Gothic portal features a pointed arch. Sterling described the combination of Romanesque and Gothic architecture in the scene of the *last communion* as symbolic of "the evangelical mission of Maximin, the first bishop of aix cathedral, slowly eliminating paganism in provence."²¹

While earlier scholarship proposed that a connection to France influenced the selection of

the Magdalene as the subject for the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, mentioned previously, Gerhard Piccard came to a different conclusion, boldly claiming that the altarpiece was made in France at Vézelay. among the main pieces of evidence on which his theory rested was the absence of a Magdalene cult in tiefenbronn.²² for him, not only was Mary Magdalene not an official patron of the tiefenbronn church in the fifteenth century, no benefice dedicated to her appeared until the sixteenth century.²³ failing to take into account other types of evidence for Magdalene veneration, Piccard asserted that it would not have been logical to find a cycle of Magdalene imagery in a place that lacked a strong Magdalene cult.

Mary Magdalene's Cult in Germany and signs of Magdalene Devotion at tiefenbronn

While a groundbreaking technical study (1971) of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* proved its originality, the misconception in the early art historical literature of the significance of France for its iconography has never been adequately addressed. an important issue raised in this article, that refutes the acknowledgement of French influence in earlier scholarship, is the close dependence of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* on German sources. What earlier iconographic studies failed to take into account is that a distinct Magdalene iconography had developed in Germany and that the artist and/or theological adviser of the *Saint Magdalene altar- piece* was aware of this tradition. Before investigating the uniquely German character of its iconography it is necessary to address the skewed perception of the Magdalene's cult in Germany, and, more specifically, at tiefenbronn in the early literature.

Hans Hansels's studies on the Magdalene cult in Germany demonstrated her early popularity there.²⁴ Hansel emphasized that her western cult did not spread only from the grave monuments in Vézelay as is often assumed in scholarship. rather, like all of Christ's immediate companions, she was celebrated from an early point without a specific cult center.²⁵ evidence for Magdalene devotion in Germany is well-documented already in the early Middle ages through the appearance of hymns in her honor²⁶ and specially designated feasts.²⁷ also contributing to the Magdalene's popularity in Germany was the development of a Magdalene order, which was established in Wurms.²⁸ In the decade after the order was established, Magdalene convents were created in Strasbourg, Mühlhausen, Thüringen, Würzburg, Speyer, Frankfurt am Mainz, Mainz, Cologne, Basel, Regensburg, and Erfurt. Corresponding to the growth of her order, evidence for her increasing popularity is evident in the creation of feasts and indulgences in her honor.²⁹ along with

the Magdalene order, Mary Magdalene's visibility increased through her role in mystery plays. Mary Magdalene's role as Luke's anonymous sinner and witness to the resurrection made her a primary character in religious drama.³⁰ Joanne Anderson's article in this anthology, "Mary Magdalene and her Dear sister: Innovation in the late Medieval Mural Cycle of Santa Maddalena in Rencio (Bolzano)" demonstrates the significance of mystery plays for Magdalene imagery in the alpine regions.

Specifically, at tiefenbronn numerous manifestations of Mary Magdalene's popularity exist. The dedication of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, which lists Mary Magdalene as one of the saints to whom the altar was dedicated, demonstrates that she was a popular local saint already at the time it was created. Additionally, the numerous images of the Magdalene from the church's inception at tiefenbronn also confirm her beloved status. At the time the church was built (after 1380), Mary Magdalene, along with the Virgin, appeared as sculpted figures on the exterior of the choir. It is also likely that she was included among the saints in the arch-shaped frescoes (c. 1400) on the eastern wall of the tiefenbronn church. The installation of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* in the southeast corner of the church destroyed one of the four wall frescoes (three are still preserved). Reflecting the altar's dedication to Mary Magdalene, Anthony, and Erhard, it is likely that these three saints were the figures represented on the destroyed wall altar.

While representations of Mary Magdalene from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries demonstrate her early popularity, the images of her even after the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* was created, document the steady development of her following at tiefenbronn. Although the high altar by Hans Schüchlin is essentially a Marian altarpiece, Mary Magdalene's prominence in the scenes is noteworthy. Because of her numerous appearances, Mathias Köhler referred to the high altar as not only a passion cycle or Marian cycle, but also a Magdalene cycle. Mary Magdalene appears in seven of the nine scenes of the passion and resurrection.³¹ Because of the prominence of Mary Magdalene in the shrine of the high altar, Maria Schütte identified tiefenbronn as the cult center for her in Germany.³² Additional Magdalene imagery in the church at tiefenbronn includes a carved representation of her holding an ointment jar at the end of the choir stall, which was executed c. 1510. The renovation of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* with an enlarged shrine and larger sculpture in the 1520s must be viewed not only as testimony to the significance of the altarpiece, but also her sustained popularity.

Mary Magdalene's elevated status is evident not only in the numerous representations of her in the tiefenbronn church, but in a documented account from 1559 describing her feast as a special day of pilgrimage. Located in the ecclesiastical regulations of the Herzog Christoph von Würzburg a description of pilgrimage to tiefenbronn states that, "men, women, young and old come from faraway places through the forest for pilgrimage during passion week. In addition to this there is a great pilgrim- age on Mary Magdalene's day."³³ It can be inferred that in order for a "great pilgrimage" to have taken place in her name in the sixteenth century that a Magdalene following developed at a much earlier point than historical documents suggest. Along with the development of a Magdalene pilgrimage, the change that occurred in the church dedication is also significant. the church at tiefenbronn was originally dedicated to the Virgin as was common practice.³⁴ In the sixteenth century, the Magdalene was named as the official patron of the church in a surviving document.³⁵ We can only assume from this shift in dedication that the Magdalene was already on her way to becoming the most prominent saint in tiefenbronn in the fifteenth century. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the Magdalene imagery at tiefenbronn helped to promote and sustain her cult.

Establishing a German Magdalene Iconography

In the early art historical literature one of the most misleading observations relative to the altarpiece's iconography was the suggestion that the inclusion of scenes from her Provençal legend and the prominence of Martha and Lazarus implied French influence. the preceding discussion of the prominence of Mary Magdalene's cult in Germany, and, more specifically, tiefenbronn, refuted the hypothesis that the inspiration for the theme of the tiefenbronn *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* had to come from France. In short, Mary Magdalene was not the exclusive property of France. additionally, attributing the representation of the Marseilles legend to French influence disregarded the reality that it had become an integral part of the saint's legend and as such appeared in Magdalene cycles throughout Europe. the earlier emphasis on France also ignored the significant role that the mendicant orders in Italy played in establishing a Magdalene iconography that spread through various parts of Europe, including Germany. In the fourteenth century, Germany developed a cohesive Magdalene iconography that borrowed more heavily from Italy than France in the emphasis on Mary Magdalene's penitent life.³⁶

Additionally, in Germany, manuscript illumination played an especially important role in disseminating the Magdalene's legend. the following sections identify the manner in which the

various scenes on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* reflect the iconographic traditions established in Germany, thereby anchoring the work in regional traditions.

The proof is in the Details: the anointing and Last Communion

In the development and spread of Magdalene imagery, Italy played a significant role in creating a more or less standard canon of scenes in cyclical representations. Michelle Erhardt's essay in this anthology, "the Magdalene as Mirror: trecento Franciscan Imagery in the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel, Florence" identifies some of the scenes or episodes that commonly appeared in Italian fourteenth-century cycles. Two of the scenes on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* that were commonly featured in Magdalene cycles throughout Europe are the first and the last scenes, the *anointing* and the *last communion*, respectively. While the selection of these scenes reinforced the Magdalene's universal role as a penitent and model for the reception of the sacraments, the manner in which they were represented often varied geographically. Identifying Moser's representation of the anointing as German rather than Italian is the placement of the scene outdoors. recall that this scene is based on Luke's and John's description of a supper at which Christ was in attendance. In Italian representations of the scene, such as that found in the Guidalotti-Rinuccini Chapel in Santa Croce in Florence (see Michelle Erhardt's and Andrea Begel's essays) the supper is usually represented in an architecturally-defined setting.

Why German representations of the scene opted to place the scene outdoors has not been established. It is significant, however, that this shift to portraying the scene outside as opposed to inside a building occurred rather early in German cycles. for example, the scene of the *anointing* from the Magdalene cycle at Dusch at Graubünden (not illustrated) takes place outside. Created in the first half of the thirteenth century it is oldest surviving Magdalene cycle in fresco in German-speaking regions.³⁷ In the Dusch *anointing* the outdoor setting is suggested in a similar manner to the same scene on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* by a narrow strip of green grass.³⁸ Like the Magdalene cycles executed in fresco, such as that at Dusch, those that appeared in manuscripts continued the convention established in Germany of placing the scene outdoors. a fourteenth-century manuscript by Bertholdus Heyder, which is now in the British Museum, also featured the anointing as one of the scenes from the Magdalene's life.³⁹ Like the frescoed version of the *anointing* at Dusch, the setting for the scene is outdoors. Similar to the *anointing* on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, blades of grass sprinkle the shallow foreground

ledge. In comparison to these earlier representations in fresco and manuscript illumination, the effect of being outdoors is even more pronounced in the saint Magdalene *anointing* through the vine-encircled lattice behind the figures at the table.

Another example of the dependence of Moser's *anointing* on German models is in the clothing worn by the Magdalene in this scene. In contrast to Martha's simple clothing, Mary Magdalene wears an elaborately layered gown. over an undergarment with green brocaded sleeves, she wears a red mantle trimmed with fur. The depiction of the Magdalene wearing courtly garments was a deliberate allusion to her privileged birth as described in the *golden Legend*. It was in Germany where scenes of her secular life were popularized. In German art, the Magdalene was first represented wearing fur-lined robes in a fourteenth-century illuminated cycle, which was created around 1330 for a Franciscan monastery in Bamberg (fig. 3.2). the *anointing* was one of ten episodes from the Magdalene's life depicted in this manuscript.⁴⁰

Similar to the scene of the anointing, German representations of the Last Communion also deviate from the Magdalene iconography that developed in other regions in Europe, particularly in Italy. In scenes of the Last Communion, as in the anointing, it is where the particular scene takes place that marks it as uniquely German. In Italy, the Last Communion was traditionally set in the wilderness. for example, in the *last communion* in the Bargello, Mary Magdalene receives communion clothed only in her long hair in a wilderness setting. In most German representations of the Last Communion beginning with the earliest, which appeared in a manuscript known as the *Nuremberg Graduale*, the scene takes place in the oratory of Maximin.⁴¹ the staging of the scene in a church was used again for the *last communion* in the aforementioned Franciscan manuscript in Bamberg where it takes place in front of an altar (fig. 3.3).⁴² although Moser staged the scene in a church portal, as opposed to before an altar, the church setting is dependent on German representations of the Last Communion.



fig. 3.2. *anointing* (111r), hist. 149, 1330, illumination. staatsbibliothek, Bamberg, Germany. photo: staatsbibliothek, Bamberg.



fig. 3.3. *last communion* (134r), hist. 149, 1330, illumination. staatsbibliothek, Bamberg, Germany. photo: staatsbibliothek, Bamberg.

The prominence of the Bethany siblings

Along with specific iconographic details such as portraying the episode of the anointing outdoors or staging the Last Communion in a church as opposed to the wilderness, giving prominence to Martha and Lazarus, was a feature of the Magdalene iconography that developed in Germany. While the prominence of Martha and Lazarus had earlier been used to reinforce the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece's* connection to France, the popularity of portraying these siblings jointly in German cycles of the fourteenth-century refutes this observation. The aforementioned manuscript from Bamberg, which included ten scenes from the Magdalene's life, also focused heavily on Martha. In fact, the last third of the manuscript was devoted to Mary Magdalene and Martha.⁴³ the final scene of the Magdalene cycle in this manuscript was not from Mary Magdalene's legend, but rather was the death of Martha, which was recounted in Martha's vita.⁴⁴

The evidence that Mary Magdalene was thought of in conjunction with her siblings is evident not only in surviving manuscripts but in panel paintings. panels from a dismantled altarpiece, which may have been created in the poor Clares' Convent in Nuremberg, formed an altarpiece of Mary Magdalene and her siblings. preserved scenes include not only the *anointing*, but also the *raising of Lazarus* and the *death of Martha*.⁴⁵ Dedications of works also suggest that the Bethany siblings were commonly thought of as a unit. a manuscript made around 1370 for the poor Clares' Convent in Nuremberg, while depicting only scenes from the Magdalene's life, was dedicated not only to her but to Martha and Lazarus as well.⁴⁶

Saelden Hort

While some of the scenes depicted on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, including the anointing and Last Communion were standard episodes for Magdalene cycles throughout Europe, the scenes of the sea Journey and arrival were rarely portrayed in Germany. that they were not commonly depicted in German art does not discount the degree to which the iconography of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* depended on earlier Magdalene cycles. In fact, these scenes are the only two for which a specific model has been identified, and most importantly, a German source. In her landmark study of Magdalene iconography, Marga Anstett-Janßen identified the medieval Magdalene poem known as *der Saelden Hort* as a model for the scenes of the *Sea Journey* and *arrival* on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*. presently, two illustrated texts of *der Saelden Hort* are extant, both of which were probably based on a now lost model that was created around 1390.⁴⁷ the

earlier text (*codex Vindobonensis 2841*) was illustrated around the same time as the lost model, 1390, and is now located in Vienna. Created in 1420, the second version (*Saint Georgen 66*) in Karlsruhe is iconographically dependent on the fourteenth-century versions of the text. of particular relevance to the study of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* is the *Saelden Hort* in Karlsruhe. Demonstrating that the programmer of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* possessed an illustrated copy of *der Saelden Hort* is the scene of the *Sea Journey* followed by the combined scene of the *arrival*, which portrays both the Magdalene's companions huddled before the city of Marseilles and her appearance to the rulers of the pagan land. this same sequence of images exists in the Karlsruhe *Saelden Hort* where two representations of the sea Journey are followed immediately the by the appearance of Mary Magdalene to the rulers and the Companion of Mary Magdalene before the City Gates (figs. 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6).

The popularity of the Wise and foolish Virgins in Germany

The representation of the *Sea Journey* and the *arrival* is not the only exceptional feature of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* that designates the altarpiece's iconography as German. similarly, the unique presence of the *Wise and Foolish Virgins* betrays its German production. although no other Magdalene cycle to my knowledge includes representations of the Wise and foolish Virgins there can be no doubt that the unsurpassed popularity of the Wise and foolish in monumental sculpture and wall painting in Germany served as an inspiration.⁴⁸

In the late Middle Ages the parable of the Wise and foolish Virgins from the Gospel of Matthew was depicted frequently in art. primarily found on the sculpted portals of Gothic churches it also appeared in wall paintings and owed its popularity to the underlying message of Judgment and the necessity of being prepared. the story of the five Wise and foolish Virgins is presented in Matthew's Gospel account (25:1–13). In the parable, the ten Virgins, five wise and five foolish, await the arrival of the Bridegroom, Christ. The foolish Virgins, who run out of oil, leave in search of more. While they are gone, the bridegroom arrives and goes to the wedding feast with the five Wise Virgins, who had been well-prepared, bringing extra oil for their lamps. The foolish Virgins knock on the door of the feast, but the bridegroom refuses to recognize them.



fig. 3.4. Sea Journey (34v), Codex st. Georgen, 1420, illumination. Badischen Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, Germany. photo: Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.



fig. 3.5. *Mary Magdalene appears to the rulers of Marseilles* (38v), Codex st. Georgen, 1420, illumination. Badischen Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, Germany. photo: Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.



fig. 3.6. *Mary Magdalene's companions Before the city gates* (37r), Codex st. Georgen, 1420, illumination. Badischen Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, Germany. photo: Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.

Significant to the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*'s connections to German art is the prevalence of depictions of Matthew's parable in Germany. this subject was commonly placed on the portals of many German parish churches and cathedrals. significantly, of the four extant art objects that connect the Magdalene and the Wise and foolish Virgins visually, all are German.⁴⁹ perhaps encouraging the association between Mary Magdalene with the Wise and foolish Virgins on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* are earlier representations of the parable in Germany. for example, following the procession of the Wise Virgins on the main portal of the cathedral at Freiburg is a statue of the Magdalene with her ointment jar.⁵⁰

Many iconographic features of the predella of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* follow those established in German representations of the Wise and foolish Virgins. Moser's desire to clothe the Virgins in a variety of headdresses and elaborate gowns reflects the custom of representing the Virgins of Matthew's parable in fashionable clothing. The artist also followed the custom of portraying the Wise Virgins with their lamps lit while those held by the foolish Virgins are extinguished. even the bust-length format of the *tiefenbronn altarpiece* predella has parallels in images of the Wise and foolish Virgins in German churches, including the former parish churches at rommelshausen and Neckarbischofsheim.⁵¹

Expressions of the Local: Wolfram Maiser von Berg and Hirsau

The preceding discussion of the iconographic details that firmly anchor the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* in the German iconographic tradition not only dismisses a direct connection to France, but also begs the question whether its imagery reflects even more local concerns. Demonstrated in other essays on Magdalene cycles in this anthology (including those by Michelle Erhardt and Joanne Anderson) patronage and other contextual factors shaped the scenes selected and the details of their representation. some of the details of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*'s iconography, including the emphasis on the ecclesiastical garments, along with the themes emphasized in the selection of scenes, imply that tiefenbronn's neighbor, the prominent Hirsau cloister, played a role in its creation. supporting earlier attempts to link Hirsau and the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, establishing their relationship through iconography presents new possibilities for interpreting and understanding its imagery and its meaning.

In the earlier literature on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, scholars acknowledged the possibility that the Hirsau cloister was involved in its creation. Hans Rott identified one of the coat

of arms on the predella as belonging to Hirsau's abbot at the time the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* was created, Wolfram Maiser von Berg (1428–1460).⁵² While more recent evidence demonstrated that the coat of arms were not his, it is significant that they likely belonged to one of his family members, Agnes Maiser von Berg, who was possibly even a sister.⁵³ Not only does it seem likely that Wolfram would be a theological advisor for a close relative's altarpiece there is additional corroborating evidence. Since its inception, the tiefenbronn parish church (now dedicated to Mary Magdalene) was dependent in some respect on Hirsau. At the time the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* was created (1432) the church at tiefenbronn was not an independent parish church and did not receive its independence until 1455. Until that time it was a filial chapel to the Hirsau parish church of saint Agapitus. even after tiefenbronn officially obtained the status of a parish church, Hirsau retained its rights to patronage. In addition, the abbots of Hirsau were identified as "Kastvogt" and "pfleger" of tiefenbronn.⁵⁴

Documenting their relationship to their subsidiary church, Hirsau abbots contributed to the building and decoration of tiefenbronn.⁵⁵ the coat of arms of Maiser von Berg's successor, Bernhard von Gernsbach, on the high altar by Hans Schüchlin, is testimony to Hirsau's patronage and persistent relationship to the church.⁵⁶ It is noteworthy that Wolfram was also known as a patron of the arts. according to the writings of a later Hirsau abbot, trithemius, Maiser von Berg, founded many new buildings at Hirsau and in other locations including a new abbot's dwelling and permitted the erection of several new altars in the cloister in 1448.⁵⁷ as an art patron, he would have been familiar with Magdalene imagery elsewhere. the careful analysis of the German sources for the scenes on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* presupposes that the theological advisor was familiar with German Magdalene cycles. The knowledge that Maiser von Berg was a fervent art patron supports that he would have been aware of local and regional artistic projects. Beyond a general knowledge of contemporary Magdalene imagery, borrowing from such a specific source as the *Saelden Hort* also implicates Maiser von Berg's involvement in programming the imagery. Several factors about the *Saelden Hort* including its origins and target audience do in fact support that only a person of Maiser von Berg's ecclesiastical position and education would have had access to such a text. Not only did the poem of the *Saelden Hort* and the surviving illustrated copies originate in southwest Germany, but it may also be significant that the Karlsruhe version originated in a Benedictine monastery, saint George's near Villingen. While establishing whether or not the *Saelden Hort* circulated among Benedictines would create a more definitive connection to Hirsau, it is more than

coincidental that one of the only known versions of the text originated in a Benedictine monastery. scholars also believe that the poem originated in an upper-rhenish monastery and was written for a monastic or conventual audience.

The ecclesiastical Garments and Benedictine privilege

In iconographical studies of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, not only has scholarship failed to recognize how the incorporation of German sources supports that Wolfram Maiser von Berg, abbot of the Hirsau cloister, devised the iconography they have overlooked another significant feature of the work, the elaborate vestments worn by the male protagonists. these garments lend additional support to naming Wolfram Maiser von Berg as the theological advisor.

In comparing the representation of Magdalene scenes on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* with earlier Italian or German examples what stands out as truly unique is the detailed rendering of the ecclesiastical vestments worn by the male figures. Lazarus, Maximin, and Cedonius wear episcopal garments in the scenes of the *Sea Journey* and the *arrival*. In the *last communion*, Maximin administers communion to the Magdalene wearing the miter and cope of a bishop. Finally, in the representation of Lazarus on the interior wing he wears a splendid white cope decorated with motifs of birds of prey seizing dog-like creatures amidst starburst patterns and vine work. Although Lazarus and Maximin were generally shown in episcopal garments in pan-European Magdalene cycles as a reference to their office, few examples match Moser's robes in their level of detail and technique. Alfred Stange described Lazarus' cope on the interior wing as one of the most outstanding painted passages in all of European art at the time.⁵⁸ technical studies of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* revealed that Moser's desire to faithfully reproduce the look of ecclesiastical vestments involved a unique and costly method for creating the brocaded fabric.

The full meaning of the artist's exorbitant attention to detail and pains-taking execution are only revealed when we realize that of the various religious orders only Benedictine abbots possessed the special privilege to wear pontifical garments. Given this privilege, it is not surprising that among the objects most frequently commissioned by Benedictine abbots were ecclesiastical vestments. Because of the uniqueness of their privilege, wearing episcopal garb became a special sign of status for Benedictine abbots. In his study of Benedictine patronage in England, Julian Luxford described episcopal vestments and insignia as "a particular point of prestige and no superior would wish to be seen by his peers in anything less than pristine garb."⁵⁹

It is reasonable to assume that the abbot Wolfram Maiser von Berg requested that Lucas Moser, the artist of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, pay special attention to the ecclesiastical vestments worn by Lazarus, Maximin, and Cedonius. that Hirsau abbots took pride in their privilege to wear pontificalia is evident in a surviving Hirsau tomb of the abbot Johannes II. Hansmann (1503–1524). Similar to the garments worn by the male figures on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, the abbot appears in his effigy wearing an elaborate cope, miter and gloves, and even carries a crosier.⁶⁰

Mary Magdalene and the Monastic Ideal

Reinforcing the preceding observation that the programmer of the altarpiece was affiliated with a monastic community are the scenes portrayed on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*. Demonstrated in the following paragraphs, the specific episodes from the Magdalene's life depicted on the altarpiece place a strong emphasis on monastic values. While it is difficult to establish the particularly Benedictine nature of the scenes, since the Magdalene iconography that developed in Germany was largely derived from Italian Mendicant models, acknowledgment of their monastic flavor, nonetheless, provides more evidence that it was a member of a monastic community that devised the iconography of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*.⁶¹

It has been demonstrated in recent literature on Mary Magdalene that certain themes from her life were popularized in a monastic context. In particular, Katherine Jansen has identified some of these in her study of recurring themes from Mary Magdalene's life used in medieval sermons.⁶² these themes, popularized in preaching, were reinforced in visual representations of her life. the scenes of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* correspond to the monastic emphasis on penance, preaching, and eucharistic devotion.

In the example of the *anointing*, the widespread popularity of the scene as the starting point of pictorial cycles has been attributed to its connection to and promotion of penance. although the choice of the anointing as the initial scene for this cycle followed iconographic tradition, the significance of it undoubtedly played a part.⁶³ In medieval sermons, Mary Magdalene was put forth as an exemplar of perfect penitence, because she had fulfilled the four stages of penitential obligation: contrition, confession, satisfaction and absolution.⁶⁴ In part, the emphasis on penance in medieval sermons resulted from its institutionalization.⁶⁵ In 1215 the fourth Lateran Council decreed that in order to participate in holy Communion, every member of the Church had to make

annual confession of their sins.⁶⁶ for the public, the example of the penitent Magdalene became a persuasive symbol, because she was a sinner who transformed herself into a saint.

Mary Magdalene was not only upheld as a model for penance, but she was also extolled for her preaching. Mary Magdalene's role as *apostolorum apostola* (apostle to the apostles) became another popular theme in medieval sermons as well as visual imagery. Initially the title of *apostolorum apostola* applied to Mary Magdalene's role as the person to deliver the news of Christ's resurrection to the apostles.⁶⁷ eventually, however, this title came to encompass not only her role as herald of Christ's resurrection, but also her mission in France, where her preaching led to the conversion of pagan Gaul.⁶⁸ Mary Magdalene's designation as *apostolorum apostola* was reinforced not only in medieval preaching and visual imagery but also in the liturgy, sacred drama and devotional literature.⁶⁹ Directly inspiring the visual imagery, medieval sermons praised her noble work in Gaul. according to an anonymous Franciscan, the men and women there were converted thanks to her preaching.⁷⁰

Taken together the scenes of *Sea Journey* and the *arrival* represent Mary Magdalene's apostolate in France. While the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* portrays her appearance to the rulers instead of the more popular episode of her preaching to the public, it undoubtedly reflects her role as preacher. In narratives of her missionary activities in France, the conversion of the rulers was considered the necessary first step in this mission. A Franciscan preacher, Franciscus of Meryonis, narrated how the saint disseminated the seed of the Word and how, having converted the prince and his wife, she then converted almost all of Provence to the faith of Christ.⁷¹

Similar to the scene of the *anointing*, that of the *last communion* of Mary Magdalene served to promote the sacraments. The fourth Lateran Council, which had made the confession of sin obligatory, also made the reception of the holy eucharist a requirement for all church members at least annually at Easter. as a result of the emphasis on the reception of the sacraments, Mary Magdalene's Last Communion became a common theme not only in sermons but also in medieval imagery.⁷² "preachers, hagiographers, and artists collaborated on making her a figurehead for eucharistic devotion."⁷³

The emphasis on monastic values also extends into the predella representation of the Wise and foolish Virgins. In answering the question why, the Wise and foolish Virgins were included in a Magdalene cycle it is also important to consider medieval monastic sermons, where Mary Magdalene was upheld as a Virgin. According to Francois de Meyronnes, it was possible for

the Magdalene to receive the quadruple crown the third tier of which was symbolic of virginity. He stated, “the third is the floral crown, which is given to virgins, not because she was a virgin but after her conversion she maintained the highest purity of body and mind.”⁷⁴

Conclusion

In the consideration of Mary Magdalene as the subject for a side altar at tiefenbronn in Germany earlier scholarship mistakenly turned to France. This essay emphasized not only the insubstantial nature of this assumption, but also the widespread popularity of Mary Magdalene in Germany, and specifically at tiefenbronn. Along with the strength of Mary Magdalene’s cult in Germany, the iconography of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*, entrenched in German sources, strengthened the painting’s relationship to the region in which it was created. Instead of looking to foreign sources, the focus on regional influences also provides a new understanding of how the imagery of the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* was shaped by its context. A preliminary reflection on the theological advisor suggests that it was the abbot of the nearby Hirsau monastery, who devised the iconographic program for the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*. This is supported not only by the monastic character of the imagery and its sources but also in tiefenbronn’s official relationship to Hirsau and abbot Wolfram’s familial ties to the altarpiece’s owner.

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1. Marga anstett-Janßen, “Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst. Ikonographie der heiligen von den Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert (phD diss., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1962), 255.
 2. Hans Rott, “Die Kirche zu tiefenbronn bei pforzheim und ihre Kunstwerke,” *Badische Heimat* 12 (1925): 126–130; Hans Rott, *die Kirche zu tiefenbronn bei pforzheim* (Augsburg: Filser, 1929), 17–20; Graf Johannes von Waldburg-Wolfegg, *Lucas Moser* (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1939), 24–35; Kurt Bauch, *der tiefenbronner altar des Lucas Moser* (Bremen: Angelsen-Verlag, 1940), 3–8; Hildegard von Baranayai-Dannenberg, *die Kirche zu tiefenbronn* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1948), 6; Wilhelm Boeck, *der tiefenbronner altar von Lucas Moser* (Munich: Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftliches Lichtbild, 1951), 17–23; Helmut May, *Lucas Moser* (Stuttgart: E. Fink, 1967), 16–25.
 3. According to Luke (7:36–38) when Christ was eating dinner at the house of a pharisee, a woman, known as a sinner, came to see him. She brought with her an alabaster box full of ointment “and standing behind at his

feet, she began to wash his feet, with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.” similarly in the Gospel of John, Christ attended a feast in Bethany . . . “they made him a supper there: and Martha served: but Lazarus was one of them that were at table with him. Mary therefore took a pound of ointment of right spikenard, of great price, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair” v. 2–3. In Matthew 26:6–13 and Mark 14:3–9 the banquet takes place in the house of the pharisee in Bethany. for more information regarding the argument over whether or not the Gospel accounts were all referring to the same event, see Thomas Zeller, *die Salbung bei Simon dem pharisäer und in Bethanien. Studien zur Bildtradition der beiden themen in der italienischen Kunst von den anfängen im. 9. Jahrhundert bis zum ende des cinquecento* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1997).

4. the presence of peter at the scene is relatively unusual and cannot be explained by either Luke’s or John’s accounts of that banquets at which Christ was present. In the narrative of the feast at Simon’s no other person is specifically mentioned outside of Simon. In John’s account of the feast in Bethany Judas rather than peter is specified as being in attendance. He criticizes Mary for being wasteful.
5. for information on the identification of Mary Magdalene with Mary of Bethany see the introduction. the contrast between the Magdalene at Christ’s feet and Martha’s serving is undoubtedly an allusion to the active life and the contemplative life. Graf Johannes von Waldburg-Wolfegg identified the motif of Martha serving as a new element in the scene. *Lukas Moser*, 27. In monastic literature Mary Magdalene became the model for the contemplative life while her legendary sister, Martha was the exemplar of the active life. see Michelle Erhardt’s essay in this volume for a discussion of the *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa* and how Mary Magdalene and Martha came to represent these respectively.
6. the dedication inscription, hIC.IN.aLtarI hoNoraNDI.sv/Nt.I B(ea)ta. Marla. MaGDaLeNa/2° B(ea)tVs.aNtoNlus.3°.B(ea)tus/ VeNeraBILIs. eKharDus, is located in the upper horizontal border of the main inscription. Contained in the lower horizontal border is the so-called indulgence phrase, [. . .] DICat [. . .]/ Marla.MaGDaLeNa (et).IN. Die./Be(a)tI.aNthoNy.(et).eKharDI. totIDeM.INDVLGeNCIa [. . .]. franz heinzmann and Mathias Köhler, *der Magdalenenaltar des lucas Moser in der gotischen Basilika tiefenbronn* (regensburg: Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 1994), 16. the artist’s lament, schri.kvnst.schri.vnd. klag.dich.ser.din.begert.iecz.niemen. mer.so.o.we.1432., is in the left vertical border. In the right vertical border is the artist’s inscription, LVCas.Moser. MaLer.VoN.WIL.Malster.DeZ. WerX.Blit.Got.Vlr.IN. Reiner Hausherr, “Der Magdale- nenaltar in tiefenbronn.’ Bericht über die wissenschaftliche tagung am 9. und 10. März im Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in München,” *Kunstchronik* 24 (1971): 189.
7. Jacobus da Voragine, *the golden legend*, trans. by William Granger Ryan, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton university press, 1993).
8. one of the textual links between the Wise and foolish Virgins and the Magdalene and Martha was found in the third Nocturn of the roman Breviary on the feast of St. Martha, which is July 29. Hans Rott, *die Kirche zu tiefenbronn bei pforzheim*, 20. Among the readings on Martha’s feast, both the homily of saint Augustine and Lesson viii include Martha and the Virgins. More relevant to this discussion is saint Augustine’s homily since both Martha and Mary Magdalene are mentioned. the sermon states, “Martha and Mary were two sisters, real

sisters both, not only in the flesh, but in piety also; both adhered to the Lord, both with one mind served the Lord, present in the flesh.” Joseph a. Nelson, ed. *roman Breviary in English*, vol. 3 (New York: Benziger, 1950), 711. Following the passage from the sermon is a response relating to the Wise Virgins, “this is a wise Virgin, whom the Lord found watching who, when she took her lamp, brought oil with her and when the Lord came, she went in with him to the marriage. V. at midnight a cry arose: Behold, the bridegroom is coming, go forth to meet him.” Nelson, *roman Breviary*, 111–112.

- a. In addition to the passages in the roman Breviary, the *golden Legend*, in its repeated association of Mary Magdalene with light, may explain the presence of the Wise and foolish Virgins in a Magdalene cycle. Graf Johannes von Waldburg-Wolfegg, *Lucas Moser*, 33–34. one of the instances in the *golden Legend* in which Mary Magdalene is related to light is in the meaning of her name. along with the meaning of bitter sea (*amarum mare*), according to Voragine, the name Mary, or Maria, can be interpreted as illuminator or illuminated. The meanings of her name also correspond to the parts or shares of penance, inward contemplation and heavenly glory that she chose. Voragine explained, “since she chose the best part of inward contemplation, she is called enlightener, because in contemplation she drew draughts of light so deep that in turn she poured out light in abundance: in contemplation she received the light with which she afterwards enlightened others. as she chose the best part of heavenly glory, she is called illuminated, because she now is enlightened by the light of perfect knowledge in her mind and will be illumined the light of glory in her body.” Voragine, *golden Legend*, vol. 1, 374–375.
 - b. Mary Magdalene also fulfills the role of a light bringer in the legend of Martha in the *golden Legend*. Waldburg-Wolfegg, *Lucas Moser*, 34. as saint Martha neared death, she requested that her companions remain awake to keep the lamps lighted until she had died. They fell asleep and she felt evil spirits swarming around her and prayed. Then she saw her sister coming to her carrying a torch with which she lighted all the candles and lamps. Voragine, *golden Legend*, vol. 2, 25. also see Penny Howell Jolly, “the Wise and foolish Magdalene, the Good Widow, and Rogier van der Weyden’s *Braque triptych*,” *Studies in iconography* 31 (2010): 105–109. additionally, see amy Morris, “Mary Magdalene as exemplar of the Contemplative Life in Lukas Moser’s St. Magdalene altarpiece,” (Ma thesis, Kent state university, 1995), 55–56.
9. hausherr, “‘Der Magdalenenaltar in tiefenbronn.’” 192.
 10. r. Straub, e.-L. Richter, h. Härlin and W. Brandt, “Der Magdalenenaltar des Lucas Moser. eine technische studie,” in Althöfer, h., Straub, r. and Willemsen, e., *Beiträge zur untersuchung und Konservierung mittelalterlicher Kunstwerke* (Munich: Deutscher Kun- Stverlag, 1974), 43.
 11. In the early sixteenth century, less than one hundred years after the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* was created, its shrine was renovated. technical study revealed that its original shrine had been enlarged to accommodate a larger sculpture. Ernst-Ludwig Richter, “Zur rekonstruktion des tiefenbronner Magdalenenalters,” *pantheon* 30 (1972): 33–38. for a discussion of the debate over the original contents of the shrine, see amy Morris, “Lucas Moser’s *St. Magdalene altarpiece*: solving the riddle of the sphinx,” (PhD diss., Indiana university, 2006),

153–160.

12. Hans Rott, "Die Kirche zu tiefenbronn," 122.
13. Gerhard Piccard, *der Magdalenenaltar des >Lukas Moser< in tiefenbronn. ein Beitrag zur europäischen Kunstgeschichte mit einer Untersuchung die tiefenbronner patrozinien und ihre (Hirsauer) Herkunft* (Wiesbaden: otto harrassowitz, 1969).
14. Straub, "eine technische studie," 9–46.
15. Hans Rott speculated that Moser spent several years in Dijon. rott, "Die Kirche zu tiefenbronn," 132.
16. according to Georg troescher, before 1430, Moser was active for an indeterminable period of time in a southern French workshop and was likely in avignon. Georg troescher, "Die pilgerfahrt des Robert Campin: altniederländische und südwestdeutsche Maler in südostfrankreich," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 9 (1967): 132.
17. Charles sterling, "observations on Moser's tiefenbronn altarpiece," *pantheon* 30 (1972): 19–32.
18. sterling, "observations," 30.
19. this observation is important, since not only was it customary for donors to choose the subject as has been demonstrated in numerous studies on patronage, no sufficient evidence has come to light to support that Moser trained in France. for a more in-depth discussion of Moser's relationship to upper-rhenish painting, see amy M. Morris, "Lucas Moser's St. Magdalene altarpiece," 203–12 and 215–39. the visual similarities between Moser and upper-rhenish painting suggest that he trained in southern Germany and not France.
20. sterling, "observations," 27.
21. sterling, "observations," 22.
22. His theory of the Magdalene's origins was largely based on Vézelay's position as the premiere cult center for the Magdalene in the later Middle Ages. As such, they possessed indulgence privileges in connection with Mary Magdalene's cult, which, for him, accounted for the indulgence inscription on the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece*. The unique quality of the altarpiece as well as its costliness resulted from the work's original function as a cult object at Vézelay. The elaborate nature of the work was appropriate for an object intended to serve as a cult focus. Gerhard Piccard, *der Magdalenenaltar*, 180. prior to Piccard, scholars based assumptions about the tiefenbronn altarpiece's connections to France on a perceived lack of importance of the Magdalene in southern Germany. Casting Mary Magdalene's popularity in southwest Germany in doubt, Hans Rott described the *Saint Magdalene altarpiece* as the only known representation of the Magdalene legend among upper-rhenish shrine altars. Hans Rott, "Die Kirche zu tiefenbronn," 132. In areas, such as province, where presumably the Magdalene's cult was much more widespread, there is evidence for numerous altarpieces depicting her. for example, in province, there are seven documented altarpieces (none are extant) depicting Mary Magdalene Georg troescher, "Die pilgerfahrt des robert Campin," 127–28.
23. among the pieces of evidence used to dismiss the existence of a Magdalene cult was the late date of Mary Magdalene's establishment as a patron and benefice in her name. she was not officially a patron of the church until the eighteenth century. In addition, the benefice, which was not established until 1526, was never wealthy. Piccard, *der Magdale- nenaltar*, 68–70; 94–95.

24. Hans Hansel, *Die Maria-Magdalena-Legende: eine Quellenuntersuchung* (Greifswald: Dallmeyer, 1937) and "Die Geschichte der Magdalenenverehrung in Deutschland," *Volk und Volkstum, Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 1 (1936): 269–277.
25. Hansel, "Die Geschichte der Magdalenenverehrung," 270.
26. the hymns *Jesu Christus auctor vitae* and *Votiva cunctis orbita* are contained in liturgical books from Verona, seckau, rheinau, prüfening, schäftlarn, Zwiefalten, and admont, which date from the tenth and eleventh centuries. In addition, the creators of the oldest sequences were hermann from reichenau and Gottshalk from Limbourg. Hansel, "Geschichte der Magdalenenverehrung," 272.
27. Dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries, the oldest hymns and sequences in Mary Magdalene's honor originated in southern German monasteries. as further testimony to the strength of Mary Magdalene in Germany, next to her feast day of July 22, a *festum conversionis* was also celebrated in connection with the feast of Christ on March 1, 10 or 11. Hansel, "Geschichte der Magdalenenverehrung," 272.
28. Rudolph from Wurms founded the Magdalene order in 1224. for more information on the history and development of the Magdalene order, see Hansel, "Geschichte der Magdalenenverehrung," 274, n. 2.
29. Among these, the Magdalene's feast day was raised to the rank of a special holy day, and pope Gregory the IX expressly recommended in a letter (1228) to the episcopate and clergy of Germany that the feast of Mary Magdalene should be celebrated in all churches of the diocese. In addition, in order to increase the respect of Mary Magdalene convents and encourage thoughts of penitence in the people, Gregory IX granted all believers an indulgence upon the visit to a Mary Magdalene church on the annunciation and assumption of the Virgin, the feast of Mary Magdalene, the church dedication day or in easter week. finally, Gregory IX instructed the franciscans and Dominicans in their sermons to recommend the Magdalene's "Liebestätigkeit." hansel, "Geschichte der Magdalenenverehrung," 274–75.
30. Cornelia van den Wildenberg-de Kroon. *das Weltleben und die Bekehrung der Maria Magdalena im deutschen religiösen drama und in der bildenden Kunst des Mittelalters* (tilburg: rodopi, 1979).
31. Heinzmann and Köhler, *der Magdalenenaltar*, 6.
32. Maria Schütte, *der Schwäbische Schnitzaltar* (strasbourg: J.h.e. heitz, 1907), 19.
33. Mathias Köhler, *St. Maria Magdalena tiefenbronn* (Lindenberg: Kunstverlag fink, 1998), 3.
34. the Virgin is listed as the patron of the church in a donation document from 1347. Hans Rott, "Die Kirche zu tiefenbronn," 103.
35. the first mention of Mary Magdalene as a joint patron of the church at tiefenbronn is found in a donation document from Ursula von Gemmingen on March 30, 1621. Piccard, *der Magdalenenaltar*, 69–70.

36. the emphasis on penance that was to permeate German Magdalene iconography is manifest in the first legendary scene from the Magdalene's life to appear in Germany. although not a Magdalene cycle, the *nuremberg graduale*, created around 1300, boasts Germany's earliest depiction of Mary Magdalene's legendary life in the scene of the *last communion*, which was depicted in the initial G. this manuscript has been stylistically designated as Frankish or upper-rhenish. Marga Anstett-Janßen, "Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst," 156.
37. This fresco has been attributed to the Waltensburger Master, who was active between 1325 and 1350 in Graubünden. The scenes of the *anointing*, the *raising of Lazarus*, the *preaching of Mary Magdalene to the rulers of Marseilles*, the *elevation* and the *last communion* are arranged horizontally without borders between the scenes. anstett-Janßen, "Maria Magdalena in der abeländischen Kunst," 200–3.
38. Anstett-Janßen, "Maria Magdalena in der abeländischen Kunst," 200–203.
39. the manuscript includes *the raising of Lazarus*, *Noli me tangere*, the *Magdalene preaching to the rulers of Marseilles*, the *elevation*, the *last communion* and the *death of Martha*. It has been dated between 1370 and 1380. unfortunately, the provenance is unknown. Anstett-Janßen, "Maria Magdalena in der abeländischen Kunst," 213–16.
40. the cycle includes the scenes of the *Feast in the House of Simon*, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, the *raising of Lazarus*, *noli me tangere*, *apostola apostolorum*, *Mary Magdalene preaching to the rulers of Marseilles*, the two depictions of the *elevation*, the *last communion* and the *death of Martha*. Most of the scenes were depicted in the border initials. The manuscript, hist. 149, is in the Staatlichen Bibliothek in Bamberg. Anstett- Janßen. "Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst," 204–9.
41. this is the earliest known representation of the Magdalene's legendary life in Ger- many. Anstett-Janßen. "Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst," 157.
42. Anstett-Janßen. "Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst," 208.
43. this manuscript (hist. 149) is located in the staatlichen Bibliothek in Bamberg. anstett-Janßen. "Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst," 204.
44. Anstett-Janßen. "Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst," 208.
45. the panels of the altarpiece, which was made between 1350 and 1375, are currently divided among the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and the Bayerischen National Museum in Munich. of the four extant scenes, three are in Nuremberg: the anointing, raising of Lazarus and Death of Martha. The *Noli me tangere* is in Munich. the proposed missing scenes of the altarpiece include the Magdalene preaching in Marseilles, her elevation and Last Communion. "Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst," 209–10.
46. This manuscript contains two scenes from Mary Magdalene's life: *Noli me tangere* and her Last Communion. It is located in the Bamberg Staatsbibliothek (hist. 159). Anstett- Janßen, "Maria Magdalena in der abendländischen Kunst," 213.
47. the most exhaustive sources on the *Saelden Hort* include Heinrich Adrian, *der Sael- den Hort*,

alemannisches gedicht vom leben Jesu, Johannes des täufer und der Magdalena; aus der Wiener und Karlsruher Handschrift (Berlin: Weidmann, 1927) and Frieda Eder, *Studien zu der Saelden Hort; ein Beitrag zur gesellschaftlichen Bestimmtheit mittelalterlicher dichtung* (Berlin: r. Pfau, 1938). The Saelden Hort is also discussed in, Annette Volting, *John the evangelist and Medieval German Writing: imitating the inimitable* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 169–83.

48. Regine Körkel-Hinkfoth, *die parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen (Mt. 25, 1–13) in der bildenden Kunst und im geistlichen Schauspiel* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994), 14.
49. Körkel-Hinkfoth, *die parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen*, 45 and 88–89.
50. The representation of the Wise and Foolish Virgins is located on the north side of the main portal. The sculptures were created c. 1285/1300. For an illustration of the sculptures see, Körkel-Hinkfoth, *die parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen*, 540.
51. For illustrations of these, see Körkel-Hinkfoth, *die parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen*, 564 and 566.
52. Additionally he identified Mäuser von Berg as the altarpiece's theological advisor. Rott, "Die Kirche zu tiefenbrunn," 124–25.
53. Hausscherr, "'Der Magdalenenaltar' in tiefenbrunn," 192.
54. Piccard, *der Magdalenenaltar*, 76.
55. Rott, "Die Kirche zu tiefenbrunn," 124.
56. Rott, *die Kirche zu tiefenbrunn bei pforzheim*, 16.
57. The list included a Sebastian, Christopher, Nicholas, Catherine and three Kings altar. None of the artist's names have been handed down. Rott, "Die Kirche zu tiefenbrunn," 125.
58. Alfred Stange, *Südwestdeutschland in der Zeit von 1400 bis 1450* (Berlin, 1951), 96.
59. *The art and architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300–1540: a patronage History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005).
60. Otto Teschauer, *Kloster Hirsau: ein Kurzführer* (Calw: Calwer Druckzentrum, 1991), 30.
61. Among the recent investigations of the relationship between Mary Magdalene and religious orders beyond the mendicants is Susie Nash, "Clas Sluter's 'Well of Moses' for the Chartreuse de Champmol reconsidered: part III *Burlington Magazine* (Nov. 2008): 724–41.
62. Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene: preaching and popular devotion in the later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
63. In Zeller's discussion on the theme in Italian art he analyzed the popularity of the theme in connection with the ecclesiastical/political events related to the transfer of Mary Magdalene's cult from Vézelay and province to Italy. See, 54–72. He also pointed out that most of the depictions of the scene were located in mendicant churches of the Angevin/Guelph oriented cities. Zeller, *die Salbung*, 90.
64. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalene*, 204. For more information as to how the Magdalene fulfilled each of the requirements of penance, see Jansen, chapter 7.
65. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalene*, 200.

66. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 199.
67. Katherine Ludwig Jansen, "Maria Magdalena: apostolorum apostola," in *Women preachers and prophets*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 57.
68. Jansen, "Maria Magdalena: apostolorum apostola," 57–8.
69. Jansen, "Maria Magdalena: apostolorum apostola," 75–77
70. Jansen, "Maria Magdalena: apostolorum apostola," 72.
71. Jansen, "Maria Magdalena: apostolorum apostola," 72.
72. for more information on the relationship between the Mass and altarpiece imagery, see Barbara Lane, *the altar and the altarpiece: Sacramental themes in early Netherlandish painting* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).
73. as a model for the sacrament she became one of the saints most frequently represented on eucharistic tabernacles. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 222.
74. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 242.