HERIBERT AND ANNO II OF COLOGNE
TWO SAINTLY ARCHBISHOPS, THEIR CULT, AND THEIR ROMANESQUE SHRINES

Susanne Wittekind

Many of the new saints in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were bishops of the Holy Roman Empire. This is surprising, as they had obligations to the emperor and were deeply involved in politics, some even acting as king’s chancellor. In the investiture contest, this structure and interconnection of the bishop’s worldly and ecclesiastical offices was intensively debated and criticized. Based on a case study on two sainted archbishops of Cologne, Heribert (+1022) and Anno II (+1075), the paper therefore asks how these bishops were presented in their written vitae, and how they were depicted on their shrines to demonstrate their sanctity. Which ideals of sanctity do they propagate? Who do they address? In general, we assume that churches praised the power and miracles of their saints to attract pilgrims, and that they exploited the saints’ golden shrines to impress pilgrims. However, the analysis of the two shrines at Cologne-Deutz and Siegburg will show that they were directed mainly to the spiritual communities the venerated bishops had founded and had chosen for burial places, and who kept their memories.

INTRODUCTION

How the cult of a saint develops, and where and for how long it remains active, depends on many factors: not just on the saint’s saintly life or miracles and the written records of his or her deeds, but also on the appeal of these deeds to pilgrims carrying the cult to other shores, on the distribution of relics, sometimes on certain political constellations – as with Thomas Becket or Saint Louis – and not least on the power of visual media. In the Middle Ages, art as a medium of saints’ international marketing was in use all over Europe and is, therefore, familiar to art historians. In turn, these fascinating success stories, often (re)told in exhibitions, make me ask why other saints gained only local veneration, even though their lives and miracles were recorded and beautiful shrines were made to hold their relics and to demonstrate their holiness.

One of these is Archbishop Anno II of Cologne (1056–1075) with whom very few will be familiar, although he was officially canonized by Pope Lucius III in 1183. It is in Siegburg (North Rhine-Westphalia), where Anno founded St Michael’s abbey, and where he was buried in 1075, where Anno is chiefly venerated. In Cologne, where he founded the collegiate church of St George and where he was active as archbishop, he is commemorated only in some liturgical calendars and churches. When, in the early 12th century, his cult came to Canterbury, this was not because of his widespread glory but on behalf of a fraternity between his foundation at Siegburg and the community of Christchurch Canterbury. His sainted predecessor Archbishop Heribert of Cologne (999–1021), founder of the Benedictine abbey at Deutz, is likewise little known outside Cologne. The following case study on the two saintly Cologne archbishops, Heribert and Anno II, focuses on their visually propagated image. It will demonstrate, that their presentation in *libelli*, reliquaries or shrines was addressed primarily to the convents which cared for their memories, and beyond them to the wider ecclesiastical community the convents were part of. Regarded against the backdrop of the vivid debate on saints’ cults, on pilgrimage and its negative effects on monastic life in the 12th century, the paper suggests that there was no special interest within these Benedictine communities to promote further their founders’ fame.

At around 1500 the situation was different: the chronicle of Cologne, printed in a Low German dialect in 1499 by the Cologne publisher Koelhoff, advertised all the sainted archbishops of the cathedral city on its title page. It was they, the archbishop saints, who made the city into *hlligen Coellen*, ‘holy Cologne’ – they and the many relics held there. Cologne became the reputed resting place of the relics of St Gereon and the Theban legion, of St Ursula and her virgins, which were exhumed from the 1120s, and which were represented on the chronicle’s armorial frontispiece in the form of blood droplets. When finally the relics of the Three Kings were transferred from Milan to Cologne in 1165, they became the celebrity relics of the city, and made Cologne an
HERIBERT AND ANNO II OF COLOGNE

The veneration of Archbishops Heribert and Anno II began immediately after their deaths and before the relic frenzy of the 12th century. Both had been part of an 11th-century group of leading bishops in the Empire – like Bernward and Godehard of Hildesheim. They had been trained at the great cathedral or monastic schools of the Empire; they rose through the ranks to occupy high-profile positions at court, from members of the chancellery to Imperial Chancellor, tutors of princes, or even co-regent. This position of trust at court led to them being nominated for and invested in their bishoprics. Heribert and Anno supported the ecclesiastical reform movements of Gorze and Fruttuaria; both founded reform monasteries and chose them to hold their tombs instead of their cathedral churches. Both had vitae produced soon after their passing, which presented the late bishops as saints by emphasizing their virtues, such as the efficacy of their prayers, their charity, their devotion to the poor, as well as the miracles they wrought in life and the saintly visions they appeared in after death. The first life of Heribert (999–1021) was written by the Deutz-based monk Lantbert before he became abbot of St Laurent in Liège (1060–1069), a second by the theologian, and later abbot of Deutz, Rupert c. 1120. The first life of Anno II (1056–1075) was written on the orders of abbot Reginhard of St Michael in Siegburg (1076–1105) shortly before his death, the second in the course of the canonization process c. 1183.

To explore the means by which the cults of the two archbishops of Cologne were propagated by their foundations in Deutz and Siegburg, we should look both inward – to the members of the convents – and outward, to pilgrims and members of other monastic or ecclesiastical communities. We must therefore consult the written records, vitae, translation and miracle reports, or the formularies for their feast days. Beyond these, we must consider the placement and design of their tombs in their churches, the representation of the saints in books or on seals, and, in particular, the nature of their famous shrines. The Heribert shrine, begun in 1147 and completed around 1170, is one of the first (preserved) reliquary shrines to depict scenes from the saint’s life on the shrine itself. The Anno shrine, made between 1183 and 1186 on the occasion of Anno’s canonization, follows this model in type and style. However, it expresses a different message and embeds the life of Anno in a different context. Despite the similar backgrounds and the close relations between the two houses at Deutz and Siegburg, the two shrines proclaim completely different ideas of episcopal sainthood.

A look at how the veneration of the saints developed locally can help elucidate this.

HERIBERT AS PATRON OF DEUTZ AND ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE

The abbey of Deutz, dedicated to the Virgin and our Saviour, was founded on the ruins of the former Roman castellum of Deutz across the Rhine from Cologne. The Vita of Lantbert (Lectio 7) suggests that this was motivated by a vision in which Mary revealed the proper place to Heribert. The church was designed as a single large centralised space; inside, the octagon had a diameter of 19m, with six chapels set into its thick walls. (Figure 3.2) The eastern part of the octagon was occupied by the raised monastic choir, with two stairways leading down into the chancel. The structure ended with the high altar in the apse. Here, in front of the main altar, Heribert was buried in a sarcophagus. Inscriptions at his head and foot revealed the date of death and the name and rank of the deceased as well as his role as founder and consecrator of the church. Lantbert’s Vita reports that his grave was the site of miraculous healing. A charter of Archbishop Pilgrim (1021–1036) named Heribert as a saint as early as 1032. Another charter by Anno II records that an international pilgrimage site – and are still represented in the three gold crowns on Cologne’s arms.
The altar was erected over his grave in 1059. The miracles collected by Lantbert (before 1060) name an Irish pilgrim being healed in Deutz on his way to Rome as well as pilgrims from the region and neighbouring dioceses, that is, from Worms, Mainz, and Trier, the Eifel and the Ardennes. The miracle stories emphasize the vows and votive offerings made by the healed, making them virtual advertisements for more pilgrims. Compared to the rhetorically complex *vita* of Lantbert with its twelve lessons and the artful Heribert *officium*, the miracle stories were obviously intended for a lay audience. One remarkable aspect here is that the miracle stories survive alongside Lantbert’s *vita Heriberti* from an early period, but only from the Liège region, whereas in Cologne and its surroundings, only the Lantbert *vita* seems to have been included in the monastic passionals after Heribert’s elevation in 1147. This change indicates a shift in the veneration of Heribert, who thereafter becomes more important as a founder and patron of his abbey, and was mostly venerated there. The first indication of this is a bronze situla from St Stephan in Mainz from c. 1100. It is decorated with four figures framed by pilasters, with two bands of inscriptions identifying the protagonists. Facing each other from each side of the lion-head handle, there are Mary in prayer and Christ blessing, as the primary patrons of Deutz. They are mirrored by *Sanctus Heribertus episcopus* as a third patron and Abbot Hartmann (before 1078–1096), haloed, but lacking a *sanctus*—probably honoured here because of his donations to the abbey. In 1119/1120, Rupert of Deutz produced a new *Vita Heriberti*, which adds more theological discussion and removes most of the miracles of Lantbert’s work, tailored apparently for internal use and not much disseminated outside the abbey’s walls. Probably this *vita* was written in the context of a planned elevation of the saint.

A dendrochronological survey, undertaken in 1991, of the oak core of the Heribert shrine reveals that the main design of the shrine dates to this period, that is, the wooden corpus with its broad base and cornice profiles, the long sides with their rhythm of pilasters, and a central recess at the ends, as well as the wooden container for the relics. The disastrous fire at the abbey in 1128 and the costly repairs might have delayed the shrine’s decoration.

In the mid 12th century, Heribert rose to become the main patron of Deutz. This can be seen in the miniatures opening the Deutz registers (Bonn, lost in 1947) of the manuscript includes a necrology of the abbey and a list of fraternal communities, starting with St Michael in Siegburg and the Cologne monasteries St Pantaleon and Groß St Martin, followed by a list of donations and revenues. It also contains a list of the abbots with comments, a list of archbishops of Cologne, and of popes. The manuscript states its author...
Figure 3.4
Codex Thiodericus, c. 1150 (formerly Bonn), fols 1v-2r: Monks of Deutz Abbey with their patron Heribert – Custos Thiodericus praying to the Virgin and Child (© Monica Sinderhauf, Die Abtei Deutz und ihre innere Erneuerung. Klostergeschichte im Spiegel des verschollenen Codex Thiodericus, Vierow 1996)

Figure 3.5
THE HERIBERT SHRINE

The new role of Heribert as a monastic patron is related to the elevation of Heribert’s remains in 1147 by Archbishop Arnold I of Cologne, which was the starting point for the lavish decoration of his shrine. The Heribert shrine was presumably placed in the chancel of the church in Deutz, covering the Archbishop’s grave so that its front touched the altar. The shrine itself is a long, gabled construction. Its decoration was produced in two phases, but, as its nail holes show, they were mounted at the same time (Figure 3.6 and Colour Plate I (top), Figure 3.7).

The first design of the shrine, which is attributed to the period of Abbot Gerlach (1146–60), includes the hammered silverwork: on the front face is a trefoil showing the first patrons of the abbey, the Virgin crowned as Queen of Heaven, holding the Saviour. She is flanked by two angels in adoration and originally topped by a medallion depicting the dextera dei. The back face shows the third patron of Deutz, Archbishop Heribert in a similar setting. He is accompanied by the personifications of charity and humility, who are holding him his crosier and gospels. Both virtues are emphasized in the lives of Heribert, where they underlie his role as shepherd and teacher of his flock. Above him, a large medallion shows the Pantokrator in a blessing pose, obviously acknowledging the archbishop and his virtues. Each long side has six enthroned Apostles, each holding a book with a verse of the credo, beginning with Saint Peter to the right of Mary and ending with Judas (to the right of Heribert) announcing the final judgement of man. The verses about the Holy Spirit and the church are not included. The related inscriptions (in fragments of vernis brun, repeated in enamel) refer to Old Testament precursors of the Apostles and to the Heavenly Jerusalem. The bas-reliefs of the gable top pick up virtues and vices, not unlike the Maastricht Servatius shrine, to continue the theme of church and judgement.

A second phase, under Abbot Hartbern (1160–1169), added the enamel work. These include the 14 prophets on the pilasters and the twelve medallions with scenes from Heribert’s life on the top. The scenes from the vita begin and end next to the Heribert gable-end of the shrine, giving his figure greater emphasis. The scrolls in the hands of the prophets quote from their books and refer to the workings of the saints: they are sent out to preach and teach justice as the chosen witnesses of the Lord. These shepherds and teachers should be called ‘sainted’. The inscriptions therefore create the theological underpinnings for the cult of Heribert; they change the thrust of the iconography from themes of judgement to the example of the saint as the successor of the prophets and the Apostles. His work is revealed in the scenes from his life, depicted in twelve medallions that generally follow the twelve lessons of Lantbert: The first six telling the story of his accession to the bishopric, the remainder showing his work in office, from the foundation of the monastery in Deutz to his death and burial there (Figure 3.7). As in Rupert’s vita, this visual ‘life’ reduces the number of miracles and emphasizes other elements by stressing the power of his prayer and the force of his spirit. The life of Heribert as shown on the shrine paints a picture of ideal harmony between the sainted Cologne archbishop and the recently (1146) canonized Emperor Henry II. At the same time, it is a political statement of considerable force in view of the Investiture Controversy and the role of Cologne’s Archbishops Arnold II of Wied (1151–1156) and Rainald of Dassel (1159–67) as imperial chancellors of Frederick Barbarossa. The chronological, biographical narrative makes the saint a historical entity. By depicting him as an ideal bishop, Heribert becomes a benchmark for his successors in office and focuses attention on the work of the current ecclesiastical elite.

The inscriptions and the complicated iconography do not seem intended for consumption by lay pilgrims. Rather, it seems to have been made with the convent at Deutz and the other churches of Cologne in mind. The canons of the city’s seven collegiate churches visited Deutz annually on the feast of Heribert (16 March) and again on Fridays after Ascension as part of the Rogation Days. We can assume that Lantbert’s vita of Heribert was well-known among the city’s canons affiliated with Deutz by fraternity or simply by being part of the stationary liturgy. The visual vita not only shows the events, it makes sure to locate them. Not only Deutz is shown, as Heribert’s foundation and burial place, it also shows Heribert’s ordination and Palm Sunday Mass in Cologne cathedral, and it refers to the city itself with the drought procession to St Severin. The abbey at Deutz makes a point of showing its patron Heribert as part of Cologne’s family of churches, giving it a say and role in the ecclesiastical politics on the other side of the Rhine. The strategy was apparently successful: the sequence Gaude felix agrippina (recorded 1424) still counts Heribert among
Figure 3.6
Heribert shrine 1147–1169 (St Heribert, Cologne Deutz): Front side with Heribert between charity and humility, the Pantocrator blessing him; long side with Apostles, medallions with scenes from Heribert’s youth and career up to his accession to the bishopric of Cologne (© Colonia Romanica XIII, Köln 1998. See also Colour Plate I (top))

Figure 3.7
Heribert shrine, 1147–1169 (St Heribert, Cologne Deutz): Front side with Mary and Child between angels, long side with Apostles and medallions showing Heribert’s miracles, his reconciliation with Emperor Henry II, and his death (© Matthias Puhle and Claus-Peter Haase eds, Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation 962 bis 1806. Von Otto dem Großen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, Vol. 2, Dresden 2006)
HERIBERT AND ANNO II OF COLOGNE

the saints who have given Cologne its presence as a holy
city, as Colonia sancta.31

ARCHBISHOP ANNO II AS FOUNDER IN
SIEGBURG

The picture painted of Anno’s life and work by contem­
porary authors is very ambiguous and clearly depends on
the standpoint of the author: In 1062, the archbishop had
taken the young Henry IV, aged 11 and still under the
tutelage of his mother, the Empress Dowager Agnes, by
force from Kaiserswerth, to act as his guardian and co­
regent.32 He later had regular confrontations with Henry
IV, as well with his city. In 1074, the citizens of Cologne
revolted and expelled Anno after he had requisitioned the
ship of a Cologne trader for the return journey of his suf­
fragan bishop to Münster. Anno successfully put down
the revolt, but critical voices also arose from monaster­
ies such as Stavelot, whose privileges as a free imperial
abbey were under attack from Anno.33 Criticism also came
from Brauweiler, concerning the manor of Klotten, which
the widowed Queen Richeza of Poland (1025–1063) had
promised Brauweiler as the traditional burial place of the
Ezzonin dynasty, but which Anno had taken over for his
favourite collegiate church St Maria ad Gradus, where he
had Richeza’s remains buried against her wishes.34 The
Benedictine abbey of St Pantaleon was forced by Anno
to hand over a relic of St George for Anno’s foundation,
the collegiate church dedicated to St George; the abbey
was also reformed, carved up, and the rights of the abbot
severely limited.35 Critics of Henry IV and proponents
of the reform movement, like Lampert of Hersfeld
(+1082/85), or the Siegburg authors of the vernacular
Annolied, on the other hand, praised Anno’s erudition,
his foundations in the spirit of the Fruttuaria reforms,
his penitent spirit, and his devotion to the saints.36 His
funeral was a particularly lavish affair, spread out over
days, so that his remains could be taken to all the station­
al churches in Cologne before being buried at Siegburg.37

So, like Heribert, Anno was buried in 1075 in the
abbey he had founded ten years earlier, the Abbey of
St Michael of Siegburg, staffed with monks recruited
directly from Fruttuaria.38 Anno himself had chosen the
place for his sarcophagus, in front of the holy cross altar,
with the intention – the Vita maior tells us – to let lay
people visit his grave during choir service (Figure 3.8).
Abbot Reginhard (1076–1105) furnished the site, pre­
sumably as a raised tomb with a memorial epitaph.
Anchor holes in the surrounding flagstones indicate that
some form of barrier was placed round it. Already in
1076, Lampert of Hersfeld speaks of miracles at the site
in his Annals, as does the Annolied.39 A first life of Anno
was produced under Abbot Reginhard. It praised the
founder as a saint and paid intensive attention to Anno’s
miracles. Only one manuscript of this Vita maior, which
a note of ownership tells us comes from Siegburg’s
fraternal abbey of St. Paul in Utrecht (Halle, Univer­
sitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Archive of the Frankesche
Stiftungen P15), has a pen drawing between the
Capitula and the vita proper (fol. 6r): It shows the investiture
of the first Abbot of Siegburg, Erpho (+1076), with the staff
handed to him by Anno, who is already given his saintly
nimbus.40

Figure 3.8
St Michael Siegburg c. 1100 (A. Verbeek): Ground plan with Anno’s tomb in front of the holy cross altar
Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres am 13. Januar 1965, Düsseldorf 1965)
It was only under Abbot Gerhard (1172–1185), following the second *Vita Annonis* minor – 1181/82), that the formal canonization of Anno by Pope Lucius III was achieved in 1183, the tomb opened, and the relics collected in a dedicated shrine. The first page of one manuscript of the vita, originally held at the Abbey of Grafschaft founded by Anno II in 1072 (Darmstadt Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 945, fol. 1v), shows Anno surrounded by his five foundations, that is, by St George and St Maria ad Gradus in Cologne, by Siegburg, Grafschaft, and Saalfeld (Thuringia) (Figure 3.9). For the monks in Grafschaft it was not the miracles, but Anno’s church foundations that were the most important aspect of his life and his sanctity.

**THE ANNO SHRINE**

Before the Siegburg Anno shrine lost its embossed decorations, presumably during the French occupation of the Rhineland, it was fortunately reproduced in Johann W. Fischer’s paintings for the abbey in Grafschaft in 1764, now kept at St Pankratius in Belecke. (Figures 3.10, 3.11 and Colour Plate I (bottom)) The high quality of the goldsmith’s craftsmanship is demonstrated by the surviving spandrel figures of the Apostles and the remaining ornaments of the shrine in Siegburg (St Michael). The shrine’s iconography can be reconstructed with some certainty when we look at the surviving paintings, Fischer’s drawing in a codex of the Cologne Jesuit Hermann Joseph Hartzheim c. 1750–55 (Paris, BNF, lat. 9275, fol. 1v-2r) and the surviving inscriptions (Figure 3.12). In its general layout, it follows the model of the Heribert shrine. The fronts display the patrons of the abbey: Michael the archangel, enthroned and supported by two angels on one side, and Anno, also accompanied by angels, on the other. Like the virtues on the Heribert shrine, the angels hand the archbishop his crosier and gospels. The Apostles are moved to the spandrels, while their place below the arcades of the long sides is taken by two groups of saints: One side depicts the martyrs whose relics Anno brought to his abbey. The other side has a chronological sequence of sainted Archbishops of Cologne, beginning at the left of Anno with Maternus followed by Severin, Evergisil, Kunibert, Agilolf and Heribert. The contemporary Gregorius portable altar from the abbey St Michael (kept at St Servatius in Siegburg) chooses a slightly different selection of five sainted Cologne archbishops. Here the Cologne archbishops are presented in line with other sainted bishops as followers of the Apostles, including Dunstan of Canterbury on behalf of the fraternity with Christ Church. However, Anno is omitted, probably as not yet canonized. Still, we can read from the Gregorius altar the interest of the community in expressing their belonging to and affinity with the Cologne archbishopric.

The ten scenes from the Anno *vita* embossed on the top begin with a representation of the saint on the front face (as on the Heribert shrine). Compared to Heribert, Anno’s accession to the archbishopric is shortened to one and a half images. The first scene shows Anno’s education and teaching (from 1046) at the Bamberg cathedral school and his calling to court (*Vita minor* I.1–2). The second scene depicts his investiture (1056) by Henry III (I.3), immediately combined with his foundation of St Maria ad Gradus (or rather the completion of the work of his predecessor Hermann II) in 1062 (*Vita minor* I.11). This uses a motif that is repeated in the next two scenes, Anno’s foundation of St George (1059–67) (I.12) and Siegburg (1064) (I.14): in each image, the Archbishop hands a miniature church to the saintly patron of the foundation, depicted in the centre of the scene. In the case of Siegburg, they are surrounded by a group of monks. The image of the church in the donor’s hand resembles the design of the front page of the Grafschaft *vita* manuscript. By contrast to the miniature in the *vita*, the scenes do not, however, draw attention to the whole network of Anno’s foundations. Rather, a selection is made that links Siegburg directly with his work as the Archbishop of Cologne. The final scene, following the foundation of Siegburg, shows the flame miracle at Anno’s consecration of the Siegburg crucifixion altar (I.15).
Figure 3.10
Johann W. Fischer, Anno shrine, 1764 (St Pankratius, Belecke): Front side with Anno standing between angels, on the long side six saintly archbishops of Cologne, on the roof five scenes from Anno’s life: Anno as teacher, abbot and founder, fire miracle during the consecration of the holy cross altar in St Michael at Siegburg (© Ansgar Hoffmann, in: Marc Steinmann, Der Schrein des heiligen Anno im Siegburger Kirchenschatz, Köln 2014)

Figure 3.11
Johann W. Fischer, Anno shrine, 1764 (St Pankratius in Belecke): On the front side patron St Michael seated between Gabriel and Raphael, on the long side six saints whose relics the Abbey St Michael hold, on the roof scenes showing miracles, veneration, death and burial of Anno (© Ansgar Hoffmann, in: Marc Steinmann, Der Schrein des heiligen Anno im Siegburger Kirchenschatz, Köln 2014. See also Colour Plate I (bottom))
Figure 3.12
Heribert’s foundation at Deutz had at first emphasized his St Michael in Siegburg, with its monks acting as the pilgrims looking for help and healing to the Abbey of monk handing him the water touched by Anno, attracts such a Cologne-motif: The curing of a blind man, with a vents, leading from the Cologne foundations to his future mizes the contacts between secular and ecclesiastical the king takes place as well. Anno’s Siegburg demoniac in the cathedral, where the reconciliation with Cologne as the heart of his see, praying for rain, curing a Heribert shrine underlines Heribert’s care for the city of physical and spiritual, in Siegburg. On the other hand, the Cologne image lacked the abbot; the shrine’s image by having the custos Henry kneeling at the feet of Anno. The Deutz image lacked the abbott; the shrine’s image contrasts the officials of Siegburg with the community of monks opposite them, only connected by the arcade which covers saint, officials, and monks. The visual vita of the Anno shrine ends – as do the two final scenes on the Heribert shrine – with the death of the saint and the mourners, now expanded to include his soul’s entry into heaven,48 and his laying to rest in a sarcophagus in his abbey. Both visual vitae directly reference the grave of the saint in the church, presumably topped by the very shrine the spectator was looking at.

COMPARISON AND CONCLUSION

The iconographic programme of the Anno shrine mini­mizes the contacts between secular and ecclesiastical power. The visual leitmotif is Anno’s foundation of convents, leading from the Cologne foundations to his future resting-place at Siegburg, marked by the fire miracle. The dedication motifs also exemplify the self-dedication of the Siegburg monks to their Saint Anno, whose tomb and memoria they maintain and honour. The references to the Cologne foundations and the sequence of sainted Archbishops of Cologne on the long sides of the shrine make Anno the conceptual link between Siegburg and Cologne, but these references also appear as mere pre­cursors of what is finally fulfilled by Anno’s presence, physical and spiritual, in Siegburg. On the other hand, the Heribert shrine underlines Heribert’s care for the city of Cologne as the heart of his see, praying for rain, curing a demoniac in the cathedral, where the reconciliation with the king takes place as well. Anno’s Siegburg vita lacks such a Cologne-motif: The curing of a blind man, with a monk handing him the water touched by Anno, attracts pilgrims looking for help and healing to the Abbey of St Michael in Siegburg, with its monks acting as the gatekeepers to the presence of Anno. In the 12th century, Heribert’s foundation at Deutz had at first emphasized his role as the patron of the convent, then in the 1150s his exemplary life in office. Anno’s iconography in the 1180s instead emphasizes Anno’s role as founder of a network of spiritual communities for the members of those communities. Works made for his foundation Siegburg propagate his rank and power as patron and protector of his community, and they point to his miraculous powers to be experienced for the pilgrims coming there.

In the 12th century, there was a vivid discussion about saint’s cults, pilgrimage and the consequences for the practice of monastic life. Critics like Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1104–1125) condemned the strategy of monasteries, using relic translations and miracle stories to attract more pilgrims in order to raise their abbey’s income and to finance their building activities.49 Chroniclers like Abbot Rudolf of St Trond (1107–1138) lamented the ruin of monastic discipline and welfare caused by intensified pilgrimage. To theologians like Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1115–1153) and Abbot William of St Thierry (1119–1148) the role of saints as ethical models seemed more important than the cult of their relics. Patrons such as Abbot Wibald of Stavelot-Malmédy (1131–1158) or Abbot Suger of St Denis (1122–1151) used art works as media of theological communication, political statements and religious education.

In this setting, I read the complex programme of the Heribert shrine as a statement of a saint’s cult restricted to the monastic and ecclesiastical community to which he belonged; one which was directed to theological reflection on sanctity at that present time. The Anno shrine, made for a saint with a similar career to Heribert and for a neighbouring and even fraternal monastery only few years later, also mainly links the saint to his foundation and burial place, and beyond this to religious communities related to him. Above all, however, it promotes the miraculous power of the saint and his relics kept by the monks. Although following and competing with the Heribert shrine artistically, the Anno shrine is different indeed in message and meaning. It propagates its own ideal of sainthood and addresses another audience. The assembly of Anno’s sainted predecessors on his shrine character­izes him as part of this special group of Cologne saints. In its the account of the city’s history, the Koelhoffsche Chronik still gathers the same sainted archbishops of Cologne on its frontispiece to promulgate Colonia sancta.

NOTES


E. Gierlich, ‘Der Grabstätten der rheinischen Bischofe vor 1200, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mitteldeutschen Kirchengeschichte, 65 (Mainz 1990), 277–279; Mittler, Vita (as n. 9), 288: ‘Heribertus Coloniensis archiepiscopus constructor huius aedificii anno incarnti eiusque (genetricis)’; Schuster, Kulturvermittlung (as n. 6), 68, 71.

Vogel, Vita Heriberti (as n. 8), 30: one miracle is datable to 1026 because of the presence of King Canute. (miracula c. 16, 238).


Schuster, Kulturvermittlung (as n. 6), 70.


S. Couë, Hagiographie im Kontext. Schreibenlaß und Funktion von Bischofsitaten im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert, Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung, 24 (Berlin 1997), 150. After the translation of the Agilolf reliefs from Malmédy to the collegiate St Maria ad Gradus in Cologne in 1062, Anno not only claimed his particular archiepiscopal protection for the abbey in 1065, but indeed incorporated the entire imperial abbey of Stavelot-Malmedy, although this partly belonged to the diocese of Liège. The Triumphus S. Remacle tells how the monks of Stavelot-Malmedy brought the shrine with their patron Remacleus to the ‘Hofhag’ at Liège to defend their rights – successfully.

R. Koepe, ed., Brunnenwasser Monasterii Fundatio cap. 6, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores, 11 (Hannover 1854), 396–408, here 399; Couë, Hagiographie (as n. 33), 152–153.


A. Verbeek, ‘Das Anmograb in Siegburg’, in Miscellanea pro arte. Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres (Düsseldorf 1965), 119–131; the tomb was opened in 1947. According to the translation report of 1186, the tomb had contained a lead tablet with his name, title (archiepiscopus, huic cœnobi funderator), date of death and date of burial, and his episcopal ring, which had been given to him by Henry III – cf. M. Mittler, Libellus de translatione sancti Annonis
archiepiscopus et miracula sancti Annonis iber primus et secundus, Siegburger Studien, 3 (Siegburg 1966).


40 Legner, Monumenta (as n. 3), A 15.

41 See Mittler, Vita Annonis minor (as n. 9), on the manuscript from Grafschaft (c. 1180), XVIII–XXII. For the miniature on f. 1v see A. Legner, ed., Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur 800–1400 (Köln 1972), J 47 (P. Bloch); Schuster, Kulturnermitzlung (as n. 6), 107. The first book of the Vita Annonis minor covered the background, foundations and charitable deeds of Anno as well as his visions in 23 chapters, the second book offers 36 chapters of miracles.

42 Mittler, Vita Annonis minor (as n. 9), Book I cap. 11, 12, 14, 18.

43 Legner, Monumenta (as n. 3), 187–205, D 23 (A. von Euw), E 2 (K. Endemann); M. Steinmann, Der Schrein des heiligen Anno im Siegburger Kirchenschatz (Köln 2014), 62–64; Schuster, Kulturnermitzlung (as n. 6), 109–117.

44 Legner, Monumenta (as n. 3), 39.


46 On the visual narration of the Anno vita; Figge, Bild des Bischofs (as n. 21), 105–107; Steinmann, Der Schrein (as n. 43), 62–64.


49 For the following cf. Ibid., 309–317.