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**MARINUS UNVEILED: A TRANSVESTITE SAINT IN
WESTERN ART AND LITERATURE**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2011

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by

Andrea-Bianka Znorovszky
(Romania)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies
Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

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I, the undersigned, **Andrea-Bianka Znorovszky**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, May 2011

Signature

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¹ The complete list is to be found in the Image Catalogue.

INTRODUCTION

An old hand reliquary of Saint Marina is disposed for public view in the Correr Museum in Venice, Italy. Dating from the thirteenth century, it was brought from Constantinople for the saint's relics, which were situated on the main altar of the church of Saint Marina from Venice. The left hand, which was missing, was attached to it later. As there are numerous saints bearing the name, it is questionable whether it belongs to Saint Marina the monk, a holy transvestite saint, or not. The focus of this study is in connection with this transvestite saint, her visual representations, and the aspect of her cross-dressing.

The phenomenon of female cross-dressing in monastic space is a greatly debated issue: analyzed in groups or individually, these women still fascinate. Although their reasons and their ways of transvestitism varied, their purpose was the same: to flee from the world and to achieve spirituality. One of these holy female monks is Saint Marina whose *vita* can be summarized briefly: Marina's father decides to enter a monastery after the death of his wife. He takes with his daughter, Marina, disguised as a man. After a while her father dies and convinces Marina to promise him not to reveal her real identity. She lives a pious life among the community of monks. The course of her life changes when she goes for the monastery's business to a nearby town and sleeps at an inn. After a while the innkeeper accuses her of fathering his daughter's child. Although guiltless, Marina accepts the penance imposed on her by the abbot and lives together with the new-born child at the gates of the monastery. Impressed by her penitence and humility, the monks convince the abbot to accept her back. Inside the monastery, she is given the humblest activities. After three days of absence from among the monks she is discovered dead in her cell. While washing her body, the monks discover her real identity and are amazed by their discovery. The abbot repents of his deeds and the innkeeper's daughter confesses that she was seduced by a soldier. The first miracle

performed by her relics is the healing of the innkeeper's daughter from possession by the devil.

One tradition states that Saint Marina is a Syrian saint who lived disguised as a monk in the Qannoubin monastery in the fifth century. The term *kanoubine* refers to the caverns made in rock which served as cells for the monks.² The monastery is situated southeast of Tripoli close to the sea, a detail which is mentioned in the Latin versions of her *vita*. Although the exact century when she lived is unknown, as there is no historical information in her *vita*. Léon Clugnet argues that monasticism was already well established in 778, which is the date of one of the earliest Syrian manuscripts containing a version of her *vita* with additions.³ Her origin is confusing, as every hagiographer attributed his own place of origin as hers: Bythynia, Alexandria, Egypt, or Italy.⁴ When trying to establish her real origin, Léon Clugnet mentions that one should seek it where her tradition still exists, and that place is Lebanon, where she is celebrated by the Maronites.⁵

She is venerated not only by the Maronite Church, but also by the Armenian, Greek, Italian, and French communities. The Maronites suppose that she was born in the town of Kalamoun/Qalamūn close to Tripoli and the girl who falsely accused her was born in Turza, close to Bšaré in northern Lebanon. The monastery was situated in a mountainous region of Mount Lebanon and served as a place of seclusion for numerous coenobites and as a residence of the patriarchs, who changed its name to *kadicha* that means “the saint”.⁶

The cave which is supposed to have been her place of penance, is called Mogharet Marina, the Cave of Marina, and is close to the monastery.⁷ In his article, *Les peintures de la*

² Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 238.

³ Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine* (Paris: Librairie A. Picard et Fils, 1905), VI.

⁴ Ibidem, VI.

⁵ Jean Maurice Fiey, *Saints Syriaques* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 2004), 135.

⁶ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, X and also Guita G. Hourani, *Saint Marina the Monk. Part I.* (in http://maroniteinstitute.org/MARI/JMS/january00/Saint_Marina_the_Monk.htm, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

⁷ Charles-Léonce Brossé, “Les peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli,” *Syria* 7, No. 1 (1926): 30. See also Charles Virolleaud, “Les travaux archéologiques en Syrie en 1922-1923,” *Syria* 5, No. 2 (1924): 117-118.

grotte de Marina près de Tripoli, Charles-Léonce Brossé analyzes the paintings from her cave, revealing that there are an older layer and a more recent layer of representations. Unfortunately, most of the faces of the characters have been destroyed by the Muslim inhabitants, the inscriptions of the names of the saints being of great importance in establishing their identity. Among these paintings are some depictions which represent the saint herself. The first group of the older layer, a painting (possibly from the ninth-thirteenth century) of the saint is included, whose name is written in Greek characters,⁸ while the more recent layer of paintings illustrates Saint Demetrius killing the Devil, painted over eight panels with scenes of Saint Marina's life. The first four panels represent scenes from the youth of the saint while the last four, which are heavily damaged, are supposed to present scenes from the last part of her life.⁹ It is remarkable that the painter of these scenes wrote the name of each character above their head in Latin letters.¹⁰ The author states that the painter of the scenes was not from that area but from the West and painted them according to the Latin and French versions of her *vita*¹¹ from the ninth and thirteenth centuries.¹² The cave was transformed into a chapel and became a place of pilgrimage for women who asked for the saint's intercession and protection.¹³ Besides this, there are two other caves which are supposed to have been the places of her death and her burial.¹⁴ What is important to note here is the fact that although she used a masculine disguise and lived as a monk, she is worshiped for her capacity to endure penance, for her humility, and for the fact that she cures diseases related with women's bodies.

⁸ Brossé, "Les peintures," 32.

⁹ Ibidem, 38.

¹⁰ Ibidem, 39.

¹¹ Ibidem, 39.

¹² Ibidem, 41.

¹³ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XI

¹⁴ Brossé, "Les peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli," 45.

Her cult was transmitted by Maronite refugees to the island of Cyprus and the surrounding islands at the end of the twelfth century.¹⁵ According to a letter of Abbot P. Chebit, reproduced by Léon Clugnet,¹⁶ there is a village, Agia Marina, on the island of Cyprus whose inhabitants celebrate Saint Marina's cult. She is celebrated by the Maronites on 17 July.

Another community which celebrates her cult is that of the Armenians of Erek, who believe that the cave where Marina lived the rest of her life is situated in their area. Inside the cave is a stone with a carving which is supposed to have served as a cradle for the baby,¹⁷ but the saint has no feast day and around this cave are the ruins of an old monastery. According to Clugnet, the Armenians must have received her cult from a Greek community and the fact that she is claimed by both the Armenian and Syrian community is proof of how important her cult was in the past.¹⁸

According to Clugnet, in Greece, her cult is celebrated not only in Cyprus,¹⁹ but also in Athens where there is a church dedicated to her on the hill of the Nymphs over a temple of Artemis. Her cult is associated with childbirth as numerous women come to the church to be cured of sterility or to get help during labour. Clugnet points out that the cult of Saint Marina has replaced an old pagan cult that is similar to hers. In his article,²⁰ Gerald V. Lalonde analyzes the same cult in relation to pagan cults, but states that the cult pertained to Saint Marina of Antioch.

Saint Marina became the patron saint of Venice when her body was translated from Constantinople by Jacobus de Bora in 1230. The relics were deposited in the church of Saints Liberal and Alexis. The church was built in 1130 and was not dedicated to her but, when the

¹⁵ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XI.

¹⁶ Ibidem, XI-XII.

¹⁷ Ibidem, XII.

¹⁸ Ibidem, XIII

¹⁹ Hourani, Saint Marina the Monk. Part II.

(in http://maroniteinstitute.org/MARI/JMS/july00/Saint_Marina_The_Monk.htm, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

²⁰ Gerald V. Lalonde, "Pagan Cult to Christian Ritual: the Case of Agia Maria Theseiou," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 45 (2005): 91-125.

Venetians bought her relics, which were placed on the altar, it was rededicated to Saint Marina. The church was demolished in 1820 and her relics were translated to the Church of Santa Maria Formosa in Venice.²¹ Today, a shrine (which is a part of a hotel) commemorates her.²²

The date of her translation from Syria to Constantinople is unknown; also unknown is whether her relics are from Qannoubin or Erek. There are some details in written sources which point out that the relics, which were translated from Constantinople, could have belonged to Saint Marina. A sign of the relic's authenticity is the absence of her left arm, which remained in the Qanoubine monastery until an uncertain date, when it disappeared.²³ According to the descriptions from the Latin sources, the relic which was brought to Venice, does not have the left arm and there are visible signs of the fact that it was violently broken.²⁴ The hand that was later attached to the relic does not belong to Saint Marina but to Saint Marina of Antioch.²⁵ Clugnet identifies a second proof of authenticity, namely, the day of her celebration, that is, 17 July, which he supposes has been borrowed from the Maronites.

What Clugnet fails to mention in his book is that the cult of Saint Marina is not celebrated only in Venice, but also elsewhere in Italy, especially in the southern regions. Also in the north of Paris there was a church dedicated to Saint Marina.²⁶ The exact date when it was built is unknown; there are several dates which are considered to be related with the construction of the church. According to one version, the church was offered by Henry I, king of France, to Imbert, bishop of Paris, in 1013. Therefore, the church of Saint Marina may date from 996 to 1034 during the reign of Robert the Pious.²⁷ This shows that her cult was known

²¹ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XVIII and also Hourani, *Saint Marina the Monk. Part I*. (in http://maroniteinstitute.org/MARI/JMS/january00/Saint_Marina_the_Monk.htm, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

²² http://www.slowtrav.com/blog/annienc/2008/05/santa_marina.html, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

²³ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XVII.

²⁴ Ibidem, XX.

²⁵ Ibidem, XXI and Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), 1567.

²⁶ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XXV and also Hourani, *Saint Marina the Monk. Part I*. (in http://maroniteinstitute.org/MARI/JMS/january00/Saint_Marina_the_Monk.htm, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

²⁷ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XXIV.

in Paris before her relics were moved to Venice, possibly because of the Maronites.²⁸ Clugnet does not accept Abbot Lebeuf's version according to whom the church was built by a rich Venetian to venerate his patron saint. It was a small parish church which had few parishioners and was the place of marriage for young pregnant girls.²⁹ The church was demolished under the reign of Napoleon III to make space for a new street.³⁰ The relics of the saint, part of her hand or clavicle, which were in the church before the translation of the body to Venice, were transferred to Notre Dame. However, Clugnet cannot prove the authenticity of the relics from Notre Dame but accepts it. According to Clugnet, every church had a relic of the patron saint, accordingly, the relic from Notre Dame should be Marina's.³¹ His research on the cult of Saint Marina is incomplete as he did not include information about her cult in the south of Italy. He presents only a short analysis of her cult in Venice.

The saint's name is easily confused with that of other saints: Marina of Alexandria, Marina of Antioch, called also Margarita in the Latin versions, Mary of Egypt or Marine, a saint from Spain. What is even more intriguing is the origin of her name. Clugnet is not certain about the origin of her name and offers only suppositions. The first is that the Latin version was written after a Syriac or a Greek text as the author thought Marina was a feminine version of her name.³² Second, all the Syrian texts call her Maria, but the Maronites worship her as Marina and even the first versions of her *vita* called her Marina.³³

Monastic transvestite saints and modern scholarly research

The literature on research into the transvestite phenomenon in saints' lives is quite rich as it has been popular since the late 1950s and, especially, in the 1970s. Thus, there are

²⁸ Ibidem, XXV.

²⁹ Ibidem, XXIV.

³⁰ Ibidem, XXIII.

³¹ Ibidem, XXVIII.

³² Ibidem, IV.

³³ Ibidem, IV-V and Hourani, *Saint Marina the Monk. Part I*.

(in http://maroniteinstitute.org/MARI/JMS/january00/Saint_Marina_the_Monk.htm, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

literary, psychological, socio-religious, theological, and textual interpretations which attempt to explain it. Among the earliest interpretations are those of Herman Usener³⁴ in the nineteenth century and Hippolyte Delehaye³⁵ at the beginning of the twentieth century. Usener considers that the transvestite motif is of pagan origin and passed into Christian hagiography through Greek romances. Furthermore, he points out that the saint's disguise is a survival of the cult of the bisexual Aphrodite of Cyprus. Recent interpretations are those of John Anson,³⁶ Évelyne Patlagean,³⁷ Vern L. Bullough,³⁸ Sylvia Schein,³⁹ Stephen J. Davis,⁴⁰ and many more.⁴¹ Thus, John Anson considers that these *vitae* were written by "monks for monks" and that they do not record real female behaviour. Évelyne Patlagean points out that the origin of the transvestite phenomenon is connected to Christian practice and thought in Late Antiquity, while Marie Delcourt⁴² explains it from a psychological point of view. For Delcourt, transvestitism signifies a break from a preceding existence, connected with hostility towards the saint's family. Bullough's conclusion is that woman transvestite saints gained social status compared to male cross-dressers, who lose status by transvestitism. Last but not least, Stephen J. Davis' study analyzes the phenomenon from an intertextual perspective,

³⁴ Hermann Usener, *Legenden der heiligen Pelagia* (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1879), I-XXIV.

³⁵ Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (Brussels, 1905, 1906, reprinted Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 51 and 150-160.

³⁶ John Anson, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Origin and the Development of a Motive," *Viator* 5 (1974): 1-32.

³⁷ Évelyne Patlagean, "L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance," *Studi Medievali* 17, No. 3 (1976): 597-623.

³⁸ Vern L. Bullough, "Transvestites in the Middle Ages," *The American Journal of Sociology* 79, No. 6 (1974): 1381-1394 and also Vern L. Bullough, and James Brundage, *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 223-242 and Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 51-57.

³⁹ Sylvia Schein, "The Female Men of God and Men Who Were Women. Female Saints and Holy Land Pilgrimage During the Byzantine Period," *Hagiographica* 5 (1998): 1-36.

⁴⁰ Stephen J. Davis, "Crossed Texts, Crossed Sex: Intertextuality and Gender in Early Christian Legends of Holy Women Disguised as Men," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10, No. 1 (2002): 1-36.

⁴¹ See Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Women in Early Byzantine Hagiography: Reversing the Story," in *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity*, ed. L. Coon, Katherine J. Haldane, and Elisabeth W. Sommer (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 36-59, and also an analysis on Perpetua by Elizabeth Castelli, "I Will Make Mary Male: Pieties of the Body and Gender Transformation of Christian Women in Late Antiquity," in *Body Guards: the Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*, ed. Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (New York: Routledge, 1991), 29-49.

⁴² Marie Delcourt, "Le Complexe de Diane and l'hagiographie Chrétienne," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 153 (1958): 1-33.

identifying the origin of the motif not only in the *vitae* of Thekla and Pelagia, as John Anson, Évelyne Patlagean, and Hippolyte Delehaye did, but in various patterns mostly drawn from the Scriptures. Although much textual analysis has been done in this field, a comparative analysis of the visual sources (illuminations, engravings, and so on) is missing.

Valerie R. Hotchkiss⁴³ divides these saints into a group of penitents (Pelagia) which includes former prostitutes and wives choosing to do penance. The second group is that of the virgin monks, the so called *monachoparthenoi*, who use transvestitism in order to avoid an unwanted marriage or a persistent suitor: Apollonaris/Dorotheus, Eugenia/Eugenius, Euphrosyne/Smaragdus, Hilaria/Hilarion, Margareta Reparata/Pelagius, Marina/Marinus, Papula of Gaul, and Susanna/John. Not only did the prescriptions in Deuteronomy (22:5) forbid women to wear the clothes of the opposite sex, but so did a canon from the *Decretum* of Gratian, the penitential of Burchard of Worms, councils such as the one from Gangra⁴⁴ and Qunisext⁴⁵ and so on. However, despite of all these interdictions, women kept on wearing men's clothes and being sanctified.

The topic of my thesis focuses on a comparative study of the visual representations of a *monachoparthenoi* saint, Saint Marina, and the various versions of her *vitae*. Scholarly research had investigated and offered various interpretations of her *vitae*, but a comparative analysis of her visual representations lacks. I study the changes, developments, additions, and

⁴³ Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man. Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 25.

⁴⁴ See Canon XIII: "If any woman, under pretence of asceticism, shall change her apparel and, instead of a woman's accustomed clothing, shall put on that of man, let her be anathema." and Canon XVII: "If any woman from pretended asceticism shall cut off her hair, which God gave her as the reminder of her subjection, thus annulling as it were the ordinance of subjection, let her be anathema." <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf214.viii.v.i.html> (Last accessed: May 21, 2011).

⁴⁵ See Canon LXII "... no man should wear feminine attire, nor any woman that which suits men." in The Council in Trullo Revisited, ed. George Nedungatt (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995), 46 and also the article of Shunichi Akasaka, "What Was Cross Dressing in the Middle Ages?" (at <http://ebookbrowse.com/what-was-cross-dressing-in-the-middle-ages-shunichi-akasaka-pdf-d58873526>, (Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

omissions that occurred in the patterns of her representations in different periods and regions (Italy, France, and elsewhere) according to various audiences.

Questions, sources, methodology

My research is transdisciplinary as it deals with sources from art history and hagiography. I focus on the period from the early Middle Ages until the Early Modern period. Most of my sources are manuscripts illuminations, but I also use other types of visual representations because from the fifteenth century onwards one can find paintings, engravings, and statues in public spaces. I will identify the patterns of each representation (clothes, tonsure, physiognomy, gestures, etc.) and their developments according to differences in time, area, and audience. I will also attempt to point out any common influences, as it is likely that the illuminator of one manuscript may have been influenced by representations of other transvestite saints.

The following research question will be the basis of my thesis: What are the differences in St. Marina's representations in images and texts from the ninth century to the Early Modern period (creation, reception, and developments)? The modern visual representations are indispensable because they are the basis for the reconstruction of the earlier depictions of the saint. As I intend to analyze the changes and developments of the iconographic attributes, other questions emerge:

- Are there patterns and, if so, what are they?
- Do the iconographic attributes of the saint differ according to region and period? If

so, how?

- Is there a difference in the representations compared to the original prototypes?
- What are the reasons for the changes?
- Can one connect the changes with the viewers?

Were there different categories of viewers? If so, what are they?

It is clear that the motif of the transvestite saint in visual representations and in *vitae* circulated in various spaces, which gave rise to changes and additions. Furthermore, the relics of some of the saints came to the West; the presence of these relics indicates and influenced the development of the cult of the saint. This generally means that there is the possibility that there will be a number of different versions of regional representations of the saint.

In most of the texts there are common patterns which change and develop according to the path of that particular saint's life. The first pattern in the sequence is the break between the saint and her family. Another essential sequence is that of the innocent who is blamed and does penance although guiltless. The most similar pattern in the *vitae* is the third one, when Marina's secret is revealed. These patterns are present in the visual representations of the saint as an individual figure as well as in narrative sequences which show the most important phases of her life.

I use two major methods while examining my data: textual analysis for the *vitae* and visual analysis for the visual representations. My texts are from different regions and periods starting from the ninth century up to the fifteenth century in Italy, France, Germany, and Spain, I use also various versions of the *vitae* from the modern period in order to underline the development of different themes. Besides these versions, I will use one Greek and one Syriac version of her life as prototypes to point out the main differences between the Western and Eastern groups of *vitae*. The main sources for my investigation are the collection of the versions her *vita* from Léon Clugnet's⁴⁶ *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, versions of *The Golden Legend*,⁴⁷ *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saint's Lives in English Translation*

⁴⁶ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 1-271.

⁴⁷ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 256-257 and Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), 324-325.

(edited by Alice-Mary Talbot),⁴⁸ and the *Selected Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest* (translated by Agnes Smith Lewis).⁴⁹

The book of Léon Clugnet commences with a brief investigation of the cult and the *vita* of Saint Marina. Basically, it is a collection of her *vitae* in various languages. Almost all of the Latin versions I use are from this book, whereas the French (nine texts) and German (four texts) are only from there.⁵⁰ The second source for the Latin versions is *The Golden Legend*. Besides the French and Latin versions of *The Golden Legend* included in Clugnet's collection, I use two other versions of it, namely, a bilingual edition of the Ambrosian Codex C 240 inf. Edited by Maggioni and one English translation by William Granger Ryan. The second group of *vitae* are by various editors or authors such as J. P. Migne's⁵¹ *Patrologia Latina* [BHL 5528] and *De uitis sanctorum* of Luigi Lippomano,⁵² which is based on Symeon the Metaphrast's Greek version, and the *Catalogus Sanctorum* of Petrus de Natalibus⁵³ (all reproduced by Clugnet-[BHL 5528]). Altogether I use nine Latin versions of her *vitae* (which date from the ninth century to the seventeenth century).

The visual representations are from the same regions as the *vitae*. They appear in manuscripts, museums, books (as illustrations), churches, and so on. I have divided them in two groups: one of the paintings and one of the statues. I have included in the first group, in chronological order: illuminations, paintings, engravings, frescoes, flags, and other visual representations which are used as decoration. The second group is connected to the Early

⁴⁸ Alice-Mary Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saint's Lives in English Translation* (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 23-24.

⁴⁹ Agnes Smith Lewis, "Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest," *Studia Sinaitica* 10 (1900): 36-45.

⁵⁰ The Latin transcriptions reproduced by Clugnet are from the following manuscripts from the National Library of France, Latin stock: ms. 2328, f. 118v-120r, ms. 10840, f. 145r-147r, and ms. 5296, f. 63r-64r; ms. Mm. VI. F.182r-188r from the Library of Cambridge University, and ms. Latin B. 49 Inf. (olim R 978) f. 135v-136r from the Ambrosian Library of Milan.

⁵¹ Auctore incerto, *Vita Sanctae Marinae Virginis*, *Patrologia Latina* LXXIII, ed. J.-P. Migne, 691-695. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1849-1850, Facsimile (reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1986-1997), reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 22-29.

⁵² Luigi Lippomano, *De uitis sanctorum* (Venice, 1581), 282v-283v reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 26-31.

⁵³ Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus Sanctorum* (Venice, 1521), 104v reproduce in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 266-267.

Modern period and comprises visual representations on statues, heraldry, and reliefs. The most important part of my work consists of investigating the development of Marina's visual representation from monk to nun. In most of the illuminations she is depicted with masculine physiognomy and clothing, while in the other representations her depiction gradually changed from that of a man to a woman. One of the most important iconographic attribute which is connected to this change is her clothes, which are used in order to emphasize her transvestitism. I consider it essential to mention that I apply the terminology of *transvestitism* strictly from this iconographic attribute point of view; it is not in connection with any psychological or sociological analysis. The last phase of my investigation consists of the comparing the two types of sources, the visual and the textual, and establishing the differences of her representations in these sources. In what follows I will deal with the types of transvestite saints in the hagiography.

Types of transvestite saints

In addition to the textual sources, there is also the matter of the various groups of transvestite saints. The motif of the transvestite saint was introduced into the hagiographic genre around the fourth century and reached its peak somewhere between the sixth and the ninth century.⁵⁴ There are two main groups of transvestite saints: penitents and virgin monks.⁵⁵ The first group contains saints, such as Pelagia, Theodora of Alexandria, Mary of Egypt, who were former prostitutes and repented and wives who use transvestitism in order to hide from their husbands. Pelagia's cross-dressing is related to her repentance and her wish to hide. Matrona of Perge hides from her abusive husband as a monk in a monastery. Her identity is almost discovered because of the marks earrings left in both of her ears:

Said he to her in a jocular manner, 'How is it, brother, that the lobes of both your ears are pierced?' But the blessed Matrona replied curtly, 'You, brother,

⁵⁴ Schein, "The Female-Men of God," 17.

⁵⁵ Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 25.

have indulged yourself in a frivolous manner, unbefitting our profession. You should be paying attention to the ground, not to me. But since you are minded to learn of this, hear the reason. The woman to whom I formerly belonged was lovingly disposed toward me, maintaining me with all generosity and luxury, and she shrank not from putting gold about my ears, so that many of those who saw me said that I was a girl.’⁵⁶

The second group of transvestite saints is connected to a group of women (Marina, Euphrosyne, Eugenia, Susanna, Hilaria, Apollonaris) who, refusing to marry, or willing to follow their fathers, used transvestitism and entered monasteries to become monks. Besides these two groups, others are represented by Thecla and a bearded female saint, such as Wilgeforte. The case of Thecla dates from the second century.⁵⁷ Her transvestitism was connected to Christian missionizing as she cross-dressed in order to follow Paul.⁵⁸ Both Thecla and Pelagia are among the earliest representations of transvestite saints and which one represents the “original motif” is still debated.⁵⁹

All these saints used transvestitism at certain times in their lives in order to break with society and carnality and become holy. What differs in their *vitas* are their purposes for cross-dressing. I consider that the group of penitent saints is best represented by Pelagia, as she is not only considered one of the prototypes of the transvestite motif, but her *vita* also became famous and spread from the East to the West. Pelagia’s transvestitism was strongly connected with her appearance at the beginning of her *vita*.⁶⁰ Associated with the whore of Babylon,⁶¹ Pelagia fascinates Nonnos, the bishop responsible for her conversion, not only by her clothes and accessories, but also by the spiritual potential he perceives in her adornment.⁶² Virginia Burrus points out the connection between Pelagia’s appearance in the first part of the *vita*,

⁵⁶ Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 23-24.

⁵⁷ Schein, “The Female Men of God,” 20.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, 20.

⁵⁹ Anson, “The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism,” 1, Patlagean, “L’histoire de la femme déguisée en moine,” 608, and Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 20 consider Thecla as the prototype while, Hippolite Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, (Brussels, 1905, 1906 reprinted in Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 150-156 considers it to be Pelagia.

⁶⁰ Virginia Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 137-146.

⁶¹ Ibidem, 138.

⁶² Ibidem, 141.

already “masquerading as a man⁶³ and her later cross-dressing. A second saint sometimes considered among the group of transvestites,⁶⁴ sometimes not,⁶⁵ was Mary of Egypt. Mary of Egypt did not use transvestitism in order to flee and hide from the world. She used Zosima’s clothes in order to cover her nakedness: “So he quickly did her bidding and, removing the old and torn cloak which he was wearing, threw it to her while he stood with eyes averted. She took it and covered certain parts of her body that ought to be covered more than others.”⁶⁶ Similarly to Pelagia, Mary of Egypt⁶⁷ switched from being an enchanting prostitute to a penitent. In both of these women’s *vitae* cross-dressing is connected to the first part of their lives, in the sense that their final evolution represents the opposite of their previous state. Both of these prostitute saints are associated with great beauty, which is then contrasted with the transformation they undergo: “What he saw was a naked figure whose body was black, as if tanned by the scorching of the sun. It had on its head *hair white as wool*, [whose emphasis?]and even this was sparse as it did not reach below the neck of its body.”⁶⁸

For the second group, transvestitism was mostly connected to hiding their sex or from a family member. Marina, Eugenia, Euphrosyne hid in monasteries, but also hid from family members (Euphrosyne⁶⁹ and Eugenia). In their case, cross-dressing had another purpose. It preserved their integrity, their virginity, and emphasized their will to choose their own way of life.⁷⁰

⁶³ Ibidem, 138 and see also Ruth Mazo Karras, “Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1, No. 1 (1990): 13-15.

⁶⁴ Schein, “The Female Men of God,” 21.

⁶⁵ See the list in Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 131-141.

⁶⁶ Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 77.

⁶⁷ Karras, “Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend,” 6-10.

⁶⁸ Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 76, and see also Schein, “The Female Men of God,” 29.

⁶⁹ Paul E. Szarmach, “St. Euphrosyne: Holy Transvestite,” in *Holy Men and Holy Women. Old English Prose Saints’ Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 353-365 and also Emma Campbell, “Epistemology of the Cloister: Knowledge, Identity, and Place in Old French Saints’ Lives,” *The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36, No. 2 (2010): 211-217.

⁷⁰ Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500-1100* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998): 155-156 and Chapter III, “At What Cost Virginity? Sanctity and the Heroics of Virginity.” See also Gillian Cloke, *This Female Man of God: Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350-450* (London: Routledge, 1995), 57-81.

All these saints became *sponsae Christi*, but from different perspectives: Pelagia by doing penance, Marina by accepting penance. All of them are ambiguous, seductive, and dangerous: Marina and Euphrosyne⁷¹ attracted the monks from the monastery; Susanna and Eugenia attracted women,⁷² while Pelagia's dead body fascinated.⁷³

⁷¹ Szarmach, "St. Euphrosyne: Holy Transvestite," 213.

⁷² Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 24.

⁷³ Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints*, 146.

CHAPTER I

Saint Marina: Text and Metamorphosis

In this chapter, I discuss various sequences of events and actions from different versions of Saint Marina's *vita* in Western texts, namely, Latin, French, and German. In the *vitae* of transvestite saints, John Anson identifies a tripartite structure which contains the following phases: flight from the world, disguise and seclusion, and discovery and recognition.⁷⁴ In the introduction to the English translation of Saint Marina's *vita*, Nicholas Conostas mentions that one can identify in it the three phases of a rite of passage: separation, liminality, and reaggregation.⁷⁵ Starting from these tripartite structures,⁷⁶ my intention is to examine the variations in different sequences from her *vita* in connection with the iconographical attributes and the patterns of her representations in visual material. The main differentiating features I am investigating are: name, physiognomy, tonsure, and clothing. These features are essential for my analysis of the *vita* as they represent the standard iconographical attributes of the saint when depicted in illuminations, paintings, statues, engravings, and so on. As the research focuses on the relationship between the various visual representations of Saint Marina and the versions of her *vitae*, I discuss the depictions from the regions of Italy, Germany/Austria, France, and Spain in connection with texts from the same regions.

Although the purpose of this chapter is to examine and compare the variety of *vitae* in the West, I find it indispensable to use two Eastern sources as prototypes in the process of comparison. I want to emphasize the fact that whenever I mention the Greek version, I am

⁷⁴ Anson, "The Female Transvestite saint in Early Monasticism," 13.

⁷⁵ Nicholas Conostas, "Life of St. Mary/Marinos," in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 4.

⁷⁶ See more about liminality and *communitas* in Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), 94-115 and Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge, 2004), 1-26 on the classification of rites and, especially, chapter II-The Territorial Passage.

referring to the English translation from Greek of Saint Marina's *vita* by Nicholas Conostas;⁷⁷ the second Eastern source is an English translation from Syriac by Agnes Smith Lewis.⁷⁸ The Eastern versions are not the subject of this study, but only references.

Saint Marina's *vita* circulated from East to West written in Syriac,⁷⁹ Greek, Coptic,⁸⁰ Armenian, Arabic,⁸¹ Ethiopian, Latin, French, German, English, and so on.⁸² The original *vita* of the saint must have been written in Greek sometime between the sixth and the seventh century, possibly in Syria.⁸³ The oldest surviving Greek version, called the *vita antiqua*,⁸⁴ considered to be the closest to the original *vita* from the sixth or the seventh century, dates from the tenth century.⁸⁵ Written by an anonymous author, it is preserved in three manuscripts in the monasteries of Mount Athos.⁸⁶ The oldest Latin version, which dates from the ninth century,⁸⁷ is that edited by Heribert Rosweyde in *De vita et verbis seniorum*.⁸⁸ It is unknown whether this version is from France or Italy, the only supposition is that it is a translation from Greek.⁸⁹ This text is also found in the *Vitae Patrum*,⁹⁰ and, according to Clugnet, was written by an anonymous author. Léon Clugnet considers it one of the most ancient versions, together with the Greek and the Syrian ones, because it has fewer details; however, it already contains additions.⁹¹ The addition which Clugnet points out is the fact that Marina is morally obliged

⁷⁷ Conostas, "Life of St. Mary/Marinos," 7-12.

⁷⁸ Lewis, "Select Narratives," 36-45.

⁷⁹ See also Frédéric Nau, "Histoire de la Sainte Marine," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 6 (1901): 283-290.

⁸⁰ See also Hervé Hyvernât, "Vie de Sainte Marine," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 7 (1902): 126-152.

⁸¹ See also Ignazio Guidi and E. Blochet, "Vie de Sainte Marine," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 7 (1902): 245-276 and a similar motif in Islamic literature before the eighth century in Asin Miguel Palacios, "Une vie abrégée de Sainte Marine," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 13 (1908): 67-71.

⁸² For further information see Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 1-251, Léon Clugnet, "Vie de Sainte Marine," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 9 (1904): 560-594 and Conostas, "Life of St. Mary/Marinos," 1.

⁸³ Conostas, "Life of St. Mary/Marinos," 2 and Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, IV.

⁸⁴ Conostas, "Life of St. Mary/Marinos," 2.

⁸⁵ Ibidem, 2.

⁸⁶ Ibidem, 2.

⁸⁷ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), 1567.

⁸⁸ Heribert Rosweyde, *De uita et uerbis seniorum* (Antwerp, 1615), 393-391 reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, III.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, III and the same data in Marina Minghelli, *Santa Marina la travestita* (Palermo: Sellerio Editore, 1996), 31.

⁹⁰ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 238.

⁹¹ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, III.

to promise her father that she will not reveal her identity.⁹² At this point, I want to draw attention to the fact that the main difference regarding her entrance into the monastery is related to intentionality.⁹³ In the Greek and Syriac versions it is Marina's intention to enter the monastery, whereas in the Western ones this decision belongs only to her father. The Western versions are later elaborations with more or fewer additions or omissions, including local influences inserted by the copyists or the hagiographer, as in the case of the occupation of her father in the Latin manuscript from the Library of Cambridge.⁹⁴

The versions of Saint Marina's *vita* written in Latin, French, and German were written later than the Greek or Syriac texts. The Latin is the earliest;⁹⁵ the French and the German are either translations of Latin or Greek versions. Except for five versions in verse (one Latin, two French, and two German), the other versions are written in prose, dating from the ninth to the sixteenth century.

The Latin texts are either versions of *The Golden Legend* or additions to the oldest Latin version, edited by Heribert Rosweyde. They are from two different regions: Italy and France. Clugnet divides the Latin versions from France into three groups. The first group, which contains the oldest preserved *vitae*, is two versions written by illiterate copyists. I analyze only one of them, namely, the text of Ms. 2328, which belonged to Saint Martial, bishop of Limoges.⁹⁶ The second group⁹⁷ contains a few unimportant additions in comparison with the first group. The last group refers to a single text from Ms. 5296-Codex Colbertinus,⁹⁸

⁹² Ibidem, III-IV.

⁹³ Constat, "Life of St. Mary/Marinos," 7 see also Shunichi Akasaka, *What Was Cross-Dressing in the Middle Ages*, <http://www.medievalists.net/2010/11/18/what-was-cross-dressing-in-the-middle-ages/>, 5 (Last accessed January 11, 2011).

⁹⁴ Ms. Mm. VI. 1 f. 182r Library of Cambridge University, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 257.

⁹⁵ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, III-IV.

⁹⁶ Philippe Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1940): 408.

⁹⁷ Ms. 10810, f. 145r-147r National Library of France.

⁹⁸ Guillaume de Villefroy, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae* (Paris: E Typografia Regia, 1744), 74.

which contains several additions.⁹⁹ One of the Latin versions from Italy is a translation of the *vita* by Symeon the Metaphrast, published in sixteenth-century Venice, while a second text was written by an Italian Cistercian monk in the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁰

One can clearly see that the Latin manuscripts from both of these regions circulated mostly in monastic space. Thus, the number of recipients was limited mostly to members of the clergy. However, the translation of these versions into the vernaculars constituted a turning point in their diffusion as the text became more accessible to a wider public. This represents the first phase of the development not only of Saint Marina's *vita* but also of her representations.

The French manuscripts are also divided into three groups by Clugnet: translations from Latin sources, translations of *The Golden Legend*, and two versions written in verse.¹⁰¹ The audience of the French versions were not restricted only to the members of the clergy. One manuscript is addressed to "Blanche de Navarre, comtesse de Champagne,"¹⁰² while another, a collection of legends in prose and verse, contains information including the name of a copyist, "escript le jour de le Magdelaine par Jehan Wag,"¹⁰³ and the commissioner, "lequel est a monseigneur Charles de Croy, comte de Chimay."¹⁰⁴ Other versions are from collections of lives of saints¹⁰⁵ or French translations of Saint Jerome's *Lives of the Fathers*, as in the case of Ms. 22911 from the National Library of France- French stack, which indicates the name of the copyist "Havin Le Fevre, l'an mil IIIle IIIxxXVI."¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, 254.

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, 148-149.

¹⁰² H.-V. Michelant, Michel Deprez, Paul Meyer, C. Couderc, and L. Auvray, *Catalogue des manuscrits français: ancien fonds* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1868), 177.

¹⁰³ J. Van Der Gheyn, S. J., *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Brussels: Henri Lamertin, Libraire-Éditeur, 1905), 349.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, 349.

¹⁰⁵ Henri Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français: anciens petits fonds français* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1905), 66.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem, 6.

Two of the four German versions are excerpts from saints' lives; one from the *Leben der Heiligen* by Günther Zainer,¹⁰⁷ and the other from the *Leben der Heiligen* by Steffen Arndes.¹⁰⁸ Of the other two, one is a version which is found in a manuscript from both the Library of Strasbourg and Königsberg, and the second, ms. Helmst. 1203, is from the Library of Wolfenbüttel. German versions of her *vita* already might have existed in the fourteenth and the fifteenth century or even earlier and circulated from the southern to the northern regions.¹⁰⁹

1. Separation

There are not only additions and omissions in the Latin versions of the texts containing the part that is related to Saint Marina's life and entrance into the monastery, but also in the French and German versions. The sequences of her life related to the phase of separation can be summarized: her father decided to enter a monastery and took with him his daughter dressed in men's clothing. However, there are striking differences related to how the saint entered the monastery. The sequences from the separation phase are also found in the lives of other transvestite saints who entered monasteries. The common sequences are those of the entrance and the use of clothing. Not only Marina, but also Eugenia¹¹⁰ and Euphrosyne¹¹¹ used transvestitism: Eugenia to lead a Christian way of life, Euphrosyne mostly to remain celibate and become *sponsa Christi*.

Origin

Heribert Rosweyde's edited version constitutes the starting point for analyzing the development and the diversity of the patterns of Saint Marina's *vita* in the Latin texts from France and Italy. This version does not offer any information regarding the origin of the saint.

¹⁰⁷ Günther Zainer, *Leben der Heiligen*, (Augsburg, 1472), 56r-56v reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 126-128.

¹⁰⁸ Steffen Arndes, *Leben der Heiligen*, (Lubeck, 1492), 401 reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 137-139.

¹⁰⁹ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 125.

¹¹⁰ Lewis, "Select Narratives," 5.

¹¹¹ Ibidem, 52.

The same is true of two Latin versions from France dating from the ninth and the eleventh centuries.¹¹² One Latin version from the thirteenth century offers certain topographical details, stating that the monastery was five miles from Alexandria: *et abiit in monasterium quod longe erat a ciuitate Alexandrina miliariis quinque*.¹¹³ The group of Latin texts from Italy offer a greater variety of versions of her origin. Thus, in a manuscript from the fourteenth century the copyist mentions Italy as the place of her origin: *[F]uit in partibus Ytalie quidam cementarius Marinus nomine ...*¹¹⁴ This version indicates not only her origin, but also the order of the copyist is one of the additions found in her *vita*: *... uenit ad quondam abbatiam de ordine cisterciensi a patria sua*¹¹⁵ In the sixteenth century, Luigi Lippomano made a translation of the Greek version of the *vita* by Symeon the Methaphrast in which the saint's origin is Bythinia: *In illo tempore erat uir quidam in Bythinia, nomine Eugenius*.¹¹⁶ In the same period, Petrus di Natalibus wrote a short Latin version in which the saint's origin was Greece: *Marina virgo in partibus Grecie claruit*.¹¹⁷ *The Golden Legend* and a version in verse from the fifteenth century¹¹⁸ omit these details as they offer more concentrated and shorter *vitae*.

Regarding the texts written in French vernacular, two versions in verse dating from the fifteenth century¹¹⁹ mention her origin as Egypt while all the other earlier manuscripts¹²⁰ do not have the addition of the origin: “En egipte naquist la flour/ Dont encore nous plaist

¹¹² Ms. 2328, f. 118v-120r and ms. 10840, f. 145v-147r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 4-7 and 7-11.

¹¹³ “and [he] went to the monastery which was five miles away from the city of Alexandria.” in Ms. 5296, f. 63r-64r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 11-14.

¹¹⁴ “In Italy, there was a certain mason called Marinus.” in Ms. Mm. VI 1, f. 182r-188r, Library of the University of Cambridge reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 257.

¹¹⁵ “...from his homeland, he came to a certain abbey of the Cistercian order.” in Ibidem, f. 183v, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 258.

¹¹⁶ “In that time, in Bythynia, there was a certain man, named Eugenius.” reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 26.

¹¹⁷ “Marina the Virgin flourished in Greece” reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 266.

¹¹⁸ Ms. Latin B. 49 Inf., f. 135v-136r, Ambrosian Library of Milan, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 269-271.

¹¹⁹ Ms. 1728, f. 105r, The Vatican Library and ms. 10295-304, f. 128r, Royal Library of Brussels, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 168-180 and 180-191.

¹²⁰ Ms. 1038, f. 88v-90r, Ms. 422, f. 77v-78v, Ms. 23117, f. 456r-458v, Ms. 413, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 150, 153, 155, 159.

l'odour.”¹²¹ One explanation for this origin refers to the fact that the *vita* was written for hermits in Egypt and her origin was changed according to that of the hermits. This origin was not omitted when translating it into Latin and into the French vernacular.¹²² The four German versions, one from the fourteenth century and three from the fifteenth, only mention that she is from a town.¹²³

To sum up, the variety of places indicate the origins of the copyists and the region where the manuscripts were produced.¹²⁴ Gradually, her origin was omitted from the *vitae*; the only versions which offer a greater variety of origins are the Latin texts from Italy. Except for one which mentions Italy, all the other versions mention different regions of Greece as the origin of the saint, a detail which reveals traces of the transmission of her cult and her *vita*. These additions of origins occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; however, the Syriac version mentions her origin as Bythynia as early as the eighth century.¹²⁵

All the versions preserve details regarding the Syrian *topos* where the saint is supposed to have lived, although the two Eastern prototypes omit it.¹²⁶ There are precise indications regarding the distance between the monastery and the place of her origin; the market-town in the edited version of Heribert Rosweyde is thirty-two miles away. An additional distance of three miles is mentioned in connection with her activities.¹²⁷ These topographical details vary in to each manuscript. The distances vary from version to version; there were thirty-one miles¹²⁸ or five leagues¹²⁹ between the monastery and the town in the

¹²¹ “The flower which is still pleasant to us/ was born in Egypt” in Ms. 1728, f. 105r, The Vatican Library, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 169.

¹²² Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 238.

¹²³ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 128 for the fourteenth-century version and *Leben der Heiligen*, (Augsburg, Günther Zainer, 1472), f. 56r-56v, *Leben der Heiligen* (Lubeck, 1492), Steffen Arndes, 40, and ms. Helmst. 1203, f. 72r-80r, Library of Wolfenbüttel, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 128-147.

¹²⁴ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, VI.

¹²⁵ Lewis, “Select Narratives,” 37.

¹²⁶ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, VI.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, 22-23.

¹²⁸ Ms. 2328, f. 118v, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 4.

¹²⁹ Ms. 10840, f. 145r, Ms. 5296, f. 63r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 8.

Latin versions from France (while the Latin versions from Italy and the Golden Legend omit this detail). Distances of two,¹³⁰ thirty-three¹³¹ or thirty¹³² miles are noted in the French versions, and twenty-two leagues¹³³ in the German versions. It is the same regarding the distance between the monastery and the market town which is situated in the vicinity of a sea; there are three¹³⁴ or six miles¹³⁵ in the Latin versions, two¹³⁶ or three miles¹³⁷ in the French versions and three miles in a fifteenth-century German¹³⁸ version. The copyists apparently transcribed these details without taking into account the relief of the country. In the next chapter, in which I discuss the depictions of the saint, these topographical details are rather changed in the sense that the authors of the depictions portrayed the environments of their own countries.

Father

Although her father is not named in the oldest Latin version, there are two texts that indicate it. The version of Luigi Lippomano states that the name of the father was “Eugene,” as in the Greek version, while another Latin text from Italy gives the name of Marina’s father as Marinus: ... *in tantum dilexit ut nomine suo proprio sub feminino tamen genere in baptismate fecit nominari, silicet pro Marino Marinam eam vocans*.¹³⁹ The name of the father is omitted in the German versions, while in the French ones only one manuscript from the

¹³⁰ Ms. 23117, f. 456r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 156.

¹³¹ Ms. 22911, f. 91v, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 163.

¹³² Ms. 1728, f.105r, The Vatican Library and Ms. 10295-304, f. 128r, Royal Library of Brussels, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 169 and 181.

¹³³ Ms. Helmst. 1203, f. 72r, Library of Wolfenbüttel, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 140.

¹³⁴ Ms. 2328, f. 119r, Ms. 10840, f. 115v, National Library of France and Ms. Mm. VI 1, f. 185v Library of the University of Cambridge, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 4, 8, and 261.

¹³⁵ Ms. 5296, f. 63r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 11.

¹³⁶ Ms. 413, f. 427r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 159.

¹³⁷ Ms. 22911, f. 92r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 163.

¹³⁸ Ms. Helmst. 1203, f. 72r-80v, Library of Wolfenbüttel, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 140.

¹³⁹ “[He] loved [her] so much that [he] called her by the feminine form of his own name when baptizing [her], that is to say named her Marina from Marinus.” in Ms. Mm. VI. 1, f. 182r, Library of Cambridge University, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 257.

thirteenth-century mentions: *Vns preudons fu seculiers Alixandre*¹⁴⁰ It is intriguing in the case of the Italian manuscript to note the implications of her father's name in connection with Saint Marina's name, for when they entered the monastery there were two persons bearing the same name referring to two different individuals. I will develop this last issue below.

Entrance

There are two different patterns regarding the sequence of her entrance into the monastery: in the first, Marina enters together with her father, while in the second her father decides to enter the monastery in order to live a pious life and only after entering the monastic community does he start missing her and gets permission from the abbot to bring his child into the monastery.

The first pattern is present in only three versions, in two versions of *The Golden Legend* -- a sixteenth century French version¹⁴¹ and a Latin version -- and in the Latin translation of Luigi Lippomano. However, there is a minor difference between the Latin versions of the *The Golden Legend* and Luigi Lippomano's version, namely, in the *The Golden Legend* this sequence is not presented clearly: *Marina virgo unica erat patri suo: cum autem pater quoddam monasterium intrasset, mutavit habitum filiae suae, ut non femina sed masculus videtur, rogavitque abbatem et fratres, ut filium suum unicum reciperent;...*¹⁴² whereas Luigi's version does not omit the pattern: *Haec cum dixisset Eugenius, et precatus esset, assumens suam Marinam in habitu adolescentis ingressus est cenobium.*¹⁴³ This pattern also appears in the eighth-century Syriac version, but is omitted in the oldest Latin text edited by Heribert Rosweyde.

¹⁴⁰ "There was a secular good man, Alexander." In Ms. 23117, f. 456v, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 155.

¹⁴¹ Ms. 1534, f. 44r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 167.

¹⁴² "Marina the Virgin was the only [daughter] of her father; and after her father entered some monastery, he changed the clothes of his daughter, so that she appeared to be male, not female, and [he] asked the abbot and the monks, to accept his only son." In Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997), 534.

¹⁴³ "After Eugenius had said these things, and had prayed, took his [daughter] Marina, dressed as a young man, [he] entered the monastery." in Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 27.

In contrast, in the second group of texts the pattern changes. This is a later development of the *vita* which appears not only in the Latin, but also in the French versions. The change in the pattern is already present in the ninth-century Latin versions from France and can be traced in the versions from the eleventh and thirteenth century. Regarding the Latin versions from Italy the situation is similar as versions from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth century have the same development. This also applies to the French vernacular versions; those from the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth century centuries also have the same pattern.

In the German version this pattern developed completely differently compared with the Latin and French texts. In one fourteenth-century and in two fifteenth-century versions the saint enters the monastery alone, being advised by her father: ... *vñ het gros begird dar zũ dz er sein tochter dē almechgen got an ein stat opferet das sy got mit fleiss möcht dienen bis an iren todtes wz im die tochter gehorsam...*¹⁴⁴ In only one fifteenth-century version¹⁴⁵ in verse is the pattern similar to the French versions written in verse, namely, each character enters on a separate occasion. Although the sources used for the three German vernacular texts cannot be identified, one copyist may have used a French version in verse because of the similarities in the themes.

Up to this point, one major conclusion can be drawn, namely, that versions containing both patterns coexisted in all the three regions. Furthermore, the more accessible and broader the audience that the *vitae* had the more developments and changes occurred. Even though, changes in the versions even existed when they were accessible only to the monastic

¹⁴⁴ “And had the great desire to offer his daughter to the Almighty God so that she should serve diligently until her death; to what his daughter obeyed.” in Günter Zainer, *Leben der Heiligen*, (Augsburg, 1472), f. 56r-56v, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 127. I would like to thank my supervisor, Gerhard Jaritz, for the translation.

¹⁴⁵ Ms. Helmst. 1203, f. 72r-80v, Library of Wolfenbüttel, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 139-147.

communities, they became more numerous later when the vernacular allowed a different type of audience to access the story.

There are different explanations for Marina's acceptance into the monastery. The first one refers to the fact that she does not have any choice but to enter together with her father¹⁴⁶ while the second is related to her gender disguise. Accordingly, her gender transformation (and later the discovery of her gender) is not a conscious choice; she lives as a man to avoid expulsion mainly because it is the only way of life she knows.¹⁴⁷ However, there are some points worth mentioning regarding these two issues: her chances for an independent life were quite slight had she not entered the monastery and the destiny she might have had could have been that of an innkeeper's daughter.¹⁴⁸

According to Marie Delcourt, cross-dressing has a symbolic meaning which indicates the refusal of familial authority,¹⁴⁹ in this case the authority of the father. I do not agree with this idea as Saint Marina did not seek to suppress the authority of her father. Furthermore, she agreed to keep the secret of her identity even after the death of her father and according to the information provided by her *vitae* she did not refuse to enter the monastery. Furthermore, in the Latin translation of the Metaphrastic version it is Marina who decides to enter the monastery disguised as a man, together with her father: *Domine mi pater, non sic ingrediar, quomodo tu dicis, sed tondebo comam capitis, et inducta ueste uirili, ingrediar tecum monasterium, nemine sciente me esse foeminam.*¹⁵⁰ Except for this version, all the others do

¹⁴⁶ Sandra Lowerre, "To Rise beyond Their Sex: Female Cross-Dressing Saints in Caxton's *Vitas Patrum*," in *Riddles, Knights and Cross-Dressing Saints*, ed. Thomas Honegger (Bern: European Academic Publishers, 2004), 65.

¹⁴⁷ Larissa Tracy, *Women of the Gilte Legende: A Selection of Middle English Saints' Lives* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), 85.

¹⁴⁸ Emma Campbell, "Epistemology of the Cloister: Knowledge, Identity, and Place in Old French Saints' Lives," *The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36, No. 2 (2010): 220.

¹⁴⁹ Delcourt, "Le complexe de Diane dans l'hagiographie chrétienne," 23.

¹⁵⁰ "Sir, my father, I will not enter as you say, but I will cut off the hair on my head, and dressed in male garment, I will enter the monastery together with you, and no one will know that I am a woman." In Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 26.

not indicate any reaction of the saint regarding any agreement or disagreement about her entering the monastery.

There is a striking difference between Marina's attitude towards her father's decision to enter the monastery in the two main groups of versions: Greek and Syriac, respectively, the Western group of versions. In the Greek and Syriac versions she is more eloquent and individualized;¹⁵¹ she even quotes the Bible and acts as a *puer senex*¹⁵² educated in the Christian faith, whereas in the Latin, French, and German versions she is silent and educated in faith inside the monastery. Neither the Greek nor the Syriac version has the sequence of her promise not to reveal her secret, only the advice of her father before entering the monastery and before dying, thus, this can be seen as a later addition to justify her silence. Accordingly, the later developments of her *vita* incorporated new visions regarding women. Her silence is connected with the development of devotion to the Virgin Mary and implies passive and submissive behavior for women.¹⁵³ Furthermore, in the Eastern group of versions the reason for her father refusing to enter together with her is because she may tempt the monks. However, this Eastern point of view towards femininity, which connects the original sin with Eve and women in general as responsible for the fall of man, was changed in the Western versions.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the Western copyist is no longer concerned with the temptation represented by women, but with hiding her identity because of different attitudes towards women in the Middle Ages.¹⁵⁵

Clothes

The patterns which I am interested in regarding her separation from the world and changing her identity to that of a man are those of name, tonsure, and clothing, which all changed when she entered the monastery. Although considered a transvestite saint, the detail

¹⁵¹ Lowerre, "To Rise beyond Their Sex," 65.

¹⁵² I would like to thank my supervisor, Cristian Gaşpar, for this suggestion.

¹⁵³ Lowerre, "To Rise beyond Their Sex," 71.

¹⁵⁴ Ibidem, 55-65.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem, 65.

of her being disguised in men's clothing is omitted in most of the versions. Instead, the hagiographers emphasize the changing of her name. Accordingly, her name changed from the feminine *Marina* (in the oldest Latin version and the German) or *Marine, Maroie* (French) to the masculine *Marinus* (Latin, German) or *Marin* (French). The only version in which she bears the same name as in the Greek and Syriac versions is that of Luigi Lippomano. In this version her name is the same as in the oldest Latin text: *Maria -- Marinus*. To sum up, her *vita* circulated in all three regions with both versions of her feminine name Mary-Marina. However, only one sixteenth-century Latin translation preserved the name as it is in the Greek and Syriac versions, while the versions which have the Marina-Marinus pattern are more numerous.

The symbol of the acquisition of clothes is connected with religious and baptismal meanings and can be traced back to the Adam legend, in which he acquired a robe of skin because of sinning.¹⁵⁶ Putting on new clothes means symbolically that one clothes oneself with Christ and acquires a new-born spirit.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, changing clothes implies death and rebirth.¹⁵⁸ In the Greek version it is the daughter's decision to cut off her hair and change her clothes before entering into the monastery under the name of Marinus. The detail of changing her clothes is found in all the four of the Latin versions from Italy. In all these versions it is the father who changes the clothes of his daughter as it is his intention to bring his daughter into the monastery. In *The Golden Legend*, changing clothes implies the acquisition of a new identity and not only a disguise in order to be accepted into the monastery: ... *mutavit habitum filiae suae, ut non femina, sed masculus videretur, rogavitque abbatem et fratres, ut filium suum unicum reciperent;*¹⁵⁹ The Latin version from the

¹⁵⁶ Wayne A. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *History of Religion* 13, No. 3 (1974): 187.

¹⁵⁷ Anson, "The Female Transvestite Saint in Early Monasticism," 7.

¹⁵⁸ Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne," 183-184.

¹⁵⁹ "[He] changed the clothes of his daughter, so that she appeared to be male, not female, and asked the abbot and the monks to accept his only son." In Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 534.

Library of Cambridge and the version of Petrus de Natalibus present the same detail of the father clothing his daughter in order to bring her to the monastery: *Et abiens ille super hoc non parum letificatus mutauit habitum mulierebem filie sue in uirilem, nominemque Marine in Marinum mutato, duxit eam secum in monasterium*¹⁶⁰ and *Pater ergo habitu virili eam induit et mutato nomine Marinum ipsam vocauit.*¹⁶¹ The Latin version which has more details related to this part of her entrance into the monastery is that of Luigi Lippomano. The details of his versions are not additions, but sequences from the older Greek version. In this version it is Marina's decision to enter the monastery with her father, to take man's clothes and to cut off her hair. To sum up, the pattern of changing her clothing is omitted in the Latin versions from France, furthermore, even the Latin versions from Italy which preserve this pattern can be divided into two groups: in the first one finds the pattern of the father clothing his daughter and them entering the monastery together, as in *The Golden Legend* and the sixteenth-century version of Luigi Lippomano, while two other versions (from the fourteenth and sixteenth-century) changed the pattern of clothing and added it to a different sequence, namely, that of the father and daughter entering the monastery together.

The French texts have the same pattern of changing the clothes in four versions, two written in prose and two in verse. In three fifteenth-century versions the father disguises his daughter by dressing her as a man after the abbot gives permission to bring his child to the monastery: "L'enfant vestit et atourna/ Tout ainsi comme vne garcon:"¹⁶² The French version of *The Golden Legend* does not have the same sequence as the other French versions. Here the father dresses his daughter as they enter the monastery together: "Vne foy son pere et lie alloient par pais sy fist son pere muer labbit de sa fille en abit dome, puis vindrent en

¹⁶⁰ "And he rejoicing not a little about this thing, he changed the female clothes of his daughter to male [clothes], and changing the name Marina into Marinus, took her with him into the monastery." In Ms. Mm. VI. 1, f. 185r, Library of the University of Cambridge, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 260.

¹⁶¹ "Her father clothes her in male clothes and, changing her name, called her Marinus." In Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 266.

¹⁶² "He dressed and changed the child/ Similar to a boy." In Ms. 1728, f. 106r, The Vatican Library, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 170.

vne abbaie et sy requist le pere a labbe au couuent quilz recheussent son filz en leur ordre.”¹⁶³

As I mentioned above, the German versions of her *vita* differ from the Latin and French ones.

The most important difference is that the saint enters the monastery according to the wish of her father. In three of the four versions it is the father who not only decides on the name of his daughter, but is also the agent of her disguise as a man:

... da leget ir ir vater mans cleider an vñ kam mir der tocher vnd bat den abt mit fleiss dz e rim seinen sun zü den orten enpfieng. Da gewärt in der abt wañ im gefiel der schön knab wol vnd west nit dz es ein iunckfrow wz vñ signet in in den orten darin lebt Marina seliclich vnd tugentlich vnd trugwilliclichen mans cleider an in dè orten.¹⁶⁴

The other version is similar to the French texts written in verse: the disguised daughter is brought to the monastery by her father after the abbot gives permission. Therefore, in these versions she is neither the creation of her father nor adopts his way of life,¹⁶⁵ but that of the monks.

At this point, there is one essential conclusion I want to draw attention to. The sequence of her being dressed in the disguise of a man is found only in nine versions: four written in Latin and five in French. Out of these nine versions, six present her entering the monastery together with her father. What I want to point out is that the detail of her disguise as a man while entering the monastery is found mostly in the versions in which she enters together with her father. The other three versions have this sequence in another part of the *vita*: when her father is allowed by the abbot to go get his child. Thus, as in the case of the other patterns described above, three types of patterns circulated in approximately the same

¹⁶³ “Once her father and she went throughout the country, and her father changed the clothing of his daughter into that of men, then reached an abbey and the father asked the abbot from the monastery to accept his son into their order,” in Ms. 1534, f. 44r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 167.

¹⁶⁴ “Her father gave her male clothe and he came with the daughter and asked the abbot diligently that his son should be accepted in the order. The abbot agreed because he liked the handsome boy and did not know that he was a virgin and blessed him. Marina lived in the order virtuously and wore the clothe of man willingly.” in Günter Zainer, *Leben der Heiligen* (Augsburg, 1472), f. 56r-56v, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 126. I would like to thank my supervisor, Gerhard Jaritz, for the translation.

¹⁶⁵ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 64.

periods in the three regions. The versions written in Latin both in France and Italy are similar, while in the German versions there are further additions compared to the other groups.

The second aspect related to her transformation into a man is the detail which refers to tonsure. This detail is found only in the version of Luigi Lippomano. It is important to remark that the author translated the sequences of the Greek version and, accordingly, the sequence of the daughter's decision to cut off her hair is included: "... *sed tondeo comam capitis*"¹⁶⁶ Cutting the hair in a religious context is a symbol of the negation of personal sexuality¹⁶⁷ and offering one's chastity and virginity to Christ, thus becoming the bride of Christ.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, it implies a change in social and spiritual status.¹⁶⁹ All these symbols are used in her case as she later will become saint. Her spiritual status underwent significant changes because she would be considered a saint after her death, although in the Eastern versions she has the miraculous capacity of healing while still alive.

Furthermore, it is her father who combines monastic life with his desire for his daughter to enter the monastery.¹⁷⁰ Actually, Marina does not get a new identity, but her individuality is sacrificed by her father.¹⁷¹ Although Cazelles refers to only one French version, it is again important to point out that there are several Latin versions which present her entrance into the monastery as her choice.¹⁷² Furthermore, the disguise of the saint is a paternal choice Marina conforms to,¹⁷³ thus, the saint is an imitation of her father.¹⁷⁴ I want to develop this last issue of the imitation of the paternal figure a bit more. I consider that this fits the Latin version in which the father baptizes his child with his name: Marinus. As I

¹⁶⁶ "But I will cut off the hair on my head." In Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 26.

¹⁶⁷ Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture. The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1997), 18. See more on transvestitism and the symbolism of tonsure in Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 156-162.

¹⁶⁸ Ibidem, 19.

¹⁶⁹ Howard Williams, "Material Culture as Memory: Combs and Cremation in Early Medieval Britain," *Early Medieval Europe* 12 (2003): 121.

¹⁷⁰ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 64.

¹⁷¹ Ibidem, 64.

¹⁷² See the version of Luigi Lippomano in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 26.

¹⁷³ Campbell, "Epistemology of the Cloister," 217.

¹⁷⁴ Ibidem, 219.

mentioned before this is the ideal case which illustrates the imitation of her father, however, I do not consider that this imitation annihilates her individuality. Campbell considers that Marina's disguise was the choice of her parent. However, her statement that Marina's transvestitism and entry in the monastery is a French vernacular addition¹⁷⁵ that is not found in the Latin versions is not correct. In most of the Latin versions it is the father who contributes to her disguise and brings her into the monastery.

To sum up, some versions omit her disguise in favour of emphasizing her new identity by changing her name from Maria/Marina to Marinus. The translators emphasize the importance of changing her name as if her new identity can be defined only by her name and not by her disguise: *Dicebatur autem Marina, et mutavit ei nomen pater eius Marinum.*¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, it is her father who changes her name, even in the versions where she decides to enter the monastery disguised as a man with him. It is important to remark that her transformation, entirely or not, is done by her father. What is even more striking is the Latin version written by an Italian translator in which the father, named Marinus, calls his daughter Marina after himself: *Quam pater pre gaudio, licet pauper esset, in tantum dilexit ut nomine suo proprio sub feminine tamen genere in baptisate fecit nominari, silicet pro Marino Marinam eam vocans.*¹⁷⁷

2. Liminality

The second phase of her *vita*, from her entrance to her death, focuses on her penance and accusations of fathering a child, although innocent. Three sequences are important in this phase: the promise to her father, her expulsion from the monastery, and her willing penance.

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem, 217.

¹⁷⁶ "But she was called Marina, and her father changed her name to Marinus." In Ms. 2328, f. 119r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 5.

¹⁷⁷ "The father, even though he was poor, loved her so much, because of his joy, that [he] called her by the feminine form of his own name when baptizing [her], that is to say named her Marina from Marinus." In Ms. Mm. VI. 1, f. 182r. Library of the University of Cambridge, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 257.

In these sequences she has the attributes of a liminal *persona*:¹⁷⁸ she is reduced to a uniform condition with the other monks, she is humble and passive when accused and expelled by the abbot, and ambiguous in her physical characteristics (both in the visual representations and in the *vitae*) because the other monks consider her a eunuch. This ambiguity is a characteristic of most of the transvestite nuns who are considered attractive by women: Melanthia tries to seduce Eugenia, Euphrosyne's beauty attracts the monks, Hilaria is accused by her sister, Margareta Reparata is accused by a young girl who became pregnant, and so on. The case of Saint Marina is similar; she is accused by an innkeeper's daughter of fathering her child. It is clear that the theme of seduction is common in most of the *vitae*, only the context differs. This theme is strongly connected with another one, namely, that of leaving the monastery. Only when the transvestite saint leaves the monastic space and returns to the place she initially left is she accused, generally, of raping a girl.

The promise

Brigitte Cazelles¹⁷⁹ refers to an affirmation of Rosenthal when she states that the French version of Marina's *vita* is more logical than the Latin because it offers an explanation for her silence: the promise made to her father not to reveal her true identity. I do not know to which Latin version Rosenthal was referring, but I disagree as it is not the Latin version that omits the explanation of Marina's silence, but three of the German versions. Furthermore, Campbell, probably quoting Rosenthal, mentions that the father's role in the saint's disguise is an innovation of the vernacular versions and that the Latin version does not give any explanation for the saint's motivation.¹⁸⁰ Although her motivation to keep silent can easily be deduced, in fact the Latin versions do have this sequence.

¹⁷⁸ Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 95. The attribute of liminal persona refers to the neglect of sexual differences, passivity, and humility, which is relevant for this situation.

¹⁷⁹ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 238.

¹⁸⁰ Campbell, "Epistemology of the Cloister," 217.

Except for two Latin versions from the group of texts from Italy, all the other seven Latin texts have the sequence of her promise not to reveal her identity. The detail concerning her age is of minor importance; what matters in this case is her promise: ... *filiam suam vocavit et ipsam in bono proposito confirmans praecepit, ne aliquando alicui revelaret, quod mulier esset*¹⁸¹ and *Vide, filia, ut nullus cognoscat mysterium tuum usque in finem tuum,....*¹⁸² More precisely, it is the father's dialogue which points out her acceptance of being silent. I consider that the lack of her reply in this dialogue is not only a mark of her obedience, but also of her approval. Although her reply is not given, in the following sequences she keeps the secret of her identity even if not guilty. After the death of her father she is under the orders of the abbot, but I do not consider this explanation a persuasive argument for her silence.¹⁸³

The only Latin versions which omit this sequence are one sixteenth-century version, that of Luigi Lippomano, and one fifteenth-century version written in verse. Luigi Lippomano's version does not have this sequence as it is a translation of a Greek version. As I mentioned above, in this version Marina enters the monastery by her own will; therefore, it is logical that the sequence of her promise is absent. In the other text there is no direct reference to this detail. The only information which is related to her disguise is her father's effort: *Hanc genitor cotidie/Non cessabat corrigere/ Ne esse muliebriter, Tractaret se viriliter.*¹⁸⁴

All the French versions have the sequence of her promise, or at least her father asking Marina not to reveal her identity: "Quant elle uint a catorsisme han si li dit ses peres quele ne deist mie quele fut fame mais pansa de bien faire. Elle metoit en son cuer ce con li disoit si

¹⁸¹ "[He] called his daughter and instructed her encouraging her good choice, not to show anyone ever that she was a woman." In Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 534.

¹⁸² "Take care, [my] daughter, that no one should know your secret until the end [of] your [days]." In Ms. 2328, f. 119v, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 5.

¹⁸³ Campbell, "Epistemology of the Cloister," 220.

¹⁸⁴ "Her father never stopped admonishing her every day not to behave like a woman, but to hold herself as a man." In Ms. Latin B. 49 Inf., f.135v, The Ambrosian Library of Milan, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 269.

fust moult ardans de bien faire.”¹⁸⁵ Contrary to Rosenthal, who states that the French versions are more logical than the Latin versions as they present the detail of her promising her father to keep silent about her identity, I again emphasize that most of the Latin versions do give this indispensable detail. The German versions present this detail too, but in a different context. This pattern changed in the German versions during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries as in three¹⁸⁶ of the four versions Marina enters the monastery alone according to the wishes of her father. These three versions are the only ones in which Marina abandons her seclusion two times: when she visits her father and when she goes to the market town. What matters at this point is her visit to her father. Both in the Latin and the French versions a certain period of time passes between the sequence of her promise and the death of her father. In the German version these two different sequences are presented together: Marina goes back to her father’s place to visit him because of his sickness. It is here that her father makes her promise not to reveal her identity: “... da sprach er heimlichen zu ir liebe tochter ich bit dich das du nimer keinem menschen sagest dz due in iuncfrow seyest dz gelobt im die tochter”¹⁸⁷ as she is under the authority of her father only when she accepts entering the monastery and keeping silent about her identity.

Brigitte Cazelles mentions, referring to one of the French versions written in verse, that transvestitism has the function of protecting Marina’s virginity and it allows her to become Chirst-like. Furthermore, she points out that cross-dressing is not a decision of the saint but is imposed on her by the father, meaning a loss of freedom. Up to a certain point the author is right; however, I consider that in the case of Saint Marina transvestitism is not

¹⁸⁵ “When she was fourteen years her father asked her not to tell that she is a woman but behave in a good manner. She kept in her heart what he told her and she was very eager to do good.” In Ms. 423, f. 20r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 166.

¹⁸⁶ *Leben der Heiligen*, 1472, the fourteenth-century version from the Library of Strasbourg and Ms. Helmst. 1023 reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 126 and 140-141.

¹⁸⁷ “Than he said to her secretly: Dear daughter, I ask you that you will never tell anybody that you are a virgin. His daughter promised that.” In Günter Zainer, *Leben der Heiligen*, (Augsburg, 1472), f. 56r-56v, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 126. I would like to thank my supervisor, Gerhard Jaritz, for the translation.

necessarily imposed. Although the Latin, French, and German versions show her as rather passive,¹⁸⁸ one has to compare them with the earliest versions as they are the prototypes. These versions show a different side of the saint, namely, she is more active and individualized. Western hagiographers omitted this side of her; however, if Marina were to be deprived of freedom by her father, she could have left the monastery when she was expelled.

Exit-Journey-Expulsion

Marina's expulsion from the monastery is one of the most important sequences of her *vita* as it offers her the privilege of revealing her identity.¹⁸⁹ The motive of the transvestite saint accused of fathering someone's child is found in various saint's *vitae* such as Eugenia, Theodora, and Margareta.¹⁹⁰

The pattern of her exit found in the Greek and Syriac versions also appears in the Western versions; however, it was developed into a second sequence. In the oldest pattern, Marina leaves the monastery together with a group of monks and they go to other monks and monasteries. This pattern has been developed in the sense that she no longer visits other monasteries as in the translation of Luigi Lippomano, but goes to a market town for goods or firewood. The copyist used his own environment to augment the details of the texts, and this may also point out the area where the versions circulated. In the Latin versions there are two patterns, that of the market town and that of gathering wood. The dominant pattern is that of the market town, which is also found in the oldest Latin version and in all the Latin versions from France from the ninth to the thirteenth century. The Latin versions from Italy, however, have both of these developments. Thus, one fourteenth-century and one fifteenth-century version have the pattern of the market town. What is even more striking is the fact that the fifteenth-century manuscript even mentions the type of the provision -- fish. In the sixteenth

¹⁸⁸ Lowerre, "To Rise beyond Their Sex," 71.

¹⁸⁹ Campbell, "Epistemology of the Cloister," 217.

¹⁹⁰ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 1567.

century, the second pattern circulated in parallel with the first one. Thus, the topographical detail has changed into woods and appears in the version of Petrus di Natalibus.¹⁹¹ This detail is also found in an earlier version, that of the *The Golden Legend: Ibat igitur frequenter cum plaustro et bobus et ligna monasterio deferebat*¹⁹²

To sum up, the pattern of her exit from the monastery developed in the Latin versions from Italy and France. However, the developments of the Latin versions from Italy are more varied, whereas the Latin versions from France have the same development. Three versions circulated in the region of Italy: an unchanged pattern that is also found in the Greek and Syriac versions, the topographical development of the market town, and the version with the woods.

The topographical addition of the market town was not changed in the French vernacular except in one text. In the fifteenth-century vernacular version of *The Golden Legend* the topographical detail of the woods was changed into that of the market town. In the German version, three texts -- two fifteenth-century and one fourteenth-century -- have the same topographical detail of the woods, while a fifteenth-century version, probably translated from a French source, has the detail of the sea.

Besides the topographical addition, there is a second motif that is added to these versions, namely, temptation by the devil. The Greek version has only the detail of the possessed girl confessing near Marina's relic. This pattern was only omitted in one fourteenth-century Latin version from Italy. Thus, in this version, besides the pattern of the confession, another was added, namely, that the devil influenced the events regarding the innkeeper's daughter. This detail is also found in the eighth-century Syriac version. Although the Latin versions from France do not have this motif, it appeared in the vernacular as early as

¹⁹¹ Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus sanctorum* (Venice, 1521), 104v reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 266-267.

¹⁹² "Therefore, she used to go frequently on a cart drawn by oxen and used to bring wood to the monastery," in Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 534.

the thirteenth century and circulated in parallel with vernacular versions which omitted it. In the German versions, only one fifteenth-century version has this addition, probably owing to French vernacular influence.

At this point of the discussion, I want to call attention to the fact that in the cases where Marina is accompanied by monks, generally she is generally accused of rape as a temptation by the devil. However, in one case the innkeeper daughter's accusations of rape are connected to Marina's beauty, namely, the physical characteristics of eunuchs, which are considered a temptation.¹⁹³ The Latin version of Luigi Lippomano has the same detail as the Greek text: *Cum uero aliquot annos peregrisset beata in monasterio, existimabant monachi eum esse eunuchum propterea quod esset imberbis et uoce gracili.*¹⁹⁴

Penance

The final phase of her transition is her willing penance. It is important to note that by accepting penance Marina not only obeys her father and keeps her promise, but acts according to the identity of a man. Furthermore, Villemur mentions that Saint Marina kept her promise to her father but she also showed maternal behavior towards the child that is not hers.¹⁹⁵

There are several interpretations of her silence and the implications of the sin she admits having committed. First, her sin is connected with the fact that she is a woman. Accordingly, Marina has internalized the point of view of the Church Fathers, who consider women sinful.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, this attitude is misogynist¹⁹⁷ and reflects the hagiographer's conception of women. Therefore, Marina admits that she has sinned, but the sin she is

¹⁹³ Lowerre, "To Rise beyond Their Sex," 70.

¹⁹⁴ "Then, after the blessed one had lived several years in the monastery, the monks were thinking that she was a eunuch because she was beardless and had thin voice," in Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 27.

¹⁹⁵ Frederique Villemur, *Femmes travesties: un 'mauvais' genre*. <http://clio.revues.org/index253.html> (Last accessed December 3, 2010): 8.

¹⁹⁶ Lowerre, "To Rise beyond Their Sex," 71.

¹⁹⁷ Ibidem, 66.

referring to is that she hid her identity and feels guilty about it.¹⁹⁸ Second, Marina neither denies nor admits her sin,¹⁹⁹ and third, she sinned by entering a male monastery. Therefore, the price of her sin is exacted in the form of a child she has to raise in front of the monastery.²⁰⁰

As for the pattern of her penance there are notable differences in all the three regions. One of the first sequences refers to her trial and beating before being expelled from the monastery. The Greek and Syriac versions do not have these patterns. The sequence of her trial is a later development of the Latin and the vernacular versions, while in the Greek and Syriac versions she is judged in her absence.

The oldest Latin version edited by Heribert Rosweyde already has the addition of the sequence of beating, which is also present in the Latin versions from France as early as the ninth century: *Ad iracundiam autem commotus est abbas eius. Iussitque eam flagellari et ait: 'In ueritate dico quia tu qui hoc malom operatus es non manebis in hoc monasterio.'*²⁰¹ This pattern is present in the Latin versions from Italy except the version of *The Golden Legend*, one version in verse from the fifteenth century, and that of Luigi Lippomano, who omits it as his text is a translation of a Greek version where this pattern does not appear: *Tunc praefectus ei iratus, eiecit eum e monasterio.*²⁰² Gradually, this pattern developed in the French vernacular into the motif of *imitatio Christi* in two fifteenth-century versions in verse, while the versions in prose simply translate the pattern from Latin without changing it. The Christ-like motif is not accidental. It was used in hagiographic literature about martyrs and then influenced other stories of non-martyr saints. The difference in these two types of stories is that in the first the martyr is persecuted by a pagan while in the latter the saint is persecuted

¹⁹⁸ Ibidem, 66.

¹⁹⁹ Tracy, *Women of the Gilte Legende*, 19.

²⁰⁰ Anson, "The Female Transvestite Saint in Early Monasticism," 30.

²⁰¹ "But her abbot got angry. And ordered her to be whipped and said: 'I truly say that you, who have done this evil, will not remain in this monastery.'" In Ms. 5296, f. 63r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 12.

²⁰² "Then, her superior, angry with him expelled her from the monastery," In Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 28.

by other Christians.²⁰³ Marina is a ritual sacrifice who is condemned to death without knowing her exact accusers.²⁰⁴

Forment le fait batre et afflir.
E la vierge fait moult souffrir.
La sainte vierge le souffri
Joieusement, que bien sauoit
Que ceuix ont dieu a compaignon
Qui sont en tribulation.
La promesse de verite
L'assouloigoit de sa grieve,
Qui dist qu'elle deliuerra
Celuy qui pour luy soffrera,
Puis le couronnera de gloire ;
Moult peut valoir ceste memoire
A ceux qui sont en ceste vie
Qui de misere est mieux partie.²⁰⁵

The developments of this motif changed in the German versions, as only one fifteenth-century version²⁰⁶ has the sequence of her being expelled from the monastery.

A second motif, namely, *sponsa Christi*, is also an addition which is barely identifiable in the Latin version, whereas in the French one it is developed in a dialogue between God and Marina. As in the previous case, only two of the Latin versions have the following quotation referring to her as the bride of Christ. The first is the reply of the abbot who asks the saint's forgiveness when he discovers her identity: '*Ignosce mihi, Domine Iesu Christe, quia per ignorantiam peccaui in sanctam et castam tuam sponsam.*'²⁰⁷ This quotation is from Luigi Lippomano's translation, therefore, it is apparent that the Greek version already had this motif. The second is an expression found in a version written in verse in the fifteenth

²⁰³ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 65.

²⁰⁴ Ibidem, 65.

²⁰⁵ "He orders that Marin/be beaten and/whipped, / And imposes on the maiden many torments. / The holy maiden endures the punishment/ With joy in her/heart, for she knows/well/That those who/ suffer/ Are in the company/ of God. / This truth/ Assuages her/sufferings, / Since she will be/ delivered/ By Him who suffered/ for her, / And since she will/ gain eternal glory. / And this thought is/ indeed worthy/ To those who, in this/life, / Endure travail and/ pain," in Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 250 and French text in Ms. 1728, f. 107v, The Vatican Library, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 174.

²⁰⁶ Ms. Helmst. 1203, Library of Wolfenbüttel, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 139-147.

²⁰⁷ "Forgive me, Lord Jesus Christ, because I have sinned because of my ignorance against Your holy and chaste bride." In Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 30.

century. Here Marina is not called the bride of Christ but: *Caelestem sponsum, quem mente/ Semper habuit corpore*.²⁰⁸ The motif is more elaborated in the French versions written in prose and verse. Two manuscripts in prose, one from the thirteenth-fourteenth century and one from the fifteenth, present the motif of the *sponsa Christi* in the scene of her death. These are somewhat less elaborated than other versions, but present the sequence in a more detailed way than the Latin quotations:

Ne demoura gaires que la vierge pour la foy Ihu Cris receuoit tel martire
morut et ala a nostre Seigneur. En cette heure que lame li parti du corps vne
vois vint du ciel qui dist: ‘Vieng a moi ma douce elleue espousee si te metrai
en mon trone, Dieux aime ta biaute, vieng ten bele amie et ie te donnerai la
coronne de gloire et de grace.’²⁰⁹

However, the fifteenth-century versions written in verse are more dramatic as they emphasize and justify the sufferings she went through during her penance:

Cil qui l’amoit de tout son cuer
Ne vout maiz souffrir a nul feur
Que demourast en tel vieute.
Car l’oudour de s’umilite
Avoit surmonte tout son chief :
De s’amour estoit enlachie ;
Le roy dez roys si l’appela:
Ma seur, m’espouse, venez ca :
De vous ne me puis consirier.
En mon jardin vous veni mener:
Jilec est la vigne flourie
Et la tourterele y est oye :
Ma doulce amye, a moy venes,
En chambre de roy entreres :
Le soulas de vostre biaulte
A mon cuer traict et enivre ;
Venes, ma columbe sans fiel.
Je vous ay appreste de ciel:
Trop vous a le monde troublee
Maiz tant estes mieulx achesnice ;

²⁰⁸ “Heavenly spouse, whom [she] always had [in her] mind and body,” in Latin B. 49 Inf., f. 136r, The Ambrosian Library of Milan, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 271.

²⁰⁹ “She did not live much and the virgin died as a martyr in Christ and went to our Lord. In that hour when the soul leaves the body, a voice came from Heavens and said: ‘Come to me my highly sweet bride, I will put you on my throne, God loves thy beauty, come beautiful friend, I will give thou the crown of glory and grace.’” In Ms. 23117, f.457v, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 158.

Plus blanche estes que fleur de liz,
 Vesture vous aues de samis,
 Rouge est vo bouche plus que sang,
 Les dens auez menus et blancz,
 Ne deues a villain seruir,
 O moy vous conuient jl venir.
 Ne desiroit riens tam belle
 Que celuy veoir qui l'appelle:
 Embracier le vult par amour ;
 Celuy queroit et nuyt et jour ;
 De son sang merueillez estoit.
 Et nette blanche la faisoit,
 Quant ot la voux de son amy.
 L'ame en a le corps guerpy:
 Ou ciel l'en out lez anges porter
 Et a son espous presentee.
 La eust grant feste et grant soulas
 Quant elle fut entre sez bras
 D'jecluy que tant desiroit ;
 Mon cuer penser ne le pourroit
 Ceste chose qu'on ne piust retraire
 Ne dire si s'en conuient traire.²¹⁰

Besides the motifs of *imitatio Christi* and *sponsa Christi* there is another striking difference in three of the German versions. This is the place of Marina's penance after she is expelled. This place is not only the scene where she raises her child, but also limbo.²¹¹ In the Greek and Syriac versions and also in the Latin and the French ones, she does her penance at the gate of the monastery. However, in the German versions this *topos* underwent changes as the saint does not stay in front of the gates of the monastery but in a small cell in front of it:

²¹⁰ "He who loved her dearly/ Did not let the maiden suffer/ And assume such vile tasks for long. / The fragrance of her humility/ Had reached the realm of Paradise. / Touched by her piety, / The King of kings thus called her: / 'My sister, my spouse, come forward! / I do not want to be separated from you any longer, / But wish to take you into my garden. / There the vine is in bloom, / And the dove can be heard. / Fair friend, come to me, / Enter the chamber of the King! / The sweetness of your beauty/ Has reached and charmed my heart. / Come, my harmless dove, / I have prepared Heaven for you. / The world has been utterly cruel to you, / And you are all the more deserving. / You are whiter than the lily, / Your garment is made of silk, / Your mouth is brighter than blood, / And your teeth are white and small. / Instead of serving the lowly, / You must come and be with me.' / The fair maiden desired nothing more/ Than to go to Him who was calling her. / To kiss Him all day long/ Was her deepest wish. / His blood was the cause of her virtue, / Of her purity, and of her whiteness./ Hearing the voice of her Friend, / Her soul departed from her body, / Carried to Heaven by angels/ Who presented her to her Spouse./ Great were her joy and bliss/ When she found herself in the arms/ Of Him whom she wanted so much. / I could not put into words, / And no one could recount, / Or should describe this event," in Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 254-255 and Latin text in Ms. 1728, f. 109v, The Vatican Library, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 178.

²¹¹ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 65.

“vnd wurden zornig auff in vnd tetē in fur dz closter in ein klein cellin vñ hielten in gar herttliclich vñ gaben im dru iar nur wasser vnd brot ze essen vñ ze trinckē.”²¹² In the *vita* of Saint Marina written by Theodorus D’Amadeni there are some explanatory insertions by which the author intends to inform the reader correctly. In one such insertion he points out that the saint was born in Syria and not Bythynia. A second insertion regards various data in connection with the monastery Marina entered. Amadeni states that the monastery was in Syria, where the Maronite Christians worship her. The most important information which in this manuscript is a reference to a cell in front of the monastery. This is important because only in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century German does versions Marina do penance in a cell. Amadeni’s manuscript is the only document (I have found) which has this detail in an explanatory insertion.²¹³

The destiny of the child is not clearly pointed out. Except in the version of Luigi Lippomano and one French version, the child is not presented as a separate character. In Luigi Lippomano’s version the child is accepted into the monastery and will become a monk: *Cum creuisset autem puer, degebat in monasterio, educatus in uirtute et in temperantia. Porro uero sancto quoque et monastico habitu est dignatus.*²¹⁴ In another Latin version the mother throws the child onto the saint’s breasts: *Et proiciens puerum in puella gremio reliquit eum ibi et abiit.*²¹⁵ This detail indicates that the copyist was writing bearing in mind that the saint is a woman. The French version, a translation of *The Golden Legend*, has an important

²¹² “And became angry about him and put him into a small cell in front of the monastery and treated him very severely and gave him for three years only water and bread to eat and drink.” in Günter Zainer, *Leben der Heiligen*, (Augsburg, 1472), f. 56r-56v, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 127. I would like to thank my supervisor, Gerhard Jartiz, for the translation.

²¹³ Theodorus Amadeni, *Biologia S. Marinae monachum indutae virginis* (Venice, 1676), 12. See also Mons. Domenico, M. Valensise, *Monografia di Polistena* [Monograph of Polistena] (Locri: Franco Pancallo Editore, 2005), 67-68. Valensise mentions the existence of a cell in front of the monastery in Syria by quoting another work which is from approximately the same period as the work of Theodor Amadeni. Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, II also mentions the cells in which the monks used to live in.

²¹⁴ “And once the child had grown, [he] was living in the monastery, [being] educated in virtue and abstinence. Later, he was deemed worthy of the holy monastic habit.” In Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 30.

²¹⁵ “And throwing the child in her lap, [she] left him [the child] there and went away.” In Ms. Mm. VI. 4, f. 186v, Library of the University of Cambridge, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 262.

addition: “Vne fois lenffant dist a Marin: ‘Pour quoy me nourris tu quant tu nes mon pere ne rien?’”²¹⁶ It is clear that this was added by the copyist or the translator. This fifteenth-century version is the only text from all three regions which has this addition; probably the copyist was trying to offer a justification for the saint.

To sum up, the French versions developed two motifs, the *imitatio Christi* and *sponsa Christi*, which were present in an incipient form in the Latin versions. The German versions introduced a topographical change regarding her place of penance.

3. Reintegration

The last phase of a transvestite nun’s life was that of the reintegration. It is the phase when their identity is revealed in different contexts: either at their death (Margareta Reparata, Marina, Apollonaris) or at a certain moment while alive (Susanna, Papula of Gaul, Hilaria, Eugenia, Euphrosyne). This is the phase of undoing all the ambiguities regarding Marina’s disguise when the monks and then other people find out her real identity. It is the only similar pattern in all the three regions. The difference among the versions consists in the additions of miracles that occurred around her relics, as in the case of the fourteenth-century Latin manuscript from Italy which was written mostly for lecturers.²¹⁷

The sanctity of Saint Marina was a direct result of abandoning her gender, as she does not protest²¹⁸ when being expelled. She is considered a saint because she has suffered as a man.²¹⁹ This attitude reflects the misogynist concepts of monks according to whom women can achieve sainthood only if they hide their gender and maintain their chastity.²²⁰ Therefore,

²¹⁶ “Once, the child said to Marinus: ‘Why are you feeding me when you are neither my father nor any relative of mine?’” in Ms. 1534, f. 44v, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 168.

²¹⁷ Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 255.

²¹⁸ Larissa Tracy, *Women of the Gilte Legende*, 18.

²¹⁹ Ibidem, 19, quoting Susanna Fein, “A Saint ‘Gynest under Gore’: Marina and the Love Lyrics of the Seventh Quire,” in *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Content, and Scribal Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), 363-364.

²²⁰ Larissa Tracy, *Women of the Gilte Legende*, 19-21.

she is saint not because of everything she does but because of what she does not do. The second attempt to explain her sanctity refers to her punishment and willing penance.

Conclusions

The circulation of Saint Marina's *vita* influenced the development of numerous versions (see the Table of patterns, 50-53) not only in East, but in the West as well. The earliest versions of her *vita* were written as early as the sixth century, however, the oldest preserved versions in Syriac, Greek, and Latin date from the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. The earliest Latin version of her *vita*, dating from the ninth century, is a translation from Greek, which already has additions compared too the Greek and Syriac texts. Furthermore, the versions in the French and German vernaculars are translations of either Latin or Greek texts.

The Latin versions from the of France or Italy circulated in monastic spaces and were restricted to a small audience. However, the translation of these versions into the vernaculars was a turning point in their diffusion as the text became more accessible to a wider public. This represents the first phase of the development not only of Saint Marina's *vita* but also of her visual representations.

The variety of places ascribed to her indicate the origins of the copyists, not of the saint. Gradually, her origin was omitted from the *vitae*; the only versions which offer a variety of origins are the Latin texts from Italy. Except one which mentions Italy, all the other versions mention different regions of Greece as the origin of the saint, a detail which shows traces of the transmission of her cult and her *vita*. These additions of origins occurred in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries; however, the Syriac version mentions her origin as Bythynia as early as the eighth century. Furthermore, most of these versions preserve details from the Syriac *topos* where the saint is supposed to have lived, even though the two Eastern prototypes omit it. The copyists transcribed these details without taking into account the

geography of the country where they occurred. In the next chapter, in which I analyze the depictions of the saint, these topographical details are rather changed in the sense that the authors of the depictions used the environment of their own countries.

The copyists attributed different names to the saint's father; the most intriguing version is one Latin text from Italy according to which the father is named Marinus. Thus, this is the best case that demonstrates that in the Western versions the saint is considered to imitate her father and not act according to her own free will.

The pattern of her entrance into the monastery developed in three different sequences as early as the ninth century, namely, there are three different occasions when she is described as entering the monastic community: together with her father, on a separate occasion or only by herself. The German version differs the most from the original Latin. The second issue in connection with this pattern is the fact that devotion of the Virgin Mary seems to have influenced the development of the saint's behavior from a more individualized *puer senex* in the East to a passive and submissive woman in the West.²²¹ Furthermore, the copyist of her *vita* was no longer concerned with the temptations she might represent for a community of monks and, accordingly, emphasized only the hiding of her identity.

Although considered a transvestite saint, the detail of her being disguised in men's clothing is omitted in most of the versions. Instead, the hagiographers/copyists emphasize the changing of her name from the feminine Marina to the masculine Marinus. The only text which translated the name as Mary is that of Luigi Lippomano from the sixteenth century. The detail of changing her clothes is found in all four of the Latin versions from Italy. The pattern of changing her clothing is omitted in the Latin versions from France, furthermore, even the Latin versions from Italy which preserve this pattern can be divided into two groups: in the first one finds the pattern of the father clothing his daughter and entering the monastery

²²¹ Sandra Lowerre, "To Rise beyond Their Sex," 66.

together, such as in *The Golden Legend* and the sixteenth-century version of Luigi Lippomano. Two other fourteenth- and sixteenth-century versions changed the pattern of clothing and added it to a different sequence, namely, that of the father and daughter entering the monastery together. The second aspect related to her transformation into a man is the detail which refers to tonsure, found only in the version of Luigi Lippomano.

The pattern of her exit from the monastery developed in the Latin versions from Italy and France. The developments of the Latin versions from Italy vary, while the Latin versions from France have the same development. Thus, three versions circulated in the region of Italy: an unchanged pattern that is also found in the Greek and Syriac versions, the topographical development of the market town, and that of the woods.

In the cases where Marina is accompanied by monks, generally she is accused of rape as a temptation by the devil. However, in one case the innkeeper's daughter's accusations of rape are connected with Marina's beauty, namely, the physical characteristics of eunuchs, which are considered a temptation; the Latin version of Luigi Lippomano has the same details as the Greek text. As for the pattern of her penance, there are notable differences in all three regions. One of the first sequences refers to her trial and beating before being expelled from the monastery. The Greek and Syriac versions do not have these patterns. The sequence of her trial is a later development of the Latin and the vernacular versions while in the Greek and Syriac versions she is judged in her absence. Gradually, this pattern developed in the French vernacular into the motif of *imitatio Christi* in two fifteenth-century versions in verse, while the versions in prose simply translate the pattern from Latin without changing it. A second motif, namely, that of *sponsa Christi*, is also an addition which is barely identifiable in the Latin version, whereas in the French one it is developed in a dialogue between God and Marina.

Besides the motifs of *imitatio Christi* and *sponsa Christi*, there is another striking difference among three of the German versions, the place of Marina's penance after being expelled. In these German versions this *topos* underwent changes as the saint does not stay in front of the gates of the monastery but in a small cell in front of it

The *vita* of Saint Marina underwent numerous changes over time and space. In an Italian version, written by a priest in the first half of the twentieth century,²²² there are several important additions. The book was written with religious intent and the main sequences of her *vita* are the same. The additions refer to the temptation of Satan to reveal her identity and release herself from the accusations. Another addition consists of her meditations upon the image of the Crucifixion, probably the influence of a monastic custom, and the child acquires a name, Fortunatus. The same author offers a folkloric version of her *vita* in Italian. It is a concentrated version which emphasizes her virtuous monastic lifestyle, her penance, and innocence.

On the whole, it is essential to point out that numerous parallel versions circulated in all of these regions from the ninth century until the sixteenth. The versions developed by including numerous additions which defined the identity and the mentality of the copyist, not that of the saint herself.

²²² Luigi Guido, *La vita di S. Marina vergine di Bitinia protettrice della città di Polistena* (Polistena: C. Colombo, 1943), 2-114.

TABLE OF PATTERNS²²³

²²³ The table presents, briefly, the variations of the patterns from the *vitae* of Saint Marina according to region, time, and audience.

Patterns	Century	Prototypes			Italy		France		Germany
		Rosweyde	Greek	Syriac	Latin	Vernacular	Latin	Vernacular	Vernacular
Origin	<i>Ninth century</i>	Not mentioned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	<i>Thirteenth century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Alexandria	-	-
	<i>Fourteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Italy	-	-	-	A town
	<i>Fifteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Not mentioned	-	Egypt	-	A town
	<i>Sixteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Bythynia and Greece	-	-	-	-
Father	<i>Ninth century</i>	Not mentioned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	<i>Thirteenth century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	Alexander	-
	<i>Fourteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Marinus	-	-	-	Not mentioned
	<i>Fifteenth century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Not mentioned
	<i>Sixteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Eugene	-	-	-	-
Entrance	<i>Eight century</i>	-	-	Together	-	-	-	-	
	<i>Ninth century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Father enters first	-	-
	<i>Eleventh century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Father enters first	-	
	<i>Thirteenth century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Father enters first	Father enters first	-

	<i>Fourteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Father enters first	-	-	Father enters first	Enters alone
	<i>Fifteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Together/ Father enters first	-	-	Together/ Father enters first	Enters alone/ Father enters first
	<i>Sixteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Father enters first	-	-	-	-
Clothes	<i>Ninth century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	No information-changing her name	-	-
	<i>Eleventh century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	No information-changing her name	-	-
	<i>Thirteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Father's decision	-	No information-changing her name	-	-
	<i>Fourteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Father's decision	-	-	-	Father's decision
	<i>Fifteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Father's decision	-	-	Father's decision	Father's decision
	<i>Sixteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Marina's decision and Father's decision	-	-	-	-
The promise	<i>Ninth</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Promise	-	-

	<i>century</i>								
	<i>Eleventh century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Promise	-	-
	<i>Thirteenth century</i>				-	-	Promise	Promise	-
	<i>Fourteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Promise	-	-	Promise	Promise
	<i>Fifteenth century</i>	-	-	-	No promise	-	-	Promise	Promise
	<i>Sixteenth century</i>	-	-	-	No promise/ Promise	-	-	-	-
Exit	<i>Ninth century</i>	Market town	-	-	-	-	Market town	-	-
	<i>Eleventh century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Market town	-	-
	<i>Thirteenth century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Market town	-	-
	<i>Fourteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Market town	-	-	-	woods
	<i>Fifteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Market town	-	-	-	woods Sea/Market town
	<i>Sixteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Market town and woods	-	-	-	-
The penance	<i>Eight century</i>		-	No trial	-	-	-	-	-
	<i>Ninth century</i>	Beaten	No trial	-	-	-	Beaten	-	-
	<i>Eleventh century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Beaten	-	-
	<i>Thirteenth</i>	-	-	-	-	-	Beaten	Beaten/	-

	<i>century</i>							<i>Sponsa Christi</i>	
	<i>Fourteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Beaten	-	-	Chased out	Chased out
	<i>Fifteenth century</i>	-	-	-	No trial-beaten/ <i>Sponsa Christi</i>	-	-	Beaten- <i>imitatio Christi/</i> <i>Sponsa Christi</i>	Chased out
	<i>Sixteenth century</i>	-	-	-	No trial-beaten/ Beaten/ <i>Sponsa Christi</i>	-	-	-	-
Limbo-a Gate	<i>Fourteenth century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A cell
	<i>Fifteenth century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A cell
Child	<i>Fourteenth century</i>	-	-	-	Thrown to her breasts	-	-	-	-
	<i>Fifteenth century</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	Talks to his Marina	-
	<i>Sixteenth century</i>	-	-	-	A monk	-	-	-	
Other patterns	<i>Twentieth century</i>	-	-	-	-	Temptation/meditation		-	-
Reintegration	<i>similar</i>	similar	similar	similar	similar	similar	similar	similar	similar

CHAPTER II

Marina(-us): From Solitary Monk to *Sponsa Christi*

There is little literature on the visual representation of Saint Marina. The few items are either too general or superficial. Clugnet's analysis is a general view on Saint Marina's visual representations in different regions.²²⁴ Marina Sacopoulos' analysis is rather superficial. The first part of the article, *Sainte Marine dans l'hagiographie et l'iconographie*, focuses on the *vitae* of Saint Mary/Marina of Antioch and Saint Marina the Monk and the second part discusses on their visual representations. The first part points out that not only the *vitae* of the two saints but also the saints themselves are confused with each other. In the second part, the author, after enumerating the various representations of the first saint both in the East and West, mentions that the visual representations of Saint Marina the Monk are less numerous compared to Saint Mary/Marina of Antioch:

Mais la discrétion de cette vie humble, ascétique et contemplative n'a pu enflammer la sensibilité des mosaïstes ou des fresquistes byzantins, pas plus d'ailleurs qu'elle n'a tenté quelque 'primitif' flamand, italien ou français.²²⁵

and "Aussi Marina-la-Moniale n'est ni célèbre, ni célébrée. Elle n'a inspiré, à travers les siècles, qu'un seul artiste et celui-là même n'a pas voulu donner son nom."²²⁶ I consider that these conclusions are rather superficial. There are numerous representations of Saint Marina both in the East and, especially, in the West: illuminations, statues, engravings, paintings and many more. Her conclusion that Marina is not celebrated at all is again erroneous because she is venerated even nowadays in Italy, but she was also venerated in France.

The only depictions she mentions are those from the article of Brossé, whose work she summarizes briefly. In his article, *Les peintures de la grotte de Marina près de Tripoli*,

²²⁴ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XXVIII-XXXII.

²²⁵ Marina A. Sacopoulo, "Sainte Marina dans l'hagiographie et l'iconographie," *Revue du Caire* 7, No. 70 (1944): 449.

²²⁶ Ibidem, 502.

Charles-Léonce Brossé analyzes the frescoes from the cave²²⁷ where the saint is supposed to have lived and points out that there are an older and a more recent layer of representations (see cat. fig. 3-6). Unfortunately, the faces of the characters had been destroyed by the Muslim inhabitants. Among these frescoes are some depictions which represent the saint herself. In the group of the older layer is a painting of the saint whose name is written with Greek characters,²²⁸ while the more recent layer of paintings illustrates Saint Demetrius killing the devil painted over eight panels with scenes from Saint Marina's life. The first four panels represent scenes from her youth while the last four, which are badly damaged, are supposed to depict scenes from the last part of her life.²²⁹ It is remarkable that the painter of the scenes wrote the names of each character above their heads in Latin letters.²³⁰ The author states that the painter of the scenes was not from that area, but from the West and painted them according to the French or Latin version of her *vita*²³¹ from the ninth or thirteenth century.²³² The author of the paintings may also have been influenced by a medieval work entitled *Miroir des Enfants* written around the eleventh century which contains the saint's *vita*.²³³

In this part I investigate the various representations of Saint Marina according to different regions, time, and audience. There are major differences in these representations; the most important difference is that in the visual material her physiognomy changes from that of a man to that of a woman. I use different visual representations which depict her: illuminations, paintings, engravings, statues, frescoes, shrines, flags, and other. I have grouped these depictions in chronological order: illuminations, paintings, and statues. I include the engravings, frescoes, and flags in the group of paintings because they date from

²²⁷ Haurani, "Saint Marina the Monk," http://maroniteinstitute.org/MARI/JMS/july00/Saint_Marina_The_Monk.htm (Last accessed 14 March 2011).

²²⁸ Brossé, "Les peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli," *Syria* 7, No. 1 (1926): 32.

²²⁹ Ibidem, 38.

²³⁰ Ibidem, 39.

²³¹ Ibidem, 39.

²³² Ibidem, 41.

²³³ Sacopoulo, "Sainte Marina dans l'hagiographie et l'iconographie," 501-502.

approximately the same period. I have included the shrines in the group of statues because they depict the saint similarly.

When speaking about the iconographical attribute of the clothes one has to bear in mind that it is difficult to establish exact connections between the monastic community and the clothes Saint Marina is depicted in. For instance, in a *Magnum legendarium austriacum* from a Cistercian abbey, Marina is depicted wearing white and blue clothes that are not specific to this monastic order (see cat. fig. 17). For this reason, I did not mention the order whose clothes Marina seems to wear. I prefer to specify only the color of the clothes and to offer explanations only in those cases where it is possible. This is the case of the statue of Saint Marina from Polistena there are several possible answers for her representation in white clothing.

Most of the illuminations are from France, while other visual representations (paintings, frescoes, flags, and statues) are from Italy. In Germany and Spain the visual representations are not so numerous. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that in Italy the cult of Saint Marina still exists, so there are more depictions of her all across the country. In this chapter I focus mostly on her representation in southern Italy, where she is the patron saint of a number of small towns: Filandari, Polistena, Santa Marina di Milazzo, Santa Marina Salina, Castoreale, Terrati di Lago, Pogerola di Amalfi, Amalfi, and San Giovanni di Zambrone. But there are also other places where she is still venerated, such as Castel Ritaldi, Casole Bruzio, Tollo, Casoli di Atri, Parabita, Ardea, Venice, and many more. In some of these places one can find visual representations (Castoreale) or versions of her life (Parabita) which are the result of religious syncretism.

1. Illuminations, paintings, engravings, frescoes, and flags

The illuminations I deal with are mainly from France; a few are from Germany or Spain, and the origin of one sequence of illuminations is unknown. Most of these

illuminations are from the *Golden Legend* and other manuscripts containing lives of saints: a *Magnum legendarium austriacum*, the *Miroir historial dit du Jean le Bon*, *Speculum historiale* of Vincentus Bellovacensis, and Collections or *Passionarium*. Except for one manuscript with an unknown origin dating from the twelfth century, all the others are from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century. Generally, these illuminations are narrative sequences of up to four depictions, but there are also representations of individual figures, which are not so numerous.

Similar to the discussion of the previous chapter, I focus on the variety of patterns and iconographic attributes used in the visual representation of Saint Marina. The first theme, of entrance into the monastery, is found in four illuminations from France (see cat. fig. 7-10): three of them are from the *Golden Legend*, one from the *Lives of Saints*. In three fourteenth-century illuminations the representations of Saint Marina focus on the attribute of her clothes. Marina is represented in a standing or kneeling position next to her father at the entrance of the monastery. She wears similar clothes to those of her father, but the colors of the clothes differ. I consider that in this context, the colors of her clothes (red or pinkish-purple) do not focus on her disguise. As for the pattern of her tonsure and physiognomy, she is depicted as a child who resembles her father not only in physical characteristics, but also in gestures. The child Marina, depicted as a boy with short blond or brown hair, raises her hands as her father does while one or two monks welcome them at the entrance of the monastery.

This theme undergoes a slight change in a fifteenth-century illumination from France (see cat. fig.10). Here, Saint Marina's entrance into the monastery is presented in the first of two narrative sequences; she has a tonsure and clothes are black. Depicted as kneeling in front of a group of four monks, the abbot is placing his right hand on her head while he holds a crozier in his left hand. The entire composition is more elaborate in the sense that liturgical details are added (the crozier, the aspergil, the Bible) and more attention is paid to the details.

For instance, this is the only scene among the four in which a mature Marina is depicted with a halo before entering the monastery. This detail is essential as it reveals that the artist was bearing in mind the fact that the character is a saint. In the second sequence, one can see the saint's deceased father on a bed in the monastery. Again, this is the only representation where she enters the monastery without her father.

The next theme is that of her exit, which is emphasized only in a series of illuminations of unknown provenance (see cat. fig. 18-21) and the German ones (see cat. fig. 12, 17), while the French ones focus on depicting her trial (see cat. fig. 13). The series develops this theme in three sequences. The first sequence refers to her exit from the monastery. Here, the saint is depicted wearing blue clothing while driving a cart drawn by oxen. The pattern of the clothes changed in the fifteenth-century German illustration from the *Golden Legend* as the saint is wearing black clothes (see cat. fig. 12). Her physiognomy is masculine in both cases, but the German illustration shows her tonsure while the other hides this detail as she is wearing a hood. The following two sequences from the first group of illuminations focus on her expulsion and on her penance in the company of the child. In these narrative sequences there is only a reminder of the theme of her trial: the saint is outside the monastery while the abbot is pointing towards her. This is more elaborated in a fifteenth-century French version of the *Golden Legend*, where the largest sequence out of four is that of her trial (see fig. 6). The first sequence depicts the arrival of the innkeeper, while the second and the third emphasize her trial and penance. Tonsured, haloed, with masculine physiognomy, and wearing Franciscan clothes, the saint is kneeling in front of the abbot. Details have been added as she is depicted saying *Pater peccati ora pro me*. The last sequence of this French illumination presents Marina receiving the baby from a woman, apparently the mother, in front of the gates of the monastery. The same pattern of penance is found as in the

previous group, but in a simplified form as the saint is depicted sitting in front of the gates of the monastery holding a somewhat mature baby in her arms.

More illuminations depict the theme of her penance than other events in her life. Besides the two illuminations mentioned above, there are another four which, although focusing on the same theme, present it differently. A fourteenth-century illumination (see figure 1) from the *Miroir historial dit du roi Jean le Bon* shows her holding the baby in front of the monastery. Lying down, with black clothes, tonsured, with a halo, the saint holds the baby in her arms. Her gestures are rather maternal and suggest protection and love. A similar representation is also found in a fourteenth-century Catalan version (see cat. fig. 15) of the *Golden Legend*. The only difference is that the saint does not hold the baby on her right side, but in front of her; the gestures, the clothing, and the physiognomy are the same.

Not only did the representation of the saint undergo changes, but also that of the baby. Accordingly, in a fifteenth-century French manuscript (see cat. fig. 16), the saint, depicted with the same attributes of black clothes, is teaching the child. In another thirteenth-century German manuscript (see cat. fig. 17) the saint, haloed, tonsured, and wearing white and blue clothes communicates with the child, who is talking to his supposed father. This detail is revealed by the interjection “Ta-ta” which is inserted into the depiction.

The last theme is the discovery of her identity, which is found in two illuminations: a French one from the fifteenth century (see cat. fig. 13) and one illumination of unknown provenance (see cat. fig. 22) from the fourteenth century. Both of them depict Marina naked, surrounded by a group of monks. The physiognomy and the tonsure are masculine while her feminine identity is pointed out by her breasts. In the French illumination the abbot asks for forgiveness from a haloed Marina while the other representation focuses on the amazement of the monks.



Fig. 1. *Saint Marina, disguised as a monk, with a child in her arms*, France, 1333-1350, *Speculum historiale*, Folio 408v, National Library of France, stack: MS 5080 RES.

The saint is represented as an individual figure in only two manuscript illuminations from Italy (see cat. fig. 23-24). In the first, a *Passionarium* dating from the twelfth century, the saint is depicted wearing white and blue clothes, with a halo, masculine physiognomy, and long black hair. She holds a book, possibly the Bible, in her left hand and a flower in her

right hand. What is intriguing in this representation is the fact that the artist seems to have depicted her with breasts, meaning that he bore in mind her true identity despite the masculine characteristics he attributed. The second representation is from the *Golden Legend*, where the saint is represented with a halo in a medallion, with masculine physiognomy, tonsured, and in black clothes.

To sum up, these illuminations circulated mostly in monastic space and did not have a large number of recipients. The clothes she is depicted wearing do not necessarily indicate the monastic community which promoted her *vita* or her cult. The physiognomic attributes are similar in all the three regions; Marina is depicted as a monk, although there are some illuminations such as the Italian individual figure are already ambiguous in the twelfth century.

The French illuminations focus on more sequences of her life than in other regions. Accordingly, the theme of her entrance, trial, penance, and death are represented in the French illuminations, her exit and penance in the German and illuminations of unknown origin. Besides these, there are individual figure representations of the saint only in Italy. The background of these representations varies from abstract to specific. Two fourteenth-century illuminations have an abstract background, but all the others are more “realistic:” one can see various landscapes such as forests, rivers, walls, and buildings. Chronologically, there are no important developments; the images differ only according to region and audience.

Except for one painting by an Italian artist from Germany, all the others are from various regions of Italy: Venice, Siena, Casole Bruzio, and Polistena. There is an essential difference between the representations of the saint in the illuminations and paintings. In the illuminations the saint is depicted either as an individual figure or, mostly, in narrative sequences. This pattern changed in the paintings, where she is depicted together with the child, mostly in the company of other saints.

The first groups of paintings I discuss are from Venice (see cat. fig. 27-34). This is an important region as it is where the relics of Saint Marina were translated and she became the patron saint of the town.²³⁴ In a fourteenth-century painting by an anonymous artist, Saint Marina and Saint Dominic appear with Saint Francis, who is receiving the stigmata. The saint is depicted with a halo, in white and dark-colored clothes, with masculine physiognomy, a hood covering her hair, holding the child in her arms. Two other paintings dating from the same century, one from Germany and one from Siena, present the saint in similar contexts. Executed by Andrea di Bartolo, the painting from Siena shows the saint in the same context -- the company of other saints (see cat. fig. 28-29). In this case, the entire painting is divided into four sequences dedicated to various religious scenes: Saint Andrew adoring the Holy Cross, Saint Marina holding the child in front of the monastery, the sacrifice of Isaac and Saint Francis receiving the stigmata. In the background of this section one can see a sequence which seems to be that of Marina's trial. This is the only Italian representation which depicts this pattern. In this particular case the trial is not inside the walls of the monastery, but in front of the gates. In contrast, a painting from the Museum of Berlin (see cat. fig. 30) depicts her as an individual figure holding the baby, similar to the Virgin Mary and Child. The clothes, the hood, and the halo are the same, only her physiognomy is changed as her features are rather feminine, even the gestures seem more maternal than in the previous depictions.

This pattern of her representation did not undergo important changes in sixteenth-century Venice. A more or less notable difference was that the group of saints among which Marina is depicted is shown venerating the Virgin Mary. This is the case in two paintings by Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti), where Saint Marina is venerating the Virgin together with other saints (see figure 2 and cat. fig. 32). The iconographic attributes of the saint are the same: dark-colored clothes, short hair, and the child in her arms or next to her. There are two

²³⁴ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XVI.

features which render her a more feminine aspect: her physiognomy and her gestures. In the *La Vergine in Gloria e Santi*, Saint Marina holds the child in her arms close to her, whereas in the other painting the child stands next to her. It is exactly this maternal gesture which differentiates her when she is depicted as more feminine, just as in the German painting. In both of the Venetian paintings she is close to the Virgin, in one she is represented similarly to the Virgin holding her child and in the other she holds a martyr's palm in her hand. This detail of the martyr's palm became the attribute of her representations in statues in southern Italy.

A third sixteenth-century painting by an anonymous Venetian author places her in the same context near the Holy Virgin (see cat. fig. 33). In this case, there are two levels of the painting: celestial and earthly. The Holy Virgin and her child are situated on the celestial level with one angel on each side. On the second level, Saint Marina is positioned right under the Virgin. Surrounded by Saint Benedict and Saint Francis, and two other saints, Marina holds her child in her arms in a similar way as the Virgin does. The other iconographic attributes are the same: white clothes, a hood covering her head, and an uncertain physiognomy as her face is not covered by a beard as the other characters' are. Although her physiognomy underwent changes, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Lattanzio Querena depicted her as a monk in black clothes teaching the child inside the monastery (see cat. fig. 34). This is the only representation of her from Venice which depicts her inside the monastery.

In a Dutch engraving from the first half of the seventeenth century²³⁵ (see cat. fig. 35; Marina's physiognomy is totally changed as she is no longer represented as a man or a man with feminine features, but as a woman. Not only did the physiognomy change, but also the clothes and the tonsure. There is no echo of either the masculine Marina from the illuminations or of the feminine male from the paintings. None of her physical attributes are ambiguous any longer: Marina is a holy woman doing penance. Other details added to the

²³⁵ See also, from the same period, the illustrations from Theodorus Amadeni, *Biologia S. Marinae monachum indutae virginis* (Venice, 1676): 1 and introduction.

engraving (a Bible, a rosary at her feet, the skull) focus on the religious message of the depiction.



Fig. 2. *Saint Cecilia, Saint Marina, Saint Theodore, Saint Cosmas, and Saint Damian adoring the Madonna and the Child in glory*, Robusti Jacopo (il Tintoretto), sixteenth century, Italy, Venice, (in http://fe.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/scheda.jsp?decorator=layout&apply=true&ti po_scheda=OA&id=45261, Last accessed: May 21, 2011).

A century later, in two French engravings (see cat. fig. 36-37), other artists focused on the sequence of her penance in front of the monastery and the discovery of her identity. In both of them the saint wears monks' clothes while her masculine physiognomy and tonsure are visible only in the sequence of her penance. The second sequence focuses on her sanctity, which is pointed out by the halo.

Several representations (see cat. fig. 38-47) of Saint Marina from Polistena depict her wearing white clothes. The paintings from the Church of Saint Marina of Polistena are later representations dating from the second half of the nineteenth and the twentieth century. Two of the representations are frescoes which focus on two different sequences of her life (see cat. fig. 38, 40). The first sequence focuses on her expulsion from the monastery. In this sequence the saint is in the company of the child and sits on the stairs of the monastery. The same pattern is also found in a painting carried during processions. The second fresco focuses on the discovery of her identity and her veneration. There is a notable difference between these two frescoes dating from 1903²³⁶ and those which were covered the walls earlier (see cat. fig. 39, 41).²³⁷ There is a notable difference in the expulsion sequence; in the earlier representation, the gesture of the monk suggests that the saint is being beaten, while in the later scene, this detail is absent. No representations of this sequence occur among the visual representations from other parts of Italy. It is even more interesting if one remembers that the themes of the trial and *sponsa Christi* were more developed in France than in Italy.

The fourth painting, attributed to a minor artist,²³⁸ dating possibly from the second half of the eighteenth century, depicts Marina with two other female saints, Saint Barbara and Saint Veneranda, venerating the Holy Virgin (see cat. fig. 42). Her iconographical attributes are the same (the child, the clothes, the halo, the Bible in her right hand), but her

²³⁶ Giovanni Russo, *Polistena La Chiesa Madre 1783-1983* (Polistena the Mother Church) (Rosarno: Virgiglio Editore, 1995), 93.

²³⁷ Ibidem, 92.

²³⁸ Carlo Carlino, *La 'Scuola' di Monteleone. Disegni dal XVII al XIX secolo* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbetino Editore, 2001), 108-109.

physiognomy is again more uncertain as she is depicted beardless, similar to the earlier Venetian paintings where she is in the proximity to the Holy Virgin. It is debated whether this painting was or was not commissioned before the statue of the saint from the same church. This is important in establishing one of the earliest representations of the saint with white clothes (one has to bear in mind that the other visual representations (see cat. fig. 80-98) from Polistena, mostly statues, imitated an earlier prototype).

In the region of Casole Bruzio, Milazzo, Santa Marina Salina, Santa Marina di Salerno, Tollo, Pogerola di Amalfi, and Castoreale, Saint Marina is depicted together with the child. These are later representations, dating from the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth. Her iconographical attributes are the same in the sense that in Casole Bruzio and Milazzo she wears white (Casole Bruzio) or black (Milazzo) monks' clothes, while in the other places she wears a nun's black habit and is depicted as a woman. The most interesting representation of her as a woman is that from Castoreale (see cat. fig. 57). This depiction is in fact a combination of two different saints' attributes: Saint Marina and Saint Mary/Marina of Antioch: Saint Marina stands with her feet on the Devil's head and has a crown on her head. These are the iconographic attributes of Saint Mary of Antioch, while the child at her right side and the cross are those of Saint Marina the Monk's. In this case it is important to point out that there was confusion between these two saints in Venice as early as the thirteenth century. This is the case concerning a hand reliquary of Saint Marina of Antioch from the Church of Saint Marina the Monk in Venice.²³⁹ Although the church bears the name of Saint Marina the Monk, the hand reliquary is that of Saint Marina/Mary of Antioch. On the back and the interior of the reliquary the depiction represents Saint Mary/Marina of Antioch with the iconographical attribute of the cross. The hand reliquary, which has the representation of Saint Mary of Antioch, was actually in the Church of Saint Marina in Venice. Due to the

²³⁹ William, D. Wixom, "Byzantine Art in the West," in *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 496.

name confusion the hand relic was supposed to belong to Marina the Monk, whose left hand was missing as early as her translation.²⁴⁰ This confusion also appears in an earlier article of Marvin C. Ross and Glanville Downey,²⁴¹ where information regarding the two saints, Marina the Monk and Marina/Mary of Antioch, is misinterpreted.

A second depiction, a result of local religious syncretism, is that of Saint Marina of Scaniu,²⁴² also called Santa Marina la Siciliana (see cat. fig. 59). Similarly to the depiction from Castoreale, she is depicted as a woman wearing a black nun's habit with child next to her. Marina the Sicilian was mentioned for the first time among the saints of Sicily in the *Vitae Sanctorum siculorum* of Ottavio Gaetani, but there are no liturgical documents which attest her existence or her cult.²⁴³ A Greek copy of her *vita* has been translated into Latin by Agostino Fiorito.²⁴⁴ She can be identified with Marina the Monk. The anonymous author possibly used and developed Symon the Metaphrast's version as the basis for Saint Marina the Sicilian's *vita*.²⁴⁵ Despite the existence of her *vita*, there is no information concerning her relics and her death. Her *vita* mentions Scanio as her birth place, the name of her parents (Pandariti), and the date of her birth, 1062. Rossi

²⁴⁰ See also Clugnet, *La vie et l'office*, XXVI-XXVIII.

²⁴¹ M. C. Ross and G. Downey, "A Reliquary of Saint Marina," *Byzantinoslavica* 23 (1962): 41-44.

²⁴² The saint was born in 1062 in Scanio in the Pandariti family during King Roger's reign. As a child, she was already leading a Christian life by helping the poor and by being humble. She visited Jerusalem together with her family and decided to remain a virgin. So, when her parents wanted her to marry she lied to them by telling that she was doing penance as she had been molested. She is accused of being possessed, but when she prays, a sick person is healed. She enters a monastery under the name of Marina. Then she decides to go to Jerusalem again. In order to hide her beauty, God advises her to change her clothes for those of a monk and her name into Marinus. The sailors think she is a rich monk and decide to throw her into the sea and steal her money. One of the sailors becomes possessed when he tries to approach her. The sailors get scared and confess their deeds to the owner of the ship. Marina prays and cures the possessed person. The ship arrives in Tripoli, in Syria. Here a bishop tells her that she will go to Jerusalem two times and only then will she die in her own country (on the ship she prayed to God to be in the company of the saints). She goes to Jerusalem and remains in a monastery helping the monks for three years. When returning to Sicily, she discovers that her parents have died and then returns to Jerusalem and to the monastery. After five years she returns to Sicily and dies. It is clear that the hagiographer developed some themes of the *vita* of Saint Marina the Monk and used these elements in order to compose the *vita* of a new saint. The theme of transvestitism occurs in several sequences of her life: on the ship to Jerusalem and when entering the monastery. In the first case this change is connected to her clothes and her name as she changes the clothes of a nun for those of a monk and her name from the feminine, Marina, to the masculine, Marinus. It is interesting that the paternal figure who is the agent of her transformation, is substituted by that of God who advises her how to proceed. The second sequence of her disguise is not clearly pointed out. One knows that she enters a male monastery and that she helps the monks. I consider that she keeps her disguise in these contexts as well because otherwise she could not access the monastery. The theme of her discovery is omitted.

²⁴³ Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi, *Martirio di Santa Lucia. Vita di Santa Marina* [The Martyrdom of Saint Lucy. Life of Saint Marina] (Palermo: 1959): 75.

²⁴⁴ Ibidem, 75.

²⁴⁵ Ibidem, 76.

Taibbi considers that the name Scanio came from the name of a place, Pizzu di Scaniu, and that the name Pandariti originated from the name of Mount Patara.²⁴⁶ Her cult has existed in Termini Imerese since the twelfth century.

Besides paintings, Marina the Monk is also represented on frescoes, flags, stained glass windows, medallions, maps, post cards, pillows, and shirts (see cat. fig. 60, 120-123). The fresco from Pogerola above the entrance of the church represents her in black clothes with the child next to her and a mountainous landscape behind. In Santa Marina di Salerno (see cat. fig. 54-55) she is depicted on a fresco above the portal and on the ceiling of the church. It is remarkable that in the same church there are two statues of the saint: one depicting her as a woman and one as a monk (see cat. fig. 74-75). In Casole Bruzio the representation of her statue is depicted on the stained glass window and as a painting. In Tollo, there is a fresco of her above the portal; her physiognomy is again ambiguous. There was also a statue in the church, but it has been stolen. The church was reconstructed after 1964 as it was destroyed in the Second World War. The former church dedicated to her had existed since 1450.²⁴⁷ In Santa Marina Salina and Filandari, the same representation of the statue is painted on a flag which is carried, together with the statue, during processions (see cat. fig. 52, 121). She is even depicted on the shirts of men from Casole Bruzio (see cat. fig.123).

To sum up, there are several paintings from the region of Venice which depict Saint Marina in the company of other saints or representatives of the nobility. Chronologically, her representations underwent important changes. More precisely, the attribute of her physiognomy became more ambiguous in the sense that she is shown as more feminine. Besides this, her gestures are more maternal when holding the child. The changes in these two attributes appear mostly when she is depicted in the proximity of the Virgin Mary. In nineteenth-century Venice, she was depicted again with uncertain physiognomy. Similarly, in

²⁴⁶ Ibidem, 76.

²⁴⁷ www.comune.tollo.ch.it/comune_arteCultura.asp (Last accessed: March 09, 2011).

a fourteenth-century painting from The Museum of Berlin depicts her with the same ambiguous physiognomy. This ambiguity in her physiognomy can also be seen in the nineteenth-century frescoes from Polistena. The attributes of the clothes vary, too; they are either white or black. The representation of her in the black clothes of the Franciscan community was somehow considered ridicule by Theodorus Amadeni in the seventeenth century.²⁴⁸ Clugnet mentions that the depictions are influenced by the hagiographers.²⁴⁹ These clearly show that in the seventeenth century there were already paintings with the saint in the Franciscan habit and the representations were influenced by the monastic communities. In the region of France-Holland, Saint Marina is depicted as a woman for the first time in the first half of the seventeenth century. It is the penance sequence that represents her this way. Two other engravings from the eighteenth century depict her as a man again. The pattern of the background is similar to that of the illuminations in the sense that one can see various landscapes such as an exterior, the sky, and interior of the monastery.

It seems that the visual representation of Saint Marina underwent important changes compared to the illuminations. In sixteenth-century Italy and Germany (Museum of Berlin), she is depicted with ambiguous feminine features; one century later in Holland/France she is depicted as a holy woman with no trace of her masculine disguise. The physiognomic attribute became more ambiguous in all three regions (Italy, France/Holland, and Germany [Museum of Berlin]) when the representations were accessible to a wider and more diverse audience.

2. Statues

Although her relics were transferred to Italy in the year 1230, the cult of Saint Marina there seems to pre-date this event as it can be traced back to the eleventh century.²⁵⁰ The

²⁴⁸ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XXVII.

²⁴⁹ Ibidem, XXXI.

²⁵⁰ Russo, "Il Culto di S. Marina Vergine a Polistena nel 1094," *Corriere di Reggio* April 02 (1983): 4. He mentions that "Già dal sec. XII fu più commune l'uso di apporre iscrizioni alle campane" (The use of

versions of the story about the transmission of her cult are different. One of them states that the first monks, who arrived from Libya, Egypt, and Syria, introduced her cult in the region of Sicily and Calabria, including Filandari, some time around the seventh century, during the Byzantine domination.²⁵¹

There is no written evidence or early visual representations of her and the cult because of fires and earthquakes which destroyed not only the church of Filandari, but also the dioceses of Mileto, where important documents were kept.²⁵² A small amount of information can be found in the Regesto Vaticano and in a document mentioning the visit of Antonio del Tufo.²⁵³ Her cult spread abroad because of the immigrants in the U.S.A. and Argentina; more of her relics were brought to Filandari in 1930 and 1991.²⁵⁴

The community of Polistena states that the cult was transmitted by the Orthodox monks to Calabria.²⁵⁵ Documents verify that she has been the patron saint of Polistena since its foundation and that her feast has been held since 1740.²⁵⁶ Polistena immigrants in Glen Cove, New Jersey, have her cult as well.²⁵⁷

In Casole Bruzio there is no documentary attestation of the saint; the existence of her cult is explained by a local legend. According to it, a convent from Scalzati ordered a statue of the saint. The statue was placed in a cart which was drawn by oxen. When it arrived in front of the Church of Casole Bruzio, the oxen did not want to move any further. This fact was interpreted as a sign that the saint wanted to be accepted by the community of that

inscriptions on bells was diffused already from the twelfth century) and also “fatta la prima volta al 1094 colla S.V.V. M.-figura di S. Marina Vergine rifatta 1656 S.M.V.” [made the figure of the Virgin Marina for the first time in 1094 and again 1656].

²⁵¹ Pasquale Romano, *Il culto di Santa Marina a Filandari* (The Cult of Saint Marina at Filandari) (Vibo Valentia: Edizioni Mapograf, 1995), 19.

²⁵² Ibidem, 21.

²⁵³ Ibidem, 21.

²⁵⁴ Ibidem, 40.

²⁵⁵ Russo, *La Festa di Santa Marina e la ‘pittoresca-bizzarra’ processione con la teoria dei santi a Polistena* (Polistena: Centro Studi Polistenesi, 2003), 7.

²⁵⁶ Ibidem, 7 and 11.

²⁵⁷ Ibidem, 63.

place.²⁵⁸ What is important to remark in this legend is the fact that the statue was carried in a cart pulled by oxen. This motif of the cart from the legend has been incorporated from her *vitae*. In Milazzo, Sicily, a church dedicated to her that was built under the Norman rule in the twelfth century.²⁵⁹ It may be one of the earliest places of her worship and her cult indeed might have been transmitted from the island of Sicily to the peninsula.²⁶⁰

Almost every church dedicated to the saint has been successively reconstructed, mostly because of the damages caused by earthquakes, and has a relic of hers. This may be one reason for the absence of any previous representations of her in the southern area before the seventeenth century from the Church of Saint Marina from Polistena. The statue of Saint Marina from the church is made of cardboard and wood and was executed by Luigi Guacci da Lecce in 1927 (see cat. fig. 61).²⁶¹ Built around the year one thousand, the church in Casole Bruzio changed style gradually from Romanesque to Baroque in the eighteenth century and to Neoclassical when it was reconstructed in 1929. On the main altar of the church is a wooden statue of the patron saint dating from the seventeenth century (see cat. fig. 65).²⁶² In the church of Polistena, besides her relic brought in 1870, there are more depictions of the saint than in any other churches. Reconstructed after an earthquake in 1783, the church has a

²⁵⁸ <http://www.santamarinacasole.it/> (last accessed January 10, 2011).

²⁵⁹ <http://santamarina.altervista.org/> (last accessed January 10, 2011).

²⁶⁰ Domenico M. Valensise, *Studi Storico-Critici intorno a S. Marina Vergine* (Historical-Critical Studies about Saint Marina the Virgin) (Naples: Tipografia Pontificia M. D'Auria, 1908), 166-185. Valensise mentions that Clugnet omitted mentioning the existence of her cult in Calabria. Her cult existed here since the tenth century, before the translation of her relics to Venice. The region and the churches of Calabria were separated from Rome in 732 and were under the jurisdiction of the Byzantine patriarchate for three hundred years. Her cult could have been introduced by the Orthodox monks who built numerous monasteries in the area. In Stilo, in 1524, a parish church was dedicated to her. It was destroyed and the see was transferred to the church of Saint Lucia, whose cult finally became predominant. In Campana, in 1320, there was a village and in 1546 a monastery bearing her name. –The consecration of the church in Melicuca di Soreto coincided with one of the possible dates of her death: 10 February. In Casole Bruzioshe it is celebrated on 17 July. Santa Marina is a place which has been under Greek influence since the sixth century, possibly her cult was introduced by the Greeks. Initially, she was celebrated on 17 July, then from the second half of the nineteenth century on the 18 June. She is depicted as a monk in the company of a child. In Terrati her feast is on 17 July. She is depicted wearing monks' clothing. There is no information about the introduction of her cult. In Sicily, Scanio, there is no information about the introduction of her cult. In Santa Marina di Salina there is a statue of her dating from around 1887. Marina is represented as a monk and is celebrated on 17 July. In Santa Marina di Milazzo there is no information about the introduction of her cult. I consider that it is important to mention that in the cases where there is no concrete evidence of her cult the confusion between the two Marinas may still exist.

²⁶¹ <http://santamarina.altervista.org/>. (Last accessed January 10, 2011).

²⁶² <http://www.santamarinacasole.it/>. (Last accessed January 10, 2011).

painting and frescoes, which present sequences of her life, and a wooden statue made by Vincenzo Zaffiro in 1835.²⁶³ His name is written on the list of materials and costs to cover the execution of the statue (see cat. fig. 81). The reason for the creation of a new statue was that the previous one was damaged. Nothing is known about her depiction in the previous statue, the sources only attest its existence.²⁶⁴ One hypothesis regarding her representation refers to the fact that the sculptor was inspired by the statue of Saint Brunone by David Muller because he was from the same place as the statue: Serra San Bruno. There are similarities between the two statues in clothes and the position of the head and knees.²⁶⁵

Unfortunately, there is no precise data about the year when the statue was brought to Filandari (see figure 3). Similarly to Casole Bruzio, there is a legend which explains how the statue was brought there; the community of Tropea commissioned a statue of the saint from Venice. On the way back, the commissioners stopped in Filandari; the next day when they wanted to leave they could not move the statue as it was too heavy. The legend concerning the arrival of her statue offers information about its provenance. The statue was brought to Filandari by Tropean sailors.²⁶⁶ Its style is that of the Naples School and it is supposed to date from the eighteenth century.²⁶⁷

All of the statues show the saint together with her child, either standing or only as a bust. The details refer to the sequence of her penance outside the monastery. The standard iconographical attributes of the saint are the clothes of a monk and the child²⁶⁸ next to her, but these attributes differ from one place to the other. The main difference lies in the gradual changes in her physiognomy from a man into a woman. This change implies other significant

²⁶³ Russo, *La statua di S. Marina Vergine di Polistena è opera lignea di Vincenzo Zaffiro* (Polistena: Tipolitografia Varamo, 1990), 161.

²⁶⁴ Idem, *Lo Stemma Municipale delle Città di Polistena* (The Municipal Herald of the City of Polistena) (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 17-20. There are documents which mention that there was a statue of the saint before that commissioned from Zaffiro and that she was not represented as a bust, but entirely.

²⁶⁵ Idem, *La statua di S. Marina Vergine di Polistena è opera lignea di Vincenzo Zaffiro*, 162-163.

²⁶⁶ Romano, *Il culto di Santa Marina a Filandari*, 30.

²⁶⁷ Ibidem, 31.

²⁶⁸ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea* (1567).

transformations visible in her clothing. In two statues from Polistena, the one from Santa Marina di Milazzo, one from Santa Marina di Salina, and the one from the Patriarchal Seminary of Venice, the saint is clothed in a monk's garment and holding various objects in her hand. These objects are important attributes which have the function of differentiating her representation from one region to the other. The statues from Santa Marina Salina, Santa Marina di Milazzo, and Santa Marina Salerno have the same iconographic attributes: the saint, wearing black clothes, holds a cross with hands raised while the child next to her left side holds on to her clothing (except at Salerno) (see cat. fig. 74).

Her masculine physiognomy is underlined by the short hair under the hood. Besides the cross and the child, the saint holds a sack with bread and a rosary as a mark of the monastic order. If one compares these statues with those from Polistena, there are some differences regarding the attribute of clothing, namely, in Polistena she wears white clothes. The attributes of the sack with bread and the rosary are also replaced by the palm of a martyr that she holds in her hand together with a Bible, as in the case of the statue at the entrance to the church in Polistena (see cat. fig. 80). The statue at the Patriarchal Seminary of Venice, which dates from the sixteenth century, and the shrine built for her remembrance on the place of her former church also show her in white clothes (see cat. fig. 63).²⁶⁹ The statue is mentioned in Amadeni's unpublished manuscript: *In eodem choro conspicitur altare maius, S. Marinae dedicatum, in quo eiusdem virginis corpus requiescat... cuius medium occupat S. Marinae statua maior ex alabastro efformata...*²⁷⁰ The visual representations of Saint Marina were richer in the region of Venice.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 289.

²⁷⁰ "In the same choir, one can see the greater altar dedicated to S. Marina where the body of the virgin rests,... a large statue of S. Marina made of alabaster is placed in its middle." in Anne Markham Schulz, "Lorenzo Bregno," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 26 (1984): 150.

²⁷¹ Valensise, *Studi Storico-Critici intorno a S. Marina Vergine*, 159-160. Valensise presents her cult in Venice. The cult dates from the thirteenth century when her relics were translated from Constantinople by Giovanni Bora. First the cult had only an ecclesiastical character, but it also became civil when the Venetians conquered Padova on her feast day in 1509. The church which held her relics was destroyed in 1818. Valensise mentions that on the place where the church was there is a small altar dedicated to her after church was demolished.



Fig. 3. *Saint Marina* (statue), eighteenth century, Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Calabria, Filandari (photo by the author).

Clugnet mentions paintings, icons, statues, reliefs, frescoes, mosaics, tapestries, and flags of Italian or Greek origin which depicted the saint in different ways.²⁷² The change in her clothes is mentioned in the middle of the seventeenth century by Théodore d'Amadeni, who, in his *Biologia*, expresses his disagreement with several paintings that show the saint in Franciscan clothes.²⁷³ Clugnet adds that the representations of the saint were influenced by the

²⁷² Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XXXI.

²⁷³ Ibidem, XXXI.

vita written by the hagiographers.²⁷⁴ Although these authors refer to her representations in paintings, the changes may also be valid for the statues.

In Casole Bruzio and Casoli di Atri the attributes of clothes are changed. The statue in Casole Bruzio represents the saint wearing white and black clothes (see cat. fig. 65). The hood of the monk is replaced with a cap or a silvery halo. At Casoli di Atri, her simple clothes are replaced with more complex ones as if for celebration (see cat. fig. 66). Besides the child next to her, there is a striking difference in her attributes as she is not represented holding a cross or a martyr's palm and a Bible, but a church. The gesture points out her patronage and protection of the religious community of that place. Her head is not covered by either a hood or a cap but by a crown. This allows her to be represented with more detail. The most important feature is that her physiognomy is more feminine because of her long hair. Her gestures are more maternal as she holds the child with one hand. In the previous representations the child does not touch her hands but pulls at her clothes, prays or has with his arms wide open. These details make an essential contribution in her variable feminine representations.

The third group of statues is even more different than the previous two, as the saint has undergone remarkable changes in representing her gender. In Filandari, San Giovanni di Zambrone, Terrati di Lago, Inwood, and Castel Ritardi, she is represented as a woman holding a child (see cat. fig. 67-73, 79). Except at Terrati di Lago, she wears a black nun's habit and a crown on her head. In Terrati di Lago, she is represented wearing blue and black clothes with her head covered by a veil. The relief from Terrati di Lago resembles the statue which is found in the same church: the clothes, the veil, and the presence of the child next to the saint are the same.

²⁷⁴ Ibidem, XXXI.

In Santa Marina di Salerno, in the same church, there are two statues of the saint: one depicting her as a woman and one as a monk (see cat. fig. 74-75). The first one is reminiscent of the similarity with Mary of Antioch, mainly because the cross is her iconographic attribute. Thus, the iconographic attribute of the clothing changes not only when she is represented as a monk but also as a nun. The attributes which contribute to the gender differentiation in her representations are the clothes, gestures, and physiognomy.

The most important iconographic attributes which differentiate the groups of statues in which she is depicted as a monk from those of a nun are the cloths, the physiognomy, and the gestures. The statues which represent her as a monk are more numerous than those which represent her as a woman. It seems that her representations as a woman are more likely to be found on the peninsular part while on the insular part she is represented as a man.

Now I want to focus on the religious syncretism between the two saints, Saint Marina/Mary the Monk and Saint Marina/Mary of Antioch, in the region of Calabria with special attention to the town of Polistena. The confusion between the two saints, Marina the Monk and Marina/Mary/Margaret of Antioch is quite a complex issue not only because both of the saints have lived in similar periods, but also because of their name. This determined the development of several visual representations of Saint Marina the Monk with the iconographic attributes of the other saint. Analyzing the eighteenth-century city heralds of Polistena, one will observe that the attributes of the dragon (paired with the cross or a martyr's palm) has been borrowed from the Western type (more predominant) of representing Saint Marina/Margaret of Antioch.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁵ Wendy R. Larson, "The Role of Patronage and audience in the cults of Sts Margaret and Marina of Antioch," in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Samantha J. E. Riches, Sarah Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), 25 and 28. There are two major types of representing Saint Mary/Marina/Margaret of Antioch. In the East, where she is mostly known as Marina of Antioch, she is represented in the company of other warrior saints (Saint Michael) holding a hammer and striking a dragon, while in the West, where she is known as Margaret, she is mostly depicted with the dragon.

In Calabria, there are basically two types of documents connected with the toponym of Marina: earlier documents, which do not specify concretely one particular saint, and later ones, which mention the name of Saint Marina the Monk. As I mentioned before, the first group of documents mention the name of Marina in connection with ecclesiastical institutions, but without identifying which saint are they referring to. Giovanni Mercati, in his study, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci*, mentions her in the region of Messina-Item, *vitam et administrationem sanctae nostrae Marinae*,²⁷⁶ while Vincenzo Nymmo, in his *Uno stato feudale nella Calabria del Cinquecento*,²⁷⁷ mentions several documents note churches bearing her name. There is also documentation that in 1605 a church dedicated to Saint Marina in Gerace was closed.²⁷⁸ At the end of the fifteenth century, there were three churches dedicated to her in the area of Gioia Tauro.²⁷⁹ Another ecclesiastical institution which is connected with the name of Marina is a monastery dedicated to her in Regio dating from as early as 1050.²⁸⁰

The second group of documents is connected with several attestations which mention the existence of a church dedicated to Saint Marina in various regions of Calabria. One such document mentions the existence of a church in Filandari in 1530,²⁸¹ but there are earlier attestations as well. For Casole Bruzio, there are attestations dating from 1358²⁸² and 1360;²⁸³ for Stilo, from 1324;²⁸⁴ and for Polistena from 1310.²⁸⁵

The representations of Saint Marina in city heraldry varied in Polistena mainly because of this confusion with another saint, Saint Margaret, sometimes also called Saint

²⁷⁶ Giovanni Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1865), 240.

²⁷⁷ Vincenzo Nymmo, *Uno stato feudale nella Calabria del Cinquecento* (Gioiosa Jonica: Corab, 2004), 61, 110, 451.

²⁷⁸ Antonio Oppedisano. *Cronistoria della Diocesi di Gerace* [Chronographical History of the Dioceses of Gerace]. (Gerace Superiore: Tipografia Isidoro Cavallaro, 1932), 51.

²⁷⁹ Sandro Leanza, *Calabria Cristiana* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1999), 429-431.

²⁸⁰ André Guillou, *Le brébion de la métropole Byzantine de region* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1974), 54. See also Cristina Rognoni, *Les actes privés grecs de l'archivo ducal de medinaceli* (Paris: Association Pierre Belon, 2004), 164-167.

²⁸¹ Francesco Russo, *Regestro Vaticano per la Calabria* vol. III (Rome: Gesualdi Editore, 1977), 389.

²⁸² Idem, *Regestro Vaticano per la Calabria* vol. I (Rome: Gesualdi Editore, 1974), 484.

²⁸³ Ibidem, 489.

²⁸⁴ Domenico Vendola, *Apulia-Lucania-Calabria* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1861), 352.

²⁸⁵ Ibidem, 279.

Marina of Antioquia.²⁸⁶ In a period of more than three hundred years, starting from 1441 until 1816, her representation differed, although only one saint was venerated.²⁸⁷

The earliest visual representation which has survived dates from 1441 and is a carved heraldic image which was attached to the Church of Saint Rocco in order to show the jurisdiction of the city (see cat.fig. 102).²⁸⁸ Here she is depicted as a monk holding a baby by its hands. I want to emphasize the fact that in this depiction she is already presented with a martyr's palm in her hand, meaning that she was ascribed the borrowed iconographic attribute of Saint Margaret as early as the fifteenth century. Her representations in the city heraldry of Polistena changed from this earliest form in the sense that a new representation of Saint Mary/Margaret took her place. In representations from 1721, 1777, 1788, 1792, 1793, 1794 she is represented as Saint Margaret: holding a martyr's palm in one hand and a dragon in chains in the other; in 1750, 1785, and 1794 she is represented as a monk in the company of the child (see cat. fig. 109, 113). It is possible that both of these representations circulated in the same time, at least in 1794. Later, the attribute of the palm frond was changed for that of the cross, which is another attribute of Saint Margaret,²⁸⁹ as in a depiction dating from 1801 (see cat. fig. 111). In 1813, this attribute had been changed again with that of a palm tree (see cat. fig. 112). From the nineteenth century onwards representations of Saint Marina have disappeared from the city heraldry. Valensise²⁹⁰ mentions some cases regarding the confusion between the two saints:

- There was an image of St. Marina of Antioch painted on the top of the old church and an inscription mentioning her name; and
- A relief carving showing St. Marina of Antioch; and

²⁸⁶ Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale delle Città di Polistena*, 12.

²⁸⁷ Ibidem, 15.

²⁸⁸ Ibidem, 12. See also Russo, "Il Culto di S. Marina Vergine a Polistena nel 1094," 4.

²⁸⁹ Maria Chiara Celletti, "Marina (Margherita), santa, martire di Antiochia di Pisidia," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, ed. de Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università lateranense (Rome: Città' Nuova Editrice, 1967), 1165.

²⁹⁰ Valensise, *Studi Storico-Critici intorno a S. Marina Vergine*, 169. See also Valensise, *Monografia di Polistena*, 132-133 and endnotes 171-176.

- her representations on the city heraldry;

On the other hand, the church documents mention her as Saint Marina (there was a statue of her as a monk). There is no information regarding the date of the confusion between the two saints because the evidence has been destroyed by natural calamities.²⁹¹

There are no representations of Saint Marina before the sixteenth century (Venice), except Calabria. One of the reasons for the lack of earlier representations may be because of the earthquakes which contributed to the destruction of the churches. However, there is information regarding the existence of various representations of the saint in church documents.

The most important iconographic attributes which differentiate the groups of statues in which she is depicted as a monk from those where she is depicted as a nun are the clothes, the physiognomy, and the gestures. The statues which represent her as a monk are more numerous than those which represent her as a woman. It seems that her representations as a woman are more likely to be found on the Italian peninsula while in regions of Sicily she is represented as a man.

Conclusions

As far as the manuscripts circulated in more restricted spaces, such as the monastic space, illuminations represented a great variety of sequences from Marina's life. This is the case in the French manuscripts, which focus on most of the themes of her *vita*. Accordingly, in France there are more representations of her entrance, trial, penance, and death than in any other region (Germany, Spain, and Italy). In all the narrative sequences she is depicted with masculine physiognomy, except the scenes of her death and one individual figure from twelfth-century Italy where she has rather ambiguous physical characteristics.

²⁹¹ Ibidem, 170.

Her representations underwent notable changes when she was depicted for a wider audience. This proves true for the paintings which focus on the theme of her penance, represent Marina together with the baby. One of the most important changes which occurred in Italy is that Marina did not continue to be represented in various narrative sequences, but in the company of other saints (Saint Francis, Saint Dominic). The second change was in her representations in proximity to the Virgin Mary. In a number of paintings from Italy, Saint Marina makes similar gestures to the Virgin when she is situated close to her. This *imitatio Madonnae* gives her an ambiguous physiognomy which contributed to further feminine development. Not only does the proximity to the Virgin Mary make her more ambiguous or more feminine, but the confusion between Saint Mary/Marina of Antioch and Saint Marina the Monk is increasing. As Saint Mary/Marina of Antioch is always depicted as a martyr it is likely that because of the confusion between the two saints Saint Marina was ascribed some of her iconographical attributes. Local developments changed her *vita* and her visual representations, too. For instance, Saint Marina the Sicilian is a product of merging memories of her cult and local influences.

There is no clear chronological delimitation as the starting point of her feminine representation. The transformation was gradual because her representations were accessible to a wider audience in the public space. In France, Germany, and Holland there are no traces of her gradual transformation. For instance, in France there are only the illuminations and the engravings which emphasize her masculine representation. In Holland she is feminine and in Germany totally masculine. The gradual transformation is present in Italy, possibly because of the existence of her public cult. One can suggest several reasons for her transformation from monk to nun:

1. feminine gestures in some of the penance sequences from the illuminations;
2. the proximity to Virgin Mary gives her a more ambiguous and more feminine physiognomy;

3. the artist was ignorant of her *vita*;
4. local developments like Saint Marina the Sicilian had an impact;
5. her true identity was only discovered at her death;²⁹²
6. Religious syncretism led to confusion with Saint Mary/Marina/Margaret of Antioch whose iconographic attributes were also ascribed to Saint Marina.

²⁹² Harvey, "Women in Early Byzantine Hagiography," 48: "Indeed, the dilemma of women and sanctity for the early Byzantine church may be summed up in the image of the transvestite saint: despite real and literary attempts to the contrary, in the end it was their true identity as a woman which was, by necessity, duly and appropriately honored. These women were canonized as woman." I have not found any sources which mention the date of canonization of Saint Marina.

CHAPTER III

Marina-Marinus-Mary

In the previous two chapters I have analyzed the visual representations and the *vitae* of Saint Marina according to region, time, and audience. There are three major regions on which I have focused on: Italy, France, and Germany. Of these three regions, Italy has more abundant visual representations because the cult of Saint Marina still exists; here, one can trace the development both of her *vita* and her visual representation from illuminations to painting and statues. The second region which has numerous depictions is France, probably because up to the first half of the nineteenth century²⁹³ there was a church dedicated to her and her cult was still active. Germany, Holland, and Spain are among the regions where her visual representations are less numerous.

In this chapter I analyze the chronological differences between the visual representations and the *vitae* of Saint Marina. Because most of the illuminations are from France, and the earliest visual representations of her are found in the manuscripts, I start the investigation with the region of France and compare this area with Spain and Germany. Then I will focus on the region of Italy and on the representations which come especially from the southern areas.

1. Illuminated *vitae*

A first group of fourteenth-century illuminations from France focuses on the entrance of the saint into the monastery together with her father. Her physiognomy is similar to that of her father, and the colors of her clothes vary (see fig. 4). If one compares these details with the Latin and the vernacular versions of her *vita* from the region of France, there are several differences which are worth mentioning. First of all, these illuminations all depict her entering the monastery together with her father, while in the *vitae* there are two different versions of

²⁹³ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XXII-XXVI.

her entrance: either together with her parent or on a second occasion when her father returns for her. It is uncertain whether the illuminations focus on the first or on the second version of her entrance, taking into consideration that the Latin version of the *Golden Legend* presents the entrance rather ambiguously: *Marina virgo unica erat patri suo: cum antem pater quoddam monasterium intrasset, mutavit habitum filiae suae, ut non femina sed masculus videtur, rogavitque abbatem et fratres, ut filium suum unicum reciperent;....*²⁹⁴ Besides, a sixteenth-century French vernacular version focuses on the first version of her entrance, while other Latin versions from ninth-century France and the French vernacular text from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century focus on the second version. There is only one fifteenth-century illumination from the *Golden Legend* which depicts her entrance alone, without her father. This illumination combines two different sequences (that of her entrance and that of the death of her father), which are not found in any of her *vitae*.

Concerning these iconographic attributes, the texts do not suggest any information regarding the gestures, positions, clothes, or physical characteristics of the characters. The artist may have depicted these characters according to his imagination. This is why in the visual representations Marina appears in kneeling positions with her hands raised, with similar gestures to those her father is making, with different color hair and clothes, while not only the texts from the region of France but also from Italy, Germany, and Spain focus on the change of her name from the feminine Marina/Mary to the masculine Marinus when discussing her disguise and do not emphasize her transvestitism.

One major conclusion can be drawn regarding the pattern of her entrance into the monastery; while the visual representations from France focus on the attribute of her clothing and physiognomy, the *vitae* emphasize her disguise by changing her name into the masculine

²⁹⁴ “Marina the Virgin was the only [daughter] of her father; and after her father entered some monastery, he changed the clothes of his daughter, so that she appeared to be male, not female, and [he] asked the abbot and the monks, to accept his only son.” In Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 534.

version. The moment of her disguise is not depicted as in the case of Saint Euphrosyne's discovery (see figure 5); Marina is presented in male clothes in front of the monastery.



Fig. 4. *Saint Marina entrusted to the monastery*, Richard de Montbaston, 1348, France, Paris, the *Golden Legend*, Folio 139v, National Library of France, stack: French 241.

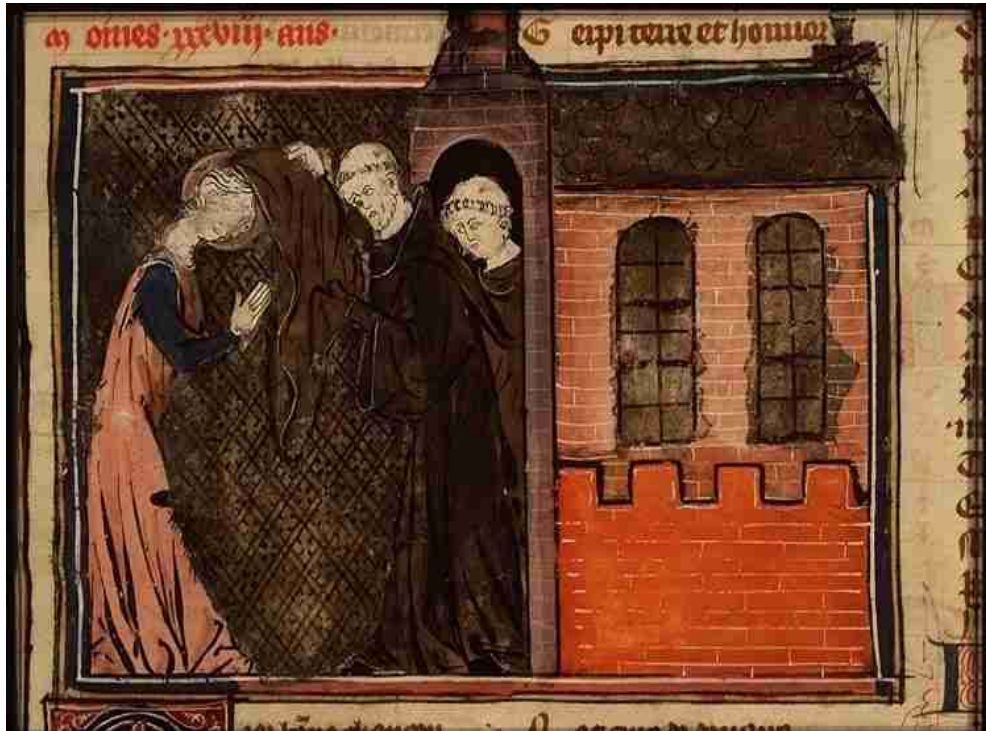


Fig. 5. *Discovery of the real sex of St. Euphrosyne, who tried to enter a monastery disguised as a man*, Fauvel Master, 1327, Paris, *Vies des Saints* Folio 61v, Folio 61v, National Library of France, stack: French 183.

The backgrounds of these illuminations vary from abstract to concrete to more complex, although the *vitae* do not mention any detail regarding the environment. The artist added more or less “realistic” depictions of Western monasteries and details of nature (trees). The only information which is mentioned in the *vitae* is in connection with such topographical details as the name of the country where Marina was born: *En egipte naquist la flour/ Dont encore nous plaist l’odour*²⁹⁵ (in the French versions) and the distances between the monastery and different towns: *et abiit in monasterium quod longe erat a ciuitate alexandrina miliaris quinque*.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁵ “and [he] went to the monastery which was five miles away from the city of Alexandria.” In Ms. 5296, f. 63r-64r. National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 11-14.

²⁹⁶ “The flower which is still pleasant to us/ was born in Egypt.” In Ms. 1728, f. 105r, The Vatican Library, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 169.

The next series of illuminations, one from Germany and the other from an unknown provenance, focus on her exit from the monastery. Both of the illuminations depict the saint driving a cart. The German illumination focuses on presenting the landscape while Marina is depicted from behind in black clothes, tonsured, with masculine physiognomy (see cat. fig. 12). The German *vitae* keep this detail of her exit but mention different reasons for it. Three *vitae* mention that she goes for wood and only one that she goes to a market-town close to the sea. The details of the environment such as green grass and brown rocks point to the version of the *vita* which has the detail of her exit for wood. The series of illuminations of unknown origin depict Marina from a closer perspective and add the detail of the oxen and change the color of her clothes from black to white and blue. Both of these visual representations depict her alone. This detail is a later development which is found in the Western *vitae*. In the versions I used as prototypes (one Greek and one Syriac), Saint Marina leaves the monastery in the company of monks. The German illuminations correspond to three out of the four texts analyzed, in the sense that all three versions present her going alone after wood and only one version, which likely shows French or Dutch influence, mentions her in the company of monks. One conclusion can be drawn: both of the representations depict her alone driving a cart, which is a later development of the *vitae*.

The series of illuminations of unknown origin focus on other sequences of her life as well: her expulsion and her penance in front of the monastery. As the origin of the illuminations is unknown I cannot connect them with any particular region, but I can mention that most of her visual representations from all the regions (especially Italy) focus on her penance. Only one fifteenth-century illumination from France (see figure 6) focuses on her trial: three out of four narrative sequences focus on the gradual representation of this theme. Marina, dressed in black clothes, with masculine physiognomy, either kneels in front of the abbot or receives the child from the mother. This sequence of her trial is a later development

which is not found in the Greek or the Syriac versions I used as prototypes, but it appears in the French, German, and Italian versions. One cannot but be intrigued by the fact that the French illuminator emphasized this sequence. Analyzing both the Latin and the vernacular versions of her *vitae* from France, it is clear that these versions emphasized her trial in connection with such motifs as *imitatio Christi* and *sponsa Christi* starting as early as the ninth century: *Ad iracundiam autem commotus est abbas eius. Iussitque eam flagellari et ait: 'In ueritate dico quia tu qui hoc malom operatus es non manebis in hoc monasterio,'*²⁹⁷ and culminating with detailed descriptions in the fifteenth-century versions in verse:

Forment le fait batre et afflir./
E la vierge fait moult souffrir./
La sainte vierge le souffri/
Joieusement, que bien sauoit/
Que ceuix ont dieu a compaignon/
Qui sont en tribulation /
La promesse de verite/
L'assouloigoit de sa grieve,/
Qui dist qu'elle deliuerra/
Celuy qui pour luy soffrera,/
Puis le couronnera de gloire;/
Moult peut valoir ceste memoire/
A ceux qui sont en ceste vie/
*Qui de misere est mieux partie.*²⁹⁸

The illumination, which presents her together with the child, becomes almost an emblem of her visual representations not only in France, but especially in Italy. Accordingly, French illuminations depict her in front of the monastery holding or teaching the child. Her masculine physiognomy, the black clothes, and the tonsure all exemplify her disguise,

²⁹⁷ "But her abbot got angry. And ordered her to be whipped and said: 'I truly say that you, who have done this evil, will not remain in this monastery.'" In Ms. 5296, f. 63r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 12.

²⁹⁸ "He orders that Marin/be beaten and/whipped, / And imposes on the maiden many torments. / The holy maiden endures the punishment/With joy in her/heart, for she knows/well/That those who/ suffer/ Are in the company/ of God. / This truth/ Assuages her/sufferings, / Since she will be/ delivered/ By Him who suffered/ for her, / And since she will/ gain eternal glory. / And this thought is/ indeed worthy/ To those who, in this/life, / Endure travail and/ pain." cited in Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 250 and Latin text in Ms. 1728, f. 107v, The Vatican Library, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 174.

although the *vitae* do not mention these details at all, except



Fig. 6. *Scenes from Saint Marina's life*. (François and collab., 1463, France, Paris, *Speculum historiale*, Folio 201v, National Library of France, stack: French 51.

for the beginning of her story. In some of these depictions Marina's gestures become maternal. This is important because not only in the paintings but also as shown in statues she becomes gradually feminine. For instance, in a fourteenth-century French illumination from the *Miroir historial dit du roi Jean le Bon* and in a thirteenth-century Spanish version of the *Golden Legend* she holds the child close to her breasts, while in a fifteenth-century French illumination she is teaching it to read. Not the French, nor the Spanish nor the German *vitae*

not mention any exact detail regarding this gesture. Only one Latin version from Italy mentions that: *et proiciens puerum in puella gremio reliquit eum ibi et abiit.*²⁹⁹

In a thirteenth-century Austrian depiction of her penance a rather unfamiliar detail is added: the child is speaking “ta-ta-ta” to its supposed father (see cat. fig. 17). This is a detail that is found in a Latin translation from Greek.³⁰⁰ Although the child is barely presented as a separate character in all the texts from all the regions, its physiognomy changes in the illuminations. In the French and Spanish visual representations it is a baby Marina holds in her arms, in the series of illuminations of unknown origin and in the German ones it is rather mature. Despite this differentiation, in one French vernacular version of the *Golden Legend* the child is talking to its supposed father: “Vne fois lenfant dist a Marin: ‘Pour quoy me nourris tu quant tu nes mon pere ne rien?’”³⁰¹

Only two illuminations focus on the sequence of her death: the fifteenth-century French and the narrative sequences of unknown origin. In these representations Marina is surrounded by monks amazed by her naked body. Both of these representations depict Marina inside the monastery, although the *vitae* mention that she was washed outside the buildings as the abbot considered her unworthy of a typical Christian burial.³⁰² It is remarkable how the artist managed to combine the physical characteristics of both male and female when representing Marina: the tonsure and the physiognomy are masculine, while the breasts indicate that she is a woman. These details are mentioned neither in the French nor the Italian *vitae*; they were possibly supplied by the artist’s imagination.

To sum up, there is no clear indication of her gradual transformation into a woman in either of the *vitae*, except for the hagiographer’s use of the feminine pronoun. Marina is

²⁹⁹ “And throwing the child in her lap, [she] left him [the child] there and went away.” In Ms. Mm. VI. 4, f. 186v, Library of the University of Cambridge, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 262.

³⁰⁰ Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 26-31.

³⁰¹ “Once, the child said to Marinus: ‘Why are you feeding me when you are neither my father nor any relative of mine?’ ” in Ms. 1534, f. 44v, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 168.

³⁰² See for instance, Ms 2328 f. 120r, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 6-7.

depicted as having two types of attitudes towards the child: a maternal one while holding the child (France, Spain, unknown region) and a masculine one (France and Germany) where the child climbs and pulls at her dress. In my opinion the first type of gesture represents the first phase of her feminization. Both of these representations circulated in parallel in all these regions.

2. Holy Paintings and Penitent Statues

Two Italian illuminations depict Marina as an individual figure; one dates from the twelfth century and the other is a later depiction from the *Golden Legend*. The depiction from the *Golden Legend* is similar to the French representation of the saint. The tonsure, halo, masculine physiognomy, and black clothes remind one of Theodorus d'Amadeni's remarks about paintings which depict Saint Marina as a Franciscan monk.³⁰³ It is difficult to identify any clear connection between the representations of Saint Marina in the clothes of a monastic community and the ones of the members of the monastic community. The other individual representation of her is rather strange as she has not only unfamiliar clothes, but also ambiguous physiognomy.

The same ambiguous physiognomy is a characteristic of the fourteenth- to sixteenth-century paintings (see figure 7) from Venice. In these paintings Marina is in the proximity of other saints or of the Virgin Mary. When positioned close to the Virgin Mary, Saint Marina is shown as more feminine. What contributes to her ambiguity are not only the gestures, but also her physiognomy. Again, it is important to point out that such details are not found in any of the *vitae* from Italy or elsewhere. The only possible connection with these representations is a Latin translation of Symeon the Metaphrast's version of her life in which her physical characteristics are mentioned: *Cum uero aliquot annos peregrisset beata in monasterio,*

³⁰³ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, XXXI-XXXII.

*existimabant monachi eum esse eunuchum propterea quod esset imberbis et uoce gracili.*³⁰⁴ It is difficult to establish a clear connection between her representations and this version of her *vita*, which circulated in sixteenth-century Venice. In fact, in the French illuminations she becomes more feminine because of her maternal gestures, while in the Italian paintings not only her gestures, but also her physiognomy became feminine when positioned near the Virgin Mary. This *imitatio Madonnae* represents the second phase of her transformation into a woman, while the detail of the gestures in France, Spain, and Italy represents the first phase. Although in sixteenth-century Italy Marina was still under continuous transformation, a Dutch engraving dating from the seventeenth century (see cat. fig. 35) depicts her as a woman with no ambiguity; In an eighteenth-century French engraving (see cat. fig. 36) and in a nineteenth-century Venetian painting (see cat. fig. 34) she is again a man. Basically, one can conclude that several versions of her representation circulated in various regions. In France some of the illuminations depicted her as a man with ambiguous maternal gestures while the engravings from approximately the same region switched to both masculine and feminine representations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Italy, besides the feminine maternal gestures, Marina is represented ambiguously as early as the twelfth century. This transformation of her ambiguity is continuous during the fourteenth century and in sixteenth century Venice; while in Germany, besides the masculine representations of her in the illuminations, one can find the same ambiguous physical characteristics in a fifteenth-century painting by an Italian artist.

³⁰⁴ “Then, after the blessed one had lived several years in the monastery, the monks were thinking that she was a eunuch because she was beardless and had thin voice.” In Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 27.



Fig. 7. *Madonna with Child in glory with Saint Benedict, Saint Marina, Saint Francis of Assisi and two saints*, anonymous author, sixteenth century, Italy, Venice (in http://fe.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/scheda.jsp?decorator=layout&apply=true&ti po_scheda=OA&id=45261, Last accessed: May 21, 2011).

In southern Italy the cult of Saint Marina is still active. Basically, in this area both her visual representations and her *vitae* are under continuous development as artists not only have depicted her, but also have rewritten her life. In Sicily and Calabria (and not only there) both the paintings and the statues focus on the penitential aspect of her life. There are representations of her in places such as Santa Marina di Milazzo in Sicily where the paintings are similar to the statues. This is true also for the frescoes and the statues in the Calabrian town of Polistena, where frescoes (which were painted over) were similar to the statues. Basically, the same visual representation of the saint is found in various depictions starting with paintings, statues, or different items of representation. Each town or village has its own

representation of the saint, which is then depicted on various items: frescoes, flags, and reliefs; they all have the same depiction of the saint's sequence of doing penance.

Although the saint is represented in the penance sequence and this pattern is used in various places, the versions of her *vitae* sometimes are extremely developed. This is the case in the twentieth-century version offered by Guido Luigi, who inserted several new motifs into her life. One such motif is temptation by the devil, which was already *in nuce* in the Latin versions in fourteenth-century Italy,³⁰⁵ namely, in the sequence of the innkeeper's daughter's temptation. There is also an image of this sequence. The fact is worth to be that although the emphasis is laid on her temptation, the saint is represented together with the child as in the other depictions from the same place.

The last phase of her transformation into a woman is connected with the visual representations of Saint Mary/Marina of Antioch (see cat. fig. 124-127). As early as the thirteenth century in Venice there was a reliquary which held the left hand of Saint Mary/Marina of Antioch. The fact that both saints had the same name led to confusion. First, Marina the Monk's relics were transferred to Venice in 1230, while her left hand, which was missing, was replaced by that of Saint Marina of Antioch, probably because of confusion over their names. In sixteenth-century Venice, when Tintoretto depicted Saint Marina the Monk together with the child another remarkable iconographic attribute was added to the saint: the martyr's palm. Actually, the martyr's palm is an iconographic attribute of Saint Marina of Antioch, but taking into consideration the confusion of names it was easy to switch from one saint to another, possibly because of ignorance or perhaps because the artist lacked information. This phenomenon not only occurred in Venice, but also in southern Calabria, where Saint Marina is depicted together with the child holding a book and a martyr's palm in her hand. I consider that this confusion between the two saints could be a possible answer for

³⁰⁵ See for instance, Ms. Mm. VI. 1, f. 185v, Library of the University of Cambridge, in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 261.

her representations as a nun in both statues and in paintings. In Filandari, San Giovanni di Zambrone, Terrati di Lago, and elsewhere, Marina is depicted as a woman. That Saint Marina the Monk was confused with Saint Marina of Antioch can be easily demonstrated in the case of the heraldry of the town of Polistena, where the visual representations of the saint changed from one century to the other: from Saint Marina to Saint Marina of Antioch and then to Saint Marina the Monk again.

A second possible contribution to her final development into a woman is connected with the local developments of her *vitae*. Not only the version of her *vitae* circulate from one part of the country to the other, transforming continuously because of additions and omissions, but they also mixed and resulted in a new *vita* of a new saint. This is the case of Saint Marina the Sicilian or Santa Marina Terminata, whose visual representations are less numerous. She is depicted wearing the clothes of a nun, with feminine physiognomy, and having a child next to her. The first two attributes are found in her *vita*,³⁰⁶ while the attribute of the child is taken from the *vita* of Saint Marina the Monk. This shows that not only Saint Marina/Mary of Antioch, but also Saint Marina the Sicilian could easily be confused with Saint Marina the Monk.

³⁰⁶ Taibbi, *Martirio di Santa Lucia*, 79-107.

CONCLUSIONS

The *vitae* do not offer any concrete details of Saint Marina's iconographical attributes: the clothes in the context of transvestitism, the masculine physiognomy, and the child. There are only rare remarks which point to one of these attributes, thus the artist had to supply the various details in her representations.

The illuminations focus, generally, on a more masculine Marina both in physiognomy and clothing. But there are also exceptions: in some of the penitence sequences Marina makes maternal gestures when she holds the baby close to her. This renders her a rather ambiguous figure as Marina becomes more feminine when she holds the child in her arms than in representations where the child grasps her clothes. All these details are not mentioned in the *vitae*, but were supplied by the artists.

Except the illuminations and the engravings from France, there are no further developments of her visual representations from there, possibly because her cult no longer exists. In seventeenth-century Holland she was represented as a woman in the same scene of penance, while in Germany and Spain there are fewer representations of Saint Marina than in any other regions.

While in France her cult was slowly disappearing it was flourishing in Italy: one can find numerous representations of the saint in illuminations, paintings, statues, frescoes, engravings, and other items. This is the region where her visual representation evolved gradually from that of a monk into that of a nun. Basically, the same visual representation of the saint is reproduced in the visual material in any one town. Thus, different towns have different versions of her depiction, which become "emblems."

There are three chronological phases in her development from male to female in connection with the different audiences. She is ambiguous in the illuminations because of the

maternal gestures. These illuminations circulated in rather restricted private space, such as monasteries. The second phase is related with her proximity to the Virgin Mary and third to local religious syncretism. This last phase is connected with the confusion between two saints: Mary of Antioch and Marina the Monk.

Basically, the connections between the visual representations and the *vitae* are visible only in the case of the illuminations, the paintings, and the statues, which focus only on the penance sequence of her life. However, these phases are not present in all the regions that I have investigated. In Spain one can find only the first phase of her development, while in France and Germany/Austria, the first two phases are also present. The situation in Italy is different. Here all three phases of the development of her visual representations are present.

This investigation into the differences between Saint Marina's visual and textual representations had demonstrated that the artist had to supply the elements of her visual representations which were not mentioned in *vitae*. This facilitated the development of numerous differences according to regions and recipients. The more public her cult became, the more focus on the penance sequence of her life was offered. One can connect the reasons for the change in her visual representations with the audience. In a first phase, when depicted in all the regions for the monastic space, her visual representations are rather fixed, in the sense that they mostly concentrate on two sequences: her entrance into the monastery and her penance. Then, as her cult spread, as is the case in Italy, the pattern of her penitence became more developed.

In the case of paintings, Saint Marina is accompanied or accompanies several saints. This is logical, if one remembers that paintings are made for public viewing and it is quite normal to show individual saints in company. I consider that the spread of her cult to the public also led to the confusion between the two saints, Marina the Monk and Marina of Antioch, and consequently influenced her feminine representations. This is clearly shown in

the case of the city heraldry from the town of Polistena in southern Italy. Besides the issue of confusion, proximity to the Virgin Mary rendered her more feminine with ambiguous physiognomy.

Not only her visual representations became more developed, however, also numerous versions of her *vitae* appeared with more additions, such as the theme of temptation which emphasizes the likeness of the saint to Christ. These are illustrated, mostly in Italy, by numerous poems, interpretations of her life, and hymns dedicated to her.

My analysis has proved that there is still more to investigate about the representations (both visual and textual) of Saint Marina as her cult has also existed in Central and Eastern Mediterranean regions such as Cyprus and Lebanon since the Middle Ages. Saint Marina is still one of the many transvestite saints whose visual representations have not been investigated adequately and need further research. My future intention is to investigate the visual representations of all the virgin monks. Their *vitae* and visual representations have common patterns (separation, liminality, and reintegration) which change according to region, time, and audience. Not only I want to connect their visual representations with the analysis of Saint Marina, but also I want to broaden the investigation regarding Saint Marina's representations in the East.

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Fig. 106. *Saint Marina*, silver plate offered by D. Antonio di Cinquefrondi in Giovanni Russo, *Polistena la Chiesa Madre 1783-1983* (Polistena the Mother Church 1783-1983) (Rosarno: Virgiglio Editore, 1995), 131.

Fig. 107. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1792, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 18.

Fig. 108. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1788, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 18.

Fig. 109. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1794, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 19.

Fig. 115. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1721, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 16.

Fig. 114. *Saint Marina* (herald), 2009, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 51.

Fig. 113. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1750 in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 24.

Fig. 112. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1813, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 21.

Fig. 111. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1801, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 20.

Fig. 110. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1794, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 19.

Fig. 116. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy Cumia, (at <http://www.cartantica.it/pages/collaborazionisantamarina.asp>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

Fig. 117. *Saint Marina* (herald), eighteenth century, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 15.

Fig. 118. *Reliquary of Saint Marina* (back) Constantinople, 1213, in William D. Wixom, "Byzantine Art in the West," in *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, 496. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

Fig. 119. *Reliquary of Saint Marina* (interior) Constantinople, before 1213 William D. Wixom, "Byzantine Art in the West," in *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, 496. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

SAINT MARINA. DECORATIVE ART

Fig. 120. *Saint Marina* (decoration), Italy, Terrati di Lago.

Fig. 121. *Saint Marina* (picture on flag), Italy, Calabria, Filandari, (at <http://www.santamarinafilandari.it/home.html>, Last accessed: April 12, 2011).

Fig. 122. *Saint Marina* (decoration), Italy, Calabria, Filandari, (at <http://www.santamarinafilandari.it/home.html>, Last accessed: April 12, 2011).

Fig. 123. *Saint Marina* (decoration), Italy, Casole Bruzio, (at <http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=113378910168#!/group.php?gid=113378910168&v=photos&so=30>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

SAINT MARINA (MARGARET/MARY) OF ANTIOCH

Fig. 124. *Saint Margaret and the dragon*, France, Nantes, 1455-1457, Heures de Pierre II de Bretagne, Folio, 154v.

Fig. 125. *Saint Margaret*, Meister von St. Leonhard bei Tamsweg, 1460 – 1465, Austria, Salzburg.

Fig. 126. *Saint Margaret*, 1495-1505, Austria, Klagenfurt.

Fig. 127. *Saint Margaret*, 1395-1405, Austria, Vienna.

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Fig. 1. *Saint Marina* (relics), Church of Santa Maria Formosa, Italy, Venice at <http://picasaweb.google.com/misha.seattle/20080226Venice#>, Last accessed: April 10, 2011).

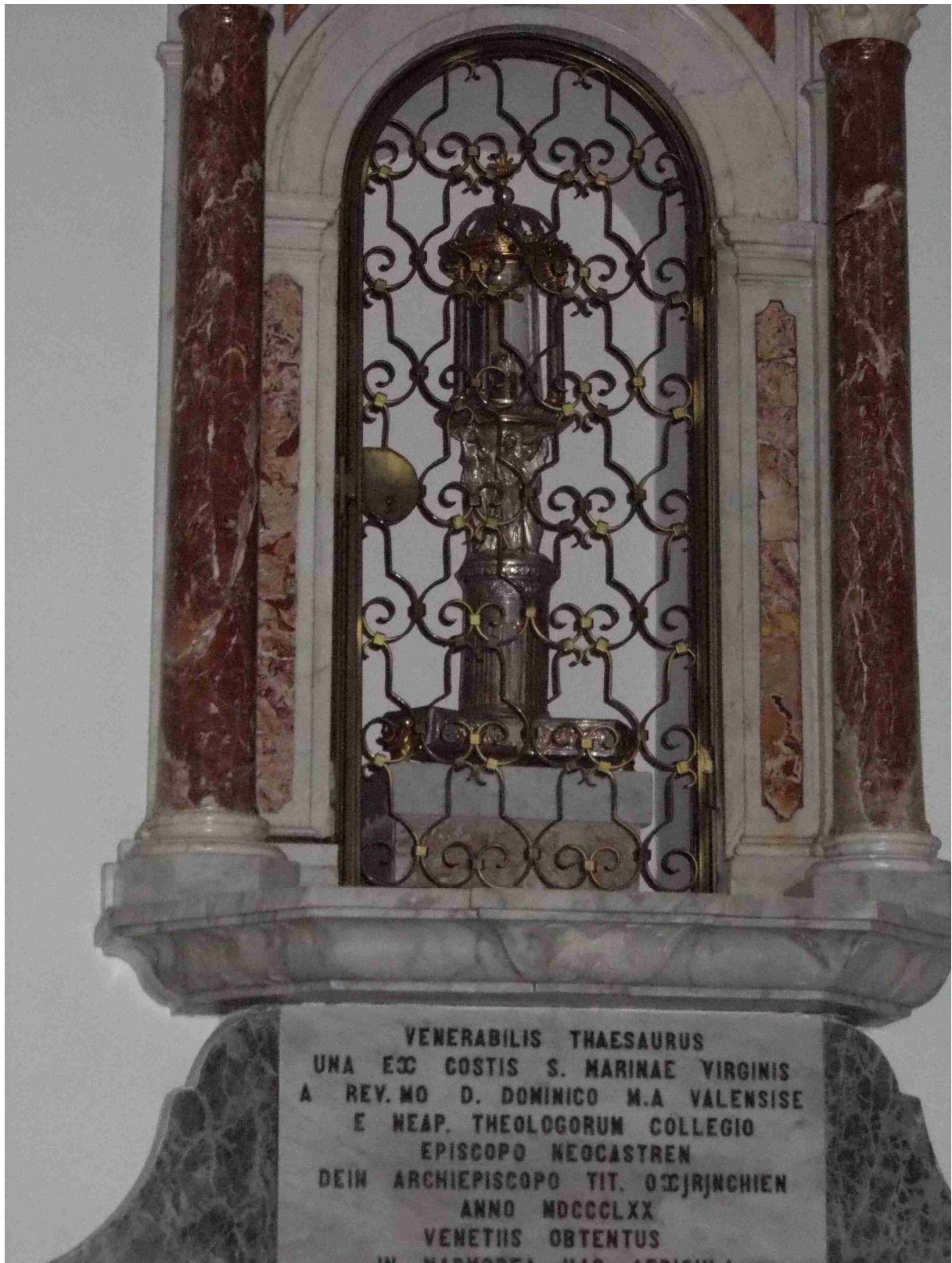


Fig. 2. *Saint Marina* (relics), Church of Santa Marina, Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).

SAINT MARINA'S GROTTO

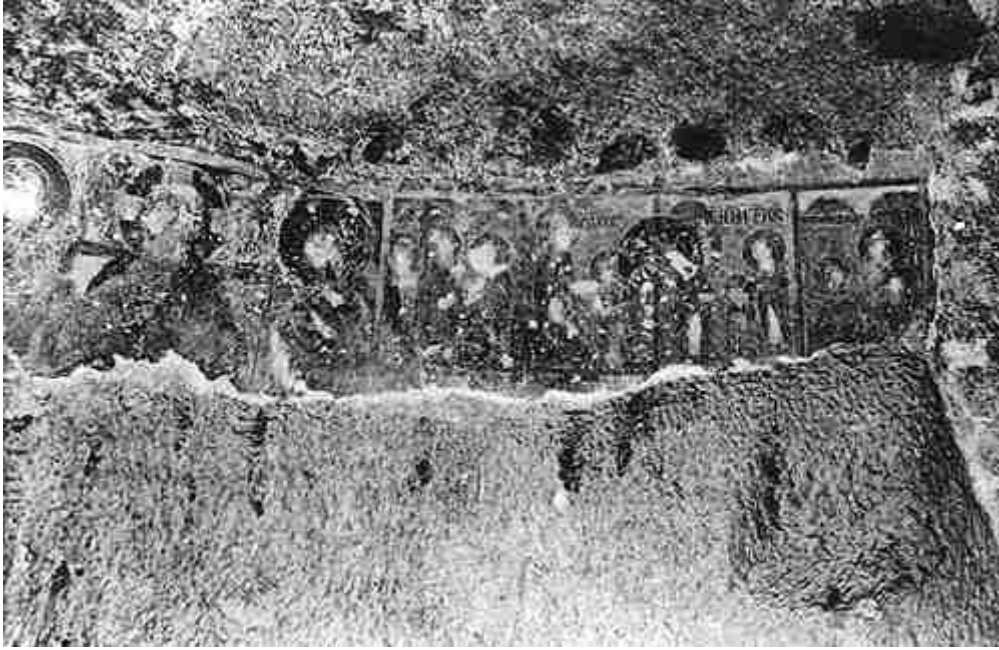


Fig. 3. *Saint Marina's Grotto* (central part), Qannoubin, Lebanon, in Charles-Léonce Brossé, "Les Peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli," *Syria*, 1 (1926): PL. VIII.

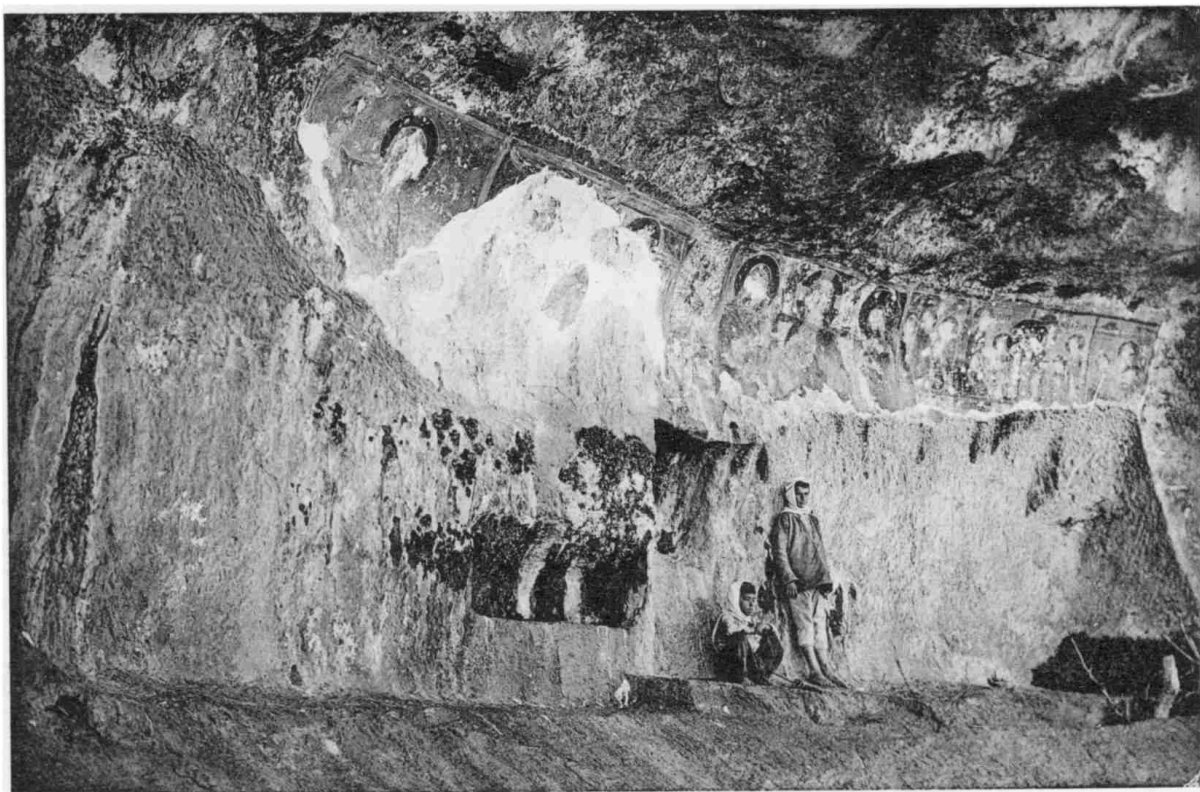


Fig. 4. *Saint Marina's Grotto* (general view), Qannoubin, Lebanon, in Charles-Léonce Brossé, "Les Peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli," *Syria*, 1 (1926): PL. VII.



Fig. 5. *Saint Marina's Grotto* (left part), Qannoubin, Lebanon, in Charles-Léonce Brossé, "Les Peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli," *Syria*, 1 (1926): PL. VII.



Fig. 6. *Saint Marina's Grotto* (right part), Qannoubin, Lebanon, in Charles-Léonce Brossé, "Les Peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli," *Syria*, 1 (1926): PL. VII.

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Fig. 7. *Saint Marina, disguised as boy, entrusted to a monastery*, 1300-1350, France, north(?), the *Golden Legend*, Folio 100v, Vatican Library, stack: 534.



Fig. 8. *Saint Marina entrusted to the monastery*, Richard de Montbaston, 1348, France, Paris, the *Golden Legend*, Folio 139v, National Library of France, stack: French 241.

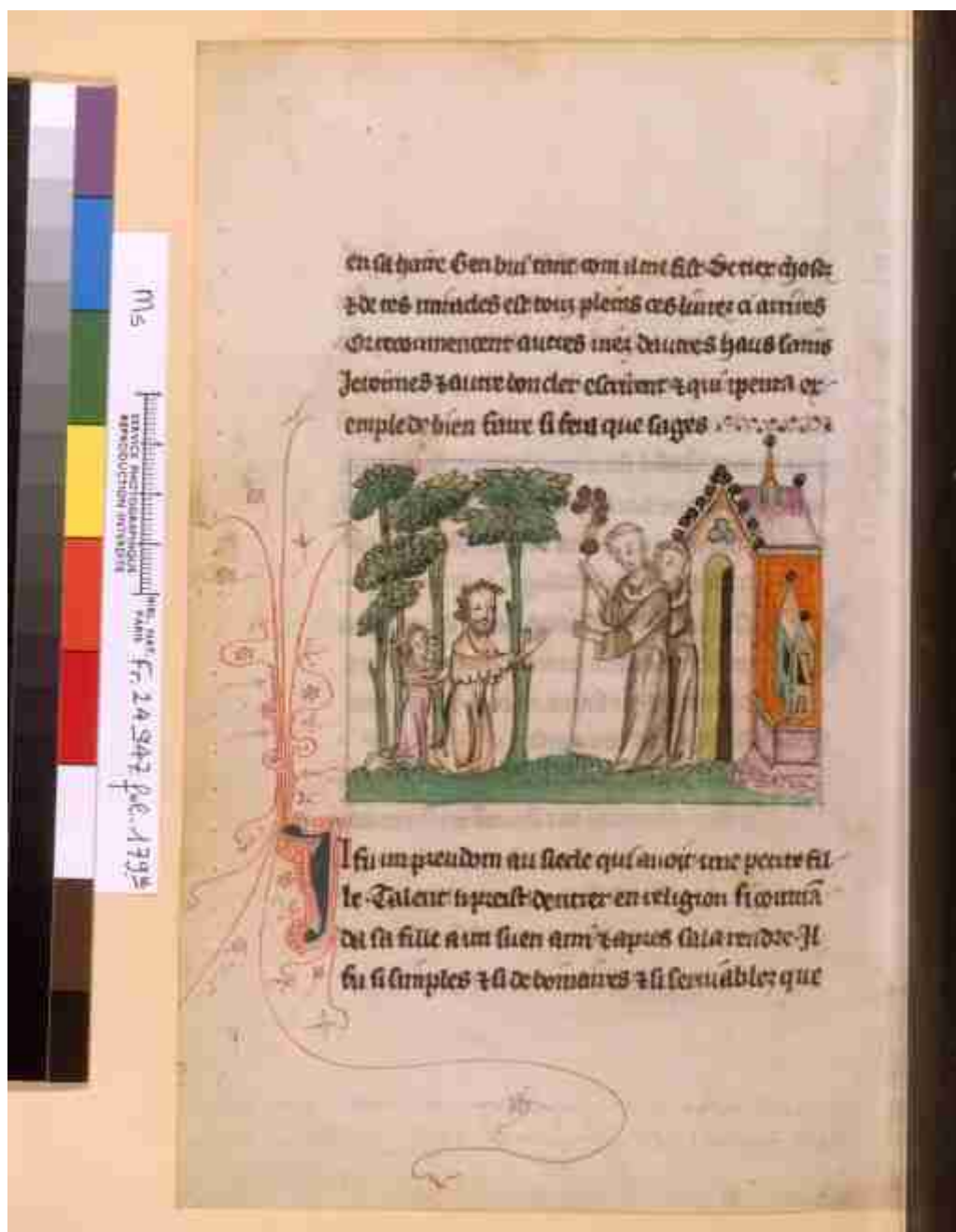


Fig. 9. Saint Marina and her father accepted into the monastery by the religious, fourteenth century, France, *La vie des Pères du désert*, Folio 179v, National Library of France, stack: French 24947.

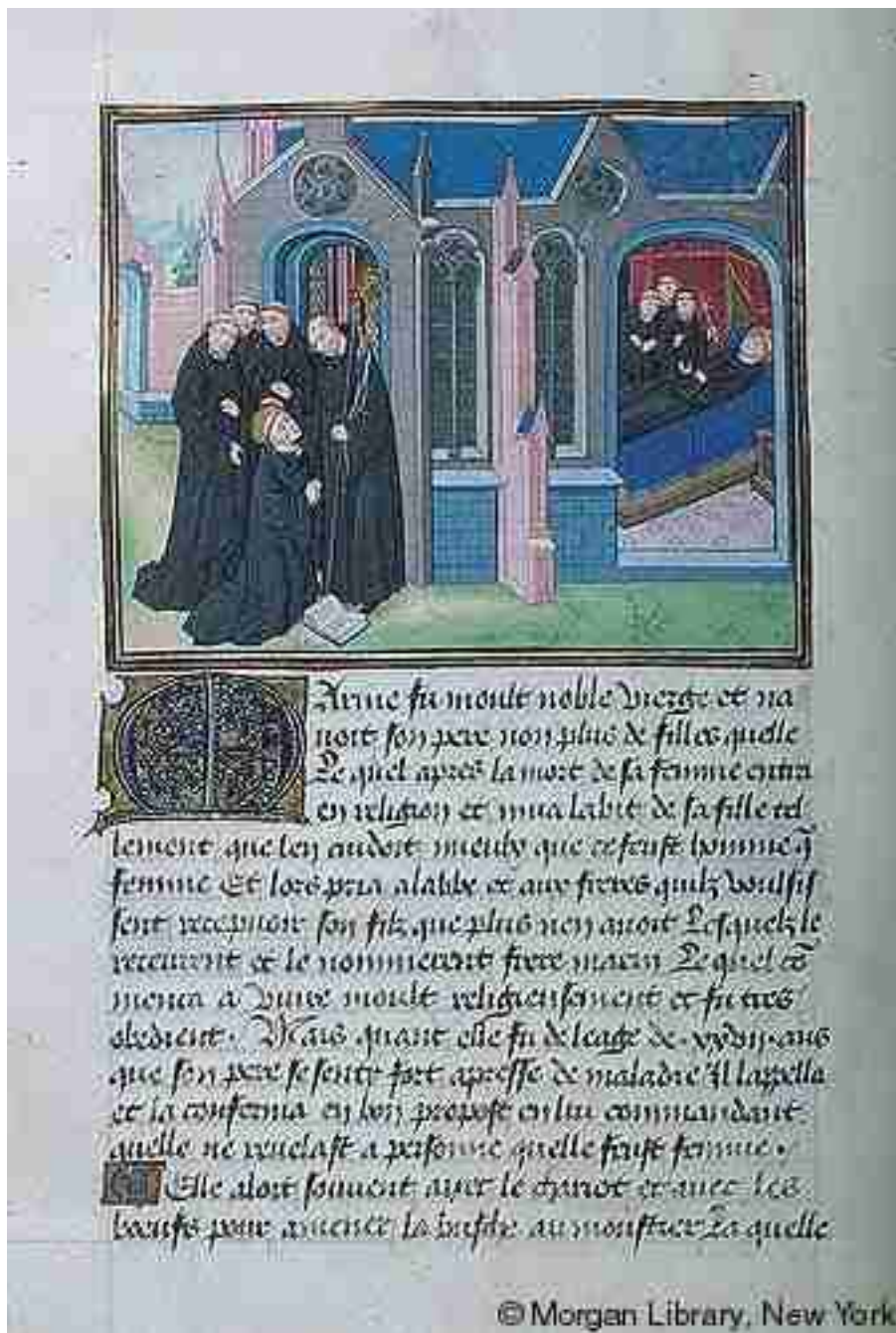


Fig. 10. Saint Marina disguised. Death of father, Bruges, 1445-1465, the Golden Legend, Folio 279v, New York, Morgan Library, stack: M.672-5.

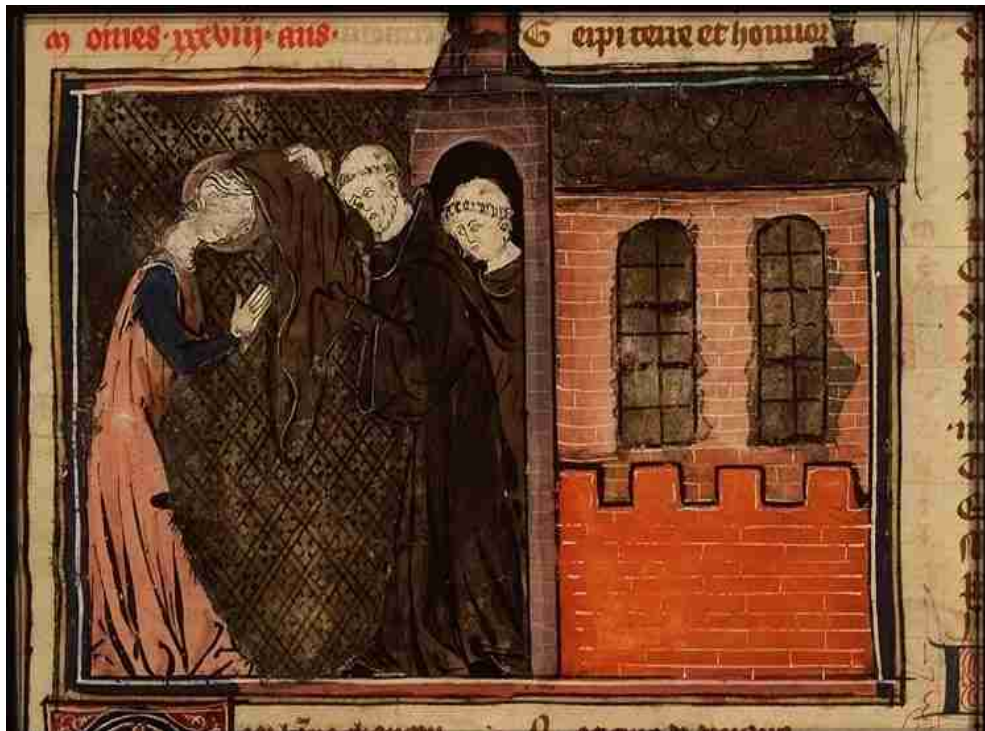


Fig. 11. *Discovery of the real sex of St. Euphrosyne, who tried to enter a monastery disguised as a man*, Fauvel Master, 1327, Paris, *Vies des Saints*, Folio 61v, National Library of France, stack: French 183.



Fig. 12. *Saint Marina exiting the monastery*, court workshop of Emperor Frederick III, 1446, Vienna, the *Golden Legend*, Folio 111r, Austrian National Library, cod. 326.

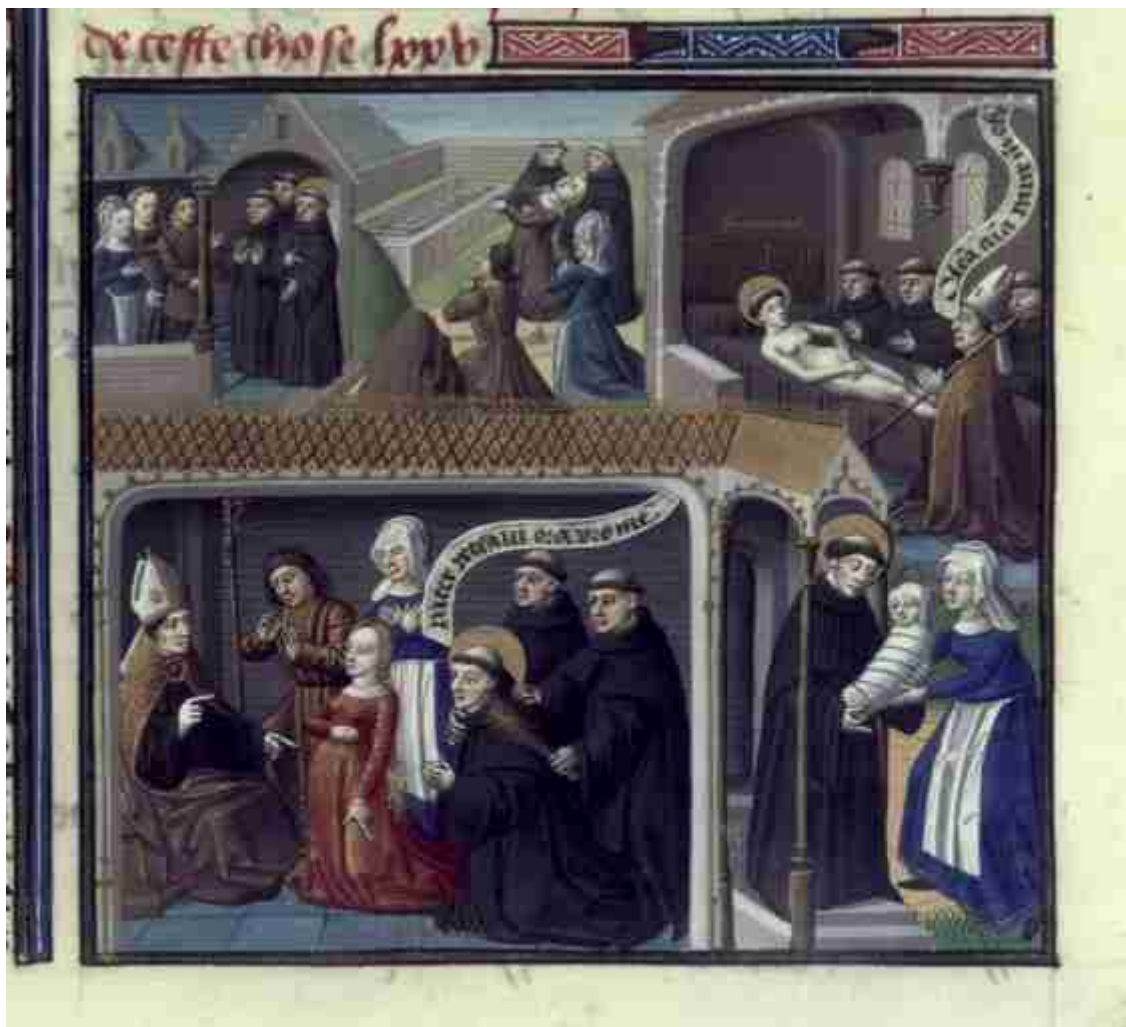


Fig. 13. *Scenes from Saint Marina's life*, François and collab., 1463, France, Paris, *Speculum historiale*, Folio 201v, National Library of France, stack: French 51.

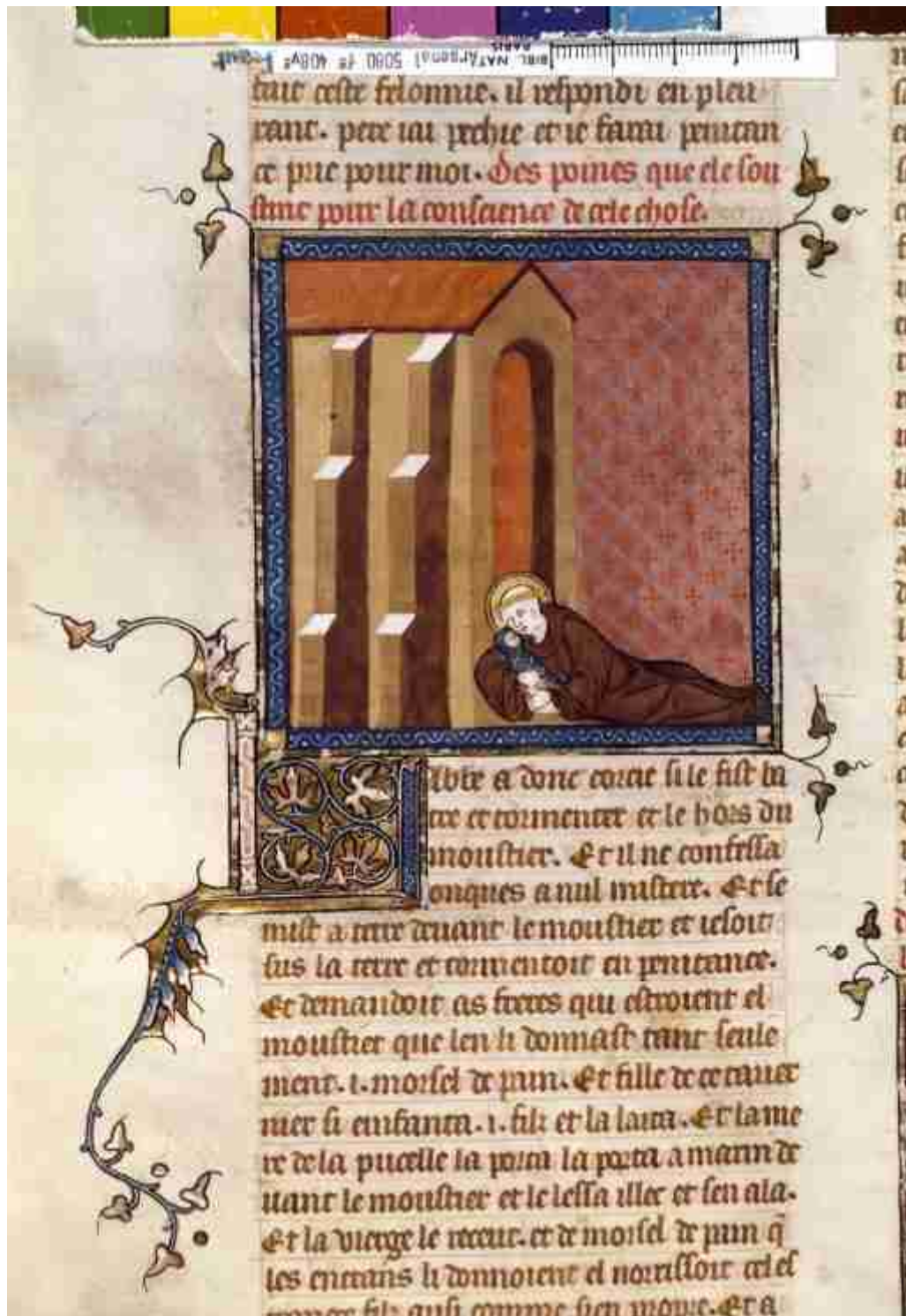
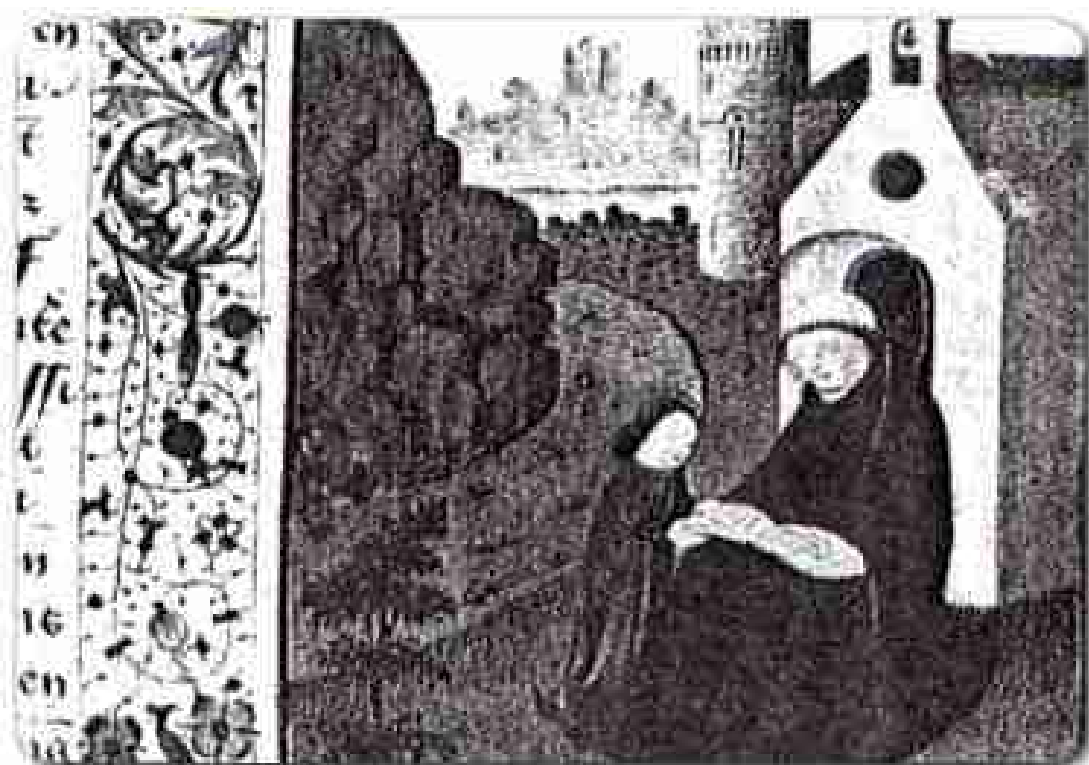


Fig. 14. *Saint Marina, disguised as monk, with a child in her arms*, 1333-1350, France, *Speculum historiale*, Folio 408v, National Library of France, stack: MS 5080 RES.



Fig. 15. *Saint Marina and the child* (right side), 1290?-1300?, Spain, Catalonia, the *Golden Legend*, Folio 123v, National Library of France, stack: Spanish 44.



Saint Marina, expelled from the monastery, is teaching the child who is supposedly hers.
 Miniature of French Manuscript - 6 448 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (xv), f. 156.
 Photo reproduced from *vic et office de Sainte Marina* by
 Leon Elequet, Paris, 1905.

Fig. 16. *Saint Marina, expelled from the monastery, is teaching the child who is supposedly hers*, France, fifteenth century, manuscript 6 448, Folio 156, National Library of France, stack: French 6 448.



Fig. 17. *Saint Marina and the child*, thirteenth century, Zwettl, Lower Austria, *Magnum legendarium austriacum*, Folio 10v, Cistercian abbey, monastic library, cod.1.

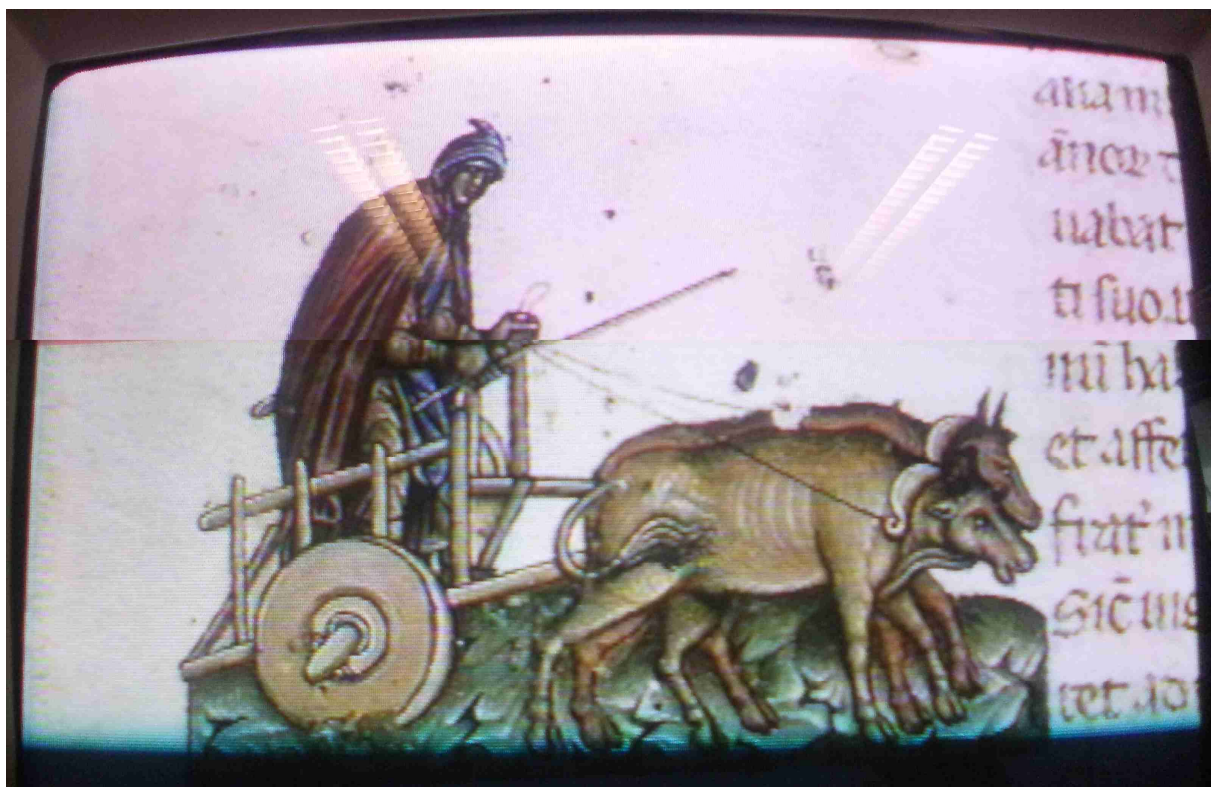


Fig. 18. *Saint Marina entering the monastery on a cart driven by oxen*, 1300-1499, Collection: *Vita S. Marinae virginis*, Folio 38v, Vatican Library, stack: 375.

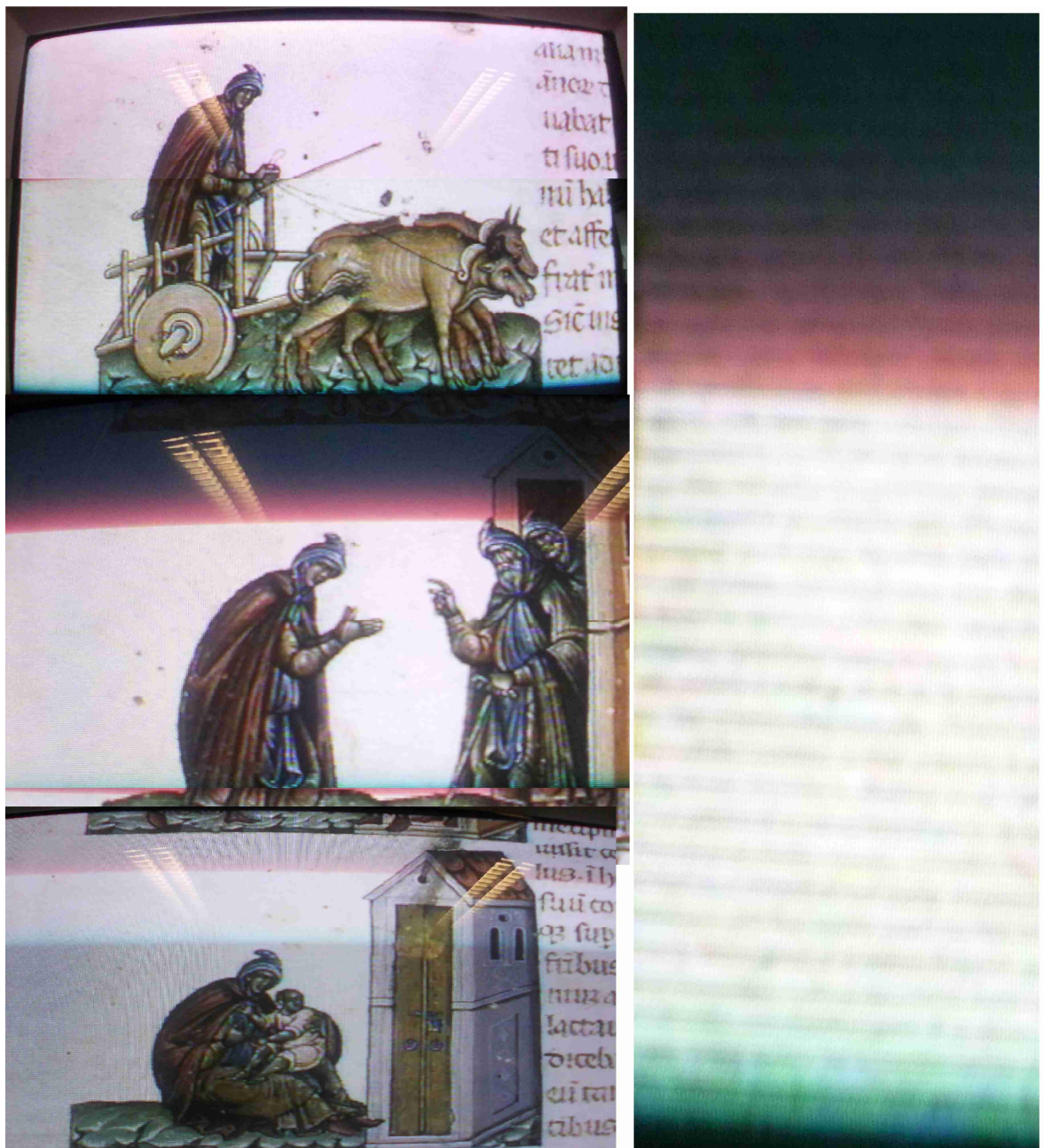


Fig. 19. *Saint Marina* (scenes from her life), 1300-1499, Collection: *Vita S. Marinae virginis*, Folio 38v, Vatican Library, stack: 375.

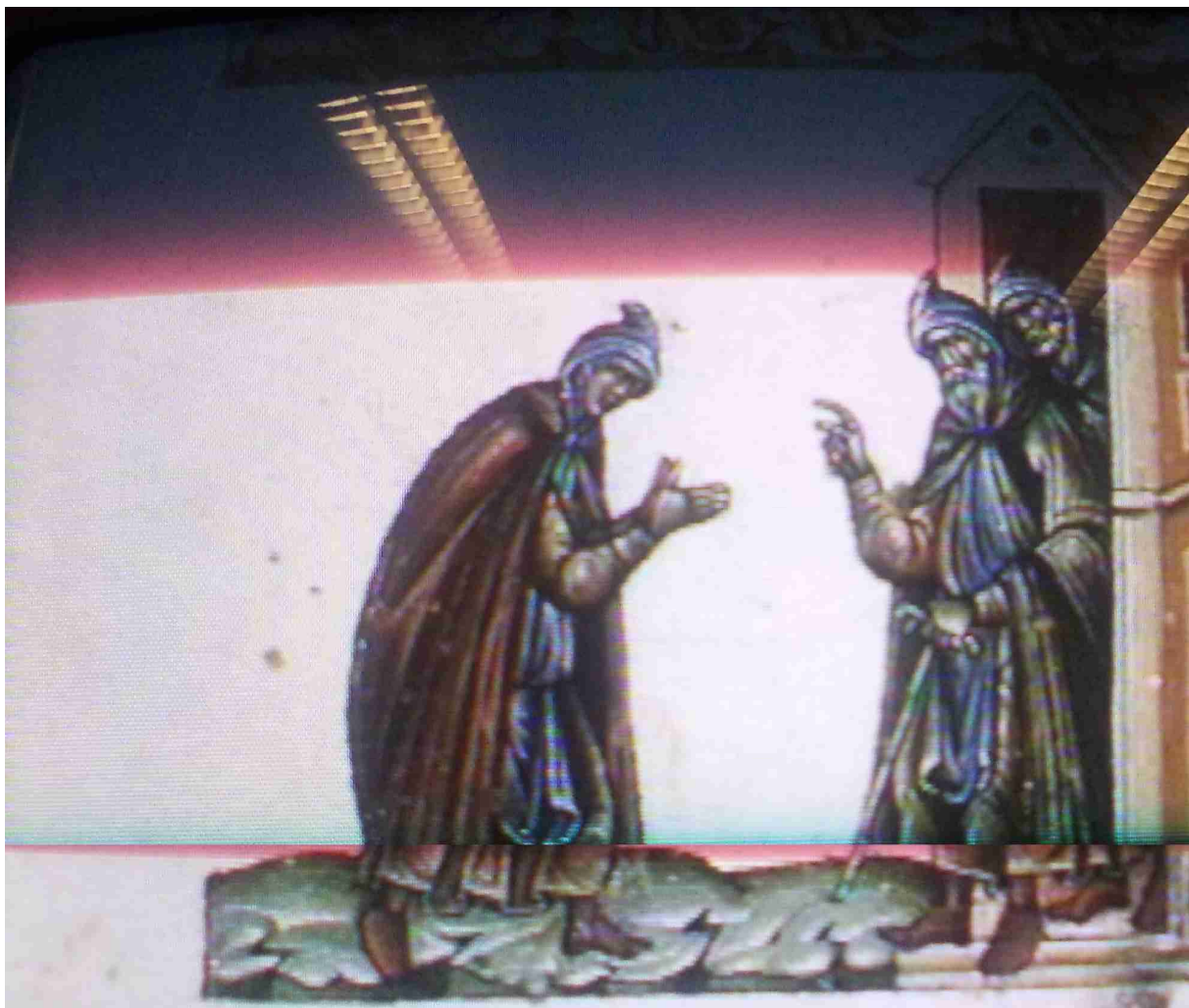


Fig. 20. *Saint Marina expelled from the monastery*, 1300-1499, Collection:
Vita S. Marinae virginis, Folio 38v, Vatican Library, stack: 375.



Fig. 21. *Saint Marina and the child*, 1300-1499, Collection: *Vita S. Marinae virginis*, Folio 38v, Vatican Library, stack: 375.



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Fig. 23. *Saint Marina holding a book and a flower*, 1100-1199, Italy, Rome, *Passionarium: Vita s. Marine virginis*, Folio 90, Vatican Library, stack: Italian 1191.

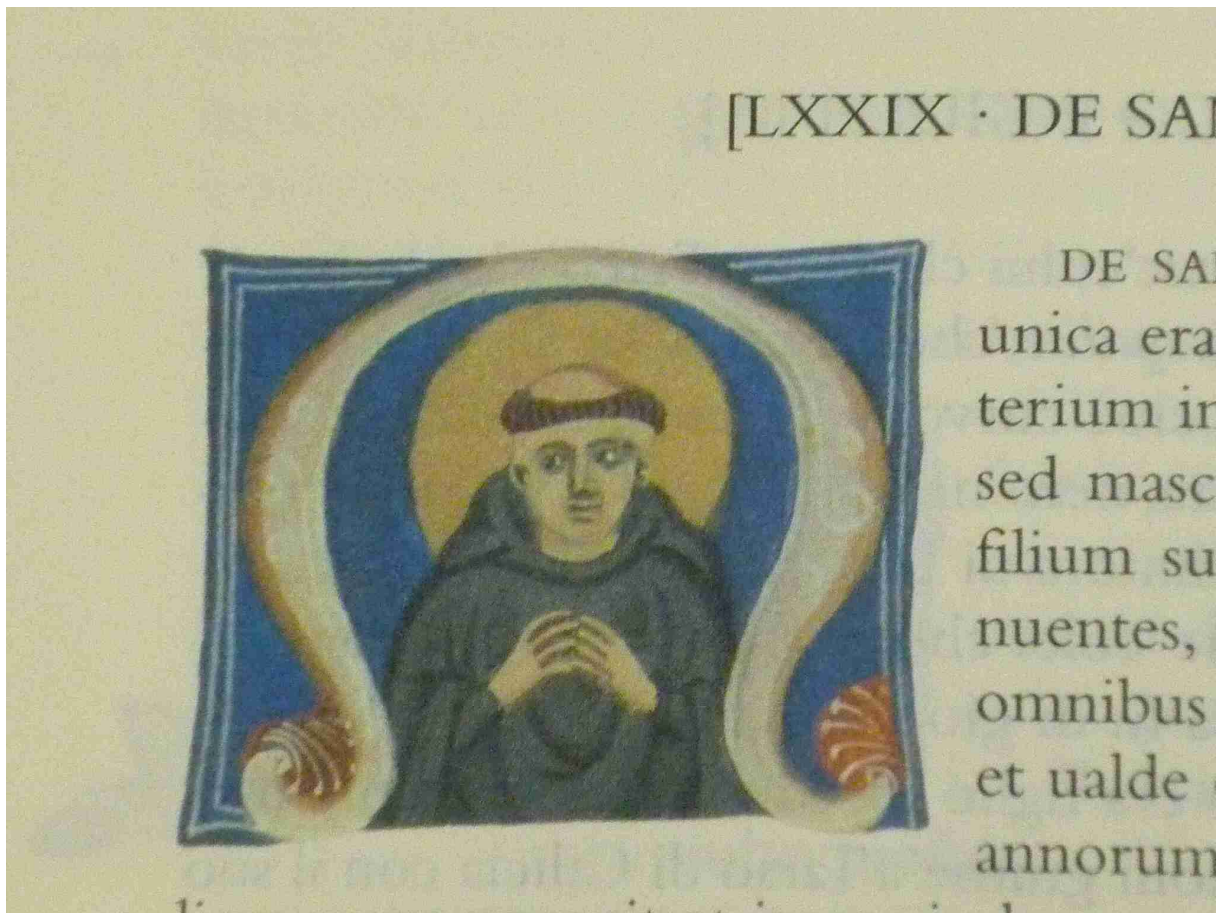


Fig. 24. *Saint Marina*, reproduced in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend with the Miniatures of the Ambrosian Codex C 240 inf.*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007).



Fig. 25. Theodorus Amadeni, *Biologia S. Marinae monachum indutae virginis*, Italy, Venice: 1676.

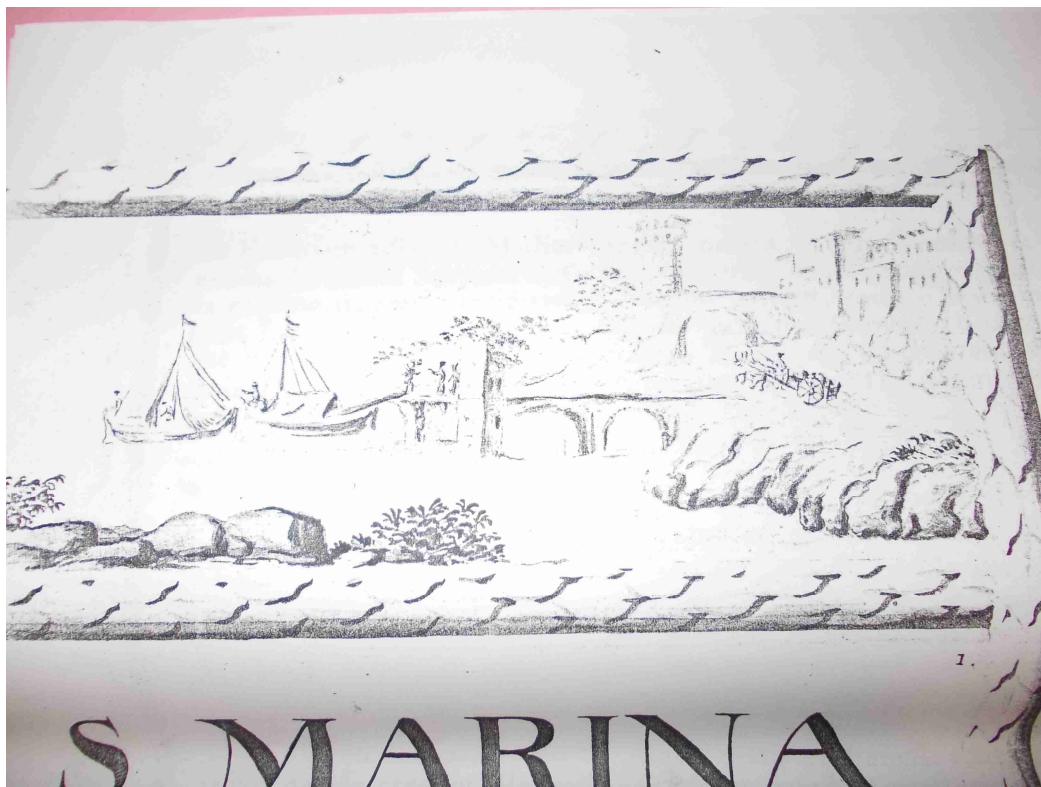


Fig. 26. Theodorus Amadeni, *Biologia S. Marinae monachum indutae virginis*, Italy, Venice: 1676.

PAINTINGS, ENGRAVINGS, FRESCOES, AND FLAGS



Fig. 27. *Saint Francis receiving the stigmata between Saint Dominic and Saint Marina*, anonymous author, fourteenth century, Italy, Venice. (at http://fe.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/scheda.jsp?decorator=layout&apply=true&tipo_scheda=OA&id=6716, Last accessed: May 21, 2011).



Fig. 28. *Saint Andrew adoring the cross, Saint Marina raising the child outside the monastery, Sacrifice of Isaac, Saint Francis receiving the stigmata*, Andrea di Bartolo (attributed to), fourteenth-fifteenth century, Italy, Siena. (at http://fe.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/scheda.jsp?decorator=layout&apply=true&tipo_scheda=OA&id=24728, Last accessed: May 21, 2011).

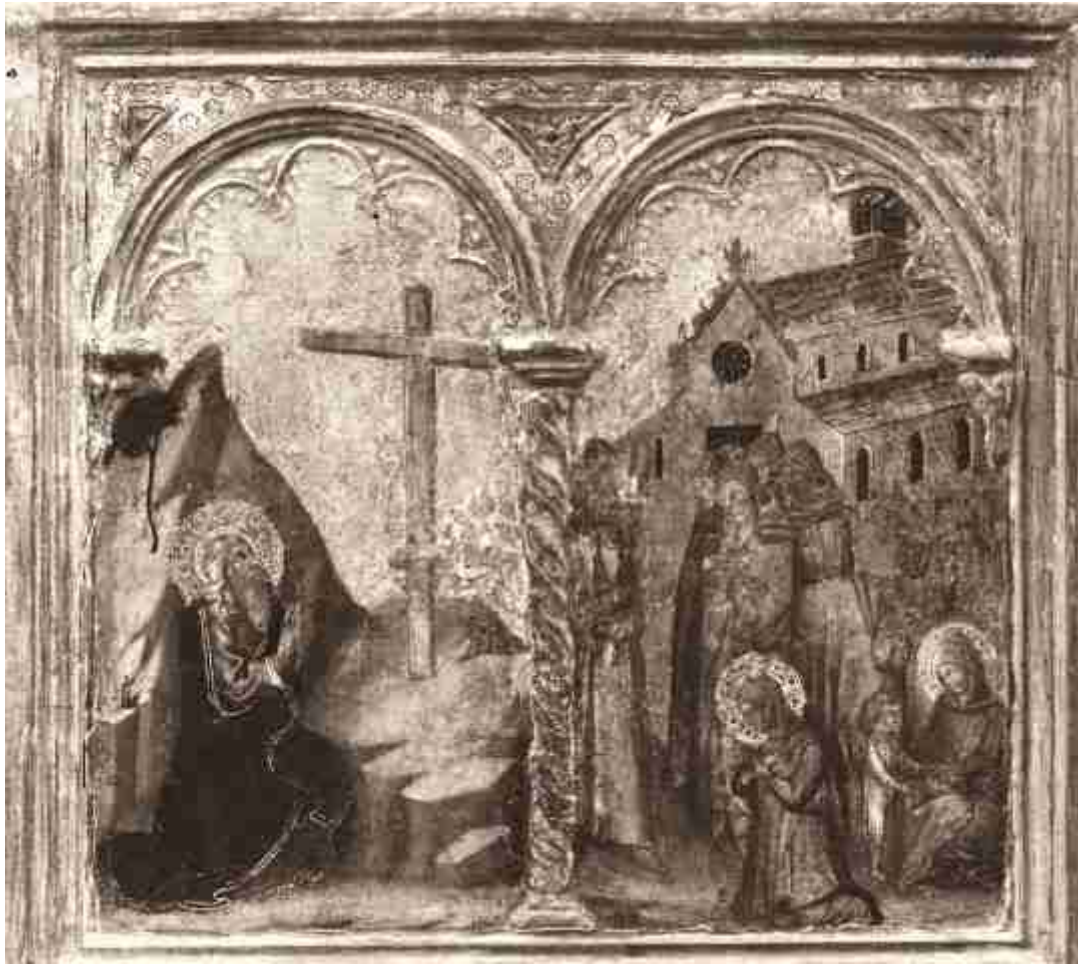


Fig. 29. *Saint Andrew adoring the cross, Saint Marina raising the child outside the monastery, Sacrifice of Isaac, Saint Francis receiving the stigmata* (detail), Andrea di Bartolo (attributed to), fourteenth-fifteenth century, Italy, Siena. (at http://fe.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/scheda.jsp?decorator=layout&apply=true&ti po_scheda=OA&id=24728, Last accessed: May 21, 2011).

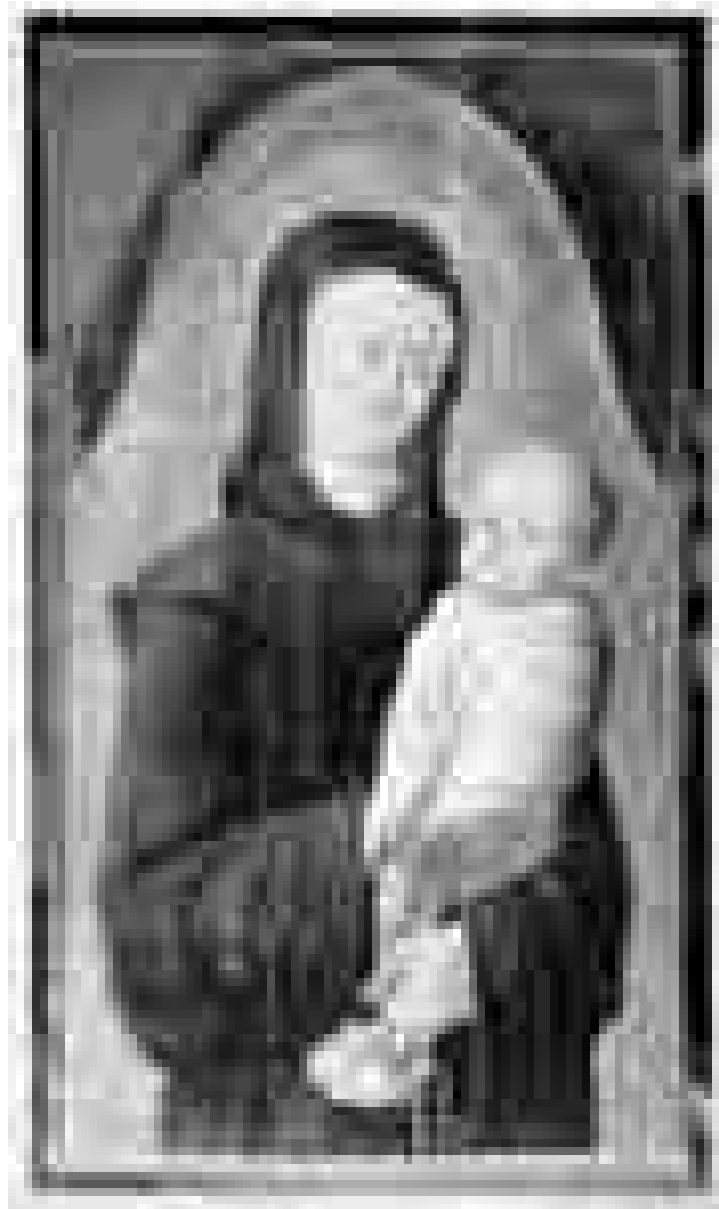


Fig. 30. *Saint Marina*, Antonio Vivarini, 1460.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Inv. 1549 (at
[http://www.bildindex.de/?pgesamt:Antonio pgesamt:Vivarini#home](http://www.bildindex.de/?pgesamt:Antonio+pgesamt:Vivarini#home), Last accessed:
May 21, 2011).



Fig. 31. *Saint Cecilia, Saint Marina, Saint Theodore, Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian adoring the Madonna and the Child in glory*, Robusti Jacopo (il Tintoretto), sixteenth century, Italy, Venice. (at <http://fe.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/scheda.jsp?decorator=layout&apply=true&tiposcheda=OA&id=45261>, Last accessed: May 21, 2011).



Fig. 32. The Prayer of Dodge Andrea Gritti (*Dodge Andrea Gritti assisted in prayer by Saint Marc in front of the Madonna with the Child, Saint Marina, Saint Bernardino de Siena and Sant' Alvise*), Robusti Jacopo (il Tintoretto), sixteenth century, Italy, Venice. (at http://fe.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/scheda.jsp?decorator=layout&apply=true&ti po_scheda=OA&id=45270, Last accessed: May 21, 2011).



Fig. 33. *Madonna with Child in glory with Saint Benedict, Saint Marina, Saint Francis of Assisi and two saints*, anonymous author, sixteenth century, Italy, Venice.

(at

http://fe.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/scheda.jsp?decorator=layout&apply=true&ti po_scheda=OA&id=43835&titolo=Anonimo+veneziano+sec.+XVI+%2c+Madonna+c on+Bambino+in+gloria+con+san+Benedetto%2c+santa+Marina%2c+san+Francesco+d%26%23039%3bAssisi+e+due+santi, Last accessed: May 21, 2011).



Fig. 34. *Saint Marina*, Lattanzio Querena, first half of the nineteenth century, Italy, Venice (at http://www.chorusvenezia.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=525&Itemid=64, Last accessed: May 21, 2011)



Fig. 35. *Saint Marina*, B. A. Bolwert, first half of the sixteenth century, in Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, (Paris: Librairie A. Picard et Fils, 1905).



Fig. 36. *Saint Marina*, in *Vie des SS. Pères des Dèserts et des Saintes Solitaires d'Orient et d'Occident*, Paris: Mariette, 1706-1708, author: Bourgoing de Villeforte reproduced by Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine* (Paris: Librairie A. Picard et Fils, 1905), IX.



Fig. 37. *Saint Marina, virgin*, J.-M. Papillon, middle of the eighteenth century in Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine* (Paris: Librairie A. Picard et Fils, 1905), 271.



Fig. 38. *Saint Marina expelled from the monastery*, Grillo, 1903, Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Calabria, Polistena (photo by the author).

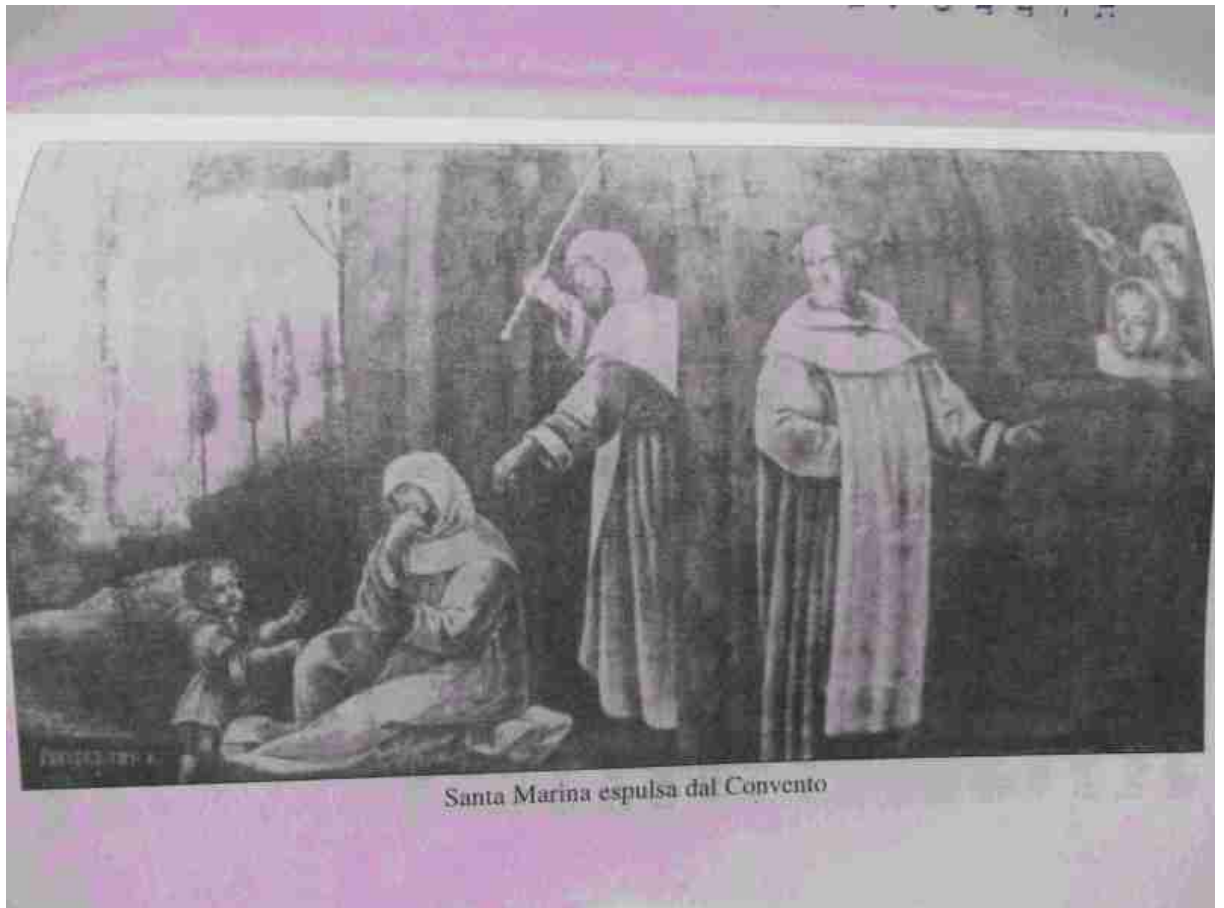


Fig. 39. *Saint Marina expelled from the monastery*, Antonio Pagano, 1834, Italy, Calabria, Polistena, in Guido Luigi, *La vita di Santa Marina* [The Life of Saint Marina] (Polistena: Arti Poligrafice Varamo, 2002): 69.



Fig. 40. *Saint Marina* (death scene), Grillo, 1903, Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Calabria, Polistena (photo by the author).

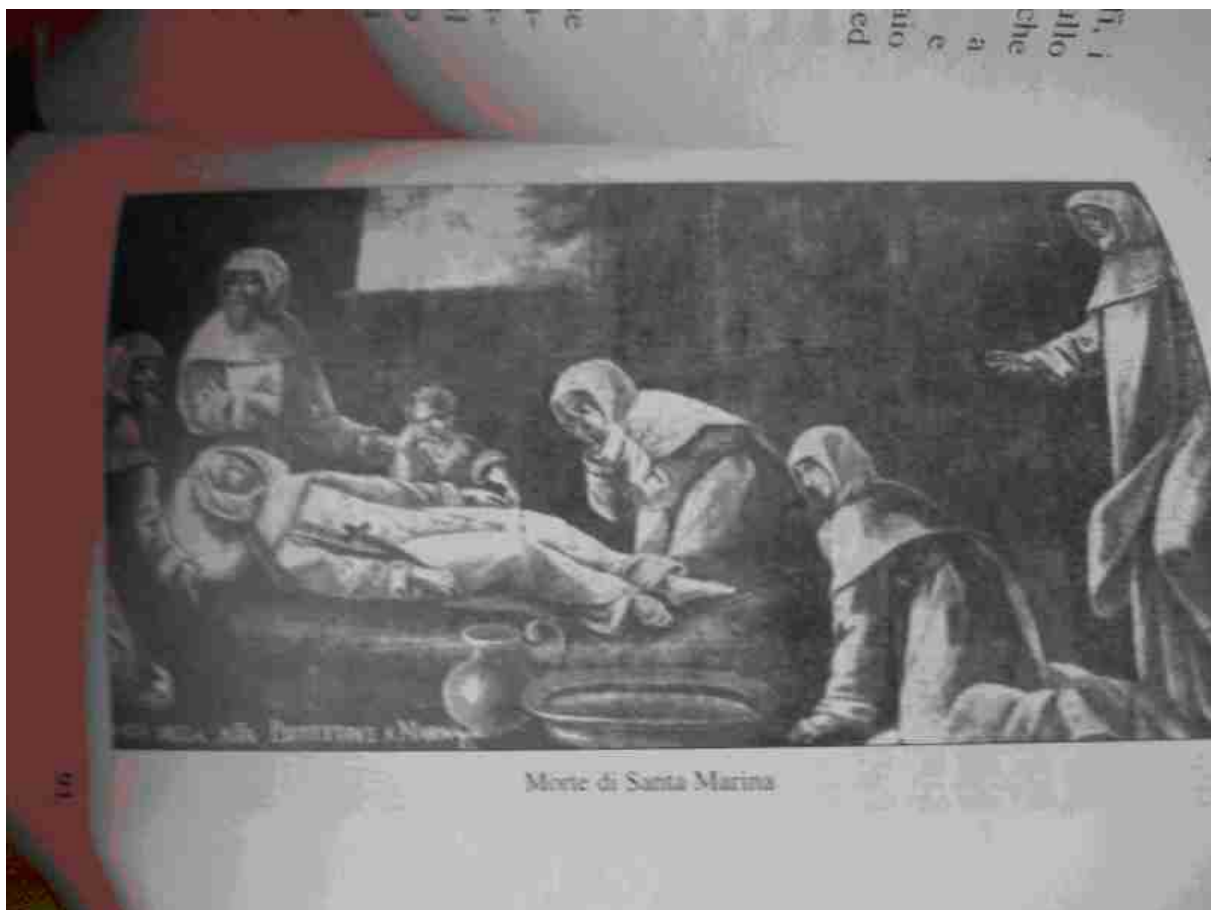


Fig. 41. *Saint Marina* (death scene), Antonio Pagano, 1834, Italy, Calabria, Polistena, in Guido Luigi, *La vita di Santa Marina* [The Life of Saint Marina] (Polistena: Arti Poligrafice Varamo, 2002): 91.



Fig. 42. *Virgin Mary together with Saint Marina, virgin, Saint Barbara and Saint Veneranda*, anonymous author, middle of the eighteenth century, (photo by the author).



Fig. 43. *Virgin Mary together with Saint Marina, virgin, Saint Barbara and Saint Veneranda* (detail), anonymous author, middle of the eighteenth century, (photo by the author).



Fig. 44. *Saint Marina*, Italy Calabria, Polistena, (at <http://www.santamarinapolistena.it/Home/tabid/36/Default.aspx> , Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

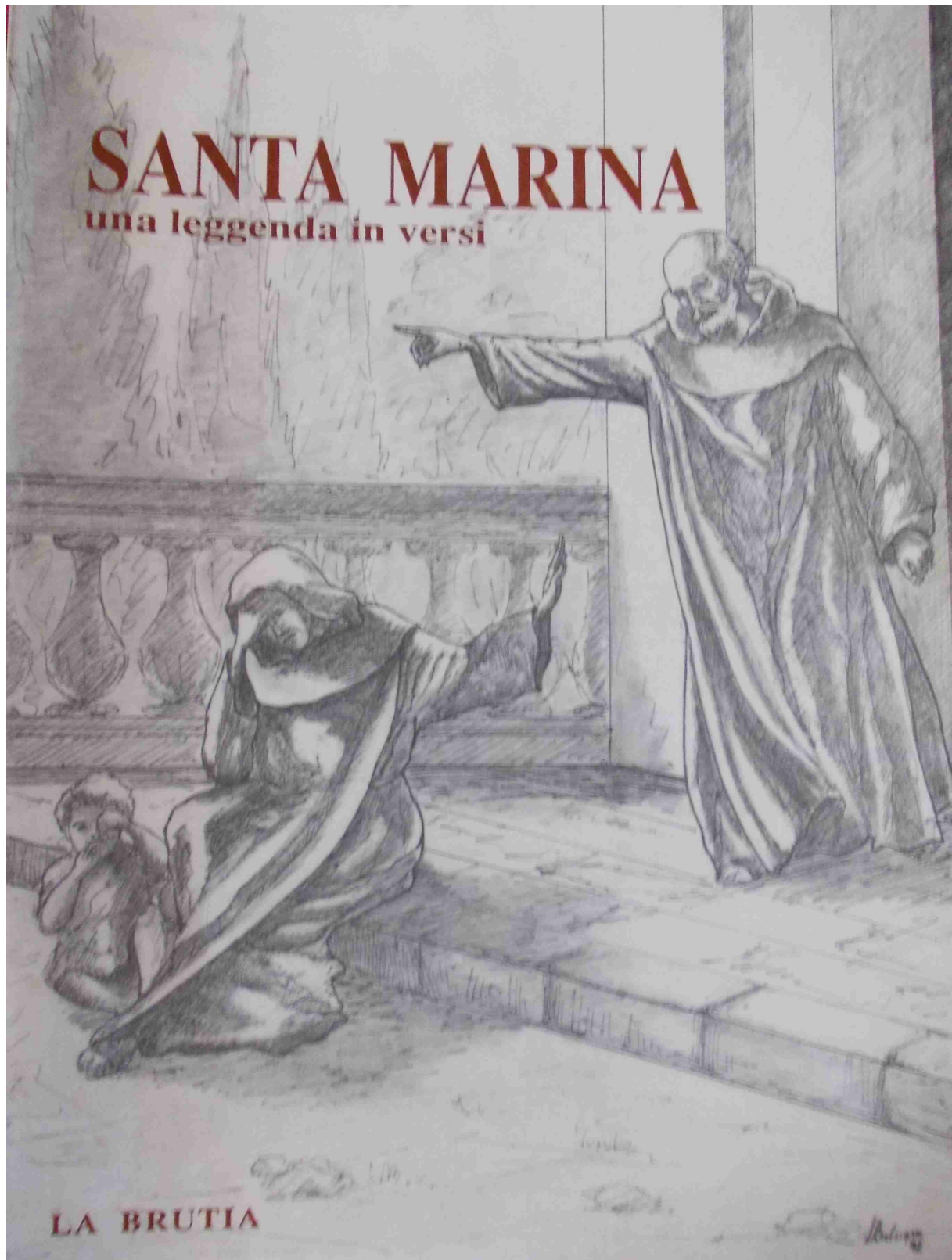


Fig. 45. *Saint Marina expelled from the monastery* (book cover), in Raffaele Zurzolo, *Santa Marina*, (Polistena: La Brutia, 1992).

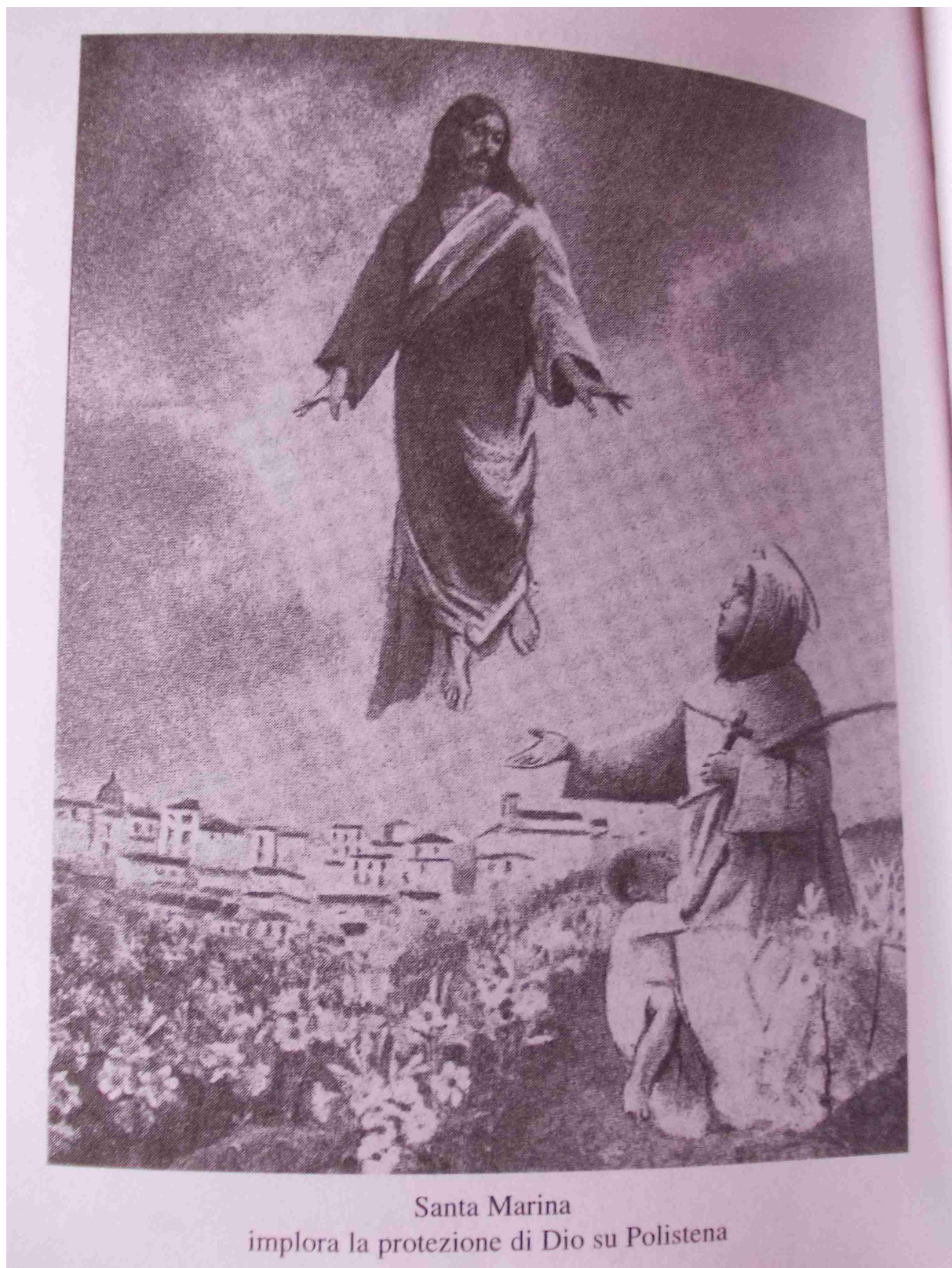


Fig. 46. *Saint Marina expelled from the monastery*, in Guido Luigi, *La vita di Santa Marina* [The Life of Saint Marina] (Polistena: Arti Poligrafice Varamo, 2002): 116).

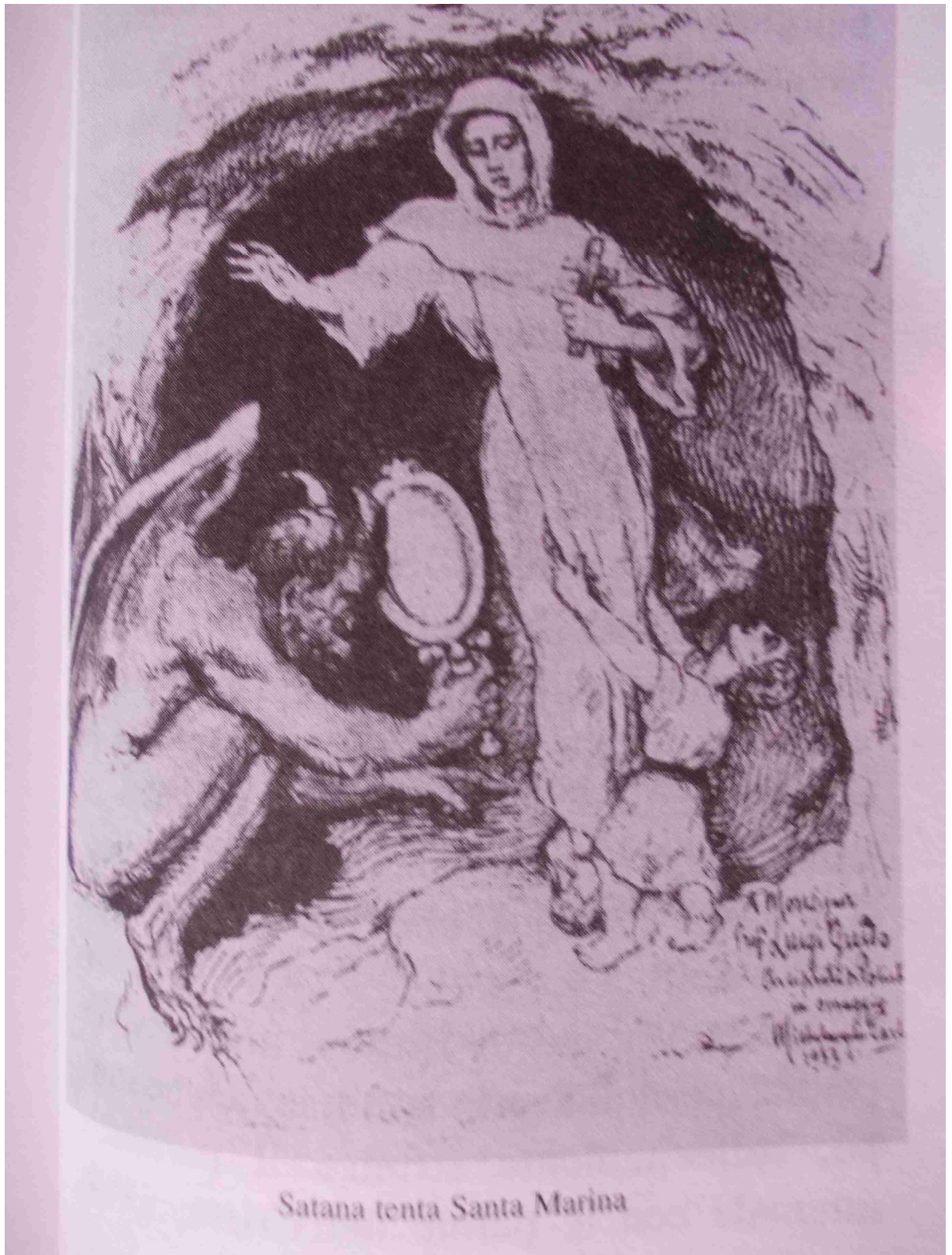


Fig. 47. *Saint Marina expelled from the monastery*, in Guido Luigi, *La vita di Santa Marina* [The Life of Saint Marina] (Polistena: Arti Poligrafice Varamo, 2002): 79.



Fig. 48. *Saint Marina*, Italy, Sicily, Santa Marina di Milazzo, (at http://www.santamarina.altervista.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=18&Itemid=34, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 49. *Saint Marina*, Italy, Casole Bruzio, (at <http://www.santamarinacasole.it/>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 50. *Saint Marina* (stained glass-window), Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Casole Bruzio,
(at
[http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=113378910168#!/group.php?gid=113378910168&
v=photos&so=30](http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=113378910168#!/group.php?gid=113378910168&v=photos&so=30), Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 51. *Saint Marina* (picture), Italy, Casole Bruzio (at <http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=113378910168#!/group.php?gid=113378910168&v=photos&so=30>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 52. *Saint Marina* (flag), Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Eolian Islands, Santa Marina di Salina, (at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y2ePKIvcONI>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 53. *Saint Marina* (fresco), Italy, Pogerola, (at <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/29856335>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

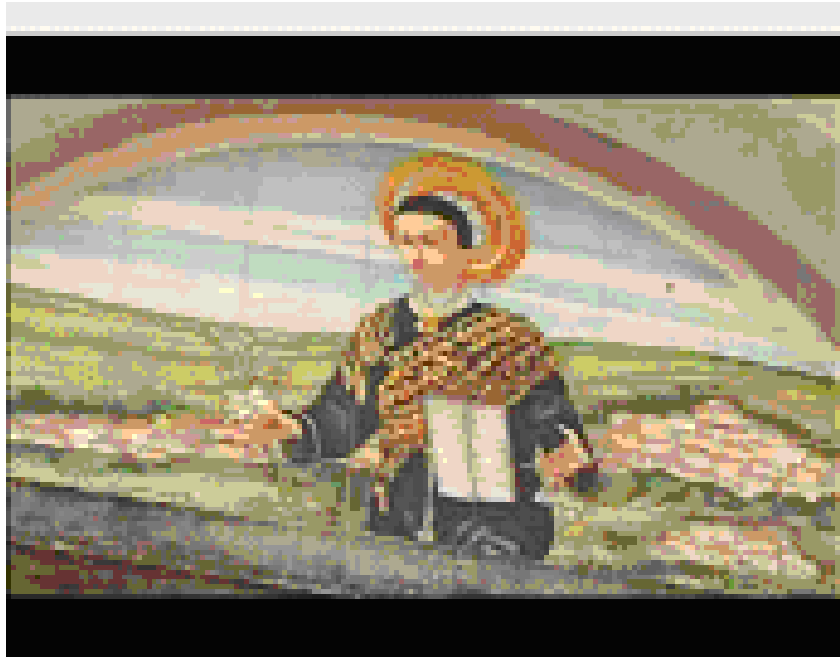


Fig. 54. *Saint Marina* (fresco), Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Comune Santa Maria di Salerno, (at <http://www.comunedisantamarina.org/>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

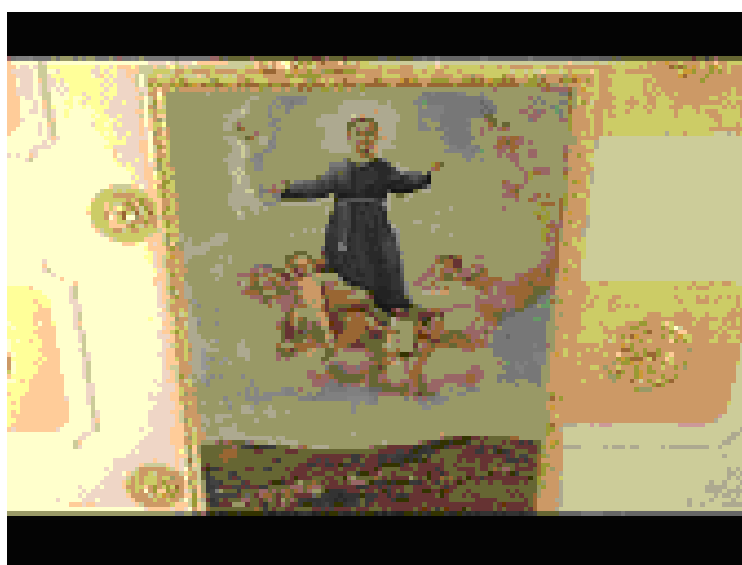


Fig. 55. *Saint Marina* (fresco), Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Comune Santa Maria di Salerno, (at <http://www.comunedisantamarina.org/>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

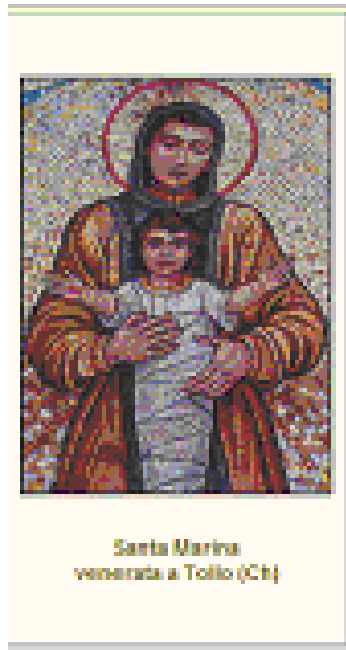


Fig. 56. *Saint Marina* (fresco), Italy, Tollo,
(at <http://www.cartantica.it/pages/collaborazionisantamarina.asp>, Last accessed: April 11,
2011).

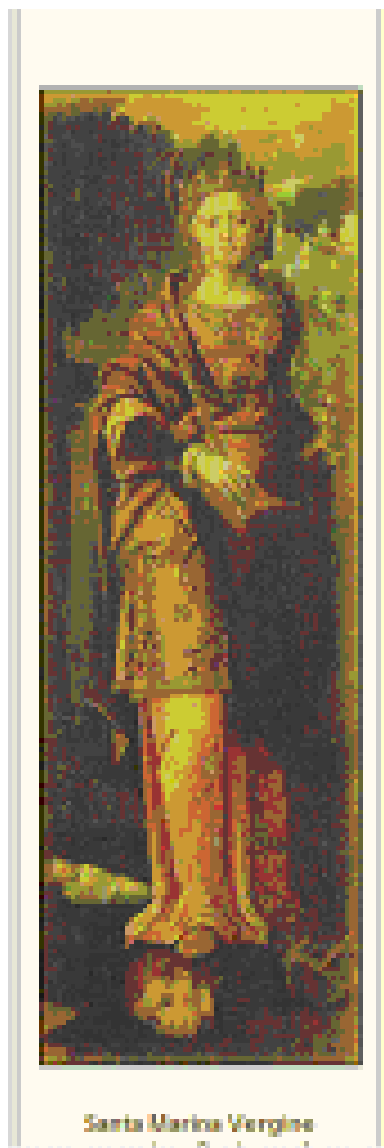


Fig. 57. *Saint Marina*, Italy, Castoreale,
(at <http://www.cartantica.it/pages/collaborazionisantamarina.asp>, Last accessed: April 11,
2011).

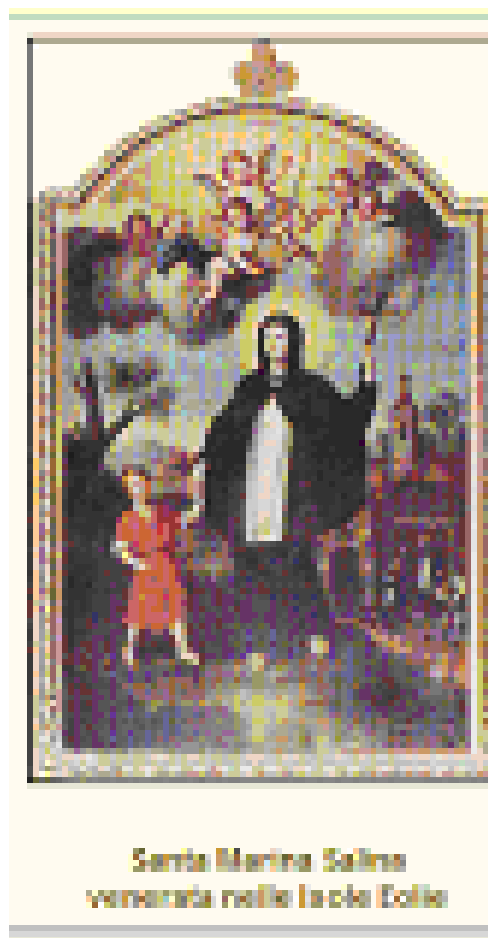


Fig. 58. *Saint Marina*, Italy, Eolian Islands, Santa Marina di Salina,
(at <http://www.cartantica.it/pages/collaborazionisantamarina.asp>, Last accessed: April 11,
2011).

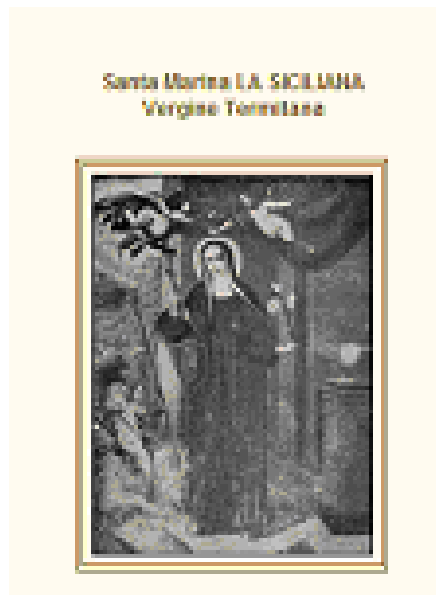


Fig. 59. *Saint Marina* (the Sicilian),
(at <http://www.cartantica.it/pages/collaborazionisantamarina.asp>, Last accessed: April 11,
2011).



Fig. 60. *Saint Marina* (flag), (at <http://www.community.webshots.com/photo/fullsize/1398213924058031385kwTgXX>, Last accessed: 23.12. 2010).

STATUES, SHRINES, AND RELIEFS



Fig. 61. *Saint Marina*, Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Sicily, Santa Marina di Milazzo, (at http://www.santamarina.altervista.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=18&Itemid=34, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 62. *Saint Marina*, Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Eolian Islands, Santa Marina di Salina, (at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y2ePKIvcONI>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Statue of St. Marina in the garden of the Patriarchal Seminary in Venice with her alleged son to her right.

Photo reproduced from *Vie et Office de Sainte Marina*
by Léon Eluguet, Paris, 1905

Fig. 63. *Saint Marina*, statue in the garden of the Patriarchal Seminary, Italy, Venice, (in Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, (Paris: Librairie A. Picard et Fils, 1905), 255).



Fig 64. *Saint Marina* (shrine), Italy, Venice, (at http://www.slowtrav.com/blog/annienc/2008/05/santa_marina.html, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 65. *Saint Marina* (statue), Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Casole Bruzio, (at <http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=113378910168#!/group.php?gid=113378910168&v=photos&so=30>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 66. *Saint Marina* (statue), Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Casoli di Atri, (at <http://www.parrocchie.it/casoli/santamarina/libro.htm>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 67. *Saint Marina* (statue), eighteenth century, Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Calabria, Filandari, (photo by the author).



Fig. 68. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Calabria, Filandari, (photo by the author).



Fig. 69. *Saint Marina* (close view), Italy, Calabria, Filandari, (Photo by the author).



Fig. 70. *Saint Marina* (statue), Church of Saint Marina, Italy, San Giovanni di Zambrone, Calabria, (at <http://www.tropeadintorni.it/estemporanea-in-onore-della-vergine.html>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 71. *Saint Marina* (statue), Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Terrati di Lago, (at <http://aielloalabro.blogspot.com/2010/07/la-festa-di-s-marina-terrati-lago-cs.html>, Last accessed: April 12, 2011).



Fig. 72. *Saint Marina* (statue), U.S.A., New York, Inwood, (at http://www.lisp4.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=136998566324920, Last accessed: 13 October 2010).



Fig. 73. *Saint Marina* (relief), Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Terrati di Lago, (at <http://aiellolocalabro.blogspot.com/2010/07/terrati-lago-cs-iniziato-il-novenario.html>, Last accessed: April 12, 2011).

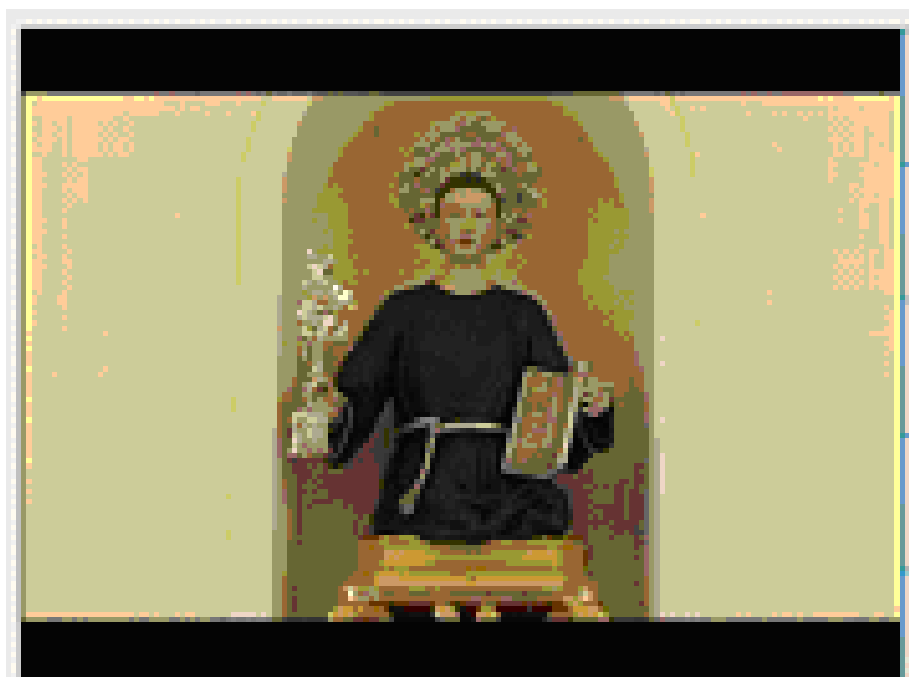


Fig. 74. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Comune Santa Maria di Salerno, (at <http://www.comunedisantamarina.org/>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

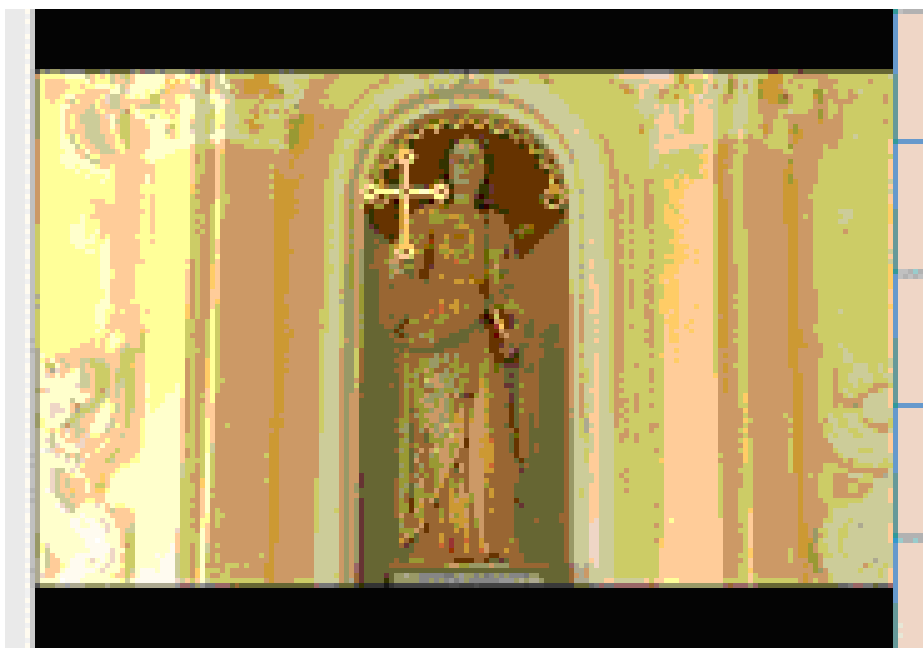
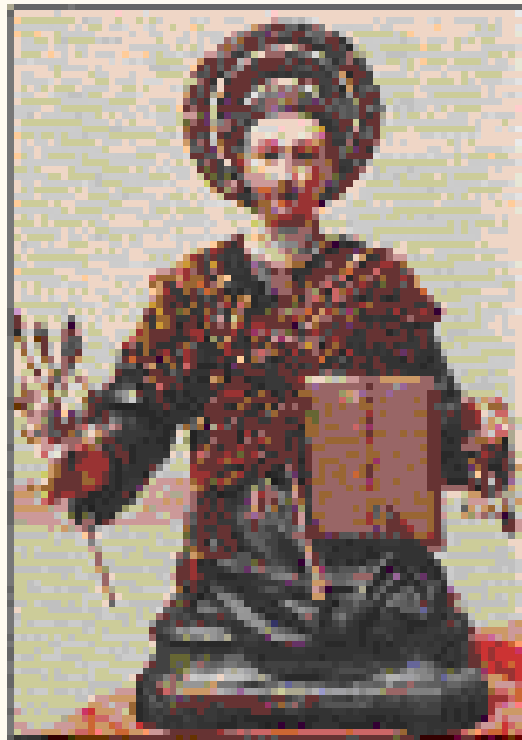


Fig. 75. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Comune Santa Maria di Salerno, (at <http://www.comunedisantamarina.org/>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011



Fig. 76. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy.

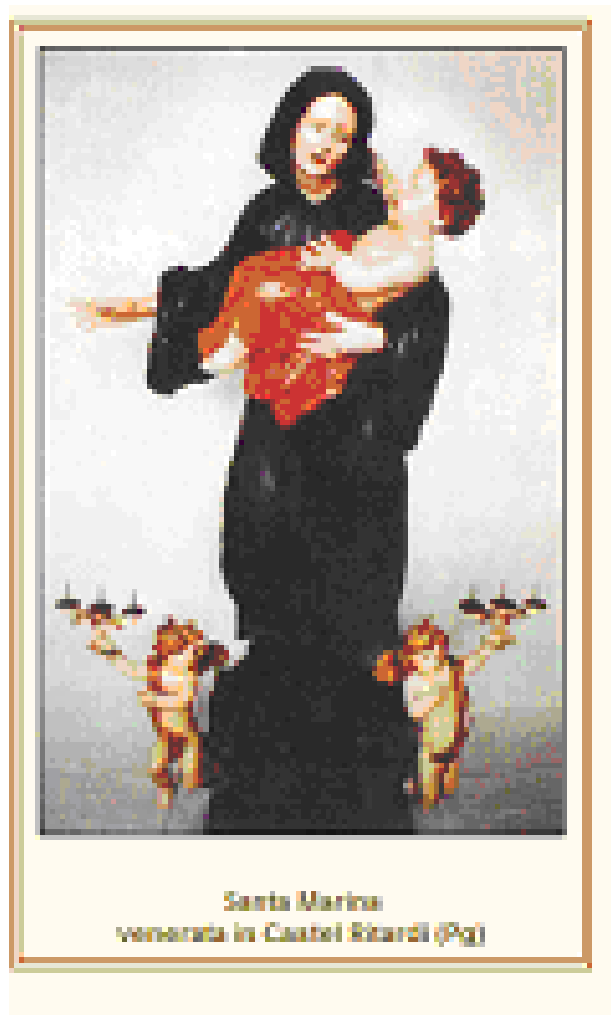


Santa Marina venerata in Santa Marina in Amalfi (Sa)

Fig. 77. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Salerno, Comune Santa Maria di Amalfi, (at <http://www.cartantica.it/pages/collaborazionisantamarina.asp>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).



Fig. 78. *Saint Marina* (statue and painting), in Pasquale Romano, *Il culto di Santa Marina a Filandari* [The Cult of Saint Marina in Filandari], (Vibo Valentia: Edizioni Mapograf, 1995), 41.



Santa Marina
venerata in Castel Ritardi (Pg)

Fig. 79. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Castel Ritardi,
(at <http://www.cartantica.it/pages/collaborazionisantamarina.asp>, Last accessed: April 11,
2011).

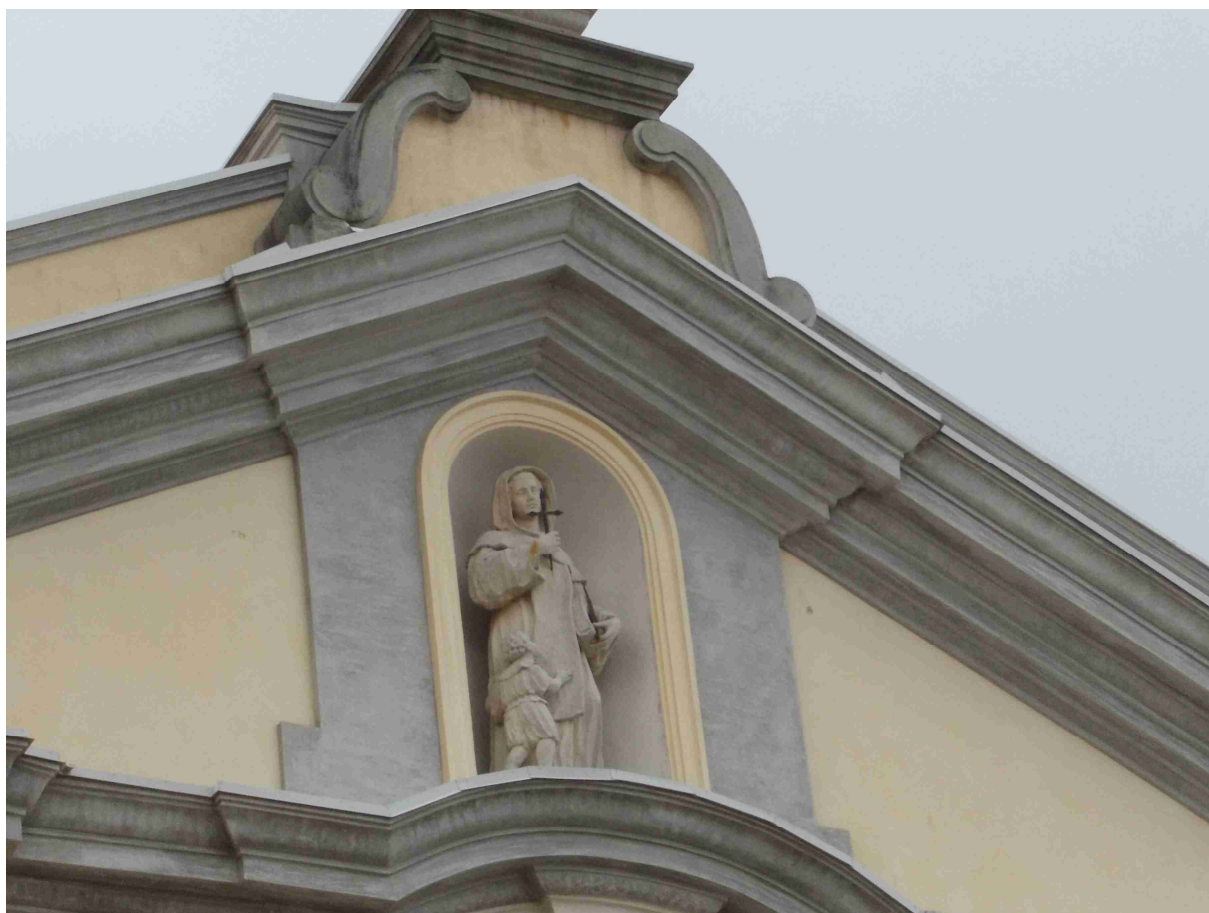


Fig. 80. *Saint Marina*, Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 81. *Saint Marina*, Vincenzo Zaffiro, 1835, Church of Saint Marina, Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (at <http://www.santamarinapolistena.it/>, Last accessed: April 12, 2011).



Fig. 82. *Saint Marina* (relief), Francesco Morani, Italy, Calabria, Santa Marina, (photo by the author).

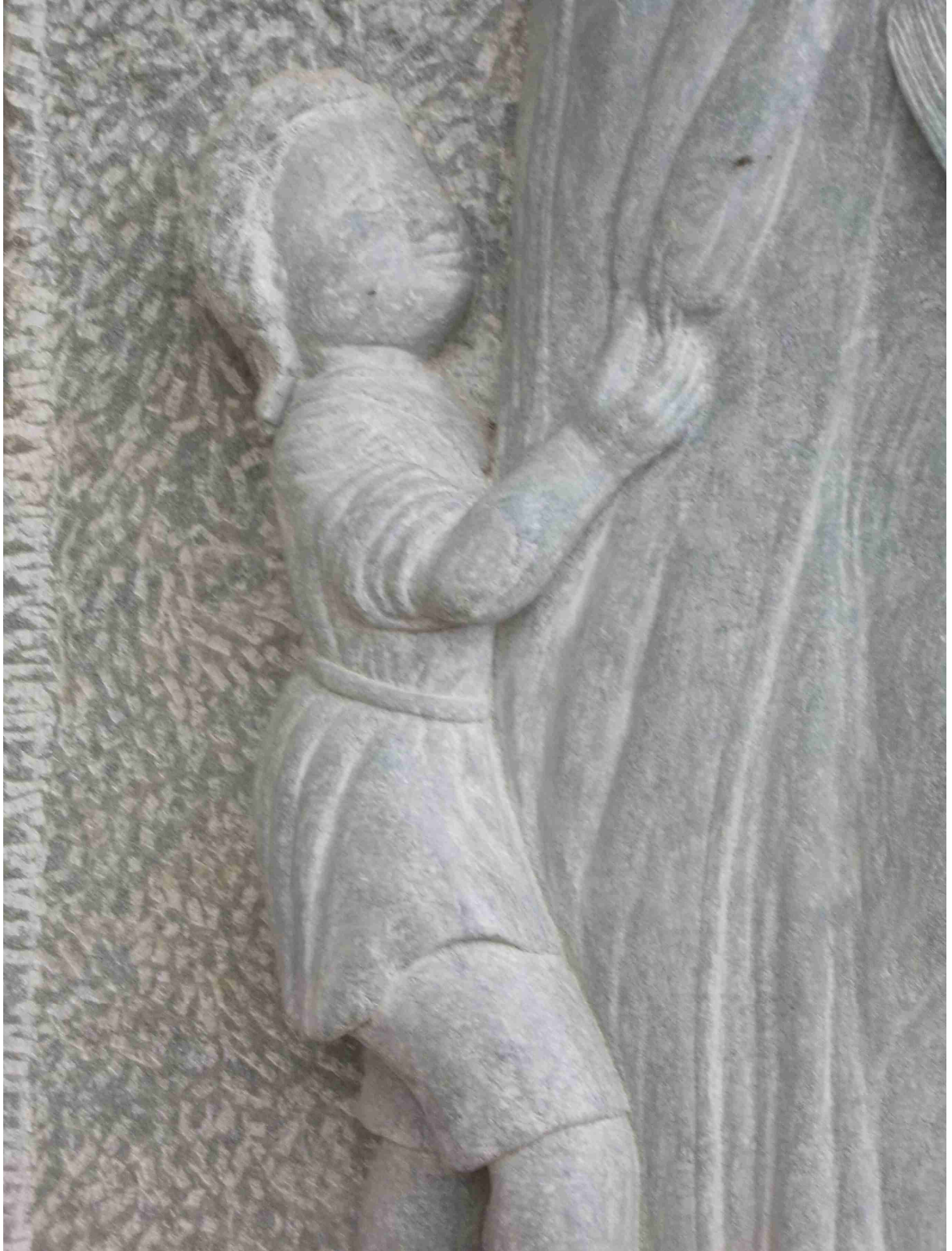


Fig. 83. *Saint Marina* (detail), Francesco Morani, Italy, Calabria, Santa Marina, (photo by the author).



Fig. 84. *Saint Marina* (detail), Francesco Morani, Italy, Calabria, Santa Marina, (photo by the author).



Fig. 85. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).

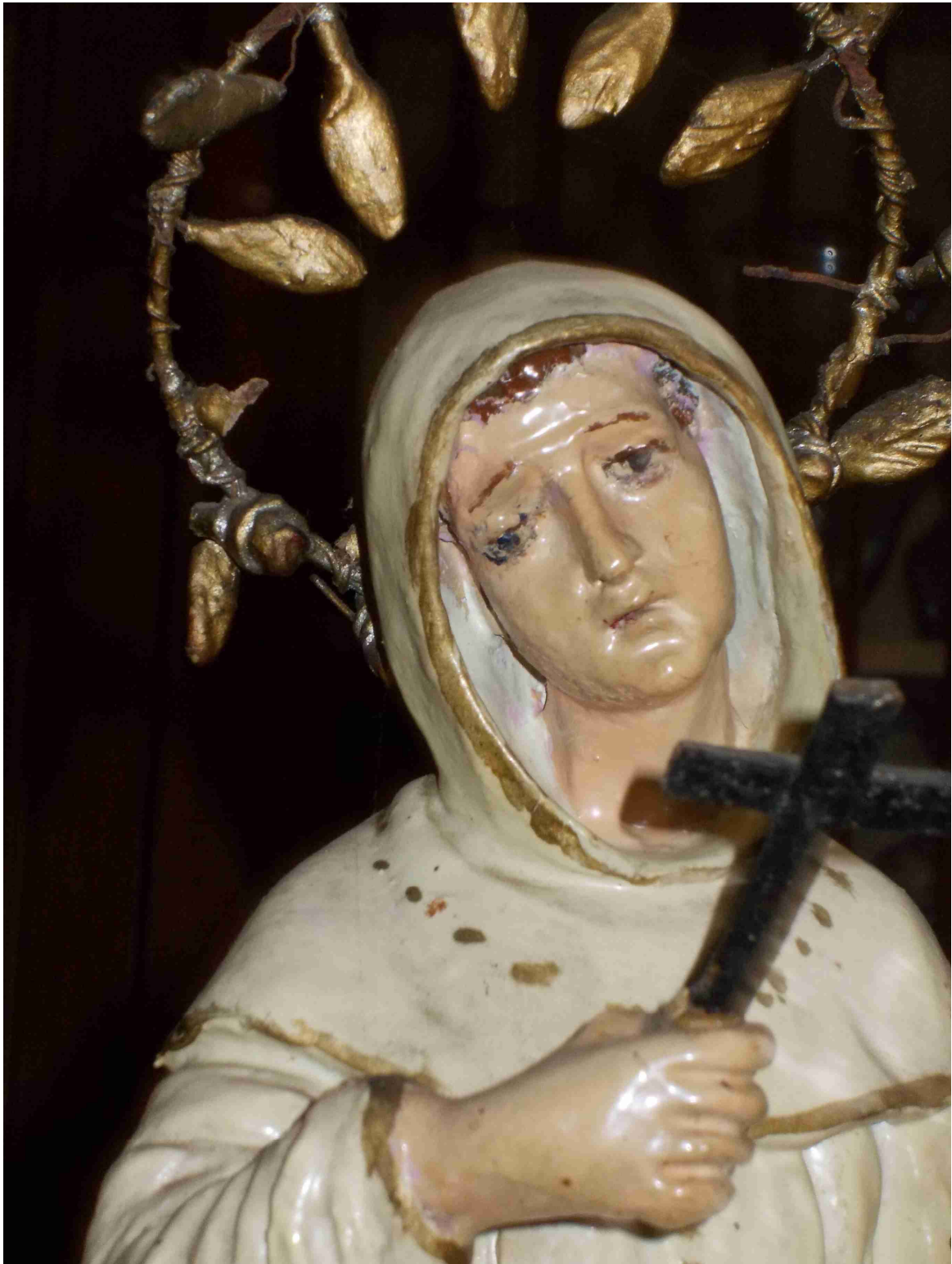


Fig. 86. *Saint Marina* (detail), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 87. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 88. *Saint Marina* (detail), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 89. *Saint Marina* (detail), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 90. *Saint Marina* (detail), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 91. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 92. *Saint Marina* (detail), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 93. *Saint Marina* (detail), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 94. *Saint Bruno* (statue), in Demetrio Guzzardi, Stefano Vecchione, *La Calabria Cristiana tra Oriente e Occidente* [Christian Calabria between Orient and Occident] (Camigliatello Silano: La Dea Editori, 2003), 31.

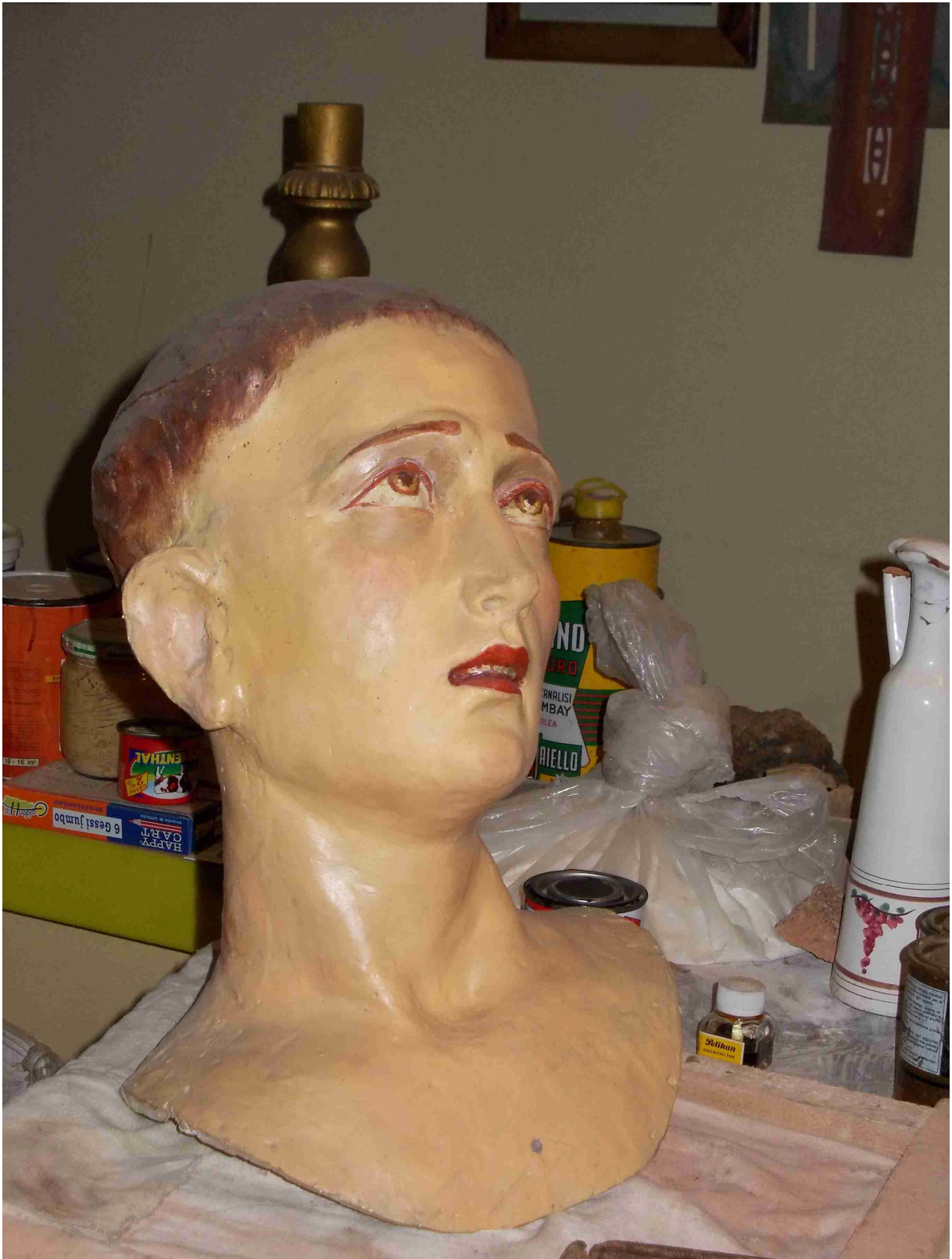


Fig. 95. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).

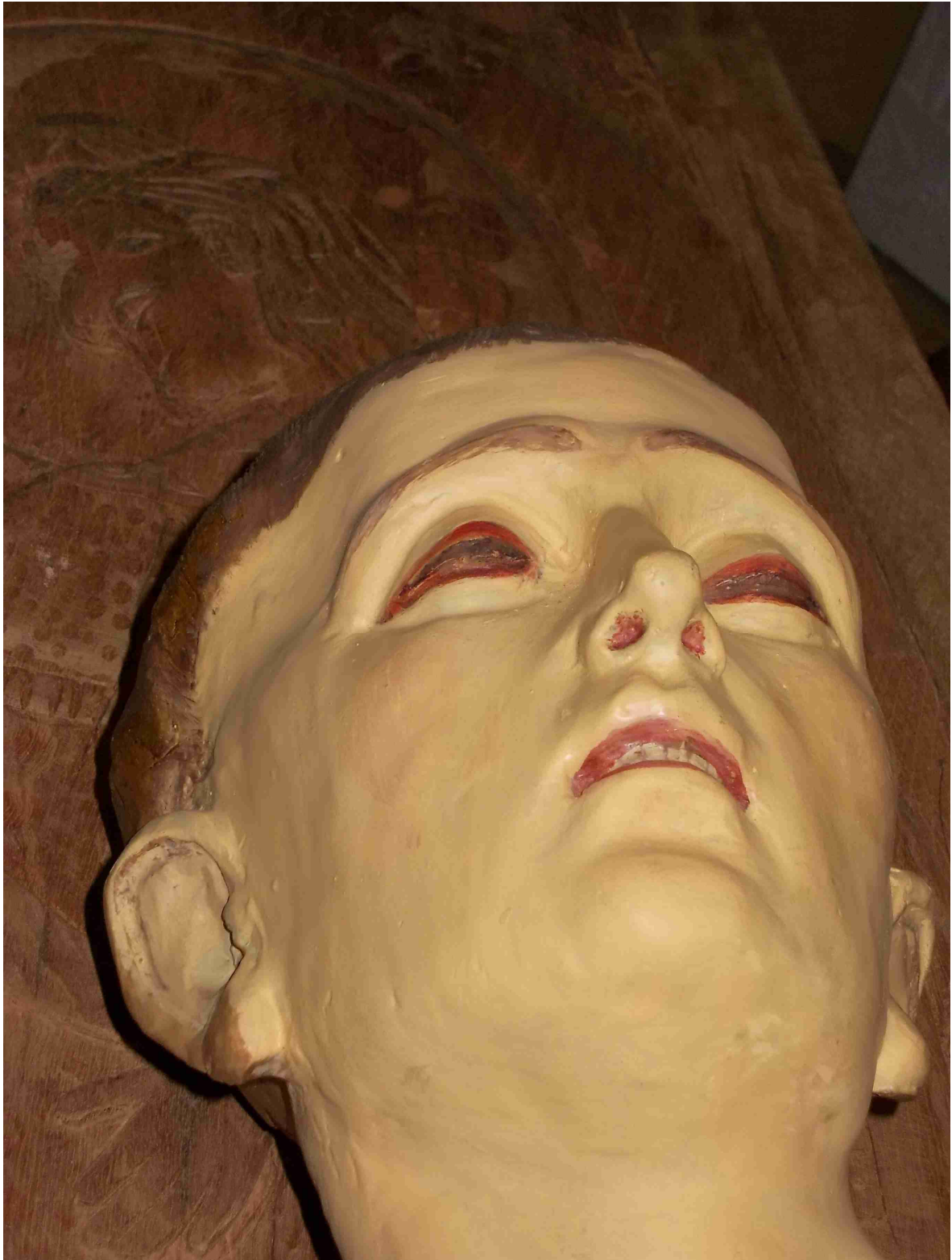


Fig. 96. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 97. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 98. *Saint Marina* (detail), Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 99. *Polistena* (herald), Giovan Battista Pacichelli, eighteenth century, Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 100. *Polistena* (herald detail), Giovan Battista Pacichelli, eighteenth century, Italy, Calabria, Polistena, (photo by the author).



Fig. 101. *Saint Marina* (as herald), in Giovanni Russo, *Polistena la Chiesa Madre 1783-1983* [Polistena the Mother Church 1783-1983] (Rosarno: Virgilio Editore, 1995), 63.

lo aveva rinvenuto. Lo stemma era stato apposto sul frontespizio della Chiesa, ad indicare, appunto, il diritto del Comune su quella Chiesa.

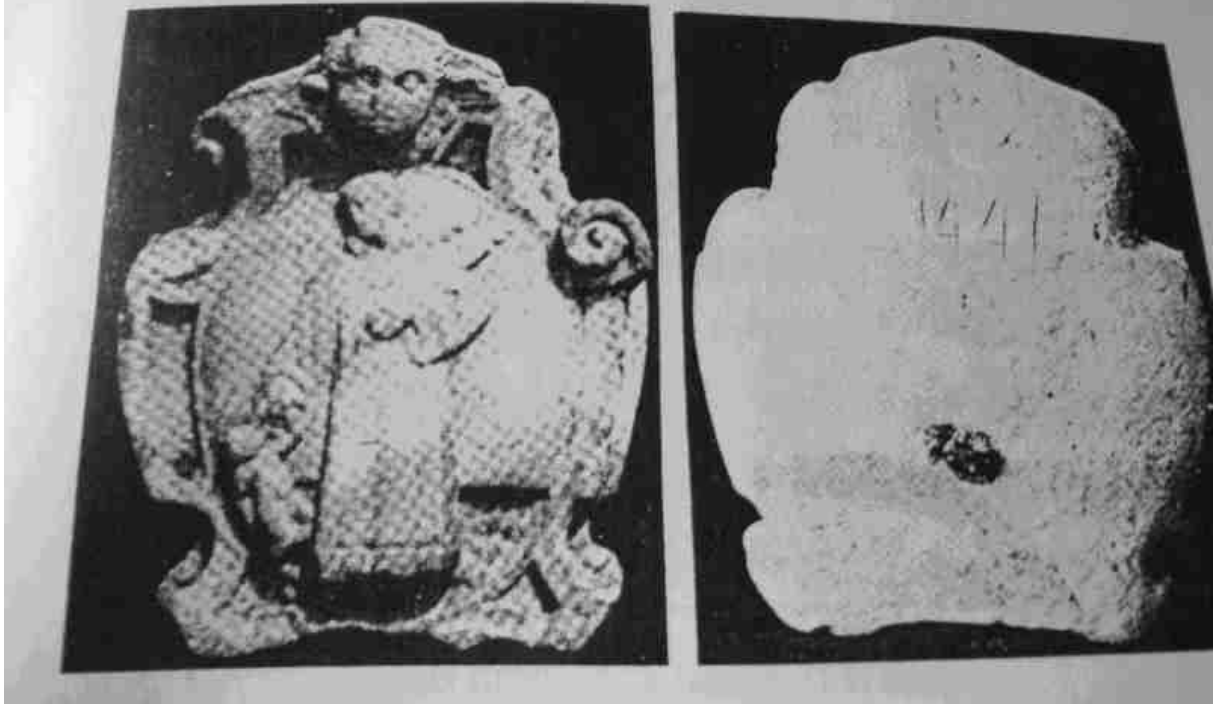


Fig. 102. *Saint Marina* (herald), fifteenth century, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena* (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 12.



Fig. 103. *Saint Marina* (herald close view), fifteenth century, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 12.

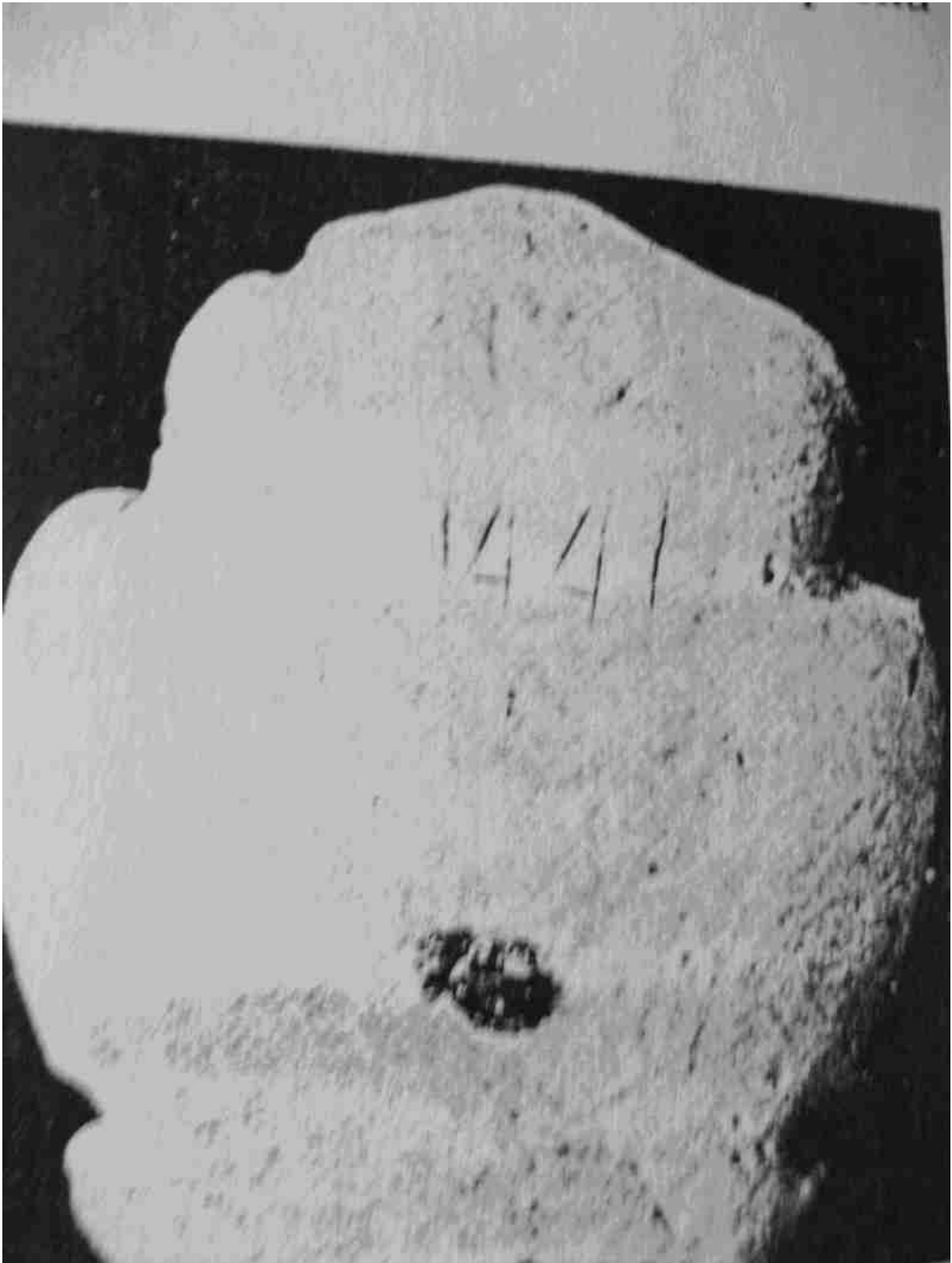


Fig. 104. *Saint Marina* (herald close view), fifteenth century, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 12.



Fig. 105. *Saint Marina*, silver plate offered by D. Antonio di Cinquefrondi in Giovanni Russo, *Polistena la Chiesa Madre 1783-1983* [Polistena the Mother Church 1783-1983] (Rosarno: Virgilio Editore, 1995), 131.

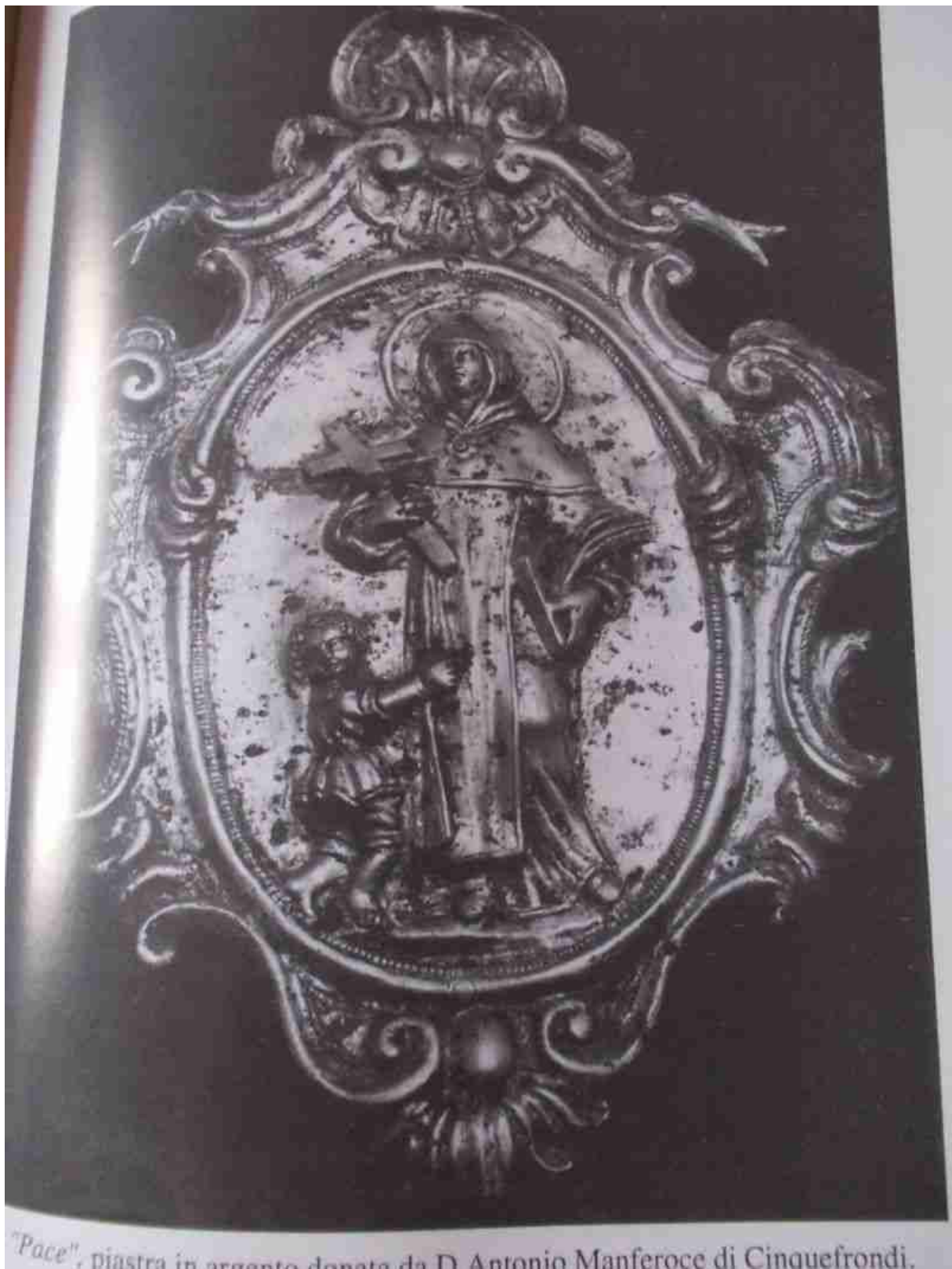


Fig. 106. *Saint Marina*, silver plate offered by D. Antonio di Cinquefrondi in Giovanni Russo, *Polistena la Chiesa Madre 1783-1983* [Polistena the Mother Church 1783-1983] (Rosarno: Virgilio Editore, 1995), 131.



Fig. 107. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1792, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 18.



Fig. 108. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1788, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 18.



Fig. 109. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1794, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 19.



Fig. 110. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1794, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 19.

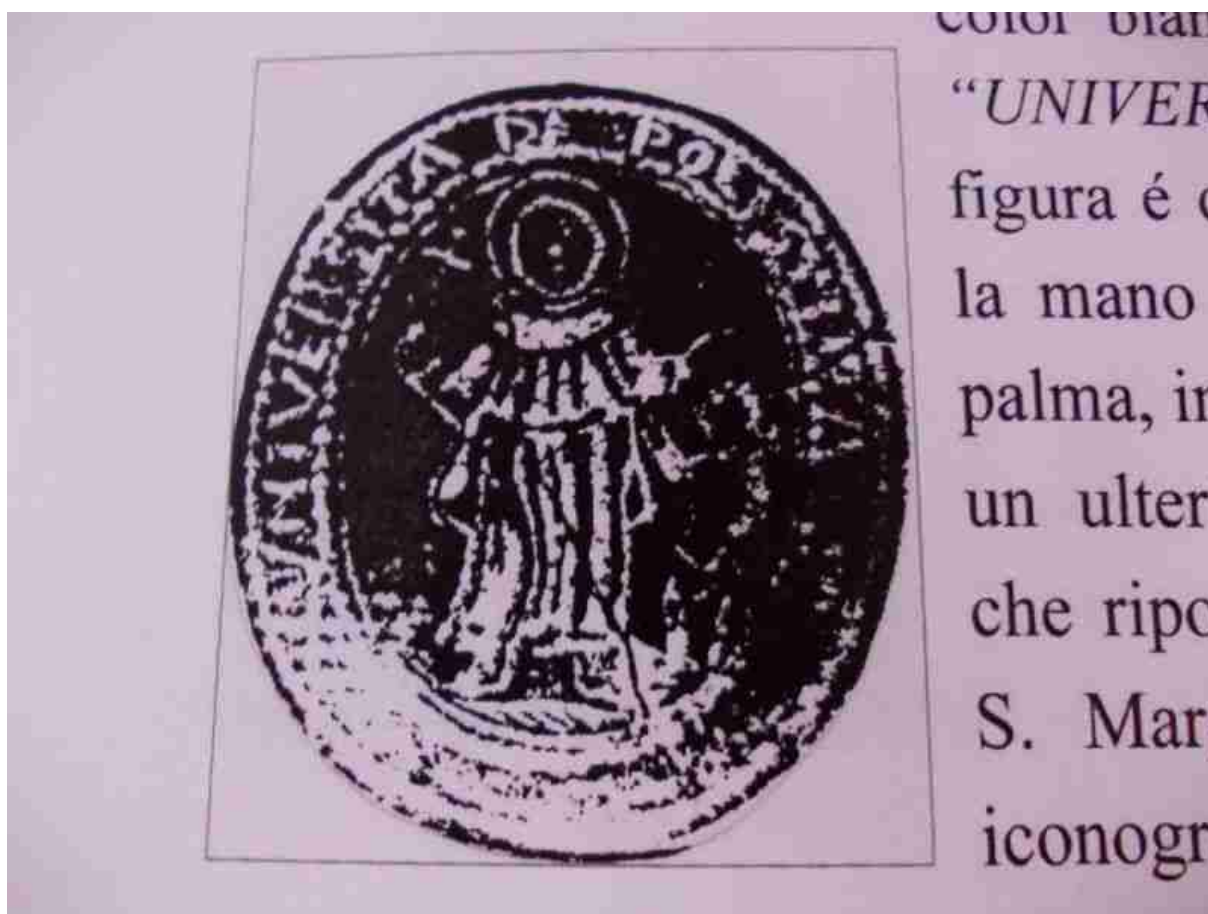


Fig. 111. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1801, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 20.



Fig. 112. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1813, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistina*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 21.



Fig. 113. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1750 in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 24.



Fig. 114. *Saint Marina* (herald), 2009, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 51.



Fig. 115. *Saint Marina* (herald), 1721, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 16.



Fig. 116. *Saint Marina* (statue), Italy Cumia,
(at <http://www.cartantica.it/pages/collaborazionisantamarina.asp>, Last accessed: April 11,
2011).

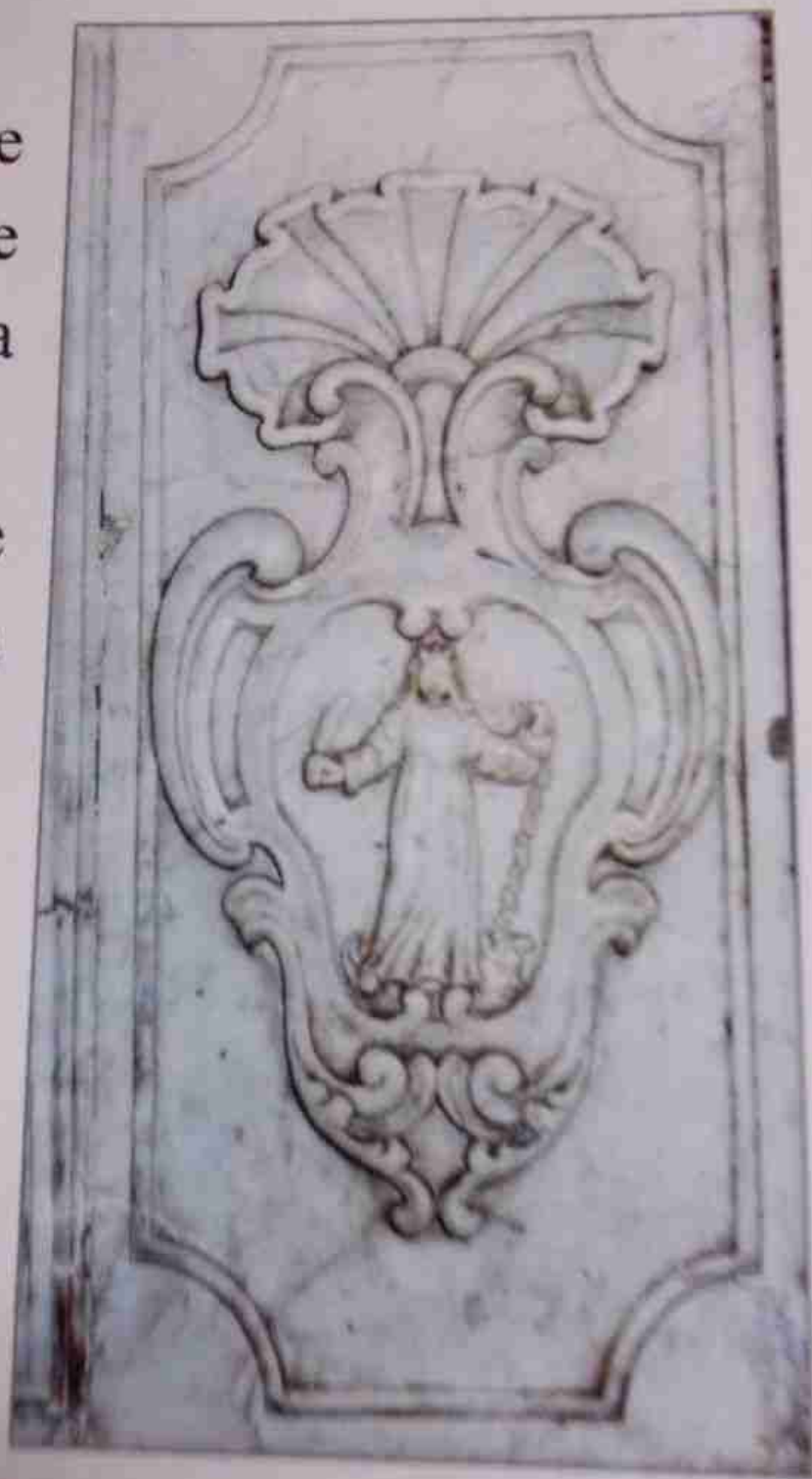


Fig. 117. *Saint Marina* (herald), eighteenth century, in Giovanni Russo, *Lo Stemma Municipale della Città di Polistena*, (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, 2009), 15.

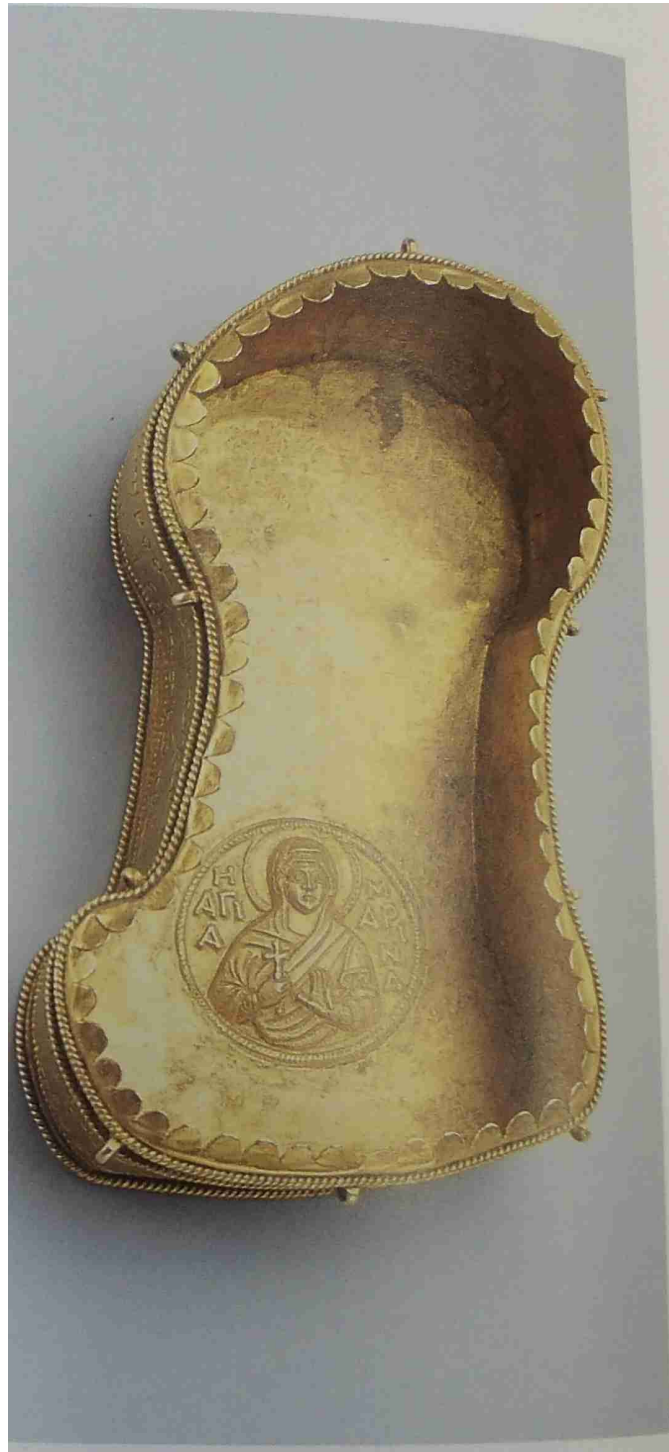


Fig. 118. *Reliquary of Saint Marina* (back) Constantinople, 1213, in William D. Wixom, "Byzantine Art in the West," in *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, 496. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

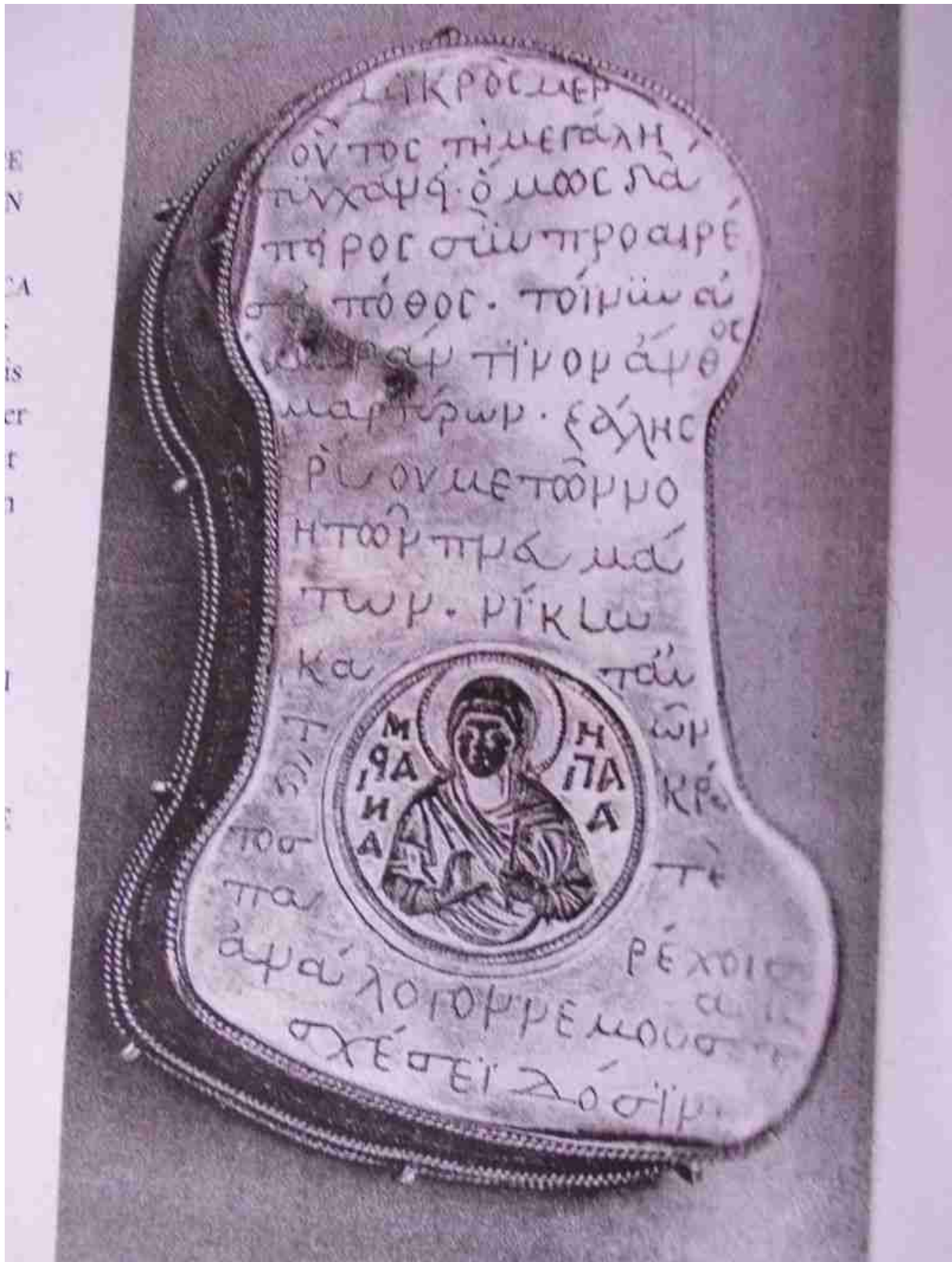


Fig. 119. *Reliquary of Saint Marina* (interior) Constantinople, before 1213 William D. Wixom, "Byzantine Art in the West," in *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, 496. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

SAINT MARINA. DECORATIVE ART



Fig. 120. *Saint Marina* (decoration), Italy, Terrati di Lago.



Fig. 121. *Saint Marina* (picture on flag), Italy, Calabria, Filandari, (at <http://www.santamarinafilandari.it/home.html>, Last accessed: April 12, 2011).



Fig. 122. *Saint Marina* (decoration), Italy, Calabria, Filandari,
(at <http://www.santamarinafilandari.it/home.html>, Last accessed: April 12, 2011).



Fig. 123. *Saint Marina* (decoration), Italy, Casole Bruzio, (at <http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=113378910168#!/group.php?gid=113378910168&v=photos&so=30>, Last accessed: April 11, 2011).

SAINT MARINA (MARGARET/MARY) OF ANTIOCH

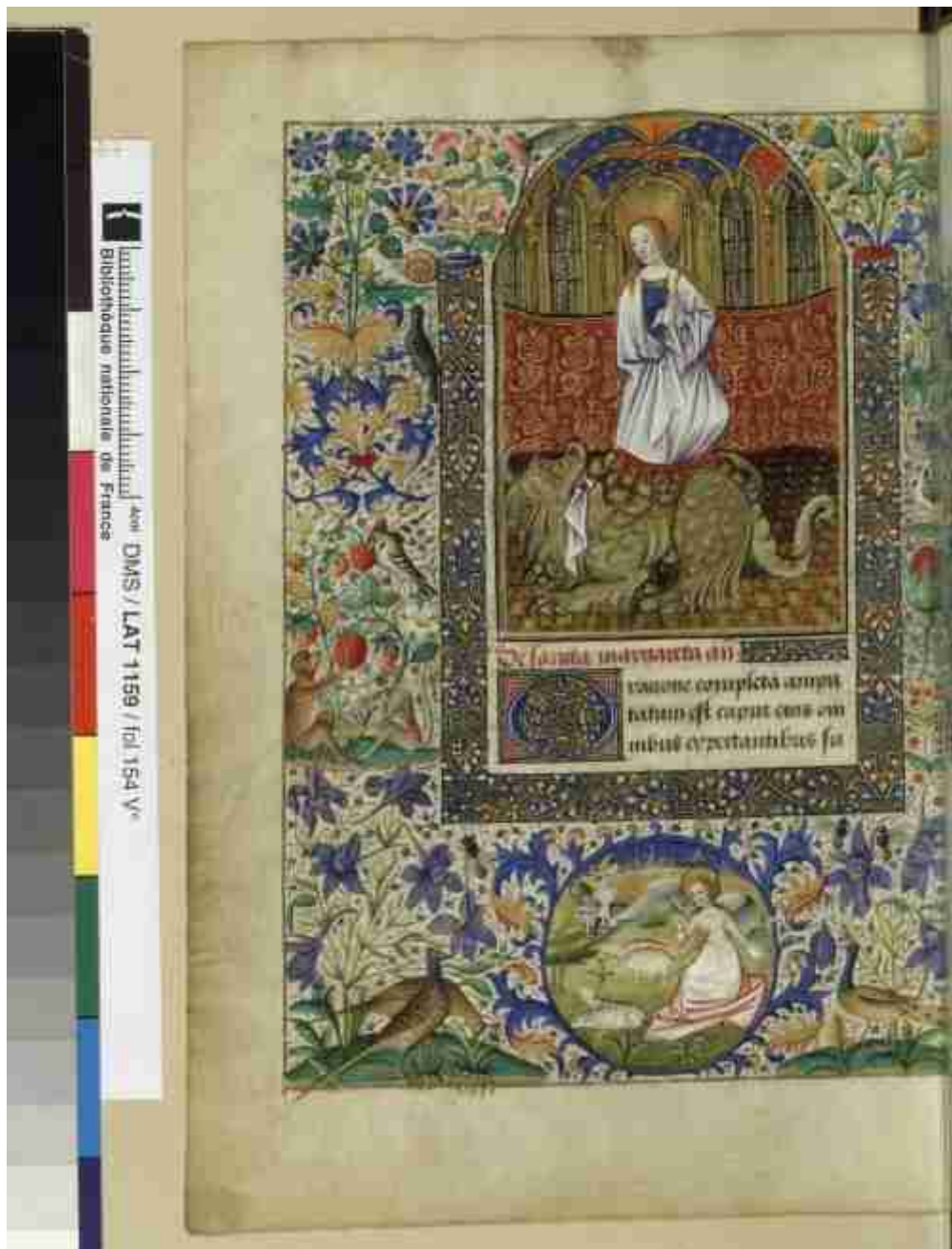


Fig. 124. *Saint Margaret and the dragon*, France, Nantes, 1455-1457, Heures de Pierre II de Bretagne, Folio, 154v, National Library of France, stack: Latin 1159.



Fig. 125. *Saint Margaret*, Meister von St. Leonhard bei Tamsweg, 1460 – 1465, Austria, Salzburg, Museum of Salzburg.



Fig. 126. *Saint Margaret*, 1495-1505, Austria, Klagenfurt, Archiepiscopal Museum.



Fig. 127. *Saint Margaret*, 1395-1405, Austria, Vienna, Austrian Gallery.

