

Doctoral Dissertation

**Between Mary and Christ: Depicting Cross-Dressed Saints in the
Middle Ages (c. 1200-1600)**

By: Andrea-Bianka Znorovszky

Supervisor(s):

Gerhard Jaritz
Marianne Sághy

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I, the undersigned, **Andrea-Bianka Znorovszky**, candidate for the PhD degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present dissertation 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, 07 June 2016.

Signature

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In the dawn, after a long, perilous journey, when, finally, the pilgrim got out from the maze and reached the Holy Land, s(he) is still wondering on the miraculous surviving from beasts, dragons, and other creatures of the desert who tried to stop its travel.

Looking back, I realize that during this entire journey I was not alone, but others decided to join me and, thus, their wisdom enriched my foolishness. I am thankful for the advice and help of my supervisor, Professor Gerhard Jaritz, who convinced me to get up, follow the road, and fight, when I, worthless pilgrim, felt down on the dry land. This dissertation is the result of his permanent surveillance on the countless drafts that I have submitted him. While under Professor Marianne SÁghy's care, I learned how to teach and realized the amount of responsibility that goes with this process.

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But what is a journey without the crawling creatures of the night? I salute all the superficial gossipers and all those people who withdrew in silence choosing not to help, when I was in need, for I grew much stronger understanding that *the show must go on*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	xix
<i>VITAE</i>	xx
PROLOGUE	xxi
Introduction.....	22
1.1. Historical-religious contexts	24
1.2. The rise of vernacular and lay piety	25
1.3 The Cult of the Virgin Mary	26
1.4. Ambivalent Women in Ambivalent Contexts.....	28

1.5. Brief view on methodology, sources, and terminology	30
1.5.1. Scholarship on holy women in disguise.....	30
1.5.2. Research questions, sources, and, methodology	32
1.5.3. <i>Admiranda/Imitanda</i> vs. canon law	36
1.5.4. Terminology and research areas	36
Chapter 1	38
In Disguise for Christ's Sake	38
1.1. Previous interpretations	38
1.2. Clothes	40
1.3. Tonsure	56
Chapter 2.....	67
Brides for Christ's Sake.....	67
2.1 Iconography	67
2.1.1 Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria	68
2.1.2. Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius.....	73

2.1.3. Saint Eugenia of Rome	76
2.1.4. Saint Marina the Monk	79
2.2.1 Reflecting the image of the Virgin.....	83
2.2.2 Reconfiguring the image of female mystics	92
<i>Chapter 3</i>	103
<i>Dying for Christ's Sake</i>	103
3.1. Iconography	103
3.1.1. Saint Marina the Monk	103
3.1.2. Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius.....	105
3.1.3. Saint Euphrosyne	105
3.1.4. Saint Eugenia of Rome	109
3.2. Analysis.....	112
3.2.1. Beyond a gendered-virgocentric perspective.....	112
3.2.2. Meeting the Groom in <i>articulo mortis</i>	113
3.2.3 Fasting, illness, and pain as <i>imitatio Christi</i>	118

3.2.3.1. Saint Eugenia of Rome: Torture for the Kingdom of Heaven	120
3.2.3.2 Illness and fasting: Saint Euphrosyne's penitence for sanctity.....	125
3.2.3.3 Saint Marina: imitating the Madonna with child?	133
3.2.3.4. Penitents in their cells: Margareta Pelagius and Euphrosyne of Alexandria	141
With Christ 'till My Remaining Days	150
Conclusions 1	150
Chapter 4	153
Following the "Foot Print of the Mother of God"	153
4.1. Previous research on Marina the Monk's iconography	153
4.2. Marina the Monk's cult in the East.....	155
4.3. Ave Mari(n)a!- Saint Marina the Monk in Italy	158
4. 3.1. Marina the Monk in Venice	158
4.3.1.2. Saint Marina the Monk-the early phase	166
4.3.1.3. Saint Marina the Monk- the later phase	168
4.3.2. The confusion elsewhere.....	179

4.3.2.1. Southern Italy-Polistena, Calabria	179
4.3.2.2. Marina the Monk in Ardea.....	181
4.3.2.3. Marina the Monk in Camposanto	188
4.3.2.4. Novafeltria	192
4.4. Saint Marina the Monk in Spain and France	193
4.4.1. Spain	193
4.4.2. France –Saint Marina a saint without a face	198
Chapter 5.....	203
Close to the Mother of God: The Innocence and Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia of Rome.....	203
5.1 Eugenia: Martyr of Rome in the Church of the Apostles	203
5.1.1 The early phase - outside Rome.....	203
5.1.2 The later phase-inside Rome.....	210
5.2 Saint Eugenia in Spain: Triumph over evil.....	223
5.3 Saint Eugenia in France: polymorphous images.....	234
In Disguise for Heaven	245

Conclusions 2 245

Epilogue 252

Bibliography..... 253

APPENDICES..... 285

Maps..... 292

Image Catalog..... 304

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

Fig. 1.1: Saint Marina, 1446-1455, *Lives of Saints*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Germ. 6834, image 248.

Fig. 1.2: Saint Marina driving a cart, 1446-1447, Martinus Opifex, *Legenda Aurea* Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 326, folio 111r.

Fig. 1.3: Mary of Egypt, 1446-1447, Martinus Opifex, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 326, folio 82r.

Fig. 1.4: Saint Theodora of Alexandria, 1446-1447, Martinus Opifex, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 326, folio 126v.

Fig. 1.5: Saint Theodora of Alexandria tempted by the devil, 1348, Richard de Montbaston, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 241, folio 158v.

Fig. 1.6: Saint Theodora entering the monastery, 1301-1400, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 20330, folio 155r.

Fig. 1.7: Theodora of Alexandria and the child (background), temptation scene (foreground), 1480-1490, Jacques de Besançon, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 244, folio 195v.

Fig. 1.8: Pelagia the Penitent, 1446-1447, Master of the Klosterneuburg Missal, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 326, folio 213r.

Fig. 1.9: Saint Thays, 1446/1447. Master of the Klosterneuburg Misal, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, cod. 326, folio 214v.

Fig. 1.10: Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1328 (?), Maître de Thomas de Maubeuge, *Collection of Ancient French Poems*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5204, folio 87v.

Fig. 1.11: Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 202v.

Fig. 1.12: Saint Marina with the child and Saint Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 408v.

Fig. 1.13: Saint Mary of Egypt and Zosimas, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 407r.

Fig. 1.14: Baptism of Saints Eugenia, Prothus and Hyacinthus, 1370-1380, Maître du livre du sacre et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 15941, folio 36v.

Fig. 1.15: Baptism of Saints Eugenia, Prothus and Hyacinthus, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 152v.

Fig. 1.16: Passion of Saint Eusebius, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 151v.

Fig. 1.17: Passion of Saint Julian, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 155r.

Fig. 1.18: Margareta Pelagius' entrance into a monastery (left) and death (right), fourteenth century, *Saints' lives*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 265v.

Fig. 1.20: Saint Thays, fourteenth century, *Saints' lives*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 265v.

Fig. 1.19: Saint Pelagia, fourteenth century, *Saints' Lives*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 264v.

Fig. 2.1: Saint Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1327, Fauvel Master, *Saints' Lives*, Paris, The Hague, National Royal Library of Netherlands, 71 A 24, folio 61v.

Fig. 2.2: Saint Euphrosyne taking the habit, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 408v.

Fig. 2.3: Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1328 (?), Maître de Thomas de Maubeuge, *Collection of Ancient French Poems*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5204, folio 87v.

Fig. 2.4: Paphnucius, the father, searching for Saint Euphrosyne, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 409r.

Fig. 2.5: Margareta Pelagius (entrance into the monastery and death), fourteenth century, *Saints' lives*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 265v.

Fig. 2.6: Margareta Pelagius leaving her wedding feast, thirteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, France, San Marino. CA, Huntington Library, HM 3027, folio 141v.

Fig. 2.7: Saint Eugenia taught by her father, 1463, François and collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 50, folio 392r.

Fig. 2.8: Saint Eugenia taught by her father, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 409r.

Fig. 2.9: Marina presented at the monastery, 1348, Richard de Montbaston, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 241, folio 139v.

Fig. 2.10: Saint Marina entering the monastery with her father, 1301-1400, *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 24947, folio 179v.

Fig. 2.11: Saint Euphrosyne, c. 1190, *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, Heiligenkreuz, Austria, Cistercian abbey, Cod. 11, folio 124v.

Fig. 2.12.A: Saint Eugenia taught by her mother in Sandra Lowerre, *The Cross-Dressing Female Saints in the Wynkyn de Worde's 1495 Edition of the 'Vitas Patrum'* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 46.

Fig. 2.12.B: Saint Euphrosyne in *La Rappresentatione di Santa Eufrosina Vergine* (Siena, alla Loggia del Papa 1607), 19.

Fig. 2.13: Marina entering the monastery, 1445-1465, Chroniques II Workshop, *Legenda Aurea*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.672-5, folio 279v.

Fig. 2.14: Mary's presentation at the temple, 1463, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 50, folio 193v.

Fig. 2.15: Saint Catherine of Siena in secular clothes, fifteenth century, *Legenda Maior*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Can. Misc. 205, folio 7r.

Fig. 2.16: Saint Euphrosyne between two saints, sixteenth century, Antonio del Ceraio, Cortona, Italy, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca.

Fig. 2.17: Saint Euphrosyne, eleventh century, *Life of Saint Euphrosyne and other treatises*, Monastery of Santa Scolastica, Italy, Ms. 160, folio 17r.

Fig. 2.18: Margareta Pelagius marriage and death, 1445-1465, Chroniques II Workshop, *Legenda Aurea*, New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, M.672-5, folio 136r.

Fig. 2.19: Saint Margareta Pelagius, *Legenda Aurea*, thirteenth century, Milan, Ambrosian Library, Codice Ambrosiano, c. 240 inf.

Fig. 3.1: Saint Marina's death, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51 folio 201v.

Fig. 3.2: Saint Marina's death, 1350-1375, Roberto Oderisi, *Vitae Patrum*, Naples. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.626, folio 130v.

Fig. 3.3: Death of Saint Margarita Pelagius, fifteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 242, folio 231r.

Fig. 3.4: Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria's death, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 409v.

Fig. 3.5: Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria's death, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 202v.

Fig. 3.6: Saint Eugenia reveals her identity, 1333-1350, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 154.

Fig. 3.7: Saint Eugenia of Rome, 1125/1140, Church of St. Magdalene, Vézelay, France.

Fig. 3.8: Saint Marina's death, fifteenth-century, *Collection of lives*, Vatican Library, Ms. 375, folio 38v.

Fig. 3.9: Passion of Saint Eugenia (together with Saints Prothus and Hyacinthus), 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 26r.

Fig. 3.10: Eugenia accused by Melanthia, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 50, folio 393v.

Fig. 3.11: Eugenia revealing her identity, 1370-1380, Maître du livre du sacre et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 15941, 37v.

Fig. 3.12: Saint Eugenia as abbess (right), Baptism of Blasilla (left), Martyrdom of Philip (above) 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 3r.

Fig. 3.13: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, 1445-1465, Chroniques II Workshop, *Legenda Aurea*, France. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.672-5, folio 74v.

Fig. 3.14: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, 1396, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 313, folio 184v.

Fig. 3.15: The monks discover the real identity of Smaragdus, the monachoparthena Euphrosyne, B. Bolswert, after A. Bloemart, *Sacra Eremus Ascetarum* (Antwerp, 1619), no. 5.

Fig. 3.16: Saint Euphrosyne's death, c. 1606, Nicolaas de Bruyn (after Adriaen Collaert), *Solitudo sive Vitae Foeminarum Anachoritarum*, The British Museum, object reference no.: 1852, 0214.540.1-25.

Fig. 3.17: Saint Euphrosyne in Gabriel Brosse, *Histoire abrégée de la vie et de la translation de Sainte Euphrosine vierge d'Alexandrie Patrone de la Prieuré de Saint Looiis de Roiaiulieu, dans le Forest de Compiègne* (Reims: Jean Bernard, 1666), 1.

Fig. 3.18: Saint Rosula and Saint Euphrosyne, altarpiece (inner wings), 1501-1515, Baden-Baden, Kloster Lichtental.

Fig. 3.19: Saint Marina and the child, fifteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, France, National Library of France, Français 242, folio 120v.

Fig. 3.20: Saint Marina, teaching the child, fifteenth century, Paris, National Library of France, Ms. 6448, folio 156.

Fig. 3.21: Saint Marina and the Child in *Compendio della vita di Santa Marina vergina*, Venice, 1763. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

Fig. 3.22: Saint Marina and the Child in *Compendio della vita di Santa Marina vergina*, Venice, 1763. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

Fig. 3.23: Marina and the child, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 408v.

Fig. 3.24: Saint Marina accused and whipped, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 201v.

Fig. 3.25: Marina and the Child, thirteenth-century, *Magnum legendarium austriacum*, Zwettl, Lower Austria, Cistercian abbey, monastic library, Cod.1, folio 10v.

Fig. 3.26: Margareta Pelagius accused, 1480-1490, Jacques de Besançon, *Legenda aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 245, 132r.

Fig. 3.27: Margareta Pelagius in her cell, 1446–1447, Court workshop of Frederik III, Master of the Klosterneuburg Missal, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austria National Library of Austria, Cod. 326, fol. 214r.

Fig. 4.1: Marina the Monk (scenes: the father blessing Marina before leaving for the monastery, Marina's entrance in the monastery, Marina learning, death of Marina's father) - Demestrius of Thessalonica, twelfth-thirteenth century, Qalamoun, Lebanon, Chapel, Grotto of St. Marina.

Fig. 4.2: Marina the Monk (scenes the father blessing Marina before leaving for the monastery, Marina's entrance in the monastery, Marina learning, death of Marina's father) twelfth-thirteenth century, Qalamoun, Lebanon, Chapel, Grotto of St. Marina.

Fig. 4.3: St. Marina (Mavrinos), eighth century, Tsirkoli, Georgia, Church of Saint George.

Fig. 4.4: *Reliquary of Saint Marina of Antioch/Margaret* (back) Constantinople, 1213, (at http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/DetailsPage.aspx?Feminae_ID=32224 Last accessed: February 12, 2016).

Fig. 4.5: Saint Margaret/Marina of Antioch, 1285-1290, *Livre d'images de Madame Marie*, Hainaut, Belgium. Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 16251, folio 100r.

Fig. 4.6: Saint Marina, twelfth century, Bethlehem, Israel, Church of the Nativity.

Fig. 4.7: Saint Marina the Monk (death), 976-1025, *Menologium* of Basil II, Rome, Vatican Library, gr.1613, image 394.

Fig. 4.8: Saint Marina, thirteenth century, Tripoli (?), Lebanon. Houston, USA, The Menil Collection.

Fig. 4.9: Saints Catherine and Marina, thirteenth-century, Mount Sinai, Egypt, Saint Catherine monastery.

Fig. 4.10: Saint Marina (middle), twelfth century, Sicily, Italy, Monreale Cathedral.

Fig. 4.11: Saint Marina, Pseudo Jacobello del Fiore (Lorenzo di Giacomo?), 1420-1450, Italy, Venice.

Fig. 4.12: The Prayer of Doge Andrea Gritti (*Doge Andrea Gritti assisted in prayer by Saint Mark in front of the Madonna with the Child, Saint Marina, Saint Bernardino of Siena and Saint Alvise*), Robusti Jacopo (il Tintoretto), sixteenth century, Venice.

Fig. 4.13: 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), 1385-1428, Siena.

Fig. 4.14: Episode from Saint Marina's life, Anonymous Venetian author, 1430-1470, Venice.

Fig. 4.15: 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, Venice.

Fig. 4.16: Madonna with Child in glory with Saint Benedict, Saint Marina, Saint Francis of Assisi and two saints, anonymous author, sixteenth century, Venice.

Fig. 4.17: Virgin Mary and Saint Marina the Monk (detail), Catarino Veneziano, 1362-1390, Venice.

Fig. 4.18: Triptych of the Coronation of the Virgin and the Crucifixion, Catarino Veneziano, 1362-1390, Venice.

Fig. 4.19: Inscription (detail), twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

Fig. 4.20.a: An Abbot (left), twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

Fig. 4.20.b: Saint Marina (middle), twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

Fig. 4.20.c: Marina's father (right), twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

Fig. 4.21: Saint Anthony, The Virgin and the Child, Saint Roch, twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

Fig. 4.22: Saint Marina, seventeenth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

Fig. 4.23: Saint Marina's well (statue), seventeenth century, Ardea, Italy.

Fig. 4.24: Saint Marina's well (inscription), seventeenth century, Ardea, Italy.

Fig. 4.25: Saint Marina, city seal, undated, Ardea, Italy.
(<http://www.castruminui.it/marina.html> Last accessed, February 13, 2016).

Fig. 4.26: Thebais, Buonamico Buffalmacco, fourteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Camposanto.

Fig. 4.27: Thebais, Fra Angelico, c. 1418-1420, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery.

Fig. 4.28: Saint Marina (sketches), Buonamico Buffalmacco, fourteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Camposanto.

Fig. 4.29: Saint Marina the Monk, fifteenth century, *Officium S. Marine*, Catalonia, Spain. Paris, National Library of France, Latin 5264, folio 74r.

Fig. 4.30: Saint Marina the Monk (episodes of her life), 1602. Pradip, Spain, Santuario de Santa Marina.

Fig. 4.31: Saint Marina the Monk, Pradip, Spain, Santuario de Santa Marina.

Fig. 4.32: Saint Marina the Monk, destroyed 1936, Pradip, Spain, Santuario de Santa Marina.

Fig. 4.33: Saint Marina, 1853, Hyppolite Flandrin, Paris, Church of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul.

Fig. 4.34: The Church of Saint Marina, no. 6, M. H. Leroy, *Paris*, Paris: Cadart et Luquet, 1862.

Fig. 5.1: Saint Eugenia (left), fifth-sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, Sant Apollinare Nuovo.

Fig. 5.2: Procession of female saints, fifth-sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, Sant Apollinare Nuovo.

Fig. 5.3: Saint Eugenia (upper row), sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, Palazzo Arcivescovile.

Fig. 5.4: Saint Eugenia, sixth century, Poreč Cathedral, Croatia.

Fig. 5.5: Saint Eugenia, tenth century, Hosios Loukas Monastery, Greece.

Fig. 5.6: Saint Agnes, seventh century, Rome, Sant'Agnese fuori la mura church.

Fig. 5.7: Tomb of Saint Eugenia, Saint Claudia, and other martyrs, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (photo by the author)

Fig. 5.8: Reconstruction of the Chapel of Saint Eugenia by Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth-Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 223.

Fig. 5.9: The Virgin Mary and Saint Eugenia (detail), fifteenth-century, Antoniazio Romano, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (Photo by the author)

Fig. 5.10: Saint Eugenia, seventeenth-century (?), Rome, Church of the Apostles. (Photo by the author)

Fig. 5.11: Madonna of Cardinal Bessarion, c. 1467, Antoniazio Romano, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (Photo by the author)

Fig. 5.12: Saint Claudia, seventeenth-century (?), Rome, Church of the Apostles. (Photo by the author)

Fig. 5.13: Saint Claudia, seventeenth-century, Domenico Guidi, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (Photo by the author)

Fig. 5.14: Saint Eugenia, seventeenth-century, Francesco Peroni, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (Photo by the author)

Fig. 5.15: Saint Catherine of Alexandria, Saint Eugenia (middle), and Saint Agnes, Anonymous painter from Lombardy, fifteenth-century, New York, M.F. Griggs Collection.

Fig. 5.16: The Virgin Mary, Church of Saint Eugenia, Bagnoro, Italy (reproduced in Angelo Tafi, *La millenaria Pieve di S. Eugenia al Bagnoro* (Arezzo: Calosci-Cortona, 1991).

Fig. 5.17: The Virgin Mary with Saint Eugenia (right) and Saint Lawrence (left), Bagnoro, Italy (reproduced in Angelo Tafi, *La millenaria Pieve di S. Eugenia al Bagnoro* (Arezzo: Calosci-Cortona, 1991).

Fig. 5.18.a: The Virgin with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Margaret of Antioch/Eugenia, fifteenth century, Matteo di Giovanni, Siena, Italy.

Fig. 5.18.b: Saint Margaret of Antioch/Eugenia (detail), fifteenth century, Matteo di Giovanni, Siena, Italy.

Fig. 5.19: Eugenia of Rome altar frontal, thirteenth century, Master of Soriguerola, Catalonia, Spain. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

Fig. 5.20: Baptism of Saint Eugenia, Prothus and Hyacinthus, c. 1335, Mahiet et collab, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 152v.

Fig. 5.21: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, thirteenth-fourteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Spain. Paris, National Library of France, Espagnol 44, folio 197v.

Fig. 5.22: Episodes of Saint Eugenia's Life, fifteenth-sixteenth century, Church of Saint Eugenia, Astudillo, Spain <http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed February 13, 2016.

Fig. 5.23: Saint Eugenia of Rome revealing her identity, fifteenth-sixteenth century, Astudillo, Spain Church of Saint Eugenia, <http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed February 13, 2016.

Fig. 5.24: Assumption of the Virgin, fifteenth-sixteenth century, Astudillo, Spain Church of Saint Eugenia, <http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed February 13, 2016.

Fig. 5.25: Saint Eugenia and Saints Prothus and Hyacinthus, fifteenth-sixteenth century, Astudillo, Spain Church of Saint Eugenia, <http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed February 13, 2016.

Fig. 5.26: Church of Saint Eugenia, seventeenth century, Becerril de Campos, Spain.

Fig. 5.27: Saint Eugenia of Rome revealing her identity, twelfth century, Vézelay, France, Church of Saint Magdalene.

Fig. 5.28: Saint Eugenia revealing her identity, sixteenth century, Bartholomeus Pons, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.

Fig. 5.29: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, sixteenth century, Bartholomeus Pons, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.

Fig. 5.30: Saint Claudia at the tomb of Saint Eugenia, sixteenth century, Bartholomeus Pons, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.

Fig. 5.31: Saint Eugenia, c. 1500, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
MLA	<i>Magnum Legendarium Austriacum</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graecae</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latinae</i>

VITAE

1. Saint Eugenia of Rome (third century) AASS Sept. 3: 761-762; December 24, 25.

Daughter of a Roman pagan family, Eugenia hears the preaching of Christians and decides to leave her home. In order to enter a monastic community, whose abbot does not like women, she cross-dresses. Later, she becomes abbot of the monastery and is accused by a woman, Melanthia, of indecent behavior. In order to prove her innocence she undresses in public and converts her family to Christianity. Her father, Phillipus, becomes a bishop and dies a martyr's death. Eugenia returns to Rome where she establishes a female religious community, later is tortured and dies as a martyr in Christ.

2. Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria (fifth century) AASS Feb. 2:535-544; February 11, September 25.

Euphrosyne is the only daughter of Paphnutius, a noble and religious man. Learning that her father wants to marry her, she asks a monk to bless her and, then, she runs away from home. While running away, she realizes that it is not good to retire in a nun's convent and, dressed as a knight, she joins a monk's monastery. Because of her beauty she is told by the abbot to live alone in her cell. Her father starts searching her and goes to the monastery where she hides. Later, without being recognized, she becomes her father's spiritual adviser. She reveals her identity to him before her death after more than thirty years.

3. Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius (n.d.) AASS July 4:278; May 7.

A very religious virgin, Margareta runs away from her home in men's clothes on the night of her wedding and hides in a monastery. Later, she becomes the abbot of a convent of nuns and is accused by immorality, namely seducing a girl who becomes pregnant. She does penitence and is enclosed in a cave. When feeling her death approaching she writes a note in which she details who she is and that she is innocent. This life combines elements of both the lives of Saint Pelagia the Penitent and of Saint Marina the Monk.

4. Saint Marina the Monk (sixth; eighth century) AASS July 4: 286-287; July 17, July 18

There are numerous versions of Saint Marina's life. I am analyzing the most common version that predominates in the West.

Marina's father, Eugenius, enters a monastery in order to lead a holy life after his wife's death. Reminding of his daughter, he starts missing his daughter and brings her into the monastery dressed as a man. Meanwhile, Marina's father makes her promise not to reveal her identity and he dies. One day, she is sent in the nearby village to bring all that is necessary for the monastery. She dwells at an inn and while she is there the innkeeper's daughter is seduced by a knight. After Marina is accused by the innkeeper's daughter of fathering her child, Marina is thrown out and raises the child that is supposedly hers, in front of the monastery. Later on, after 5 years had passed, she is accepted back into the monastery and obeys to do all the work. She dies and when washing the body, the monks discover that she is a woman and is unguilty of all the accusations.

PROLOGUE

Dear reader, I welcome you, let us start this journey with an unusual game, let us imagine that we, you and I, are standing in a court of justice surrounded by curious folk, their I-phones, gadgets, and noise. Let it be you the one who chooses the date or the time; but for now, just concentrate on their eyes wide open ready for everything: gossip, curiosity, rumor, approval, pious negation...

Imagine that, slowly, I am taking off, not my fancy dress, but first, my tie and unbutton my shirt, then, my pants and stand naked in front of you. What would shock you, my naked body, the clothes that I'm wearing or nothing? Should I hide my breasts? What would my body tell you? Is it sinful, pure, corrupted, ugly, mysterious, old, or attractive? Would I be a cross-dresser simply for wearing trousers and a shirt as any business woman might do? I wonder on how people would post this "news" on their facebook(s), blogs, e-mails, twitters and so on, if they would post it after all.

Now, imagine that 800 hundred years ago, someone kneeling piously with a manuscript of saints' lives in hands, is reading about a woman who took off her manly clothes in public to prove that she, Saint Eugenia of Rome, is right. True story or rhetorical device? What matters here, is how people understood the story, how they connected to it, and how they represented her.

I am not Saint Eugenia of Rome, and I do not intend to undress in front of you. What I am up to is to see how a holy woman's body was perceived and what suggested, how women in disguise were depicted and lived in monk's monasteries, as their stories say.

Introduction

*Et en ce disant elle desrompi sa robe de quoy elle estoit vestu
du haust iusques el bas. et appartut estre fame.¹*

The four centuries, c.1200 – 1600, that this study concentrates on, offer religious women in the West various ways for achieving sanctity. Accordingly, a new type of privatized *mulieres sanctae* appeared, with focus on passivity, suffering, patience, perseverance, and obedience, virtues that are also reflected in the (visual and textual) representations of Saints Eugenia (†258 AD), Euphrosyne (5th century AD), Marina the Monk (8th century AD), and Margareta Pelagius (n.d.), the four “protagonists” of the present research. These saints’ lives, in a nutshell, concentrate on stories of women who wore men’s clothes, fled the world to follow Christ, and joined either monasteries or, sometimes, retired in solitary places. Except for the life of Saint Margareta Pelagius, which is a Western product, the others have been transferred from East to West.

The motif of the saint in disguise was introduced into the hagiographic genre around the fourth century and reached its peak in the East somewhere between the sixth and the eighth century.² Valerie R. Hotchkiss³ divides these saints into a group of penitents, which includes former prostitutes (also penitent wives) and another group of virgins.

The first group contain saints, such as Pelagia (4th-5th century AD) and Mary of Egypt (4th-5th century AD), who were former prostitutes and repented, and wives, such as Theodora of Alexandria (5th century AD), who used disguise in order to escape from their husbands. For instance, Pelagia’s disguise is related to her repentance and her wish to hide. Matrona of Perge (5th century) hides from her abusive husband as a monk in a monastery.

The second group, the so called *monachoparthenoi*, used disguise in order to avoid an unwanted marriage or a persistent suitor. These holy women, such as Euphrosyne, Eugenia, Margareta Pelagius are refusing to marry and use disguise in order to enter monasteries to follow Christ as hidden *sponsae*. In the East, this group⁴ of the

¹ Arsenal Ms. 5080, folio 164r, *Speculum historiale*, 14th century, National Library of France, Paris: “And saying this she tore her clothes from up to down. And she turned out to be a woman.”

² 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): 17. On the transfer of this motif from East to West see, Enrico Morini, “Santità monastica femminile in abiti maschili nell’Oriente cristiano,” in *Giustina e le altre. Sante e culti femminili in Italia settentrionale dalla prima età cristiana al secolo XII*, ed. Andrea Tilatti, Francesco G.B. Trolese (Padova: Viella, 2009), 271-300.

³ Valerie Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 25.

⁴ For a list of cross-dressed saints see, Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 131-141.

monachoparthenoi is much larger including other saints, such as Apollinaris/Dorotheus, Hilaria/Hilarion, however, only three of them were included in various Western hagiographic collections, thus, reaching a variety of audience and circulating in wider areas.

Besides these, there is Saint Thecla (1st century AD) and a bearded female saint, Wilgefortis (14th century AD)⁵ who do not fit exactly into these two groups. Thecla's story dates from the second century.⁶ Her cross-dressing was connected to Christian mission as she cross-dressed in order to follow Saint Paul. As far as the fourteenth-century Wilgefortis from Portugal, the story concentrates on the Christian virgin's refusal of being married by her father to a pagan king. Wilgefortis prays to God to be saved and she miraculously grows a beard becoming repulsive. Finally, she dies being crucified.

Thecla is considered among the earliest representatives of cross-dressed saints.⁷ All these saints used disguise at certain times in their lives in order to break with society and carnality and lead an ascetic life. The difference in their *vitae* is to be found in their purpose for cross-dressing. I consider that the group of penitent saints is best represented by Pelagia, as she is not only one of the prototypes of this motif, but her *vita* also became famous and spread from the East to the West. Pelagia's cross-dressing was strongly connected with her appearance at the beginning of her *vita*.⁸ Associated with the whore of Babylon, 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. Another prostitute saint who is sometimes considered among the group of cross-dressed saints⁹ sometimes not,¹⁰ is Mary of Egypt. She did not use cross-dressing in order to flee and hide from the world, but to cover her nakedness.¹¹ Like Pelagia, Mary of Egypt¹² switched from being an enchanting prostitute to a penitent. Holy prostitutes are famous for their great beauty, often contrasted with their later transformation.

For the *monachoparthenoi* group, disguise was mostly connected to escaping from a family member (Eugenia, Euphrosyne, Margareta Pelagius) or joining her father

⁵ Ilse E. Friesen, *The Female Crucifix: Images of St. Wilgefortis since the Middle Ages* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press 2001).

⁶ Schein, "The Female Men of God," 20.

⁷ John Anson, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Origin and the Development of a Motive," *Viator* 5 (1974): 1, 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): 608, and Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 20 consider Thecla as the prototype.

⁸ Virginia Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 137-146.

⁹ Schein, "The Female Men of God," 21.

¹⁰ See the list in Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 131-141.

¹¹ Alice-Mary Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), 77: "So he [Zosimas] 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."

¹² Ruth Mazo Karras, "Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1, No.1 (1990): 6-10.

into a monastery (Marina).¹³ In their case, disguise had another purpose. It preserved their integrity, their virginity, and emphasized their will to choose their own way of life.¹⁴

1.1. Historical-religious contexts

One of the aspects concerning thirteenth-century developments in connection to women saints is that the concept of virginity changed by referring from a physical term to a state of mind. This occurred together with the rise of lay piety and offered other possibilities of sanctity for religious women. It is the case concerning those women saints who married out of duty as a necessity,¹⁵ but still lived a life dedicated to God. This inclusion of wives and widows in the groups of holy women changed the general view on them. That does not mean that the patristic view on women had been erased, but that women had more possibilities to acquire sanctity than before. As a consequence of this phenomenon, an increase in the number of female saints occurred,¹⁶ as opposed to the period when the only religious role for a woman was to become a nun.¹⁷ If in the twelfth century a female saint could be a queen, princess or high born noble woman, in the thirteenth century the possibility for a female saint to come from the middle or lower classes increased. This is due to the fact that at the beginning of the thirteenth century the rise of the mendicant orders directed religiousness from the cloister to the streets.¹⁸ With such broadening of the social basis more women could find paths for religious expression, more saintly models were to choose from, and more women were attracted by

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500-1100* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 155-156 and chapter 3, "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.

¹⁵ See, for instance, Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231). Kenneth Baxter Wolf (trans. with commentary), *The Life and Afterlife of St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹⁶ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1987), 13-14.

¹⁷ See Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society, The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 220- 240. See also Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 20-21, 137. Furthermore, in the 12th -13th centuries, the percentage of female saints doubled, with a peak of 27.7 percent in the 15th century; the percentage of married saints rose too, in connection with the rise of lay sanctity. On the growth of female monasticism see Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997), 1-16.

¹⁸ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 224- 225.

religious life. Briefly, from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, positive images of women emerged parallel to positive male figures and misogynist images of women.¹⁹

Besides pious wives and widows, there are other different groups of religious women that emerged. This is, for instance, the case with regard to the Beguines, women mystics from the Low Countries, who redefined their relationship with Christ. This group of mystics, including all categories of women,²⁰ concentrated on the personal aspect of the soul's union with the divine. This union was presented in a written (vernacular) form by the women in order to share their intimate experiences: mystical pregnancies, divine lactations or wounds. Similarly to *The Song of Songs*, the lexicon of mystical unions abounded in erotic terminology indicating the spiritual aspect, not carnal lust. These ways of expressing female spirituality and the possibility of using one's own vernacular offered women more independence and autonomy.²¹

Opposed to male saints who were categorized as martyrs, bishops, etc., in the group of women saints the most appreciated were the virgins - the most venerated female saints. Chastity and virginity were topics used throughout early patristic literature and, later, in medieval commentaries.²² The holy women in disguise, this thesis is dealing with, are not usual women as most of my sources suggest. They belong to a particular group of virgins.

1.2. *The rise of vernacular and lay piety*

Lay men's and religious women's claim to access spirituality is reflected in the rise of vernacular literature²³ that became popular in the twelfth century.²⁴ Though considered inferior to Latin and suggesting people's inferiority to clerics, writing in the vernacular offered women not only spiritual autonomy, but also contributed to the diversification of literary genres. By promoting one's personal knowledge of and relation to God, vernacular literature was opposed, in some contexts, to the Latin religious text that concentrated on obedience and control of the religious communities.²⁵

¹⁹ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 152.

²⁰ Dyan Elliott, *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell: Metaphor and Embodiment in the Lives of Pious Women, 200-1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 178-225.

²¹ See the introduction in Elizabeth Spearing, *Medieval Writings on Female Spirituality* (New York: The Penguin Group, 2002).

²² Kathleen Coyne Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2000), 3.

²³ See the Introduction in *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson, and Nancy Bradley Warren (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 1-7.

²⁴ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 34.

²⁵ See for instance, Moira Fitzgibbons, "Disruptive Simplicity: Gaytryge's Translation of Archbishop Thoresby's *Injunctions*," in *The Vernacular Spirit*, 39-58 and Morgan Powell, "Translating Scripture for *Ma dame de Champagne*: The Old French "Paraphrase" of Psalm 44 (*Eructauit*)" in *The Vernacular Spirit*, 83-104.

Vernacular literature was also promoted by women: Christine de Pizan wrote in French, while thirteenth-century religious women from Germany and the Low Countries not only wrote, but also read vernacular theology. Women developed their own language of the sacred by using the vernacular. Fifteenth-century legends and lives of saints, used as educational tools for female recipients, turned out to be examples of obedience, but also of defiance when choosing religious life instead of marriage.²⁶ These texts were available for a diverse female audience with subjects suited for the roles of women in society: strong women who challenged the patriarchal social structure by their expected piety.²⁷

The use of the vernacular turned out to be a cultural movement in the sense that a whole range of literature emerged: translations of poetry and prose, as well as original poetry written in the vernacular.²⁸ The Church opted for different strategies in connection to the use of the vernacular which couldn't be controlled as a Latin text, for instance, it highlighted its openness and people's opportunity to use their own language.

1.3 The Cult of the Virgin Mary

Various cultural productions are included into the vernacular in the thirteenth century.²⁹ Representations (lyrics, prayers) of the Virgin started spreading and became available to lay people in the vernacular or in the public space of churches. It is the case of the figure of Mary and the Child in her lap from Chartres Cathedral which, in the thirteenth century, was taken over even in small French parish churches.³⁰ Depictions of Mary as a tender mother spread all over Europe.³¹ These representations of hers, focusing on emotion and love, suggested the love between Mary and the religious/lay people. Such types of vernacular developments concentrated on the emotional and physical bond; not on wisdom, but on images of the Mother spinning hence, the search for the holy in daily life, visible in church decoration.

Another type of visual development concerning the Virgin is her portrayal as *Mater Dolorosa* and *Mediatrice*. The twelfth-thirteenth-century references on these aspects of the Virgin Mary are found in prose, poetry, and the visual arts, such as the later Pietà.³²

When emphasizing the importance of the development of her cult and, implicitly, her visual representations, one should bear in mind the dynamics of Mary's imagery at the

²⁶ Larissa Tracy, *Women of the Gilte Legende. A Selection of Middle English Saints Lives* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 3-5.

²⁷ Tracy, *Women of the Gilte Legende*, 101,112.

²⁸ Else Marie Wiberg Pedersen, "Can God Speak in the Vernacular? On Beatrice of Nazareth's Flemish Exposition of Love for God," in *The Vernacular Spirit*, 185-208.

²⁹ Miri Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion. The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009), 56-57.

³⁰ Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion*, 85-86.

³¹ Already in the 9th century with the continuous emergence of the cult of the Virgin - as mother-motherhood starts to be idealized. Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 217.

³² Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven: Yale University, 1996), 125.

turning of the twelfth century. Earlier representations, from the Roman period/phase,³³ and such as those starting from the fifth-sixth centuries, concentrate on the royal role of Mary who symbolized power. She was seen as Mother of God, the emperor. At this time, one assists at the transformation of her Byzantine imperial image: the triumphant Virgin symbolizes the triumphant Church and suggests the popes' struggle for power.³⁴ This same time frame is in connection with the victory of orthodoxy in the context of the Ecumenical Councils from Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). Accordingly, Mary is depicted as royal princess or as *Theotokos* suggesting the debates on the concept of the Incarnation.³⁵ One should bear in mind that Mary's representations belonging to the Roman phase of her development are highly influenced by the artistic expressions promoted at the court of Constantinople.

A second phase of Marian representations occurred around the eighth century when the concept of royalty was incorporated into the visual representations under Byzantine influence.³⁶ But it is not only the Byzantine art that continued to influence the representations; the liturgical and the devotional developments shaped Mary's representations as well. Charlemagne's attempt of unifying the church ritual in the empire, led later in the ninth century to the promotion of the four feasts for Mary: Purification, Assumption, Nativity, and Conception.³⁷ Mary was seen by theologians as the Church in pilgrimage towards Christ, hence the *Virgo orans* pattern which suggests the glory of Mary, the Church, or the *Virgo militans* where Mary is not always depicted in the company of Christ. Visualized in the context of the eighth-century debates on the nature of Christ, Mary became a topic of experiment in visual representations such as the Gellone Sacramentary (See cat fig.186).

The next period, the Gregorian, which emerged in the twelfth century, focused on a new theme of the Virgin's representations. Mary appears on the tympana of French cathedrals and the patterns of the Coronation of the Virgin spread all over Europe.³⁸ Based on the Greek emperor's coronation by Christ on coins and mosaics, this type of representation concentrated on the terrestrial sphere, rather than the spiritual, while the image of the Virgin Queen was expressed more in hymns than pictures. At this point, one assists at the evolution of Mary's representations from queen-mother to beloved youthful bride of Christ. An important influence on Mary's representations was St. Bernard of Clairvaux who, in his sermons on *The Song of Songs*, presented Mary as bride of Christ. As her cult progressed all over Europe, it was Mary's image as a loving mother rather than queen that spread.

³³ Daniel Russo, "Les représentations mariales dans l'art d'Occident. Essai sur la formation d'une tradition iconographique," in *Marie: le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat, Eric Palazzo, Daniel Russo (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996), 175.

³⁴ Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex. The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), 104-105. See also Russo, "Représentations mariales," 206-207.

³⁵ Russo, "Représentations mariales," 191-195.

³⁶ Russo, "Représentations mariales," 210-218.

³⁷ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God, A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009), 100-103.

³⁸ Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 113-131.

In the twelfth century Mary is depicted on bigger spaces as in the Dormition and Assumption scenes from Nôtre-Dame de Senlis.³⁹ This tendency shifted in the thirteenth-fourteenth century when Mary was not the crowned *Regina mundi* anymore, nor sitting in Triumph, but in Paradise. It is the period of Gothic humanism when Mary got closer to her Child.

1.4. Ambivalent Women in Ambivalent Contexts

The woman, considered a sinner who caused the fall of mankind, blamed of weakness, and accused for temptation and lust; yet it was through her submissiveness that humanity gained salvation. Looking at women's role in philosophical, medical, or theological treatises⁴⁰ starting from Augustine, throughout the Middle Ages until nowadays, one cannot deny the existence of an ambivalent attitude towards them, their body or anything connected to femininity.

This ambivalent attitude is reflected not only in Medieval secular writings.⁴¹ Needed for family solidarity through the birth of heirs and functioning as advisors in the case of the husband's absence or nurturers, women's image in secular literature was rather marginal and connected to the evolution and actions of the male hero or knight.⁴² In religious contexts, women gained apparently more freedom. On the one hand, living in a nunnery, for instance, offered the perspective of education, autonomy, and spiritual equality by observing the same rule,⁴³ but on the other, dependence on men (priests/monks) in the context of physical labor and traveling.⁴⁴ The enclosure of these women saved them from temptation and also from being sexually dangerous;⁴⁵ but the

³⁹ Russo, "Représentations mariales," 254-257. See also Miri Rubin, *Mother of God*, 121-28 on Mary's depictions in monastic contexts in the 12th century, as various languages and idioms were used in the liturgy when writing about her. When speaking about monastic representation Mary is depicted enthroned and occupies large spaces such as the ivory binding of the Gospel Book of Duchess Judith of Bavaria.

⁴⁰ See Peter Brown, *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Elizabeth Castelli, "Virginity and Its Meaning for Women's Sexuality in Early Christianity," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 2 (1986): 61-88; Elizabeth A. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982), and Elizabeth A. Clark, "Theory and Practice in Late Ancient Asceticism: Jerome, Chrysostom and Augustine," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 5 (1989): 25-46; Kim Power, *Veiled Desire: Augustine on Women* (New York: Continuum, 1996), chapter 8: "Augustine the Lover."

⁴¹ Penny Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985).

⁴² Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, chapter 1: "Secular Image: Women in *Chanson de Geste* and Romance."

⁴³ Patricia Ranft, *Women and Spiritual Equality in Christian Tradition* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), chapter 7: "Early Medieval Monasticism and Church Life."

⁴⁴ Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, see chapter 3: "Religious Life: The Monastic Experience," for a case study on Fontevault.

⁴⁵ Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, 113.

monastic institution sometimes turned out to have a genderless nature,⁴⁶ as there were abbesses ruling even double monasteries.⁴⁷

As the women this thesis is focusing on are saints, it is the positive view on virtue and virtuous women that I concentrate on. The embodiment of virtue *per se* is a woman: the Virgin Mary on whose image several theological elaborations have been ascribed.⁴⁸ But even her imagery shifted starting from representations on an equal rank with Christ in the *topos* of the *Triumph of the Virgin* and ending with representations that concentrate on emotion in the company of her Child. What one should bear in mind, though, is that not only the representations (both written and visual) of the Virgin, but also of women, generally, were ideal images promoted by men. This is true, both in positive or negative respect. Many aspects of femininity (carnality, loquacity, and curiosity), even in monastic space, were interpreted as having a double significance.⁴⁹ Consequently, women were required to grow spiritually, that is, to have a virile spiritual self in order to control their body, but this was still viewed from a masculine perspective.

A different type of women who endured total submission in the name of God are the virgins, that is, also, the cross-dressed women of my analysis. Virginity and sanctity were closely related⁵⁰ as virginity was considered the ideal means to reach Christian perfection.⁵¹ Virgins were supposed to achieve masculine spirituality through the denial of their body which was equated with carnality and lust. Already Saint Jerome had considered that “as long as a woman is for birth and children, she is different from man as body from soul. But when she wishes to serve Christ more than the world, then she will cease to be a woman and will be called a man.”⁵² Yet, even virginity was viewed in an ambiguous way in the sense that the virgin was permanently connected to the possibility of sexual threat and the loss of her exalted status which could be her fault.⁵³

Not only the lives of holy women in disguise bear the mark of ambivalence; one can also trace it in the idea of disguise in other monastic sources such as the case of the woman Gunda (sixth century)⁵⁴ who disguised in order to enter a monastery’s church. After entering the Church of St. Calais she was punished by the saint so that black blood flowed from her breast. One can add to this several satires in which women used cross-dressing on monks’ advice and got into the monasteries to become their lovers or

⁴⁶ Ranft, *Women and Spiritual Equality*, chapter 7: “Early Medieval Monasticism and Church Life.”

⁴⁷ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 93, mentions that at around 800 the ceremony of investment for the abbess was similar to that of the abbot as the prayer of consecration mentioned that there was no discrimination between men and women.

⁴⁸ Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, chapter 2: “Religious Image: The Iconography of the Virgin Mary.”

⁴⁹ Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), see chapter 1: “Flaws in the Golden Bowl: Gender and Spiritual Formation in the Twelfth Century.”

⁵⁰ Newman, *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ*, 28.

⁵¹ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 127. See chapter 3: “At What Cost Virginity? Sanctity and the Heroics of Virginity,” for a more detailed view on this topic.

⁵² Ronald E. Heine, *The Commentaries of Origen and Jerome on St. Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 201-273.

⁵³ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 129.

⁵⁴ AASS July 1, 80-87. See also Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 162-165.

prostitutes.⁵⁵ Similarly, men's disguise in order to enter nuns' enclosure is always interpreted negatively.⁵⁶ Another type of ambivalence related to disguise is reflected in the dichotomy between the popularity of these holy women's lives and church norms which prohibit clearly the use of men's clothes by women.⁵⁷

Ambiguity concerning women turns out in various contexts of their lives. Even if a woman leads a virtuous life and has a virile mind, she is still viewed a woman and is prone to sexuality. Both secular and religious images of women bear marks of ambiguity: a mother, a widow, or a wife if viewed positively can achieve holiness, yet presented negatively can be dangerous since a mother's love could be too abundant for her child, a widow could remarry and forget to dedicate her life to God, or a wife could choose carnal pleasure instead of preserving her chastity. The development of the cult of the Virgin offers the opportunity to have a model for emulation by women and to lessen the misogynistic views on them.⁵⁸

It is this context of ambivalence, ambiguity, and blurring of boundaries that I place the analysis of my visual representations. Is a miniature representing the death of Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria offering a positive view on the female body only from a masculine perspective?

1.5. Brief view on methodology, sources, and terminology

1.5.1. Scholarship on holy women in disguise

Research on cross-dressed saints' lives is quite rich. It has been a popular research topic especially from the 1970s. Literary, psychological, socio-religious, theological, and textual interpretations have attempted to explain the phenomenon from different approaches, both Eastern and Western, but there is no analysis of cross-dressed saints' visual representations.

Among the earliest interpretations are those of Herman Usener,⁵⁹ in the nineteenth century, and of Hippolyte Delehaye⁶⁰ at the beginning of the twentieth century. Usener considered that the transvestite motif is of pagan origin and passed into Christian hagiography through Greek romances. Furthermore, he pointed out that the saint's disguise is a survival of the cult of the bisexual Aphrodite of Cyprus. Recent

⁵⁵ Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 41.

⁵⁶ Vern Bullough, *Cross-Dressing, Sex, and Gender* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 45-73.

⁵⁷ See notes 76-78.

⁵⁸ Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 16.

⁵⁹ Hermann Usener, *Legenden der heiligen Pelagia* (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1879), I-XXIV.

⁶⁰ Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (Brussels, 1905, 1906, reprinted Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 51 and 150-60.

interpretations are those of John Anson,⁶¹ Évelyne Patlagean,⁶² Vern L. Bullough,⁶³ Sylvia Schein,⁶⁴ Stephen J. Davis,⁶⁵ and others.⁶⁶ Anson considers that these *vitae* were written by “monks for monks” and that they do not record real female behaviour. Patlagean points out that the origin of the transvestite phenomenon is connected to Christian practice and thought in Late Antiquity, while Delcourt⁶⁷ 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 lost status by transvestitism. Stephen J. Davis’ study analyzes the phenomenon from an intertextual perspective⁶⁸ by identifying the origin of the motif not only in the *vitae* of Thecla and Pelagia, as did other scholars, but in various patterns mostly drawn from the Bible or hagiography. Natalie Zemon Davis argues⁶⁹ that the image of the disordered woman did not have the only function of keeping women in their place, but also to sanction political disobedience or widen behavioral options for them. From this point of view, she argues that cross-dressed saints function as proof of the fact that women can do more than is expected from them: ruling the lower in themselves and deserving to be like men. Last but not least, Crystal Lubinsky,⁷⁰ proves that these saints remain women and are praised as holy women even when they use masculine disguise.

⁶¹ Anson, “The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism,” 1-32.

⁶² Patlagean, “L’histoire de la femme déguisée en moine,” 597-623.

⁶³ Vern L. Bullough, “Transvestites in the Middle Ages,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 79, No. 6 (1974): 1381-94 and also Vern L. Bullough, and James Brundage, *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 223-242 and Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex and Gender*, 51-57.

⁶⁴ Schein, “The Female Men of God,” 1-36.

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ Marie Delcourt, “Le Complexe de Diane et l’hagiographie Chrétienne,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 153 (1958): 1-33.

⁶⁸ Davis, “Crossed Texts, Crossed Sex,” 1-36. He identifies the origin of the motif not only in the *vitae* of Thecla and Pelagia, as did other scholars, but in various patterns mostly drawn from the Bible or hagiography.

⁶⁹ Natalie Zemon Davis, “Women on Top,” in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 131-132.

⁷⁰ Crystal Lubinsky, *Removing Masculine Layers to Reveal a Holy Womanhood. The Female Transvestite Monks of Late Antique Eastern Christianity* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

1.5.2. Research questions, sources, and, methodology

As mentioned, saints in disguise were researched from various perspectives, still an analysis of their visual sources lacks. What I want to find out is if/how the patterns of female piety such as Marian devotion or female mysticism are reflected in depictions of women saints in disguise which are a particular type of saints. I also intend to verify if Lubinsky's theory and conclusions are applicable in the case of Western art and textual sources on saints in disguise. Lubinsky concludes that these saints were praised for being women and that their masculine disguise is only an outward disguise that permits them to continue their ascetic vocation. Yet, she refers to Eastern versions of cross-dressed saints' lives and seems to include only two saints of my topic (Saints Marina and Euphrosyne) into her research.

As my analysis concentrates almost exclusively on the visual representations of the group of virgins in disguise: Saints Marina the Monk, Euphrosyne, Margareta Pelagius, and Eugenia, I aim at identifying patterns of recipients and patterns of representations in contexts that in certain cases are connected to the Crusades.

In this sense, I intend to answer the following research questions:

1. the main research question of the dissertation refers to the following:

What is the difference between the visual and the textual sources when depicting saints in disguise?

2. Accordingly, other research questions emerge, such as:

- Are there any patterns of representations? If yes, which are those and in which cultural/artistic contexts were they produced?
- Are there any regional differences? If yes, which ones and why did these differences emerge? Is this influenced by recipients?

The cultural-religious-artistic phenomena detailed briefly by the previous subchapters set my sources in complex contexts characterized not only by tension(s) and development(s), but also variety. Except the misogynist view, one can identify other possibilities of interpretation(s) which set women in positive contexts. This possibility of perceiving a fact, in my case the visual/textual sources, from multiple perspectives and attitudes towards women, offers me the opportunity to use multiple perspectives as methodology of research. Accordingly, I analyze my sources from various perspectives - social history, art history, medieval literature or gender studies - in an attempt to situate them in the historical milieu of their production and trace patterns of development.

In my opinion the emergence of a great number of visual representations is due to the adaptability of the lives of saints in disguise which incorporate new patterns of emergent women saints. This amount of visual sources is included in the image catalogue. In order to facilitate the analysis of the patterns of development these depictions

(miniature, paintings, frescoes, mosaics, and so on) are listed in chronological order according to the four areas of research: France, Spain, Italy, and German(ic) areas.

Sources

Most of my sources (textual and visual) date from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century and are saints' *vitae* and illuminations or paintings depicting certain episodes of the lives of holy women in disguise. The twelfth-fifteenth centuries offer a variety of models that influenced and shaped the *vitae* of holy women in disguise. In this sense, in order to trace these shifts, I generally used the manuscript texts as source(s) of the *vitae* and in some instances English translations. This allowed me to analyze the image-text relationship and to identify textual developments. Among the translated sources used frequently is Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991. I used this English translation for quotations regarding Saint Euphrasyne's life (and sometimes Saint Marina's) in verse which is preserved in four manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian, Canon. Misc. 74, folio 87r-108v, thirteenth century; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 9229-30, folio 61v-70v, thirteenth century; The Hague, Bibliothèque Royale, Th. 389, folio 61v-70v, fourteenth century; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 5204, folio 87v-97v, fourteenth century (for more see appendix).

Another frequently used printed hagiographic collection is Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*. Paris: Librairie A. Picard et Fils, 1905. This collection contains (also) Latin, French, German/Austrian versions of Saint Marina's life. For the manuscripts containing French prose versions of Saint Marina's life consult the appendix at the end of the dissertation. Besides the German/Austrian versions of Marina's life from Clugnet's collection, I used *Das Väterbuch, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters aus der Leipziger, Hildesheimer und Straßburger Handschrift*. Berlin: Karl Reissenberger, 1914 which includes a life of Saint Euprosyne apparently similar to the French source material in verse.

Concerning the textual sources on Saint Eugenia's life, I consulted mostly fourteenth-fifteenth-century manuscripts in French vernacular: Arsenal 5080, *Speculum historiale*, 1335 or Ms. Français 313, *Speculum historiale*, 1396 (for more, see appendix). I have translated the relevant episodes of these lives from French vernacular into English. With regard to the life of Saint Margareta Pelagius, I used again fourteenth-fifteenth-century French vernacular versions of her life (see appendix) which I translated into English after identifying relevant quotations for my research: Ms. Français 185, *Lives of Saints*, fourteenth century or Ms. Français 242, *Legenda Aurea*, fifteenth century.

Another important aspect that needs to be emphasized is that most of these saints are Byzantine saints whose lives circulated from East to West. I consulted Agnes Smith Lewis, "Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest," *Studia Sinaitica* 10 (1900): 1-35, (Eugenia) 36-45, (Marina) 46-59, (Euphrosyne) that contains eight-century lives. Whenever I highlighted certain hagiographical shifts and developments concerning the transfer of motifs from East to West, I referred to the versions of this printed source. Even more, the life of Saint Marina

the Monk was translated into Coptic, Arabic, Greek as found in Clugnet's *Vie et office*⁷¹ or in other sources such as: Ignazio Guidi, and E. Blochet "Vie de Sainte Marine." *Revue de L'Orient Chrétien* 7 (1902): 245-276, or Hyvernât, Hervé, "Vie de Sainte Marine." *Revue de L'Orient Chrétien* 7 (1902): 127-151.

Speaking about the visual representations of these saints in the East, one has to underline the fact that the number of depictions for the Late Antique or medieval period are not that numerous. It is the case of the Menologion of Basil II, for instance, that includes images of holy women in disguise. However, one cannot trace any regional development because of the lack of images.

When dealing with the frequency of images in the West, one has to discern between how these saints were represented in Late Antiquity and, then, in the Middle Ages. In earlier sixth-seventh-century mosaic representations, some of these saints are depicted mostly in the context of martyrdom. For instance, Saint Eugenia of Rome is represented with a masculine physiognomy, in Ravenna when included in a group of martyr women, while Saint Marina the Monk is also situated among martyr women. In contrast to this early phase of representations and to the relative low number of depictions, starting approximately from the thirteenth century, the images of saints in disguise increases when represented in various media: manuscript illuminations, statues, paintings, and so on. One of the most important aspects that needs to be answered is why do the numbers of these saints increase and which are the main differences in their depictions.

Methodology

When speaking about methodology, I aim at identifying various local developments and the religious-cultural-artistic influences on them. Then, I compare these local developments in order to trace the representation dynamics of holy women in disguise. The areas my research concentrates on are, mainly, France and Italy, because most of my sources are from there, but I also use material from Spain, Germany/Austria, and, sometimes, the Netherlands. Furthermore, the depictions generally concentrate on two important episodes of their lives: entrance and exit. Therefore, the research is constructed around these two patterns. By entrance, I am referring to of the part when holy women in disguise join monastic space, while the exit refers to their death.

As mentioned, the types of iconographic sources that predominate are mostly manuscript illuminations but also paintings. I trace iconographic developments analyzing chronologically and regionally narrative episodes of these saints' lives (illuminations) and static representations (paintings). As it is not a traditional art-historical approach, I observe certain differences and common elements which I collect in an iconographic dossier in relation with the text (see the image catalog in relation to the appendix). Generally speaking, I analyze the iconographic attribute of clothes and tonsure in order to trace developments. Further attributes such as the cross or the martyrs' palm are also added in

⁷¹ On versions of cross-dressed saints' lives, including Marina the Monk, see Lubinsky, *Removing Masculine Layers*, 20-40 and Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine* (Paris: Librairie A. Picard et Fils, 1905), 37-124 for Syriac, Geeks, Coptic versions of Marina's life.

order to emphasize the contractions of the character. Again in both cases, I lay special emphasis on the positioning of the saint: on the folio/in the *corpus* of the manuscript, when speaking about illuminations or in the construction of a painting, when speaking about depictions for a much general audience.

Outline

The inside (entrance)-outside (death) structure corresponds to two other parts of the research. The first part analyses the development of the imagery of holy women in disguise *inside* manuscripts in a very close relation to the textual source. The *outside* part corresponds to the representations that are disseminated in various public *milieu* such as churches, monasteries, or institutions. In both of these cases the change and removal of clothes function as a disguise in the visual (also hagiographical) narrative, hence, the importance of the *anagnorisis* that I emphasize throughout the dissertation.

I connect this process of revealing to the two parts of the research, namely a first one that is dealing with the miniatures of these saints (where narrative cycles and condensed episodes predominate mostly) and a second that focuses on depictions for wider audience. The first part of the dissertation contains three chapters that analyze the way these women in disguise are constructed with the help of certain hagiographic *topoi*. The first chapter analyzes the positioning of these saints on the folio and in the *corpus* of the manuscripts; the second chapter concentrates on the way the images (referring to the saints' entrance) can be read and re-interpreted in relation to various hagiographical inclusions in the textual sources, while the third chapter analyzes the same process as the second chapter, but with regard to the saints' exit (death).

The second part of the dissertation is a case study on the cult of two of these saints in disguise, namely Saint Eugenia of Rome and Saint Marina the Monk. It analyzes how these saints are constructed as women when displayed for a much wider audience. In their case, the depictions have a tendency of concentrating representative parts of the *vita* and, thus, become static, in public space. This is to be seen mostly in Marina's case, and, some times, in Eugenia's.

Both saints are dedicated a chapter since the source material concerning them is abundant and, thus, allowed to do separate research. As sources on Saint Euphrosyne are not so many, I included the analysis in the third chapter where I analyze her woodcut representations. There is no information on an existing cult of Saint Margareta Pelagius and I have not been able to find any primary or secondary source on such a development.

The fourth chapter focuses on the construction and iconographic development of Saint Marina the Monk in three areas: Italy, Spain, and France. It shows that the shift in her iconographic attributes, the confusion with Saint Marina of Antioch, and the influence of Marian piety, all contributed to viewing her as a woman.

The fifth chapter emphasizes the iconographic development of Saint Eugenia of Rome, again in the same three areas: Italy, France, and Spain. It proves that her narrative imagery should be analyzed as a whole, that there is continuity in her iconography that depicts her as a martyr (Italy), and that in relation to the textual sources, Saint Eugenia is constructed as a female character.

1.5.3. *Admiranda/Imitanda* vs. canon law

Saints' lives had the function of *exempla* for the public.⁷² Their purpose was to determine the audience to adopt certain behavioral models. But these lives were more than models; they were cultural symbols with multiple meaning, hence, one should discern between the aspect of *admiranda* and *imitanda* and be aware that the *vitae* offer several layers of interpretation.⁷³

Caroline Walker Bynum considers that cross-dressing represented a social mechanism for women, and not a religious symbol, as (religious) men suggested. Cross-dressing helped women to change their roles, e.g., to become a warrior, offered safety on pilgrimage, and helped escaping family and husband.⁷⁴ These representatives of the group of holy women in disguise that I work with fit well into this last role of escaping family and husband (Euphrosyne, Eugenia, and Margareta Pelagius). The abundance of depictions which focus on the entrance into a monastery and death of holy women in disguise suggests their evolution from *sponsa mundi* to *sponsa Christi*. It is exactly this shift in status that both the textual and the visual sources emphasize when presenting young, marriageable virgins whose choice contrasts their parents' wishes and who join monks' monasteries as they refuse the riches of the world for the (spiritual) wealth of heaven.

Contrary to these positive attitudes when speaking of admiration, canon law clearly prohibits cross-dressing. Not only did the prescriptions in Deuteronomy⁷⁵ (22:5) forbid women to wear the clothes of the opposite sex, but so did a canon from the *Decretum Gratiani*,⁷⁶ the penitential of Burchard of Worms,⁷⁷ councils such as the one from Gangra.⁷⁸ Despite of all these interdictions, some women kept on being sanctified when wearing men's clothes, at least, when speaking of hagiography.

1.5.4. Terminology and research areas

Naturally, as any research, my investigation will have certain restrictions of various nature. First of all, the terminology that I prefer to use almost all over my analysis is

⁷² I have not included Joan of Arc or Christina of Markyate into the introductory analysis since their case, although connected to cross-dressing, does not fit into the context of Late Antique *monachoparthenoi* transferred from East to West and re-used during the middle ages as hagiographical characters. Joan or Christina are medieval products and cross-dressing in their case is employed in a slightly different way.

⁷³ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 407-08.

⁷⁴ Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 38.

⁷⁵ *The Bible. Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 244: "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God."

⁷⁶ Gratianus (The Canonist), *Decretum Gratiani emendatum et notationibus ...Gregorii XIII*, edited by Justus Henning Boehmer PL187: 165.

⁷⁷ Burchard of Worms, *Opera Omnia*, PL 140: 805.

⁷⁸ Charles Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des conciles* (Paris: Letouzey et Aîné, 1907), 1:1038.

“disguise” when referring to the phenomenon of changing one’s clothes with that of the opposite sex: women dressing into men’s clothes and vice versa. Two other terms that one might use with regard to this same aspect is that of “transvestitism” and “cross-dressing”. I try to avoid them as much as possible because they are suggesting further pathological or sexual meanings. The next restriction is geographical. As already said, most of my visual sources are from France and Italy, but I also use some material from Germany/Austria, Spain, and the Netherlands.⁷⁹ I researched those areas where the visual (but also the textual) sources predominate.

The images and texts that I use do not always belong to the same manuscript. In some instances, I use only the images/illuminations, but I could not access the texts of the *vitae* in those manuscripts; in other cases I use the text, but there were no relevant images in that particular manuscript, while in more favorable cases I could access both the illuminations and the texts of the saints’ lives. The great number of images that I work with helps me identifying local patterns and developments, but I do not pretend to have used all the existing amount of (visual) representations.

⁷⁹ Up to this point of my research I have not found any visual representations of holy women in disguise in England, only few articles that include reference on them. One such article on Saint Euphrosyne mentions that she was not that popular because her life did not have any cultural utility. Stephen Stallcup, “The Old English *Life of Saint Euphrosyne* and the Economics of Sanctity,” in *Anonymous Interpolations in Aelfric’s Life of Saints*, ed. Robin Norris (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2011), 13-28.

Chapter 1

In Disguise for Christ's Sake

1.1. Previous interpretations

Through the analysis of iconographic attributes (clothes and tonsure/hair), the position on the manuscript folio, and in the manuscript *corpus*, this chapter demonstrates that cross-dressed saints are viewed as holy *sponsae*/women wearing disguise and not anomalous third gender representatives. As most of the illuminations concentrate on the entrance of holy women into a monastery (and also on their exit-death), this turns out to be a representative moment of their lives which, then, is paralleled with the reveal of disguise. It is through this disguise that they will be able to become *sponsae* and meet their groom when dying. The survival of a hagiographical pattern allowed the lives of virgins in disguise to adapt and become flexible: a virgin wants Christ as groom, she retires in a monastery (with supernatural help) where she becomes an example for others while living alone in her cell. Instead of the supernatural help, saints in disguise employ disguise and reveal their identity generally after their death or in *articulo mortis*.⁸⁰

These saints seemed to be eunuchs in an eighth-century Eastern source:⁸¹ Marina, Euphrosyna, and Eugenia attract both men and women, so, it is their ambiguous nature that charms.

Several interpretations suggest that the male disguise of these saints implies not only gender inversion, but also a means of neutering it. Hotchkiss suggests that it indicates the saint's intention of suppressing sexuality.⁸² Indeed, the *vitae* emphasize the physique of these saints by connecting it to temptation and to the presence of sexual desire in the monastery.

Further literature on this particular group of saints considers that representing disguises is avoided. For instance, Saisha Grayson mentions that "Looking at a number of examples from illuminated manuscripts, [without mentioning which ones] this paper will

⁸⁰ Ludwig Zoepf, *Das Heiligenleben im 10. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig and Berlin: Druck und Verlag von B.G. Teubner, 1908), 41-42. On the broadening of the concept of sanctity in later Middle Ages see, John W. Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power. Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006): 7- 24.

⁸¹ Agnes Smith Lewis, "Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest," *Studia Sinaitica* 10 (1900): 36-45 for Marina: "The brethren imagined that she was a eunuch because she had no beard, and also because of the softness of her voice; but others thought that she had hurt herself by too great toils in devotion." (page 38). For Eugenia: "And she said to the two eunuchs who were with her [...]" (page 3). "But we three are all of us brothers. One of us is named Prothus, and another Hyacinthus, and I am called Eugenius." (pg 11). For Euphrosyne: "And she talked with the porter and said to him, 'Brother, if it pleases thee, go and say to the Abbot that a certain eunuch from the palace is at the door outside and desires to speak to thee.'" (page 52).

⁸² Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 27.

show that medieval artists relied heavily on the accompanying texts to identify the saint, narrate her story, and mitigate the significance of her transvestitism. In fact, picturing transvestitism is almost universally avoided, and writers assume the full responsibility for elaborating that aspect of the life.”⁸³

In my opinion, Saisha Grayson’s statement that “representing a specific category of holy women whose distinguishing activity was dressing as monks (and therefore men) troubled the social divisions and signifying practice that structured medieval representation” is interpretable.⁸⁴ Having a look at the textual sources, it is clear that the recipients of these images knew how to relate to them. Cross-dressing/disguise represents an important step, as it already emphasizes the potential sanctity of the future holy bride. The dress did not trouble social division at all, as people related to cross-dressed saints as women, and not a hybrid third gender representative. The dress(-ing), therefore, does not figure as a “distinguishing activity,” but distinguishes these women as a different type of virgins. If we pay attention to the *vitae* of any holy women in disguise emphasis is laid on their spiritual qualities- as hagiographic texts generally do- while the worldly, mundane aspects presented in the *vitae* only emphasize the spiritual qualities of religious elites offered as models.

If we have a look at the order of the miniatures in the manuscript(s), we will remark that the lives of these saints are preceded and followed by other holy women’s depictions (and lives). Thus, the positioning of these lives in the manuscript offers this possibility of viewing holy women as exemplary characters with less patristic influence. Holy women in disguise are often grouped with other women saints regardless if they are positioned according to calendar year (*Legenda Aurea*) or in other order (*Speculum historiale*). In the following, I want to argue that besides a feminist/misogynistic/patristic or gendered interpretation, there are other possibilities. I would like to shift the view on these holy women in disguise, namely to focus on the function that clothes have in the visual and textual sources. In my opinion, especially in visual, but also in hagiographic

⁸³ Saisha Grayson, “Disruptive Disguises: The Problem of Transvestite Saints for Medieval Art, Identity, and Identification,” *Medieval Feminist Forum* vol. 45, No. 2 (2009): 143-144.

⁸⁴ Grayson, “*Disruptive Disguises*,” 138-174. See particularly pages 140-142. I see no motives and no concrete evidence for the fact that “there was pressure on artists to give form to transvestite saints.” Grayson omits here a note with the *who*, *why*, and *how*. Starting from the sixth century until now (in the places where the cult of holy women in disguise survived) there is an abundance of representations and no sign of any “pressure” on the artists who depicted the most representative episodes of their lives: Marina in front of the monastery, Eugenia either as martyr or undressing, Euphrosyne dying, and Margareta Pelagius enclosed. Therefore, “transvestite saints, then, [did not] present a problem for medieval artists and supervising Church authorities apart from the purely representational.” Why? Because Church authorities differentiated between what should be imitated –*imitanda* in a saint’s life and what admired- *admiranda*: disguise is not presented for imitation, *per se*, but for the spiritual values the saints achieve. Even more, Church authorities, such as popes and bishops, promoted the cult of saints in disguise and sent their relics into various parts of medieval Europe; I am referring here to France and Spain whereto the relics of Saints Eugenia and Marina were transferred from Italy. Accordingly, instead of “suggesting that this weakness could best be overcome by choosing to live as men,” saints in disguise suggest that *weakness can be overcome by choosing to be a woman* (I am aware of the *manliness* theory applied particularly to early female saints).

sources, the clothes (and tonsure) have the function of disguising the female body and, thus, they become a means of helping women living a religious life in Christ and marrying Him as brides when dying. Disguise does not mean gender change or defeminization, it represents the first step in the process of *anagnorisis* of the main character (besides emphasizing the religious vocation).⁸⁵ In this way the episode of disguise is paralleled with that of the reveal of disguise which is visually emphasized by the abundance of double structured miniatures concentrating on entrance and exit.

1.2. Clothes

The visual sources suggest the spiritual development of the female characters (as future *sponsae*) by changing their secular clothes with monastic garb: Margareta Pelagia runs away already disguised, Euphrosyne is dressing (in front of a monastery), in some instances, Marina is already dressed, apparently by her father, while Eugenia is never shown dressing herself, only undressing to prove her innocence. Here, the disguise is viewed positively, as women improve themselves spiritually.⁸⁶

Closely connected to this element of clothes is the space where the clothes are removed and taken on, namely, at the gate of the monastery. All the miniatures depict the disguise happening in front of the monastic door with the help or in the company of monks. According to Bernard of Clairvaux, when entering a monastery, the old body, connected to lust and secular life, is checked at the door and becomes a new body characterized by sanctity,⁸⁷ as the novice leaves his/her own flesh, a reminder of the Fall and a source of sin, for the heavenly world.⁸⁸ In this context the clothes symbolize the saints' renunciation of their personality.

In Saint Marina's case, disguise is reflected in the miniatures by depicting a child-like Marina similar in physiognomy and clothes to her father.⁸⁹ Having a look at the positioning of the miniature(s) in the manuscript(s) it becomes clear that the clothes, generally, have the function of indicating a change. Marina's life is preceded by that of

⁸⁵ Kevin Frederick Vaughan, "Thomas Aquinas on Christian Recognition. The Case of Mary Magdalene" in *Recognition and Modes of Knowledge: Anagnorisis from Antiquity to Contemporary Theory*, ed. Teresa G. Russo (Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 2013), 123- 139.

⁸⁶ On patterns of portraying female sanctity see Catherine M. Mooney, "Voice, Gender, and the Portrayal of Sanctity" in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 1-15.

⁸⁷ Jacqueline Murray, "Masculinizing Religious Life: Sexual Prowess, the Battle for Chastity and Monastic Identity," in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. P.H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 33.

⁸⁸ Milis, *Angelic Monks*, 139-143.

⁸⁹ Another interpretation refers to Marina's monastic life as genderless since she is pure and not corrupted in knowledge by sinful connotations with marriage. Tracy considers that her "gender transformation is not a conscious choice" and that she "knows she is a woman, but does not know what it exactly means." See Larissa Tracy, *Women of the Gilte Legende A Selection of Middle English Saints Lives* (Cambridge, UK, Rochester, NY.: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 85.

Saint Mary of Egypt particularly in French sources.⁹⁰ Her clothes echo those of Marina the Monk in the sense that they are suggestive of a shift in their social status. Mary is depicted half naked, her body covered partially by her hair, partially by some rags (see Fig. 1.13). But what both women have in common is their wish to live a chaste life dedicated to Christ.

The textual sources⁹¹ connect the changing of clothes to the acquisition of a new name: “[The father] 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.”⁹² or “...he [the father] changed the women’s clothes of his daughter to men’s [clothes], and changing the name Marina into Marinus, took her with him into the monastery”⁹³ and “So, the father clothes her in men’s clothes, and changing her name, called her Marinus.”⁹⁴ In other fifteenth-century French versions (and not only) the father disguises his daughter by dressing her as a man after the abbot gives permission to bring his child to the monastery: “He dressed and changed the child/Similar to a boy.”⁹⁵

These textual sources indicate that the clothes have the function of disguising her. The German versions of Marina’s *vita* differ from the Latin and the 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 in the name of his daughter, but is also the agent of her disguise:

Her father gave her male clothes and he came with the daughter and asked the abbot diligently that his son should be accepted in the monastery. 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 monastery virtuously and wore the clothes of men willingly.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ See for instance Arsenal 5080, folio 407r, Paris, National Library of France.

⁹¹ Andrea-Bianka Znorovszky, “Marinus Unveiled: A Transvestite Saint in Western Art and Literature.” Unpublished MA Thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2011, 28-30.

⁹² Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Sismel, 2008), 534: “mutavit habitum filiae suae, ut non femina, sed masculus videretur, rogavitque abbatem et fratres, ut filium suum unicum reciperent.”

⁹³ Ms. Mm. VI. 1, folio 185r, 14th century, Library of the University of Cambridge reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 260: “... mutavit habitum mulierebem filie sue in uirilem, nomenclumque Marine in Marinum mutato, duxit eam secum in monasterium.”

⁹⁴ Petro de Natalibus, *Catalogus Sanctorum* (1521) reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 266: “Pater ergo habitu virili eam induit et mutato nomine Marinum ipsam vocavit.”

⁹⁵ Ms. 1728, folio 106r, 15th century, The Vatican Library, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 170: “L’enfant vestit et atourna/ Tout ainsi comme vne garçon.”

⁹⁶ Günter Zainer, *Leben der Heiligen*, (Augsburg, 1472), folio 56r-56v reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 126: “da leget ir ir vater mans cleider an vñ kam mit der tocher vnd bat den abt mit fleiss dz er im seinen sun zü den orten enpfing. 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 trug williclichen mans cleider an in dè orten.” I am thankful for my supervisor, Professor Gerhard Jaritz, who translated the German and Dutch source material.

Having a look at the positioning of Marina's *vita* in the German sources one will observe a considerable difference both between the Germanic sources and the French ones, but also between the Germanic sources dedicated for lay audience and the sources dedicated for monastic communities.⁹⁷ In a fifteenth-century German(ic) manuscript Marina is represented with crown as a bride of Christ (Fig. 1.1) reminding of the Venetian pattern⁹⁸ (because of the book in her hand), but it also develops an interesting iconographic attribute that includes the image of the serpent. Another fifteenth-century Austrian version of the *Legenda Aurea* concentrates on an initial with a Saint Marina (Fig. 1.2) driving a cart out of the monastic establishment. Looking at the text that follows Marina's depiction, it indicates that this *Golden Legend* version follows the pattern of the French sources, namely it is Marina's father who changes the clothes of his daughter and brings her to the monastery together with him:

But after the father had entered a certain monastery, he changed the clothes of his daughter so that she looked like a man and not a woman. And he asked the abbot and the monks to accept his only son.⁹⁹

The same German representation is suggestive of Marina's lodging at the innkeeper and emphasizes the perils that a monk can undergo when leaving religious space. The miniature and the *vita* is preceded by Pentecost and followed the Crucifixion of Saint Peter. In this particular manuscript, the life of Mary of Egypt (Fig. 1.3) is not that close to that of Marina, precedes it a few folios before, following a chronological order of the saints in the church year. Again in Mary of Egypt's case the illumination depicts a small figure dressed in secular clothes who is at the entrance of a religious establishment. Here, in the case of the two women saints, Marina's leaving the monastery corresponds to Mary's entrance. Mary's secular clothes echo Marina's monastic garb while her physiognomy reflects the process of penitence that she will undergo. What is even more interesting is the inclusion of another saint in disguise that I have also found depicted in some French sources, namely, Theodora of Alexandria, a penitent, (Fig. 1.4) who similarly to Marina was accused of fathering a child.¹⁰⁰ In the fifteenth-century German version of the *Golden Legend*, Theodora is depicted leaving monastic space with a child in her hand. This makes it clear that in the case of some saints in disguise, they are leaving the monastic space and will be accused of adultery, while the prostitute/penitent

⁹⁷ For the popularity of saints in disguise in German speaking territories see Werner Williams-Krapp, "Die deutschen Übersetzungen der 'Legenda Aurea' des Jacobus de Voragine," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, II, (1979): 257-258, 263, 267, 270. See also Werner Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legende des Mittelalters* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1986), 408, 439.

⁹⁸ Among Saint Marina's iconographical attributes in Venice, one mentions a cross, a book, and a martyr's palm. In early Venetian depictions she is represented holding a book.

⁹⁹ Ms. Cod 326, folio 111r, *Legenda Aurea*, 1410-1450, National Library of Austria, Vienna: "Cum autem pater quoddam monasterium intrasset mutavit habitum filie sue ut non femina sed masculus videtur rogavitque abbatem et fratres ut filium suum unicum recipiant."

¹⁰⁰ Werner Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legende*, 463.

saint is entering sacred space after living an adulterous life. In contrast to this German depiction, the French ones concentrate more on Theodora's temptation by the devil (Fig. 1.5), entrance into monastic space (Fig. 1.6), and less on her and the child (Fig. 1.7).¹⁰¹ Another positioning pattern (according to church year) is observable in Saint Marina's case as she is inserted among martyr saints: Julietta/Quiriacos-Marina-Gervasius/Prothasius. It is the case of a miniature in a *Legenda Aurea* from Angers which again contains the same tripartite structure of saints and a detailed explanation of Marina's name written before the commencement of her *vita*.¹⁰²



Fig. 1.1: Saint Marina, 1446-1455, *Lives of Saints*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Germ. 6834, image 248.

¹⁰¹ Theodora of Alexandria, a married woman, cheated on her husband tempted by the devil. She joins a monastery disguised as a man to expiate her sin. There she is accused of fathering a child; when dead, the monastic community finds out that she is guiltless.

¹⁰² See, for instance, Williams-Krapp, "Die deutschen Übersetzungen," 257. For the French mss. see [Angers – Université Catholique de l'Ouest - inc. non coté \[1\]](#), folio 121r, Angers, Library of Angers, and mss. Français 241, folio 139v, Français 242, folio 120v, Français 20330, folio 135r, Paris, National Library of France. On Dutch patterns see Werner Williams-Krapp, "'Mijn wille en est niet tegen Gods geloeve ocht tegen de heilige kerte te doene.'" Zur Rezeption der 'Legenda aurea' im deutsch/niederländischen Raum," in "Een boec dat men te Latine heet Aurea Legenda" Beiträge zur niederländischen Übersetzung der Legenda Aurea, ed. Armand Berteloot, Hans van Dijk, Jasmin Hlatky (Münster: Warmann, 2003), 9- 17 and also Geert H.M. Claassens, "Van Sinte Marinen, een vita in travestie," in "Een boec dat men te Latine heet Aurea Legenda" Beiträge zur niederländischen Übersetzung der Legenda Aurea, ed. Armand Berteloot, Hans van Dijk, Jasmin Hlatky (Münster: Warmann, 2003), 165- 180.



Fig. 1.2: Saint Marina driving a cart, 1446-1447, Martinus Opifex, *Legenda Aurea* Vienna, Austrian National Library, cod. 326, folio 111r.



Fig. 1.3: Mary of Egypt, 1446-1447, Martinus Opifex, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 326, folio 82r.



Fig. 1.4: Saint Theodora of Alexandria, 1446-1447, Martinus Opifex, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 326, folio 126v.



Fig. 1.5: Saint Theodora of Alexandria tempted by the devil, 1348, Richard de Montbaston, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 241, folio 158v.



Fig. 1.6: Saint Theodora entering the monastery, 1301-1400, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 20330, folio 155r.



Fig. 1.7: Theodora of Alexandria and the child (background), temptation scene (foreground), 1480-1490, Jacques de Besançon, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 244, folio 195v.

A different positioning pattern is traceable in a *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* from Heiligenkreuz¹⁰³ that contains the lives of Marina and Euphrosyne while a Zwettl manuscript of the *MLA* includes Marina's life (See cat fig. 148) among many representations of holy men (Saint Anthony the hermit, Saint Julian and so on).¹⁰⁴ Saint Marina is looking similar to a monk, in my opinion, besides for the reason of respecting the "story" also because the manuscripts circulated in male monasteries. On the contrary, on German(ic) territories, the holy women offered as exempla for women monastics are generally women martyrs: Saint Cecilia, Barbara or Dorothea.¹⁰⁵

A similar pattern to that of grouping Marina the Monk with prostitute saints is visible in Saint Margareta Pelagius' case (Fig. 1.18). Some French representations of hers are placed together with those of two prostitute saints: Saint Pelagia (Fig. 1.19) and Saint Thays (Fig. 1.20). Both women are depicted, generally, with richly adorned dresses which, as in the case of Saint Pelagia, will be changed by the monastic garb. Pelagia wears a dark colored dress which covers her entire body. Behind her there are other courtesans wearing red colored dresses. This episode presents her talking to a young man. Thays wears a red dress, with her left hand she raises an edge of the dress showing a white undergarment while talking to monks. Both Pelagia and Thays are depicted on a threshold as their clothes suggest their transformation from sinful women to future brides of Christ. Their clothes emphasize through color (Pelagia) and gesture of raising it (Thays) this religious shift. In Pelagia's case the dark dress is suggestive of the penitent clothes that she is about to wear when retiring in the desert, while in Thays's case, her hand gesture indicates the riches of the world she will leave behind in order to become a holy woman.

Margareta's veil and monastic garb correspond to the dresses of these two women. So, again, the woman in disguise is placed among other holy women, underlying in this way her gender. If we compare Margareta Pelagius' depiction to the textual sources it might be striking that she makes reference to the virtue of men (to be detailed in the third chapter), but it is a woman who acquires these spiritual qualities:

¹⁰³ Ms. Hk 11, folio 10r-10v (Marina followed by the life of Saint Peter) 124v-126r (Euphrosyne), 220v-224v (Eugenia) *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, Heiligenkreuz, Austria, Monastic Library.

¹⁰⁴ For the order of other saints in the *MLA* (including Saint Marina again) see: Albertus Poncelet, "De Magno Legendario Austriaco," *Analecta Bollandiana* 8 (1898): 39 and 27-37. For a more detailed analysis of the *MLA* see Diarmuid Ó Riain, "The Magnum Legendarium Austriacum: a New Investigation of One of Medieval Europe's Richest Hagiographical Collections," *Analecta Bollandiana* 133 (2015): 87-165. He also mentions the possibility of an art-historical connection between the Heiligenkreuz *MLA* and manuscripts produced in Cîteaux; see page 26. See also, Werner Telesko, "Sammlung von Heiligenviten ('Magnum Legendarium Austriacum')," in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich* vol. 1, ed. Hermann Fillitz (Munich; New York: Prestel, 1998), 558-559.

¹⁰⁵ Tanja Maltern, *Literatur der Zisterzienserinnen, Edition und Untersuchung einer Wienhäuser Legendenhandschrift* (Tübingen and Basel: A. Franke Verlag, 2011). See "Legenden in Text und Bild: Wienhäuser Legendar und das Bildprogramm des Nonnenchors," 268-276 and "Legendensammlungen weiblicher Heiliger: Wienhäuser Legendar und Buch von den heiligen Mägden und Frauen," 310-316.

I did not lie to deceive because I had proven that I have the virtue of a man and I had virtue over the sin that I have been accused of and I, although innocent, did penitence.¹⁰⁶

and

And I called myself Pelagius, I am a man, I had never lied to deceive because I had proven that I have virtue of man and I had virtue over the sin that I have been accused of and I, although innocent, did penitence.¹⁰⁷

In the case of one Germanic source the manuscript does not concentrate on her marriage or death, but on her escaping the husband.

She singed her blond hair she put on a head gear the pure cover of God, took men's dress and said that her right name was Pelagius. She went without any shame with great joy as somebody who has kept all honour with God who can help in this respect.¹⁰⁸

In this German(ic) source Margareta Pelagius is connected to the same group of saints: Pelagia (Fig 1.8) and Thays (Fig. 1.9). But compared to the French miniatures,¹⁰⁹ it is worth to be mentioned that Margareta Pelagius (See cat fig. 89) is depicted with a barely visible physiognomy enclosed in a cell while Pelagia the penitent's face is not

¹⁰⁶ Ms. Français 245, folio 192v, *Legenda Aurea*, 1480-1490, National Library of France, Paris: "Je nay pas menty pour decevoir car jay monstre que jay eu vertu domme et ay eu vertu du pechie qui me fut mis sus et ie innocent en ay fait la penitance." Except the translations of Brigitte Cazelles, the rest of the source material is translated by me.

¹⁰⁷ Ms. Français 242, folio 231v, *Legenda Aurea*, 15th century, National Library of France, Paris: "Je me mis nom pellagien Je sui homme Je nay pas menti pour decevoir car Jay monstre que jay en vertu domme et ay eu vertu du pechie qui me fut mis sus et ie innocent en ay fait la penitance."

¹⁰⁸ *Das Väterbuch, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters aus der Leipziger, Hildesheimer und Straßburger Handschrift* (Berlin: Karl Reissenberger, 1914), 519: "Ir gelwez har sie so verschriet/ Und satzte uf ein hube./ Die reine Gotes tube/ Nam an sich mannes gewant/ Und sprach sie were genant/ Pelagius in rechtem namen./ Sie giene sunder allez schamen/ Mit grozen vreuden, als der tut/ Die alle sine ere hat behut /Mit Gote, der des helfen kan."

¹⁰⁹ Grayson, "Disruptive Disguises," 145-146. There, Grayson performs some unpardonable methodology mistakes as she apparently did not consult the texts (those texts that she highly emphasizes the artists used when illuminating the manuscripts). Grayson mentions two illuminations of Pelagia but if she were to consult the texts she would have realized that the second image belongs to a different saint bearing the name Pelagia, namely, Margareta dicta Pelagius who can be easily confused with Pelagia. So, the first illumination is followed by a text that contains the life of Pelagia the courtesan, while the other illumination is not a continuation of the courtesan's visual representations, but it presents the content of the second text that follows. If Grayson would have looked at the very short image description offered by www.mandragore.fr she would have realized that: "ci commence la vie sainte marguerite dite pelagie qui fu vierge et mariee et puis fu moignes et devise comment elle mourut en I desert." could not refer to Pelagia the courtesan. And the artist does not refuse "to visually represent her gender inversion" (actually Pelagia is inverting only her clothes, not her gender).

visible at all. The (common) setting is suggestive of the transformation the saints in disguise will undergo for achieving the state of bride of Christ.

As mentioned before, Mary of Egypt, Thays, and Pelagia are those saints who often precede/follow saints in disguise in the manuscripts. The lives of these strong women have a tripartite structure: living in sin, conversion, and reaching holiness through the mercy of God.¹¹⁰ This structure is reflected in the lives of Margareta Pelagius and also of Marina and Euphrosyne, but antithetically. If the prostitute-penitents are living in sin, convert/repent and accede to holiness, virgins in disguise are living a Christian life, are accused of sin and, finally, accede to holiness. In both cases the most important part of these lives is connected to entering and exiting. All of them, penitent saints and virgins in disguise, marry Christ at their death. The only difference is that for the penitents, the desert is the place of expiating sins, while, for virgins in disguise, who are expiating a supposed sin, it is either a cell (Euphrosyne and Margareta Pelagius) or the space in front of the monastery (Marina). It is this structure that connects the depictions to the tripartite narrative suggesting transformation to a certain extent.



Fig. 1.8: Pelagia the Penitent, 1446-1447. Master of the Klosterneuburg Missal, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, cod. 326, folio 213r.

¹¹⁰ Reglinde Rhein, *Die Legenda aurea des Jacobus de Voragine: die Entfaltung von Heiligkeit in "Historia" und "Doctrina"* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), 198-207.



Fig. 1.9: Saint Thais, 1446-1447. Master of the Klosterneuburg Missal, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, cod. 326, folio 214v.

With regard to **Saint Euphrosyne** it is important to mention that the episode of her entrance is closely positioned to that of Saint Marina's exit from the monastery, as, for instance, the illumination from Ms. Arsenal 5080 suggests (Fig. 1.12). This setting emphasizes both saints disguise and the most important episode of their lives. If we have a closer look at the short title that is written above Euphrosyne's life it becomes clear that even the *vita* suggests that Euphrosyne is disguising herself:

“On Saint Euphrsoyne who also disguised her sex and entered among the monks.”¹¹¹

Here the verb *muer* indicates change, but Euphrosyne can change her sex only by disguise as the depiction suggests. *Ausi* suggests the connection with the previous story, that of Saint Marina (the Monk).¹¹² What is even more interesting is that a French version in verse offers a highly visual description of her clothes when entering the monastery. Here, I think it is useful mentioning again that the French versions, generally, condense a much longer story of her disguise. Accordingly, Euphrosyne is shaven and dressed by a monk who came to her house seeking for her father, Paphnutius. Then, a second monk, finishes that what the first one had begun. Only then, Euphrosyne realizes that she might be recognized as nun and changes her religious habit with that of a knight to enter a monastic community as a man:

But Saint Sophia came and counseled her.
 She will remain faithful to her chosen Order,
 But she will not be able to live as a nun.
 And [she] entered among the monks from the holy abbey
 And [she] took clothes of men, so that she won't be recognized.
 [With] her strong will, then she had accomplished it [her will/desire].
 She threw away the clothes of nun and dressed as a knight.
 Beautiful nun Euphrsoyne threw away
 Golden, plumed fine decorated maiden [clothes]:
 [She took] Fine linen shirt instead of woolen shirt;
 Ermine furred robe for the hooded garment;
 A purple mantel instead of nun's clothes;
 A cloth cap worked in Alexandria for the veil;
 Sapphire blue amice encrusted with gold;
 Pale green boots instead of lady shoes.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Arsenal 5080, folio 408v, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France: “De sainte eufrosine qui mua ausi son sexe et le cela entre les moines.”

¹¹² On connecting the life of Euphrosyne to other holy men see: Florence McCulloch, “Saint Euphrosine, Saint Alexis, and the Turtledove,” *Romania* 98 (1977): 168-185.

¹¹³ Ms. Arsenal 5204, folio 95r-95v, *Collection of Ancient French Poetry*, 14th century, Paris, National Library of France. See also Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 176: Cant li vint li conses de par sainte Sophie./ L'ordene qu'ele at voët tenrat tote sa vie./ Mais semblant de nonain ele ne porrat mie;/ Ans gerpirat trestot l'abit de feminie/ Et s'en irat az mones de la sainte abete/ Et vestirat dras d'ome, qu'ele n'i soit coisie./ Sa volonté afferme, puis si l'at aconplie./ Gette dras de nonain et prent chevalerie./ Or oiés damosele painturee et forbie./ Osteit at la nonain le bele Eüfrosine:/ Chemise de cansil vestit por l'astamine;/ En liu de la cucule le peliçon d'ermine;/ Por le froc un mantel de purpre utremarine;/ Por le voilh une coiffe a ovre alixandrine;/ L'amite a or batue a color saphirine;/ Chaces d'un pale vert at chacié la meschine.

The only miniature (Fig. 1.10) of Ms. Arsenal 5204 containing the above text depicts a Euphrosyne entering a monastic establishment dressed as a monk. There is only one French illumination (Fig. 1.11) which corresponds exactly to the moment when Saint Euphrosyne states that s/he is a man. In this case, there is no focus on the monks' lustful desire, but on her intention of entering the monastery: she is depicted kneeling in front of the abbot, while other monks hold in their hands the monastic garb. In the text, her purity is underlined by the beauty of her face, while the illumination focuses on submission in front of the abbot. French versions referring to this part are concentrated and point to purity by leaving the world behind: "She heard a monk and [she] asked him to teach her the ways of serving God and he [the monk] said to her: If you can endure the temptations of the flesh, leave everything behind and escape."¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Arsenal 5080, folio 409r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France: "ele oi 1 moine et li requist que il li ensaignast les choses et le servise de dieu et il li dist. Se tu peus souffrit les temptations de la char leisse toutes choses et ten fui."



Fig. 1.10: Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1328 (?), Maître de Thomas de Maubeuge, *Collection of Ancient French Poems*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5204, folio 87v.



Fig. 1.11: Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 202v.

But Euphrosyne's external beauty turns out to be dangerous for the less spiritually advanced monks who become weak in front of her.

The devil tempts up many people by the beauty of his face through sinful thoughts. Thus all run to the abbot who placed such a great beauty in their monastery. And because of that the abbot called her. And he said, son, your face is very beautiful. And it makes the enclosed brothers suffer badly. I want that you retire in your cell and there you read your psalms all by yourself.¹¹⁵

Other versions of her *vita* emphasize the angelic state of those dwelling in monastic space and the fact that Euphrosyne presented herself as a man, when entering the monastery. Euphrosyne's appearance does not indicate at all that she is a eunuch. It is the written source that offers this information to the reader. Scheil argues that Euphrosyne's narrative is connected to erotic desire, and it is this erotic desire that he analyses.¹¹⁶ He points to the fact that the monks could have been unconsciously attracted by Euphrosyne's body being that the body of a woman, man, or eunuch. The eunuch identity is considered a masculine ideal, since not only Euphrosyne, but also Eugenia achieves manly spirit. As a man, Euphrosyne suggests that in a monk the male body was

¹¹⁵ Arsenal 5080, folio 409r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, National Library of France, Paris: "Le deable si esmouvoit mout de gens ala beaute de son vult par mauveses pensees. Si que tous estoient corties a labbe qui avoit mis si grant beaute en leur mostier. Et pource l'appella labbe. Et li dist fils ta face est mout bele. Et fait souffrir mal as freres emfermes. Je veu il que tu te liees en ta celle et di illes tes psialumes tout seul."

¹¹⁶ Scheil, "Somatic Ambiguity," 348-353.

unconsciously rather fluid and it can change. This changeable nature of the male body is connected to anger or rivalry because the monks from the monastery are attracted by it. Yet Euphrosyne's eunuch-like state suggests not only a masculine ideal or neutering, but also spiritual progression indicated by tonsure and male clothing.¹¹⁷ Holy women's in disguise wish for Christian truth is opposed to sin and sexual temptations as the carnal woman and a virgin are set in dichotomy.¹¹⁸ The image of the eunuch permits the virgin to become male and get beyond the male body. Bernau considers that the feminine is masculinized in the virgin body which is again masculinized through cross-dressing and then included in a masculine group, that of the eunuch. The image of the eunuch is ambivalent: in a positive sense it is connected to spirituality and negatively it is a feminized inferior male. Even more, eunuchs and virgins can be positioned in a dangerous and ambiguous position because they can be suspected either of disguised libidinousness or perfect spirituality.

Paul E. Szarmach¹¹⁹ points out not only the attitude towards wealth and the *vita's* emphasis on wealth, but refers to the fact that "men living like angels" indicates Euphrosyne's transformation and that her continuous unwomanizing is a transformation to sainthood.

1.3. Tonsure

Another important element contributing to these saints' disguise, when speaking about depictions, is their tonsure. Saint Euphrosyne is having her hair cut off by a monk, Saint Marina the Monk is already depicted as wearing a tonsure when entering monastic space, Saint Margareta Pelagius is having her head covered (sometimes tonsured), while Saint Eugenia has long hair.

Long hair as an indicator of women's gender has an ambivalent significance. It can be that of prostitutes, marking lust or *luxuria*,¹²⁰ or the purity of the virgins suggesting morality and purity of the soul. By concentrating on tonsure, the illuminations emphasize these saints' intention to be free of restrictions; they indicate the change in their status, as they progress from chaste virgins, on the edge of becoming wives, to *sponsae Christi*.¹²¹ Cutting one's hair also indicates not only the new person that the saint became, but it also suggests de-feminization and disfigurement of female beauty in order to preserve virginity.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 156.

¹¹⁸ Anke Bernau, "The Translation of Purity In the Old English Lives of St. Eugenia and St. Euphrosyne," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 82, No. 6 (2004): 26-28.

¹¹⁹ Szarmach, "St. Euphrosyne: Holy Transvestite," 353-365.

¹²⁰ Susan L'Engle, "Depictions of Chastity: Virtue Made Visible," in *Chastity: A Study in Perception, Ideals, Opposition*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 93.

¹²¹ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 155-157.

¹²² See Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 23 and Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 155.

According to the *Golden Legend* the tonsure has its origin in the life of Saint Peter who, in order to be ashamed, was shaved.¹²³ Indicating the cleanness of one's mind, tonsure suggests one's social position. Practiced after the seventh century, the *corona tonsure*, from the eleventh century onwards, became institutionalized by the church as an attribute that differentiated clergy from laity. As a gendered form of authority, tonsure indicated male access to God, opposed to women who were supposed to wear a veil and not to have a tonsure. Women shown with their hair cut off or assuming tonsures symbolize the bypass of misogynistic ideas. If we turn our attention to Saint Marina the Monk, tonsure is more visible in her case. In religious and secular context, cutting one's hair is associated with humility, while accepted voluntarily it indicates self-sacrifice, and Marina the Monk turns out to be the humblest of all these saints.

Having a look at the setting of Marina's depictions in the manuscript versions of the *Speculum historiale* (see appendix) one can observe that (Fig. 1.12) generally, she is coupled with Euphrosyne. The depictions concentrate on two of the most important parts of their lives: Marina with the child in front of the monastery is beside Euphrosyne who is in the process of disguising herself.

¹²³ Murray, "Masculinizing Religious Life," 109-115.



Fig. 1.12: Saint Marina with the child and Saint Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 408v.

Marina's tonsure is visible, in the case of Euphrosyne it shifts: she is either tonsured (cat fig. 67, 68), non tonsured (Fig. 1.11) or with her face invisible (Fig 1.12). Having a further look at the saints that are depicted before Marina and Euphrosyne, it is even clearer that the two characters in disguise are viewed as holy women set among other holy women, namely Mary of Egypt, a penitent saint (Fig. 1.13).¹²⁴ This fact of inserting holy women in disguise into a group of or next to a holy woman underlines their femaleness.

¹²⁴ Barbara Ferrari, "Versioni anticonfrancesi in prosa della vita di Santa Marina," *Carte Romanze I* (1995): 139, 141. Ferrari, for instance, mentions a fifteenth-century French manuscript which contains only women saints where Marina is preceded by Saint Euphrosyne and followed by Saint Cristina, and another manuscript with Mary of Egypt and Euphrosyne framing Marina's life.



Fig. 1.13: Saint Mary of Egypt and Zosimas, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 407r.

Mary of Egypt's unbound hair relates iconographically to that of Marina and Euphrosyne who decide to have it cut, while Mary's long, unadorned hair is also suggestive of the transformations she has undergone spiritually. Mary's femininity is also indicated by her breasts that are partially shown, partially hidden by her hands (Fig. 1.13). The same gestures are visible in the case of Saint Eugenia (Fig. 1.14 and 1.15) when baptized, as certain miniatures depict her as hiding her breast. One should also bear in mind that the naked bodies of these women are set in different contexts. Eugenia's nakedness is related to baptism, while Mary of Egypt's to penitence.



Fig. 1.14: Baptism of Saints Eugenia, Prothus and Hyacinthus, 1370-1380, Maître du
 livre du sacre et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle
 acquisition française 15941, folio 36v.



Fig. 1.15: Baptism of Saints Eugenia, Prothus and Hyacinthus, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 152v.

If we turn our attention to **Saint Eugenia**, she is the only saint who is depicted having her disguise revealed while alive. In her case it is mostly the textual sources that suggest her disguise which is extremely emphasized in the *anagnorisis* episode. The only depicted episode which alludes to Eugenia's entrance into a male monastic community is that of her baptism. Eugenia has long hair, she does not hide herself in any of the miniatures; furthermore, the exact moment of her disguise is not depicted at all.¹²⁵ When speaking about the positioning of her depictions it becomes clear that she is viewed as a woman martyr dying for Christ and performing miracles in His name. In the manuscripts, her life is divided as it follows: in an initial phase, her story starts with her decision of converting to Christianity, and it ends with revealing her disguise. Most of these episodes are also illustrated. In a second phase follow the passions of her convert, Basilla, of her eunuchs, Prothus and Hyacinthus, and of her father, Phillipus. Only then, she dies as a martyr. In all cases Eugenia's life is preceded and followed by other martyrs, mostly men, but also women: Saint Eusebius (Fig. 1.16), Saint Julian (Fig. 1.17), and so on. For

¹²⁵ Although Saint Eugenia is depicted with rather long hair, the fact that later she is represented with a tonsure suggests that it is a part of her disguise. On women using tonsure in a different context see Susan W. Wade, "Gertrude's Tonsure: An Examination of Hair as a Symbol of Gender, Family, and Authority in the Seventeenth-Century *Vita* of Gertrude of Nivelles," *Journal of Medieval History* 39:2 (2003): 129-145. See reference on Eugenia on pages 131-132.

instance, ms. Arsenal 5080 contains the following structure: Eugenia (leaving with her eunuchs – recognition after revealing her disguise), Saint Eusebius, Saint Julius, Saint Eusebius's martyrdom, Saint Anthonin, Saint Basilla's baptism, Saint Basilla's, Prothus's and Hyacinthus's death, Death of Phillip (Eugenia's father), Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia.



Fig. 1.16: Passion of Saint Eusebius, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 151v.



Fig. 1.17: Passion of Saint Julian, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 155r.

Women are again framing Margareta Pelagius's (Fig. 1.18) representations, namely: Pelagia (Fig. 1.19) and Thays (Fig. 1.20). Euphrosyne and Marina are tonsured, Margareta Pelagius covers her head or is (sometimes) tonsured. The cover of her head relates to the depiction of Pelagia and Thays and suggests the change from *sponsa mundi* to *sponsa Christi*. Basically, the hair style – under a green cover suggestive of their riches of both prostitute saints, Pelagia and Thays, are so similar that without the written information on their identity, one might think that it is the same saint.



Fig. 1.18: Margareta Pelagius' entrance into a monastery (left) and death (right), fourteenth century, *Saints' lives*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 265v.



Fig. 1.19: Saint Pelagia, fourteenth century, *Saints' Lives*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 264v.



Fig. 1.20: Saint Thays, fourteenth century, *Saints' lives*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 265v.

The analysis of iconographic attributes, such as the clothes and tonsure, the positioning on the folio and in the *corpus* of the manuscript allows me to conclude this chapter with the following:

1. Strictly speaking, when dealing only with women in disguise as isolated characters, their clothes and tonsure indicate religious shift from *sponsa mundi* to *sponsa Christi*. Their iconography remains constant as far as it concerns fourteenth-fifteenth century manuscript depictions.¹²⁶
2. When broadening the analysis, one witnesses the existence of a correspondence between the iconographic attributes belonging to women in disguise and other holy women.
3. The analysis of these saints in disguise both on the manuscript folio and manuscript *corpus* indicates that their insertion among other groups of holy women such as penitent saints or martyrs often contributes to their construction as women saints.
4. There are three patterns concerning manuscript positioning: one specific for the *Legenda Aurea* where saints such as Marina the Monk

¹²⁶ On the development of saints' iconography (with reference on Saints Martha and Catherine and the Assumption of Mary) see Hilary Maddocks, "Illumination in Jean de Vignay's *Légende dorée*" in *Legenda Aurea. Sept siècles de diffusion*, ed. Brenda Dunn-Lardeau (Paris: Librairie J. Vrin, 1986), 155-166.

or Margareta are grouped with penitent saints (Pelagia and Thays) and one specific for the *Speculum historiale* where Saint Marina is paired with Saint Euphrosyne, creating the sub-group of women in disguise which, then, is placed next to other women saints, such as Mary of Egypt. These two patterns are more specific for France, while in German(ic) territories holy women in disguise occupy a less predominant space, they are depicted as small characters sometimes hidden in cells (Margareta Pelagius) and inserted also in groups of holy men.

5. These iconographic correspondences (detailed above) are supported also by the textual sources. In this sense there is a tripartite structure that is traceable in the *vitae* of both women in disguise (Christ as groom-sin-holiness) and penitent saints (sin-repentance-holiness).

Chapter 2

Brides for Christ's Sake

This chapter concentrates on the identification and analysis of thirteenth-fourteenth-century hagiographic elements incorporated into the *vitae* of women in disguise. In this sense, I focused not only on hagiographic *topoi* drawn from female mystics' lives and specific aspects of the life of the Virgin, but also on the way lives of holy women in disguise influenced other women of the Late Middle Ages.

The first part of this chapter concentrates on the iconography of women in disguise, while the second is a comparative analysis of the visual sources in relation with the above mentioned hagiographic elements with the aim to highlight these saints womanhood.

2.1 Iconography

The depictions of holy women in disguise are divided into two groups that I call entrance and exit (to/from monastic space), as already said. By entrance I mean all the depicted events that took place and determined the saints to leave and join a monastery, while the exit refers to those images that show their death. Naturally, there are also other depicted episodes which are analyzed in this chapter with the aim of answering the following questions: How is women's status visually represented before entering monastic space? Or their relationship with their family? Do these depictions/lives share common patterns?

Most of the *vitae* of holy women in disguise concentrate on a theme that becomes predominant in medieval literature concerning virginity, namely the *molestiae nuptiarum*, the nuisances of marriage, which present negatively women's marriage, childbirth, and subjection to their husbands.¹²⁷ This type of literature had the function of persuading women to refuse marriage and choose monastic life. Not only these *vitae*, but mostly the illuminations highlight the concepts of virginity and consent as the saints are depicted leaving secular space, refusing marriage, and entering monastic space.

¹²⁷ Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist*, 32. Vera Morton and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Guidance for Women in Twelfth-Century Convents* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2012), 1-9, 110. Elliot, *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell*, 10.

2.1.1 Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria

Saint Euphrosyne's entrance (Fig. 2.1, 2.2, 2.3) into the monastery is the most depicted episode of her life. Generally, the illuminations concentrate on a figure, with (less) visible physiognomy, standing or kneeling at the entrance of a monastery. In some depictions a monk is helping her to get dressed in a dark colored monastic garb.



Fig. 2.1: Saint Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1327, Fauvel Master, *Saints' Lives*, Paris, The Hague, National Royal Library of Netherlands, 71 A 24, folio 61v.

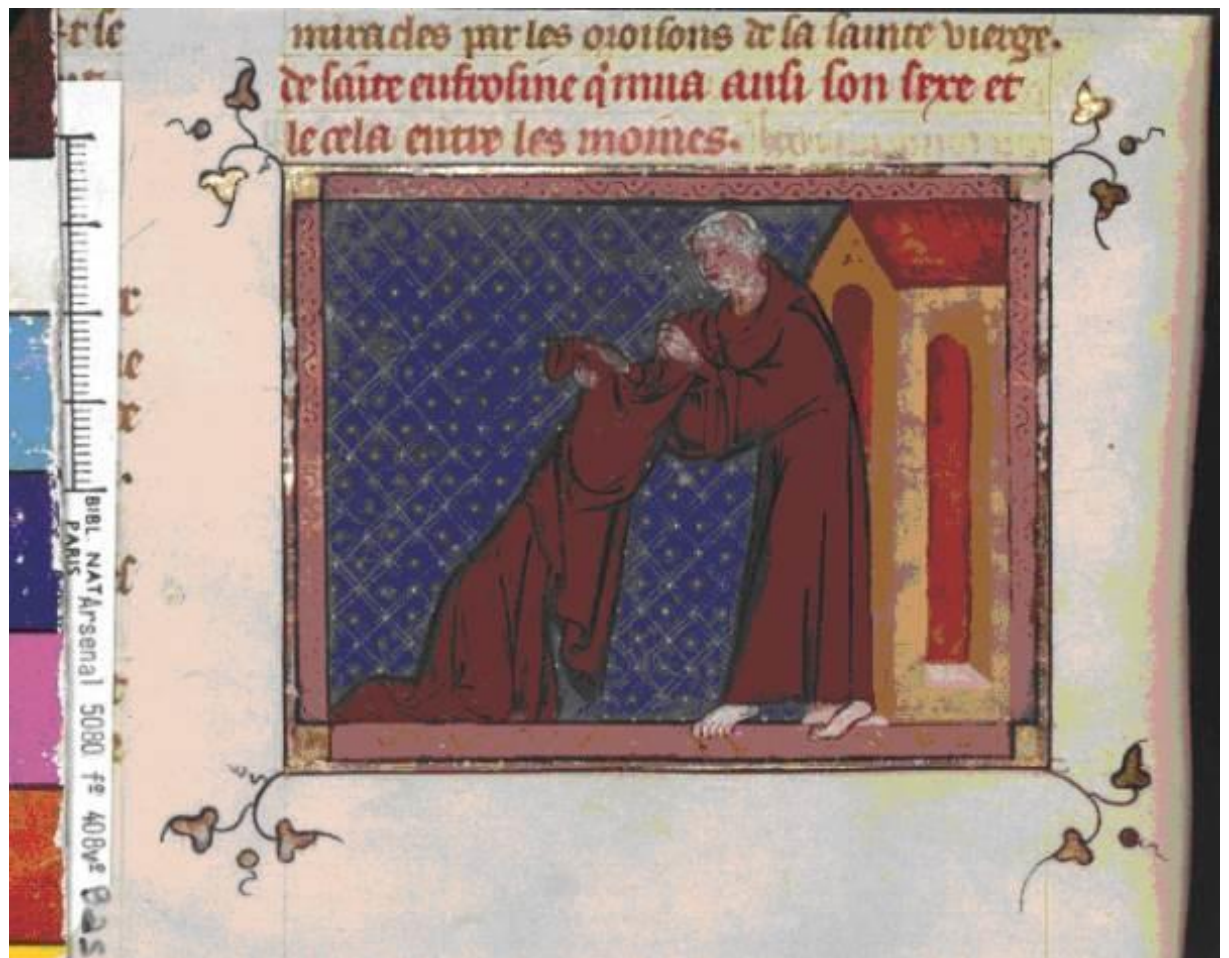


Fig. 2.2: Saint Euphrosyne taking the habit, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 408v.



Fig. 2.3: Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1328 (?), Maître de Thomas de Maubeuge, *Collection of Ancient French Poems*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5204, folio 87v.

The greatest emphasis is laid on Euphrosyne's disguise as the text points it out clearly:

And then she threw away women's clothes and dressed with men's clothes. And went to a monastery, where her father was very much known and famous, [she went there] as a chaste man who came from the palace,¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Arsenal 5080, folio 409r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France: "Et donc ele ieta hors la vesteure de fame et vesti vesteure doume. Et sen ala en 1 mostier ou son pere estoit tres cogneu et famoit que ele estoit 1 homme chastre qui venoit du palais."

while the illuminations focus on Euphrosyne dressing in the company of monks. Though the text(s) mentions that it is she who decides to change her clothes and dress as a man, an illumination (see also cat fig. 69) shows a much denser story, concentrating on several phases which are mentioned in (some versions) of her *vita*: a monk cutting her hair, blessing her, and Euphrosyne changing her clothes:

And she wanted him [the monk] to do that what she desired. After his prayer, he cut off her hair and dressed her in religious clothes and called her Smaragdus. And prayed for her and left.¹²⁹

As a consequence, although the illuminations show a rather passive Euphrosyne who obeys a monk and agrees to put on male's garb while entering the monastery (secretly as *sponsa Christi*), the textual sources indicate that all that is the result of her will. If one compares Western sources to the eighth-century Eastern version of John the Stylite, there is an important shift in this episode of her life. Here, Saint Euphrosyne encounters three different monks: one monk entering her house on her father's request, a second calling her father to the monastery, and, a third, blessing her and cutting her hair. It is also important to point out that, similarly to Saint Marina the Monk, in the Eastern version the saint is more active in naming herself Smaragdus:

But I will put myself into a domicile of men, in a place where no one will suspect me." And she took off the women's clothes and wrapped herself in the garb of a man. [...] "My son, what is thy name?" "Esmeraldus," he replied.¹³⁰

Emma Campbell analyzes the connection between the space and the identity of two saints in disguise: Saint Euphrosyne and Saint Marina the Monk.¹³¹ In Euphrosyne's case disguise is connected to her escaping from a heterosexual social system and her closeness to God (in the cell). According to Campbell, her initial change is a removal from human networks and a reassessment of her sexual values. In my opinion, the most important network that Euphrosyne is removed from is the institution of marriage.

¹²⁹ Arsenal 5080, folio 409r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France: "Et ele requist que il li acomplisist ce quele desiroit. Son oroison faite il li coupa sa cheveleure et la vesti dune cote de religion et la pela smaragd. Et pria pour ele et sen parti." On an eighth-ninth-century Latin version of her life see Anatole Boucherie, "La vie de Sainte Euphrosyne, texte romano-latin du VIII-IXe siècle," *Revue des Langues Romanes* II (1871): 23-62 and 109-117. On the possibility of a woman author of the life see Florence McCulloch, "Saint Euphrosyne, Saint Alexis, and the Turtledove," 168-85. For the author as a Benedictine nun see Raymond T. Hill, "La vie de Sainte Euphrosyne," *The Romanic Review* vol. X, No.2 (1919): 159- 232. For more versions of Saint Euphrosyne's *vita* see Paul Meyer, *Recueil d'anciens texts* (Paris: Franck, 1878), II-IV, 334-338. For a fourteenth-century Portuguese version see J. Cornu, "Vida de Eufrosina," *Romania* 11 (1882): 357-365. For an Old English version see C. Hortsman, *Sammlung altenglischer Legenden* (Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1878): 174-182.

¹³⁰ Smith Lewis, "Select Narratives of Holy Women," 52.

¹³¹ 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): 205-232.

Cazelles mentions that the parallels of Euphrosyne's life with the *vita* of Saint Alexis in an Oxford manuscript indicate emphasis on conventual values.¹³² In this context, in my opinion, Euphrosyne's visual/textual representations not only focus on the dichotomy between worldly and heavenly marriage, but also on the antithesis between material wealth and spiritual richness, between the earthly father and Heavenly father whom she chooses. Here, I am referring to a particular illumination, the only one I know of, which depicts Euphrosyne's father in search of his daughter (Fig. 2.4). The illumination depicts Paphnucius riding a horse in the company of another man. The depiction not only points to the father's and groom's quest for the daughter, but it also suggests the father's final conversion when he will embrace monastic life. While searching for his daughter, the father is really seeking God. This illumination is strongly connected with the depiction of Euphrosyne's death, the final episode which will transform not only her (virginal) body, but also her father's life.



Fig. 2.4: Paphnucius, the father, searching for Saint Euphrosyne, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 409r.

¹³² Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 172-173.



Fig. 2.5: Margareta Pelagius (entrance into the monastery and death), fourteenth century, *Saints' lives*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 265v.

2.1.2. Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius

Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius' *vitae*¹³³ contain a detail which is of particular interest for the connection between the visual representations of saints in disguise and the theological concept of purity and virginity. Namely, the actual text of the *vita* is preceded by a short prologue. Its content, first, explains the two names of the saint by linking them to the concept of virginity and, second, offers an explanation for the saint's disguise:

"This virgin had two names she was called Margareta Pelagius and as she was called Margareta she is compared to a flower because she kept/preserved in herself the flower of virginity and equally she was called Pelagius that could be from [the word] pena [that is] suffering and [from] lego read it as to gather because she gathered suffering in various ways for her religion when she dressed as a man to keep her virginity for God."¹³⁴

¹³³ See Français 242, folio 231r, *Legenda aurea*, 14th century, Français 245, folio 132v, *Legenda aurea*, 1480-1490, Paris, National Library of France and M.672-5, folio 136r, Morgan Library, New York.

¹³⁴ Ms. Français 242, folio 231r, *Legenda aurea*, 14th century, Paris, National Library of France: "Ceste vierge si ot deux noms elle fu dite marguerite pellagienne entant comme elle ot nom marguerite elle est acompagnee a fleur car elle et ot en soy fleur de virginite entant comme elle ot nom pellagienne elle puest estre de pena penne et de lego legis queillir car elle cueilli peine en plusueurs manieres en la religion ou elle se mist comme homme pour garder a dieu sa virginite."

The illuminations concentrate on a figure (Fig. 2.5) dressed in dark colored monastic clothes (also Fig. 2.6) while entering the gates of the monastery and leaving behind a wedding scene. Saint Margareta Pelagius is either depicted wearing nuns clothes, similarly to Saint Euphrosyne, or as a bride in front of a church. What needs to be emphasized with regard to her depictions is that she is presented mostly in the entrance and exit episodes: there is always the monastery gate and the dead body of hers.

Margaret's entrance into monastic space is emphasized by the dichotomy of two types of weddings: "wordly" wedding and the celestial wedding illustrated by the concept of *sponsa Christi*. The notions of virginity, purity, and chastity are highlighted by the depiction of the monastery itself and by the saint's entering through its doors and leaving a wedding feast which is emphasized also by the text: "On the joyful wedding feast the virgin inspired by God thought that the state of her virginity was endangered by such damaging pleasures."¹³⁵



Fig. 2.6: Margareta Pelagius leaving her wedding feast, thirteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, France, San Marino. CA, Huntington Library, HM 3027, folio 141v.

¹³⁵ Ms. Français 242, folio 231v, *Legenda aurea*, 14th century, Paris, National Library of France: "la feste des noces a grant ioie la vierge espiree de dieu considera que le damage de sa virginite estoit achate par si grans dommageux esioissemens."

Briefly, the illuminations, of both Euphrosyne and Margareta Pelagia, suggest that the saints rebel against institutions of secular space, while they obey the representatives of holy/religious space. Euphrosyne's and Margareta's illuminations show their refusal of marriage as they prefer to change their social status and become *sponsae Christi* instead of *sponsae mundi* as presented by a version of Euphrosyne's *vita* in verse.¹³⁶ Referring to the theme of consent, but also to the nuisances of marriage, this version illustrates the dichotomy between carnal pleasure and purity. On the one hand, it is the future spouse who as:

The days pass, and the time of the wedding approaches.
The young man is most impatient.
The days and nights seem too long for him.
He longs for the experience of pleasure.¹³⁷

while, on the other hand, Euphrosyne:

'Lord', she says, 'have pity! Keep me from evil! /
It is true that you have created the institution of marriage. /
But You were yourself born of a virgin. /
Virginity and marriage cannot be combined.'¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 173-181.

¹³⁷ Canon Misc. 74, folio 89v, *Saints' lives*, 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian Library: "Entretant vont li jor(s), passent li temporal./Mut demoret li termes des nocces al vassal;/ Mut li sunt lonc li jor et les nuiz atretal;/ Tart li est que il soit al delit corporal." Also translated in Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 174.

¹³⁸ Canon Misc. 74, folio 90r, *Saints' lives*, 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian Library: "Sire, fai moi merci; si me garde de mal./ Tu comandas, ce sai, mariage loial,/ Mais tu vassis mies naistre de ventre virginal,/ Car je viergene et uxor ne seront d'un terral." Also translated in Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 175.

2.1.3. Saint Eugenia of Rome



Fig. 2.7: Saint Eugenia taught by her father, 1463, François and collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 50, folio 392r.



Fig. 2.8: Saint Eugenia taught by her father, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 409r.

Elements of Saint Eugenia's visual representations (Fig. 2.7, 2.8) concentrate on her being represented as a learned woman: by books and the unicorn's horn. The saint, depicted learning in the company of her father, is suggestive of the eloquent virgin type such as Catherine of Alexandria or Saint Thecla. Her illuminations are in accordance with the content of her life which comprises the episode of her father's teaching: "Phillip a noble Roman sent by Comodrianus to Egypt to keep justice. He taught perfectly the liberal arts to his daughter Eugenia."¹³⁹

There is a major change in the content of this French life and the Eastern version where Eugenia is mentioned to be very learned, but not that she was taught by her father (similarly to Saint Euphrosyne):

¹³⁹ Arsenal 5080, folio 152r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France: "Phelippe 1 noble home rommain envoie de commodien en egypte pour garder la prevostie. Ensigna la fille eugene parfaitement es arts liberaus."

Now Eugenia the daughter of this Eparch Philip was about sixteen years old, and she was proficient in much wisdom and in the learning of the Greeks and the Romans, and she was very skillful in speech; so that the philosophers and the wise men were amazed at her wisdom and her discourse and at the erudition of her mind.¹⁴⁰

A fourteenth-century French version focuses not on her wisdom, but on her chastity: “She was beautiful in shape/body but she was more beautiful in her chastity.”¹⁴¹ Even though these versions suppressed the *topos* of the eloquent virgin by focusing on chastity, the miniatures still show her in a leading position as she gestures towards her eunuch servants and advises them to flee and convert to Christianity (see Cat. fig. 6, 8, 9). There is no illumination which depicts her disguise, yet in the sources she clearly states that “And I think that I have to cut my hair off so that I resemble a man because that flesh that belongs to a woman makes us transgress all. [Dress] in clothes of men and let us go together to the men of God.”¹⁴² This tendency for de-feminization or for hiding one’s self is emphasized not only by the saint’s intention to disguise, but also by the abbot’s ambivalent attitude: “And she took on men’s clothes and went to a monastery where Helenus was an abbot who did not like any women to come to him”¹⁴³ and also “And when Eugenia had gone to him and she said that she is a man he said truly you are a man because you virtuously changed.”¹⁴⁴

Though the miniatures do not present at all Eugenia’s disguise, the textual sources abound in references towards monastic life and the *robe*: “so [she] took manly clothes and went to an abbey” and “took monks’ clothes and [Eugenia] was called by everybody brother Eugenius.”¹⁴⁵ The illuminations which depict her naked (cat. fig. 3, 4, 5) while baptized offer a different view on the female body as the saint’s gestures hide her breasts which are clear marks not only of her sex, but also of her humility, denial of femininity, or disguise (particularly cat. fig. 5 where she is depicted as a woman). These gestures also

¹⁴⁰ Smith Lewis, “*Select Narratives of Holy Women*,” 1. For other versions of Saint Eugenia’s life see, for instance, Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum* II (Paris: Fontemoing et Socios, 1910): 390-397. On the various versions of Eugenia’s life see: Hippolyte Delehaye, *Étude sur le légendier romain, les saints de novembre et de décembre* (Brussels: Bollandistes, 1936): 171-186.

¹⁴¹ Arsenal 5080, folio 152r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France: “Elle estoit belle de cors mais elle estoit plus belle de chaste.”

¹⁴² Arsenal 5080, folio 152r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France: “et ie considere que ie me devoie faire tondre si que ie semblasse homme si que ce char qui apartient afame nous portast en trespasant tous III en habit domme et nous hastisson ensemble aler as hommes de dieu.”

¹⁴³ Français 242, folio 205v, *Legenda aurea*, 14th century, Paris, National Library of France: “dont elle prist habit domme et sen vint ou monstier ou elem estoit abbe qui ne souffroit nulle femme venir a lui.”

¹⁴⁴ Français 242, folio 205v, *Legenda aurea*, 14th century, Paris, National Library of France: “Et quant Eugenne fu alee a lui et elle dist quelle estoit homme il dist voirement tu es homme car tu evirres vertueusement.”

¹⁴⁵ Français 185, folio 255r, *Saints’ Lives*, 14th century, Paris, National Library of France: “Lors prist habit domme et vint en une abbaye” and “prist de li habit de moine et ce fist apeler de touz freres eugenne.”

echo the episode of leaving her disguise: the hands are positioned on her breast hiding something that she will reveal later.

Briefly, the miniatures concentrate on depicting a learned woman in the company of her father, while the textual sources emphasize ambiguous characteristics by referring both to femininity, her chastity, and to masculinity, when taking on men's clothes. In many cases the episode of her learnedness is paired with that of her baptism in order to emphasize the shift in her status from a virgin familiar with the wisdom of philosophers to a Christian undergoing baptism.

2.1.4. Saint Marina the Monk

Saint Marina the Monk's depictions (Fig. 2.9, 2.10) focus more on the daughter's mimesis and submission to her father, that is, on masculine physiognomy, tonsure, and clothing. In this context the female body is constructed as an imitation of the masculine physique, while the textual sources concentrate on her father's intention to bring her to the monastery: "But she was called Marina, and her father changed her name into Marinus."¹⁴⁶ or "He dressed and changed the child/ Similar to a boy."¹⁴⁷ and "Once her father and she went throughout the country, and her father changed the clothing of his daughter into that of men, they reached an abbey and the father asked the abbot of the monastery to accept his son into their order."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Ms. 2328, folio 119r, Sermons and lives of saints, 809-900, Paris, National Library of France reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 5: "Dicebatur autem Marina, et mutauit ei nomen pater eius Marinum." For other versions of Saint Marina the Monk's life see: Marcel Richard, "La vie ancienne de Sainte Marie surnommée Marinos," *Corona Gratiarum: Miscellanea patristica, historica et liturgica Eligio Dekkers O.S.B. XII lustra complenti oblate* 1 (1975): 83-115 or Alfons Hilka, "Une vie inedited de Sainte Marine," *Analecta Bollandiana* 46 (1928): 68-77.

¹⁴⁷ Ms. 1728, folio 106r, 15th century, The Vatican Library reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 170: "L'enfant vestit et atourna/ Tout ainsi comme vng garçon."

¹⁴⁸ Ms. 1534, folio 44r, 15th century, Paris, National Library of France reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 167: "Vne foy son pere et lie alloient par pais sy fist son pere muer labbit de sa fille en abit dome, puis vindrent en vne abbaie et sy requist le pere a labbe au couuent quilz receussent son filz en leur ordre."



Fig. 2.9: Marina presented at the monastery, 1348, Richard de Montbaston, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 241, folio 139v.



Fig. 2.10: Saint Marina entering the monastery with her father, 1301-1400, *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 24947, folio 179v.

The miniatures depicting Saint Marina the Monk's entrance concentrate on showing her in front of the monastery in the company of her father. In almost all the instances the saint is depicted wearing monk's clothes while kneeling at the entrance of the monastery and being blessed, supposedly, by the abbot.

Saint Marina evolved from an independent figure in the eighth-century Eastern sources to a passive maid in the West, similar to Saints Eugenia's and Euphrosyne's *vitae*:

But when the girl heard [this], she returned him an answer, and said, No, sir, I shall not enter the monastery thus, as thou hast said, but I will shave the hair from my head and I will clothe myself in the dress of a man, and then I will enter the monastery with thee. Now when he was inclined to be persuaded by the words of his daughter, he distributed and gave everything he possessed to the poor, and he shaved off the hair from the head of his daughter and clothed her, as she had said, in the dress of a man, and changed her name, and called him Marinus.¹⁴⁹

In her case, the pattern of her entrance evolved too. In a first instance she enters the monastery together with her father; this evolves in another pattern, namely, that the father enters the monastery, and, then, he starts missing her and brings her in.¹⁵⁰ The differences between these two patterns are not that important and are rather unclear, for instance:

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.¹⁵¹

Whereas another version does not omit the pattern:

After Eugenius had said these things, and had prayed, he took his [daughter] Marina, dressed as a young man, and entered the monastery.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Smith Lewis, "Select Narratives of Holy Women," 38.

¹⁵⁰ Znorovszky, "Marinus Unveiled," 24-26.

¹⁵¹ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea* vol.1 trans. Francesco Stella (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), 534: "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." For a different English translation see: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 324.

¹⁵² Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 27: "Haec cum dixisset Eugenius, et precatus esset, assumens suam Marinam in habitu adolescentis ingressus est cenobium."

The German sources suggest a different development compared to the Latin and French texts as the saint enters the monastery alone, being advised by her father: “And had the great desire to offer his daughter to the Almighty God so that she should serve diligently until her death; to which his daughter obeyed.”¹⁵³

Up to this point of my analysis one major conclusion can be drawn, namely, that versions containing all of these patterns coexisted in all the three regions (France, Italy, and Germany). Furthermore, the more accessible and broader audience the *vitae* had the more developments and changes occurred. The changes in the versions existed already when they were accessible only to the monastic communities, but they became more widespread later when the vernacular allowed a different type of audience to access it.

In my opinion, as these (textual and visual) developments suggest, Saint Marina the Monk is an offering, an *oblatio*, of the father to the monastery.¹⁵⁴ This process referred to children of around seven years of age offered to the monastery by parents.¹⁵⁵ These children, not spoiled by the contact with the evil world possessed closeness to God and to the transcendental world which reminds me of the Virgin’s presentation at the Temple.

To sum up, there is a general difference between the Eastern texts and the Western versions of these saints’ lives. It refers to the construction of a more passive and humble saint who obeys everybody. When speaking about the depictions of these episodes, the illuminations concentrate on presenting, generally, the “story” exactly as it is. In all of the cases the saints are depicted in motion towards a religious life in different ways. Saint Marina is kneeling in front of a monastery together with her father while Eugenia is learning in the company of her father; however, this representation of hers is paired with that of her baptism.

The elements that contribute to the diversity of the same story are exactly those which point to disguise: clothes, tonsure, physiognomy, but also setting: Marina is represented as a little boy, mostly, in secular clothes, Eugenia is a learned woman in woman’s dress, Margareta Pelagius is already a monk in disguise in front of the monastic establishment while Euphrosyne is kneeling and takes the habit, in one case.

¹⁵³ Günter Zainer, *Leben der Heiligen* (Augsburg, 1472), folio 56r-56v reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 126. “vñ het gros begird dar zû 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.”

¹⁵⁴ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 264.

¹⁵⁵ Ludovicus Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and Its Meaning to Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1992), 144-145.

2.2 Analysis

2.2.1 Reflecting the image of the Virgin

Both the visual and the textual sources on these holy women in disguise seem to assimilate specific hagiographic and religious elements that emerge after the thirteenth-fourteenth century. One of these religious inclusions refers to the image of the Virgin Mary. Generally, the Virgin is the ultimate model for the construction of virgin saints. In this particular case it is important to identify those elements of the Virgin's life which are reflected in a specific group of holy women, namely those in disguise.

In my opinion, what we have is the adaptation of earlier *vitae* to an emerging pattern of sanctity, that of the Virgin. These lives suggest a strong connection with details from the life of the Virgin Mary found in Latin translations of the *Gospel According to Pseudo-Matthew*, translated around the eighth-ninth century which, then, becomes one of the core elements in the process of assimilation and influence on these lives.¹⁵⁶ By comparison with Mary, these holy women in disguise are viewed from a more feminine perspective, as women, who do not need that much an *anima virile* in order to gain sanctity. The versions in prose omit these similarities, but those in verse clearly highlight them.¹⁵⁷ Though the detailed versions cannot be compared to the shortened *Speculum historiale* ones, one might suppose that the recipients were aware of the poems as well and could make possible connections between the textual and the visual contexts particularly because of the development of the cult of the Virgin.

The first similarity that needs to be brought into discussion is the lack of a child for a couple. The pattern of a child at an old age of the parents can be traced back to the Bible and this already indicates a special type of child.¹⁵⁸ Sts. Joachim and Anna lacked a child as well as Pafnucius and his wife do. The text clearly indicates this similarity between Euphrosyne and Mary by comparing the beauty of the two virgins:

A daughter was born. Since Virgin Mary, /
No maiden ever existed who was as wise and beautiful as she.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ See Stevan Davies (trans.), *The Infancy Gospels of Jesus: Apocryphal Tales from the Childhoods of Mary and Jesus* (Woodstock, Vermont: SkyLight Paths Publishing, 2009). Hans-Josef Klauck, *Apocryphal Gospels. An Introduction* (London and New York: T&T Clark LTD, 2003). Bart Ehrman, Zlatko Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels. Texts and Translations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁵⁷ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 173-181.

¹⁵⁸ Marie Genevieve Grosseil, "Quand l'enfant se convertit: Vies de Saintes Euphrosine et Christine, Barlaam et Josaphat," in *Pouvoir, liens de parenté et structures épiques*, ed. Danielle Buschinger (Amiens: Presses du 'Centre d'Études Médiévales', 2003), 82.

¹⁵⁹ Canon Misc. 74, folio 88v, Saints' lives, 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian also translated in Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 173: "Une filhe lor done; anz tal ne fut oïe/De sens et de biaté puis la viergene Marie." Up to this point of my research I have not been able to identify any written sources of Saint Euphrosyne's life in Italian except a 16th-century *vita* which is very much detailed and close in contents to the 8th-century Syriac version. It is in this version that Saint Euphrosyne's beauty is described, but similarly to the German sources, the comparison with the Virgin Mary lacks: "una figliuola si eccellente/che in terra fu quasi sila

On the other hand, this reference lacks in the German/Austrian sources. Instead emphasis is laid only on Euphrosyne's wisdom:

He [the father] let her be taught the [Holy] Scripture and in virtues and wisdom she was instructed following her father's will.¹⁶⁰



Fig. 2.11: Saint Euphrosyne, c. 1190, *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, Heiligenkreuz, Austria, Cistercian abbey, cod. 11, folio 124v.

These textual descriptions are reflected in the visual sources by the portrayal of young women according to specific standards of beauty. That Euphrosyne (Fig. 2.1 and see cat fig. 64, 65, 69) is beautiful (although sometimes with her face erased) and that she is depicted according to contemporaneous standards of beauty,¹⁶¹ one can observe in the miniature that depicts her having her hair cut off or when a martyr with crown (Fig. 2.17).

diuina la quale fu nominate Eufrosina/ ” *La Rapresentatione di Santa Eufrosina Vergine* (Florence: Iacopo Chiti, 1572), 94. This version contains a very large description/explanation offered by the Abbot to Euphrosyne concerning marriage and the ways a woman should obey her husband, see 95r-95v.

¹⁶⁰ *Das Väterbuch*, 405: “Die schrift liez er sie leren,/ Unde swaz sie mohte keren/An zuht unde an wisheit,/Des wart ir vil vur geleit,/Nach ires vater willekur.”

¹⁶¹ Kim Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270-1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2003), 44 - 47.

When speaking about the German/Austrian depictions, one has to bear in mind that they are not so numerous. A twelfth-century manuscript from Heiligenkreuz Monastic Library contains one of these rare representations (Fig. 2.11). Euphrosyne is depicted wearing long hair, dressed up in fashionable women's dress, one hand raised while the other is leaning on an initial letter "F". The letter and the hand gesture suggest an invitation to read the *vita* and emphasize the saint's presence. The letter "F" belongs to the first word of her *vita*, namely "Fuit". Although it starts with – *Fuit vir Alexandria nomine Pafnuti* [There was a man called Paphnutius from Alexandria]- the way Euphrosyne is incorporated into the ornament of the dress/the belt emphasizes the importance of the character whose life is about to commence and that she, Euphrosyne, is the daughter of the "vir Pafnuti." While her beauty is indicated by the text: "Her parents were fond of her because she had accepted God and [she] was beautiful."¹⁶²

Accordingly Euphrosyne is beautiful as the same patterns of beauty, long, blond hair and fair skin, are similar to Eugenia's (Fig. 2.7) depictions. The French source does not refer only to the physical beauty, but also to the spiritual qualities of the young Saint Euphrosyne. This pattern of the *puella senex* is then taken from a version of Mary's life, incorporated and adapted:

And Mary was held in admiration by all people of Israel; and when she was three years old, she walked with a step so mature, she spoke so perfectly, and spent her time so assiduously in the praises of God, that all were astonished at her, and wondered; and she was not reckoned a young infant, but as it were a grown-up person of thirty years old. She was so constant in prayer, and her appearance was so beautiful and glorious, that scarcely any one could look into her face [...] so that in the praises and vigils of God none were found before her, no one more learned in the wisdom of the law of God, more lowly in humility, more elegant in singing, more perfect in all virtue. She was indeed steadfast, immovable, unchangeable, and daily advancing to perfection. No one saw her angry, nor heard her speaking evil.¹⁶³

Eugenia's depictions emphasize also her wisdom. When Euphrosyne is depicted in the process of leaving the world, Eugenia is again depicted in a process: she is in the process of acquiring knowledge from her father. The gestures between the two indicate communication, Eugenia learns, but what she learns are not the values of Christianity. She is similar in this way to other holy women whose wisdom conquered philosophers, like Saint Catherine of Alexandria. The gestures, the books, but even her clothes reflect her

¹⁶² *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, cod. 11 folio 124v, twelfth century, Heiligenkreuz, Austria, Heiligenkreuz Library: "Gaudebant autem super illam parentes eius quia accepta erat domino et pulchra facie." This version of her *vita* is very similar to that from Anne Smith's collection: for instance, the life includes the episodes when monks are visiting Paphnucius' house, Euphrosyne asking for a monk's blessing, changing her clothes, Euphrosyne changing her mind and entering a monks' monastery, the father's almost daily encounter with her in the monastery for the comfort of his soul. All the episodes of her life are presented in much detail in contrast to French sources that shorten or eliminate details.

¹⁶³ *The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (Whitefish MT, Kessinger, 2004), 8.

elevated social status which is paralleled in this particular (Fig. 2.7) miniature with her baptism. So again, similarly to Euphrosyne, she is depicted in a process of change from knowing the words of the philosophers to listening to the words of God. The iconography of Eugenia remains constant in fourteenth-fifteenth-century French sources: she is positioned on the right side of the miniature, surrounded by books while learning from her father (Fig. 2.7 and 2.8)., in many cases this miniature is paralleled or closely followed by that of her baptism. As far as Euphrosyne, there are few instances which depict her physique and life before leaving this world, a bigger abundance of miniatures concentrate on her entrance into the monastery.

On the other hand, a later change occurs in both Euphrosyne's and Eugenia's pattern of representations when comparing the miniatures to some later woodcuts. In the case of Saint Euphrosyne, such is a French woodcut (Fig. 2.12) that depicts her (and Eugenia) as a *puella senex*.. The miniatures do not show at all Euphrosyne being taught by her father which is suggested only by the textual sources either as being wise or receiving knowledge amidst the monks. In the case of this woodcut there is an important shift: it is the mother who takes over the role of teaching the child, while the father is positioned in a second place. These details are not emphasized in the *vitae*, generally, the presence of Euphrosyne's mother is neglected, she dies while the child is young. This is a reflection of the ideal of the literate reader who could be either a man or a woman not belonging to the clerics anymore.¹⁶⁴ Even more as Lowerre indicates, the same woodcut had been used to illustrate Saint Eugenia learning. The shift, which in Euphrosyne's case is only indicated by the textual source, is very visible here. The father is not teaching his daughter anymore, the mother does. Even more, the father is depicted as a simple, humble fellow as reflected by his clothes.

In my opinion there is another change as both Euphrosyne and Eugenia regress from being depicted in a very womanly fashion, as grownups, to an almost child-like state in the company of their mother(s) as a reflection of fifteenth-century iconographies of Saint Anne teaching the Virgin.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Sandra Lowerre, *The Cross-Dressing Female Saints in Wynkyn de Worde's 1495 Edition of the Vitas Patrum* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2006), 49. Although Lowerre analyzes English woodcuts, which are not the topic of this dissertation, however, they are mirroring the images used in a Lyon edition which includes lives and depictions of holy women in disguise. See Lowerre, *The Cross-Dressing Female Saints*, 42.

¹⁶⁵ Lowerre, *The Cross-Dressing Female Saints*, 49-50. As this dissertation does not concentrate on the influence of Sainte Anne's cult and iconography on the group of women on disguise, I mentioned here only briefly this possibility.



Woodcut no. 22

Fig. 2.12.A: Saint Eugenia taught by her mother in Sandra Lowerre, *The Cross-Dressing Female Saints in the Wynkyn de Worde's 1495 Edition of the 'Vitas Patrum'* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 46.



Fig. 2.12.B: Saint Eufrosyne in *La Rappresentazione di Santa Eufrosina Vergine* (Siena, alla Loggia del Papa 1607), 19.

A second change occurs in a seventeenth-century woodcut found in one Italian version of her life. It conflates the representation of Euphrosyne beauty with what seems to be her entrance into the monastery- not as a woman in disguise, but as the daughter who used to follow her father when meeting the religious community. The image¹⁶⁶ concentrates on a man followed by a beautiful woman dressed in secular clothes in front of the entrance into a building. Two possibilities of interpretation occur in this particular depiction: the man is either her father or a monk. If the man is Euphrosyne's father they go to the monastery either as a religious practice or to receive a blessing from the abbot for the girl's marriage. In the eventuality that the man is a monk, then, the image conflates several episodes and makes it difficult to understand whether the monk will convert her. In my opinion the setting of the image might help deciphering it. The hagiographical text which precedes and follows the image has large insertions of passages concerning women's role in marriage as obedient and patient wives. So, it is rather Euphrosyne of this world that encounters the monastic world. In this case the image suggests the changes that will happen both to her physique – her hair cut off, her beauty vanished – and to her social status: a bride of Christ instead of the bride of a man.

The second similarity of the virgins in disguise to the Virgin is again a Biblical pattern namely, the offering to the temple. Based on an apocryphal story, namely, the Presentation at the Temple, a new feast appeared dedicated to the Virgin in the 1370's, as a result of the affective piety.¹⁶⁷ Virgin Mary was offered to the Temple of God, while Euphrosyne is baptized willingly, later, to become a bride of Christ and Saint Marina seems to be offered as an oblate to the monastery.

Furthermore, Saint Euphrosyne's baptism episode bears possible similarities with Mary's presentation at the temple:

In due time, they took her to the abbey, /
 So that Theodosius, the abbot, might baptize her. /
 She received the Christian name of Euphrosina. /
 Euphrosina is now baptized, /
 Then brought to the altar /
 Where the abbot presents her to God.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ The image is reproduced in *La Rappresentatione di Santa Eufrosina Vergine* (Siena, alla Loggia del Papa 1607). A similar Florentine version has the same structure and emphasizes on women's obedient role, except the lack of image. See *La Rappresentatione di Santa Eufrosina Vergine*, 94r-103v. On other later versions in verse see, for instance, Gaetano Zenobj, *Santa Eufrosina Vergine, Poemetto sacro* (Rome, 1702).

¹⁶⁷ Charles Briggs, *The Body Broken: Medieval Europe, 1300-1520* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 9.

¹⁶⁸ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 174 and Canon Misc. 74, folio 88v, *Saints' lives*, 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian Library: "Adont l'ont presentee a la sainte abeie./ Theodosius l'at haltement baptizie; Solonc crestienteit ot nom Eüfrosie./E vos Eüfrosine baptizie et levee/ Et a l'aute[l] demaine ot s'offrande portee./L'a(u)be ski Deu la quist l'at a Deu presentee."

The only difference between Mary and Euphrosyne is the lack of Euphrosyne's parents' intention to leave their daughter in the temple/monastery, but the daughter's intention compensates this in the narrative, in order to connect with another possible pattern from the Virgin's life, namely, her refusal of marriage:

Anne replied, 'As God lives, I declare that whatever child I bear, boy or girl, will be pledged to a life in God's service.'¹⁶⁹

The resemblance between Mary and the group of women saints in disguise is even more striking if one adds another detail: Mary refuses to be married since she vowed to be a virgin:

Then Abiathar the priest offered gifts without end to the high priests, in order that he might obtain her as wife, to his son. But Mary forbade them, saying: It cannot be that I should know a man, or that a man should know me. [...] Now I, from my infancy in the temple of God, have learned that virginity can be sufficiently dear to God. And so, because I can offer what is dear to God, I have resolved in my heart that I should not know a man at all.¹⁷⁰

Although there is not any exact illumination concentrating on Euphrosyne's baptism or possible parental conflict depicted, the very fact that she is positioned at the entrance of the monastic establishment is already suggestive of her intention of leaving the world and marrying Christ. I have mentioned before that the greatest number of her illuminations focus on her entrance into the monastery. I am not planning to detail here again the significance of her disguise, but to build on the fact that being in front of the building is the equivalent of presenting one's self to God. Almost all the miniatures depict a Saint Euphrosyne (Fig. 2.2) kneeling or standing in front of the entrance into a religious building while being dressed by a monk into that what seem to be the clothes of monks. This representation and all the illuminations that depict her in this fashion, synthesize several episodes of her life by uniting them. If the visual source suggests that it is a monk who helps her disguising herself, the textual sources indicate that in a first instance a monk blesses her and, only then, Euphrosyne decides to disguise herself as a man/eunuch and, then, as a monk inside the monastery. Furthermore, the visual representations not only concentrate all these in a single depicted episode, but also emphasize the disguise by being positioned right under the very short title description (already presented in another context) of the *vita* which says: *de sainte eufrosine qui mua ausi son sexe et le cela entre les moines*. [On Sainte Euphrosyne who also disguised her sex and [she] entered [among] the monks].¹⁷¹

Except the refusal of marriage, aspects of Mary's personality have been assimilated by other holy women in disguise such as Saint Marina the Monk. When compared to Mary

¹⁶⁹ Davies, *The Infancy Gospels*, 9.

¹⁷⁰ *The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, 9.

¹⁷¹ Ms. Arsenal 5080, folio 408v, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France.

as a model, Marina shares common (iconographical) attributes, both in the visual and textual sources, which are not shared by other holy virgins. A manuscript version of the *Legenda Aurea* contains the following: “She is like the Virgin Mary because she kept [her] virginity, humility, and patience.”¹⁷² The development of the cult of the Virgin offered the possibility of this type of approach between two female characters: indeed it is Marina’s patience, humility, virginity, and I would add obeisance to her father’s will that she has in common with Mary. When speaking about Marina’s entrance into monastic space, the similarities are limited. Mostly in French illuminations that depict Marina (Fig. 2.13) entering monastic space, the saint is kneeling (Cat. Fig. 90, 92,) or standing (Cat. fig. 91, 93, 98) at the entrance of the sacred establishment, while Mary (Fig. 2.14) is mostly depicted walking the stairs as her life indicates:

When Mary was three years old Joachim said, ‘Bring the Hebrew women who are pure and tell them to carry their lamps lighted and lead Mary into God’s temple. She needs to stay there to make sure that she doesn’t turn away from the Lord.’

The women led Mary in and the priest greeted her there with a blessing and a kiss. He said, ‘God has blessed you in every generation and in the end, thanks to you, God will save Israel’s people.’

Mary sat down on the altar’s third step and God gave her grace; she danced on her feet in the Temple and everyone in Israel loved her.¹⁷³

Furthermore, there are two patterns depicting Marina the Monk’s entrance into the monastery: she is depicted as a child (and rarely as a grown up). If Mary enters alone, Marina enters together with her father. Generally, her physiognomy and clothes resemble that of her father and echo the textual sources. But both Marina and Mary are depicted at an entrance which signifies the beginnings of a new episode in their lives, both are welcomed, and both are humble as their hand gesture indicates.

¹⁷² Français 241, folio 139v, *Legenda Aurea*, 1348, Paris, National Library of France: “Marine si est dicte aussi qui e ensemble avec marie. Ele ensemble avec la vierge Marie pour ce que ele garda virginite humilite et pascienor.” For an identical reference see, Ms. with no reference number, folio 120v, 1493, *Legenda Aurea*, France, Angers, Université Catholique de l’Ouest, Library of Angers.

¹⁷³ Davies, *The Infancy Gospels*, 15 and 17.



Fig. 2.13: Marina entering the monastery, 1445 - 1465, Chroniques II Workshop, *Legenda Aurea*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.672-5, folio 279v.



Fig. 2.14: Mary's presentation at the temple, 1463, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 50, folio 193v.

Briefly, the images suggest artistic and religious developments only when read in the context of the *vitae*. In these cases, the characters are viewed and considered women that have other women as models, not men.

2.2.2 Reconfiguring the image of female mystics

It is not only Virgin Mary whom these saints emulate, but, as my sources suggest, there is another type of adaptation, namely that to women mystics. Though this aspect seems to be more visible in the last episode of their lives, there are hints which suggest the closeness between female mystics and those in disguise even at the beginning of their story. These hints refer to various elements such as tonsure, clothes, family conflict, and so on. In order to detail these similarities, in the following, I will concentrate on Saint

Catherine of Siena's life (first part) that incorporates hagiographical elements of one of the saints in disguise, namely Saint Euphrosyne, indicating that not the lives of women in disguise are adapted, but that they are absorbed and included in new emergent saints' *vitae*.¹⁷⁴

The *vitae* concentrate on several concepts that emerge in twelfth-fifteenth-century Western Europe. Accordingly, the concepts of virginity, consent, and *molestiae nuptiarum* are incorporated in the written sources. Even more, the *vitae* or most of them are written in vernacular, be that French, Italian, or German/Austrian, and they include the religious notions mentioned above. By not offering their consent for marriage, these saints prove to be autonomous both in the *vitae* and in the images. This is a possible explanation for the abundance of illuminations which concentrate, in this part of their lives, on their entrance into the monastery. Furthermore, the illuminations depicting the entrance episode of their lives are strongly connected to the illuminations presenting their death.

There are a number of women mystics, most of them virgins, in whose *vitae* the *topos* of *molestiae nuptiarum* is one of the most important features in constructing their sanctity. The utmost model for these women mystics is obviously the Virgin. One can trace a type of emulation here: the Virgin- female mystics- holy women in disguise:

but I am known to Him to whom from my earliest years I have devoted myself. And this vow I made to my God from my infancy, that I should remain unspotted in Him who created me, and I trust that I shall so live to Him alone, and serve Him alone; and in Him, as long as I shall live, will remain unpolluted.¹⁷⁵

This quotation from the life of the Virgin is a *topos* that is included in most of the *vitae* not only in those of women mystics', but also in those of women in disguise. One of the similarities, for instance, is Saint Catherine of Siena's refusal to marry. In her life,¹⁷⁶ Catherine refused to marry and, in order to be less attractive; she cuts her hair off, and wants to disguise herself in clothes of men in order to imitate Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria. This similarity between the two saints is pointed out not once, but twice, suggesting the explanation that up to a certain degree Saint Catherine's life had been constructed on the model of Euphrosyne.¹⁷⁷ If Euphrosyne had a model in the Virgin

¹⁷⁴ On the construction of Saint Catherine's *vita* having a saint in disguise as a model, see Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Catherine of Siena, Preaching, and Hagiography in Renaissance Tuscany," in *A Companion to Catherine of Siena*, ed. Carolyn Muessig, George Ferzoco, & Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 132-133. On the influence of female reclusion upon Catherine see Allison Clark Thurber, "Female Urban Reclusion in Siena at the Time of Catherine of Siena," in *A Companion to Catherine of Siena*, ed. Carolyn Muessig, George Ferzoco, & Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 47-72.

¹⁷⁵ *The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, 13.

¹⁷⁶ Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 167.

¹⁷⁷ Other authors suggest that Raymond of Capua was not aware of what Euphrosyne's name means, see. *Szìenai Szent Katalin èlete* [The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena.] (Budapest: Apostoli Szentszék Könyvkiadója, 1983), 23 note 15. A neve görögül örömet jelent, de ezt úgy látszik Rajmund nem tudta. Aki azonban először szólította így Katalint, tisztában volt a szó jelentésével./ Her name means in Greek joy, but it seems that Rajmund did not know this. But the one [person] who called Catherine by the first time as

Mary, Catherine could have had a model in both the Virgin and in Euphrosyne. Here, the monastic habit¹⁷⁸ indicates Catherine's salvation and the transformation within her heart:

It came about that one such burst of delight they changed her name from Catherine to Euphrosyne, but how I cannot say. In the course of time, as we shall see, she herself discovered the hidden significance of this name – when she proposed to imitate Saint Euphrosyne. But I rather like to imagine that in her childish prattle she tried to imitate other people's words, and that when she tried to join them up together they sounded like the word "Euphrosyne", and the grown-up delightedly repeated these early stammerings and finally gave her that name.¹⁷⁹

This similarity between Mary - Euphrosyne - Catherine becomes even more striking when speaking about the early wisdom and faith that is growing in all three of these women. It is needless to emphasize Mary's and Euphrosyne's wisdom again, I only offer the relevant correspondent to Saint Catherine:

From that moment it became clear from Catherine's virtues, the gravity of her behavior, and her extraordinary wisdom, that under her girlish appearance there was hidden a fully formed woman. Her actions, indeed, had nothing childish, nothing girlish, about them, but showed all the signs of a most venerable maturity. From now onwards the fire of Divine love burned within her, enlightening her mind, killing her will, strengthening her power of thought, and enabling her external acts to conform to the laws of God.

To me, unworthy as I was, she revealed in all humility in confession that this time, without the aid of teachers or books and taught entirely by the Holy Spirit, she had come to know and value the lives and the way of life of the holy Fathers of Egypt and the great deeds of other saints, especially Blessed Dominic, and had felt such a strong desire to do what they did that she had been unable to think about anything else.¹⁸⁰

In my opinion although it is emphasized that Saint Dominic will become her model, this quotation also suggests the implication of Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria as a model to Saint Catherine by the direct reference that she is aware of the lives of the Desert fathers. Considered among the Desert fathers, Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria, Saint Marina the Monk, and Saint Eugenia of Rome are saints who withdraw into solitude as

such [i.e. Euphrosyne] was familiar with the meaning of the word. See also, Thomas Luongo, *The Saintly Politics of Catherine of Siena* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 144.

¹⁷⁸ Cordelia Warr, *Dressing for Heaven. Religious Clothing in Italy, 1215 - 1545* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2010), 153. Warr mentions also the case of the 12th- century story of Hildegund of Schönau whose cross-dress shows how the habit is a part of salvation and that it becomes part of the body that cannot be removed when she wished to leave monastic life.

¹⁷⁹ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, transl. George Lamb (Rockford, Illinois: Tan Books and Publishers, Inc. 2003), 23.

¹⁸⁰ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 26.

Catherine is determined to do, but I will detail this later in the subchapter related to the cell(s): “To bring this chapter to an end, I must add that Catherine, having, as has already been explained, come to know by pure revelation the lives and deeds of the holy Fathers in Egypt, felt a strong inclination to imitate them.”¹⁸¹

When speaking about the iconography of Euphrosyne and Catherine there are notable differences. The iconography of Saint Catherine of Siena is very abundant when depicting the saint as an active member of the religious community. The depictions which concentrate on Catherine’s early, secular life are very rare.¹⁸² In Fig. 2.15 (see also Cat. fig. 187) Catherine is illustrated kneeling and praying. It is a scene that depicts her prior to her entrance into the religious community. What is remarkable about her is her tonsure. Here, Catherine wears short hair which is suggestive of the episode of her having her hair cut off. This episode echoes Saint Euphrosyne’s iconography when she is either in front of the monastery and tonsured by a monk or when she presents herself as a eunuch in front of the abbot. I think that it is important to underline that the iconography of the two saints does not otherwise bear many similarities and it had not been influenced by the textual similarities.

¹⁸¹ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 27.

¹⁸² Lidia Bianchi, Diega Giunta, *Iconografia di S. Caterina da Siena*, I (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1988), plate II, figure 3 (also see fig. 2).

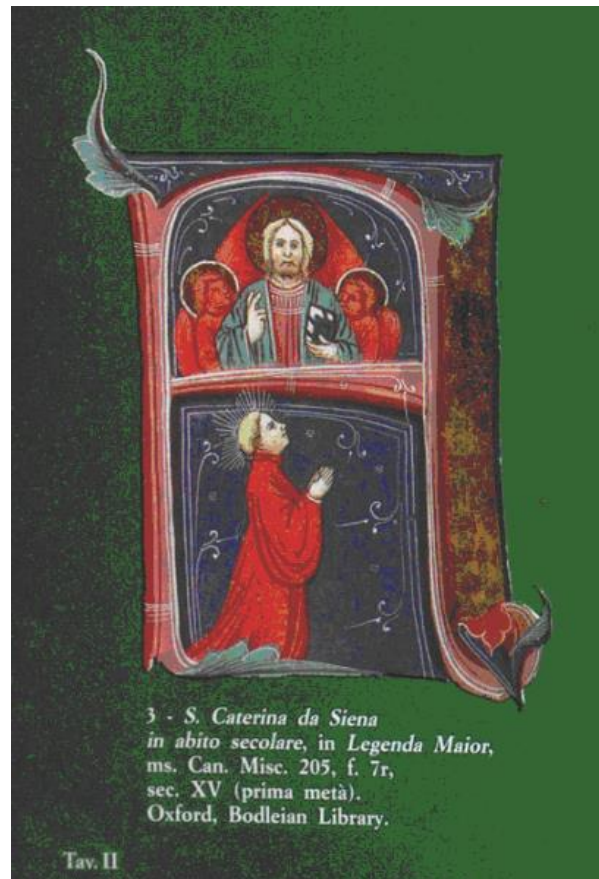


Fig. 2.15: Saint Catherina of Siena in secular clothes, fifteenth century, *Legenda Maior*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Can. Misc. 205, folio 7r.

Even more, a sixteenth-century Italian *predella* depicts Euphrosyne having a book and a flower in her hand (Fig. 2.16). Formerly hosted by the Convent of Saint Catherine of Siena, from Florence, it suggests the connection between the two saints, namely, an early model for Catherine is depicted in a religious establishment dedicated to her. There are no important regional differences concerning the miniatures of the entrance episode. Generally, both the French and the Italian visual representations concentrate on the saint's entering monastic space.



Fig. 2.16: Saint Euphrosyne between two saints, sixteenth century, Antonio del Ceraio, Cortona, Italy, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca.

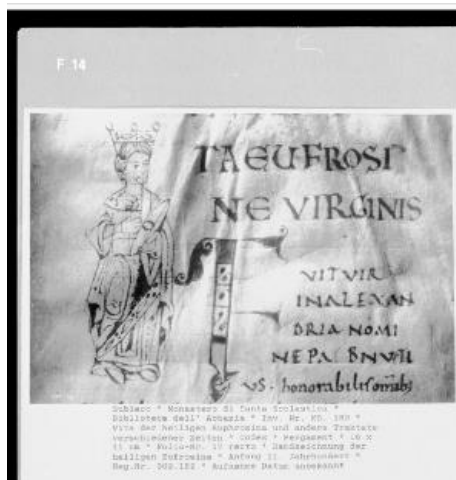


Fig. 2.17: Saint Euphrosyne, eleventh century, *Life of Saint Euphrosyne and other treatises*, Monastery of Santa Scolastica, Italy, Ms. 160, folio 17r.



Fig. 2.18: Margareta Pelagius' marriage and death, 1445 - 1465, Chroniques II Workshop, *Legenda Aurea*, New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, M.672-5, folio 136r.

If one has a look into the lives of other saints in disguise it is clear that the tendency against marriage is emphasized in their case as well. For instance, Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius's *vita* includes several references already starting with the prologue:

Margareta dicta Pelagia was a very noble, very beautiful, and very rich virgin and she was protected with much dignity by the love of her parents and she was taught to keep good manners and she was so obeying to keep honestly her chastity that she refused to be seen by all men by all means and finally she was asked in marriage by a noble young man[...]And when the day of the wedding came the young men and the young women were placed with great dignity in front of the chamber and because the parents were making there the feast of the wedding with great happiness the virgin inspired by God thought that the state of her virginity was endangered by such a damaging decision threw herself in tears on the ground and started to think. She entrusted herself to God and cut off her hair and dressed herself in men's clothes and she went far in a monastery of monks and was called brother Pelagius and she was received by the abbot and introduced [into monastic life], and she behaved saintly, and religiously.¹⁸³

¹⁸³ Français 242, folio 231r, *Legenda aurea*, 14th century, Paris, National Library of France: “ Marguerite dite pellagienne fu vierge tres noble tres bele et tres riche et fu tres noblement garde par la ameusete de ses parens que elle fu introduite a garder bonnes meurs et elle fu si ententeue a garder honnestete de cheaste que elle refusoit a estre veue de touz hommes en toutes manieres et en la parfin elle fu requise par mariage dun noble jeune homme [...]Et quant le jour de nocces vint que les jouvenceaux et les pucelles furent assemblez a tres grant noblesse devanc la chambre et que les parens faisoient la la feste des nocces a grant joie la vierge espiree de dieu considera que le dommage de sa virginite estoit achate par si grans dommageeux choismens

Or the German:

There was a good virgin well educated who had rich family she was cared for well and she was well grown as those children who are beautiful and lovely. Her father had rich worldly goods similar to honorable people of birth, goodness, and honor. With the rich dew from Heaven the virgin spread herself as she had thirst for God. She liked that so much that she broke with the world and she wanted to stay with the intensity of her prayer and purity of her chastity which she wanted to keep so that she would stay without any shame.¹⁸⁴

Figure 2.18 illustrates the first episode in her *vita*: her marriage to a young and beautiful husband. If we analyze the group Euphrosyne/Margareta vs. Catherine from this iconographical point of view, the results are the same: Euphrosyne's and Margareta's departure are the key episodes that are depicted. One explanation could be the fact that, in the case of women saints in disguise running away from home, this represents the key feature of their *vita*. As a consequence of this decision they employ disguise (clothes and physiognomy) and it is in this context of disguise for the sake of their faith that their true identity is revealed generally in *articulo mortis*.

These women - Catherine-Euphrosyne/Margareta - cannot avoid at all the conflict with their families when choosing a different path in life. This is a thirteenth-century reflection of conflicts between parents and children when considering religious vocation.¹⁸⁵ Not only Catherine of Siena rejects her family values, but also Saint Euphrosyne and Saint Margareta, both of noble origin, refuse marriage for coventual values, hence the strong conflict with the father. This is visible in the illumination of Margareta Pelagius whose rich bride dress contrasts her penitent clothes in the right side of

li ses tendi a terre a lermes et comenca a pense [...] elle se commanda a dieu et osta ses cheveux et se mist en habit domme et sen foin loing en un moustier de moines et se fust appeler frere pellagien et la fu receu de labbe et introduit diligemment et elle se porta saintement et religieusement. ”

See also HM 3027, folio 141v, *Legenda aurea*, 13th century, The University of California, Berkeley Library; Français 245 132r, *Legenda aurea*, 1480-1490, Paris, National Library of France, and Français 185, 265v, *Vies de saints*, 14th century, National Library of France.

¹⁸⁴ *Das Väterbuch*, 518: “Ez was ein junc vrowe gut,/An gutem worte wol behut,/Die hette riche mage/Und was in schooner pflage/Wol gewachsen also die kint/Die schone und lieb sint./Ir vater was zur werlde rich,/Den ersamen wol gelich/An geburt, an gute, an ere./Die suze gotes lere/Mit richeme himels touwe/Begoz die juncvrouwe,/Daz sie durste nach Gote./In sime heiligen gebote/Was ir so wol daz si sich ie/Brach von dirre werlde hie/An ir gebedes innekeit./Ir reinliche kuscheit/Dachte sie beholden/Gote und dar an alden/Daz sie des blibe sunder schame.”

¹⁸⁵ Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 220-223. More on the superiority of chastity over marriage and a similarity of Saint Euphrosyne's life to that of Saint Alexis see Christopher Storey, “*La Vie de Sainte Euphrosine*- A Reminder of a Neglected Thirteenth-Century Poem,” *French Studies* 4, vol. 31 (1977): 385-392. For more on Saint Alexis see Tony Hunt, “The Life of St. Alexis, 475-1125” in *Christina of Markyate: a Twelfth-Century Holy Woman*, ed. Samuel Fanous, Henrietta Leyser (New York : Routledge, 2005), 217-228. On a 13th-century life of Euphrosyne produced in western France see Gilles Roques, “Pour la localization de la *Vie de Sainte Euphrosyne*,” *Revue de linguistique romane* 46 (1982): 29-33.

the illumination (Fig. 2.17). All of these three cases highlight the pattern of entrance and death that is a common element in the lives of the four virgins in disguise. While another representation of Margareta in an Italian manuscript (Fig.2.19) concentrates on an individual portrait, the saint is depicted as a woman with no trace of disguise. The illumination, similar to a medallion, is positioned at the beginning of her *vita*. It does not separate any previous text, since it is only her life that begins on the folio.



Fig. 2.19: Saint Margareta Pelagius, *Legenda Aurea*, thirteenth century, Milan, Ambrosian Library, Codice Ambrosiano, c. 240 inf.

This episode of the conflict is preceded both in the life of Catherine and in that of women in disguise by an emphasis on their purity. If one reads the life of Catherine it is stated that

Guided by the Holy Spirit, she began to realize that it was necessary to be perfectly pure in body and soul if she was to do this, and it became her one desire to preserve her own virginal purity. Then she was inspired by heaven to ponder the fact that the most holy Mother of God had herself instituted the life of virginity, and had dedicated her virginity to the Lord by vow.¹⁸⁶

Although -Catherine-Euphrosyne/Margareta's desire to have a chaste life and keep the secret in their heart, unaware of it, the family's intention contrasts it.¹⁸⁷ It is in this complex context that Catherine¹⁸⁸ decides to have her hair cut off at the advice of a preacher:

¹⁸⁶ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena* 30.

¹⁸⁷ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 36: "I say this because when this virgin dedicated to the Lord reached the marriageable age of about twelve she began to be kept at home-according to the local custom, for in Siena it is not usual for unmarried girls of that age to be allowed out of the house."

¹⁸⁸ Suzanne Noffke, "Catherine of Siena" in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100- c. 1500*, eds. A Minnis, R. Voaden (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 602- Catherine of Siena – cut off her hair on the advice of her cousin Tommaso della Fonte – indicating her not willing to get married.

The holy maiden kept on making this quite clear in every way she could, but her parents decided to force her and went to see one of the Order of Preaching Friars, a friend of the family, who is still alive. They implored him to try to persuade her to give way and this he promised to do; and in fact he went to see the virgin, and, finding her firm in her holy intention, felt bound in conscience to give her this sensible advice: ‘Since there seems to be absolutely no doubt that you wish to serve the Lord,’ he said, ‘and these people keep pestering you to do the opposite, show them you mean what you say-cut your hair off, and then perhaps they’ll keep quiet!’ Accepting this advice as though it came from heaven, Catherine seized a pair of scissors and joyfully cut her hair off to the roots, hating it as a cause of her grievous sin.¹⁸⁹

Similarly, Saint Euphrsoyne is having her hair cut off by a monk, the only difference between the two women is that Euphrosyne manages to escape and hide in men’s clothes in a monastery.

To conclude, I want to emphasize the following:

1. By incorporating elements from the lives of the Virgin and of female mystics, the textual sources allow us to interpret the visual material not only as simple representations of the *vitae*, but to refer to these saints in disguise as women (although depicted as masculine characters).
2. Thirteenth-fourteenth-century hagiographical *topoi* such as the lack of child to a couple (Euphrosyne), *puella senex* (Eugenia, Euphrosyne), offering to the Temple (Euphrosyne, Marina), refusal of marriage (Eugenia, Euphrosyne, Marina, Margareta Pelagius), and personality similarities (Marina) from the life of the Virgin were included in the *vitae* of women in disguise. All these emphasize the beauty, the wisdom, in one word the uniqueness not only of the Virgin, but also of the virgins in disguise. In this sense, the illuminations concentrate either on depicting women in accordance with specific standards of beauty or on their learnedness.
3. Although the Western versions concentrate on representing less active women when compared to Eastern sources, their iconographies show them either in a leading position (Eugenia) or entering a monastery (Euphrosyne, Margareta Pelagius, Marina), an expression of their free will after all.
4. Certain regional differences occur, but they are less important: a German source emphasizes Euphrosyne’s wisdom, while a French one her beauty.

¹⁸⁹ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 41. Note also that in Saint Euphrosyne’s case, it is a monk who comes and helps her in her decision and also cuts her hair off.

5. A significant change occurs in the second half of the fifteenth-century, with regard to the woodcuts that represent Euphrosyne/Eugenia. Here, emphasis is laid on the mother as a reflection of certain cultural developments while the saints regress and are not depicted as grown-ups anymore, but as children.
6. A second group of *topoi* included into the textual sources are from lives of female mystics and/or religious literature, in general: virginity, consent, *molestiae nuptiarum*/refusal to marry are all reflected in the illuminations which concentrate on women escaping a wedding and joining a monastery dressed as men. Last but not least, aspects of the lives of saints in disguise have been incorporated into the *vitae* of new emergent saints such as Catherine of Siena.

Chapter 3

Dying for Christ's Sake

One of the most important episodes both in the miniatures and the lives of holy women in disguise is the discovery of their identity. This chapter concentrates on an iconographic description of the miniatures (first part) and on the way the inclusion of hagiographic *topoi* into the textual sources offers new possibilities of interpreting miniatures on women in disguise(second part) except virgocentric-gendered perspectives.

3.1. Iconography

3.1.1. Saint Marina the Monk

The *vitae* of Saint Marina the Monk are not detailed enough when presenting her discovery. In contrast, the illuminations are particularly interesting as they do give insight on how she was perceived. One fifteenth-century French illumination suggests Marina's chastity through the *pudica* position¹⁹⁰ that is hiding her genitalia (Fig. 3.1 and also Cat. Fig.98). Venus Pudica (modest Venus) is an ancient art pose that becomes a common feature for female figures in post Antique periods of Western art.¹⁹¹ This position is of Greek origin and has the function of hiding and also directing attention to the genitals. The gesture indicates continence, self-restraint, modesty, purity, and obedience. Furthermore, this illumination indicates Marina's spiritual purity through physical elements. The Italian illuminations (Fig. 3.2 and also Cat. Fig.107), on the other hand, are more gendered, in the sense that they concentrate more on the external sexual features of the female body: the breasts and the genitals.

¹⁹⁰ Susan L'Engle, "Depictions of Chastity: Virtue Made Visible," in *Chastity: A Study in Perception, Ideals, Opposition*, ed. N. van Deusen (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 88.

¹⁹¹ Murray, "Masculinizing Religious Life," 62.



Fig. 3.1: Saint Marina's death, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 201v.



Fig. 3.2: Saint Marina's death, 1350-1375, Roberto Oderisi, *Vitae Patrum*, Naples. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.626, folio 130v.

3.1.2. Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius

The episode of Margareta's death is sometimes paired with that of her wedding which emphasizes her spiritual evolution. In a fifteenth-century illumination of *The Golden Legend* (Fig. 3.3) the artist conflates two episodes of her life: that of her penance and that of her death. It concentrates on the cave which becomes the place of Margareta's expiation and death.



Fig. 3.3: Death of Saint Margarita Pelagius, fifteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 242, folio 231r.

3.1.3. Saint Euphrosyne

The visual representations of Saint Euphrosyne (Fig. 3.4, 3.5) concentrate on depicting her dying in bed in the company of her father. The textual episode that corresponds to these depictions includes not only her confession *in articulo mortis*, but

also the reaction of the clergy (which is visually emphasized in Marina's case, and excluded in Euphrasyne's): "[He] ran and announced the abbot and the abbot came and kneeled in front of her and said crying. Eufrosine bride of Jesus Christ you did not forget us, your servants."¹⁹²

If Euphrosyne's *vitae* in prose do not offer many details concerning the episode of her death, the versions in verse are enriched with many important additions. One such addition is found in a fourteenth-century poem with regard to the transformation of her body that had become ugly:

Her seclusion has made her pale and thin,
Because of the privations and sufferings.

and also:

Her body has changed, becoming ugly
On account of fasting and cold/
Privations finally affect her body. She takes to her bed.
But if the body weakens, her soul is stronger than ever,
For no frailty can assail her spirit.¹⁹³

One finds a clear mark of dichotomies, namely that between the body and the soul: the weaker the body, the stronger the soul. The strength of her soul is underlined by another detail; that of her voice which is suggestive of the *Song of Songs* (similarly to Marina's case):

Hearing the voice of the maiden,
Paphnutius finds it softer than the sound of harp,
And sweeter than spice or cinnamon.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Arsenal 5080, folio 410r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National French Library: "Et sen couri et le denonca a labbe et labbe vint et chai sus ele et dist en pleurant. Eufrosine espouse Ihu crist tu nas pas oublies nous tes serians."

¹⁹³ Canon Misc. 74, folio 103r and folio 104v, *Saints' lives*, 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian also translated in Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 178: "Pale astoit del renclus et maigre de juner,/Fraite de malgesir et tainte de plorer/...Egrotez est li cors, car trop eret laidis,/De juner et de froit maiselez et blemis; Nel pot mais endurer ; a[l] lit est atapis./Mais cant li cors default, dont est fors li esprit,/Car par nule enferté ne puet estre amatis."

¹⁹⁴ Canon Misc. 74, folio 104r, *Saints' lives*, 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian also translated in Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 177: "Kant Panuzes oit la vois de la pucele,/Ele li est plus duce ke harpe ne viele;/ Ans tal savor n'en ot ne pimens ne canele."

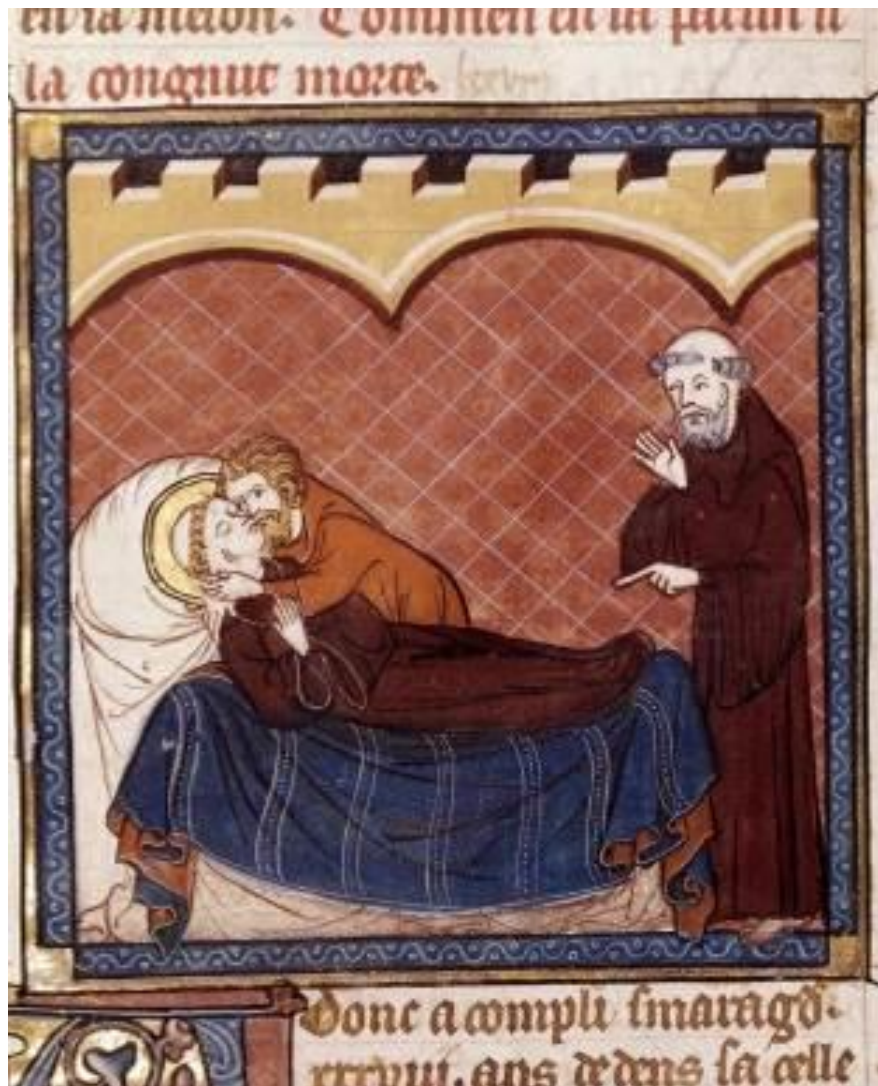


Fig. 3.4: Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria's death, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 409v.



Fig. 3.5: Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria's death, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 202v.

The opposition between soul and flesh is a common theme in theologians' work, both in Latin and in the vernacular.¹⁹⁵ These verses are linked to two conceptions regarding body and soul in the very same poem. The first connects the saint to such patterns of beauty as those of Virgin Mary and the *Song of Songs* focusing on wisdom and beauty of the body, which is the equivalent of the beauty and purity of the soul. This is visible in the illuminations which show Euphrosyne's entrance into the monastery. The second pattern, which is the depiction of her death, contrasts the lost physical beauty to the strength of the soul in the context of monastic life. It is monastic life which enables the individual to gain access to purity and heavenly life as the emphasis on monastic behavior indicates in the text (reading psalms, praying, etc.): "Thank only God

¹⁹⁵ Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 202.

and do not despair because God accomplished my desire and lead me to the end [of my life] fighting virtuously against temptations.”¹⁹⁶ The emaciated body as a sign of denying femininity points to femaleness at the core of the hagiographies.¹⁹⁷ It is femaleness from a masculine point of view since the unattractiveness of the female body is emphasized through self-abnegation, humility, all employed for serving God.

3.1.4. Saint Eugenia of Rome

Eugenia’s *anagnorisis* episodes (Fig. 3.6) emphasize her naked body. According to her *vita*, Eugenia undresses in front of her father to prove her innocence when accused by Melanthia of adulterous behavior. Figure 3.6 lays special emphasis on it since it depicts not only Melanthia complaining, but also Eugenia’s naked body, thus, underlying the notions of purity and chastity and conflating them with penance episodes.¹⁹⁸ Eugenia is not depicted as a monk in any of the illuminations. As said, Eugenia tears off her clothes in public in front of her father in order to be recognized. Scholars have offered several interpretations for this gesture.



Fig. 3.6: Saint Eugenia reveals her identity, 1333-1350, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 154.

¹⁹⁶ Arsenal 5080, folio 409r-410r, Paris, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France: “Rent graces a dieu tant seulement et ne te desespoires pas-pource que diex a compli mon desirer et ma parmene a la fin en combatant moi contre les temptations vertueusement.”

¹⁹⁷ Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 25- 30.

¹⁹⁸ Pamela Loos-Noji, “Temptation and Redemption: A Monastic Life in Stone,” <http://www.umilta.net/equal5.html#eugenia> (last accessed: 21 January 2016).

One of the earliest interpretations belongs to Campbell Bonner.¹⁹⁹ He connects Eugenia's *vita* to pagan literature in an attempt to identify possible sources of influence upon this gesture by placing the *vita* in relation with pagan myths and secular fiction.²⁰⁰ However, it can be argued that the connection between this gesture and female sex-magic, as suggested by the author, is not applicable because he omitted to take into consideration that the *vita* should be placed in a monastic/religious context: it is a life of a saint which is an *exemplum*.

Another scholar, Pamela Loos-Noji focuses on the analysis and contextualization of Saint Eugenia represented on a capital (Fig. 3.7) from the Church of Vézelay, France.²⁰¹ Eugenia is set among other hermits' sculptures: Paul the Hermit, (Visions of) Saint Anthony, St. Benedict, all focusing on celibacy and avoidance of sexuality. Eugenia's depiction as she exposes her breasts and wears a tonsure and a habit refers to monastic audience and sets women in a positive light.

The image can be integrated in the central themes of temptation and sexuality, which were produced for monks from the time of the Gregorian Reform preoccupied with the restoration of celibacy to its original purity.²⁰² If one thinks of the twelfth-century eremitism movement based on the Lives of the Desert Fathers and on female sexuality then, Eugenia as a woman is a central character, not marginal, considers Loos-Noji. Ripping her clothes off is a gesture of anguish and despair (grief from Roman times).

There are other women and feminine symbols represented on the Vézelay capitals: Potiphar's wife, Eve, Lust, Despair, Profane music. It is this negative context in which Melanthia's wide sleeves, similar to Potiphar's wife, flowing hair of a sexual temptress should be understood. Eugenia, as the opposite of Melanthia, suggests the denial of womanhood through tonsure and disguise, which indicates renunciation of

¹⁹⁹ Campbell Bonner, "The Trial of Saint Eugenia," *The American Journal of Philology* 41, No. 3 (1920): 253-264.

²⁰⁰ Bonner considers Usener's attempt of connecting cross-dressed saints to Aphrodita unsatisfactory. In his opinion a pagan counterpart to Eugenia's *vita* is a passage in Hyginus's *Fabulae*. Both stories (Eugenia's *vita* and the *Fabulae*) share more than one common pattern (ambivalence of name: Eugenia/Eugenius-Agnodice/Hagnodice, purity revealing chastity). Eugenia's gesture of tearing off her garment is connected to a statue/figure's position found on amulets with reproductive powers representing male/female parts. It is in this female sex-magic in agriculture context that Eugenia's gesture originates. This has an apotropaic value if one thinks of Plutarch's (*Bellerophon*) women lifting up their clothes. Herodotus considers this a gesture indicating either fertility, insult or protection. Bonner's argumentation continues by referring to showing the breasts of Graeco-Egyptian figures of seated women-mourners.

²⁰¹ Loos-Noji, "Temptation and Redemption," <http://www.umilta.net/equal5.html#eugenia> (last accessed: January 21, 2016).

²⁰² In note 13, Loos-Noji mentions "the only other extant narrative scenes from her life are on an altar frontal dated the fourteenth century which is now in Paris." I suppose that the fourteenth-century altar frontal she is referring to is the one painted by the Master of Soriguerola, dated thirteenth century by the Index of Christian Art. But, Loos-Noji, omits to mention the quite abundant number of illuminations one can find in the versions of *The Golden Legend* and the *Speculum historiale* (mostly in France).

sexual roles and purity as her exposed breast are not erotic.²⁰³ Here, disguise represents a step to manhood and to a greater spirituality and maintaining virginity. Loos-Noji concludes that, here, the woman is set in a positive view and evolves from temptress to vehicle of salvation.



Fig. 3.7: Saint Eugenia of Rome, 1125/1140, Church of St. Magdalene, Vézelay, France.

²⁰³ On the development of the Eugenia and Melanthia episode see E. Gordon Whatley, "Eugenia Before Ælfric: A Preliminary Report on the Transimission of an Early Medieval Legend," in *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. Virginia Blanton, Helene Scheck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 349-367.

3.2. Analysis

3.2.1. Beyond a gendered-virgocentric perspective

The notion of third gender is ascribed to men or women who deviated from the two basic gender roles. Powerful women can be included in the category of *virago* that is women with masculine souls, and in the group of the third gender.²⁰⁴ Medieval clergy belonged to the group of the third gender as there was a tendency to establish two genders for the male sex: masculinity for laymen and emascularity for the celibate clergy. Naturally, not only the clergy, but also monks and nuns belonged to this group of the third gender. This concept is connected to medieval medical conceptions on sex and gender which were inherited from antiquity. Accordingly, there is a binary hierarchical differentiation between men and women. Women, considered a defective form of male, are connected to notions indicating carnality, irrationality, disorder, emotion and lust. However, this binary differentiation is dependent on the amount and balance of humours in the human body.

Christian authors included these medical ideas into their works. So, we have holy women who approach the masculine pole of the line, and holy men who are directing themselves towards the feminine pole. In the first group, one can include the early martyr Perpetua, struggling against the devil, for instance. These women are achieving masculine characteristics, a masculine soul, rather than becoming biologically men. Yet, in this context they are still viewed as inferior beings because they had to repress their femininity and softness in order to become virile. But if one thinks that feminine imagery was employed for the struggles of holy men, one can clearly see that the notion of the third gender and the movement between the two poles is not that misogynist at all. Men's struggles (martyrdom) are described with notions such as childbirth common to women. If a man's body was considered to be too hot he was at peril of being attached lustfully to his body as women were considered to be. Then, naturally, he had to move towards the cooler (feminine) part of the line and become more feminine. For instance, men's connection to hair, whether facial or tonsure is connected to masculinity and virility. Long hair and a beard are clear indicators of too much of the hot element in a man's character. In contrast, a beardless, hairless or tonsured man indicates that one possesses more coolness. The bodies of holy women in disguise are constructed by combining elements of masculine and feminine physiognomy. The white, smooth skin of their face, the masculine tonsure (Fig. 3.1, 3.2: Marina, Fig. 3.3: Margareta, and Fig. 3.4: Euphrosyne), and the frail body (Fig. 3.6: Eugenia), are all indicators of a positive view on masculinity: tonsure points to a man's abandonment of gender and sex and to a cool temperament. Moreover, these are external indicators of chastity that is bodily purity which indicates the previous state of mankind before the fall and also a similarity to God's image. By being able to move from one pole to the other, medieval men and

²⁰⁴ Jacqueline Murray, "One Flesh, Two Sexes, Three Genders?," in *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe* ed. L. M. Bittel and F. Lifshitz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 35.

women were able to evolve towards a better spiritual state and have a sexual identity defined by chastity, a different sexual orientation characteristic of the third gender.²⁰⁵

If gender is not based on sex it need not be binary, Sarah Salih suggests stressing the context between gender and social role. Virginité can be understood as a third gender.²⁰⁶ Nakedness (Fig. 3.1: Marina) not necessarily sexual, is an indicator of lack of shame, the perfect prelapsarian body similarly to that of Adam and Eve.

Starting with the twelfth century the concept of virginité became particularly valuable for the medieval mind.²⁰⁷ In this context, the virginal body becomes a proof of sanctity. Women's in disguise bodies evolve spiritually, as they seek Christian faith instead of marriage. Accordingly, they are more than eunuchs as they acquire a virginal body that is reminiscent of the prelapsarian status. It is a holy body, a different non-human body capable of performing miracles. It is exactly this body that situates them on an equal status with men.

However, besides this virgocentric-gendered perspective, there are other possibilities of analyzing these representations which I develop in the following two sub-chapters.

3.2.2. Meeting the Groom in *articulo mortis*

If in the first case, women in disguise intend to become brides of Christ and are running away from a worldly/carnal marriage, in the second case, they manage to meet their Groom and to "consummate" a marriage which is the opposite of the marriage they've been running from. In this sense, both the visual and the textual sources turn out to be symmetrical constructions: the women run away from a marriage they disagreed with (entrance episode) to marry the Groom of their life by death (exit episode).

In this context, the *vitae* of saints in disguise include several developments specific for the literature written in the vernacular (mystical imagery and assimilation with the Virgin). Here, Saints Euphrosyne, Eugenia and Marina the Monk are viewed as brides of Christ who imitate not the monks, but the model, the prototype of *sponsa*, namely the Virgin Mary. The *imitatio Madonnae* is not revealed directly as in the first episode by the clear indication of Mary's name; it is only suggested through the detailed description of Marina's death and the suggestion of the *sponsa* motif.

The *sponsa Christi* motif is an addition which is barely identifiable in Latin versions, whereas in the French vernacular it developed in a dialogue between Christ and Marina.²⁰⁸ For instance, the following version refers to her as the bride of Christ when

²⁰⁵ Murray, *One Flesh*, 49-50.

²⁰⁶ Sarah Salih, "Performing Virginité: Sex and Violence in the Katherine Group," in *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginité in the Middle Ages*, eds C. L. Carlson and A. J. Weisl (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 97-101.

²⁰⁷ Dyan Elliott, *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell*, 106-107.

²⁰⁸ Znorovszky, "Marinus Unveiled," 40.

the abbot asks for the saint's intercession after discovering her identity: "Forgive me, Lord Jesus Christ, because I have sinned because of my ignorance against Your holy and chaste bride."²⁰⁹ In a second fifteenth-century example Marina is not called the bride of Christ but is described as having a "Heavenly spouse, whom [she] always had [in her] mind and body."²¹⁰ The motif is more elaborated in the French vernacular versions written in prose and verse. Two manuscripts in prose, one from the thirteenth-fourteenth century and one from the fifteenth, present the motive of the *sponsa Christi* in the scene of her death. These are not that elaborated but present the sequence in a more detailed way than the Latin that I have detailed above:

She did not live long 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 Heaven 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 you the crown of glory and grace.'²¹¹

The prose versions do not highlight the soul's union with Christ, as those in verse do. Mystical literature connected penitential suffering to increased intimacy,²¹² among the four saints in disguise, Saint Marina is the one whose penitence and suffering is mostly pointed out. This is a possible explanation for the following descriptive fragment:

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

²⁰⁹ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 30: "Ignosce mihi, Domine Iesu Christe, quia per ignorantiam peccavi in sanctam et castam tuam sponsam."

²¹⁰ Latin B. 49 Inf., f. 136r, 15th century, The Ambrosian Library of Milan, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et Office de Sainte Marine*, 271: "Caelestem sponsum, quem mente/ Semper habuit corpore."

²¹¹ Ms. 23117, f.457v, *Saint's lives*, 13th-14th century, Paris, National Library of France reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 158: "Ne demouura 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.'"

²¹² Elliott, *The Bride of Christ*, 102. Barbara Ferrari, *Vie de Marine d'Egipte virgene, Poemetto agiografico del XIII secolo* (Milan: Edizioni Universitarie de Lettere Economia Diritto, LED, 2000), 33-34, 46-47. See also Barbara Ferrari, "Versioni antiofrancesi in prosa della vita di Santa Marina," *Carte Romanze* I (1995): 137.

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. ²¹³

The mystical lexicon used in this passage abounds in references both to the *sponsa* and to the Groom. It is not the characteristics of the *lover* that are highlighted that much, but that of the bride. Accordingly, the elements which refer to Marina's physique (Fig. 3.1) are in fact indicators of her soul's nobility and purity. Marina is viewed imitating Mary, the ultimate *sponsa*, by her physical description. The references to Heaven, Paradise, and angels underline the incorruptible virginal body that performs miracles. ²¹⁴ Ferrari considers this part a lyrical "intermezzo" that contains elements of mystic literature, courtly love literature, and allusions to the *Song of Songs* such as: *inuitatio amicae* ("My sister, my spouse, come forward!", "But wish to take you into my garden," "Fair friend, come to me"), *laudatio sponsae* ("Your mouth is brighter than blood, / And your teeth are white and small."), and union with God ("To kiss Him all day long/ Was her deepest wish." "When she found herself in the arms/ Of Him whom she wanted so much. / I could not put into words"). ²¹⁵

²¹³ In Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 254-255 and French text in Ms. 1728, folio 109v, The Vatican Library reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 178: "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 entreses:/Le soulas de vostre biaulte/A mon cuer traïet et enivre;/Venes, ma columbe sans fiel./Je vous ay appreste de ciel:/Trop vous a le monde troublee/Maiz tant estes mieulx achesnice;/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 servir,/O moy vous conuient jl venir./Ne desiroit riens tam belle/Que celui veoir qui l'appelle:/Embracier le vout 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."

²¹⁴ Another characteristic of the above passage is that it reflects references to affective devotion. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the increase of affective devotion appears in numerous writings. It is the case of Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de Jésus Christ*, for instance, in which the narrative is personalized by the narrator's own involvement to draw the attention of his reader. In Marina's case the narrator's voice emphasizes her sanctity and the uniqueness of her soul. It is a characteristic of thirteenth-century Latin devotional texts that this *vita* includes when presented in the vernacular. M. Boulton, "Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de Jésus Christ*: a Poem of Courtly Devotion," in *The Vernacular Spirit. Essay on Medieval Religious Literature*, eds R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, D. Robertson, N. Warren (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 136-137.

²¹⁵ Ferrari, *Vie de Marine d'Egipte virgene*, 46-47.

As said before, Marina's body is depicted differently: in France she is covered or, when naked, it is depicted with the *pudica* position. In Italy her body (Fig 3.2) is depicted naked and the images concentrate either on her genitals or on her breasts. Having a closer look at the miniatures, the French ones seem to focus more on the process of preparing the body, of washing Saint Marina or praying next to her uncovered body. In the Italian depictions accent is laid on the amazement of the monastic community as suggested by their hands raised towards their face (Fig. 3.8) depicts a monk raising Marina the Monk's cloak which hid her breasts.

The French representations focus more on her child-like breasts, while her hands cover the genitals. Contrary to this, the Italian miniatures show a Marina having the breasts of a penitent alluding, in my opinion, to Saint Mary of Egypt. Even more, Marina is depicted similarly to an old woman as the Italian illuminations concentrate on constructing her with an old woman's breasts. It is clear that the Italian sources emphasized Marina's femininity as the miniatures concentrate on amazement, shock, while the French more on washing her or praying. Furthermore, Marina reveals her true identity at her death when her disguise is revealed (*anagnorisis*). What we see in this episode, are reactions of the monastic community towards the model for sanctity offered by Marina the Monk as indicated by the miracle she performs on the possessed innkeeper's daughter.



Fig. 3.8: Saint Marina's death, fifteenth-century, *Collection of lives*, Vatican Library, Ms. 375, folio 38v.

In German sources, Marina's dead body is not depicted at all. Here, one can see a very small figure of the saint with barely visible physiognomy. Also the German written sources emphasize the discovery of her identity in a way that is different from both France²¹⁶ and Italy, namely, the monks are not shocked, nor venerate her, but are rather desolated:

As the corpse was not the one of a man the brethren got frightened and were very desolated.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Ms. Arsenal 5080, 408v, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France: "Et si comme il la lavoient et il congurent que cestoit une fame. Et si ome il la lavoient il cognurent q cestoit une feme il se commoncierent a batre et a crier. pour ce que ele fu trouue de tel conversation et de teil penitance [And as they washed her they saw that she was a woman. They started hitting and shouting. Because she was found under such change and such penitence.]

²¹⁷ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 133: "Den brudern an dem licham,/Wand ez nicht was ein mannesnam,/Hievon erschracken si do/Und waren des vil unvro."

or

They saw that she was a virgin and got frightened very much and asked the almighty God to forgive them that they had reacted so strictly in a case when she was not guilty.²¹⁸

and

They were frightened and they hit in great pain their head and hearts.²¹⁹

The concept of *sponsa Christi* is in opposition with carnal love visible when Eugenia is depicted in opposition to Melanthia or when she destroys Venus's temple.²²⁰ Yet there are other details that are more suggestive of the *sponsus*. For instance, Eugenia is tortured and, later, fed by an angel in the prison as Saint Catherine of Alexandria is. It is here when Christ addresses her:

After twenty days to blessed Eugenia appeared a radiating light and the Savior revealed Himself to her from Whose hands she received white bread and Who told her I am the One Whom you love with all your mind.²²¹

Briefly, one has to bear in mind that behind the masculine clothes of the holy women in disguise it is the female body that has a central role in their death and in becoming saints after their death.

3.2.3 Fasting, illness, and pain as *imitatio Christi*

Again, as in the entrance part of their lives, elements from the mystical movement were included in the *vitae* and adapted as to conform to the new emergent models of female piety.

²¹⁸ Steffen Arndes, *Leben der Heiligen* (Lübeck: 1492) reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 138. "Dò sègen se dat it ène juncfrouwe was unde vorschreckeden alle gans sere unde bèden alle ôtmôdichliken gôde, dat he en dat vergève dat se ere sô hartliken in erer unscult hadden gewēsen."

²¹⁹ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 145. "Se worden vorscrecket in der stunt/Unde slogan in grôter smerte/

Ore hòvede unde herte."

²²⁰ Diana/Venus functions as an inverted form of the Virgin. Wogan Browne, *Women's Literary Culture*, 112.

²²¹ Ms. Français 313, folio 184v, *Speculum historiale*, 1396, Paris, National library of France: "après les 20 jours la beneoite Eugene apparut aussi comme lumiere raiant et le Sauveur apparut a li de la main du quel elle recut pain de blanche couleur et le quel li dist. Je sui celui que tu as ame a toute laffection de ta pensee."

Humanitas Christi, the actual fact of Christ being flesh, became an important part of women's spirituality in the late middle ages.²²² There were different ways in which women could fuse with the humanity of Christ: asceticism (including illness) or eroticism, both being patterns of *imitatio Christi*. For instance, the *Nonnenbücher* offer examples on nuns exposing themselves to privations. Though saints in disguise do not have any stigmata or mystical breastfeeding, their *vitae* share a number of common elements with those of the mystical brides.

The predominance of supernatural power in mystic women's lives such as visions, signs, struggles with demons suggest their private and passive character and are considered weapons against parents/family's prospective marriage exactly as in the case of holy women in disguise.²²³

Furthermore, all of these saints undergo some kind of penitence: Marina in front of the monastery, Eugenia is undressing in public, Euphrosyne is fasting in her cell, and Margareta tolerates unjust accusations. Penitence becomes an important part in most saints' lives, but more dominant in the lives of women than men. Penitential asceticism that includes humility and poverty as means of expiation is an expression accessible only in the cloistered life. Strongly connected to this is the penitential impulse and rejection of marriage as it is in this context that women saints starved, gave away their clothes and disfigured their bodies. This last pattern of disfigurement together with the refusal of marriage is common with holy women in disguise if we talk about their shift in physiognomy by having their hair cut off.²²⁴

The final part of Euphrosyne's *vita* concentrates on the opposition between aspects before and after her conversion. One traces here the well-known dichotomy between the ascetic and the mundane life. The emaciated body of Euphrosyne because of continuous fasting is a common *topos* found also in female mystics' lives. Thus, there is a connection and a layer of continuity between the beginning of her *vita* and the end. The beginning presents her similar to Mary, the prototype for *sponsae*, while the end depicts/suggests the mystical body of the bride. Her fasting is connected to mystics' refusal of eating. It is also the case of Saint Marina eating crumbs of bread and living on the edge of starvation in front of the monastery, an episode that is represented very often by the miniatures. Even more, both groups of women –mystics and in disguise– are in conflict with their family concerning their vocation.²²⁵ So, here fasting suggests not only a monastic behavior pattern, but also a common element included mostly in women saints' lives that indicates their power over their own body. Contrary to this subtle nuance perceived in the *vitae*, the illuminations concentrate more on presenting the narration.

²²² Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 129-132.

²²³ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society, The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 228-237.

²²⁴ Last, but not least, this is the period of the emergence of the so-called androgynous saints. The group of holy women in disguise share patterns of sanctity found both in men and women saints' *vitae*: penitential asceticism, private prayer, mystical communion with God.

²²⁵ Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 140-145.

Saint Marina's *vita* develops the other pattern of *imitatio Christi* by concentrating on her quest for the Lover that is Christ. This narrative episode is paired with that of her being chased out from the monastery. Versions in verse present this episode concentrating on her being beaten by the abbot, while the illuminations depict her penitence in front of the monastery.

Both Marina's whipping and her weakness because of her struggle and Euphrosyne's fasting concentrate on their bodies by imitating Christ. Starting from the twelfth century the notion of *imitatio* became very literal and not a mere contemplative notion. This fits well to the fact that these women situate their bodies in the center of the narrative and of the visual representations as characteristic of women's devotion.

3.2.3.1. Saint Eugenia of Rome: Torture for the Kingdom of Heaven

Torture, as means to access the divine, is a form of manipulation of the body that represented for medieval people punishment for sins and a way of being united with Christ. Starting from the twelfth century the emphasis on the bodylines of the female body as a path of access to the sacred became more predominant. Trances, levitations, ecstatic nose bleedings, etc. become common patterns in women saints' *vitae*. The ability of martyrs to resist tortures, in this context, suggests the assimilation of their body on earth to the glorified body in heaven. The intact body becomes the central part of hagiographer's stories.

Saint Eugenia of Rome is the only saint among the four who reveals her identity while alive; her death is also different: she dies as a martyr similarly to other women martyrs. The illuminations of her martyrdom do not follow the episode of revealing her disguise. Practically, in most of the French manuscripts her *vita* is divided in two: a part focusing on her story until she reveals her identity, then other martyr saints' *vitae* (and depictions) are inserted in the manuscripts which are followed by Eugenia's martyrdom. Eugenia's narrative includes both elements of saints in disguise and martyrs' lives. Since most of the stories that precede her martyrdom concentrate on martyrs' death, I analyze her depictions from the virgin martyrs' perspective.

²²⁶ Robert Mills, "Can the Virgin Martyr Speak?" in *Medieval Virginites*, ed. Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 190-197.



Fig. 3.9: Passion of Saint Eugenia (together with Saints Prothus and Hyacinthus), 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 26r.



Fig. 3.10: Eugenia accused by Melanthia, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 50, folio 393v.

Similarly to Saint Margareta's discovery when dead, Eugenia wears white underclothes that indicate her purity (Fig. 3.10). If in other illuminations Eugenia reveals her identity by tearing down her garment (Fig. 3.6), in this particular miniature it is one of her eunuch servants, Saint Hyacinthus, who attempts to prove that Eugenia is a woman as his hand gestures indicate. Eugenia's nun clothes are connected to the next miniature in the manuscript which depicts her in the middle of the monastic community she established in Rome (Fig. 3.12). Another fascinating development of the episode of revealing depicts Saint Eugenia (Cat Fig. 15) tonsured, wearing monks' clothes while accused by Melanthia. This depiction is the one that is closest to the Vézelay representation (Fig. 3.7).

In my opinion, Saint Eugenia's case does not imply that the artist had a problem when depicting saints in disguise, as Grayson suggests.²²⁷ There are rather clear signs that the saint was seen and constructed as a woman by the artist, even when she is presented as a tonsured monk. If we follow the narration of the *vita*, there is no hint at the type of clothes Eugenia took after revealing her identity, it is suggested that she

²²⁷ See first chapter, notes 83 and 84, on Grayson.

uncovered herself and showed that she is a woman, meaning that she did not wear men's clothes anymore. Furthermore, comparing the representation from (Fig. 3.10) with another disguise removal episode (Fig. 3.11), one will observe that behind Eugenia, there is a character holding a woman's dress richly adorned which she will probably take on. This dress corresponds to the adorned dress she was wearing in the episode depicting her being taught by her father (Cat Fig. 1, 2, 3). So it indicates a return to her previous state and also symmetry between the composition of both her depictions and *vita*.



Fig. 3.11: Eugenia revealing her identity, 1370-1380, Maître du livre du sacre et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 15941, 37v.



Fig. 3.12: Saint Eugenia as abbess (right), Baptism of Blasilla (left), Martyrdom of Philip (above) 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 3r.

There are some varieties concerning Eugenia's martyrdom episode(s): various representations coexisted either focusing on Eugenia being killed in the company of her eunuchs (Fig. 3.13) to being killed alone (Fig. 3. 14). In this way greater emphasis is laid on the saint herself and less on them as a group. Eugenia is depicted later in secular clothes, very richly adorned. Her imagery had evolved from two-dimensional with abstract background into a complex narrative.



Fig. 3.13: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, 1445 - 1465, Chroniques II Workshop, *Legenda Aurea*, France. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.672-5, folio 74v.



Fig. 3.14: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, 1396, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 313, folio 184v.

3.2.3.2 Illness and fasting: Saint Euphrosyne's penitence for sanctity

In contrast to Eugenia's torture, Euphrosyne's "selftorture" is more detailed in the sense that there is an ample description of her body that underwent penitence.

Her seclusion has made her pale and thin,
Because of the privations and sufferings.

.....
"Her body has changed, becoming ugly
On account of fasting and cold
Privations finally affect her body. She takes to her bed.

But if the body weakens, her soul is stronger than ever,
For no frailty can assail her spirit.²²⁸

These verses connect the female body to holiness by emphasizing external changes that echo the strength of the soul. Euphrosyne's life is more connected to the life of Saint Catherine of Siena (as already shown in the second chapter of this thesis). The parallels between the constructions of Saint Catherine on the model of Saint Euphrosyne are traceable in other details too. Similarly to Euphrosyne's change of external beauty and inner transfiguration, Saint Catherine's lack of extraordinary beauty is pointed out too:

If your daughter is not too pretty or attractive," they said, "we will accept her, out of consideration for her great enthusiasm, and yours: but, as we have already said, if she is very pretty we should be afraid of some scandal, people being what they are today, and in that case we cannot possibly give our consent." To this the mother replied, "Come and see, and judge for yourselves."

They then sent a few of their most sensible and practical minded women off with Lapa to see the sick girl, to find out how pretty she was and whether she really meant what she said. When they arrived they failed to notice any of the holy virgin's charm, either because she was indeed not beautiful or because her illness had affected her so considerably that they could hardly tell what she really looked like, but when they heard the way she expressed herself and explained the seriousness of her intention they welcomed her sound sense and wisdom, first with amazement and then with increasing delight, realizing that though young in years she had an old head on her shoulders and excelled many older women in the sight of God.²²⁹

In the following, I want to dwell more on the common *topoi* that both saints' lives share. This makes me hypothesize that at least partially Euphrosyne's life could have served as a model for certain episodes of Saint Catherine of Siena's life. As already said, both of the saints retire or are determined to retire and live a harsh life of penitence and meditation. When speaking about Saint Catherine of Siena her *vita* indicates a gradual renunciation of the profane life starting from childhood and a tendency towards austerity and religiosity.

She would seek out hidden places and scourge her young body in secret with a special rope. She gave up all childish games and devoted her time to prayer and

²²⁸ Canon Misc. 74, folio 103r and folio 104v, *Saints' lives*, 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian also translated in Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 177-178: "Pale astoit del renclus et maigre de juner,/Fraise de malgesir et tainte de plorer/...Egrotez est li cors, car trop eret laidis,/De juner et de froit maiselez et blemis; Nel pot mais endurer ; a[l] lit est atapis./Mais cant li cors default, dont est fors li esprit,/Car par nule enferté ne puet estre amatis."

²²⁹ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 63.

meditation instead; unlike most children, she became increasingly silent, and took less and less food to sustain her- a thing unheard of in the case of growing children.²³⁰

And also

Consider for instance, her abstinence from food and drink. As has been said above, the virgin had rarely eaten meat from early childhood, but from now on she would have nothing to do with it at all, and she became so used to doing without that, as she confessed to me herself, the mere smell of it used to make her feel sick.²³¹

Euphrosyne's portrait does not reflect any traces of femininity, she looks like a man and is disguised as a man; this, however, changes when speaking about some late seventeenth-century woodcuts. This change occurs when depicting her dead uncovered body that renders her breast visible to the reader (Fig. 3.15). Furthermore, having a look at the text on the woodcut (Fig. 3.16) it becomes clear that it is a four line resume of her life and it culminates with indicating that she was discovered to be a woman which is again visually emphasized with the detail of her breasts. Having a look at the reaction of the characters surrounding her, one will observe a development from the grief of the father to the amazement of the monks.

It is interesting to see that both the monastery and Euphrosyne's cell are suggestive of Margareta in connection to women a case study that I develop in the sub-chapter on Margareta Pelagius.

²³⁰ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 27.

²³¹ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 51.



Fig. 3.15: The monks discover the real identity of Smaragdus, the monachoparthena Euphrosyne, B. Bolwert, after A. Bloemart, *Sacra Eremus Ascetarum* (Antwerp, 1619), no. 5.



Fig. 3.16: Saint Euphrosyne's death, c. 1606, Nicolaas de Bruyn (after Adriaen Collaert), *Solitudo sive Vitae Foeminarum Anachoritarum*, The British Museum, object reference no.: 1852,0214.540.1-25.

Euphrosyne's external changes are a result of one important practice, particularly, in female saints' lives: fasting. This became an important and powerful symbol for women's piety in the later Middle Ages, as women fasted as a means of control (including their body). The *topos* of food appeared in the Low Countries in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries in the context of daughters' conflict with their wealthy urban families with regard to marriage.²³² Similarly to these women, Saint Euphrosyne has an internal/unexpressed conflict with regard to her father's intention, but does not practice strict enclosure in the family house. She hides into the monastery cell and the results of her long fasting are visible by the end of her life. Her starvation and illness have a redemptive function for others, namely, her father, whom she converts to monastic values.

Furthermore, starvation is an extension of Christ's sufferings, by her suffering; Euphrosyne performs *imitatio Christi* with the help of her body over her body. A medieval concept, fasting, considered a form of suffering and fusion with the physicality of Christ, became a central theme of women's religiosity as women, not men, gained sanctity through patient endurance of suffering. This emphasis on Euphrosyne's suffering and fasting indicates that, although in disguise, she is viewed as a woman and that the *vita* accommodates to specific emerging patterns of female sanctity. Fasting as a kind of abstinence, that is, rejecting the body, is predominant in the case of women saints since they were associated with the evils of the body.

But Euphrosyne's life served not only as a possible hagiographical model, she was also an *exemplum* for (at least one) French religious community at Saint-Jean-aux-Bois and, then, at Beaulieu.²³³ Accordingly, the relics of Saint Euphrosyne arrived in France, Saint-Jean, from the Holy Land with the destination Reims (see Saint Euphrosyne map of relics). The story continues with a familiar hagiographical *topos* of the cart that stopped at Saint-Jean and could not proceed towards Reims. This had been interpreted as a miraculous sign that Saint Euphrosyne intended to remain in Saint-Jean-aux-Bois. Sent by the pope to King Loius VIII, the relics were received by the Abbess Rosaline (a cross has been placed at the spot where the cart stopped, called the Cross of Saint Euphrosyne).²³⁴ Gabriel Brosse, in the seventeenth century, states that there are no historical documents left in order to emphasize who ordered the transfer of relics, but

²³² Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 115-120.

²³³ Ed. Dangu, *L'abbaye et le village de Saint-Jean-aux-Bois en la forêt de Cuise* (Compiègne: Imprimerie du progress de l'Oise, 1911), 57-58. The nuns left Saint-Jean in 1634 and brought with them the relics of Saint Euphrosyne on the ground that the relics do not belong to the abbey, but to the community. See also Adrien Baillet, *Les vies des saints* (Paris: Jean de Nully, 1715), 174.

²³⁴ Gabriel Brosse, *Le triomphe de la grace sur la nature dans la vie admirable de l'illustre vierge sainte Euphrosyne patronne de l'abbaye royale de Royal-lieu lez Compiègne* (Paris: Frederic Leonard, 1672), 7. See also Gabriel Brosse, *Histoire abrégée de la vie et de la translation de Sainte Euphrosine vierge d'Alexandrie Patrone de la Prieuré de Saint Loiiis de Roiaiulieu, dans le Forest de Compiègne* (Reims: Jean Bernard, 1666), 10, for relics of Euphrsoyne in Bologna and Chartreuse de Rutil (at Mozelle). Dangu, *L'abbaye et le village*, 41.

suggests that they might have been transferred in the twelfth century.²³⁵ From Saint-Jean-aux-Bois, the relics were transferred to Beaulieu/Royallieu in the seventeenth century and, later, starting with the French Revolution, their traces have been lost.

The visual sources on Saint Euphrasyne must have been pretty rich as both Saint-Jean-aux-Bois and Beaulieu (nowadays a district of Compiègne) have been places of her veneration.²³⁶ What we do have left today are only seventeenth-century engravings (and one statue) and references on paintings of her. Brosse refers to a large painting commissioned by a donor depicted at the feet of Saint Euphrosyne, estimated by the author to be “an old painting on the basis of the style.”²³⁷ (see Saint Euphrosyne iconography map) Apparently this painting positioned in or above the choir, contains several episodes of the saint’s life, with the donor and an abbess kneeling at the feet of Euphrosyne.²³⁸ An anonymous author on Euphrosyne considers the painting to be around 100 years old on the basis of the clothes of the abbess.²³⁹ The book that contains the information dates from the seventeenth century, meaning an estimated date for the painting somewhere around 1500-1550. It is impossible to say which episodes of the saint were highlighted, whether Euphrosyne was depicted in disguise or not, or which were the saint’s iconographic attributes.

There are few engravings that survived in the area of Saint-Jean-aux-Bois and Beaulieu. Most of them concentrate on Euphrosyne’s death. A very interesting depiction represents the saint in a triumphant way (Fig. 3.17). This seventeenth-century French print presents Saint Euphrosyne holding a cross in her hand, wearing an adorned dress, while she steps on “worldly” treasures: gold, jewels, and crowns. A dragon is visible at her feet. On her left an angel holds the clothes she wore in order to disguise herself. The iconographical attribute of the cross is reflected in the engravings (Fig. 3.16 and also cat. fig. 73) that concentrate on her death where she is represented holding a cross.

In my opinion, the inclusion of the cross in Euphrosyne’s hand is a local development at least because of two reasons. First of all, as the written sources suggest that there were two reliquaries of the saint.²⁴⁰ On one of them, a golden wooden reliquary in the shape of an abbot, Euphrosyne is dressed as a religious. The reliquary contains in a crystal a bone of Euphrosyne’s head and another bone in the area of the reliquary’s stomach - which has not been translated into a second reliquary. This relic of the head

²³⁵ Gabriel Brosse, *Le triomphe de la grace*, 9.

²³⁶ See document F/19/611/6 at the National Archives of France. As mentioned, it is difficult to state whether the documents refers to Beaulieu or not as some of the material refers to Beaulieu belonging to the department of Aube instead of Oise.

²³⁷ Brosse, *Histoire abrégée*, 106. See also AASS, February t. 2 (Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965-1970): 536-537.

²³⁸ Dangu, *L’abbaye et le village*, 42. The painting of the healed man dated sixteenth-century disappeared by the beginning of the twentieth-century. See also, Arthur Bazin, *Les abbesses du prieuré de Saint-Louis de Royallieu* (Compiègne: Poutrel & Levéziel, 1898), 8.

²³⁹ Anonymous author, *La vie admirable de Sainte Euphrosyne vierge, patronne de l’abbaye Royale de Saint Jean de Reaulieu lez Compiègne* (Paris: Claude Huot, 1649), 232-233.

²⁴⁰ Dangu, *L’abbaye et le village*, 42. The Departamental Archives of L’Oise still included an eighteenth-century reliquary of Saint Euphrosyne.

has been translated into another reliquary which had the shape of the saint's head.²⁴¹ Second, there was a cross of Euphrosyne among other relics, a cross that was supposed to be the one that she held when dying. These elements, then, have been incorporated into some visual representations of her. Furthermore, an eighteenth-century statue of her (see cat. fig. 71) is suggestive of this by the way the saint holds her hand and arms (although there is no trace left of any cross).

Having a look at the textual sources on the saint, the motif of the *sponsa* is highlighted by again seventeenth-century religious texts in which the saint is presented as a bride desiring her Groom. The religious texts emphasize again the iconographic attribute of the cross in Euphrosyne's hands.²⁴²

The cult of Euphrosyne survived even in the seventeenth century. After the nuns moved from Saint-Jean-aux-Bois to Beaulieu, there were still some abbesses who were preoccupied by the promotion of the saint's cult. In this sense, while Gabrielle de Laubespine de Châteauneuf (1634 - 1662) was abbess, the celebrations and relics of Saint Euphrosyne gathered almost 3000 pilgrims more than in Saint-Jean-aux-Bois. Again in the seventeenth century, Marguerite-Henriette de Gouffier de Rouannais (1662-1688) founded a chapel dedicated to Euphrosyne and preferred Royallieu for the position of the abbey and for the pilgrims visiting the relics of Saint Euphrosyne.²⁴³

Interestingly, some German(ic) material concerning Euphrosyne's veneration in public space survived. A very interesting piece of art (Fig. 3.18) depicts her on an altar frontal. The altar frontal is divided, having on the left Saint Rosula and on the right Saint Euphrosyne dressed in white together with a man. In my opinion the man could be her father whom she had advised and comforted to surpass the loss of his daughter.²⁴⁴

Another saint in whose company Euphrosyne ends up is Saint Ursula. A thirteenth-century manuscript, cod. 488, from Vienna, includes the life of Saint Ursula followed by that of Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria (and not a different Euphrosyne).²⁴⁵ If one compares the French material to the German(ic), it is clear that the French concentrates on 1) the discovery of the saints's identity, in order to highlight her sanctity and on 2) her triumph as a saint, while the German altarpiece depicts Euphrosyne already as a nimbed saint who comforts people (her father in this case).

²⁴¹ Brosse, *Histoire abrégée*, 112.

²⁴² Brosse, *Histoire abrégée*, 125-133. Office of Saint Euphrosyne - she is mentioned as: "Euphrosyna virgo,"125, "Euphrosynae virginis praeclara,"125, "beata virgo Euphrosyna,"126-127, "mater sancta & admirabilis Euphrosina," 127, "virago fortis,"128. She also: "verum desiderabat sponsum," 131, "Euphrosyna sexum silens, vitaeque delicias fugiens, monasticum induit habitum, quo Angelis effecta similis. The text of the procession towards the cross presents her as: "virgo jam non vir moritur: subintrat/Filiae cellam pater," 135, "Nomine Smaragdus, mente Euphrosina, sexum celas, Monachum induis," 136-137. A prayer to Saint Euphrosyne calls her "Euphrosyna sponsa Christi,"and "soror Angelorum, & filia sanctorum," 171.

²⁴³ Bazin, *Les abbesses*, 6-10.

²⁴⁴ Also a bust reliquary of a Saint Euphrosyne which I am not sure if it belongs to the present dissertation.

²⁴⁵ See Franz Unterkircher, "Zwei Vers-Viten des 13. Jhs. (Hl. Ursula und Hl. Euphrosyne) in der Wiener Handschrift cod. 488," *Analecta Bollandiana* 88 (1970): 301-316.



Fig. 3.17: Saint Euphrosyne in Gabriel Brosse, *Histoire abrégée de la vie et de la translation de Sainte Euphrosine vierge d'Alexandrie Patrone de la Prieuré de Saint Loiiis de Roiaiulieu, dans le Forest de Compiègne* (Reims: Iean Bernard, 1666), 1.



Fig. 3.18: Saint Rosula and Saint Euphrosyne, altarpiece, (inner wings), 1501-1515, Baden-Baden, Kloster Lichtental.

3.2.3.3 Saint Marina: imitating the Madonna with child?

“She is like the Virgin Mary because she kept [her] virginity, humility, and patience.”²⁴⁶ Textual references suggest the closeness and similarity of Marina the Monk and the Virgin, such as the above quotation, while in the iconography Marina is depicted together with the child similarly to the Virgin.

The episode of Marina’s penitence is emphasized in the written sources by the pattern of *imitatio Christi* when she is beaten and by her raising the child. In contrast, almost all of the illuminations concentrate on depicting her with the child in her arms. This reminds of the pattern of the unwed mother²⁴⁷ which connects her to the model of the female sinner, yet I consider that there is another type of woman to whom she can be connected: the Virgin Mary. Considered by the Church the perfect example for imitation, the Virgin became the embodiment of chastity and humility. Visual representations of hers focus on these characteristics starting from the *Annunciation* and ending with *Nativity* episodes.²⁴⁸ As I have mentioned before, a French prologue states that it is patience, humility, and virginity, but I would also add chastity and obeisance:

Mary obeys the heavenly Father when assisting her Child’s death;²⁴⁹ Marina obeys the will of her earthly father, the abbot, by raising humbly the child.²⁵⁰ Generally, Marina the Monk is depicted holding the child (Fig. 3.19), yet there are notable details which indicate similarities with the visual representations of Virgin Mary. Marina is depicted at the gates of a monastery either as holding the child on her knees and teaching him or simply with the child in her arms. It is this type of representation that bears similarities with the representations of Virgin Mary. Depictions of the Virgin start focusing on her motherly quality in thirteenth-century France. Here, in northern-France more precisely, the S shaped Mary and Child representations suggesting an abundance of emotion, start to emerge.²⁵¹

²⁴⁶ *Saint Marina presented at the monastery*, Français 241, folio 139v, *Legenda Aurea*, 1348, Paris, Richard de Montbaston. “Marine scest dicte aussi qui est ensemble avec marie. Ele ensemble avec la vierge marie pour ce que ele garda virginite humilite et pascience.”

²⁴⁷ Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 26.

²⁴⁸ L’Engle, “Depictions of Chastity,” 106.

²⁴⁹ Felice Lifshitz, “Priestly Women, Virginal Men: Litanies and Their Discontents,” in *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 91.

²⁵⁰ Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 25.

²⁵¹ Rubin, *Mother of God*, 206.



Fig. 3.19: Saint Marina and the child, fifteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 242, folio 120v.

Representations of *The Virgin Standing with Child in Her Arms* with a human and intimate mother became predominant with the emergence of her cult. The characteristics these depictions indicate are humility, submissiveness, and tender motherhood, all appropriate to women,²⁵² including Saint Marina who in connection to the Virgin is viewed as a woman and not as a representative of a different gender. Furthermore, her depiction with the child suggests her femininity as nurturing is a specific activity of women.²⁵³

Even more, Marina teaching her child (Fig. 3.20) resembles the apocryphal story of the Virgin teaching her Child (See cat. Fig. 189).²⁵⁴ Analyzing (English) woodcuts of holy women in disguise, Sandra Lowerre points to the iconographic development of the Virgin with the Child in her lap into the Virgin teaching her Child to read and connects this to the rise of lay literacy in relation with the cult of the Virgin. The pattern of the Virgin teaching the Child is an apocryphal literary motif, which then had been incorporated into the visual sources and, later, influenced, the iconography of holy women, including those in disguise. In this sense, the iconography of Marina sitting in front of the monastery with the book in her hands next to her child echoes apocryphal Mary.

²⁵² Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, 65-69.

²⁵³ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 233.

²⁵⁴ Lowerre, *The Cross-Dressing Female Saints*, 49, note 116.

In the German sources the connections of Saint Marina to the Virgin Mary are barely stressed: Mary's name is mentioned only at the end of one of the versions that I've been working with. It is a general remark that brings the two women closer to one another only by the stressing of their virtues:

Let me receive harm and mock/With joy as she has done./When scorned and told lies,/When injured and cheated,/Give me that I endure,/Don't remove me from your favor,/ Jesus, my firm brother, / By Saint Mary, your mother,/Who possesses all virtues/Which are ascribed to Saint Marina/ And other saints in part/That I, poor person, may succeed in that,/Give that to me, high trinity,/Which represents eternity./Amen.²⁵⁵



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 *vie et office de Sainte Marina* by
Leon Eleuet, Paris, 1905

Fig. 3.20: Saint Marina, teaching the child, fifteenth century, Paris, National Library of France, Ms. 6448, folio 156.

Generally, Marina's iconography is constant in the manuscripts: she is depicted either in the company of her child (Italy and France) or teaching her child (France.) This iconographic pattern changes in the case of woodcuts (See cat fig. 151) which show a

²⁵⁵ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 147. "lât mi ungeluk unde hôn entfân/Mit vrauden also se het gedân,/Worde ek vorworpen elte belôgen,/Beschedeget elte bedrôgen,/Gif mi dat ek dat dulde,/Werp mi jô nicht ût diner hulde,/Jesû mion allerlêveste brôder,/Dor sunte Marien dine môder/De alle dôgede het beseten/De sunte Marinem sint gemeten/Unde anderen hilgen in stucken,/Dat dut mi armen mote lucken./Dat geve, hôge drêvaldicheit./De sulven is de êvicheit./Amen Amen Amen Amen."

Marina in secular clothes in order to indicate that the saint is a woman,²⁵⁶ and I would also add, in order to avoid any confusion or misunderstanding. Beside the change in the clothes, also Marina's physiognomy is totally changed when depicted: she is a woman without any doubt. To Lowerre's analysis I would add another change that in Italy Marina is a nun (in the eighteenth century) (Fig. 3.21 and Fig.3.22) in parallel with representations of hers in monks habit.

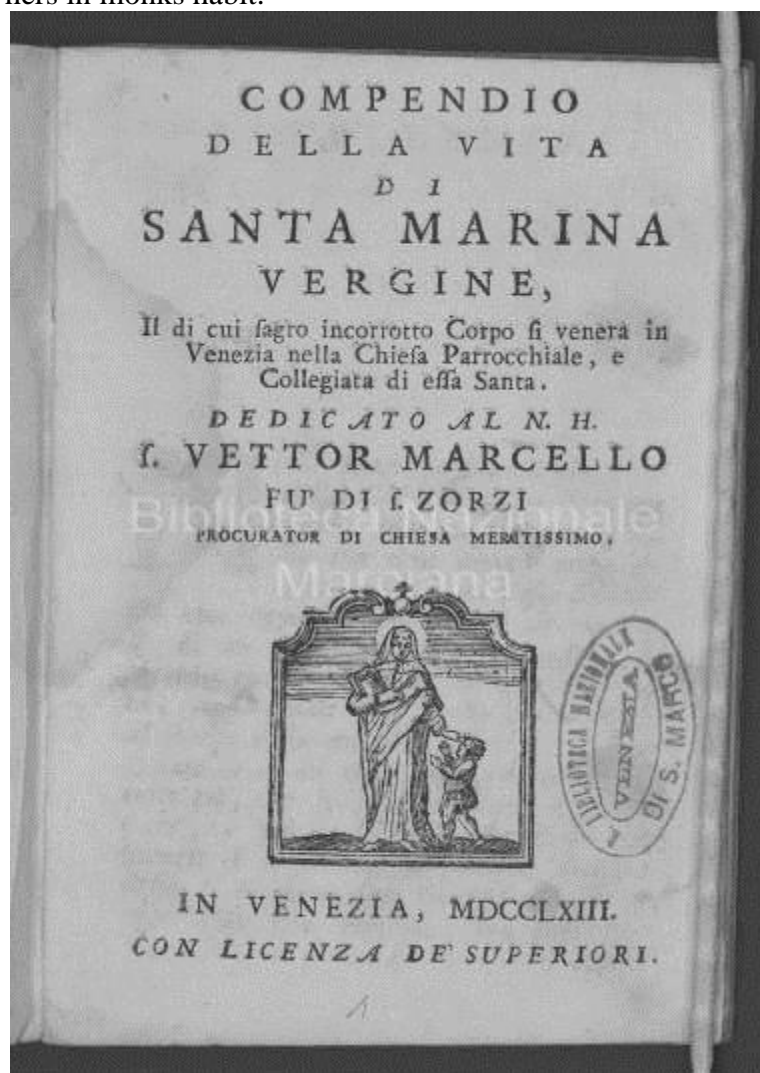


Fig. 3.21: Saint Marina and the Child in *Compendio della vita di Santa Marina vergina*, Venice, 1763. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

²⁵⁶ Lowerre, *The Cross-Dressing Female Saints*, 45.

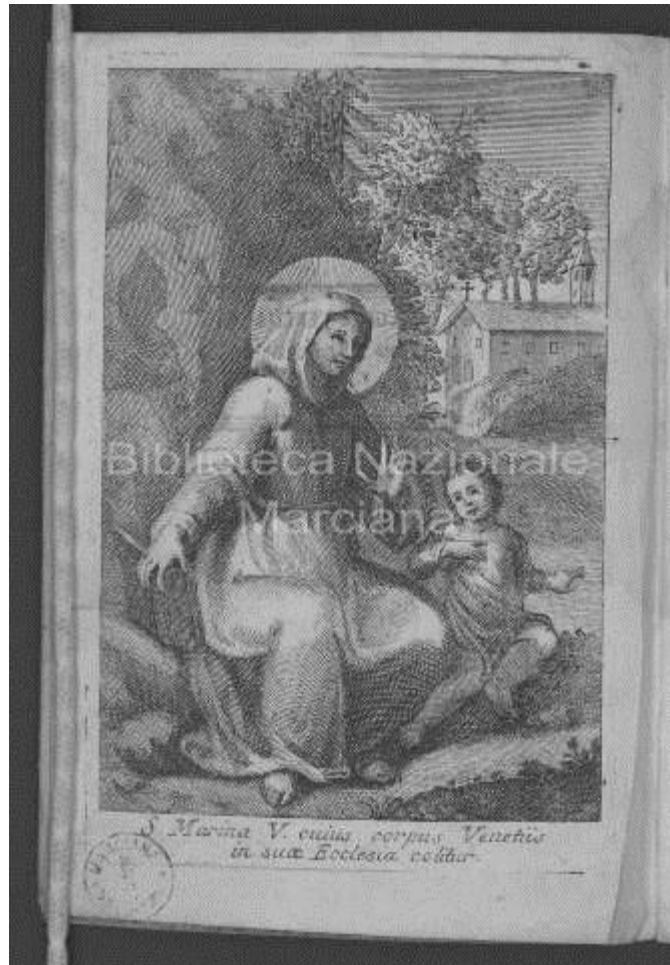


Fig. 3.22: Saint Marina and the Child in *Compendio della vita di Santa Marina vergina*, Venice, 1763. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

Besides obeying the penitence of raising up a child that is supposedly hers, Marina undergoes two other types of penitence: one that connects her to the pattern of fasting similarly to Saints Euphrosyne and Catherine and another type of penitence that connects her to Saint Eugenia of Rome's martyrdom/*imitatio Christi*.

The aspect of fasting, though not that detailed as in Saint Euphrosyne's case, is suggested by Marina's begging for food at the entrance of the monastery and by living only on bread and water together with the child. As stated, Villemur mentions that Saint Marina keeps her promise to her father but she also shows maternal behavior towards a child that is not hers.²⁵⁷ This becomes one of the most depicted episodes (Fig. 3.23) of her life particularly in French sources.

²⁵⁷ Frederique Villemur, *Femmes travesties: un 'mauvais' genre*. <http://clio.revues.org/index253.html> Last accessed: January 21, 2016): 8.



Fig. 3.23: Marina and the child, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 408v.

When speaking about her way of *imitatio Christi* there are several elements that need to be brought into discussion such as her supposed sin, her silence, and her being chased out from the monastery. As I mentioned in my previous research,²⁵⁸ there are several interpretations regarding her silence and the implications of the sin she mentions having committed. First, her sin is connected with the fact that she is a woman. This suggests that Marina has internalized the point of view of the Church Fathers, who

²⁵⁸ Znorovszky, "Marinus Unveiled," 38-39.

consider women sinful.²⁵⁹ This attitude is misogynist²⁶⁰ and reflects the hagiographer's conception of women. Therefore, Marina admits that she has sinned, but the sin she is referring to is that she hid her identity and feels guilty about it. Second, Marina neither denies nor admits her sin,²⁶¹ 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.²⁶²

As for the pattern of her *imitatio*, there are notable regional differences. 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,²⁶³ while in the Greek and Syriac versions she is judged in her absence.

The addition of the sequence of beating is present in the Latin versions from France: "But the abbot got angry. And ordered her to be whipped and said: 'I truly say that you, who has done this evil, will not remain in the monastery.'"²⁶⁴ Gradually, it 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 by other Christians.²⁶⁵ Here, Marina becomes a ritual sacrifice who is condemned to death without knowing her exact accusers.²⁶⁶

"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."²⁶⁷

²⁵⁹ Lowerre, "To Rise beyond Their Sex," 71.

²⁶⁰ Lowerre, "To Rise beyond Their Sex," 66.

²⁶¹ Tracy, *Women of the Gilte Legende*, 19.

²⁶² Anson, "The Female Transvestite saint in Early Monasticism," 30.

²⁶³ Znorovszky, "Marinus Unveiled," 39-40.

²⁶⁴ Ms. 5296, f. 63r, 13th century, National Library of France, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 12: "Ad iracundiam autem commotus est abbas eius. Iussitque eam flagellari et ait: 'In ueritate dico quia tu qui hoc malum operatus es non manebis in hoc monasterio.'"

²⁶⁵ Cazelles, "The Lady as Saint," 65.

²⁶⁶ Cazelles, "The Lady as Saint," 65.

²⁶⁷ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 250 and French text in Ms. 1728, f. 107v, 15th century, The Vatican Library, reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 174: "Forment le fait battre 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 griefte./Qui dist qu'elle deliueria/Celuy qui pour luy soffrera,/Puis le couronnera de gloire;/Moult peut valoir ceste memoire/A ceux qui sont en ceste vie

Having a look at the way these textual sources were transposed into visual representations, we can observe that the beating scene lacks, it is only suggested by iconographic details such as that of the whip (Fig. 3.24). Marina the Monk is depicted kneeling in front of the abbot with the inkeeper's family at her right and two monks behind her. One of them is holding a whip made of a bunch of branches. In this way the brutality of the texts (the ones in verse, less those of in prose) is only suggested and is in accordance with the narrative structure of the French lives.²⁶⁸



Fig. 3.24: Saint Marina accused and whipped, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 201v.

The existence of regional differences shows that Saint Marina the Monk's *vitae* and depictions are the most developed. She is depicted together with the child not only in France, Italy, and Spain, but also in Germany. But some differences occur in the fact that one German/Austria representation does not emphasize her closeness to the child as it is represented holding Marina's clothes and uttering "tata." The interjection is found probably in some earlier Latin translations of Greek versions of her life. The audience of the Zwettl manuscript²⁶⁹ (Fig. 3.25) is composed by monks who are offered masculine models. This German manuscript concentrates mostly on male saints, as there are only a

Qui de misere est mieux partie."

²⁶⁸ Referring to Constance Rosenthal in Ferrari, *Vie de Marine d'Egipte virgene*, 30-31.

²⁶⁹ *Magnum legendarium austriacum*, book illumination, initial F, thirteenth century, Zwettl; Lower Austria, Cistercian abbey, monastic library cod.1, Austrian, folio 10v. Ferrari, "Versioni antiofrancesi," 129, note 129, points to the fact that the MLA possibly contains a Latin translation of a 6th -7th century Greek life of Marina (or a very similar one). She also emphasizes that the MLA version is to be found in restricted regions, only in Austrian ones.

few women saints' lives included among a greater number of men saints. Here, saints in disguise are viewed more patristically than in France and, possibly, Italy.



Fig. 3.25: Marina and the Child, thirteenth-century, *Magnum legendarium austriacum*, Zwettl, Lower Austria, Cistercian abbey, monastic library cod.1, Austrian, folio 10v.

3.2.3.4. Penitents in their cells: Margareta Pelagius and Euphrosyne of Alexandria

Certain depictions of Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius concentrate on her penitence episode (Fig. 3.26, 3.27). These images reveal a Margareta, with masculine physiognomy, near the window of an enclosed cell. What is important here, in my opinion, is that the cell offers some of the saints in disguise the opportunity for gaining sanctity. Though Margareta and Euphrosyne's enclosures are a form of penance for adulterous accusations, the first, and excessive beauty, the second, both of them are connected to this metamorphosis towards sanctity with the help of the cell. These images/episodes are reminiscent of female recluses who lived a life of withdrawal in cells attached to religious buildings.²⁷⁰ These small, narrow cells attached either to

²⁷⁰ Bynum, "Holy Feast," 15.

monasteries or churches had a small window so that the *inclusa* could participate at the communion.²⁷¹ The cells are related to the concept of the desert and are associated with experiences of reform and renewal. And indeed, women's bodies are renewed in the sense that they become holy bodies. Women recluses (e.g. Ava Inclusa, Wilbirgis- in Austria, or Dorothy of Montau) immured in their cell did not cut any ties with society, did not follow a certain rule, as they were not nuns, yet they communicated with society as their cell was generally attached to a parish church or chapel.²⁷² What is worth to be underlined here, is that the recluses mentioned above were married women, whereas the saints in disguise are virgins who refuse and reject marriage.

²⁷¹ Schulenburg, "Forgetful of Their Sex," 389-391.

²⁷² Anneke B. Mulder-Baker, "Holy Women in the German Territories," in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100- c. 1500*, ed. A Minnis, R. Voaden (Brepols Publishers, 2010), 313, 323 and Ute Stargardt, "Dorothy of Montau," in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100- c. 1500*, ed. A Minnis, R. Voaden (Brepols Publishers, 2010), 482. For lives of anchoresses see Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (ed.), *Living Saints of the Thirteenth-Century. The Lives of Yvette , anchoress of Huy; Juliana of Cornillon, author of the Corpus Christi Feast; and Margaret the Lame, anchoress of Magdeburg* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).



Fig. 3.26: Margareta Pelagius accused, 1480-1490, Jacques de Besançon, *Legenda aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 245, 132r.



Fig. 3.27: Margareta Pelagius in her cell, 1446 – 1447, Court workshop of Frederik III. , Master of the Klosterneuburg Missal, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austria National Library of Austria, cod. 326, fol. 214r.

This theme of the withdrawal, of seclusion, is specific for the lives of female mystics. Accordingly, in the thirteenth century, these women were active in the Netherlands, while from the fourteenth century this type of female piety spread from the northwest to the Upper Rhine area and Switzerland and to southern Germany in the fifteenth century. In light of this process of transmission, the *vitae* of saints in disguise from German areas seem to be connected to this phenomenon and to have included, developed, and emphasized the aspect of seclusion.

So, these women's enclosure is suggestive of the preciousness of their virgin bodies hidden in a cell.²⁷³ Here, the enclosure/the cell together with the monastic clothes emphasize the transformation and the hidden aspect of their bodies. This representation of holy women in disguise in a cell is similar to the patterns of female sanctity that start to emerge from the twelfth century.²⁷⁴

The pattern of the cell has correspondences in the lives of the Virgin and Saint Catherine of Siena. Although in Mary's case it is her mother who builds first a sanctuary

²⁷³ Browne, "Women's literary culture," 37-38.

²⁷⁴ Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies* (New York: Persea Books, 1982), 241. Even more, Christine of Pizan offers two versions of Marina's and Euphrosyne's lives and in these lives both saints are living in a cell: Marina in her father's cell and Euphrosyne lives in her cell for 38 years.

in the bed-chamber, later Mary is being brought up in the closure of the Temple which could be the cell's counterpart (and also of saints' in disguise cell):

The baby grew stronger every day so that by the time she was six months old her mother stood her up on the ground to see if she was able to walk. She walked seven steps and ended back in her mother's arms. Anne picked her up and declared to her, "As God lives, you won't walk on the ground again until you walk in the Temple of the Lord."

Anne made her bedroom a sacred place and forbade anything common or ritually unclean to come near it. She invited several pure women of Israelite heritage to help raise Mary.²⁷⁵

But as presented above the cell is not only the building itself, it is a place of transfiguration, of conversion, it is the heart of the recluse-nun-penitent woman, and it is this context that Saint Catherine's soul should be viewed:

For she was quite unperturbed by all these upsets and under the inspiration of the holy Spirit she began to build up in her mind a secret cell which she vowed she would never leave for anything in the world. She had begun by having a room in the house, which she could go out of and come into at will; now, having made herself an inner cell which no one could take away from her, she had no need ever to come out of it again.²⁷⁶

And also

She was given a little room of her own in which she could pray and scourge herself as much as she liked just as though she were living in solitude, and with what penitential zeal she treated her body, and with what ardor she sought her Bridegroom, no tongue can tell.²⁷⁷

Whereas Euphrosyne:

I want you to retire in your cell and read there your psalms all by yourself.²⁷⁸

Yet, there are notable differences between Euphrosyne and Catherine, the former retires in a convent, the latter in a room of the house amid the town. It is Catherine who:

²⁷⁵ Davies (trans.), *The Infancy Gospels*, 13.

²⁷⁶ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 43.

²⁷⁷ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 51.

²⁷⁸ Ms. Arsenal 5080, 409r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France: "Je veu il que tu te liees en ta celle et di illes tes pseumes tout seul." See also Ms. Arsenal 5080, 409v and 410r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France.

To observe the vow of purity better she decided to preserve an utter silence and never speak except at confession. My predecessor as her confessor has written that for three years she never spoke a word to anyone except him, and then only when she was making her confession.

She lived continually enclosed in her little cell, only emerging from it to go to church[...]Who could describe her vigils, her prayers, her meditations?²⁷⁹

And it is also Catherine who is taught and told by God to imitate Christ, whereas Euphrosyne is not:

Catherine, my daughter, you see how much I suffered for you? Do not be sad, that you must suffer for me. [...] “Now, what by light had taught you that pains are useful to help you to acquire fortitude, and that you must bear with them gladly for as long as I please? Then you promised to endure them all your life if need be, but you were relieved of them as soon as I revealed myself to you.”²⁸⁰

If we have a look at Saint Margaret’s *vita* the detail of the cell is present under the ‘guise’ of a cave:

[she] was placed in the cave of a rock and the most cruel of the monks had been ordered to provide [her] and [the monk] gave her little barley bread and very little [water] in a pot.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 71.

²⁸⁰ Blessed Raymond of Capua, *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 94. Here, I would also like to bring into discussion the fact that it is Christ, the Groom, who stops Catherine from disguise and offered her other possibilities of imitating Him (as page 34 indicates): “Then, remembering that she was a woman, she many times (as she confessed to me) thought of imitating St. Euphrosyne, whose name she had been give, who had gone into a monastery dressed in men’s clothing, so that she could go into distant parts where no one knew her, pretending to be a man, and to enter the Order of Preaching Friars and help towards the salvation of souls. But Almighty God had infused this zeal into her soul for other ends and intended to satisfy her desire quite in a different way, and He did not will that this scheme, which she had in mind for a long time, should ever be put into practice.” Catherine imitates Christ so assiduously that the Groom is reflected in the Bride as the following suggests (page 77): “While I was thinking these thoughts I turned and looked at her as she was speaking, and her face turned into a face of a strange man who, fixing grave eyes upon me, inspired me with a great fear. It was on oval, middle-aged face with a short beard the color of corn, and it looked so majestic that it seemed to be that of the Lord. Moreover, at that moment it was the only face I could see. Awed and terrified by this sight, I raised my hands and cried out, “Who are you, looking at me?” The virgin replied, “He who is.” With these words the face disappeared and I could see the virgin’s face quite clearly again, though I had been unable to make it out a few moments before.”

²⁸¹ Ms. Français 242, folio 231r, *Legenda aurea*, 15th century, Paris, National Library of France. “et fu redus en la fosse dune roche et tout le plus cruel des moines fu ordenue a lui administrer et lui administroit pain dorge et cane tres petitement.” See also Ms. Français 245, folio 132v, *Legenda aurea*, 1480-1490, Paris, National Library of France, Ms. Français, folio 15942, folio 92v, *Speculum historiale*, 1370-1380, Paris, National Library of France, and Ms. Arsenal 5080, folio 408r, *Speculum historiale*, 1335, Paris, National Library of France.

In Margareta Pelagius' case, as well as in Euphrosyne's and Catherine's case, the retirement in a cell is followed/is paired with fasting. However, the most important pattern development, besides Margareta's for the French area, is mostly Saint Marina's and, some times Euphrosyne's, penitence outside the monastery closed in a cell as the German sources suggest. Concerning Euphrosyne:

I just considered that you should stay day and night in a cell and you should keep the rule in eating, drinking and in praying.²⁸²

And Marina:

They locked the monastery for him and told him to get into a cell which became his small room.²⁸³

The scene where Marina is expelled is not only the place where she raises her child but also limbo.²⁸⁴ In the Greek and Syriac versions and also in the Latin and the French ones, she does her penitence at the gate of the monastery. As said before, in the German versions this *topos* undergoes changes as the saint does not stay in front of the gates of the monastery but in a small cell in front of it:

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.²⁸⁵

Briefly, the French versions developed two motifs, the *imitatio Christi* and *sponsa Christi*, which were contained in an incipient form in the Latin versions. The German versions underwent a topographical change regarding the place of her penitence. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker classifies the typologies of female piety in the German territories into two distinct groups: female urban piety and full time religious women.²⁸⁶ She includes among this last group the recluses (besides independent religious women in abbeys in the countryside, convents in the cities, or women in Dominican convents). Without stating that the phenomenon of recluses is specifically German (there are *vitae* of French recluses as well), I do notice a tendency towards recluses and their cell in the German sources, not only in *vitae* but also in depictions. It is only the German/Austrian

²⁸² *Das Väterbuch*, 415: "So han ich durf also gedaht/Daz du tac unde naht/In einer cellen bliben salt./Da selbes dinen orden halt/An ezzen.trinken, und an betten."

²⁸³ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 131: "Daz kloster man vor im besloz/Und liez in adda vor wesen/In einer cellen genesen./Da sin gemach was dunne."

²⁸⁴ Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint*, 65.

²⁸⁵ Günter Zainer, *Leben der Heiligen* (Augsburg, 1472), folio 56r-56v reproduced in Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 127: "vnd wurden zornig auff in vnd tetē in fur dz closter in ein clein cellin vñ hielten in gar herttliclich vñ gaben im dru iar nur wasser vnd brot ze essen vñ ze trinckē."

²⁸⁶ Mulder-Baker, "Holy Women in the German Territories," 313-341. See also Marty Newman Williams, *Between Pit and Pedestal, Women in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 1993), 126.

miniatures that emphasize in presenting the cell as such, that is a building closed from outside (in contrast to the French sources where the saint is placed in a rock as Margareta's life suggests) with a tiny window from where an ambiguous physiognomy character peeps out to a person who is offering apparently some loaves of bread.

To conclude:

1. The *last exit* (death) of women in disguise turns out to be a very resourceful pretext in depicting the female body, thus, re-inforcing, re-emphasizing, and re-stating their womanhood.

2. Bynum emphasizes the fact that women perceived themselves and their conversed lives as continuity.²⁸⁷ Accordingly, women considered themselves brides, mothers or sisters of Christ. This continuity is well reflected in the lives of holy women in disguise who prefer to be *sponsa Christi* instead of *sponsa mundi*. Furthermore, she points to the fact that women saints' stories concentrate more on the pattern of suffering and penitential asceticism (fasting, illness, etc.) that determined their sanctity. All these pointed to the vulnerable body of women. It is exactly these elements that not only the *vitae*, but mostly the illuminations concentrate on as all of the virgins in disguise suffer in certain episodes of their lives.

There is a permanent interplay between hagiographic motives of the *imitatio Christi*, *imitatio Madonae*, and inserted elements of female mystics' lives which sometimes overlap. All these contribute substantially to reinterpreting the visual sources.

3. Patterns of mystical literature are inserted as references to the softness of voice (Euphrosyne), as *inuitatio and laudatio sponsae* (Marina) or as Holy Communion (Eugenia). In this sense the *vitae* of Saints Euphrosyne and Marina include developments of vernacular literature by references to mystical marriage and to the Virgin Mary. It is Marina's life that develops mostly the *sponsa* motif, since she has the most in common with Mary. I could not find any detailed description of Marina's death in the Italian sources except a short passage. One possible explanation for the general lack of the *sponsa* motif could be that in Italy the term *sorella* (daughter) was used generally to designate a religious woman.²⁸⁸ Only in the fourteenth century with the emergence of Catherine of Siena's cult the mystical marriage and women seen as *sponsae* became more widespread, elaborate, and literal. Furthermore, the literature on *mystique courtoise*, a new religious literature that conflated the language of secular lyrics and romance with mystical and religious writings, developed rapidly in the French speaking areas,²⁸⁹ not in Italy; hence the vocabulary used in describing her death suggests this phenomenon.

4. *Imitatio Christi* is presented in the visual and textual representation as torture (Eugenia) or selftorture -illness and fasting (Euphrosyne). With regard to Euphrosyne, I

²⁸⁷ Bynum, "Fragmentation and Redemption," 48.

²⁸⁸ Elliott, *The Bride of Christ*, 213-215.

²⁸⁹ Barbara Newman, "The Mirror and the Rose: Marguerite Porete's Encounter with the Dieu d'Amours," in *The Vernacular Spirit. Essay on Medieval Religious Literature*, ed. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, D. Robertson, N. Warren (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 105.

want to add that there are elements which overlap with the life of Saint Catherine: lack of beauty, retiring from the world in a cell, fasting. However, Euphrosyne meets her Groom after death, while Catherine mystically marries Him. Euphrosyne's iconography is constant in fifteenth-century miniatures: she is depicted dying in the company of her father and a monk inside her cell. Seventeenth-century woodcuts seem to transfer the episode of her death either in a cave, emphasizing even more her withdrawal, or in the company of two monks making her father's presence questionable.

5. With regard to Marina and Margareta Pelagius the overlapping of motives is more visible. Marina imitates Christ when beaten and fasting and she imitates Mary when raising the child. There is an opposition between the textual sources and the visual material on her. In the sense that when depicting the same episode, the textual sources seem to emphasize the *imitatio Christi* pattern (mostly fasting but also beating) while the visual material concentrates on depicting her with the child (*imitatio Madonnae*) as a reflection of the emergence of the cult of the Virgin and two particular representations: *Virgin with Child in her arm* and *Virgin teaching the Child to read*. Except these iconographic elements, Mary's virtues were assimilated to Marina's personality in France and Germany.

6. Finally, with regard to Margareta Pelagius, both the visual and the textual sources emphasize her seclusion from the world. . While the French sources depict her in a cave in accordance with the *vita*, the German ones show a cell as a reflection of the religious developments in the Netherlands.

With Christ 'till My Remaining Days

Conclusions 1

The analysis of the iconographic material on women in disguise in relation with their textual sources leads, so far, to the following observations:

1. One of the most important aspects concerning the iconographic analysis represented the setting of the illumination both on the folio and in the manuscript. In the first case, holy women in disguise are paired (if not following the church year of manuscripts) with other women in disguise or with prostitute saints. In the second case, depictions of women in disguise are preceded and/or followed by representations (visual and textual) of other holy women. An exception would be Saint Eugenia whose life/depictions are fragmented and positioned among lives of martyrs. This position varies according to the type of hagiographic work they are included in. In the case of the *Legenda Aurea* the holy women in disguise are grouped by church year, while in the case of the *Speculum historiale* or other hagiographic collections they are inserted in the group of holy women. When positioned as such, Saint Marina is depicted in the company of Saint Quirice, Julitta, and Gervais. Margareta Pelagius, in my sources, is always positioned according to church year in a group of penitent women, Pelagia and Thays. Saint Eugenia is positioned among a group of martyrs be that women or men, while Saint Euphrosyne is paired with Marina in the *Speculum historiale* and with Thays, for instance, in the case of collections of lives.
2. There is predominance on the narrative aspect when speaking about the illuminations. These narrative cycles focus on the representative episodes of the saints' lives without neglecting to show the naked female body in contrast to the paintings which concentrate on the moral of the story when presented in public space.
3. This highlights the fact that women in disguise are actually seen as holy women who achieve sanctity as women through a different way, namely, disguise. Therefore, in my opinion, the exchange of clothes represents only a means of reaching their goals that is being *sponsae*. Their disguise is always paired with the removal of clothes in order to re-establish and re-emphasize their gender to the audience. Disguise is realized in three ways: removal of hair, exchange of clothes and of name(s).
4. Concentrating on the attributes of clothing and tonsure, the first chapter brought into attention the subtle set of correspondences between the miniatures both on

the folio and in the manuscript. Accordingly, clothes are connected to the acquisition of a new name: Marina/Marinus, Eugenia/Eugenius, Euphrosyne/Smaragdus, Margareta/Pelagius in relation with the spiritual development of these saints as *sponsae Christi*. The disguise/exchange of their clothes is placed in a wider context to that of the prostitute saints who also remove their worldly clothes and dress as religious in order to become *sponsae*. Thus, settings such as Saint Pelagia-Margareta Pelagius-Saint Thais reinforce visually the importance of clothing in the life of these holy women.

5. In most of the cases the moment of their disguise is paired with that of their death, thus the representations emphasize the process of disguise-removal as mentioned above. There is only one representation –found so far- that concentrates on the moment of eunuchness/manliness of these saints. It is Saint Euphrosyne's example when dressed in secular clothes she is kneeling in front of the abbot and asking for permission to enter the monastery.
6. When speaking about the attribute of tonsure/hair the above rule turns out to be functional too. The textual/visual sources indicate the removal of hair, Saints Marina, Eugenia, Euphrosyne, and Margareta have their hair cut in order to accomplish their disguise. Besides the religious meaning of tonsure, in my opinion, this represents another step in the process of disguise. The long unbound or the braided decorated hair of prostitute saints corresponds to the monastic tonsure of women in disguise.
7. The changing of their clothes (and tonsure) is generally visually represented prior to their entrance into the monastic space. Marina, Margareta, Euphrosyne are depicted in front of the monastery, while Eugenia is represented being baptized supposedly in a religious space. These visual representations are analyzed in connection with the textual sources which follow/frame them. Accordingly, they are accommodating to several hagiographic *topoi* from the life of the Virgin such as the lack of a child from a couple (Euphrosyne) or the offering to the temple (Marina and Euphrosyne). In this context, holy women in disguise are viewed exclusively as women that are imitating the ultimate model: Virgin Mary.
8. Besides the *imitatio Madonnae*, one can trace another hagiographical pattern that holy women in disguise are adapting to, namely that of the female mystics. Marina's, Euphrosyne's, Margareta Pelagius's, and Eugenia's visual and textual representations incorporated specific elements of these saints' lives such as the lack of consent and *molestiae nuptiarum* which are visually incorporated into the entrance episodes of their miniatures.

9. But it is not only holy women in disguise who (visually and textually) adapt to models of female sanctity, new, emergent saints' representations include episodes of holy women's in disguise lives. It is the case of Saint Catherine of Siena whose *vita*, first part, in my opinion, is almost entirely constructed on the model of Saint Euphrosyne.
10. The inclusion of mystical *topoi* is incorporated into the visual and the textual sources in a symmetrical way. Both the beginning and the final episodes of the lives include elements of bridal mysticism that are also reflected in the visual sources as these saints finally meet their *Groom in articulo mortis*. Last, but not least, some of the visual representations of holy women in disguise became emblematic for their iconography in the context of *imitatio Christi*. They all suffer for Christ in a different way: Marina as a penitent with a child, Eugenia as a martyr, Euphrosyne and Margareta Pelagius alone in the solitude of their cells.

Chapter 4

Following the “Foot Print of the Mother of God”

This part of the dissertation deals with two case studies on the dissemination of Saints' Marina the Monk and Eugenia of Rome visual representations in connection with their cult. The research concentrates on three major areas: Italy, France, and Spain. Generally, the research starts with the analysis of the Italian material as sources suggest that it is from Italy that these saints' cult has been transferred to other areas. It is also important to highlight here that as far as it concerns Saint Marina the Monk's cult it was transferred to Italy possibly by Byzantine religious and also in a Crusader context.

Chapter four of the dissertation deals with the iconographic development of Saint Marina the Monk's visual representations. It starts with the analysis of her depictions in the East, then, it concentrates on the phases of her iconographic development in Venice and other parts in Italy. Finally, the last two sub-chapters refer to her iconography in Spain and France.

4.1. Previous research on Marina the Monk's iconography

The literature on Saint Marina the Monk's iconography²⁹⁰ is almost nonexistent as there are only few general works on it. Clugnet's analysis is a general view on Saint Marina the Monk's depictions according to different regions.²⁹¹ Marina Sacopoulos' article, *Sainte Marine dans l'hagiographie et l'iconographie*, focuses, in the first part, on the *vitae* of Saint Margaret/ Marina of Antioch. This section of the article mentions the confusion between these saints (Margaret/Marina of Antioch and Marina the Monk) because of the same names they share. The second part, that concentrates on their iconography, points out that the visual representations of Saint Marina the Monk are less numerous in comparison with Margaret/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.²⁹²

and

²⁹⁰ See, for instance, Znorovszky, “Marinus Unveiled,” 1-262.

²⁹¹ Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 28-32.

²⁹² Marina A. Sacopoulos, “Sainte Marina dans l'hagiographie et l'iconographie,” *Revue du Caire* 7, No. 70 (1944): 449.

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.²⁹³

I consider that these conclusions need further investigation. There are representations of Saint Marina the Monk both in the East and, especially, in the West: illuminations, statues, engravings, paintings, and many more. Marina Sacopoulos' conclusion that Marina the Monk is not celebrated at all is again drawn too fast, because she is venerated even nowadays in Italy, but she was also venerated in France and Spain.

Another article that concentrates on both Saint Marina of Antioch and Marina the Monk is Brossé's *Les peintures de la Grotte de Marina près de Tripoli*.²⁹⁴ According to him, in a cave close to Tripoli, there is an older layer of painting of a Saint Marina whose name is written with Greek characters while the more recent twelfth-thirteenth-century layer of paintings illustrate Saint Demetrius killing the Devil painted over eight panels with scenes from Saint Marina the Monk's life. The first four panels show scenes from Marina the Monk's youth while the last four, which are extremely damaged, are supposed to depict scenes from the last part of her life.²⁹⁵ It is remarkable that the painter of the scenes wrote the names of each character above their heads with Latin letters. Brossé states that the painter of the scenes, who was from the West, used as source ninth- to thirteenth-century French or Latin versions of Marina the Monk's *vita*²⁹⁶ or possibly also an eleventh-century medieval work entitled *Miroir des Enfants*.²⁹⁷ Here, I would also like to add that one of the earliest versions of Marina the Monk's lives, in the West, dates from the second half of the eighth century and was written either in Northern Italy or today's Switzerland.²⁹⁸

Dictionaries that contain and explain saints' cults, names, and iconographies do mention in general the confusion of Saint Marina the Monk with Margaret/Saint Marina of Antioch. When describing Marina the Monk's iconography there are some features that need to be underlined here as this subchapter treats the fluctuations in Marina the Monk's imagery. Marina the Monk's iconography in the West presents her as a young monk²⁹⁹ holding a book, a small cross or an infant, these are slightly different patterns than those which are found in the manuscripts.³⁰⁰ However, none of these dictionary presentations

²⁹³ Sacopoulos, "Sainte Marina dans l'hagiographie," 502.

²⁹⁴ Charles Brossé, "Les peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli," *Syria* 7, 1 (1926): 32.

²⁹⁵ Brossé, "Les peintures de la Grotte," 38, 42.

²⁹⁶ Brossé, "Les peintures de la Grotte," 41, because of the details that emphasise Eugenius missing his daughter.

²⁹⁷ Sacopoulos, "Sainte Marina dans l'hagiographie," 501-502.

²⁹⁸ Barbara Ferarri, *Vie de Marine d'Égypte viergene, Poemetto agiografico del XIII secolo* (Milan: LED, 2000): 25.

²⁹⁹ George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence: Tipografia "L'Impronta", 1952), 675.

³⁰⁰ George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Paintings of North East Italy* (Florence: Tipografia "L'Impronta", 1952), 666.

offers any religious, cultural, or artistic explanation concerning the influences on these iconographical features which turn out to be rich in meaning.

4.2. Marina the Monk's cult in the East

In the East Marina the Monk was venerated not only by the Maronite Church (who venerates her even nowadays), but also by Armenian, Georgian, and Greek communities.

She is celebrated by the Maronites on the seventeenth of July. The cave, which is supposed to be her place of penitence, is called Mogharet Marina, the Cave of Marina, and is close to a monastery (Fig. 4.1 and Fig. 4.2).³⁰¹ It was transformed into a chapel and became a place of pilgrimage for women who ask for the saint's intercession and protection.³⁰² Her cult was transmitted by Maronite refugees to the Island of Cyprus and other islands of the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the twelfth century. According to a letter³⁰³ of Abbot P. Chebit from the end of the nineteenth century, reproduced by Léon Clugnet in his *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, there is a village, Agia Marina, on the island of Cyprus whose inhabitants celebrate Saint Marina the Monk's cult, while my research on site showed the continuity of the cult.

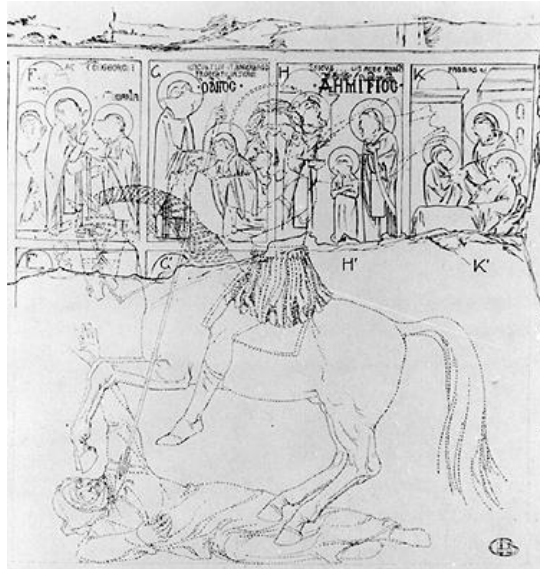


Fig. 4.1: Marina the Monk (scenes: the father blessing Marina before leaving for the monastery, Marina's entrance in the monastery, Marina learning, death of Marina's father) - Demestrius of Thessalonica, twelfth-thirteenth century, Qalamoun, Lebanon, Chapel, Grotto of St. Marina.

³⁰¹ Brossé, "Les peintures de la Grotte," 30. See also Charles Virolleaud, "Les travaux archéologiques en Syrie en 1922-1923," *Syria* 5, No. 2 (1924): 117-118.

³⁰² Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 11-13.

³⁰³ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 11-12.

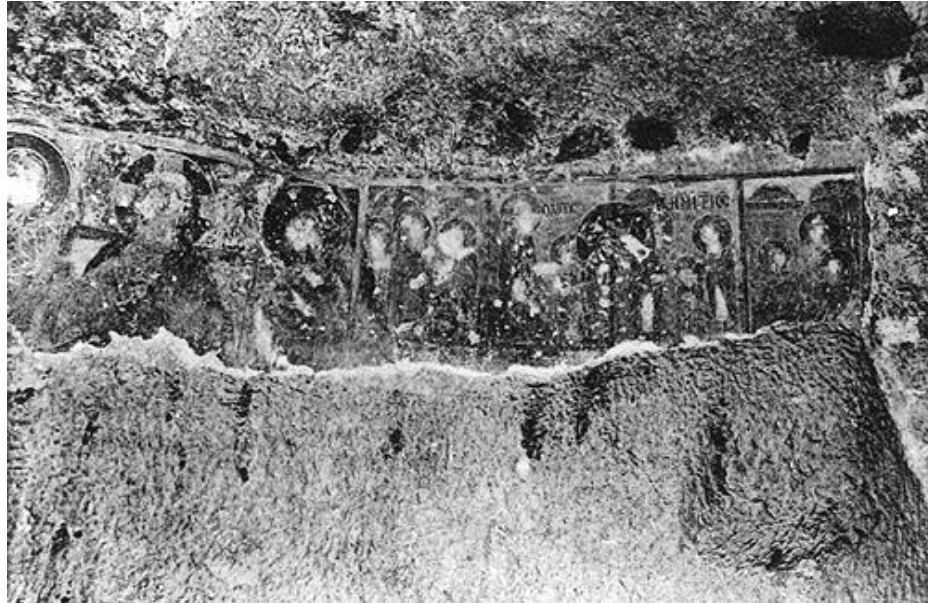


Fig. 4.2: Marina the Monk (scenes the father blessing Marina before leaving for the monastery, Marina's entrance in the monastery, Marina learning, death of Marina's father) twelfth-thirteenth century, Qalamoun, Lebanon, Chapel, Grotto of St. Marina.

Another community which celebrated her is the Armenian group of Erek who pretends that the cave in which Marina the Monk lived the rest of her life is situated in their area. Inside a cave, there is a stone with a carving which is supposed to have served as a cradle for the baby, but this community has no feast day for Marina the Monk and around the supposed cave there are only the ruins of an old monastery. According to Léon 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 a proof of how important her cult was in the past.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 9-13.



Fig. 4.3: St. Marina (Mavrinos), eighth century, Tsirkoli, Georgia, Church of Saint George.

Marina the Monk's iconography in the East is barely traceable. Among the very few visual representations that have survived is the fresco (Fig. 4.3) from an eighth-century Church of St. George, Tsirkoli, Georgia.³⁰⁵ The images of Saints Mavrinos and Fevronia are represented on the slopes of an arch dividing the interior. According to Zaza Skhirtladze, these saints are not attested in early liturgical practice of the Georgian Church, only by the tenth century.

According to Clugnet, in Greece, there is a church dedicated to a Marina on the hill of the Nymphs over a temple of Artemis. Her cult is associated with child birth as numerous women come to the church for being cured of sterility or for getting help during their labor. Clugnet points out that the cult of Saint Marina the Monk, in this case, substitutes an old pagan cult that is similar with hers. Contrary, Gerald V. Lalonde analyses the same cult in relation with pagan cults, but states that it belongs to Saint Marina of Antioch.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ I am thankful to Professor Zaza Skhirtladze who let me know about this fresco. See Zaza Skhirtladze, "Materials for the Study of the Murals of Tsirkoli Church," *Proceedings of Tbilisi State University*, vol. 328 (1999): 158-169.

³⁰⁶ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 13-16. Gerald V. Lalonde, "Pagan Cult to Christian Ritual: the Case of Agia Maria Theseiou," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 45 (2005): 91-125.

4.3. Ave Mari(n)a!- Saint Marina the Monk in Italy

4.3.1. Marina the Monk in Venice

In the thirteenth century, Giovanni Buora, a Venetian merchant, transferred Saint Marina the Monk's relics from Constantinople (see Saint Marina map of relics) to a church dedicated to her in Venice without any written document regarding their authenticity, making it questionable to which saint these relics belonged, as there are more than three saints bearing the same name.³⁰⁷ Scholarship³⁰⁸ has argued the permanent confusion that emerged from the overlapping of Saint Marina the Monk and Saint Marina of Antioch because of several reasons: the same feast day, the 17th of July,³⁰⁹ the same name, and similar depictions.

Our Marina's relic was almost complete, except for one bone: the left arm.³¹⁰ Together with her relics a hand reliquary (Fig. 4.4) that, apparently, contained the

³⁰⁷ Antonio Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia. Profilo Biografico* (Venice: Chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa, 1998), 10 and Cristina Crippa, "Il culto e la chiesa di Santa Marina a Venezia," unpublished thesis, Venice, Univesita Ca' Foscari, 2007/2008, 63, 80-81. Though numerous sources mention that the patron saint of the church was San Liberale, Crippa proves with written evidence that the church had been dedicated to Saint Marina starting from the eleventh century, prior to the relics' translation. *Legenda della beata Vergine Marina* (Venice: Bonfadino, 1601), 218r: "Portato dale Romagna in tempo di Giacomo Tiepolo Duce di Venetia, nelli anni del Signore 1213." There were numerous inscriptions in the Church of Saint Marina. It is interesting to see that among these, a number of them belong to merchants, then to religious members or other important representatives of Venice. See Emmanuele Antonio Cigona, *Delle Inscrizioni Veneziane raccolte ed illustrate*, vol. I (Venice: Presso Giuseppe Orlandelli Editore, 1824), 331-347. This work also offers brief notes on the commissioners of these inscriptions. One of them is Marco Cinzio who, for instance, in the sixteenth century ordered depictions of Marina's life.

³⁰⁸ It is not my intention to detail all the articles which include references to this issue of confusion. Works on Saint Marina which include references to the confusion of names with Saint Marina of Antioch are: Domenico Valensise, *Monografia di Polistena* (Locri: Franco Pancallo Editore, 2005), 173-174; Domenico Valensise, *Studi Storico-Critici intorno a S. Marina Vergine* (Naples: Tipografia Pontificia M. D'Auria, 1908), 19-21 and 164-166; Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 7-9; Sacopoulos, "Sainte Marina dans l'hagiographie et l'iconographie," 494-502. Sacopoulos mentions the confusion and concludes that there were no representations of Saint Marina the Monk because she was outshone by the visual representations of Saint Marina of Antioch. It is needless to emphasize that even some of the articles focusing on one of the two saints confuse elements of both saints' lives, see 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, and M. C. Ross and G. Downey, "A Reliquary of Saint Marina," *Byzantinoslavica* 23 (1962): 42-43.

³⁰⁹ Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Marina (Maria)-Marino, monaca, santa," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, ed. Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università lateranense (Rome: Citta' Nuova Editrice, 1967), 1168-1169.

³¹⁰ Crippa, "Il culto", 69. Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 20. The relic's examination reveals that the

missing part was brought and placed in the Church of Saint Marina, Venice.³¹¹ Dating before the thirteenth century,³¹² incised with Greek inscriptions,³¹³ the reliquary renders our story even more ambiguous as the text refers to the hand of Saint Marina who, with the help of God, got out from the dragon's belly. But this is part of a different *vita*, belonging to another saint, Saint Margaret/Marina of Antioch (Fig. 4.5).



Fig. 4.4: Reliquary of Saint Marina of Antioch/Margaret (back) Constantinople, 1213, (at http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/DetailsPage.aspx?Feminae_ID=32224 Last accessed: February 12, 2016).

skeleton misses one complete arm and a part of the other. It does not present any signs of decapitation. See also Theodoro Amadeni, "Biologia S. Marinae," reproduced in Clugnet, "*Vie et office de Sainte Marine*," 18-19. Besides Amadeni's description, there is another one of Cornaro who also mentions Greek inscriptions on her left arm, see Cigona, *Delle Inscrizioni Veneziane*, 333. On the veil that supposedly covered Marina's relics see Marco Ciatti, Susanna Conti, Marzia Lorenzini, Isetta Tosini, "Studi e intervento conservativo sul Velo di Santa Marina dalla chiesa di S. Maria Formosa in Venezia," *Restauro, Rivista dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure e Laboratori di Restauro Firenze*, eds. Marco Ciatti, Giancarlo Lantema (Florence: Centro Di, 2004), 61-83.

³¹¹ Giovanna Lazzi, "Lo splendore del martirio: emozioni per immagini," in *Le leggende di Santa Margherita a Sant' Agnese*, ed. Giovanna Lazzi (Castelvetro di Modena: ArtCodex, 2009), 60. Lazzi refers back to the *translatio* in order to prove the period of the reliquary's transfer. See also Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 21. William Wixom refers to the fact that fourteenth-century (1325) inventories from San Marco do not mention anything regarding the reliquary's date of arrival in Venice, see Wixom, "Byzantine Art in the West", 441.

³¹² Wixom, "Byzantine Art in the West", 496.

³¹³ Lazzi, "Lo splendore", 60. See also, Ross and Downey, "A Reliquary of Saint Marina", 41-44.



Fig. 4.5: Saint Margaret/Marina of Antioch, 1285-1290, *Livre d'images de Madame Marie*, Hainaut, Belgium. Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 16251, folio 100r.

According to her *vita* Saint Marina of Antioch was born in the third century in a pagan family.³¹⁴ Raised secretly as a Christian, she refused to venerate pagan gods and opposed Olybrius when asked to marry him. She was tortured and thrown to prison where a demon under the guise of a dragon appeared and swallowed her. With a cross in her hand she managed to get out of the dragon. She was tortured again, brought back to prison, and, finally, died a martyr's death by decapitation. According to legends, Marina of Antioch's relics had been taken to Italy by a pilgrim, Agostino da Pavia, in the tenth century and left at the monastery of San Pietro in Vale.³¹⁵ Even more, in 1145, her relics had been transferred to the cathedral of Montefalcone, and a part of them, to Venice, in 1213.³¹⁶

The reliquary medallion represents Margaret/Marina of Antioch at bust-length depicted according to Byzantine standards for female saints: wearing a *maphorion*, she is

³¹⁴ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 368-371.

³¹⁵ Lazzi, "Lo splendore", 54.

³¹⁶ *La Vie de Sainte Marguerite*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), 10.

positioned frontally blessing with her left hand and with a cross in her right hand.³¹⁷ On the side of the reliquary it is written:

Do you inquire about these things, [asking] to whom the hand belongs? This is [the hand] of the holy martyr Marina, whose power crushed the head of the dragon. Its having been cut off stirred me to seek it, and seeking it I found it, in accordance with my desire, and I made an offering for the seemly adornment of the honored one.³¹⁸

On the back is written:

While this [reliquary] is a small thing in comparison with the great [martyr], nevertheless there is unbounded devotion with my gift. Now, imperishable flower of the martyrs, save me from the storm of the evil spirits of my mind and give me victory over them, and power, dispensing a gift comparable to your nature.³¹⁹

Crippa, for instance, points at two possibilities with regard to the arm from this reliquary: the arm belongs to Saint Marina the Monk, but her *vita* was confused with that of Marina of Antioch; or the arm belongs to Saint Marina of Antioch, but had been identified as belonging to Marina the Monk.³²⁰

4.3.1.1. The iconography of the two Marinas from East to West

The traditional iconography of Marina of Antioch represents her with a martyr's crown, cross in her hand, and, more specific for the West, the dragon at her feet;³²¹ the eleventh-century series of paintings of Saint Marina of Antioch/Margaret at San Vincenzo a Galliano being the earliest representations of the saint in Italy.³²² A similar representation to that from the above reliquary is found in an Italian manuscript testifying the fact that the illuminator must have known the imagery from the reliquary and/or possibly image cycles of Saint Marina of Antioch's life.³²³ Manuscript Riccardiano 453,

³¹⁷ Wixom, "Byzantine Art in the West", 497.

³¹⁸ Wixom, *Byzantine Art in the West*, 496.

³¹⁹ Wixom, *Byzantine Art in the West*, 496.

³²⁰ Crippa, "Il culto", 71: "Lo scambio di attribuzioni delle reliquie suggerisce a questo punto due ipotesi: la mano appartiene a santa Marina ma si è fatto confusione e si sono mescolate le vicende della santa con quelle di Margherita, oppure la mano è di santa Margherita ed è stata erroneamente identificata con quella di santa Marina, che è invece, seguendo questa seconda ipotesi, conservata dai monaci di Quannobin come loro stessi dichiararono."

³²¹ Lazzi, "Lo splendore", 61. See also Fernando Lanzi, Gioia Lanzi, *Saints and Their Symbols: Recognizing Saints in Art and in Popular Images* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004), 92-93; and Edward and Lorna Mornin, *Saints: a Visual Guide* (London: Frances Lincoln Edition, 2006), 120-121.

³²² *La Vie de Sainte Marguerite*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller, 201. See also Manuela Beretta, "Il programma spirituale delle pitture murali di San Vincenzo a Galliano. Tracce di un percorso iconografico" in *Ariberto de Intimiano, fede, potere e cultura a Milano nel secolo XI*, ed. Ettore Bianhi, Martina Basile Weatherill (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2007), 115, 119.

³²³ Lazzi, *Lo splendore*, 61.

kept at the Riccardiana Library in Florence, is the only thirteenth-century Florentine manuscript that contains the Latin version of Saint Marina of Antioch's *vita*. The use of gold and the architecture in the illuminations of her *vita* point towards a Byzantine tradition of the miniatures. And indeed it is a Byzantine Saint Marina of Antioch that one finds on folio 1r of Ms. Riccardiano 453.

This Byzantine type of representation is quite rare, but not limited to the following: a representation found on a tenth-century Georgian silver and enamel reliquary of the True Cross and a tenth-century medallion enameled with her bust.³²⁴ All these depictions are similar to that found in Riccardiano 453 and the hand reliquary which is also of Byzantine provenance.

As far as it concerns Saint Marina the Monk's iconography in the East, there are few representations that have survived. Besides the Georgian Marina the Monk, there is a twelfth-century fresco (Fig. 4.6) supposedly of hers³²⁵ in the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem. Unfortunately, the fresco is badly damaged which makes it difficult to identify which Marina is depicted on the column particularly because of both the Latin inscription of her name –Margaret– and the Greek –Marina.



Fig. 4.6: Saint Marina, twelfth century, Bethlehem, Israel, Church of the Nativity.

³²⁴ Ross, and Downey, *A Reliquary of Saint Marina*, 43.

³²⁵ Called Marina the Disguised as indicated by the Index of Christian Art.

The *Menologium* of Basil II contains another depiction (Fig. 4.7) of a Marina, which this time, is easier to identify as Marina the Monk because of the episode that is represented: the healing of the innkeeper's possessed daughter. Marina, although it is the episode of her death, is depicted according to Byzantine standards similarly as Marina of Antioch is.



Fig. 4.7: Saint Marina the Monk (death), 976 - 1025, *Menologium* of Basil II, Rome, Vatican Library, gr.1613, image 394.

These Eastern representations of the two Marinas could possibly explain the early phases of Marina the Monk's iconography in Venice. It is not my intention to decipher the mystery of these two Marinas by finding out what exactly had been misunderstood in their story. But I do want to find out the consequences of this confusion, its implications, and possibilities of interpretation when speaking of visual representations.



Fig. 4.8: Saint Marina, thirteenth century, Tripoli (?), Lebanon. Houston, USA, The Menil Collection.

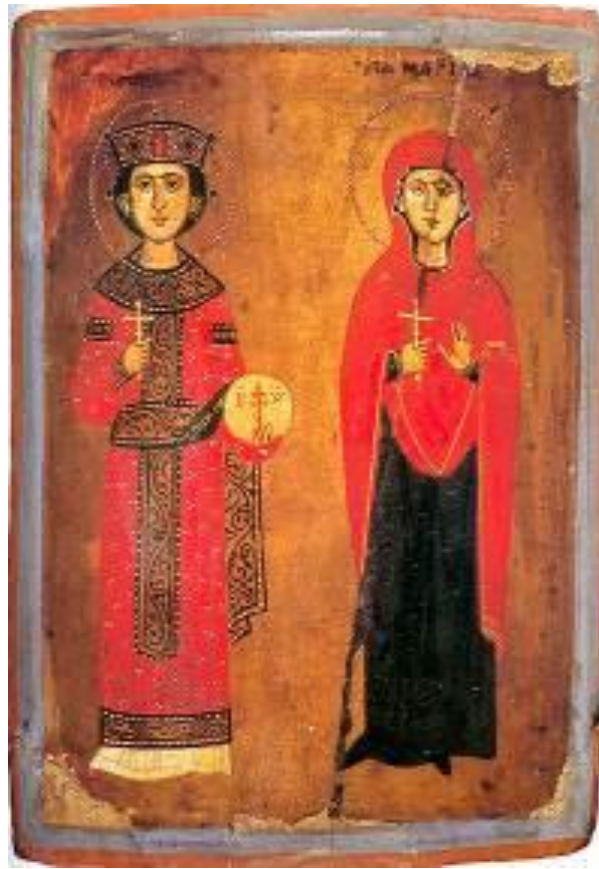


Fig. 4.9: Saints Catherine and Marina, thirteenth-century, Saint Catherine monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt.

In my opinion, there is another possibility for explaining Marina the Monk's iconography in Italy, particularly in Venice. As mentioned above, in the East, apparently, representations of both saints coexisted. If we have a closer look at these representations, it becomes clear that a distinguishing marker between these saints is the name. Marina the Monk is called Mavrinos, in Georgia, and Marina of Antioch is Marina. According to Byzantine standards, both Marinas seem to be similar: veiled, positioned frontally, (sometimes) bust-length, holding a cross in their hand as it is the case of a thirteenth-century Marina of Antioch (Fig. 4.8) in the Menil Collection, Houston.³²⁶ According to Folda, this icon is similar in style to twelfth-century icons from the Maronite churches from the area of South Tripoli where both Marina were venerated. The author mentions that this icon was probably made by a Syrian artist dedicated to the cult of Saint Marina familiar with Byzantine Cypriot iconographic developments. Strictly from an iconographical point of view, this Menil Marina representation is similar to an icon (Fig.

³²⁶ The double-barred cross could indicate influences of Crusader art and cult of the veneration of the True Cross. See Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187- 1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 335-337.

4.9) of Saint Catherine and Marina of Antioch from Saint Catherine Monastery, Mount Sinai and also to a Monreale Cathedral mosaic (Fig. 4.10). The twelfth-century Byzantine style mosaic depicts a Marina again frontally, bust-length, with a double barred cross in one of her hands, blessing with the other.

All these suggest also the possibility that in an initial phase, in Venice, almost similar representations of two different Marinas could have coexisted. Marina the Monk's iconography had been transferred to the West the way she was represented in the East (similarly to Marina of Antioch) and, only then, the development of her westernized depictions started. Folda³²⁷ also mentions the existence of Venetian workshops in Saint Catherine's Monastery where numerous Saint Marina icons exist. This increases the possibility of the early Eastern influence on Saint Marina the Monk's iconography and also clarifies the Crusader ambience of Marina's translation to Venice.



Fig. 4.10 Saint Marina (middle), twelfth century, Sicily, Italy, Monreale Cathedral.

³²⁷ Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, 335.

4.3.1.2. Saint Marina the Monk-the early phase

All these suggest that in Venice Marina the Monk's earlier depictions could have been either coexisting in a confused way with those of Marina of Antioch or Marina the Monk was depicted according to Byzantine standards (similarly to Marina of Antioch).

One of the earliest representations of a Saint Marina in Venice, dating back to the twelfth century (restored later), is found inside the Church of San Marco (See cat. fig. 157).³²⁸ But which Marina is depicted here is difficult to say because of common attributes. Cristina Crippa states the fact that this representation belongs to Saint Marina the Monk on the following arguments: the saint's vicinity to Saint Justina as representative of the city of Padua while Marina the Monk would represent Venice.³²⁹ Both women saints became important saints of their own cities and suggest the political connection between them. Crippa's second argument refers to the presence of the cross in the saint's hand. She mentions that since Marina the Monk had undergone spiritual martyrdom she is entitled to wear the cross. The references she uses³³⁰ for this argument belong to Giuseppe Veronese who in his *Delle laudi di Santa Marina*³³¹ develops the pattern of white martyrdom or martyrdom for Christ. This motif is, then, used at the beginning of the twentieth century by Francesco Marchiori.³³² However, later developments of Marina the Monk's iconography bear an attribute which I consider improper for her, namely the martyr's palm which is common to the representations of martyrs who actually suffered and died a martyr's death. But I will come back later to this.

A first detail that leads me to conclude that it is Marina of Antioch we are talking about here are the three yellow star-shaped ornaments on her clothes which are specific for her Eastern representations. Second, Otto Demus mentions the couple Marina-Justina as

³²⁸ Maria Andaloro, Maria da Villa Urbani (eds.), *San Marco. I mosaici. Le iscrizioni. La pala d'oro* (Milan: Fabri Editori, 1991), 83. I am rather sceptical about her spiritual martyrdom, see Crippa, "Il culto", 111-112. Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Venice. The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, vol. I (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 112.

³²⁹ Crippa, "Il culto," 112. See also Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 21 who simply states that the representation belongs to Saint Marina.

³³⁰ Crippa, "Il culto," 71.

³³¹ Giuseppe Veronese, *Delle laudi di Santa Marina: orazione scritta dall'abate Giuseppe Veronese* (Venice: G. Merlo, 1862), 29: "Martiri no solamente non sono coloro i quali per Cristo, di mezzo ai martori, hanno sacrificato la vita. Siccome, affermava Ambrogio, molte sono le persecuzioni, così molti i martirii. Ogni giorno essere tu puoi martire di Cristo. Sei tanto dallo spirito di lascivia; ma, temendo il futuro giudizio. Contendi per non macchiarti la purezza dell'anima e del corpo; tu sei martire di Cristo. Sei tanto dallo spirito di avarizia as invadere la possessione del debole, as offendere i diritti della vedova senza difesa; tuttavia, facendo a te violenza, hai giudicato cosa ottima recare beneficio anzichè ingiuria: tu sei martire di Cristo."

³³² Francesco Marchiori, Sac., *Storia e non leggenda di Santa Marina Vergine di Bitinia* (Venice: Prem. Stab. A. Vidotti, 1936), 13-14.

being venerated in Venice where they had churches dedicated to them. This is rather tempting to state that the Marina represented in San Marco is Marina the Monk. But Demus continues on mentioning that Justina is depicted two times, first as Justina of Nicomedia with Marina of Antioch as both of them are martyrs, then, as Justina of Padua with Saint Lucia of Syracuse.³³³ Though Crippa's argument could be valid as well, I rather agree with the explanation of Demus.

This confusion in the earlier visual representations of Saint Marina the Monk is still to be found in seventeenth-century examples, but with a minor development, namely the clothes. According to depictions of Theodoro D'Amadeni³³⁴, who analyzed the relic and also translated and illustrated a version of her *vita*, Saint Marina the Monk bears common elements with Marina of Antioch: the cross and, sometimes, the clothes. Situated in the exterior niche of the former church dedicated to her, a relief represents a Saint Marina dressed as a monk and a cross in her hand with a background full of stars. On the first hand, I consider these iconographical attributes could belong to an earlier phase of Marina the Monk's visual representations and it suggests the borrowing of these attributes due to religious syncretism. On the other hand, they could represent a shift and a *mimesis* of an Eastern prototype of Marina the Monk. After careful analysis it is clear that the initial Eastern veil and clothes of Saint Marina the Monk had undergone an important change, namely they are transformed into something that is similar to monastic clothes (Fig. 4.11). Although in some of the depictions it is difficult to identify these clothes, the hood which is no more a veil covering her indicates the first step in elaborating the Venice-style Marina the Monk.

Briefly, we talk about a mixture of religious syncretism, borrowing of an Eastern pattern and the beginnings of a process of development specific for Marina the Monk in Venice. She is depicted wearing a monk's cloth, as mentioned in her *vita*, but she also holds a cross and sometimes a book, that seems likely to have been borrowed from a different saint due to confusion. With regard to the clothes Marina the Monk wears, I want to underline again the possible distinction between the two Marinas. Apparently, Marina the Monk wears penitent clothes.³³⁵ If the clothes are to be seen as those of a penitent, then the cross and the book could be attributes suggesting her faith as influences of religious syncretism. In the light of this interpretation, the clothes can function as a marker of distinction between the two saints.

³³³ Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Venice*, 262, 264.

³³⁴ Reproduced in Crippa, "Il culto", 85 and 128.

³³⁵ Olga Pujmanová, Petr Pribyl, *Italian Painting c. 1330-1350: I National Gallery in Prague: II Collections in the Czech Republic: Summary Illustrated Catalogue* (Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 2008), 67: "unknown female saint dressed in penitent attire (Saint Marina?)."



Fig. 4.11: Saint Marina, Pseudo Jacobello del Fiore (Lorenzo di Giacomo?), 1420-1450, Italy, Venice.

4.3.1.3. Saint Marina the Monk- the later phase

The written references to Marina the Monk's visual representations,³³⁶ I have been able to identify, are quite numerous: a wooden casket, restored in 1491, a golden icon entitled "Pala d'Oro" (mentioned in inventories from 1412-1413), a copy of the *pala* done by D'Amadeni in the seventeenth-century, and an early depiction of Lorenzo Veneziano – *Polittico* - dating from the fourteenth century. In this last depiction, Marina the Monk is not positioned close to Virgin Mary, but to Saint Lawrence. On the other hand, the above inventories mention the existence of "a panel depicting Saint Madonna Mary with Child in her arms and Saint Marina and Saint Nicholas"³³⁷ which indicates

³³⁶ "A black chest with paintings of Saint Marina on the outside on the cover and [a painting] of God Father on the inside"[*Una chassa de negra con depenture sca marina de fuora sul choverchio i dentro dio padre*] in Codice miscellaneo sec. XV man pergameneareo contenente La Leggenda di S. Marina e Regole relative alla chiesa di S. Marina 148 at Archivo Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia. Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 11; La cassa che ion ameço de la pala doro sopra laltar de sca Marina i giesia av 37 Archivo Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia; Crippa, "Il culto", 86-87; Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 11.

³³⁷ "*uno teller depeto madona sca Maria con el fiol i braco e sca Marina e sa Nicolò*" and also "hhaving depicted the story of Saint Madona Marina"[*depenta la hystoria de Madona Sancta Marina*] in Codice miscellaneo sec. XV man pergameneareo contenente La Leggenda di S. Marina e Regole relative alla chiesa di S. Marina. Archivo Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia.

the next step in the development of the Venetian Marina the Monk style: the closeness to the Virgin Mary where Marina the Monk will be accompanied by the child.

This is found in the books of rules -*Mariegola*- of a *Scuola di Santa Marina* founded in 1324³³⁸ and also on numerous cultic objects.³³⁹ The eighteenth-century copy of the original *Mariegola* depicting an affectionate Marina the Monk as indicated by her hand gesture in the context of a *Scuola* (See cat fig. 132) reminds me of French illuminations focusing on Marina the Monk teaching her child. Even more, a later sermon³⁴⁰ on Saint Marina the Monk's life, besides focusing on her patience, humility, charity, emphasizes her education of the baby. In this context there is a clear similarity between her and representations of Virgin Mary from Siena Cathedral which suggest her implication in bringing the Child to school.³⁴¹ So, it is tender motherhood, youth, but also an aspect of daily life taken from the representations of the Virgin that Marina the Monk borrows. This aspect from the Virgin's life is a vernacular style development which occurred when her *vita* had been translated for private and public devotion.³⁴² In this case one can find similarities between these two saints: both *vitae* were translated into vernacular Italian and elements of these *vitae* incorporated into the visual. Thus, Marina the Monk's representations are proof not only of the influence of Mary's cult but also of the specificity of the vernacular translations. Even more, a later eighteenth-century book of prayers dedicated to her feast³⁴³ joins two prayers, the first to Saint Marina the Monk, the other to the Virgin, both of them focusing on the concept of the body, while the cover depicts a seated Marina the Monk reminiscent of the *Enthroned Virgin*.

In an initial phase the child barely touches Marina the Monk's clothes, but this intermediary phase would be soon overcome as the year 1509 brought a new turn in her iconographical development. On the 17th of July 1509 Doge Andrea Gritti conquered Padova exactly on the same day, sources mention, on which Saint Marina the Monk was venerated. Consequently, in honor of the saint a special feast was held every year³⁴⁴ and, in 1511, she became the patron saint of Venice.³⁴⁵

³³⁸ Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 11.

³³⁹ Crippa, "Il culto", 103-04.

³⁴⁰ Ernesto Volpi, *Divoto apparecchio alla festa di santa Marina vergine, disposto nelle cinque domeniche precedenti la di lei solennita in memoria de' cinque anni d'austera penitenza, ch'essa condusse alla porta del suo monastero* (Venice, 1763), 12.

³⁴¹ Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion*, 95. On the Apocryphal influence and the frescoes discovered in the crypt under the Cathedral of Siena see Paola Boccardi Storoni, "Il modello iconografico del ciclo pittorico scoperto sotto il duomo di Siena," *Commentari d'arte* 18-19 (2001): 69-72. Alessandro Bagnoli, *Alle origini della pittura senese. Prime osservazioni sul ciclo dei dipinti murali in Sotto il Duomo di Siena*, ed. Roberto Guerrini, Max Seidel (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2003), 107-147.

³⁴² Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion*, 95.

³⁴³ *Office of Saint Marina*, Venice, 1708.

³⁴⁴ Crippa, "Il culto", 73-77. Volpi, *Compendio della vita di santa Marina vergine*, 19-20. See also on the *Andata a Santa Marina* in Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia, Città nobilissima et singolare* (Venice: S. Curti, 1663), 503 -504.

³⁴⁵ Giuseppe Veronese, *Delle laudi di Santa Marina: orazione scritta dall'abate Giuseppe Veronese* (Venice: G. Merlo, 1862), 25.

The growth in importance of the saint implied a direct development of her representations as well. Saint Marina the Monk's depictions started to figure in various important public spaces such as the Palazzo Ducale, in Venice, and on funerary monuments such as that of Doge Michele Steno³⁴⁶ who also appears on a fifteenth-century chalice together with Marina the Monk depicted similarly to her initial iconographical phase (with book in her hands). The fifteenth-century funerary monument found only in a reproduction³⁴⁷ shows the doge and his wife praying to Virgin Mary. They are presented to the Virgin by two saints homonymous to their names: Archangel Michael and Saint Marina the Monk; this is an obvious reference to gender division. Here, in this context, Marina the Monk's disguise has no third gender connotations at all, it points to the fact that she is viewed as a woman, she intercedes for a woman -the wife of Michele Steno- before a holy woman -the Virgin Mary. Even more, the abundant numbers of prayers and poems include Marina the Monk in the group of the virgin saints that generally are connected to Mary- *Inter sancta [sic] Virgines veneranda est Virgo Marina beata, & gloriosa semper* [Blessed and forever glorious Virgin Marina is venerated with the other virgins]; Marina also intercedes to the faithful and, more important, to Venice -*Ora pro nobis beata Virgo Marina* [Pray for us Blessed Virgin Marina].³⁴⁸

³⁴⁶ Crippa, "Il culto", 96.

³⁴⁷ Grevembroch Johannes, folio 69, The Tomb of Doge Michele Steno, Venice, Museo Correr. Comments also in Crippa, "Il culto", 97.

³⁴⁸ *Legenda della beata Vergine Marina*. This document has an image (on folio 206) of a nimbed Marina positioned frontally, with cross in her left hand and a baby in her right. She is veiled and wears monastic clothes.



Fig. 4.12: The Prayer of Doge Andrea Gritti (*Doge Andrea Gritti assisted in prayer by Saint Mark in front of the Madonna with the Child, Saint Marina, Saint Bernardino of Siena and Saint Alvise*), Robusti Jacopo (il Tintoretto), sixteenth century, Venice.

Paintings of Tintoretto from the Palazzo Ducale (Fig. 4.12) and a woodcut copy of Titian represent Doge Andrea Gritti venerating the Virgin Mary. But the Virgin is not alone; she is followed by a group of saints among whom is Saint Marina the Monk. What might draw one's attention is that Marina the Monk is not only together with a child, but also holds a martyr's palm in her hand. I consider that the martyr palm is an iconographic reminiscence of the earlier phase of her iconographic development which occurs mostly in Venice. If one has a look at Marina the Monk's representations from other areas of Italy, from approximately the same period it will be clear that the saint's depictions bear something in common. Namely, the saint is more intimate with the child in the sense that Marina actually holds it as depicted in fourteenth-fifteenth-century Siena (Fig. 4.13 and Fig. 4.14) whereas initially the child barely touched her clothes. These details point to a change in the developments of her patterns of representation taking place somewhere at the end of the fourteenth, beginning of the fifteenth century, while such depictions increase in the sixteenth century.



Fig. 4.13: 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), 1385-1428, Siena.



Fig. 4.14: Episode from Saint Marina's life, Anonymous Venetian author, 1430-1470, Venice.

This means that around these dates occurs another change in Marina the Monks's visual representation: from a Saint Marina influenced by confusion and *mimesis* to another Marina the Monk influenced by the Virgin's proximity. This closeness between the two women saints has several explanations which refer back to the history of Venice. First, among the fourteen patron saints of Venice, there are only two women- Virgin Mary and Marina the Monk.³⁴⁹ Second, according to legends, Venice was founded on the feast of the Annunciation,³⁵⁰ a celebration dedicated to the Virgin, and won an important battle, on the 17th of July when celebrating another virgin. This connection, in my opinion, is reflected in the visual source details.

Having a look at later developments of Marina the Monk's *vita*, it becomes clear that the closeness between Mary and Marina in the visual sources could be the reflection

³⁴⁹ Crippa, "Il culto", 102, note 496. Three main feasts in Venice: Annunciazione, san Marco, san Lorenzo; and 15 other patron saints: san Antonio di Padova, san Bernardino da Siena, santi Ermagora e Fortunato, san Filippo Neri, san Francesco d'Assisi, san Giovanni Nepumuceno, san Giuseppe, san Magno, santa Marina, san Pietro Orseolo, beato Pietro Acotanto, san Pio X, san Rocco, san Teodoro d'Amasea, san Teodoro di Eraclea.

³⁵⁰ Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian and the Franciscans* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press: 1986), 48.

of the closeness in the textual sources where Marina the Monk's motherly daily activity is much detailed (even when accepted back into the Monastery). It is Marina the Monk who is in the company of her child *ululando con mandar fuori fanciuleschi stridi*³⁵¹ or inside the monastery when she is told *che ogni giorno tu solo spazzi il còvento, & porti via ogni immuditia, & rechi tutta l'acqua che bisogna, & laui tutti li vestimenti, & calciamenti, & li recusì, & racconci, & servi a tutti con prestezza, & in questo modo mi ritornerai in gratia.*³⁵²



Fig. 4.15: 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, Venice.

³⁵¹ *Legenda della beata Vergine Marina*, 210v [...] illquale vagiendo, & ululando con mandar fuori fanciuleschi stride, li maculava li suoi vestimenti, & questo continuo per altri doi anni.

³⁵² *Legenda della beata Vergine Marina*, 211r.



Fig. 4.16: Madonna with Child in glory with Saint Benedict, Saint Marina, Saint Francis of Assisi and two saints, anonymous author, sixteenth century, Venice.

In all of the later visual sources Saint Marina the Monk is depicted close to the Virgin Mary (Fig. 4.15 and Fig. 4.16), sometimes so close that she is right beneath the heavenly realm where the Virgin sits, considered by the Church the perfect model.³⁵³ A later work, the *Compendium of Saint Marina the Virgin's Life*, from the eighteenth century, develops further the pattern of similarity between the two saints, in the sense that Marina the Monk views Virgin Mary as a model to be followed regarding her penitence, and her earthly father is equated with Godfather.³⁵⁴

Not only have the iconographies of the two saints born similarities, but also their *vitae* and cult.³⁵⁵ According to Eastern versions of Marina the Monk's *vita*, after being

³⁵³ L'Engle, "Depictions of Chastity," 106.

³⁵⁴ Volpi, *Compendio della vita*, 12-13. "Intanto non sapeva ella qual risoluzione prendere in sì forte contrasto, quando alla sine pensier le venne d'imitar la Regina delle Vergini, e come Maria per non contravvenire ai Divini precetti, sebben Vergine, e della Virginità sì gelosa, e gloriosa custoditrice, nulla curando però diversa apparire alla vista del Uomini, portossi anch'essa in figura d'immonda a chieder la Purificazione; Marina così per non allontanarsi del precetto paterno di non appelesar il suo arcano, sebbenn innocente, ed amantissima delle Virginità, pure, bastandole tale essere alla divina presenza, e nulla curando la diversa stima degli Uomini, *piuttosto disubbidir al Padre*, amò ben volontieri farsi creder ea con una equivoca general risposta presa dall'Abbate in sinistro seno, ma a tutti dallo Spirito Santo insegnata, ed a lei in quel punto ispirata singolarmente, e colle lagrime agli occhj così rispose: Sono peccator, o Padre: Pregare per me, ed io farò penitenza."

³⁵⁵ In the Martyrology of Usuard, one can find the confusion between the two names Maria with Marina. Although it is not clear which Marina this saint is, one should be reminded that in the Eastern sources Marina is actually called Maria. See, XIII KL. IUL.- JUL. 18 MH 3 Alexandriae, *passio sanctae Marinae virginis* Ms or Ce jour est sur un feuillet recopié au XI siècle. Le copiste a écrit Mariae pour Marinae in Jaques Dubois (ed.), *Le Martyrologe d'Usuard. Texte et commentaire* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes,

chased out from the monastery, she miraculously breastfed the child, while in other versions, in order to avoid being seen naked by monks when dead, Marina the Monk writes them a letter explaining who she is.³⁵⁶ These two elements of her *vita* are important for various reasons. On the first hand, this detail of breastfeeding is a common motif that is found in the life of the Virgin. Both of them obey their superior God/the abbot/the father and give birth/raise a child. The Virgin mothers a child and Marina the Monk is considered to be fathering one.

The motif of breastfeeding has not been included when translating the Eastern *vitae* of Marina the Monk into Latin, probably because of the translator's problems regarding this detail.³⁵⁷ Thus, in the western versions Marina the Monk is not breastfeeding the child, but asks for milk from shepherds.³⁵⁸ But, I consider that this detail must have been known at least in a much more restricted, private space and not in the public sphere.

The last place where Marina the Monk's relics were situated before their *translatio* to Venice is Constantinople. But it is unclear how, from where, and why the relics were moved. Marina the Monk's *translatio* resembles Virgin Mary's intercessory functions as a new *stella maris* in the story of the miracle on the sea. According to this, when Marina the Monk's relics were transferred to Venice by ship, a storm broke out because of the improper behavior of the crew.³⁵⁹ Miraculously, the casket which had her relics opened up and, while the sailors prayed, the storm stopped and the ship reached Venice faster than initially presumed.

Imprimerie Cultura, Weltern, 1965), 249. The footnote on the very same page explains this as: Marinae-Martyrologe hiéronymien, mots 28.31 et 32. Le manuscrit original, sur un feiullet recopié au XIe siècle, porte Mariae, d'accord avec le manuscrit W du martyrologe hiéronymien, mais les autres manuscrits du martyrologe hiéronymien portent Marinae, qui est certainement la leçon retenue par Usuard.

³⁵⁶ Crippa, "Il culto", 41.

³⁵⁷ Brossé, *Les Peintures de la Grotte*, 45 see also Guita G. Hourani, *Saint Marina the Monk*, part I (in http://www.maronite-institute.org/MARI/JMS/january00/Saint_Marina_the_Monk.htm accessed: March 06, 2016).

³⁵⁸ Crippa, "Il culto", 46, note 196.

³⁵⁹ Crippa, "Il culto", 63, Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 9-10, Volpi, *Compendio de la vita*, 18-19.



Fig. 4.17: Virgin Mary and Saint Marina the Monk (detail), Catinato Veneziano, 1362-1390, Venice.



Fig. 4.18: Triptych of the Coronation of the Virgin and the Crucifixion, Catinaccio Veneziano, 1362-1390, Venice.

A fourteenth-century Venetian triptych found at the National Museum of Prague (Fig. 4.17 and Fig. 4.18) depicts Saint Marina the Monk at the lower section together with other three women saints: Virgin Mary, Saint Clare,³⁶⁰ and Saint Catherine of Alexandria. The positioning of the women below the row of holy men suggests not only a clear gender division, but that they are also participants at the Virgin's coronation. As already said, Saint Marina the Monk is strongly connected to the Virgin also by the presence of the other women saints. Considered the *footprint of the Mother of God*, the presence of Clare indicates that a woman is supposed to follow a woman as a model.³⁶¹ In her case, Mary functions as a model for the enclosed women, including Marina the Monk. Marina too, becomes the footprint of the Mother of God, that is, she imitates her not only because of the virtues they share, but particularly because the child they raise (the motif of the unwed mother). This depiction suggests that even if represented without the child, in men's clothes, Marina the Monk is viewed exclusively as a woman and it is she who is positioned next to Mary. Even more, a later engraving (See cat fig. 124) of a

³⁶⁰ In a fourteenth-century representation Saint Marina is considered to be Saint Clare according to some interpretations. This adds meaning to the connection between the two saints in this triptych. See Alberto Martini, *La Galleria dell'Accademia di Ravenna* (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1959), 31- 32.

³⁶¹ Rubin, *Mother of God*, 199.

reliquary of the Holy Cross includes again a representation of Saint Marina the Monk.³⁶² Marina is at the base of the Cross which has a coiling serpent around it. She almost steps on the head of the serpent reminding of the Virgin who said *will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shall bruise his hell* (Genesis 3:15).³⁶³

4.3.2. The confusion elsewhere

Saint Marina the Monk is celebrated throughout entire Italy.³⁶⁴ If one pays closer attention to her imagery as found in some of these areas, one will observe a striking difference to the early Venetian examples, as all concentrate mostly on a single pattern: the saint is depicted exiting the monastery with a child in her arms (see Saint Marina iconography map). Her fourteenth-century depiction from Camposanto is a part of a representation concentrating on the desert fathers.³⁶⁵ A fifteenth-century relief from Polistena depicts Marina the Monk with a book, a martyr's palm, and a child holding her clothes. Here, the martyr's palm is an iconographical attribute belonging to Saint Marina of Antioch. In Tollo, fourteenth- and again fifteenth-century statues represent her with the baby.³⁶⁶ The Italian illuminations of Saint Marina the Monk progress from individual depictions to narrative cycles. But none of these depictions includes the attributes cross, book, or martyr's palm, except two individual representations, one of them originating in fifteenth-century Venice. It is clear that in other regions of Italy the two homonymous saints were also confused, but as far as my sources suggest, Marina the Monk was mostly depicted with the child. In Venice, it is only around the beginning of the sixteenth century that the iconographical developments of Saint Marina the Monk constantly included the attribute of the child as is the case of Lorenzo Bregno's statue (1512) also copied by D'Amadeni.³⁶⁷

4.3.2.1. Southern Italy-Polistena, Calabria

My sources suggest that the cult of Saint Marina the Monk reached Italy at least in two areas: Venice, in the north, and Calabria, south Italy. In Calabria, Marina the Monk is mentioned when speaking about ecclesiastical institutions, but (sometimes) without

³⁶² Johannes Grevembroch, folio 68, Cross reliquary from the Church of Saint Marina, Venice, Museo Correr.

³⁶³ *The Bible. Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha*, 4.

³⁶⁴ Crippa, "Il culto", 47-52.

³⁶⁵ Crippa, "Il culto", 48; Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 27.

³⁶⁶ Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 27.

³⁶⁷ Crippa, "Il culto", 87.

pointing out to which saint they are referring. 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*,³⁶⁸ while Vincenzo Naymo, in his *Uno stato feudale nella Calabria del Cinquecento*,³⁶⁹ mentions several documents referring to churches bearing her name. There is also documentation that in 1605 a church dedicated to Saint Marina the Monk in Gerace had been closed³⁷⁰ (*cronoistoria della diocesi di Gerace*). At the end of the fifteenth century, there were three churches dedicated to her in the area of Gioia Tauro.³⁷¹ Another ecclesiastical institution which is in connection with the name of Marina is a monastery dedicated to her in Reggio as early as 1050.³⁷²

There are also documents which mention the existence of a church dedicated to Saint Marina the Monk in various regions of Calabria. One such document mentions the existence of a church in Filandari in 1530³⁷³, but there are earlier attestations as well. In Casole Bruzio, there are attestations dating from 1358³⁷⁴ and 1360³⁷⁵, in Stilo, from 1324³⁷⁶ and in Polistena, since 1310³⁷⁷. Sources mention that in Polistena, Marina the Monk's cult has been introduced by orthodox monks which brings again into attention the Eastern context of her cult.³⁷⁸

The earliest visual representation, which survived, dates from 1441 and is a carved herald previously attached to the Church of Saint Rocco in order to point out the jurisdiction of the city.³⁷⁹ Here, Marina the Monk is depicted as a monk holding a baby by its hands. I want to emphasize the fact that in this depiction she is already depicted with a martyr's palm in her hand, meaning that she borrowed the iconographic attribute of Saint Marina of Antioch/Margaret as early as the fifteenth century. Her representations in heraldry of Polistena changed from this earliest form. In representations from 1721, 1777, 1788, 1792, 1793, 1794 she is like Saint Margaret: holding a martyr's palm in one hand and a dragon in chains in the other hand; while in 1750, 1785, and 1794 she is represented as a monk in the company of the child. It is possible that both of these representations

³⁶⁸ Giovanni Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1865), 240.

³⁶⁹ Vincenzo Naymo, *Uno stato feudale nella Calabria del Cinquecento* (Gioiosa Jonica: Corab, 2004), 61, 110, 451.

³⁷⁰ Antonio Oppedisano, *Conistoria della Diocesi di Gerace* (Gerace Superiore: Tipografia Isidoro Cavallaro, 1932), 51.

³⁷¹ Sandro Leanza, *Calabria Cristiana* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1999), 429-431.

³⁷² 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), 164-67.

³⁷³ Francesco Russo, *Registro Vaticano per la Calabria*, vol. III (Rome: Gesualdi Editore, 1977), 389.

³⁷⁴ Francesco Russo, *Registro Vaticano per la Calabria*, vol. I (Rome: Gesualdi Editore, 1974), 484.

³⁷⁵ Russo, *Registro Vaticano per la Calabria*, vol. I, 489.

³⁷⁶ Domenico Vendola, *Apulia-Lucania-Calabria* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1861), 352.

³⁷⁷ Vendola, *Apulia-Lucania-Calabria*, 279.

³⁷⁸ Giovanni Russo, *La Festa di Santa Marina e la 'pittoresca-bizzara' processione con la teoria dei santi a Polistena* (Polistena: Centro Studi Polistenesi, 2003), 7.

³⁷⁹ Vendola, *Apulia-Lucania-Calabria*, 12. See also Russo, "Il Culto di S. Marina Vergine a Polistena nel 1094" (The Cult of S. Marina Virgin at Polistena in 1094), *Corriere di Reggio* April 02 (1983): 4.

circulated in the same time, at least in 1794. Later, the attribute of the palm tree was changed to that of the cross, which is another attribute of Saint Margaret,³⁸⁰ as in a depiction dating from 1801. In 1813, this attribute had been changed again with that of a palm tree. From the nineteenth century onwards the representations of Saint Marina the Monk disappeared from the city herald.

4.3.2.2. Marina the Monk in Ardea

The development of Saint Marina the Monk's iconography is also traceable in the Church of Saint Marina, Ardea, where, in a later phase, a rather curious fusion between her representation as a monk (with books in hands) next to a well emerged as a result of synthesis with a goddess.³⁸¹ Francesco Sanguinetti³⁸² considers that it is difficult to determine to which Marina the church was dedicated to. Similarly to the case of Marina the Monk from Venice, this author considers that her cult had been introduced to the West via Crusades.



Fig. 4.19: Inscription (detail), twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

The oldest inscription dedicated to Saint Marina is found on the architrave of the entrance door (Fig. 4.19) and it dates from around 1190.³⁸³ It makes reference both to

³⁸⁰ Maria Chiara Celletti, "Marina (Margherita), santa, martire di Antiochia di Pisidia," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, ed. Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università lateranense (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1967), 1165.

³⁸¹ <http://www.castruminui.it/marina.html> Last accessed: 16 June 2015.

³⁸² Francesco Sanguinetti, "La Chiesa di Santa Marina a Ardea," *Palladio, rivista di storia dell'architettura* 4 (1954): 81.

³⁸³ Livio Crescenzi, Lorenzo Quilici, Stefania Quilici Gigli, *Carta archeologica del comune di Ardea* (Rome: Erma, 1971) 30.

Marina and the commissioner, Cencio Savelli, who in 1216 became Pope Onofrius III³⁸⁴ and reads: *Cencius excelsae Romae Cancellarius urbis obtulit hanc portam virgo Marina tibi*. [Oh, Virgin Marina, Census, chancellor of the outstanding city of Rome, built this door for you!] If the inscription makes it rather difficult to figure out to which saint it is dedicated, the relief at the entrance indicates that it is Saint Marina the Monk (Fig. 4.20a, b, c.).



Fig. 4.20.a: An Abbot (left), twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

³⁸⁴ Sanguinetti, "La Chiesa di Santa Marina a Ardea," 81.



Fig. 4.20.b: Saint Marina (middle), twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.



Fig. 4.20.c: Marina's father (right), twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

Positioned between her father and the abbot, the centrality of Marina the Monk's representations suggest already her importance. The figures are represented as an *imago clipeata* right at the entrance of the church. Marina the Monk is depicted frontally, with halo, in apparently monastic clothes with a book in her hands. Her identity is indicated by the inscription of her name *Sca Marina*. The other two figures' identity is also indicated by inscriptions: on the left, it reads *abbas*, while on the right *Patris Marine*. Not only the inscriptions, but also the figures, which have an important role in the *vita*, indicate that it is Saint Marina the Monk. It is difficult to figure out whether the clothes that Marina wears are those of monks or not as her head seems to be covered by a veil. Having a very close look at the relief it is striking to realize that the physiognomy of the saint is feminine in contrast to the two male figures whose tonsured heads are uncovered by the hood of their monastic clothing. This finely featured face of her is rather intriguing if one thinks of Venice for instance, where she metamorphoses gradually into a woman only later around the fifteenth-sixteenth century. Again, the closeness to her father reminds me of Novafeltria where their relics were supposed to have rested in the same church, but I will come back to this later.



Fig. 4.21: Saint Anthony, The Virgin and the Child, Saint Roch, twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

Inside, the Church of Saint Marina was once covered by frescoes of which now most are gone (Fig. 4.21). Behind the ciborium, there is the entrance to the older part of the church, a former Roman second-century burial place which has been transformed into a chapel probably before the twelfth century.³⁸⁵ Inside, in complete darkness, lies a sixteenth-century depiction of Saint Marina (Fig. 4.22), still depicted as a woman, in monastic clothes with books and martyr's palm in her hands next to a well in an unclear background. Again, an inscription with reference to a pope accompanies her: *O. de Roca de Papa F(ie)ri F(e)cit(i) 60'*.³⁸⁶ This brings into attention the religious background of Ardea that shifted as property between the monastery of Saint Paul, on the one hand, and Papacy and the city, on the other hand. By the end of the eleventh century, Ardea was a castle belonging to the monastery of Saint Paul, then, by 1130 it became property of the city, while in the thirteenth century it was occupied by Nicolo, a monk of Saint Paul, and offered back to the monastery by Pope Clement IV, and so on until 1564 when bought by Girolamo Cesarini.³⁸⁷ Perhaps this monastic-papal influence testifies to the survival of both her representation as a monk and her example for a religious community.

³⁸⁵ Sanguinetti, "La Chiesa di Santa Marina a Ardea," 83. Francesco di Mario, *Ardea, la terra dei Rutuli, tra mito e archeologia: alle radici della romanità. Nuovi dati dai recenti scavi archeologici* (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, 2007), 25-26.

³⁸⁶ Sanguinetti, "La Chiesa di Santa Marina a Ardea," 84.

³⁸⁷ A. Previtali, *Genzano di Roma* (Albano Laziale: Strini, 1930), 72.



Fig. 4.22: Saint Marina, seventeenth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.

A closer analysis of the representation makes it clear that it had been executed over a previous layer of painting. The frame, different in style with the other, brings Marina the Monk into attention. Her representation contrasts with the remaining iconography of other unidentifiable saints.³⁸⁸ Apparently, the earlier layer was a symmetrical composition: four figures are on Marina the Monk's left, while on the right there is a part of a halo, a full length damaged figure, and a damaged wall which could have had the images of two other saints. On the basis of the analysis of their clothes, they seem to be represented according to Byzantine standards.

The new layer of painting with Marina the Monk, as said before, has an important detail, namely the fountain which seems to be a reference to a Venus, suggesting in our case purity (of the waters and of the saint).³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ di Mario, "Ardea, la terra dei Rutuli," 26.

³⁸⁹ A. Previtali, "Genzano di Roma," 71. Sonia Modica, *Ardea* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2011), 106.



Fig. 4.23: Saint Marina's well (statue), seventeenth century, Ardea, Italy.



Fig. 4.24: Saint Marina's well (inscription), seventeenth century, Ardea, Italy.

This iconographical detail makes reference to a well whose waters are purified by the presence of a mutilated statue of Marina the Monk (Fig. 4.23) as believed in seventeenth-century inscriptions (Fig. 4.24). The proximity of the dating, 1601 (the fresco) and 1615 (the statue) suggests that the former representation could have been used for the statue and also testifies to the rather strong iconographical features of Marina the Monk in Ardea as indicated by a city stamp (Fig. 4.25).³⁹⁰



Fig. 4.25: Saint Marina, city seal, undated, Ardea, Italy.
(<http://www.castruminui.it/marina.html> Last accessed, February 13, 2016).

4.3.2.3. Marina the Monk in Camposanto

The Marina the Monk from Camposanto di Pisa is an unexpected and unexplained inclusion into a fourteenth-century Thebais cycle (Fig. 4.26). Together with the Last Judgement and the Triumph of Death, the Thebais has now been attributed to Buonamico Buffalmacco.³⁹¹ It is structured on three levels which concentrate on depicting various episodes from the Desert Father's lives.³⁹² The first level depicts Saints Antony, Paul, and Hilarion; the second Mary of Egypt, a saint praying, five hermits, Saints Macarius,

³⁹⁰ I have not been able to date it.

³⁹¹ Gloria Fossi, Mattia Reiche, Marco Bussagli, *Italian Art: Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture from the Origins to the Present Day* (Florence: Giunti Gruppo Editoriale, 2000), 63. On the interpretation of all the fresco cycles see, for instance, Diane Cole Ahl, "Camposanto, *Terra Santa*: Picturing the Holy Land in Pisa," *Artibus et Historiae* 48 (2003): 95-122.

³⁹² Abel Letalle, *Les Fresques du Campo Santo de Pise* (Paris: Bibliothèque Internationale d'Édition, 1910), 49-51. Eva Frojmovič, "Das Fresko der Thebais im Camposanto zu Pisa," Unpublished MA Thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1998, 40. Mario Bucci, Licia Bertolini, *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa. Affreschi e sinopie* (Pisa: Opera della Primaziale Pisano, 1960), 60-61.

Onofrius, and Panutius. The lower register depicts numerous hermits among whom is represented Saint Marina the Monk with the baby in her arms in front of a monastery.³⁹³ Epigraphs follow some of these episodes when highlighting the spiritual qualities of these holy figures, including those of Saint Marina the Monk:³⁹⁴

Vergine pudicha, sancta Marina,
Che intrasti monacha in acto maschile,
Servendo il munisterio casta et humile,
Stando in oratione et disciplina;

Un fanciullino in fascie una matthina
Fu posto ad luogo dove ella era servile:
Dato fu colpa ad quell'alma gentile,
Che era ripiena di gratia divina.

Che gli era suo, et che lo haveva acquistato
D'una femina che era nel paese:
Ad Sancta Marina apposon quell peccato!

Quella non si scusò né fe' difese,
Come maschio di chiesa fu cacciato
Con esso in braccio et mai nol fe' palese.

Li monaci poi che'l corpo suo fu morto
Cognobeno che gli avevan facto torto.

³⁹³ Samuele Morpurgo, "Le epigrafi volgari in rima del "Trionfo della morte" del "Giudizio universale e inferno" e degli "Anacoreti" nel Camposanto di Pisa," in *L'Arte* ed. Adolfo Venturi and Domenico Gnoli (Rome: Danesi, Editore, 1899), 71-87.

³⁹⁴ Morpurgo, "Le epigrafi volgari in rima," 81-84.



Fig. 4.26: Thebais, Buonamico Buffalmacco, fourteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Camposanto.

Besides, the *exempla* these epigraphs offer, they function as identifiers for the saints' identity, Marina the Monk in our case. Their sources were the *Vite dei Santi Padri*³⁹⁵ of Cavalca, a Dominican priest, who found the model for his book in the *Vitae Patrum*, still this makes it difficult to find a reason for the selection of these particular saints in the cycle. The frescoes are no illustration of Cavalca's book. Frojmovič considers that it cannot explain the content of the frescoes.³⁹⁶

And I would add, it cannot explain the inclusion of only Saint Marina the Monk into the frescoes knowing that in Cavalca's book besides Marina the Monk, there are other two saints in disguise, namely, Euphrosyne and Margareta dicta Pelagius. If only those saints were selected who could be understood by the public as Frojmovič thinks, this would mean that Marina the Monk was well known so that the audience could relate to it. In this case, Marina the Monk's fresco is a possible reflection of her fame as a result of her cult. But there could be more to add to the presence of Marina the Monk in the cycle.

In a Thebais such as that of Fra Angelico (Fig. 4.27), we will observe that Saint Marina the Monk is not included among the Desert Fathers. The only woman in the composition is a temptress dressed in red, there is no trace of Marina the Monk.

³⁹⁵ Domenico Cavalca, *Vite dei Santi Padri*, vol. II (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2009), 1384-1389.

³⁹⁶ Frojmovič, "Das Fresko der Thebais," 42- 45.



Fig. 4.27: Thebais, Fra Angelico, c. 1418-1420, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery.

It is clear that Marina the Monk is depicted only in the Pisan cycle (Fig. 4.28). As far as I know, Pisa was not a place of her veneration. In my opinion an explanation for her presence in the cycle could lie in the authorship of the fresco.

Initially, the *Thebais* had been attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti³⁹⁷ who did not execute the cycle all by himself but in the company of other artists as well. One of these artists was Antonio Veneziano who is supposed to have painted not only Saint Panutius and Blessed Uliviero, but also Saint Marina.³⁹⁸ It is not my intention to identify the exact author of the cycle, but the origin of the artist could indicate his familiarity with Saint Marina the Monk's depictions and cult in Venice. In both cases, Pisa and Venice, Marina the Monk's maternal gestures impress by their emotions as she holds humbly the child in front of the monastery. Even more, there might be a connection between the Camposanto and the fourteenth-century Sienese painting of Andrea di Bartolo (Fig. 4.13) which could indicate a network of influences in the area (similarly to Eugenia in France).

Briefly, Saint Marina the Monk's representation in Camposanto is the expression of both her fame as the public must have been familiar with her (epigraphs) but also the artist's familiarity with a depiction common in his native place.

³⁹⁷ Letalle, *Les Fresques du Campo Santo de Pise*, 47- 48. Morpurgo, "Le epigrafi volgari in rima," 51.

³⁹⁸ Alessandro da Morrona, *Pisa illustrate nelle arti del disegno*, vol. 2 (Livorno: Presso Giovanni Marenigii, 1812), 244-245. All what da Morrona does is simply to include Marina among the other saints depicted by Veneziano without offering any explanation except Veneziano's intention of imitating Lorenzetti. See also Mario Bucci, Licia Bertolini, *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa. Affreschi e sinopie* (Pisa: Opera della Primaziale Pisano, 1960), 61.



Fig 4.28: Saint Marina (sketches), Buonamico Buffalmacco, fourteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Camposanto.

4.3.2.4. Novafeltria

A church dedicated to Saint Marina the Monk existed already in the twelfth century in Novafeltria. Inside, the church hosted Saint Marina the Monk's and her father's relics brought by crusaders who considered her a protector against sea storms.³⁹⁹ There are several references about her – sometimes entire relics inside the church: *Nella chiesa di Santa Marinanella quale si conservano le reliquie della stessa santa* (the beginning of the seventeenth-century); *Intorno a questi anni nel Mercato di Talamello fu costruita una chiesa a pietre squadrate con copertura a volta e fu dedicate a Marina Vergine il cui corpo intatto era li conservato. E, come alcuni sostengono, il vescovo li risideva ed era della Famiglia dei Seclani di Rimini ed edifice la stessa chiesa, ma poi il corpo fu portato via* (in the seventeenth century); then, *ec sunt relique marine et patris eius, anno domini M.C.L. XXXXI* [Here are the relics of Marina and her father, 1591 year of Our Lord](mentioned by Luigi Tonini in a 1853 note when the altar had been removed).⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁹ Francesco V. Lombardi, *La Chiesa romanica di Santa Marina di Novafeltria* (Novafeltria: A cura della Amministrazione comunale di Novafeltria, 1991), 16- 17.

⁴⁰⁰ Lombardi, "La Chiesa romanica," 11, 17, 19-20, 42.

It is difficult to state if Saint Marina's relics were indeed entire or partial (see Saint Marina map of relics). Francesco Lombardi mentions the possibility that Marina the Monk's body could have been removed from Novafeltria in the sixteenth century,⁴⁰¹ he considers that it is impossible that the whole relics were there. However, it is important to note the importance of this saint to a local community and that about the same period, namely, the beginning of the twelfth century apparently under Crusader influence several relics considered to be of Saint Marina the Monk were brought to Italy.

Even more, Lombardi mentions the confusion between the two Marinas and that it was Venice who asked from Montefiascone some relics of Marina the Monk.⁴⁰² To add to the confusion of her relics/bodies, sources suggest that Marina the Monk's body was found, again, in Rimini, Church of San Agostino. Raffaele Adimari in 1616 states that *in questa venerabile Chiesa vi sono i corpi di Santa Marina Vergine, et con San Teodoro suo Padre di questa Città, ancorché il corpo di questo Santo Teodoro non si sappia il luogo ove sta, in detta Chiesa, ma si bene quello di Santa Marina sotto l'altare della Capella a lei dedicate insieme con alter reliquie*. Pier Luigi visiting the church on the 18th October, 1571, states that *Nella parete pio sopra vi era dipinta la imagine della Vergine Maria con alter diverse raffigurazioni di santi*. He also adds that the apse was covered by frescoes of the Virgin and other saints among whom Marina the Monk and possibly her father.⁴⁰³

4.4. Saint Marina the Monk in Spain and France

4.4.1. Spain

A young woman dressed in monastic clothes with baby in her arms is depicted next to a deer on folio 74r (Fig. 4.29) in a fifteenth-century manuscript belonging to Martin I, king of Aragon. Besides a list of relics and commemorative passages for saints, the manuscript contains two offices, one dedicated to Saint George and another one, much longer, dedicated to Saint Marina the Monk. More than 20 folios of pure text dedicated to her are proof of Martin's I veneration of Marina the Monk. As king of Sicily,⁴⁰⁴ this raises the possibility that Martin could have learned about her cult in the Italian speaking areas of Sicily where Marina the Monk is venerated even nowadays.

⁴⁰¹ Lombardi, "La Chiesa romanica," 52.

⁴⁰² Lombardi, "La Chiesa romanica," 41, 47-48.

⁴⁰³ Lombardi, "La Chiesa romanica," 49.

⁴⁰⁴ Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1930), 7.



Fig. 4.29: Saint Marina the Monk, fifteenth century, *Officium S. Marine*, Catalonia, Spain. Paris, National Library of France, Latin 5264, folio 74r.

But Martin I did more than commissioning a manuscript in which she was depicted. He and his wife, Margarita, brought Marina the Monk's whole relics from Venice to Spain and then, in 1420, Margarita publicly donated them to the Basilica of Nuestra Señora de la Merced de Barcelona (See Saint Marina map of relics).⁴⁰⁵ Ms. Latin 5264 which contains her office makes reference to Marina the Monk's relics and an entire body: *Et corpus sce Marine que uixit multum diuine in habitu hominum* [And the body of Saint Marina who lived religiously in the clothes of man].⁴⁰⁶ This raises the question about the relics' authenticity. When Giovanni Buora translated Marina the Monk's relics from Constantinople to Venice, he had no attestation of it, yet in Spain, King Martin I not only certifies this fact through his manuscript, but also his wife, Margareta, gives an attestation of the relics when offering them. The relic was brought to Nuestra Señora de la Merced de Barcelona in a golden urn and deposited for veneration in a chapel dedicated to her and,

⁴⁰⁵ Don Juan Borrás Y Grisola, *Discurso sobre la prodiosa vida, y dulce muerte de S. Marina, Virgen de Alexandria* (Rome, 1725), 200. See also Pablo Campins, *Real Patronato, de los serenísimos señores reyes de España en el real, y military orden de nvestra señora de la Merced* (Barcelona, 1725), 63-64. De el venerable deposito de insignísimas Reliquias, colocadas en la dicha Real Capilla de Barcelona [...] el Cuerpo de vn Santo Inocente; otro de Sant Marina: vn Braço de San Jorge. Sources mention that after the death of King Martin I, his wife donated the relics to the church in 1420 meaning that the relics had been transferred previously to Spain since the king died in 1410. See Estevan de Corbera, *Vida i hechos maravillosos de Dona Maria de Cervellon, llamada Maria Socos* (Barcelona, 1629), 187.

⁴⁰⁶ Latin 5264, folio 95r, *Officium S. Marine*, Paris, National Library of France.

possibly then, transferred in the Chapel of San Lupo.⁴⁰⁷ The initial Chapel of Saint Marina the Monk seems to have been very important since Saint Maria de Cervellon was buried there. Maria's depiction with a ship in her hand as protectress of those traveling on sea is reminiscent of Marina the Monk's similar function in a Venetian context, particularly because of the merchants traveling by sea who preferred to be buried in her church.

Saint Marina the Monk was venerated also in Pompenillo,⁴⁰⁸ and Prasdip, unfortunately, only in the last place there are still traces of her cult. From Barcelona, the community of Prasdip received Marina the Monk's right arm with the help of Raymundo Foló, duke of Cardona. The relic was brought with a proof of authenticity which differentiates this relic from others. There is also a retable dating from 1602 (Fig. 4.30, Fig. 4.31 and Fig. 4.32) concentrating on several episodes of Marina the Monk's life: entrance, confession, expulsion, penitence, and death. It is difficult to find out which were the models used for these depictions as these episodes are similar both to French and Italian ones. However, there is an omission which needs to be brought to attention, namely, the lack of Marina the Monk and the child pattern which is frequent in French illuminations and Venetian paintings.

⁴⁰⁷ Joseph Llopis, *Anales de Cataluña, Epilogo Breve* (Barcelona, 1709), 151. "vino à posseer este Tesoro la Reyna Doña Margarita mugger del Rey Don Martyn, y año 1420, le entregò al Convento de la Merced de Barcelona en vna vrna de plata dorada, donde se venera en la Capilla, y Altar de San Lupo." And also Antonio Juan García de Caralps, *Historia de S. Oleguer arçobispo de Tarragona y obispo de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Sebastian Matevad, 1617), 141: "El Monasterio de la Merced llamado de Santa Eulalia possee el sagrado cuerpo de santa Marina Virgen."

⁴⁰⁸ Josef Lorenzo de Larumbe, *Resumen historico, tragico, y panegirico de la vida y muerte de Santa Marina Virgen* (Huesca, 1692).

See also Félix de Latassa, *Biblioteca nueva de escritores Aragoneses* (Pamplona: Joaquín de Domingo, 1800), 109.



Fig. 4.30: Saint Marina the Monk (episodes of her life), 1602. Pratedip, Spain, Santuario de Santa Marina.



Fig. 4.31: Saint Marina the Monk, Prasdip, Spain, Santuario de Santa Marina.



Fig. 4.32: Saint Marina the Monk, destroyed 1936, Prasdip, Spain, Santuario de Santa Marina.

Except the manuscript illuminations of Marina the Monk both in Latin 5264 and a *Golden Legend* version, there is no trace of her representation together with the baby (see Saint Marina iconography map). A possible explanation could be found in the text of the Office which mentions her quite often as a woman in clothes of men living among monks, while less emphasis is laid on the transformation of her body, the *sponsa* motif or carnality/virginity.⁴⁰⁹ This, in my opinion explains why, even later, in the Pratedip retable Marina is depicted among monks without any trace of her supposedly child.

4.4.2. France –Saint Marina a saint without a face

There was a church dedicated to Saint Marina the Monk in Paris.⁴¹⁰ The exact date when it was built is unknown as there are several dates which are considered to be related with its construction. According to one version, the church was offered by Henry I, king of France, to Imbert, bishop of Paris, in 1013. Therefore, the small and rather poor parish church of Saint Marina the Monk is possible to date from 996-1034 during the reign of Robert the Pious.⁴¹¹

Again, there are several theories concerning the introduction of Marina the Monk's cult and relics in Paris (see Saint Marina map of relics). Clugnet suggests that her cult was known in Paris before bringing her relics to Venice possibly because of the Maronites⁴¹² and rejects Abbot Lebeuf's version according to which the church was built by a rich Venetian for venerating his patron saint.⁴¹³ Another theory about the origins of her relics refers to Constantinople where she had 'another' body/relic (besides Venice). And it is from Constantinople that several of her relics were brought to Paris.⁴¹⁴

The Church of Saint Marina was a small parish church which had few parishioners and was the place of marriage for young pregnant girls. It was demolished under the reign of Napoleon III to make space for a new street.⁴¹⁵ The relics of the saint, a part of her hand

⁴⁰⁹ Ms. Latin 5264, fifteenth century, *Officium S. Marine*, Spain.Paris, National Library of France:

folio 74r-74v; folio 75 v; folio 76r-76v, folio 77r- 77v; folio 80r-80v; folio 82r-82v; folio 84r; folio 89r.

⁴¹⁰ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 25 and Paul Perdrizet, *Le calendrier Parisien a la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1933), 154.

⁴¹¹ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 24. See also, Adrien Friedmann, *Paris, ses rues, ses paroisses du Moyen Âge a la Révolution, origine et évolution des circonscriptions paroissiales* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1959), 59, 97 and note 2, 113-114, 296, 392. Antoine-Martial Le Fèvre, *Calendrier historique et chronologique de l'église de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie Herissant, 1747), 203. M. J. de Gaulle, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris et de ses environs* (Paris: Pourrat Frères, 1839), 386 -387. A.M. Le Fevre, *Calendrier historique et chronologique de l'église de Paris* (Paris: Herissant, 1747), 203.

⁴¹² Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 25.

⁴¹³ Jean Lebeuf, *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris* (Paris: Auguste Durand, Libraire, 1864), 523, 531.

⁴¹⁴ J.-A.-S. Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Critique des Reliques et des images miraculeuses* (Paris: Guien et Compagne, Libraires, 1821), 181.

⁴¹⁵ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 23- 24.

or the 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, he only makes suppositions: as every church used to have a relic of the patron saint, accordingly, the relic from Notre-Dame should be Marina the Monk's.⁴¹⁶

French literature on her iconography mentions her either with cross or baby in hands, wearing monastic (sometimes Greek) clothes (see Saint Marina iconography map).⁴¹⁷ But, in the nineteenth century, Marina the Monk still figures as a young child in white clothes surrounded by monks among the saints represented by Hippolyte Flandrin inside the Church of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul (Fig. 4.33).⁴¹⁸

It is difficult to identify any specific iconographical pattern on the basis of such short descriptions. Yet, there are references on her visual representations, but without any detailed descriptions. The inventories of the Church of Sainte Marine from Paris include such data. An inventory from the Church of Saint Marina dated 18 June 1791 (the very day of Saint Marina's feast) contains references about two small wooden statues of Virgin Mary and Saint Marina which are described as mediocre. Even more, it seems that there were stone statues of the Virgin and Saint Marina above the external portal considered to be of mediocre quality by the author of the document.⁴¹⁹ However, a nineteenth-century engraving which depicts the Church of Saint Marina from the outside does not bear anymore any detail concerning the two statues (Fig. 4.34). This means that the statues have been either removed or the artist found them useless to depict.

⁴¹⁶ Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine*, 28.

⁴¹⁷ See *Dictionnaire iconographique des figures, legends et actes des saints* (Paris: Chez Éditeur ateliers catholiques du Petit-Montrouge, 1850), 398-399.

⁴¹⁸ Bernard Berthod, Élisabeth Hardouin-Fugier, *Dictionnaire iconographique des Saints* (Paris: Les éditions de l'Amateur, 1999), 277.

⁴¹⁹ Paris, National Archives of France, F/17/1261.



Fig. 4.33: Saint Marina, 1853, Hyppolite Flandrin, Paris, Church of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul.



Fig. 4.34: The Church of Saint Marina, no. 6, M. H. Leroy, Paris, Paris: Cadart et Luquet, 1862.

The pattern of Mary-Marina is present through the display of statues, the same kind of associations exist in the case of manuscript representation references. This implies that 1) Marina is assimilated among the other virgins and/but 2) she also belongs to a special group of holy women, namely the holy women in disguise. Unfortunately, the inventory list does not suggest any detail concerning the way Marina was depicted. It remains still an unanswered question if she was represented according to the Italian/Venetian style as a monk or to the Spanish style or perhaps according to an unknown French pattern.

Other inventories from the Church of Saint Marina contain references on liturgical objects with the depiction of Saint Marina. Again, unfortunately, there is no precise indication on the way Saint Marina was represented, but we do know that: “Deux robes de damasc blanc garnys d’or faux qui [...] a l’ image de nostre Dame la St. Marine,” “deux robes de damasc blanc qui [...] a image St. Marine,” and “ [...] l’ image de Sainte Marine donee par Madam Norman.”⁴²⁰

Inventory references to possible representations of Saint Marina the Monk could emerge in the context of the church retable which was renovated in the eighteenth century. Although there is no reference on the iconography of the retable, I would like to raise the hypothesis that being 1) a retable situated in 2) the altar of 3) a church dedicated to Saint Marina 4) it must have included at least (a) representation(s) of the titular saint, if not episodes of the saint’s life and 5) if the retable was changed in the eighteenth century this implies the existence of a previous one with earlier representations of Saint Marina: “inconvenient en dechargeant le retable d’autel, d’une partie de l’ouvrage d’architecture [...] Mr. Le Cuvé [...] le dessein du retable de l’autel tel qu’il est aujourd’hui, et le dessein qui doit execute, pour rendre l’Eglise plus claire et plus seine.”⁴²¹

There is also reference on a reliquary - trois reliquairis al bois dore l’un du brac al Madame St. Marine⁴²² - containing the arm of Saint Marina contributing to the confusion between the two Marinas and the confusion with the Venice reliquary.⁴²³ Another inventory reference indicates that Marina’s relics were exposed on her feast day: “18 la feste de sainte marine siege et patronne de cette paroisse le grand office avec [...] exposition du [...] l’oesement [...] predication et le salut pour [...] guerir.”⁴²⁴ Eighteenth-century inventories still indicate that Marina received special attention on her feast day.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁰ Paris, National Archives of France, LL845.

⁴²¹ Paris, National Archives of France, LL 842.

⁴²² Paris, National Archives of France, LL845.

⁴²³ Clugnet considers that the hand reliquary could have been an arm bone 26.

⁴²⁴ Paris, National Archives of France, LL 842.

⁴²⁵ Paris, National Archives of France, LL 842. Financial inventories of the Church of Saint Marina contain references on payment/expenses for church decoration on the day of the titular saint’s feast from 1760 until 1773. For seventeenth-eighteenth century inventories (1691-1791) see also Paris, National Archives of France, S. 3442.

To conclude, let me summarize:

1. Marina the Monk's relics were transferred into the West in a Crusader context apparently from Constantinople. However, sources suggest that she was venerated in Italy prior to the translation of her relics already in the twelfth century (Ardea) or tenth century (France). This brings into discussion and determines further research in order to establish the importance of this particular saint in the Middle Ages in the context of Eastern-Western influences.

2. Although it is difficult to find out whether the relics meant an entire body, sources indicate this possibility. Accordingly, her relics "multiplied" and traveled from Italy to Spain or from Constantinople to Paris, France;

3. Following the 'multiplication' of Marina's body her iconography multiplied as well: in Italy, it first incorporated elements of Saint Marina of Antioch's iconography and, then, under Marian influences Marina the Monk evolved from a monkish character to a tender mother. Further iconographic attributes were added to her representations. The cross or the books were gradually changed either by a martyr's palm or by the presence of the child while her veil transformed into the hood of a monastic garb. The iconographic similarity with Mary is again an Apocryphal element particularly in the case where Marina appears teaching the child – in an Italian context this time.⁴²⁶ Besides apocryphal allusions, there are certain iconographic attributes of her which are suggestive of Biblical events. It is also important to note that various representations containing these attributes existed simultaneously in Italy.

5. The promoters of her cult belong to various social groups. It is interesting to remark that in Ardea, apparently, she was a model for a monastic community of monks. This is underlined by a thirteenth century inscription of a future pope, while early seventeenth century ones still emphasize her veneration by men. In Calabria, again, she could have been promoted by Orthodox religious.

If we turn our attention to Camposanto, Marina the Monk (together with Mary of Egypt) finds her way into a *Thebais* that generally concentrates on desert fathers. It remains a question if in the case of these two women – Marina and Mary of Egypt- one can identify the word play- Maria/Mary-Marina- similarly to Venice. The insertion of Marina next to Mary of Egypt underlines again her womanhood.

6. In Spain, emphasis is laid on the episodes of her life. Her iconography concentrates on narrative episodes as if in order to re-memorate her deeds, while in France, Marina's portrait remains questionable. As far as the promoter of her cult in Spain is important to mention King Martin I of Aragon who could have discovered Marina while his reign in Sicily. It remains a question whether Margareta, wife of Martin I, venerated Marina due to the confusion with Saint Marina of Antioch who is named Margareta in the West. This would bring into discussion again the complexity and the multiple contexts in which these two saints were permanently confused.

⁴²⁶ For further research in the iconography of the Virgin in the *Golden Legend* see Philippe Verdier, "Les textes de Jaques de Voragine et l'iconographie du couronnement de la Vierge," in *Legenda Aurea. Sept siècles de diffusion*, ed. Brenda Dunn-Lardeau (Paris: Librairie J. Vrin, 1986), 95-99.

Chapter 5

Close to the Mother of God: The Innocence and Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia of Rome

5.1 *Eugenia: Martyr of Rome in the Church of the Apostles*

This chapter is a case study on the development of Saint Eugenia's iconography in relation to her cult in Italy, France, and Spain. It demonstrates the continuity in her representations, namely that Eugenia is considered and depicted as a martyr in all three regions. In this sense, early fifth-seventh-century mosaics and relics are connected to later fifteenth-century representations of her in order to reconstruct tentatively Eugenia's iconography (Italy) or to indicate a certain network of representations (France and Spain).

5.1.1 The early phase - outside Rome

After her martyrdom, Eugenia's body was taken to a church, as her story says (see Saint Eugenia map of relics).⁴²⁷ The information offered her hagiobiography is an important starting point in establishing the initial *topos* of her veneration as it indicates not only the existence of a basilica, but also where it had been placed. This basilica, was supposedly situated on the Via Latina, in the cemetery of Appronianus, called later, in the sixth-seventh centuries, the cemetery of Saint Eugenia⁴²⁸ because of the growth of her fame. That this is not only a hagiographical fact is indicated by the inclusion of the church among the lists of renovated buildings by several popes. In the eighth century, Pope John VII ordered the restoration of the church⁴²⁹, while Pope Adrian I still in the same century not only restored the basilica,⁴³⁰ but also built a nunnery next to it and,

⁴²⁷ Auctore incerto, "Vita Sanctae Eugeniae, virginis ac martyris," in AASS, Sept. 3: 761-62.

⁴²⁸ Agostino Amore, *I martiri di Roma* (Todi: Tau Editrice, 2013), 132-133. On the possibility that the cemetery of Appronianus was not a cemetery for Christians, but for gentiles, see Domenico Bartolini, *Cimitero d'Approniano ditto anche di Santa Eugenia su la via Latina* (Rome: Tipografia delle delle Arti, 1840), 12.

⁴²⁹ Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis, texte, introduction et commentaire*, vol. I (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886), 385. Duchesne also mentions the inclusion of the church in seventh-century itineraries, see 386, note 3.

⁴³⁰ Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, vol. I, 509.

finally, Pope Leo III offered donations in the ninth century.⁴³¹ Yet, these references are among the few that mention the existence of a church dedicated to Saint Eugenia on the Via Latina. E. Josi, in his *Cimitero Cristiano sulla Via Latina*⁴³², states that there is no liturgical reference in the *depositio martyrum* or in Pope Damasus' poetry about the martyrs of the *Via Latina*, including Eugenia, and that she turns up celebrated on the 25th of December in religious texts such as Jerome's Martyrology or the Sacramentary of Leo I.⁴³³ The same author states that there must have been a church dedicated to her in the sixth century.

Eugenia's basilica has not survived, however, it is listed in later itineraries. In his study, *La Roma sotterranea*⁴³⁴, de Rossi includes information from the *Itinerarium ex unico codice Salisburgensi; Epitome Libri de Locis Sanctorum Martyrum e codicibus Salisburgensi puro, Wirceburgensi puro et Salisburgensi interpolato; Notitia portarum, viarum, ecclesiarum circa urbem Romam e Willelmo Malmesburiensi*, and from *Topographia Einsiedlenis*; all the references indicate the existence of a construction dedicated in Saint Eugenia's honor:

On the *Via Latina* outside the city, on the left [is] the oratory of Saint Mary and [the oratory of] Saint Gordianus, on the right [is] the oratory of Saint Januarius, Saint Sixtus, Saint Eugenia, and Saint Theodorus⁴³⁵

Having a look at the dating of these itineraries and notes on the churches of Rome, it is clear that from the eighth-ninth centuries to the twelfth century a construction dedicated to Saint Eugenia still existed outside Rome.⁴³⁶ One of the earliest itineraries is that found in the *Einsiedeln* manuscript dating from the eighth-ninth century.⁴³⁷ The *De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis Romae*, composed around the ninth-tenth

⁴³¹ Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, vol.I, 510 smf Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, vol. II, (1886), 25.

⁴³² Enrico Josi, "Cimitero Cristiano sulla Via Latina", *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 16 (1939): 22.

⁴³³ Amore, *I martiri di Roma*, 132 note 39. The Martyrologium Cambrense mentions for the 25th of December the passion of Saint Eugenia (pg.381). *The Martyrologium Romanum* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticani, 1930), 315 mentions Eugenia among the martyrs from the cemetery of Apronianus on the 25th of December. See also on Eugenia in various martyrologies and other religious texts: Zéphyrin Tournel, *Histoire de Sainte Eugénie, vierge romaine, et de sa famille* (Lille: Jesuit Library of Lille, 1860), 56-59.

⁴³⁴ Giovanni Battista de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea Cristiana*, Tomo I (Rome: Cromo-Litografia Pontificia, 1864). See also Delehay, *Étude sur le légendier romain*, 171-172. See also, Jacques Dubois, *Le Martyrologe d'Usuard. Texte et commentaire* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), 302 for the 13th of September. See the same martyrology of Usuard, pg. 148.

⁴³⁵ "Topographia Einsiedlensis" in de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea Cristiana*, I, 180-181. Other references to the basilica dedicated to Saint Eugenia: *Itinerarium ex unico codice Salisburgensi* in de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea Cristiana*, I, 180-181. Also *Epitome Libri de Locis Sanctorum Martyrum e codicibus salisburgensi puro, Wirceburgensi puro et Salisburgensi interpolato* in de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea Cristiana*, I, 180-181. And also *Notitia portarum, viarum, ecclesiarum circa urbem Romam e Willelmo Malmesburiensi* in de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea Cristiana*, I, 180-181. De Rossi's work offers indications about the resting places of the two eunuch martyrs who followed Saint Eugenia.

⁴³⁶ Valentini, Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, vol. II (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1942), 102, 134.

⁴³⁷ See Valentini, Zucchetti, *Codice topografico* 102, 199 (see also pg. 157 for the dating).

century still mentions her church,⁴³⁸ while the *Gesta regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century states the same. This underlines that a church dedicated to Saint Eugenia still existed as late as the twelfth century.

Unfortunately, none of these sources offer any information about depictions of Saint Eugenia leaving us with the possibility only to imagine and hypothesize how her iconography could have looked like. What is important to emphasize in this early period, is that Eugenia seems to have been a very famous saint and that her cult and fame spread all over Italy and beyond as she is mentioned in the poems of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, or Venantius Fortunatus.⁴³⁹



Fig. 5.1: Saint Eugenia (left), fifth-sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, Sant Apollinare Nuovo.

It is even more important that Eugenia's iconography could be tentatively reconstructed on the basis of early surviving images in other regions of Italy. Thus, in my opinion, these possible patterns of representations of Eugenia may offer a glimpse of how she could have been depicted in a church not only dedicated to her, but also hosting her

⁴³⁸ See note 5, in *De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis Romae* in Valentini, Zucchetti, *Codice topografico*, 112.

⁴³⁹ Josi, "Cimitero Cristiano," 23-24. On the possible date of Eugenia's legend's composition, see Albert Dufourcq, *Étude sur le Gesta Martyrum Romains* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing éditeur, 1900), 299-300. Since Eugenia is appreciated in Avitus', who died in 526, it means that her legend is prior to the sixth century, but bishop Helenus, who is baptizing Eugenia, is mentioned in Rufinus's *Historia Monachorum*, Rufinus dying in 410.

relics. The earliest surviving representations of Eugenia are found in Ravenna in three fifth-sixth-century constructions: Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Santo Stefano, and the Capella Arcivescovile.⁴⁴⁰ Inside the Sant'Apollinare Basilica (Fig. 5.1) there are fifth-early-sixth-century mosaic representations of martyrs and virgins.⁴⁴¹ Eugenia is depicted on the left wall of the nave in the company of Saints Sabina and Cristina. Slightly turned, a beautiful nimbed, veiled, young woman, Eugenia holds a crown in her hands. The only iconographic details that differentiate her from the other virgin martyrs are the inscription of her name <*Sca Evgenia*> and her clothes. Eugenia is depicted in a procession (Fig. 5.2) that comprises the virgin martyrs and the three magi, approaching the Mother of God and to the Son of God; though there is still distance between her and Mary. The second representation (Fig. 5.3) from Ravenna is found in the Capella Arcivescovile, North West arch, where Eugenia is depicted bust length, frontal, as an icon similarly to an *imago clipeata*, again veiled and having her name inscribed above her depiction.⁴⁴² A similar representation (Fig. 5.4) to that from Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, again sixth-century, is found in Poreč, in the Eufasian Basilica, on the central apse border, yet this time Eugenia is a little bit more masculine in physiognomy.⁴⁴³ There is also a later ninth-tenth century representation of hers, this time from Naples, Catacomb of S. Gennaro,⁴⁴⁴ while an eleventh century one concentrates again on a Eugenia holding a crown wrapped in a *pallium*.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁰ Maria Pia Fabbri, *I mosaici di Ravenna* (Forlì: Carta Santa Editore, 2010), 49, 105. Amore, *I martiri di Roma*, 132-133. Josi, "Cimitero Cristiano," 24-25. See also Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1933), 326-327.

⁴⁴¹ Angelo Lorizzo, *I mosaici di Ravenna* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1976), 27.

⁴⁴² Paolo Verzone, "Il palazzo arcivescovile e l'olatorio di S. Andrea," in *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, ed.. Giuseppe Bovini (Ravenna: Edizioni Dante, 1966), 450-452.

⁴⁴³ Ann Terry, Henry Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor. The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufasius at Poreč*, vol. I (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 67 for more on the similarities between Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and the Cathedral of Eufasius.

⁴⁴⁴ Josi, "Cimitero Cristiano," 25. There is also a tenth-century Greek mosaic representation from Hosios Loukas see (Fig. 5.5).

⁴⁴⁵ George Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art, Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1975), 408.



Fig. 5.2: Procession of female saints, fifth-sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, Sant Apollinare Nuovo.

To sum up, the early representations of Saint Eugenia bear common elements as all concentrate on depicting a young virgin martyr either bust length or in standing position which is also underlined by early religious texts. The common iconographic attributes of Eugenia's early representations, outside Rome, are the rich virgin martyr dress⁴⁴⁶ or the crown wrapped in a *pallium*. In my opinion, in a basilica dedicated to a titular saint, there must have been at least one image of that particular saint inside of it. If we have a look at the way Saint Agnes (Fig. 5.6) is depicted in Sant'Agnese Fuori le Mura, a seventh-century basilica, we will observe that Saint Agnes is depicted in the main apse surrounded by Pope Honorius and another Pope. This means that there is the possibility that a similar image to those from Ravenna, Naples or Poreč could have existed depicted inside Eugenia's basilica. Even more, her later imagery inside the Church of the Apostles testifies the survival and the continuity of the virgin martyr's pattern.

⁴⁴⁶ Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, 350. George Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art, Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), 299-300.



Fig. 5.3: Saint Eugenia (upper row), sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, Palazzo Arcivescovile.



Fig. 5.4: Saint Eugenia, sixth century, Poreč Cathedral, Croatia.



Fig. 5.5: Saint Eugenia, tenth century, Hosios Loukas Monastery, Greece.



Fig.5.6: Saint Agnes, seventh century, Rome, Sant'Agnese fuori la mura church.

5.1.2 The later phase-inside Rome

Today, the Church of the Apostles is divided in three naves with six chapels.⁴⁴⁷ The former Chapel of Saint Eugenia, the third on the right side, is the second in importance.⁴⁴⁸ It was reconstructed and rededicated to Saint Anthony in 1649 and offered to the confraternity of Saint Anthony. Yet the tomb that contains Eugenia's, Claudia's, and other martyrs' relics is still included in the altar (Fig. 5.7).⁴⁴⁹ Although dedicated to Saint Anthony, there were still two seventeenth-century statues of Eugenia (executed by Francesco Peroni) and Claudia (executed by Domenico Guidi). Initially, the statues were positioned in the chapel near the altar, but now are placed in the crypt.⁴⁵⁰



Fig. 5.7: Tomb of Saint Eugenia, Saint Claudia, and other martyrs, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (photo by the author)

Scholarship's opinion on the transfer of Saint Eugenia's relics inside the walls of Rome is divided. There are authors who state that the date of the relics' transfer is unknown⁴⁵¹ and others who either consider that it happened around the ninth century⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁷ Isidoro Liberal Gatti, *La Basilica dei Santi XII Apostoli* (Rome: L' Apostoleion, 1988), 14.

⁴⁴⁸ Emma Zocca, *La Basilica dei Ss. Apostoli in Roma* (Rome: F. Canella, 1959), 34, 116.

⁴⁴⁹ Liberal Gatti, *La Basilica dei Santi XII Apostoli*, 22.

⁴⁵⁰ Liberal Gatti, *La Basilica dei Santi XII Apostoli*, 33. See also Josi, "Cimitero Cristiano," 36.

⁴⁵¹ Amore, *I martiri di Roma*, 133. Gian Domenico Gordini, "Eugenia, Filippo, Claudia, Sergio, Abdon, Proto e Giacinto," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. I (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1964), 183.

⁴⁵² See, for instance, Domenico Bartolini, *Cimitero d'Aproniano ditto anche di Santa Eugenia su la via Latina* (Rome: Tipografia delle delle Arti, 1840), 9. Bartolini states that Eugenia's relics of martyrs had been transferred inside Rome also because of perils.

or in the eighteenth century.⁴⁵³ I consider the last hypothesis improbable as there is written and visual evidence that Eugenia's relics had already been inside the Church of the Apostles at latest in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, if Eugenia's relics would have been in her basilica in the eighteenth century, the construction would have survived perhaps even nowadays or it would have been recorded in later documents.

I agree with the hypothesis that dates the transfer of her relics somewhere around the eighth-ninth century. E. Josi⁴⁵⁴ mentions that in the eighth century there was a tendency of translating relics inside Rome, including Eugenia's relics as well. Accordingly, in the ninth century Pope Stephen VI reconstructed the Basilica of the Apostles and replaced Eugenia's body in a porphyry sarcophagus⁴⁵⁵ the bodies of Eugenia, Claudia, and of twelve martyrs. One can add to this a thirteenth-century- (or fourteenth-century) inscription that includes Eugenia's name, meaning that her relics had already been translated already inside Rome.⁴⁵⁶

There is another detail that has to be added to this process of transfer. The French and Spanish sources, which I will develop in the second part of this chapter, mention the ninth century as the date of the transfer of Eugenia's relics.⁴⁵⁷ So, moving the relics from outside to inside the walls of the city could have happened around the ninth century if we have also a look at the date of the reconstruction of the Church of the Apostles.

Built by Pope Pelagius I in the sixth century, the Church of the Apostles, was placed at cross-roads between natural barriers and the city, between the old and new parts of Rome.⁴⁵⁸ What is important to mention in the context of Eugenia's relics is that the church was not built on a *martyrium*⁴⁵⁹ meaning that the church, although initially

⁴⁵³ See Martinelli, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 65 reproduced in Josi, "Cimitero Cristiano," 36.

⁴⁵⁴ Josi, "Cimitero Cristiano," 37.

⁴⁵⁵ Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma*, 3 reproduced in Josi, "Cimitero Cristiano," 36. Malvasia Bonaventura, *Compendio storico della ven. Basilica di SS. Dodici Apostoli di Roma, sua fondazione, origine, nobilita, sito, pretiosi tesori delle Sante Reliquie, che in quella si contengono* (Rome: 1665), 193-194: "Sotto l'Altare di S. Eugenia, e S. Antonio di Padoa vi sono li Corpi delle Sante Eugenia Vergine, e Martire, e Claudia Martire madre di S. Eugenia." The author also mentions the existence of a reliquary that contains relics of several martyrs: "Vn altro vaso d'Argento con dentro delle reliquie di S. Eugenia Vergine, e Martire, di S. Catherina, e de Ss. Crisanto, e Daria." 196. Ippolito Mazzucco, *Iscrizioni della Basilica e convento dei Santi Dodici Apostoli in Roma* (Rome: L'Apostoleion, 1987), 134. See also Clemente Busiri-Vici, "Un ritrovamento eccezionale relative all'antica basilica dei Ss. Apostoli" in *Roma, Fede e arte*, 8 (1960): 70-83; on Stephen VI's translation of Eugenia's relics inside the Church of the Apostles after its reconstruction (due to flood, earthquake damages), 72, 75.

⁴⁵⁶ Toursel, *Histoire de Sainte Eugénie*, 271. See also Mazzucco, *Iscrizioni della Basilica*, 133. On the tombstone in the vestibule of the basilica: "Dalla parte destra i corpi di Eugenia vergine e di altri Martiri."

⁴⁵⁷ There is information with regard to the possibility of Eugenia's relics (or at least parts of it) being transferred to Florence where she, again, was venerated as a martyr as one of her antiphons mention in Casimiro Stolfi, *Leggende di alcuni santi e beati venerati in Santa Maria degli Angeli di Firenze* (Bologna: Commissione per testi di lingua, 1968), 17 and 18.

⁴⁵⁸ Alessandro Valenti, "Le origini," in *Il Complesso dei Ss. Apostoli*, ed. Cosima Arcieri (Rome: Editalia, 1992), 19-21. Although it is debated whether the church was constructed by Constantine and/or rebuilt by Pelagius I; Liberal Gatti, *La Basilica dei Santi XII Apostoli*, 30 states that in the basement there are five columns earlier than the sixth century.

⁴⁵⁹ Valenti, "Le origini," 22. *Martirion* in the original Italian text.

dedicated to Saints Philip and Jacob, seems to have been in need of a martyr's relic in a period, the sixth century, when Saint Eugenia's cult was at its peak as her representations from Ravenna and Poreč suggest. At this point it is important to bear in mind that both outside and inside Rome, Eugenia's basilica was constantly on the list of papal construction and renewal and that it seems to have been a pope who had transferred her relics. As for the former basilica that hosted her relics, it seems that it survived at least until the twelfth century as suggested by Malmsbury's itinerary still bearing the name of the titular saint. One can add to this that in the ninth century the Church of the Apostles was reconstructed by Pope Stephen VI and possibly her (entire) relics transferred inside Rome. As suggested by Malvasia's records⁴⁶⁰ of relics situated inside the Church of the Apostles, Saint Eugenia's entire body was transferred.

There is no information on the early representations of Saint Eugenia inside the Church of the Apostles. There are only fifteenth-century reminiscences, although it seems that the saint was much venerated as Cardinal Bessarione's example shows. Bessarione was named titular cardinal of the Church of the Apostles by Pope Eugenius IV in 1439. His palace, next to the church, was connected directly to the Chapel of Saint Eugenia inside the Saint Apostles.⁴⁶¹ This indicates that in the fifteenth century there was a separate sacred place dedicated to Saint Eugenia, which included the marble coffin of her and her mother's relics, making the eighteenth-century transfer impossible. This also implies that the chapel was dedicated to Saint Eugenia earlier than the fifteenth century when Bessarione decided to transform it into his burial place. In 1464-1465, he contracted Antoniazio Romano to fix the iconography to be painted on the walls which he also included in his testament.⁴⁶² This representation did not survive entirely, but the contract and Bessarione's testament did. They offer a glimpse of how the burial chapel might have looked: Christ on throne surrounded by nine choirs of angels, with the Virgin, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Eugenia and Bessarione:

Sul grande arcone che guarda l'altare: al centro (vi sia) il Cristo in trono con ai lati la santissima Vergine, l'Angelo (san Michele), san Giovanni Battista e Santa Eugenia. Ai piedi di Cristo, in ginocchio, la mia stessa immagine, e, al disotto di essa, il mio stemma.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶⁰ Bonaventura, *Compendio storico*, 35. See also note 36.

⁴⁶¹ Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi, "Bessarione e la basilica romana dei Santi XII Apostoli," in *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, ed. Gianfranco Ficcardori (Naples: Vivarium, 1994), 129. See also Fabrizio Lollini, "Bessarione e le arti figurative," in *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, ed. Gianfranco Ficcardori (Naples: Vivarium, 1994), 149-170.

⁴⁶² Finocchi Ghersi, "Bessarione e la basilica romana," 130.

⁴⁶³ Luigi Bandini, *De vita et rebus gestis Bessarionis cardinalis Nicaeni*, Appendix in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 161. LXXIIIss. reproduced in Ippolito Mazzucco, "Scoperto e restauro nella Chiesa dei Santi XII Apostoli il ciclo pittorico di Santa Eugenia," *Alma Roma. Bolletino d'informazioni* 33 (1992): 4.

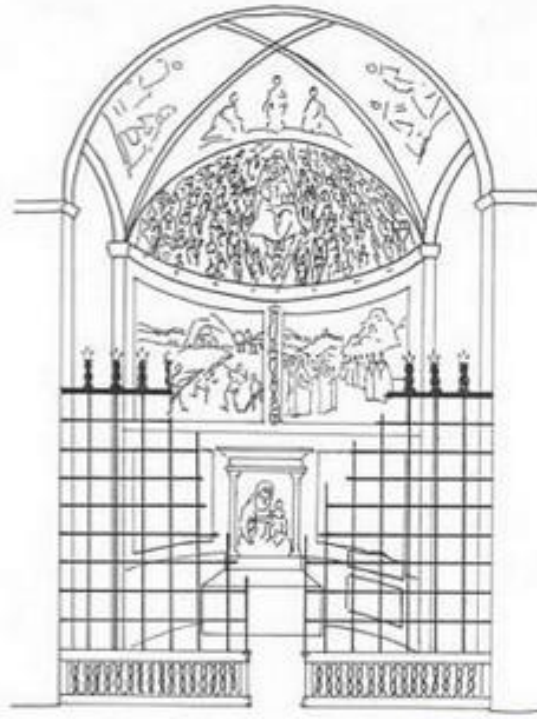


Fig. 5.8: Reconstruction of the Chapel of Saint Eugenia by Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth-Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 223.

Carol M. Richardson offers a tentative reconstruction (Fig. 5.8) of the chapel;⁴⁶⁴ it is clear from this that Saint Eugenia's place in the iconographic arrangement was close to the Virgin. Then, around the fifteenth-sixteenth century Claudia and Eugenia (Fig. 5.10 and Fig. 5.12) were depicted next to Antoniazzo's Virgin Mary (Fig. 5.11) on a lower register.⁴⁶⁵ This pattern of Eugenia next to the Virgin is a later development with roots in earlier depictions and is found not only in the Church of the Apostles, but also in other regions of Italy. It is found not only on the lower register of the Bessarione burial chapel, but on minor details as well. It is the case of the image (Fig. 5.9) that depicts clerics singing and bishops in procession.⁴⁶⁶ If we have a closer look at the clothes of these characters, we will notice two female figures: one of them can be clearly identified as the Virgin, while the identity of the second female figure remains questionable. In my

⁴⁶⁴ Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinal in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 222-224.

⁴⁶⁵ Ippolito Mazzucco, "Scoperto e restauro nella Chiesa dei Santi XII Apostoli il ciclo pittorico di Santa Eugenia," in *Alma Roma. Bolletino d'informazioni* N.1-2, Year 33 (1992): 5. Busiri-Vici, "Un ritrovamento eccezionale," 81: "Ai lati dell' edicola s'intravedono, poichè ancora non bene scoperte, due figure che appaiono dipinte in altra tecnica, e proporzioni di quelle di Antoniazzo. Probabilmente dovettero rappresentare le due Sante Claudia ed Eugenia."

⁴⁶⁶ Liberal Gatti, *La Basilica dei Santi XII Apostoli*, 21.

opinion, on the basis of the pattern I've mentioned above, it is the depiction of Saint Eugenia. Again Eugenia is positioned next to the Virgin. Having a look at Eugenia's iconographical attributes, we can observe that her imagery did change in a way from the earlier sixth-eighth century representations in the sense that she does not have rich dress, but a simpler one, and instead of a crown she holds a martyr's palm in her hand and a book as textual sources on her allude to martyrdom and chastity.⁴⁶⁷



Fig. 5.9: The Virgin Mary and Saint Eugenia (detail), fifteenth-century, Antoniazio Romano, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (Photo by the author)

This representation on the cleric's clothes is similar to the ones in the lower register of the chapel and the statues (Fig. 5.13 and Fig. 5.14) that are found in the crypt.⁴⁶⁸ Not only Eugenia's imagery survived in a rather similar way, but this states the fact that her possible imagery prior to Antoniazio's representation could have been the same suggesting the continuity with the martyr pattern. It is also important to note that Bessarione rededicated the Chapel of Saint Eugenia not only to her but also to Saint John the Baptist and Archangel Michael who figure in his testament as patrons of his burial chapel.⁴⁶⁹ The re-dedication and the inclusion of Saint Eugenia among the titular saints contributed partially to Eugenia's survival in the seventeenth century as Mavasia Bonaventura's work suggests⁴⁷⁰ and, even later, according to later inscriptions from the eighteenth century.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁷ Stolfi, *Leggende di alcuni santi*, 17.

⁴⁶⁸ Zocca, *La Basilica dei Ss. Apostoli in Roma*, 130.

⁴⁶⁹ Finocchi Ghersi, "Bessarione e la basilica romana," 130. Giuseppe Peroni got inspiration from the Susana statue of Duquesnoy for realizing that of Saint Eugenia. The statue of Saint Claudia was done by Domenico Guidi with the help of Bernini.

⁴⁷⁰ Malvasia, *Compendio storico*, 36-39.

⁴⁷¹ Mazzucco, *Iscrizioni della Basilica*, 49.

To sum up, until this point, two points are worth mentioning with regard to Saint Eugenia's cult in Rome. The first refers to the importance of papal influence in the transfer from outside to inside Rome. The second relates to the constancy of Eugenia's representation as a martyr close to the side of Mary both inside and outside Rome.



Fig. 5.10: Saint Eugenia, seventeenth-century (?), Rome, Church of the Apostles. (Photo by the author)



Fig. 5.11: Madonna of Cardinal Bessarion, c. 1467, Antoniazio Romano, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (Photo by the author)



Fig. 5.12: Saint Claudia, seventeenth-century (?), Rome, Church of the Apostles. (Photo by the author)



**Fig. 5.13: Saint Claudia, seventeenth-century, Domenico Guidi, Rome, Church of the Apostles.
(Photo by the author)**



**Fig. 5.14: Saint Eugenia, seventeenth-century, Francesco Peroni, Rome, Church of the Apostles.
(Photo by the author)**



Fig. 5.15: Saint Catherine of Alexandria, Saint Eugenia (middle), and Saint Agnes, Anonymous painter from Lombardy, fifteenth-century, New York, M.F. Griggs Collection.

This representational pattern of Eugenia next to the Virgin is not specific only to Rome. There are such types in other regions of Italy as well. One such place is Bagnoro. The Church of Bagnoro had been dedicated to Saint Eugenia already as early as the eighth century⁴⁷² or perhaps much earlier in the fourth-fifth centuries⁴⁷³ possibly under Ravenna influences.⁴⁷⁴ Needless to say, nothing has survived from the early church. In the fifteenth century, it underwent a redecoration and the only surviving interior fresco is the one that depicts the Virgin with the Child (Fig. 5.16) in her arms similar to the relief (Fig. 5.17) above the portal.⁴⁷⁵ This representation is similar to the Eugenia depictions from Rome as Saint Eugenia, with a martyr's palm and a book in her hands, facing frontally the viewer, is positioned again on the right side of the Virgin, whereas Lawrence is situated on the left side.⁴⁷⁶ In my opinion there could have been a similar representation

⁴⁷² Carla Corsi Miraglia, "Le Pieve di Sant'Eugenia al Bagnoro," *Bolletino d'informazione* 35 (1982): 16-17.

⁴⁷³ Angelo Tafi, *La millenaria Pieve di S. Eugenia al Bagnoro* (Arezzo: Calosci-Cortona, 1991), 31.

⁴⁷⁴ Fabio Gabbrielli, *Romanico aretino. L'architettura protoromanica e romanica religiosa nella Diocesi medioevale di Arezzo* (Florence: Salimbeni, 1990), 47.

⁴⁷⁵ Miraglia, "Le Pieve di Sant'Eugenia" 19. Gabbrielli, *Romanico aretino*, 73.

⁴⁷⁶ Gabbrielli, *Romanico aretino*, 74.

of Eugenia on the right side of the reminiscent fresco inside the Church of Bagnoro taking into consideration that the iconography of the Virgin is similar to that on the relief.



Fig. 5.16: The Virgin Mary, Church of Saint Eugenia, Bagnoro, Italy (reproduced in Angelo Tafi, *La millenaria Pieve di S. Eugenia al Bagnoro* (Arezzo: Calosci-Cortona, 1991).



Fig. 5.17: The Virgin Mary with Saint Eugenia (right) and Saint Lawrence (left), Bagnoro, Italy (reproduced in Angelo Tafi, *La millenaria Pieve di S. Eugenia al Bagnoro* (Arezzo: Calosci-Cortona, 1991).

In another fifteenth-century representation of Matteo di Giovanni (Fig. 5.18.a,b) Eugenia is different. Formerly placed in the Church of Saint Eugenia, Siena, the depiction of Eugenia is this time positioned at the left side of the Virgin, together with Saint John the Baptist and two angels. The church, mentioned in twelfth-century documents, was reconstructed later.⁴⁷⁷ Scholarship seems to have identified the saint, first, as Saint Eugenia⁴⁷⁸ and, then, as Saint Marina of Antioch/Margaret of Antioch. What is of importance here, is definitely not the exact identity of the saint, but the way a certain figure with a certain identity functioned for a religious community and, in our case, a figure of a female saint was identified as Saint Eugenia, placed in a church of Saint Eugenia, and venerated as Saint Eugenia, not Saint Marina of Antioch. I would like to raise a hypothesis; on the basis of the pattern of Eugenia with book in her left hand that the dragon's head held by Margaret could have been previously a book which, then, was transformed into a head.

The detail that shifted the identity of this saint is the pearl crown and the dragon's head which is held by the saint.⁴⁷⁹ Even more, if one compares this saint's physiognomy with the other Eugenia physiognomies there is an important difference: here, in Giovanni's depiction, Eugenia is younger, richly dressed, and adorned with pearls, she does not look like any of the Eugenia types either from Italy nor from France or Spain leaving it questionable who that saint actually is.

Another fifteenth-century representation of Eugenia (Fig. 5.15) is from Lombardia here, Eugenia is in the company of other virgin martyrs: Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Saint Agnes. The iconographic attributes of Eugenia are similar to other representations of hers from Italy: she is holding a martyr's palm and a sword and is clothed in a rather simple dress. Not only this last representation, but all the fifteenth-century ones suggest the continuity with the earlier ones, namely, Eugenia is viewed exclusively as a female martyr both inside and outside Rome. The textual sources on her, poems, inscriptions, antiphons, emphasize her chastity and virginity, besides her martyrdom, through which she is connected to the ultimate model, Virgin Mary.

⁴⁷⁷ Alfredo Liberati, "Chiese, monasteri, oratori e spedali Senesi," *Bullettino Senese di storia patria* (1956): 263-264. Sources suggest the existence of a monastery dedicated to Saint Eugenia in Lodovico Zdzakauer, *Il Costituto di Siena dal 1262*, c. 337 (Siena, 1887) reproduced in Liberati, "Chiese, monasteri," 264, note 4.

⁴⁷⁸ Erica Susanna Trimpi, "Matteo di Giovanni: Documents and a Critical Catalogue of His Panel Paintings," Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, PhD 1987, 217-219.

⁴⁷⁹ Gabriele Fattorini, "Madonna col bambino, i santi Giovanni Evangelista (?), Margherita d'Antiochia e due angeli," in *Matteo di Giovanni. Cronaca di una strage dipinta*, ed. Cecilia Alessi, Alessandro Bagnoli (Siena: Ali Edizioni, 2006), 50.



Fig. 5.18.a: The Virgin with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Margaret of Antioch/Eugenia, fifteenth century, Matteo di Giovanni, Siena, Italy.

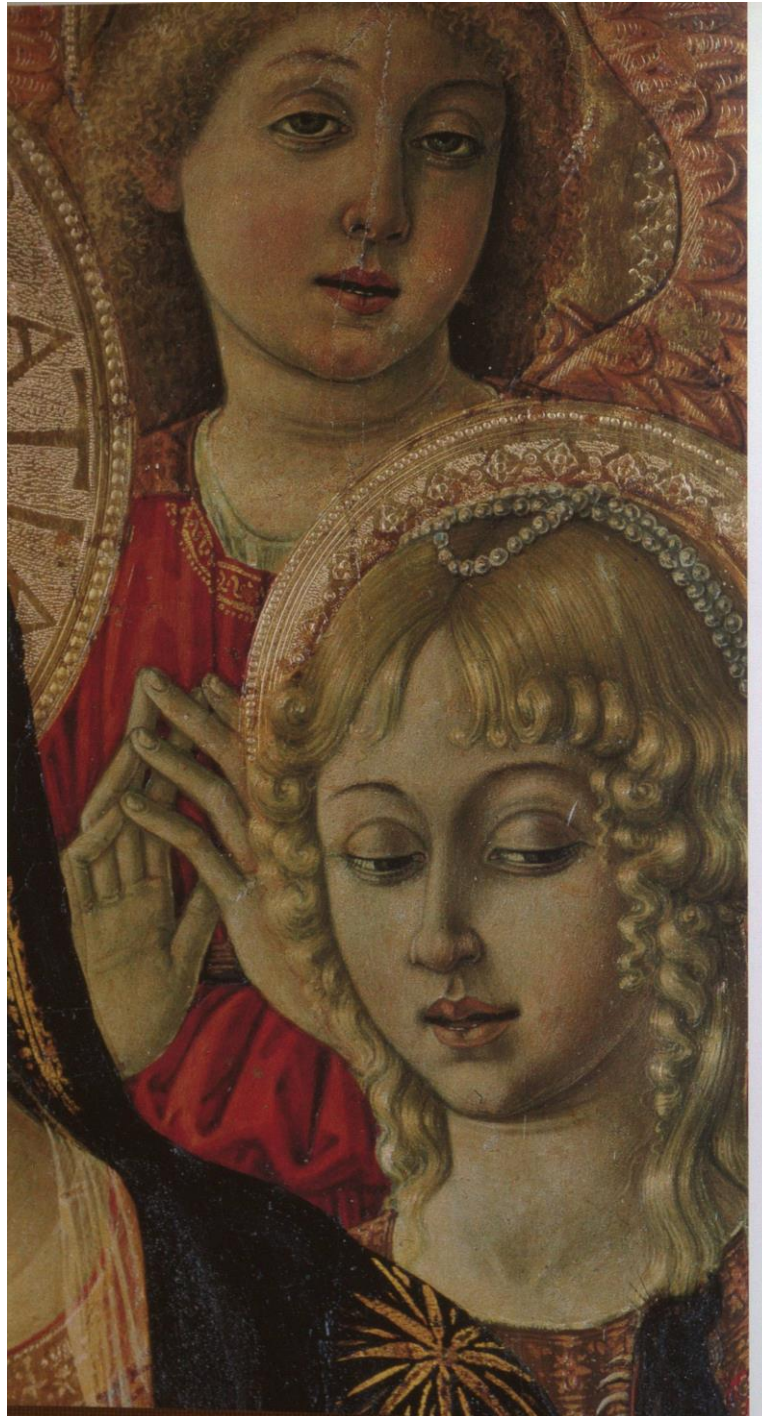


Fig. 5.18.b: Saint Margaret of Antioch/Eugenia (detail), fifteenth century, Matteo di Giovanni, Siena, Italy.

5.2 Saint Eugenia in Spain: Triumph over evil

Not much has been written and, consequently, not much is known about Saint Eugenia's representations in Spain. As I have mentioned in the previous subchapter, quite a number of sources suggest that, in the ninth century, Eugenia's relics had been translated by Pope Stephen VI into the Church of the Apostles from a basilica dedicated to her outside Rome. My sources indicate that the issue of her transfer could have been a little bit more complex, namely, that somewhere in the same ninth century some of her relics had been translated to Spain and France (see the third subchapter).⁴⁸⁰ It is very difficult to establish the exact reasons and the exact place of the relics transfer. The *Martyrologum Hispanicum* of Salazar mentions it happening around the middle of the ninth century.⁴⁸¹ According to him relics of Saint Eugenia had been transferred from the catacombs of Rome to Solana in a monastery built in the ninth century.⁴⁸²

As early as the ninth century the fame of Eugenia had already reached Spain as suggested by the *Oracional Visigotico* which contains references on her on "the 27th of December starts the prayer and the benediction which is said on the feast of Saint Eugenia both at vespers and also at the matutine."⁴⁸³ Similarly, churches dedicated to her seem to appear as early as the eleventh century concentrated mostly in an area of interaction between the Spanish and French cultures, namely Navarra and Catalonia, in Argolell, Astudillio, Becerill de Campos, Santa Eugenia de Berga, Santa Eugenia de Neralla, Lences de Bureba. I will refer in the following only to the most representative depictions of Eugenia that have survived also because of bibliographical limitations.

One of the earliest representations of Eugenia is found in the Pamplona Bibles (See cat. fig. 37, 38).⁴⁸⁴ The Pamplona Bibles were commissioned by Sancho el Fuerte,

⁴⁸⁰ For Spain as center of her cult and celebration around the ninth century, see R. Aubert, E. van Cauwenbergh, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastique*, Fascicule 84 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962), 1375. Patrick Geary also mentions that in the 9th century, a certain Felix, a Frankish traveller cleric specialized in selling relics, appeared at Fulda with the relics of Saint Eugenia (together with the relics of other saints). See Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 48.

⁴⁸¹ *Martyrologum Hispanicum*, tom V, 25th December, in Tournel, *Histoire de Sainte Eugénie*, 279.

⁴⁸² *Martyrologum Hispanicum*, tom V, 25th December, in Tournel, *Histoire de Sainte Eugénie*, 279. On Eugenia dressed as a Carmelite see *Dictionnaire iconographique des figures, legends et actes des saints* (Migne, Cchez L' Éditeur, aux ateliers catholiques du petit-Montrouge, Barrière d'enfer de Paris, 1850), 196-197.

⁴⁸³ Dated ninth century on the basis of the script. See Jose Vives, Jeronimo Claveras, *Oracional Visigotico* (Barcelona, Balmesiana: Bibiloteca Balmes, 1946), 45, 112: "VI kalendas ianuarias incipit oratio vel benedictio de festivitate Sancte Eugenie dicenda tam ad vesperum quam ad matutinum."

⁴⁸⁴ François Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles* vol. 2 facsimile (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970), 239v, 238r.

king of Navarra, in the twelfth century and comprise texts from the Old Testament, the New Testament, Lives of Saints, passions of martyrs and so on.⁴⁸⁵ It is a work that contains numerous images, making of the scriptures “a pictorial history.”⁴⁸⁶ According to François Bucher, the style of the Pamplona Bibles and the art from Navarra and Catalonia is influenced by French theology and art.⁴⁸⁷ In Pamplona the French were numerous which underlines the Spanish-French influences.⁴⁸⁸ A similarly strong link that connects this Bible to French patterns of representations could be reflected by the owners of this work as the thirteenth-fourteenth-century line of succession indicates: Sancho el Fuerte, Thibaud I of Champagne, Thibaud V the Young, Jeanne I Queen of Navarra, Louis Houtin, Jeanne II Queen of Navarra, Blanche de Navarre.⁴⁸⁹ Even more, Navarre was a border kingdom where intermarriages between the French and Spanish were practiced.⁴⁹⁰

Here, Eugenia’s martyrdom is depicted twice but not in a hagio-chronological order. The first representation on folio 239v (*Pamplona Bible*, Amiens manuscript) concentrates on her torture: Eugenia is depicted tied to a stone, floating on the water, on the right hand side of the folio, while an emperor is shown on the left watching her. Her physiognomy and clothes are those of a woman. Above the representation two lines in Latin resume the content of the depiction concentrating on Eugenia being thrown into the river Tibre with a stone tied to her shoulder. The second depiction on folio 238r concentrates on Eugenia’s death; again, she is positioned decapitated on the right hand side, the ruler on the right while the torturer in the middle. It is the only depiction of Eugenia that I know of which clearly shows the segmentation of her body as a reflection of the social structure (battles, sacrifices) in Navarra.⁴⁹¹ A text resuming the content of the image is positioned above it on folio 238r states that Eugenia was killed in prison on the day of Christ’s birth. Eugenia is positioned inside the prison, one of the rare occasions that depict her death according to the *vita*. In both cases, Eugenia is positioned between other martyrs: Saints Corona, Leocadia, and Sabina’s deaths highly emphasize martyrdom; meaning that Eugenia is seen a martyr among other women martyrs (as Euphrosyne and Marina are in French manuscripts).

As it is known, similarly to French miniatures, Prothus and Hyachintus⁴⁹² are sometimes depicted together with Eugenia. I am not going to emphasize their depictions which, generally, are similar to those of other martyrs by concentrating on the moment of their decapitation. But what I want to underline is the information from the two line description of their miniature. Folio 229v it says offers information on the place (*via*

⁴⁸⁵ Bucher, “The Pamplona Bibles, 1197-1200 A.D. Reasons for Changes in Iconography,” in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes: Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964*, vol. I (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1967), 131.

⁴⁸⁶ Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, vol. I, 134.

⁴⁸⁷ Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, vol. I, 45.

⁴⁸⁸ Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, vol. I, 47.

⁴⁸⁹ Bucher, “*The Pamplona Bibles, 1197-1200 A.D.*”, 133-134, note 9.

⁴⁹⁰ Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1930), 5-6.

⁴⁹¹ Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles* vol. I, 53.

⁴⁹² Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, vol. 2 facsimile, 229v.

salaria) where Saints Prothus and Hyacinthus are buried. This information is crucial as it indicates that in Spain there was knowledge not only about the *vita* of these saints but also about the existence of their relics and knowledge about the exactness of their burial places. As Eugenia is highly associated with these two martyrs, who had been her servants, I want to raise the hypothesis that also Eugenia's fame reflected in her cult or burial place must have been known before the twelfth century.

All the above could suggest the possibility that the fame of Eugenia could have arrived in Spain via French influences, but also possibly via Rome. Which was the prototype for Eugenia in the Pamplona Bibles seems hard to tell, yet there are some similarities with the altar piece of Master of Soriguerola located now in Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs (Fig. 5.19). The thirteenth-century Catalan (sometimes considered from Navarra or Aragon) altar frontal,⁴⁹³ decorated with intense colors (such as orange and blue), is rich in narrative images and concentrates on events. Composed of two horizontal lines, each with 4 episodes of the saint's life, the altar frontal is divided by narrow red bands bordered with white pearl ornament.



Fig. 5.19: Eugenia of Rome altar frontal, thirteenth century, Master of Soriguerola, Catalonia, Spain. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

⁴⁹³ Gaya Nuño, *Pintura española fuera de España*, 88. Also, Walter Cook and Gudiol Ricart, *Pintura e imageria románica*, *Ars Hispaniae*, vol. VI (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1950), 257-258. Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1930), 89-91.

Scholarship on this piece of art tends to be descriptive and to concentrate almost only on presenting the content of the eight episodes that depict Eugenia.⁴⁹⁴ Walter Cook's article offers little information about the provenance of the altar frontal. According to scholars quoted by him its provenance could be Saga and it could have been dedicated to Saint Vincent –the saint lay in water with a mill stone tied to his neck similarly as Eugenia did.⁴⁹⁵ This makes it rather unclear, in my opinion, if Eugenia was by mistake considered Saint Vincent or a Eugenia altarpiece was dedicated to the saint. According to another author mentioned by Cook, the altar piece could have been executed in the Catalan Pyrenees, School of Cerdagne.

The episodes depicted by the eight scenes present, briefly, Eugenia leaving home in the company of her eunuch servants, her baptism, encounter with Melanthia, reveal of her identity, being in front of the Emperor, thrown in the water, in prison, and being beheaded. Two of these episodes are common with those from the Pamplona Bibles. The first is the episode of Eugenia's torture when being thrown into the river tied to a stone. The difference between the Pamplona and the Soriguerola representation consists in a more detailed, less simplified image: Eugenia, represented still on the right side, is tied to a less big stone; one can see the torturer on the left, God's hand comes out blessing from the clouds. The second common representation is Eugenia's decapitation. In the Pamplona Bibles she is depicted inside a room that could possibly suggest the prison. This is a more brutal image as it depicts the actual segmentation of her body in contrast to that from the altarpiece which concentrates on the torturer (without the Emperor) with the sword at her neck. In addition her un-segmented holy body/soul is represented taken up to Heaven.

The episodes from the upper part of the altarpiece show remarkable similarities with French miniatures (Fig. 5.20) of Eugenia such as that of her baptism and revealing of her identity. There is a similarity between the representations of these two miniatures. If one has a close look at the French miniatures of the baptism episodes it is clear that Eugenia's breast, as markers of her femininity, are visible similarly to the revealing episode when she uncovers not only her breasts but her entire body. The similarities between these two episodes as far as it concerns the Soriguerola altar piece are even stronger if one has a look at Eugenia's hand gestures: she seems to be hiding something that she will later reveal. Soriguerola's connection with French Gothic style is emphasized by Cook and Gudiol Ricart,⁴⁹⁶ meaning that there is the possibility that Soriguerola could have encountered French patterns of representing Eugenia, and I am referring here to the Vézelay or Nevers depiction whose dating is closer to the Eugenia altar piece than the miniatures are. On the other hand, the brutality of her death is

⁴⁹⁴ Josep Gudiol i Cunill, *Els primitius*, vol. 2 (Barcelona: S. Babra, 1929), 430-434, 524. See Simon Marchan Fiz, *Summa Artis. Historia General del Arte*, tome 33 (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1989), 168; Gaya Nuño Juan Antonio, *Pintura española fuera de España* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958), 88. See also Walter Cook, "Catalan Altar frontals in Paris," *Studies in the History of Art* (1959): 17-20.

⁴⁹⁵ Cook, "Catalan Altar frontals in Paris," 20. See also Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, "El Maestro de Soriguerola y los inicios de la pintura gótica catalana," *Goya*. 1 (1954): 76.

⁴⁹⁶ Cook and Ricart, "Pintura e imagineria románicas," 234-243. Among the French influences the authors emphasize are the expressivity of the figures, display of clothes, and the naturalism of the folds.

emphasized by the small miniature (Fig. 5.21) of a thirteenth-fourteenth-century version of a Catalan *Golden Legend* where Eugenia is depicted again with the sword at the neck.



Fig. 5.20: Baptism of Saint Eugenia, Prothus and Hyacinthus, c. 1335, Mahiet et collab, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 152v.



Fig. 5.21: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, thirteenth-fourteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Spain. Paris, National Library of France, Espagnol 44, folio 197v.

The episodes of her baptism and revealing of her innocence concentrate on displaying the naked female body making, thus, a shift from martyrdom to the display of innocence. This shift is reflected not only in the depictions, but also in textual sources. The first one is an early hymn dedicated by Saint Isidor of Seville to Saint Eugenia not later than the seventh century. It comprises the most important facts of her life and emphasizes her humility, chastity, and virginity.⁴⁹⁷ In the *Oracional visigótico* besides being presented in the company of Mary, similarly to Rome, Eugenia is also appreciated for the consequences of her cross-dressing.⁴⁹⁸

To sum up, the Pamplona Bibles and the Soriguerola altar piece could be the expression of French influences, but also of local evolution. Eugenia seems to evolve from martyr to a woman proving her innocence as the textual sources suggest. Furthermore, the emphasis on the manly clothes in the *oracional* could have influenced Eugenia's monkish physiognomy and also the emphasis on her confrontation with Melanthia similarly to the Vézelay.

⁴⁹⁷ Toursel, *Histoire de Sainte Eugénie*, 354-356.

⁴⁹⁸ Jose Vives, Jeronimo Claveras, *Oracional Visigótico* (Barcelona, Balmesiana: Bibiloteca Balmes, 1946), 112-114.



Fig. 5.22: Episodes of Saint Eugenia's Life, fifteenth-sixteenth century, Church of Saint Eugenia, Astudillo, Spain <http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed February 13, 2016.

Another interesting piece of art, a fifteenth-sixteenth-century retablo (Fig. 5.22) from the Church of Saint Eugenia, Astudillo⁴⁹⁹ is worth being brought into attention for a possible development in relation with the earlier Soriguerola. There are five episodes of Eugenia's life represented in relief on this particular retablo: one concentrating on her being elected as an abbot, on her encounter with Melanthia, then, on the revealing of her identity, on the conversion of other women, and, finally, as martyr in the company of her servants. Among these episodes, there is only one which depicts Eugenia in a monkish fashion (Fig. 5.23) reminding of both the Sorigurola altar frontal and the Vézelay representation. What is even more remarkable is that in the episodes in which Eugenia was supposed to be depicted as a man she is represented as a woman. In this case two questions emerge. Why is Eugenia represented as a monk only in one particular scene? And why is she a woman in the other episodes? In this case, in my opinion, we are witnessing a case that comprises both an evolution and a connection to earlier models of representations which I have detailed above. The answer for this particular representation lies in the Spanish liturgical texts.

⁴⁹⁹ <http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed March 25, 2015. On Gil de Siloe as the author of the retablo see: C.J. Ara Gil and J.J. Martín González, "El arte gótico en Palencia" in *Historia de Palencia* 1 (1984): 313-336 and Harold Wethey, *Gil de Siloe and his school. A study of late gothic sculpture in Burgos* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936).



Fig. 5.23: Saint Eugenia of Rome revealing her identity, fifteenth-sixteenth century, Astudillo, Spain
Church of Saint Eugenia,
<http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed February 13, 2016.



Fig. 5.24: Assumption of the Virgin, fifteenth-sixteenth century, Astudillo, Spain Church of Saint Eugenia,
<http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed February 13, 2016.

The *Missale mixtum, secundum Regulam B. Isidori, dictum Mozarabes* emphasizes Eugenia's renunciation of the world and triumph over the evil embodied in the person of Melanthia:

Let us overcome evil similarly to that virgin, who deceiving Melanthia, had strength to surpass falsehood.⁵⁰⁰

All these liturgical texts make Eugenia's anagnorisis an important episode that includes a dense religious meaning. Eugenia's body becomes a space of victory over evil/Melanthia and, thus, she offers an *exemplum*. Furthermore, this implies the necessity of her being represented in a monkish way as it is only this way that her triumph could be visually underlined. But the liturgical text does not stop here as it connects Eugenia to the Virgin through the pattern of the humble and retired life Mary chose. Furthermore, Eugenia's undressing is similar to the triumph of the Virgin.⁵⁰¹

In the case of Eugenia's Spanish depictions there is a shift in contrast to the Italian model where Mary is more concrete and physical in the sense that she is depicted next to Eugenia. In this sense "being represented next to the Virgin" should be understood spiritually. That there is still a connection between the two women is shown by the representation of the Virgin above the martyr-Eugenia. Anacleto Orejón mentions that initially there was a representation of the Assumption (Fig. 5.24) above Eugenia: *Donde está ahora el cuadro iba primitivamente la estatua de la Asunción, y como es de suponer, con su doselete correspondiente.*⁵⁰² Similarly an 1522 inventory note offered by the same author mentions that *El altar mayor es de Santa Eugenia [...] y las ystorias todas de bulto tyene un remate la Suptión (Asunción) de nuestra señora.*

⁵⁰⁰ Toursel, *Histoire de Sainte Eugénie*, 351-354: "evinamus mala, sicut hæc virgo fallentis Melantie valuit superare commenta."

⁵⁰¹ Toursel, *Histoire de Sainte Eugénie*, 351-354.

⁵⁰² Anacleto Orejón Calvo, "Historia documentada de la Villa de Astudillo," Palencia, 1927. <http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed March 25, 2015.



Fig. 5.25: Saint Eugenia and Saints Prothus and Hyacinthus, fifteenth-sixteenth century, Astudillo, Spain Church of Saint Eugenia,
<http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed February 13, 2016.

Another connection with the Assumption is Eugenia's martyred holy body (Fig. 5.25) which is positioned right under the Virgin's Assumption emphasizing both women's inclusion into the celestial realm similarly to the Soriguerola where Eugenia's soul is taken to Heaven, see also the baroque retablo (Fig. 5.26) from Becerril de Campos:⁵⁰³

Beloved brethren, look, look at the amazing acts of God, how Eugenia virgin, witnessing martyrdom in the name of Jesus, neither drowned in the waves, nor was consumed by flames. She was moved by righteous faith, for whom our Lord proclaimed that nothing is difficult for those who pray to Him.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰³ Pablo Puente Aparicio, "El museo en la iglesia. Becerril de Campos," in *Cursos Monográficos sobre el patrimonio histórico 2: actas de los VIII cursos monográficos sobre el patrimonio histórico*. ed. José Manuel Iglesias Gil (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 1998), 299-316.

⁵⁰⁴ Toursel, *Histoire de Sainte Eugénie*, 277: "Videte, videte, dilectissimi fratres, mirabilia operum Dei, qualiter Eugenia virgo pro nomine Iesu martyrium sustinens, nec undis subicitur, nec ardoribus concrematur.

Hæc sana fides agebat, pro qua Dominus noster prædixit, quod in ea se rogantibus nihil difficile sit." See also 351-354 for all the liturgical references on Saint Eugenia.



Fig. 5.26: Church of Saint Eugenia, seventeenth century, Becerril de Campos, Spain.

To sum up, Eugenia had been visually represented in a variety of ways. What is more important is her depiction when undressing which connects her to Vézelay, but also to local religious texts. Eugenia's Spanish representation fits the (same) pattern that emphasizes innocence and the narrative of her innocence and less her martyrdom.

5.3 Saint Eugenia in France: polymorphous images

It was on the 18th of May, 923 when Gaudry, bishop of Auxerre, on his return from Rome brought with him two precious relics, one of Saint Eugenia and one of Saint Lawrence.⁵⁰⁵ Offered to Gaudry by Pope John X after his visit in Rome, Saint Eugenia's relics were divided and sent to three religious establishments: the abbey of Saint-Germain⁵⁰⁶, the cathedral of Auxerre, and, most to Varzy, where, starting from the fifth century, a church had been dedicated to her supposedly by Saint-Germain of Auxerre.⁵⁰⁷ Relics and depictions of Saint Eugenia can be found in Auxerre, Vézelay, Varzy, and Nevers, all located very close to each other.⁵⁰⁸

One of the earliest representations that has survived is found in the Cathedral of Nevers. Twelfth-century fresco episodes from the life of Saint Eugenia seem to have once covered the cathedral on the right side when entering the door of Saint John. Unfortunately, only five martyrdom episodes have survived in a better condition.⁵⁰⁹ These episodes depict Saint Eugenia in front of the emperor, tied to a stone and floating on the water, with hands tied in the middle of flames, and receiving bread from Christ while in prison. Again, the episodes of her martyrdom are similar in number with the thirteenth-century Soriguierola altar frontal. They share more or less almost the same number of episodes: five martyrdom episodes in Nevers and four martyrdom episodes in Spain. In both cases Eugenia is depicted with hands tied, floating on the water, and receiving bread in prison. The difference consists in the episode of her martyrdom in the Spanish altar frontal. These underline the possibility of an iconographical connection between Nevers, on the one hand, and the Spanish altar frontal, on the other hand. This brings me to my hypothesis that in case of Eugenia's representations from France and Spain one does not talk about the influence of one territory over another, but rather about connections and networks of representations. Details suggest reciprocity and the movement of iconographies.

⁵⁰⁵ Paul Guérin, *Les Petits Bollandistes. Vies des saints*, tome 14 (Paris: Bloud et Barral, Libraires-Éditeurs, 1885), 468. See also Augustin Crosnier, *Hagiologie Nivernaise ou Vies des saints et autres pieux personnages qui ont édifié le diocèse de nevers par leurs vertus* (Nevers: Imprimerie de L.-M., 1858), 149-150.

⁵⁰⁶ On the existence of Eugenia's relics in this religious establishment see Henry Waast, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre* (Auxerre: C. Gallot Libraire, 1853), 576-577.

⁵⁰⁷ Guérin, "Les Petits Bollandistes," 468. Louis Serbat, "Varzy," in *Congrès Archéologique de France* (Paris: A. Picard, Caen: H. Delesques, 1916), 401. Abbé Le Boeuf, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique d'Auxerre* (Paris: Didron Libraire, 1848), 232.

⁵⁰⁸ For Luxeuil, France, as center of her cult, see Aubert, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastique*, 1375.

⁵⁰⁹ Guérin, *Les Petits Bollandistes. Vies des saints*, tome 14, 467. See also Crosnier, *Hagiologie Nivernaise*, 151-152. Jaques Loquin, *Nevers et Moulins* (Paris: Libraire Renouard, 1913), 26.

As said, the frescoes from Nevers share several similarities with the altar piece of Soriguerola which make me raise the question whether there was or not a preexistent model in circulation previous to these two thirteenth-century representations:

- a). chronological closeness: first of all both of are thirteenth-century representations;
- b). compositional symmetry: similarity between the (number of) depicted episodes in the lower register, one extra episode is added in the case of the Nevers frescoes, but an altarpiece requires compositional symmetry whereas in the case of frescoes it is impossible to find out the number of the representations from the upper register. What is important to note in the case of Nevers, is the fact that the lower register episodes are presented in a reversed way: judgment, torture in the water (2 episodes instead of 1 episode in the Soriguerola altarpiece), torture in prison, and martyrdom/death, suggested by the trace of paint and also by the logical sequence of the iconographical narrative. One possible explanation for the reversed positioning of the episodes lays in the fact that the episodes were presumably conceived in a chronological order according to the viewer/audience. In this case, it is logical that the first episode one sees when entering the church is that of the saint's judgment followed by that of the torture and, finally, by a martyrdom that visually occurs in the space of the church underlying thus the importance of the saint to the ecclesiastical community, the connection between the act of martyrdom and the Church, and the participation of the community as audience belonging to the Church at the saint's death.
- c). iconographic similarity:
 - the episode of the judgment: although in Nevers it is only the pagan emperor who is visible it has the similar similarities with the emperor from altarpiece: positioning of the emperors on the left side of the composition, same type of crowns, similar colored clothes, almost identical gestures, though difficult to trace in the Nevers representations, similar construction of the body which is positioned on a throne, again similarly constructed;
 - torture in the water I : it should be reminded that the Nevers representations have included two episodes of the torture in the water in comparison to the Soriguerola: the first episode of Eugenia's torture in the water bears remarkable similarities with the Soriguerola: the positioning of the torturer is reversed as in a mirror, the positioning of the legs, the closeness to the saint all echo the altar piece while the positioning of Saint Eugenia is almost a copy: one can even trace the marks of the rope tied to her neck, while her body switches in an unnatural way due to the weight of a stone that is not visible anymore.
 - torture in the water II: in the second episode of the torture in the water Eugenia's position and physiognomy (short blondish hair) when blessed by God, the hand of God descending close to her, the red- blue lines of the waves all indicate similarity to the altarpiece;
 - torture in prison: although the Soriguerola is much more complex in the composition of this episode (one can trace Christ, Eugenia, and the two eunuchs

- entering prison), all that is left at Nevers is a representation of Eugenia whose positioning fits well that of the altarpiece;
- martyrdom/death: the remaining of fresco paint indicates that Eugenia was depicted in other episode(s) (at least another one). Unfortunately, the architecture of the church makes it impossible to identify any other layers of painting due to architectural details that have been added to the church. Also on the basis of the remaining paint, it is difficult to determine whether there were depicted other episodes of Eugenia's life. The existence of the paint that is left suggests the existence of other frescoes positioned on the upper register of the composition. In my opinion, having in mind the similarities with the Soriguerola, it is highly probable that there must have been depicted four-five episodes of Eugenia's life including that of her anagnorisis.

Bearing all these similarities in mind, there is a high probability that either one of the artists were familiar with one of these representations or that there was a previous model that circulated in the Franco-Hispanic milieu particularly because of the establishments, that I analyzed (Auxerre, Vézelay, Varzy, Nevers), were frequented by pilgrims on their way to Compostella.



Fig. 5.27: Saint Eugenia of Rome revealing her identity, twelfth century, Vézelay, France, Church of Saint Magdalene.

Another early representation of Eugenia is a twelfth-century relief from Vézelay (Fig. 5.27), situated on the northern pillar of the nave.⁵¹⁰ It focuses on Eugenia revealing her identity.⁵¹¹ Positioned between her father and Melanthia, Eugenia reveals her identity in order to prove her innocence. Similar to the Spanish Soriguerola altar frontal and to one of the Astudillo episodes, this Eugenia, the only woman among other holy men, seems to have been included among the Vézelay saints due to her cult, as Kirk Ambrose suggests.⁵¹² Furthermore, he emphasizes the monastic aspect of her imagery reflected particularly through her tonsure.⁵¹³ If, then, we compare the Vézelay and the Nevers images, based on their description, it becomes clear that various early types of Eugenia's representation existed. Her innocence is emphasized in Vézelay, while in Nevers her martyrdom (and possibly other episodes of her life cycle including that of her trial). This underlines the fact that Eugenia's iconography in Burgundy is not fixed but rather fluctuates. It seems to belong to a network of representations of religious establishments that either possessed her relics of her or had been influenced by the proximity of places of worship/cult. Furthermore, this network of representations seems to be in connection with

⁵¹⁰ Jean-Luc Flohic (ed.), *La patrimoine de la basilique de Vézelay* (Charente-le-pont: Editions Flohic, 1999), 106.

⁵¹¹ Grayson, "Disruptive Disguises," 138-174. Here, I come back to the article of Grayson who states on page 155 that "In turn, this dependence on the text to elaborate to exceptional qualities and characteristics of transvestite saints relegates them to a very limited set of visual representations that is in marked contrast to their literary popularity." I would rather say here that their visual representations are equally numerous as the literary sources. Furthermore, on the same page the author mentions "Far apart from their appearance in manuscripts, Eugenia, Pelagia, and Marina and their fellow transvestite saints are almost never depicted in any other artistic context. They are not shown as intercessory saints in panel paintings or frescoes, nor have reliquary or freestanding statues been found" and then she mentions two representations of Saint Eugenia- the Vézelay and the Soriguerola (pg. 155). What could be more superficial than this? Eugenia, Marina, and, probably, Euphrosyne are depicted as intercessory saints, they figure on frescoes and so on. To add about Eugenia, it is worth mentioning that the trial scene survives even in sixteenth-century Spain (Astudillo) (pg. 157 mentions that there are only two trial scenes with Eugenia) and, that particularly in the case of France, Eugenia is rather polymorphic, representations shift from martyrdom to trial and death episodes (contrary to that what is mentioned on page 158).

I want to end with the connection between Eugenia and the Sheela-na-Gigs that Grayson attempts to prove. The *apparuit femine* or the reference to *sexusque* of Eugenia is not necessary a reference to her genitals as this could also refer and define her as a woman. I do not think that there are parallels between Eugenia's clothes and the Sheela-na-Gigs labia (pg. 162). Let us remember that Eugenia's cult (and here I agree with Ambrose) existed in Varzy, Auxerre, and Nevers and surely there are numerous ways that can emphasize Eugenia's purity except baring her vagina to the viewer with a "Have a look!" attitude. To conclude, there is no stubbornness (pg. 165)-but knowledge of the *vita* -, there is no difficulty in representation (pg. 166) and "lack of trust" for what is seen (pg. 167)- but variety- when depicting cross-dressed saints.

⁵¹² Kirk Ambrose, "Two Cases of Female Cross-Undressing in Medieval Art and Literature," *Source* 23, 3 (2004): 8

⁵¹³ Kirk Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay: the Art of Monastic Viewing* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2006), 41-42. See also Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1922), 237, 242-243. The author includes Saint Eugenia among a tendency of representing the Desert Fathers at Vézelay.

the Spanish ones (due to border's permeability which permitted the circulation of cult from one area to other particularly in the twelfth century).⁵¹⁴



Fig. 5.28: Saint Eugenia revealing her identity, sixteenth century, Bartholomeus Pons, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.

⁵¹⁴ Mâle, *L'art religieux*, 194.



Fig. 5.29: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, sixteenth century, Bartholomeus Pons, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.



Fig. 5.30: Saint Claudia at the tomb of Saint Eugenia, sixteenth century, Bartholomeus Pons, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.

According to Kirk Ambrose, a Church dedicated to Saint Eugenia in Varzy had been decorated with representations of her.⁵¹⁵ Unfortunately, it had been left in ruins during the French Revolution and there are no surviving depictions.⁵¹⁶ What has survived there is a sixteenth-century triptych that concentrates on three important episodes of her life: identity revealing (Fig. 5.28), martyrdom (Fig. 5.29), and as saint in heaven (Fig. 5.30); while the other side of the panels depicts Saints Stephen and Lawrence.⁵¹⁷ It was donated in 1537 by François II de Dinteville to the Collégiale Sainte-Eugénie de Varzy

⁵¹⁵ Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay*, 43. Serbat, “Varzy,” 414.

⁵¹⁶ Guillaume Bécaud, *La Collégiale Sainte Eugénie* (Varzy: Conseil Général de la Nièvre, 2005), 2.

Hugues de Châlon renovates and redecorates the Church of Saint Eugenia in the 11th century when it also becomes a collegiate church.

⁵¹⁷ Marguerite Guillaume, *La Peinture en Bourgogne au XVIe siècle* (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, 1990), 108-109. Serbat, “Varzy,” 410 – 413 also mentions the presence of the Benedictine monks in the background. Guérin, *Les Petits Bollandistes*, tome 14, 467.

and transferred later to the Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens. In the seventeenth century, it was dismembered and identified as such in the nineteenth century by a Parisian artist who found the two side panels and put them together.⁵¹⁸

The episode of Eugenia's reveal not only survived twelfth-century Vézelay, but seems to be still important in other visual representations of her. This triptych and a statue of her emphasize the rather complex ways in which Saint Eugenia was perceived in medieval Burgundy. The donator of this triptych, François II de Dinteville, was bishop of Auxerre starting from 1530 until his death and had a particular affinity with early Christian topics so much that his portrait was included into the representation.⁵¹⁹ In my opinion, besides the bishop's preferences, the triptych is a testimony that the bishopric of Auxerre appreciated and, still, promoted Eugenia's cult. Furthermore, the depiction of Saint Lawrence on the external side of the panels might be a testimony and a reminder of Gaudry's transfer of both Saints Lawrence's and Eugenia's relics.⁵²⁰ The proximity of Saint Lawrence next to Eugenia reminds of the Bagnoro representations of these saints in the company of the Virgin. Also in the Varzy Cathedral there were two stone statues, one belonging to the Virgin (with the Child in Her Arms) and the other to Eugenia (Fig. 5.31) connecting her physically to the model for women saints.⁵²¹ The polymorphic aspect of Eugenia's representation⁵²² is again emphasized by a thirteenth-century reliquary of hers where she is depicted in the company of other virgin martyrs.⁵²³

⁵¹⁸ Jacques Thuillier, "Dismembered Works of Art-French Painting," in *An illustrated inventory of famous dismembered works of art. European painting with a section on dismembered tombs in France* (Louvain: Ceuterick 1974), 89-90. See also Jacques Thuillier, *Études sur le cercle des Dinteville. L'Énigme de Félix Chrestien* (Paris: L'art de France, 1961), 65-70.

⁵¹⁹ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Dinteville Family and the Allegory of Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 34 (1999): 73.

⁵²⁰ Crosnier, "Hagiologie Nivernaise," 292.

⁵²¹ Émile Boisseau, *Varzy, Nièvre. Son histoire, ses monuments, ses célébrités* (Paris: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie Kugelmann, 1905), 76.

⁵²² There are other representations of hers that I have not been able to analyze. See *Dictionnaire iconographique des figures, legends et actes des saints* (Paris: Chez l'Éditeur, aux ateliers catholiques du petit-Montrouge, 1850), 196-197.

⁵²³ There are several reliquaries of Saint Eugenia in Varzy, as far as my sources suggest, only one of them depicts the saint. On the reliquary depicting Eugenia and on other reliquaries of hers see: Jean Taralon, *Les Tresors des Églises de France*, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques, 1965), 426-427. Serbat, "Varzy," 410 - 413. Guérin, *Les Petits Bollandistes*, 468. Crosnier, *Hagiologie Nivernaise*, 452-453. Auguste Bouillet, "L'art religieux à l'exposition retrospective du Petit Palais en 1900," *Bulletin Monumental* 65 (1901): 158. On a stone statue of Eugenia and her statue in the company of Saint Peter see Crosnier, *Hagiologie Nivernaise*, 453 and Serbat, "Varzy," 414.



Fig. 5.31: Saint Eugenia, c. 1500, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.

Having a look at the textual sources about Saint Eugenia, it seems to be a division between how she is perceived when recommended as an *exemplum* to monastics and when she is an *exemplum* to other religious folk. In this regard, the hymn dedicated to her translation reveals Eugenia's triumph as a martyr and her soul rejoicing in the company of God.⁵²⁴

As early as the sixth century, Alcimus Avitus dedicated to a nun a poem that contains references to Eugenia as abbot and abbess. This is suggestive of Vézelay where Eugenia proves her innocence.⁵²⁵ Another sixth-century text, the Rule of the Master suggests that "In Saint Eugenia the form of perfect kind of humility is shown."⁵²⁶

Finally, the Dinteville triptych contains a prayer dedicated to Eugenia:

⁵²⁴ Crosnier, *Hagiologie Nivernaise*, 453 - 454.

⁵²⁵ Toursel, *Histoire de Sainte Eugénie*, 322.

⁵²⁶ Luke Eberle (trans.), *The Rule of the Master* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 143, 283: "formam perfectae humilitatis in sancta Eugenia demonstratur." For more on Eugenia being mentioned in religious literature see Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay*, 43.

Oh, virgin martyr Eugenia, glory and gem of virgins, your prayer delivers us from all disgrace [...] so that by your sufferings, we are deemed worthy by our Lord.⁵²⁷

The textual sources dedicated in honor of Saint Eugenia are generally religious. What differentiates them is that some of these texts are dedicated particularly for monastics while others for a larger community. The ones dedicated for monastics emphasize humility while the ones for a much wider audience (including the monastics) refer to Eugenia's martyrdom and chastity. But what both have in common is that Eugenia is viewed as a woman.

To conclude, I want to emphasize the following:

1. There are two phases concerning the development of Eugenia's iconography in Italy, Rome: one outside Rome and one inside. In both cases the transfer of her relics meant also the transfer of her iconography. Although this iconography cannot be traced, fifth-seventh-century mosaics from Ravenna, for instance, could indicate a possibility with regard to her representation as a martyr saint. This iconographic pattern evolved and survived as the fifteenth-century fresco commissioned by Bessarione suggests. Also in her later representations Eugenia is positioned close to the Virgin similarly to representations from other areas of Italy: Bagnoro or Siena.
2. Relics of her have been transferred to Navarra and Catalonia, areas of French and Spanish interaction. That Eugenia was known is suggested by the textual sources of the *Pamplona Bible* which also includes one of the earliest survived representations of her in Spain. Other textual sources offer an explanation for Eugenia's representation in monk's garb in the sense that the clothes are re-interpreted as means of victory over evil embodied by Melanthia. Similarly to later fifteenth-century Italian developments, Eugenia is textually and visually connected to Mary.
3. An interesting piece of art- the altar frontal of Maestro de Soriguerola- indicates further possible connections between these two territories as the thirteenth-century altarpiece resembles much in style and composition to a twelfth-century French fresco in Nevers. This implies the existence of a much earlier pattern that could have served as model either for both or at least for the altarpiece. Another implication is that, in my opinion, the twelfth-century Vezelay relief is not the oldest survived representation of Eugenia but one of the earliest representations. Although in Nevers, only the martyrdom episodes survived, there must have been a depiction of Eugenia's *anagnorisis* as it is the only episode that identifies the saint, similarly to Vezelay.
4. Not much is left of the rich iconographic material belonging to the Collegiale of Saint Eugenia.⁵²⁸ However, all the remaining

⁵²⁷ Boisseau, *Varzy, Nievre*, 83-84: "Virgo martyr Eugenia decus Et gemma virginum tua prece nos expia ab omni [...] ut per tua suffragia mereamur ad dominum [...]."

representations, although sometimes detailing episodes, seem to emphasize the importance of her martyrdom. The triptych, the remaining head which belonged to a statue, a statue that is left in the church of Saint-Pierre, a stained glass (note that the name is spelled Eugene instead of Eugenie), a reliquary, concentrate on Eugenia as martyr, whereas the revealing of her identity is still depicted but occupies a secondary position. For instance, two of the triptych's episodes lay emphasis on her as a martyr and only one on her true identity.

5. Having a look at the representations from the pilgrimage road's perspective, as Ambrose and Grayson suggest⁵²⁹, the depictions from both Spain and Italy seem to focus on several episodes of Eugenia's life with particular emphasis on revealing her identity. However, the material that I have consulted suggests that religious elites promoted her in order to emphasize their relation to predecessors who also worshipped her (France and Italy).
6. With regard to the supposed genitalia of Eugenia, I agree with Ambrose. According to Grayson, Eugenia is depicted at Vézelay showing her genitalia. The onsite analysis of the representation indicates that there is no trace of female genitalia, but of a shadow.

⁵²⁸ I am thankful to Jean-Michel Roudier for the discussions on the triptych and its iconographic relation to the statue (supposed head of Eugenia) which is previous to the triptych.

⁵²⁹ Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay*, 39-44, Grayson, "Disruptive Disguises," 161-163.

In Disguise for Heaven

Conclusions 2

Between Mary and Christ: Depicting Cross-Dressed Saint in the Middle Ages (c. 1200-1600) dealt with a comparative approach on the visual and textual sources of the group of holy virgins in disguise, namely, Saints Eugenia, Euphrosyne, Margareta Pelagius, and Marina the Monk. Briefly, their lives, in a nutshell, concentrate on stories of women who wore men's clothes, fled the world to follow Christ, and joined in monasteries or, sometimes, retired in solitary places.

This dissertation demonstrated that in visual and textual sources of the Late Middle Ages holy women in disguise are viewed as women in contrast to previous research that emphasized gendered, theological, patristic or intertextual interpretations. The research focused on the analysis of visual and textual sources that expand on four centuries - c. 1200-1600 - and aimed at presenting the way this group of saints is presented in the very sources.

The two parts of the dissertation centered around the image-text relationship antithetically: 1) By analyzing the textual in order to re-interpret and re-evaluate the visual. In this case several images of holy women in disguise were compared to only one text, that of the *vita*. 2) By focusing on the construction of visual source(s) in relation to multiple hagiographic texts: poems, liturgical sources, *vitae*, inscriptions and so on. These two parts correspond to two types of visual sources: that of the manuscript illumination which is closely connected to the text and that of the art products depicted for various types of recipients and displayed in various contexts.

In both cases the image-text relationship indicates that the image follows the narration (the text) while the text incorporates certain thirteenth-fifteenth-century hagiographic developments that help re-interpret the image and view the protagonists as holy women who employ disguise in order to live a life dedicated to Christ as *sponsae Christi*. Generally, the insertion of these hagiographic *topoi* occurs in the entrance-exit episodes emphasizing the construction of these hagiographic characters as holy women. However, this does not exclude the existence of other types of patterns which re-emphasize and contribute to their construction as women using disguise. Disguise, both visual and textual, becomes the key focus when depicting these saints in illuminated manuscripts as it is mostly included in all the important episodes of their lives.

Holy women in disguise are constructed as female hagiographic/visual characters due to their lives flexibility and to the assimilation of patterns of female sanctity as it follows:

1. Patterns of female mystics and mystical lexicon.

As said, these patterns are inserted more or less at the beginning and at the end of these lives contributing to a symmetrical construction emphasizing that these women

evolve from *sponsae* to be to *sponsae* meeting the Groom. With regard to the first part, themes related to *molestiae nuptiarum*, (strong emphasis on) virginity and purity, lack of consent, and refusal of marriage are inserted in either the prologue (Margareta Pelagius) or in the commencement of the hagiographic narration (Euphrosyne, Eugenia). This process presupposes the suppression of certain themes, such as the *topos* of the eloquent virgin, specific for Late Antique Eastern sources, and the substitution with others such as chastity. Apparently, the insertion of the new patterns renders holy women in disguise a passive personality, yet the iconographic and the textual analysis reveals that it is a permanent interplay between (dis)obedience towards religious or parental authority.

The mystical union between the *sponsa* and the Groom emphasizes the femininity of this specific group of saints highlighting the symmetry between the hagiographic patterns. The mystical lexicon includes references to the *Song of Songs* or to courtly literature (France) through the use of specific elements such as *inuitatio sponsae*, *laudation sponsae* (Marina), fine voice (Euphrosyne) or communion (Eugenia).

The death episode turns out to be a pretext for depicting women's bodies. In this case, the dressing-undressing construction of the miniatures seems to follow the same symmetry with the display of hagiographic patterns and with the visual (and textual) opposition between the beautiful body and the ascetic body (Euphrosyne) depicted in various ways (Byzantine influence when representing Marina's dead body in Italy). It is difficult to tell if the emaciated body is denying femininity or physicality, more generally, or both. Having a look (again) at the *vita* as a symmetrical construction, I affirm that I looked at it as denying femininity, but femininity viewed and connected to temptation, sin, and lust that could emerge due to the beautiful, mundane, worldly body of Euphrosyne.

Besides the insertion of patterns which are reminiscent of the *sponsa* motif, the visual and the textual sources suggest elements of *imitatio Christi* through fasting (Euphrosyne, Marina), illness (Euphrosyne), torture (Eugenia), and seclusion (Margareta Pelagius). With regard to these patterns, I want to emphasize, that although they are present in French versions of Saint Euphrosyne's life, strong emphasis is laid on seclusion in a cell as a specific element in northwestern German(ic) territories. This phenomenon should be regarded as a reflection of a specific type of female mysticism, the anchoresses. In this sense, Margareta Pelagius is depicted as withdrawing in cell, while Marina is enclosed in a cell (in textual sources). Here, the cell functions as type of (self) imposed desert or an eremitic cell reflecting the focus on interior spirituality which emerges from the twelfth century onwards. In my opinion, these women are virgins embodying certain aspects of eremitism while becoming mystical brides of Christ as it is withdrawal that permits them to become *sponsae*.

2. Models of sanctity

My research showed that holy women in disguise, Saint Euphrosyne, in this case, turned out to be models for new emergent saints such as Saint Catherine of Siena. Fourteenth-century lives of Euphrosyne circulated prior to the canonization of Catherine in 1461 (which adds to the possibility of influence) and share common elements with the her life: intention of imitating Euphrosyne, intention of running away and live according

to her model, lack of consent, refusal of marriage, seclusion in a cell. However, in Saint Euphrosyne's case emphasis is laid on her disguise, that is on clothes, and uncovering her disguise when dead, while in female mystics' case it is the mystical marriage that culminates in the *vita* (in our case Catherine is stopped by Christ from proceeding with her disguise and mystically marries Him). In my opinion Saint Catherine is imitating Euphrosyne both from an ascetic point and as a bride of Christ as withdrawal permits her to be a bride of Christ. This reveals at a certain degree mutual connections and flexibility from both sides. Such emulation positions holy women in disguise, generally, and Saint Euphrosyne particularly, as gendered specifically female.

This suggests multiple layers and possibilities of *imitatio* which is less linear, but shifting and overlapping particularly if we pay attention to another pattern inserted in the iconography and *vitae* of the virgins in disguise.

3. Marian influences: apocryphal and iconographic patterns of Virgin Mary

The fifteenth-century northern influences upon the German(ic) sources coincide with apocryphal (France) and iconographic insertions (France and Italy) into the visual and textual sources on women in disguise.

3.a). Apocryphal and iconographic patterns of the Virgin Mary in French sources

The insertion of apocryphal patterns into the textual sources occurs mostly in the entrance-exit episodes similarly to the patterns of female mystics. In this sense the variety of patterns that are inserted contribute to their clustering around these episodes emphasizing right from the beginning that it is women saints' lives that one is familiarized with. Accordingly, these lives indicate the above mentioned textual similarities through the insertion of the following themes: lack of child to a couple, *puella senex*, offering to the temple, refusal of marriage, retiring in a secluded space (cell) all shared more or less by the life of Euphrosyne and Marina. Further more, spiritual qualities of the Virgin have been appropriated by Marina who is connected to Mary by her humility and patience already at the commencement of her *vita*.

The iconographic patterns of *the Virgin with Child in her arms* and *the Virgin teaching Christ Child to read* are reflected in the visual representations of Saint Marina who is depicted in similar situations. Further more, this affectionate closeness is underscored by some textual sources (German and Italian, perhaps also French) that include terms of endearment ("*Ta-ta*") in order to indicate the intimate, loving relationship between Marina and her child. This pattern of Marina and the child is to be found also in Spanish sources, yet my research revealed that it is difficult to identify any model for it.

I conclude that Saint Marina assimilated from Marian piety/iconography the pattern of intimacy with the child which becomes one of her iconographic attributes (France, Italy, Spain), while in Saint Eugenia's case (the saint regresses to a child suggesting child Mary) one witnesses at the assimilation to the cult of Saint Anne omitted here as it is not the subject of the present research.

3.b). Iconographic patterns of the Virgin Mary in Italian and Spanish sources (Saint Marina and Eugenia)

The above mentioned pattern of *the Virgin with Child in her arms* was assimilated in Venetian paintings of Saint Marina whose iconography develops in such a way that Marina turns out to be a mirror image of the Virgin and Child. Here, in Venice, Marina's iconographic attributes develop gradually. Her veil is transformed into a hood which, then, is either removed or transformed again into the veil of a woman while the attributes of the book and cross are gradually replaced by the child and/or a martyr's palm. Several fifteenth-century paintings abound in placing Marina close to Mary. This visual similarity is underlined by contemporary textual sources which connect the two women saints through humility and patience. My research suggested that this iconographic closeness is specific mostly for Venice.

The pattern of the Virgin with Child in her arms was transferred from the miniatures into panel paintings (statues, frescoes, and so on). Even more, my analysis indicates that this pattern circulated in both milieus at the same time in various regions: Italy, Spain, or France. What all the panel paintings, frescoes, and statues have in common is that they depict Saint Marina, generally, together with the child. A regional imprint occurs when the depiction is connected to Marina's local cult.

In Saint Eugenia's case it is important to underline the continuity in her representation as a martyr saint. In early fifth-seventh century mosaics she is one of the virgins accompanying the Virgin, while in fifteenth-century frescoes (Rome, Bagnoro, Siena) she is depicted right next to the Virgin. In her Spanish representations subtle textual references suggest similarities with the Triumph of the Virgin while her clothes are viewed as a symbol of triumph over evil embodied by Melanthia.

All these fifteenth-sixteenth-century Marian influences authorize women in disguise as specifically female saints.

4. Positioning and iconographic attributes

When speaking about the transfer of patterns, it is important to bring into discussion the transfer and development of iconographic attributes and that of the positioning of saints either on the folio and the corpus of the manuscript or in the construction of the painting/retable, etc.

Holy women in disguise are paired according to hagiographic themes, such as disguise, in the *Speculum historiale* (Marina, Euphrosyne), inserted into groups of women in the *Legenda Aurea* (Marina, Margareta Pelagius) or into groups of men (less frequently). The insertion of women in disguise among holy penitents underscores their gender. This is valid also when inserted among holy men (Germanic sources). Similarly it is also valid for Saint Eugenia (France) whose life and, consequently, her visual representations are divided in order to suggest the segmentation of her martyr's body. But it is a female martyr's body as the episode of her martyrdom is set among the martyrdoms of her servants, Prothus and Hyacinthus. Furthermore, the tortures she undergoes are specific for women (tied undressed to a rock and thrown into a river) and also the depiction of her gestures of speak before Diana are reminiscent of the legend of Catherine of Alexandria underscoring again her gender. Eugenia dies as a martyr. Although the *vita* indicates that she is beheaded inside the prison, in her cell –needless to emphasize again the importance of the cell- while the illuminations focus on her being beheaded (by

sword) surrounded by folk as if it were a courtly procession. The iconographic attribute of the sword is transferred into fifteenth-sixteenth century representations (Italy and France) when she is depicted in groups of virgin martyrs.

Furthermore, when speaking of positioning in connection to gender division one has to remind that Eugenia's gender is emphasized by being positioned either next to Christ or the Virgin, namely, she occupies a part which is for women while on the opposite side a holy man is situated. In this sense she is depicted next or close to Saint Lawrence (France and Italy), Saint John the Baptist (Rome) or Saint Joseph (Siena). This gender distribution is valid also for Saint Marina who is depicted on women's side in the company of a doge's wife (Venice) or close to Mary of Egypt (Camposanto). Having a look at the way the narration is depicted, both Marina and Eugenia are set among male characters in manuscript illuminations and fifteenth-sixteenth century retables, for instance in Spain. This is particularly emphasized in Eugenia's trial episode which seems to have a mnemonic function.

The above mentioned division is applicable for Saint Euphrosyne as well who ends up being represented in the company of Saint Ursula/Orsola not only in paintings but also in manuscripts where Euphrosyne's *vita* follows that of Saint Ursula.

5. Cult, Crusades, and iconographic confusion

The cults of Saint Marina, Eugenia, and Euphrosyne have been promoted both by ecclesiastic and noble elite, yet it is difficult to reveal any specific intention behind these promotions. Saint Marina's and Eugenia's visual representations and cult have been more promoted, while Euphrosyne's case is a more isolated phenomenon. The promotion of these saints implies a higher degree of dissemination among various types of recipients. It is in this case, for instance, that Marina's representations (in Italy) are more static, with particular emphasis either on being represented with a child or holding a cross. It is the same with Saint Eugenia's representations in Italy where she is depicted in the company of the Virgin. In contrast to this, Saint Eugenia's representations in France and Spain emphasize the narrative. Still, I want to underline the fact that one should not overemphasize the episode of Eugenia's undressing, but analyze it in the context of the entire visual narrative structure.

These saints acted as models for communities of both genders. Marina was a model not only for the male monastic community from Ardea or promoted by Doge Andrea Gritti in Venice, but also for women, if we have a look at the French registers which indicate women offering religious objects to a Church of Saint Marina. Saint Eugenia again was promoted by Cardinal Bessarione in Italy. In France and Spain she became a model for male religious communities but also for mixed groups of pilgrims. The case of Saint Euphrosyne is a little bit different, as she was a model for a female religious community, and promoted for pilgrimage by the same religious establishment after being transferred from the Holy Land to France.

Saint Eugenia: the context of all the representations in France, Italy, and Spain

With regard to the network of representation in France, I conclude that the episode of the saint's *anagnorisis* is not something particular; in my opinion, it should

not be overestimated and analyzed individually. It occurs as an episode among episodes of Eugenia's life with equal importance. What is more striking is the representation of her as a martyr with the idealized holy body (post mortem) that is also glorified in religious writings.

The depiction of her as a martyr is that which predominates in Italy. Also in Italy, there seems to be a network of representations as Eugenia is depicted close to the Virgin Mary and sometimes to Saint Lawrence. In this last case, there seems to be a connection between Italy and France-Varzy.

When speaking about Saint Eugenia's representations in Rome, one witnesses continuity in her representations. Unfortunately, there are not so many early, Late Antique representations of her that survived. Eugenia is more or less depicted as a martyr with the same iconographic attributes.

In Spain and in France one can speak about a different type of continuity. If Rome hosted the relics of Saint Eugenia being also the place of origin of her cult, in the case of Spain and France one can say that in a first stage, in the sixth century, Eugenia's cult spread in the area, then, later in the tenth century, her relics were brought to previous places of veneration, possibly, in order to reinforce her cult. In parallel with this process, Eugenia's visual representations evolved from an unknown pattern that has not survived (a twelfth-century hand reliquary –now destroyed–indicates that there must have been earlier representations of her).

Thirteenth-or fifteenth-century Spanish representations bear similarities with French source material. In this sense, I conclude that there must have been an earlier twelfth-century model that circulated in both French and Spanish territories, particularly because of the predominance of narrative structured representations in the area which of the Franco-Hispanic border.

The Cult of Marina the Monk

When speaking about Saint Marina's cult, it is important to bring into discussion the crusader context of her transfer. As my sources indicate, Saint Marina the Monk was much venerated in the near East. Consequently around the twelfth-thirteenth century various individuals transferred her 'several times.' This also determined the existence of her 'multiple' bodies in Europe. Accordingly, the Venetians transferred her relics to Venice, but relics (the entire body) of hers were supposed to have been also in Rimini and Novafeltria. Furthermore, apparently, King Martin I of Aragon transferred Saint Marina the Monk's relics from Venice to today's Spain, while one of the theories concerning Marina's cult in France states that her entire relic had been transferred from Constantinople to Paris.

Accordingly, Marina the Monk's visual (and textual) representations evolved in various ways. Her cult spread in Italy at least from two directions: south-Calabria and Sicily- and north-Venice. It is here, in Venice, that her depictions developed gradually and became more numerous. I conclude that there are at least two phases of development with regard to Marina the Monk's iconography in Venice. In a first phase, Saint Marina the Monk's iconography seems to be influenced by that of an homonymous saint,

namely, Saint Margaret/Marina of Antioch. This confusion can be explained in several ways: confusion of names which determines confusion of relics and confusion of iconography and confusion of attributes (the cross for instance). However, in my opinion all this authorizes Marina as a specifically female saint. One should also be reminded the confusion between Eugenia and Marina of Antioch or the fact the Martin I's wife, Margareta, shares the same name with Marina of Antioch's Western name.

Again, in a first phase, Marina the Monk's iconography could have developed from a Byzantine pattern which adds further elements to the confusion. However, a Venetian style Marina starts developing later in the sense that Marina is depicted very often with a child in the vicinity of the Virgin.

This pattern is found mostly in Venice, while in other regions of Italy other patterns emerge such as that from Ardea where Marina the Monk's iconography fused with that of a pagan goddess, while in southern Italy she is represented mostly with a martyr's palm and the child. This iconography remains constant in Spain in the case of miniatures or panel paintings while when speaking about statues she is represented single. Marina the Monk remains a saint 'without a face' in France. Here, her cult is limited to a church in Paris destroyed at the beginning of the nineteenth-century. Inventory references mention the existence of her depictions.

But there are still a number of aspects to be researched concerning the connection between East and West. Except the relics of Eugenia, both Marina the Monk's and Euphrosyne's bodies seem to be translated in a Crusader context. As said, a Saint Marina was transferred to the West four times. This enables me to raise a simple, yet complex question: Why was she so important in the thirteenth century?

Epilogue

I was hidden in stone waiting to be carved out and took shape: holding my book, my cross, and my palm. Now, placed on the pedestal of a church, people worship me. They also painted me in the Palazzo at Doge Andrea Gritti's command. Everybody tried to imagine how I looked and who I was. My life became a manuscript story, my sufferings an *exemplum*, they drew my tonsure, clothed me in monastic garb, and undressed me when dead.

But before all this, Crusaders fought and stole me from Constantinople in the arid sun, brought my relics on a stormy day to Venice, Rimini, and Novafeltria and, then, in Spain. So many of me!

So many facets of the same story, have you found out something? Are you happy now?

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APPENDICES⁵³⁰

Illuminations and *vitae* in the manuscripts

⁵³⁰ The appendices contain the positioning of the lives of holy women in disguise on the folio and in the manuscripts that I have analyzed.

APPENDIX 1 SAINT MARGARETA DICTA PELAGIUS

♣ Harley MS 3027 – *Legenda Aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine

Saint Francis - f. 138v - October 4;
 Saint Pelagia the Penitent- f. 141r - October 8;
Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius - f. 141v - October 8;
 Saint Thaïs - f. 142r - October 8;
 Saint Denis (bishop of Paris) - f. 142v - October 9;

♣ Français 185 – *Saints' Lives*

Saint Francis - October 4;
 Saint Pelagia the Penitent – f. 264 v - October 8;
Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius – f. 265v - October 8;
 Saint Thaïs - f. 265v - October 8;
 Saint Quentin –f. 266r - October 31;

♣ Français 242 - *Legenda Aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine

Saint Francis - October 4;
 Saint Pelagia the Penitent –f. 230r - October 8;
Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius - f. 231r - October 8;
 Saint Thaïs - f. 231v - October 8;
 Saint Denis (bishop of Paris) - October 9;

♣ Français 245 - *Legenda Aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine

Saint Francis- October 4;
 Saint Pelagia the Penitent – f. 130v- October 8;
Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius – f. 132r- October 8;
 Saint Thaïs –f. 132v - October 8;
 Saint Denis (bishop of Paris) - October 9;

APPENDIX 2 SAINT EUPHROSYNE OF ALEXANDRIA

♣ Arsenal 5080 - *Speculum historiale*, Vincentius Bellovacensis

Saint Mary of Egypt – f. 407r- April 2;
 Saint Marina – f. 408r- July 17;
***Saint Euphrosyne* – f. 408v– January 1;**
 Teachings of Holy Fathers – f. 410r.

♣ Français 51 - *Speculum historiale*, Vincentius Bellovacensis

Saint Mary of Egypt- April 2;
 Saint Marina – f. 201v- July 17;
***Saint Euphrosyne* – f. 202v– January 1;**
 Kings

♣ Français 15924 - *Speculum historiale*, Vincentius Bellovacensis

Saint Mary of Egypt – f. 91v - April 2;
 Saint Marina – f. 92r-July 17;
***Saint Euphrosyne* – f. 92v– January 1;**
 Teachings of Holy Fathers – f. 93v

♣ The Hague, KB, 71 A 24 – Miracles de Nostre Dame, Gautier de Coinci

Miracles de Nostre Dame;
 Sayings of the Unicorn;
 Life of St. Thais - October 8;
***Life of St. Euphrosyne* – f. 61v- January 1;**
 Twelve signs of the Last Judgement

APPENDIX 3 SAINT EUGENIA OF ROME

♣ Arsenal 5080 - *Speculum historiale*, Vincentius Bellovacensis

Saint Eusebius – f. 151v

Saint Eugenia of Rome – f. 152r – December 25;

Martyrdom of Saint Eusebius – f. 154v - August 25;

Martyrdom of Saint Philip, father of Saint Eugenia- f.159v

Saint Basilla of Rome Refusing her Fiancé – f. 160r

Saint Eusebius- f. 160v

Martyrdom of Saint Victor - f. 160v

Martyrdom of Saints Basilla, Prothus, and Hyacinthus – f. 186v– June 11;

Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia of Rome – 187r–December 25;

Martyrdom of Saint Ponce – 187v – May 14;

♣ Français 50 - *Speculum historiale*, Vincentius Bellovacensis

Saint Eusebius – f. 392r

Saint Eugenia of Rome - f. 392r – December 25;

Martyrdom Saint Eusebius and Victor- f. 394r - August 19;

♣ Français 51 - *Speculum historiale*, Vincentius Bellovacensis

Martyrdom of Saint Basilla of Rome – f. 3r – June 1;

Saint Eusebius and Victor- f. 3v

Saint Eugenia of Rome – f. 26r – December ;

Passion of Saint Ponce – f. 26v

♣ Français 185 – *Saint's Lives*

Martyrdom of Saints Gorgon and Dorothy –f. 254v– September 9;

Martyrdom of Saints Prothus and Hyacinthus of Rome (also Eugenia) –f. 254v– September 11;

Martyrdom of Saint Cornelius - f. 255v - September 14 /16

Martyrdom of Saint Euphemia - f. 255v – September 16

♣ Français 242 - *Legenda Aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine

Martyrdom of Saints Gorgon and Dorothy – f. 205r – September 9;
Martyrdom of Saints Prothus and Hyacinthus of Rome (also Saint Eugenia) – f. 205v- December 25;/ September 11;
 Exaltation of the Cross – f. 206v - September 13/5;
 Saint John Chrysostome Preaching – January 27;
 Martyrdom of Saint Cornelius September 14 /16;
 Martyrdom of Saint Euphemia – September 16;

♣ Français 313 - *Speculum historiale*, by Vincentius Bellovacensis

Saint Eusebius - f. 152v - August 14;
Martyrdom of Saints Prothus and Hyacinthus of Rome (also Saint Eugenia) - f. 152v
 December 25;
 Saint Vincent and Saint Eusebius – f. 155r - August 25;
Martyrdom of Saint Basilla and Prothus, Hyacinthus – f. 184r - September 11;
Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia of Rome –f. 184v- December 25;
 Martyrdom of Saint Ponce –f. 185r - May 14;

♣ Français 15941 - *Speculum historiale*, by Vincentius Bellovacensis

Saint Eusebius
Saint Eugenia – f. 36r – December 25;
 Martyrdom of Saint Jules –Emperor Commodus – f. 38r Emperor Commodus- August 19;
 Saint Eusebius and Saint Victor – f. 38r - August 25;
Martyrdom of Saint Basilla, Prothus, and Hyacinthus – f. 61r
Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia of Rome – f. 61v - December 25;
 Martyrdom of Saint Ponce – f. 61v- May 14;

♣ Espagnol 44 - *Legenda Aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine

Martyrdom of Saints Gorgon and Dorothy – f.197v– September 9;
Saint Eugenia of Rome – f.197v- December 25;
 Miracle of the Image of Saint Sophia of Constantinople
 Martyrdom of Saint Cornelius September 14 /16;
 Martyrdom of Saint Euphemia – September 16;

APPENDIX 4 SAINT MARINA THE MONK

- ♣ Arsenal 5080 - *Speculum historiale*, by Vincentius Bellovacensis

Saint Mary of Egypt – f. 407r- April 2;
Saint Marina –f. 408r - July 17;
Saint Euphrosyne – f. 408v – January 1st;
 Teachings of Holy Fathers

- ♣ Français 51 - *Speculum historiale*, by Vincentius Bellovacensis

Saint Mary of Egypt- April 2;
Saint Marina –f. 201v- July 17;
Saint Euphrosyne – f. 202v– January 1;
 Kings

- ♣ Français 241 - *Legenda Aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine

Saints Quirice – f. 139r - June 16;
Saint Marina –f. 139v - July 17/ June 18;
 Saints Gervais and Protais (Milan) and the poor –f. 140r – June 19;

- ♣ Français 242 - *Legenda Aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine

Saints Quirice – f. 120r- June 16
Saint Marina –f. 120v- July 17/ June 18
 Saints Gervais and Protais (Milan) and the poor – f.121r– June 19;

- ♣ Français 15924 - *Speculum historiale*, by Vincentius Bellovacensis

Saint Mary of Egypt – f. 91v-April 2
Saint Marina – f. 92r - July 17;
Saint Euphrosyne - f. 92v - January 1;
 Teachings of Holy Fathers –f. 94r

- ♣ Latin 5264 - *Calendarium sive Commemorationes sanctorum monachorum, Missa et officium sanctorum reliquiarum, Officia sancti Georgii et sanctae Marinae*, by Guillelmus a Mederio

Saint George-April 23

Saint Marina – f. 74r- June 18; July 17

- ♣ Espagnol 44 - *Legenda Aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine

Martyrdoms of Saints Quirice and Julit – f. 123v- June 16;

Saint Marina – f. 123v July 17/ June 18;

Martyrdom of Saint Protas (Milan) – June 19;

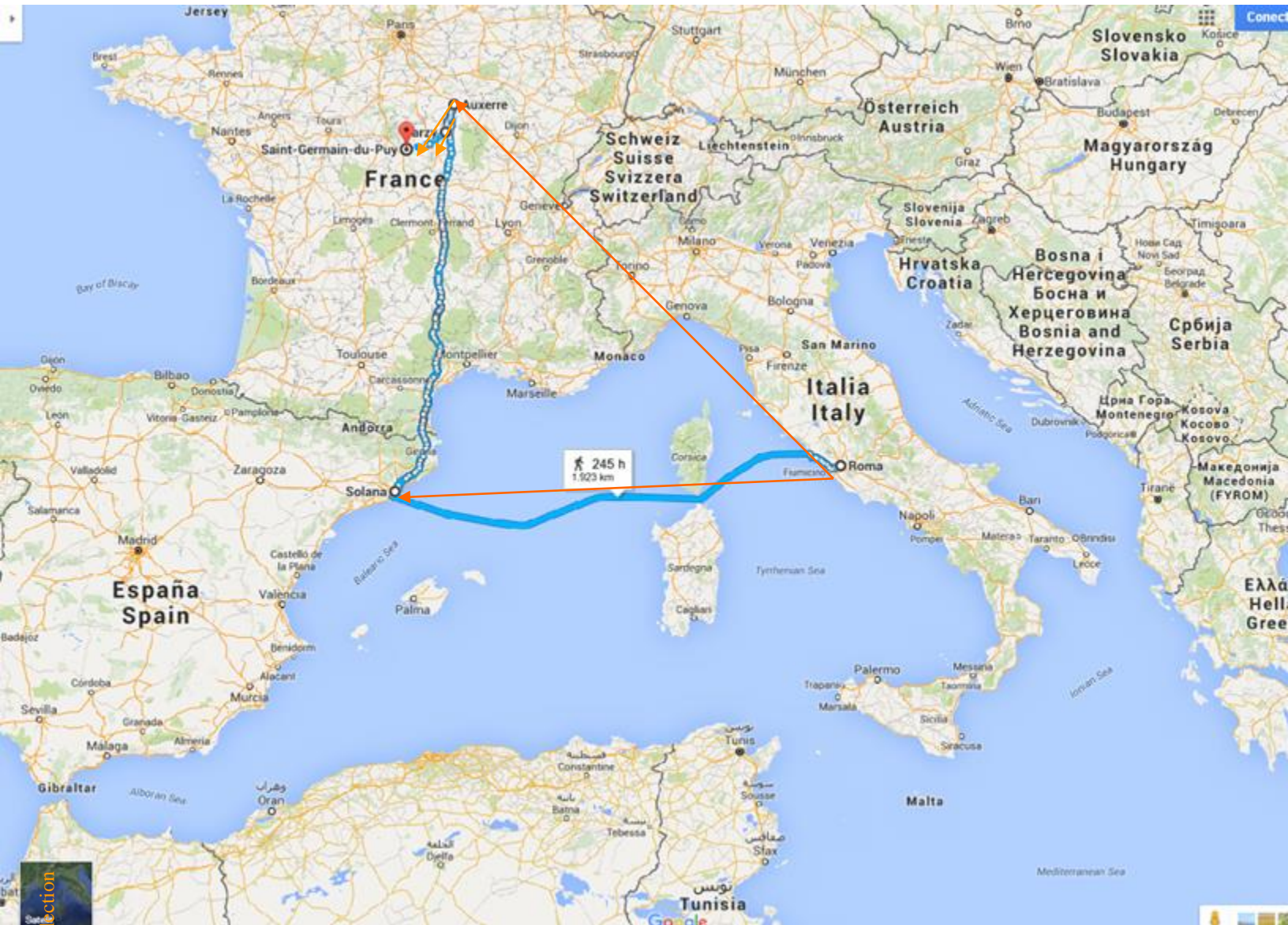
Maps

Map of relics

Transfer of Saint Eugenia's relics from Rome:

 9th-10th century

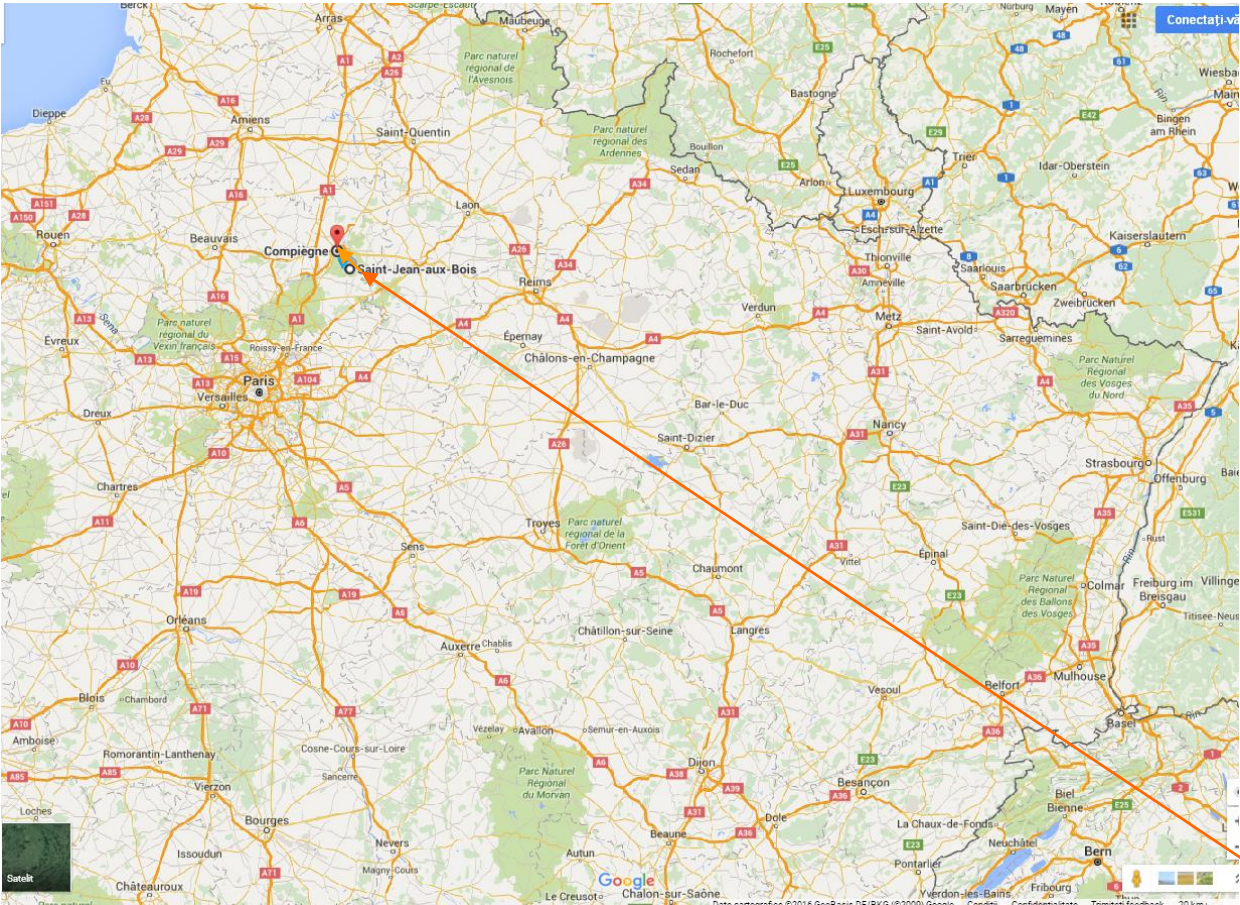
 11th century



Transfer of Saint Euphrosyne's relics from the Holy Land:

→ 13th century

→ 14th century onwards

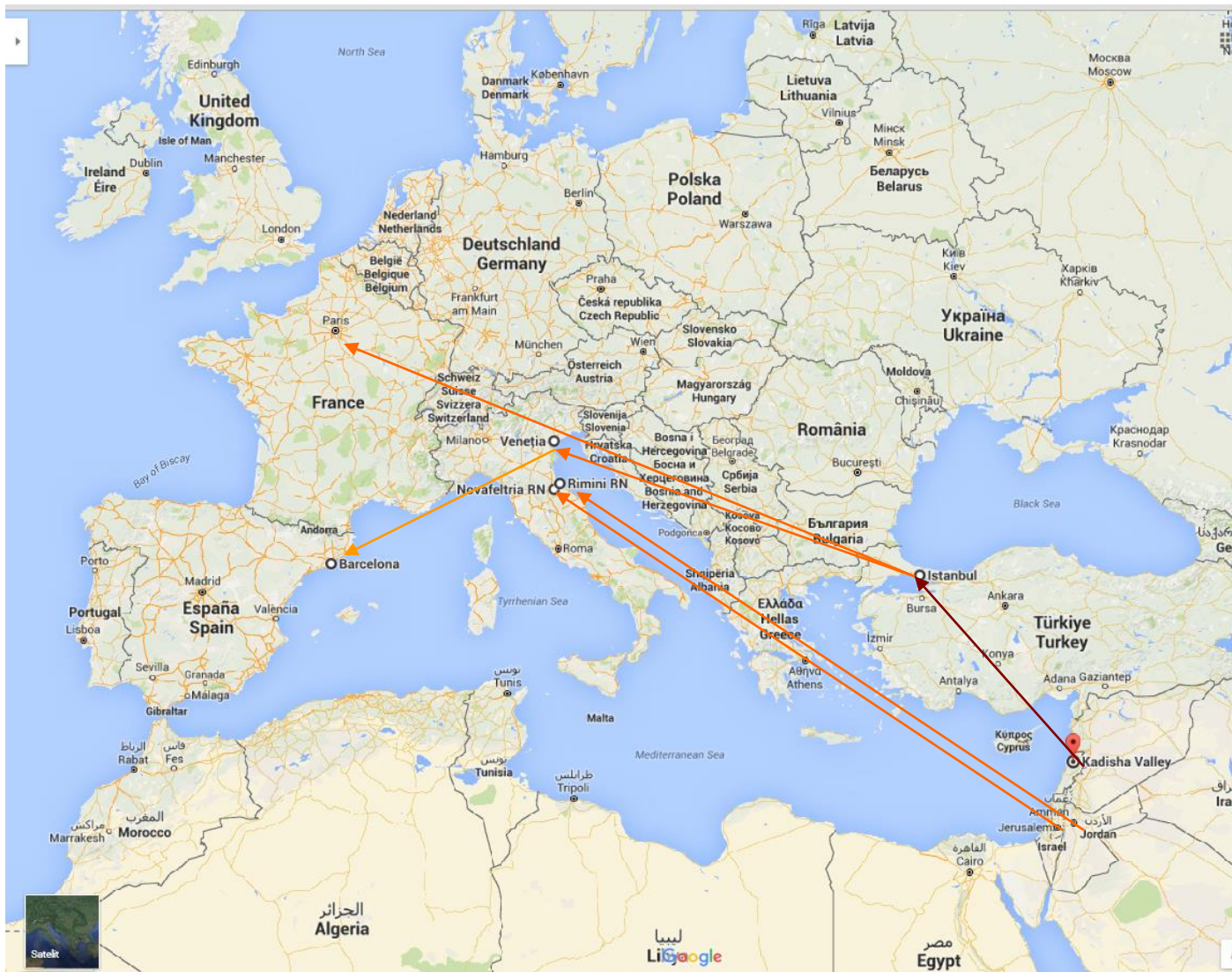


Transfer of Saint Marina's relics from Constantinople/Holy Land:

8th-13th century

13th century



15th century







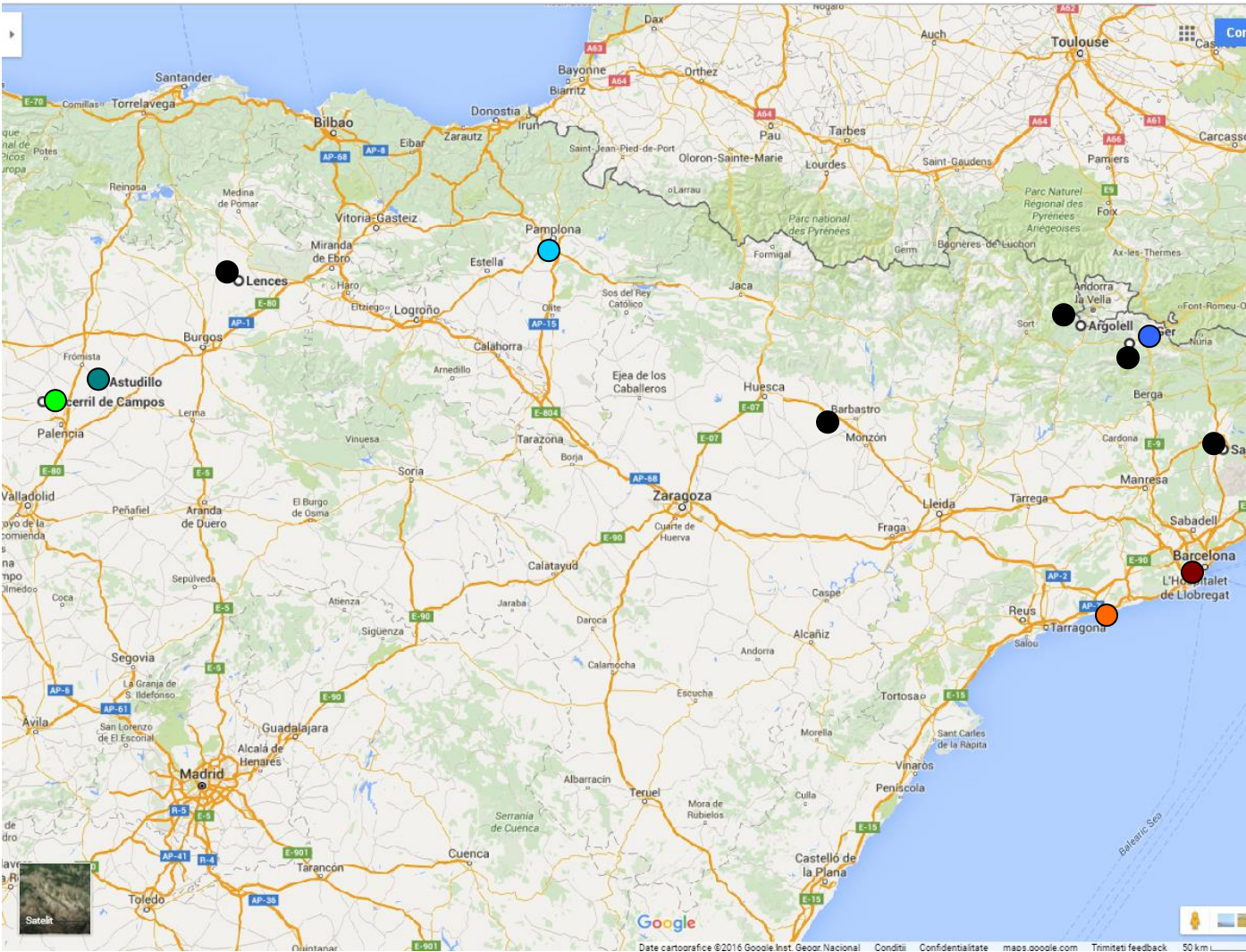
Saint Marina's and Saint Eugenia's iconography in Italy:

Saint Marina:

-  11th -17th century (Venice, Ardea, Calabria: Filandari, Polistena, etc.)
-  14th century (Pisa)




Saint Eugenia:

-  5th-7th century (Ravenna)
-  14th-17th century (Rome, Bagnoro)








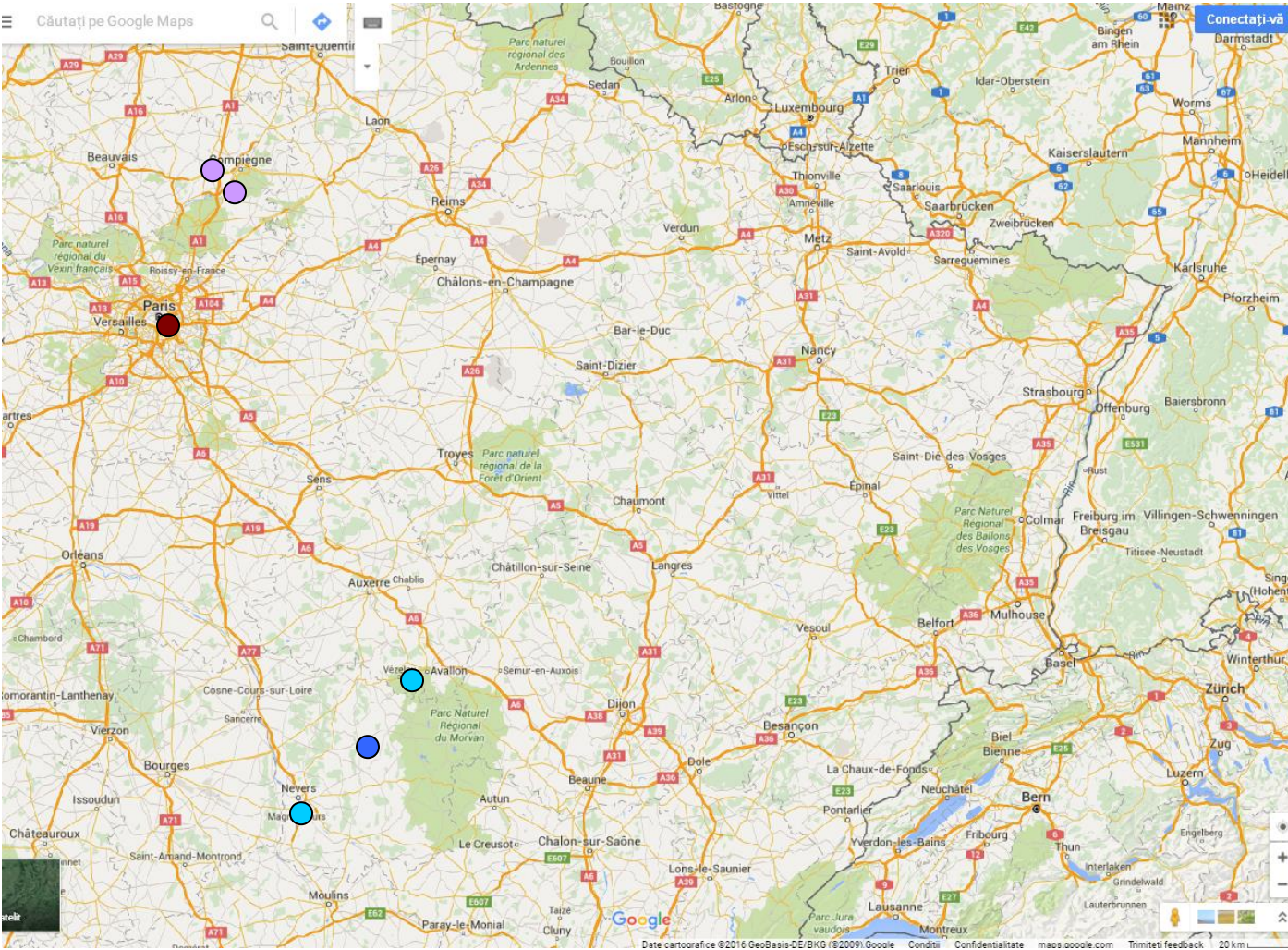
Saint Marina's and Saint Eugenia's iconography in Spain:

Saint Marina:

-  15th century (Barcelona)
-  17th century (Pratdip)
-  place(s) of veneration/ no iconography (Pompenillo)


Saint Eugenia:

-  12th century (Pamplona)
-  13th century (Ger)
-  15th-16th century (Astudillo)
-  17th century (Becerril de Campos)
-  place(s) of veneration/ no iconography (Santa Eugenia de Neralla, Santa Eugenia de Berga, Argolell, Lences de Bureba)





Saint Marina's, Saint Eugenia's, and Saint Euphrosyne's iconography in France:

Saint Marina:

 11th/12th – 18th century (Paris)

Saint Eugenia:

 12th century (Vézelay, Nevers)

 12th -16th century (Varzy)

Saint Euphrosyne:

 17th century (Saint-Jean-aux-Bois, Compiègne)

Image Catalog⁵³¹

⁵³¹ All the images are grouped in the chronological order of the relevant episodes from the saints' lives.

Saint Eugenia of Rome

France



Fig. 1: Saint Eugenia taught by her father, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 409r



Fig. 2: Saint Eugenia taught by her father, 1370-1380, Maître du livre du sacre et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 15941, folio 36r.



Fig. 3: Saint Eugenia taught by her father (and baptism episode-right), 1463, François and collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 50, folio 392r.



Fig. 4: Baptism of Saints Eugenia, Prothus and Hyacinthus, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 152v.



Fig. 5: Baptism of Saints Eugenia, Prothus and Hyacinthus, 1370-1380, Maître du livre du sacre et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 15941, folio 36v.



Fig. 6: Eugenia asking for permission to enter the monastery, thirteenth century, *Lives of Saints*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 818, folio 248r.



Fig. 7: Vision of Saint Eugenia, fourteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 20330, folio 239r.



Fig. 8: Eugenia (right; left, Sts. Prothus and Hyacinthus), late fifteenth-century, *Roman Breviary* of French origin, Fance, Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque du patrimoine, ms. 69, folio 548v.



Fig. 9: Saint Eugenia (with Sts. Protus and Hyacinth), fifteenth-century, *Legenda aurea*, France, Angers, Université Catholique de l'Ouest, University library, incunable without number, folio 202v.



Fig. 10: Accusation of Melanthia, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 153r.



Fig. 11: Saint Eugenia disguised in abbot reveals her identity to her father, 1335, *Miroir Historial*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 154r.



Fig. 12: Accusation of Melanthia, 1370-1380, Maître du livre du sacre et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 15941, folio 37r.



Fig. 13: Eugenia revealing her identity, 1370-1380, Maître du livre du sacre et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 15941, folio 37v.



Fig. 14: Saint Eugenia- accusation episode, 1396, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 313, folio 154v.



Fig. 15: Accusation of Melanthia, 1455, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 309, folio 105v.



Fig. 16: Saint Eugenia accused by Melanthia, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 50, folio 393v.



Fig. 17: Saint Eugenia (right; left, Baptism of Saint Basilla), 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 3r.



Fig. 18: Saint Eugenia destroying the temple of Diana, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 187r.



Fig. 19: Saint Eugenia destroying the temple of Diana, 1370-1380, Maître du livre du sacre et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 15941, folio 61v.



Fig. 20: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, 1396, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 313, folio 184v.



Fig. 21: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, fourteenth century, *Lives of Saints*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 254v.



Fig. 22: Passion of Saint Eugenia, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 26r.



Fig. 23: Passion of Saint Eugenia, fifteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 242, folio 205v.



Fig. 24: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, 1445 - 1465, Chroniques II Workshop,
Legenda Aurea, France. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.672-5, folio 74v.



Fig. 25: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, 1455, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 309, folio 140r.



Fig. 26: Saint Eugenia of Rome revealing her identity, twelfth century, Vézelay, France, Church of Saint Mary Magdalene.



Fig. 27: Saint Eugenia martyrdom episodes, thirteenth century, Nevers, France, Church of Saint Cyr and Saint Julitte.



Fig. 28: Saint Eugenia reliquary, thirteenth century, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens, treasury.



Fig. 29: Saint Eugenia, fifteenth century, Varzy, France, Auguste Grasset Museum.



Fig. 30: Saint Eugenia triptych, sixteenth-century, Bartholomeus Pons, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.



Fig. 31: Saint Eugenia revealing her identity, sixteenth-century, Bartholomeus Pons, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.



Fig. 32: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, sixteenth-century, Bartholomeus Pons, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.



Fig. 33: Saint Claudia at the tomb of Saint Eugenia, sixteenth-century, Bartholomeus Pons, Varzy France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.

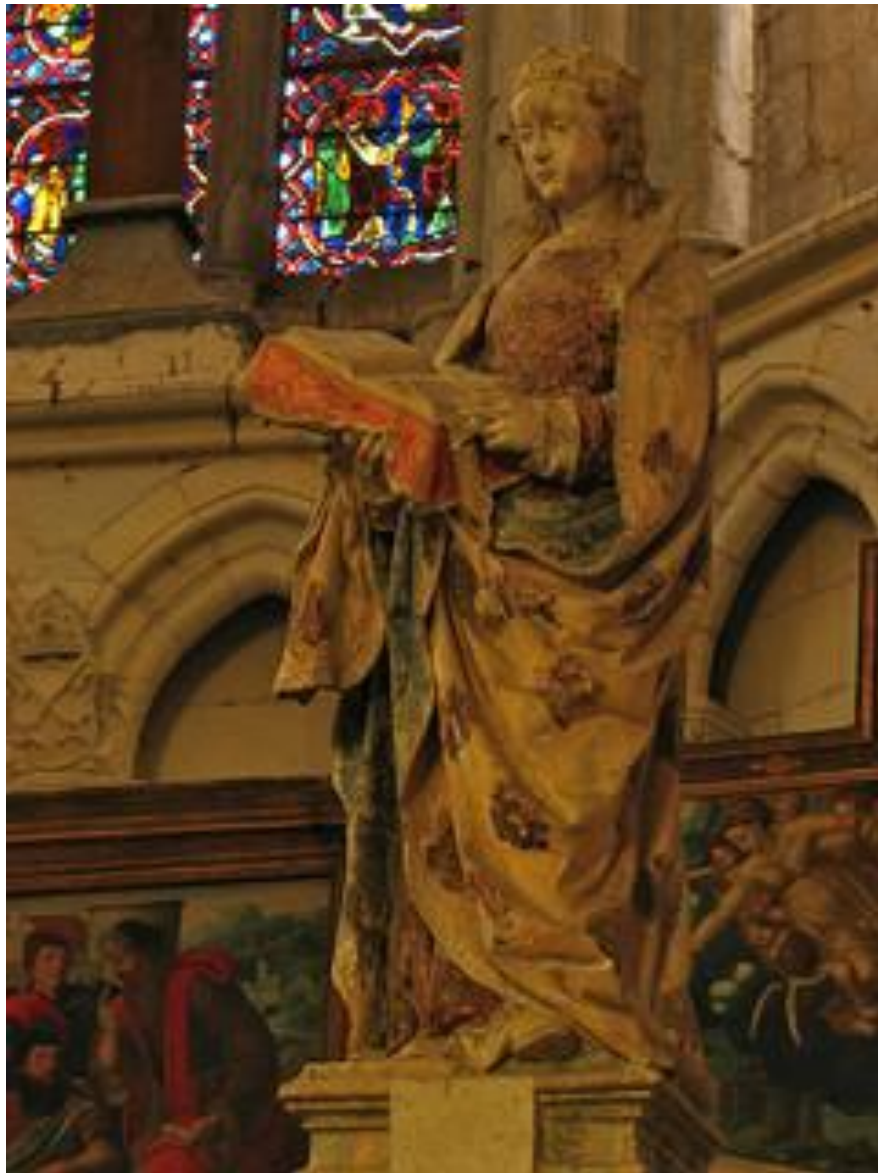


Fig. 34: Saint Eugenia, c. 1500, Varzy, France, Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens.



Fig. 35: Saint Eugenia (supposedly), sixteenth century, Varzy, France, Auguste Grasset Museum.



Fig. 36: Saint Eugenia, seventeenth-century, Yvignac, France, Chapelle de Trélée.

Spain

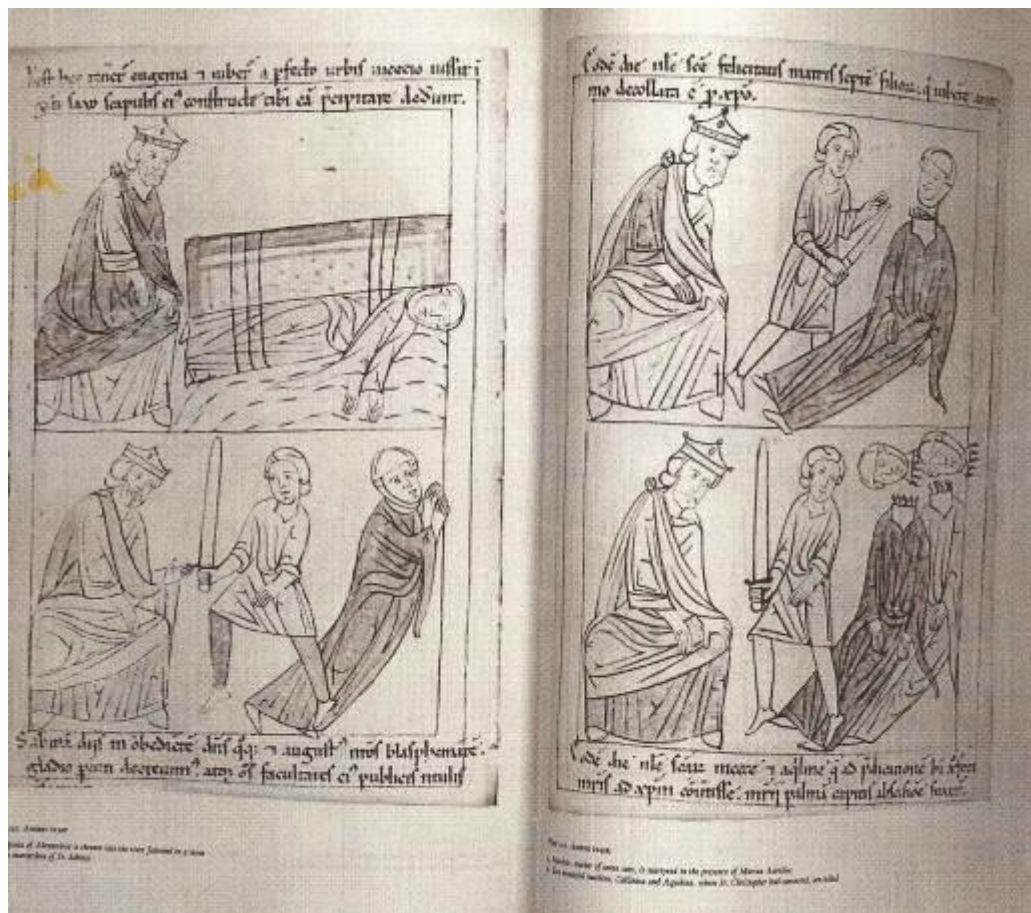


Fig. 37: Passion of Saint Eugenia, twelfth century, *Pamplona Bibles*, Spain. France, Amiens Library, Ms. Lat. 108, folio 239v.

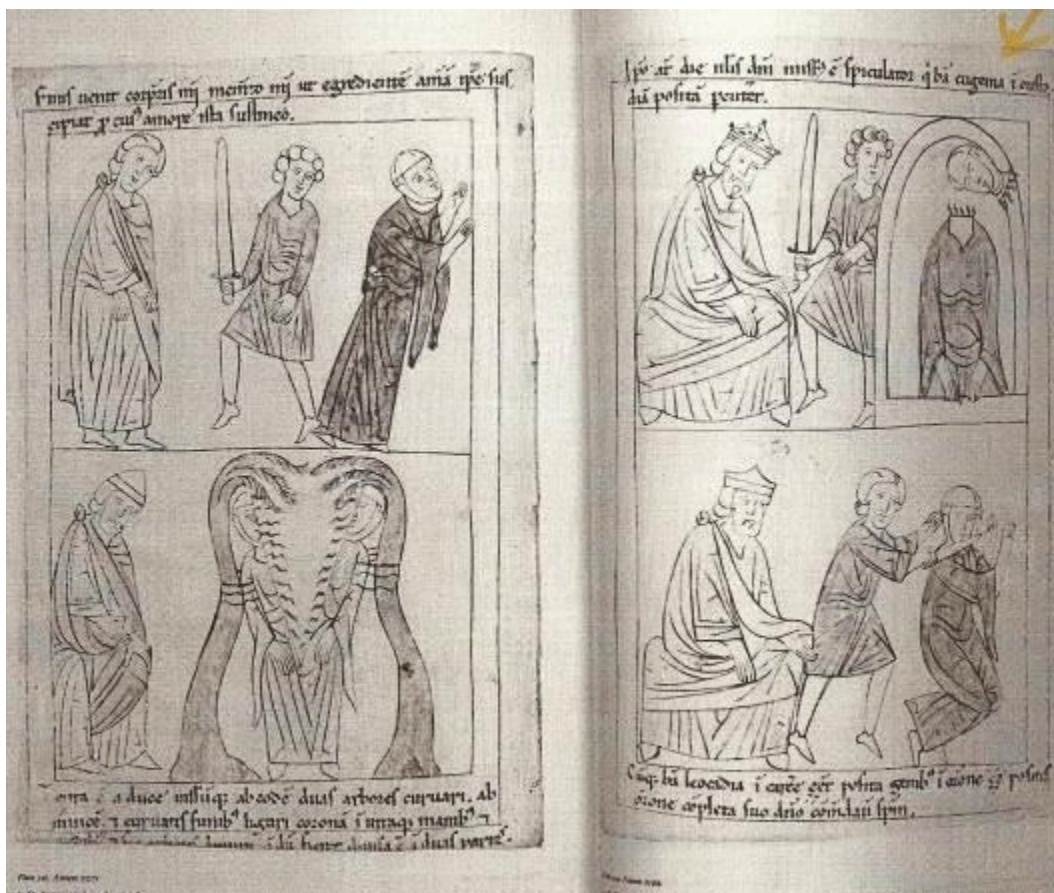


Fig. 38: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, twelfth century, *Pamplona Bibles*, Spain. France, Amiens Library, Ms. Lat. 108, folio 238r.



Fig. 39: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, 1290-1300, *Legenda Aurea*, Spain. Paris, National Library of France, Espagnol 44, folio 197v.



**Fig. 40: Eugenia of Rome altar frontal, thirteenth century, Master of Soriguerola, Catalonia, Spain.
Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.**



Fig. 41: Episodes of Saint Eugenia's Life, fifteenth-sixteenth, Astudillo, Spain, Church of Saint Eugenia. <http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed March 25, 2015.



Fig. 42: Saint Eugenia of Rome revealing her identity, fifteenth-sixteenth, Astudillo, Spain, Church of Saint Eugenia. <http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed March 25, 2015.



Fig. 43: Assumption of the Virgin, fifteenth-sixteenth, Astudillo, Spain, Church of Saint Eugenia.
<http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed March 25, 2015.



Fig. 44: Saint Eugenia and Saints Prothus and Hyacinthus, fifteenth-sixteenth, Astudillo, Spain, Church of Saint Eugenia. <http://esculturacastellana.blogspot.ro/2012/09/retablos-viii.html> Last accessed March 25, 2015.



Fig. 45: Church of Saint Eugenia, seventeenth century, Becerril de Campos, Spain.

Italy (Croatia and Greece)



Fig. 46: Saint Eugenia (left), fifth-sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo.



Fig. 47: Procession of female saints, fifth-sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo.



Fig. 48: Saint Eugenia (upper row), sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, Palazzo Arcivescovile.



**Fig. 49: Saint Eugenia, sixth century, Poreč, Croatia,
Cathedral.**



Fig. 50: Saint Eugenia, tenth-century, Greece, Hosios Loukas Monastery.



Fig. 51: The Virgin Mary with Saint Eugenia (right) and Saint Lawrence (left), fourteenth century, Bagnoro, Italy (reproduced in Angelo Tafi, *La millenaria Pieve di S. Eugenia al Bagnoro* (Arezzo: Calosci-Cortona, 1991).



Fig. 52: Saint Catherine of Alexandria, Saint Eugenia (middle), and Saint Agnes, Anonymous author from Lombardy, fifteenth-century, Lombardy, Italy. New York, M.F. Griggs Collection.



Fig. 53: The Virgin with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Margaret of Antioch/Eugenia, fifteenth-century, Matteo di Giovanni, Siena, Italy, Church of Saint Eugenia.

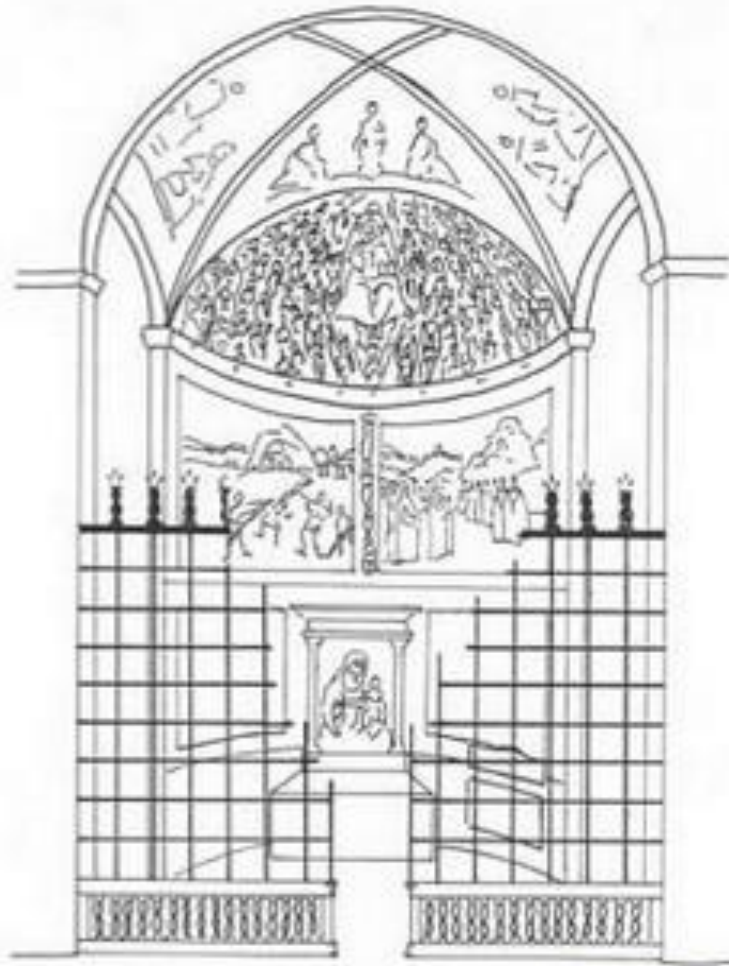


Fig. 54: Reconstruction of the Chapel of Saint Eugenia by Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth-Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 223.



Fig. 55: The Virgin Mary and Saint Eugenia (detail), fifteenth-century, Antoniazio Romano, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (photo by the author)



Fig. 56: Madonna of Cardinal Bessarion, c. 1467, Antoniazio Romano, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (photo by the author)



Fig. 57: Saint Eugenia, seventeenth-century (?), Rome, Church of the Apostles. (photo by the author)



Fig. 58: Saint Claudia, seventeenth-century (?), Rome, Church of the Apostles. (photo by the author)



**Fig. 59: Saint Claudia, seventeenth-century, Domenico Guidi, Rome, Church of the Apostles.
(photo by the author)**



**Fig. 60: Saint Eugenia, seventeenth-century Francesco Peroni, Rome, Church of the Apostles.
(photo by the author)**



Fig. 61: Martyrdom of Saints Eugenia and Basila, sixteenth-seventeenth century, Antonio Tempesta, Rome, Istituto Nazionale dell'Arte Grafica.



G. Giacomo Sementi, Martirio di S. Eugenia, XVII sec., Pinacoteca Naz., Bologna

**Fig. 62: Martyrdom of Saint Eugenia, seventeenth century, Giacomo Sementi, Bologna, Italy
Pinacoteca Nazionale.**



Woodcut no. 22

Fig. 63: Saint Eugenia taught by her mother in Sandra Lowerre, *The Cross-Dressing Female Saints in the Wynkyn de Worde's 1495 Edition of the 'Vitas Patrum'* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 46.

Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria

France



Fig. 64: Saint Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1327, Fauvel Master, *Lives of Saints*, Paris. The Hague, National Royal Library of Netherlands, Ms. 71 A 24, folio 61v.



Fig. 65: Euphrosyne entering the monastery, 1328 (?), Maître de Thomas de Maubeuge, *Collection of Ancient French Poems*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5204, folio 87v.



Fig. 66: Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria taking the habit, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 408v.



Fig. 67: Saint Euphrosyne taking the habit, 1370-1380, Maître du livre du sacre et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 15942, folio 92v.



Fig. 68: Saint Euphrasyne entering the monastery, fourteenth century, *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 24947, folio 181r.



Fig. 69: Euphrosyne entering the monastery (and other episodes of her life), 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 202v.



Fig. 70: Saint Euphrosyne of Alexandria's death, Mahiet et collab., 1335, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 409v.



Fig. 71: Sainte Euphrosyne, seventeenth-century, France, Saint-Jean-aux-Bois, Saint-Jean-aux-Bois Abbey.



Fig. 72: Death of Saint Euphrosyne, 1636, *Saints' Calendar Book*, Jacques Callot.

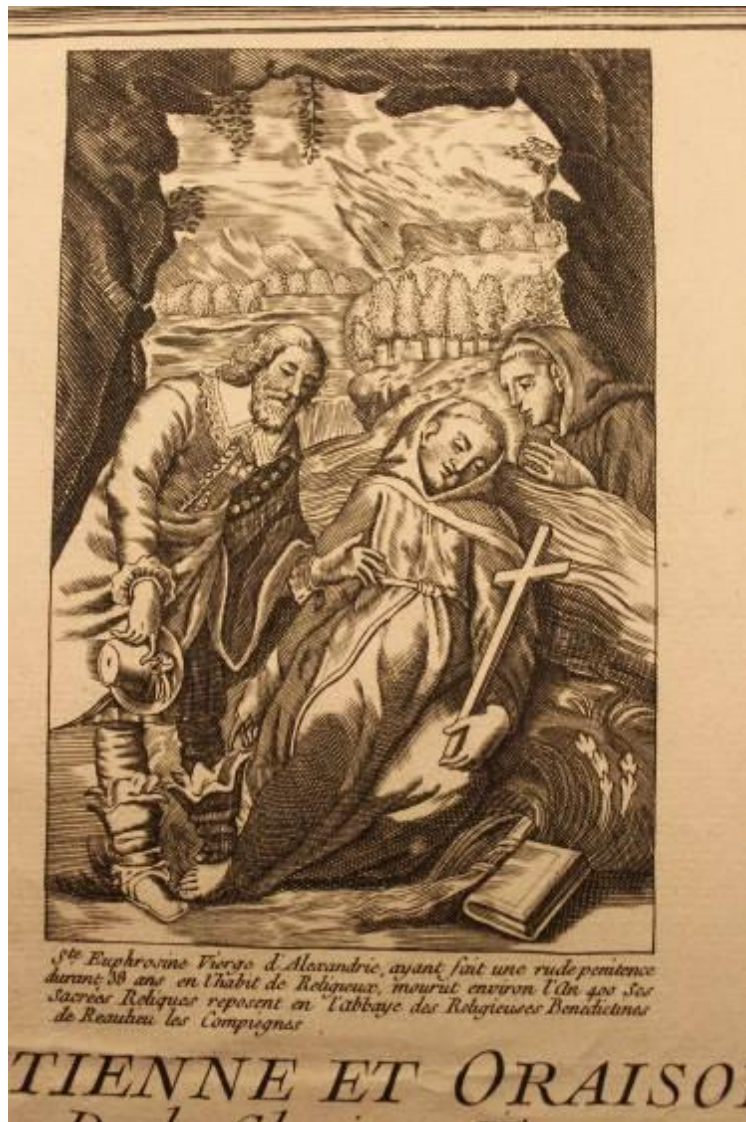


Fig. 73: Saint Euphrosyne's death, seventeenth-century, Compiègne, France,
Library of Compiègne, MOUR 2634.

Italy



Fig. 74: Saint Euphrosyne, eleventh century, *Life of Saints*, Italy, Abbey of Santa Scolastica, Abbey Library, Ms. 160, folio 17r.



Fig. 75: Saint Hippolytus , Saint Reparata, Saint Matthew, Saint Tekla, Saint Paul, Saint Anastasia, Saint Lawrence, Saint Euphrosyne, Saint Maurice, sixteenth century, Antonio del Ceraio, Florence, Italy.

LA
 RAPRESENTATIONE
 DI SANTA EVFROSINA
 VERGINE.

La quale essendo maritata si fuggi tra Monaci co-
 me maschio, & iui stette trent'otto anni, & al
 la sua morte fu conosciuta dal padre,
 si com'ella volse.

*Con due Laude aggiuntovi di nuouo
 Nouamente Stampata.*



Fig. 76: Discovery of Saint Euphrsoyne's death, *La rapresentatione di santa Eufrosina vergine*, Florence, 1572.

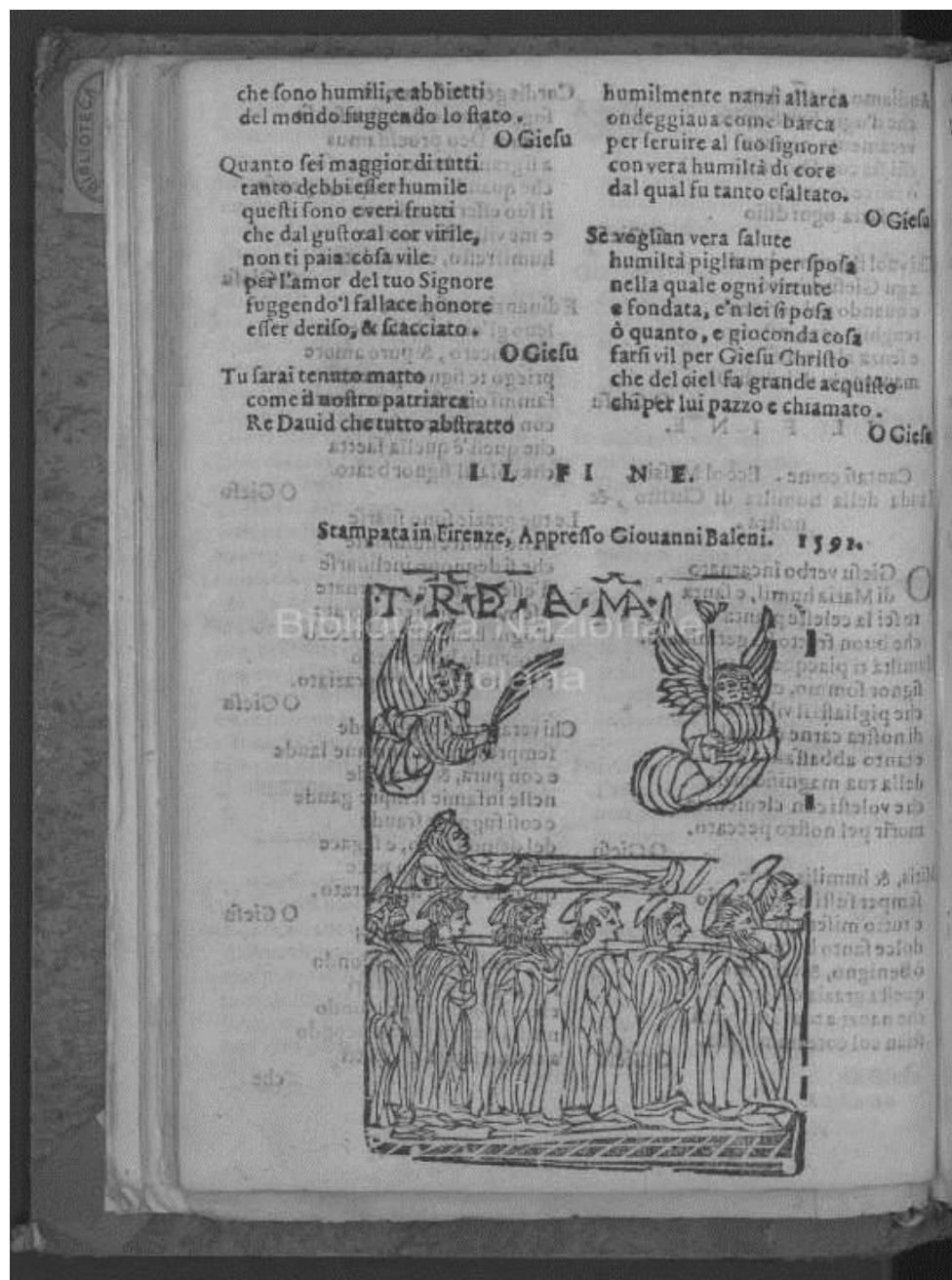


Fig. 77: Procession with Saint Euphrosyne's relics, *La rapresentatione di santa Eufrosina vergine*, Florence, 1591.

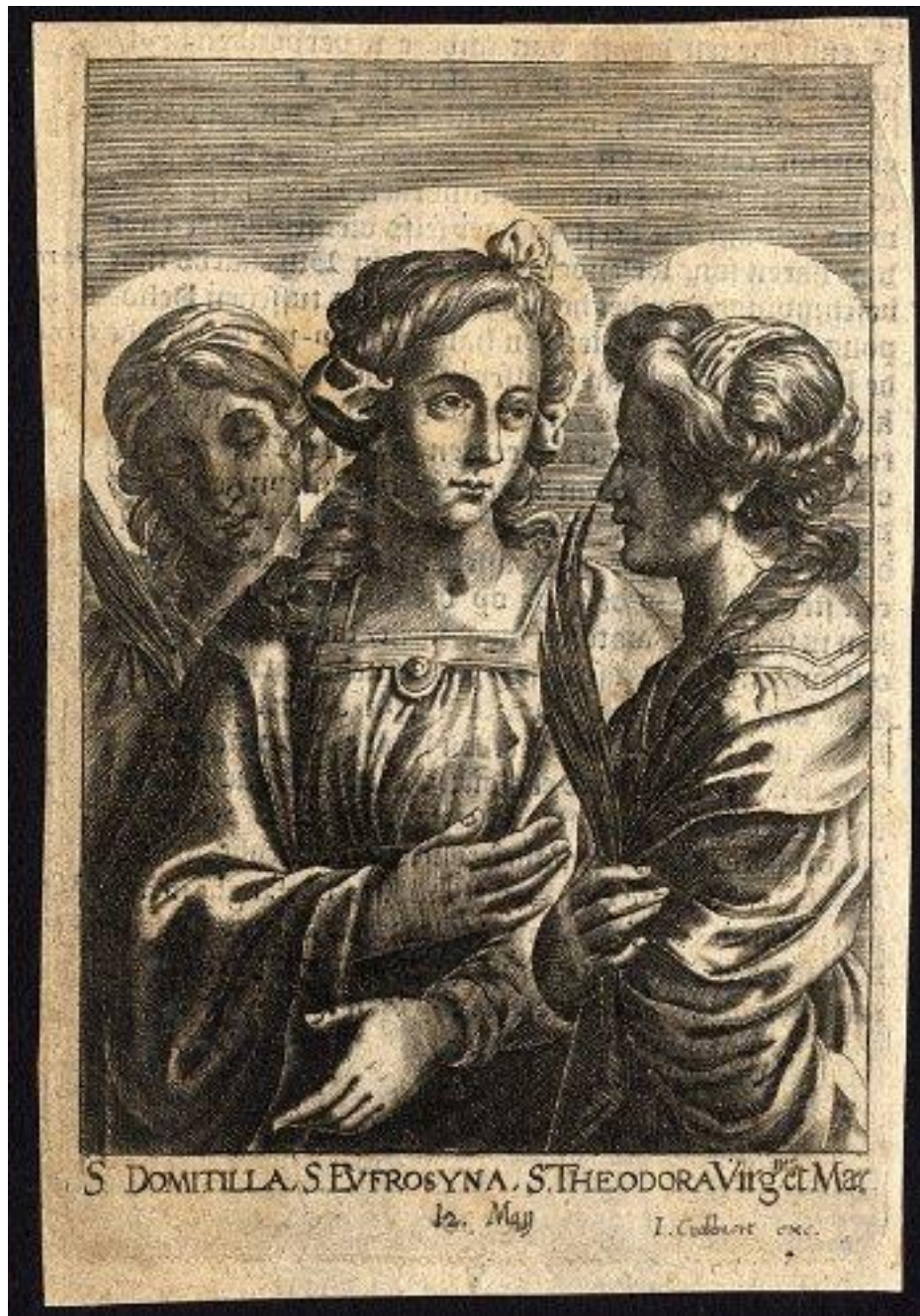


Fig. 78: Saints Domitilla, Eufrosyne, and Theodora, Petrus de Jode (engraver?), *Lives of the Holy Virgins*, Heribertus Rosweydeus (Antwerp: Cnobbaert, 1626).

German



Fig. 79: Saint Euphrosyne, c. 1185-1195, *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, Heiligenkreuz, Austria, Cistercian abbey, Cod. 11, folio 124v.



Fig. 80: Saint Rosula and Saint Euphrasine, 1501-1515, altar wing, Baden-Baden, Germany, Lichtental Monastery.

Other engravings

Dutch



Fig. 81: The monks discover the real identity of Smaragdus, the monachoparthena Euphrosyne, 1619, B. Bolswert, *Sacra Eremus Ascetarum*, No. 5, Antwerpen.



Fig. 82.A: Saint Euphrosyne dead, c. 1606, Nicolaas de Bruyn (after Adriaen Collaert), *Solitudo sive Vitae Foeminarum Anachoritarum*, The British Museum, object reference no.: 1852,0214.540.1-25.



Fig. 82.B: Saint Euphrosyne in *La Rappresentazione di Santa Eufrosina Vergine* (Siena, alla Loggia del Papa 1607), 19.

Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius

French



Fig. 83: Margareta Pelagius leaving her wedding feast, thirteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, France. San Marino, CA., Huntington Library, HM 3027, folio 141v.



Fig. 84: Margareta Pelagius (entrance into the monastery and death), fourteenth-century, *Lives of Saints*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 265v.



Fig. 85: Death of Saint Margareta Pelagius, fourteenth-century, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 20330, folio 273r.

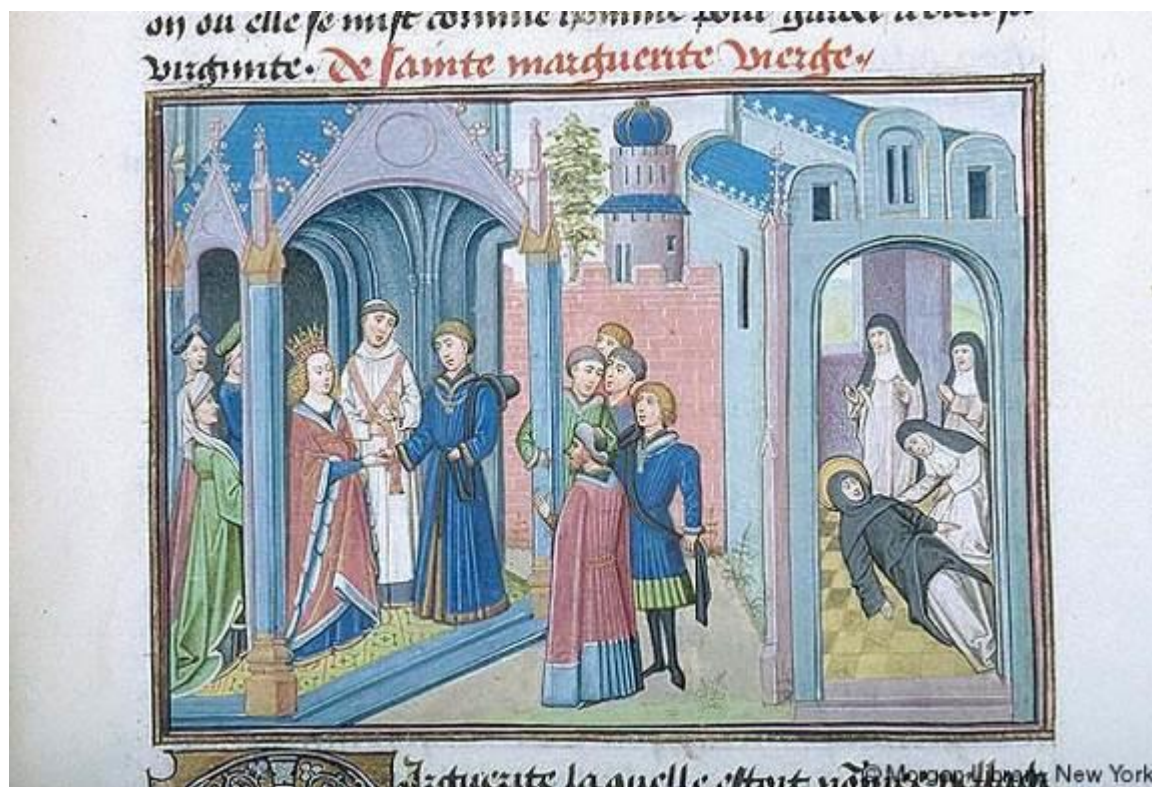


Fig. 86: Margareta Pelagius marriage and death, 1445 - 1465, Chroniques II Workshop, *Legenda Aurea*, France. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.672-5, folio 136r.



Fig. 87: Death of Saint Margarita Pelagius, fifteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 242, folio 231r.



Fig. 88: Margareta Pelagius accused, 1480-1490, Jacques de Besançon, *Legenda aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 245, folio 132r.

Germany/Austria



Fig. 89: Margareta Pelagius in her cell, 1446 – 1447, Master of the Klosterneuburg Missal, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 326, folio 214r.

Saint Marina the Monk

France



Fig. 90: Saint Marina entering the monastery, 1300-1350, *Legenda Aurea*, France. The Vatican Library, Ms. 534, folio 100v.



Fig. 91: Marina presented at the monastery, 1348, Richard de Montbaston, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 241, folio 139v.



Fig. 92: Saint Marina entering the monastery with her father, fourteenth century, *The Life of the Desert Fathers*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 24947, folio 179v.



Fig. 93: Saint Marina entering the monastery, fourteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 20330, folio 135r.



Fig. 94: Marina entering the monastery, 1445 - 1465, Chroniques II Workshop, *Legenda Aurea*, France. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, M.672-5, folio 279v.



Fig. 95: Marina and the child, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 408v.



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 Eleguet, Paris, 1905

Fig. 96: Saint Marina teaching the child, fifteenth century, Paris, National Library of France, Ms. 6448, folio 156.



Fig. 97: Saint Marina and the child, fifteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 242, 120v.



Fig. 98: Marina's entrance, accusation, death episodes, thirteenth century, *Legendary*, Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 23686, folio 221v.

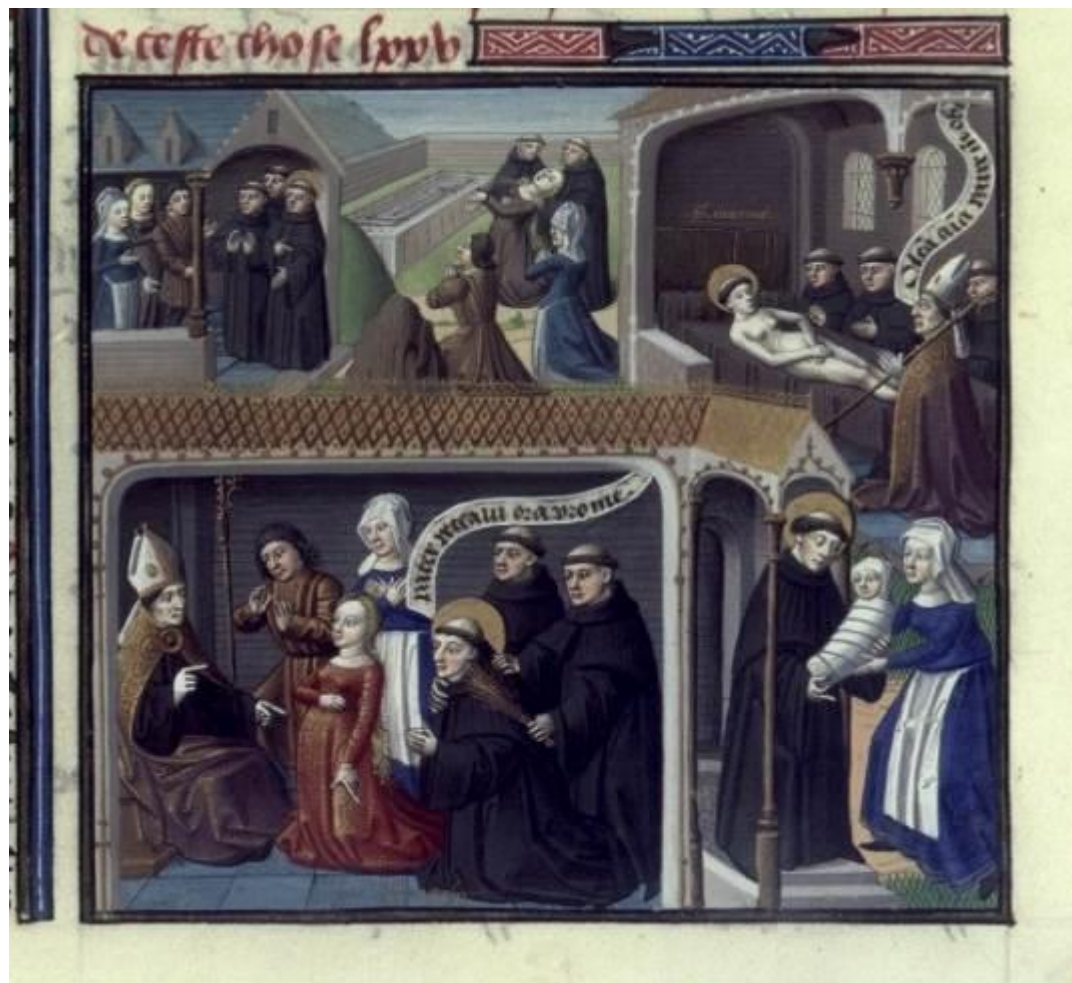


Fig. 99: Saint Marina's trial and death, 1463, François et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 51, folio 201v.



Fig. 100: Saint Marina (dressed as a Benedictine), 1493, *Legenda Aurea*, France, Angers, Université Catholique de l'Ouest, Library of Angers, manuscript without number [1], folio 121r.

Italy



Fig. 101: Saint Marina entering the monastery, 1350-1375, Roberto Oderisi, *Vitae Patrum*, Naples, Italy. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 626, folio 129v.



Fig. 102: Saint Marina entering the monastery, 1350-1375, Roberto Oderisi, *Vitae Patrum*, Naples, Italy. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 626, folio 130r.



Fig. 103: Saint Marina driving a cart, fifteenth century, *Collection of lives*, The Vatican Library, Ms. 375, folio 38v.



Fig. 104: Saint Marina excluded from the monastery, fifteenth century, *Collection of lives*, The Vatican Library, Ms. 375, folio 38v.



Fig. 105: Saint Marina and the child, fifteenth century, *Collection of lives*, The Vatican Library, Ms. 375, folio 38v.



Fig. 106: Saint Marina entering the monastery, 1350-1375, Roberto Oderisi, *Vitae Patrum*, Naples, Italy. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 626, folio 130v.

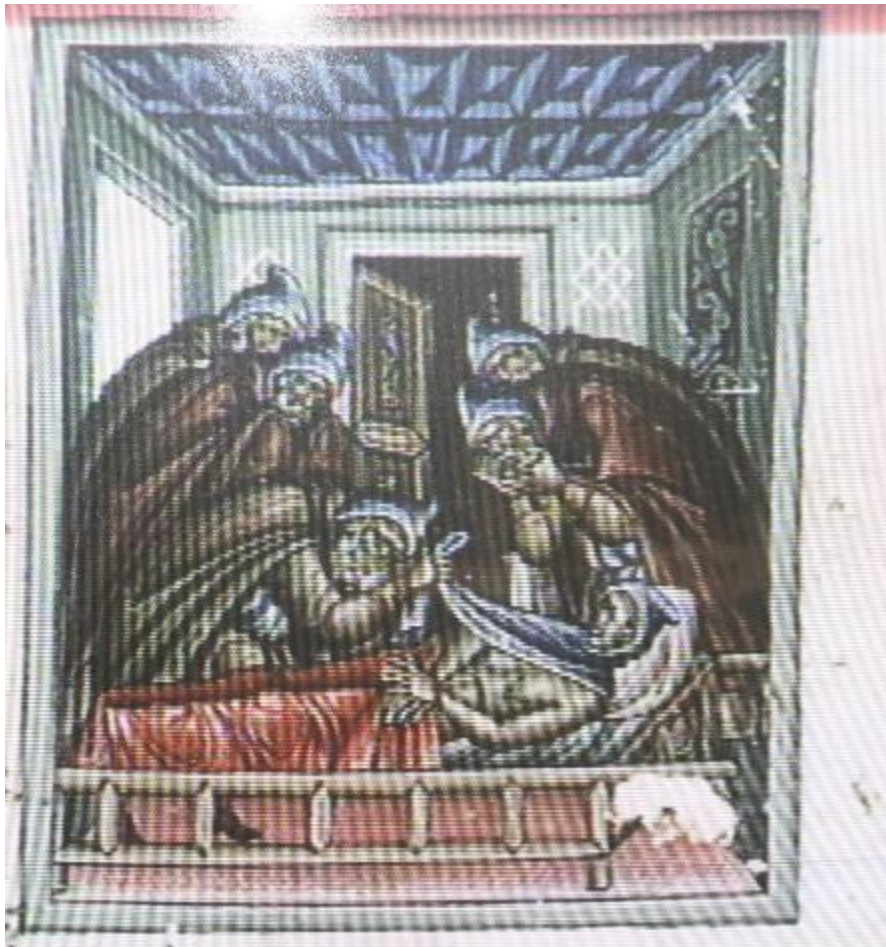


Fig. 107: Saint Marina dead, fifteenth century, *Collection of lives*, The Vatican Library, Ms. 375, folio 38v.



Fig. 108: Saint Marina, 1100-1199, *Passionarium*, The Vatican Library, Ms. 1191, folio 90.



Fig. 109: 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 Galluzzo, 2007).



Fig. 110: Saint Marina, 1420-1450, Pseudo Jacobello del Fiore (Lorenzo di Giacomo?), Venice, Italy.



Fig. 111: The Prayer of Doge Andrea Gritti (*Doge Andrea Gritti assisted in prayer by Saint Mark in front of the Madonna with the Child, Saint Marina, Saint Bernardino of Siena and Saint Alvise*), Robusti Jacopo (il Tintoretto), sixteenth century, Venice, Italy, Palazzo Ducale.



Fig. 112: Saint Andrew adoring the cross, Saint Marina raising the child outside the monastery, Sacrifice of Isaac, Saint Francis receiving the stigmata (detail), 1385- 1428, Andrea di Bartolo (attributed to), Siena, Italy. Belgium, Brussels, J. Stoclet Collection.



**Fig. 113: Episode from Saint Marina's life, 1430-1470, Anonymous Venetian author, Venice, Italy.
Milan, Asta Sotheby's .**



Fig. 114: Saint Cecilia, Saint Marina, Saint Theodore, Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian adoring the Madonna and the Child in glory, sixteenth century, Robusti Jacopo (il Tintoretto), Venice, Italy, Gallerie dell'Accademia.



Fig. 115: Madonna with Child in glory with Saint Benedict, Saint Marina, Saint Francis of Assisi and two saints, sixteenth century, anonymous author, Venice, Italy. Germany, Berlin, State Museum of Berlin.



Fig. 116: Saint Marina (and Saint Christopher, left, and a saint), 1350-1399, anonymous author, Venice, Italy, Correr Museum.



Fig. 117: Saint Marina, 1450-1460, Antonio Vivarini, Venice, Italy. Germany, Berlin, State Museum of Berlin.



Fig. 118: Saint Francis of Assisi receiving the stigmata surrounded by Saint Dominic and Saint Marina, 1350-1399, anonymous author, Venice, Italy. Ravenna, Italy, Museo d'Arte della Città.

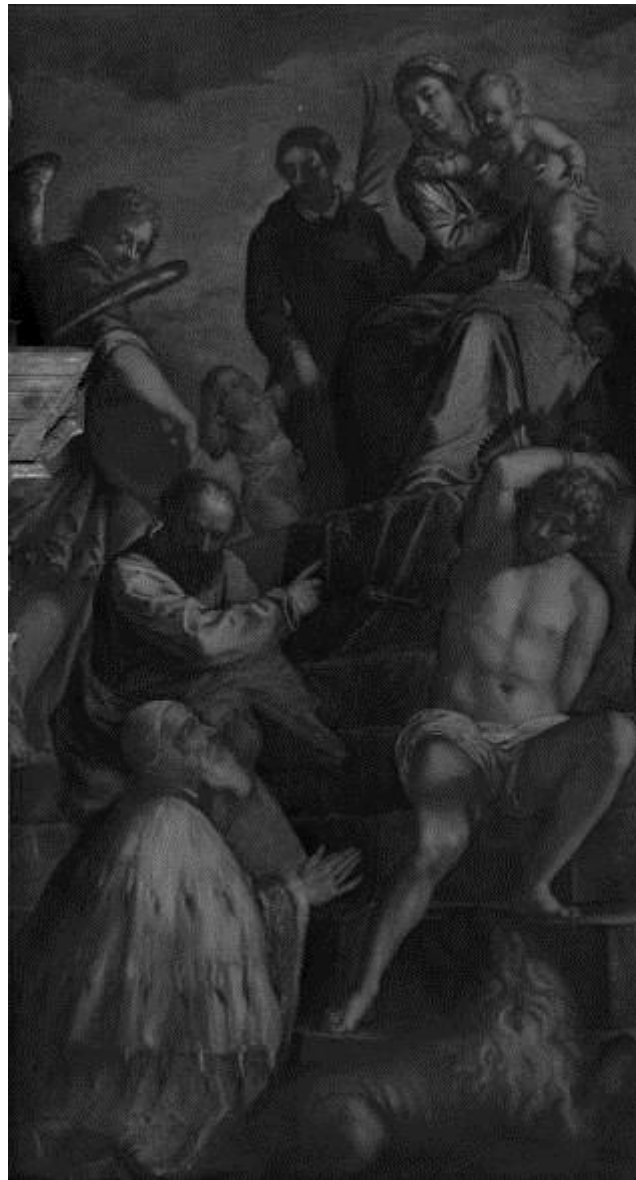


Fig. 119: Veneration of the Virgin (Saint Marina left), sixteenth century, anonymous author, Venice, Italy, Palazzo Ducale.



Fig. 120: Triptych of the Coronation of the Virgin and the Crucifixion, 1362-1390, Caterino Veneziano, Venice, Italy. Prague, Czech Republic, National Museum.



Fig. 121: Virgin Mary and Saint Marina the Monk (detail), 1362-1390, Catarino Veneziano, Venice, Italy. Prague, Czech Republic, National Museum.



Fig. 122: Saint Marina and the Child, seventeenth century, Farjat Benoît, Rome, Italy, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, no. 474266,

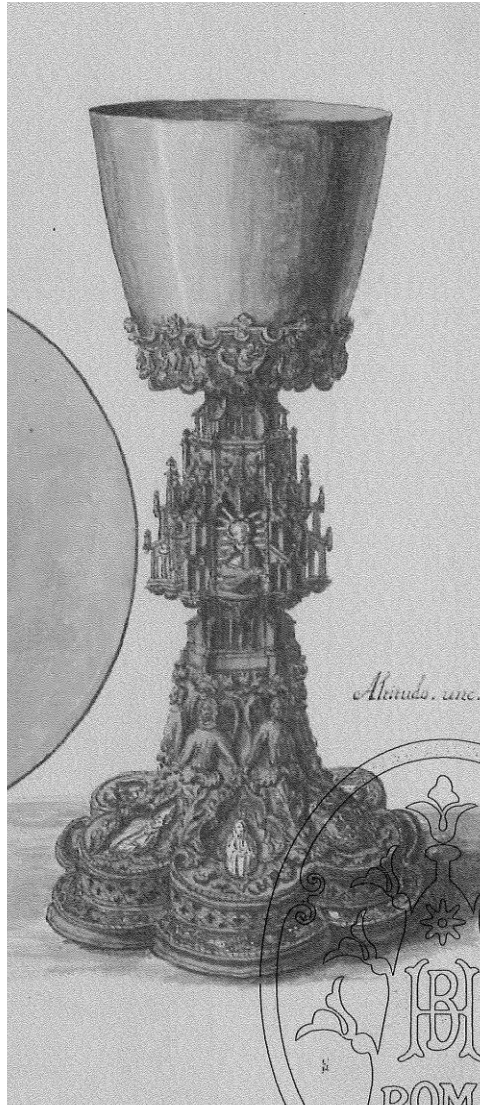


Fig. 123: Chalice with Saint Marina (portrait), 1412, Grevenbroch Johannes, folio 31, Venice, Italy, Correr Museum.

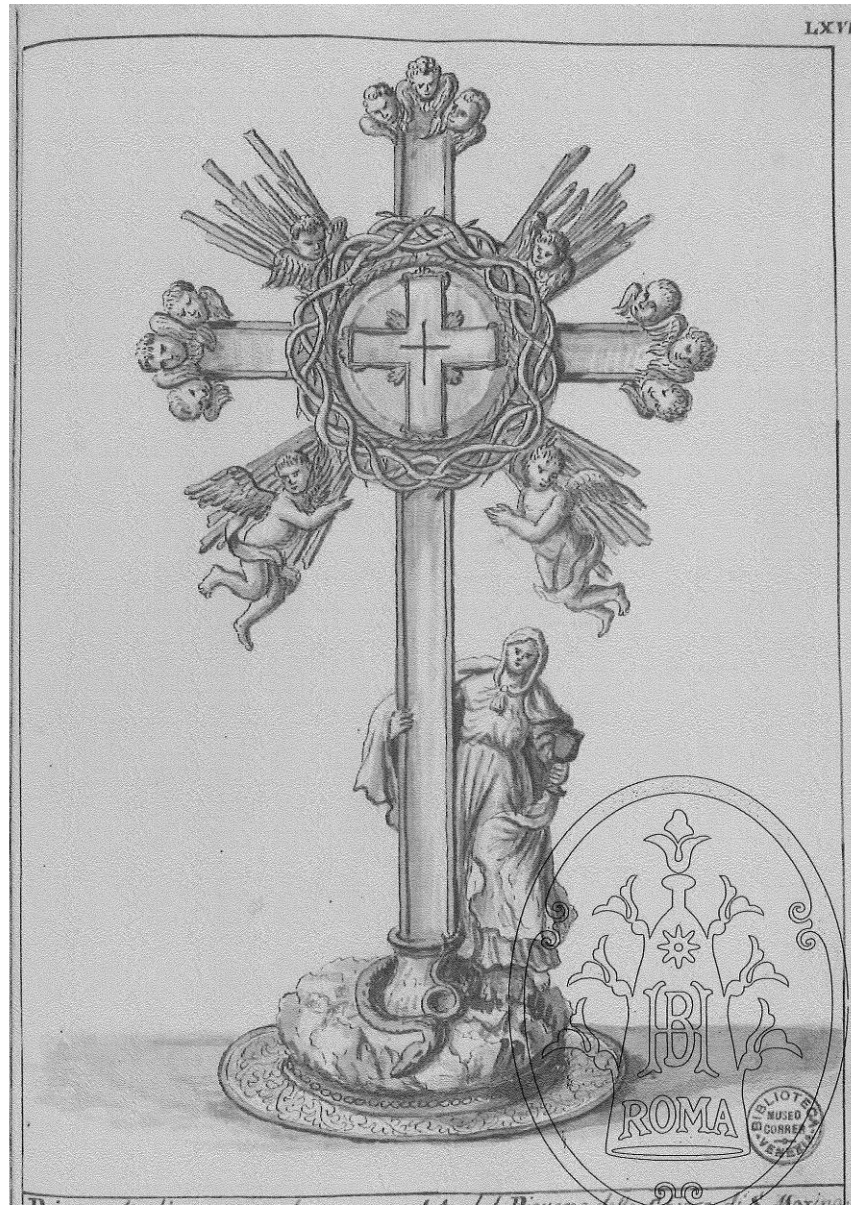


Fig. 124: Chalice with Saint Marina (portrait), 1412, Grevembroch Johannes, folio 68, Venice, Italy, Correr Museum.

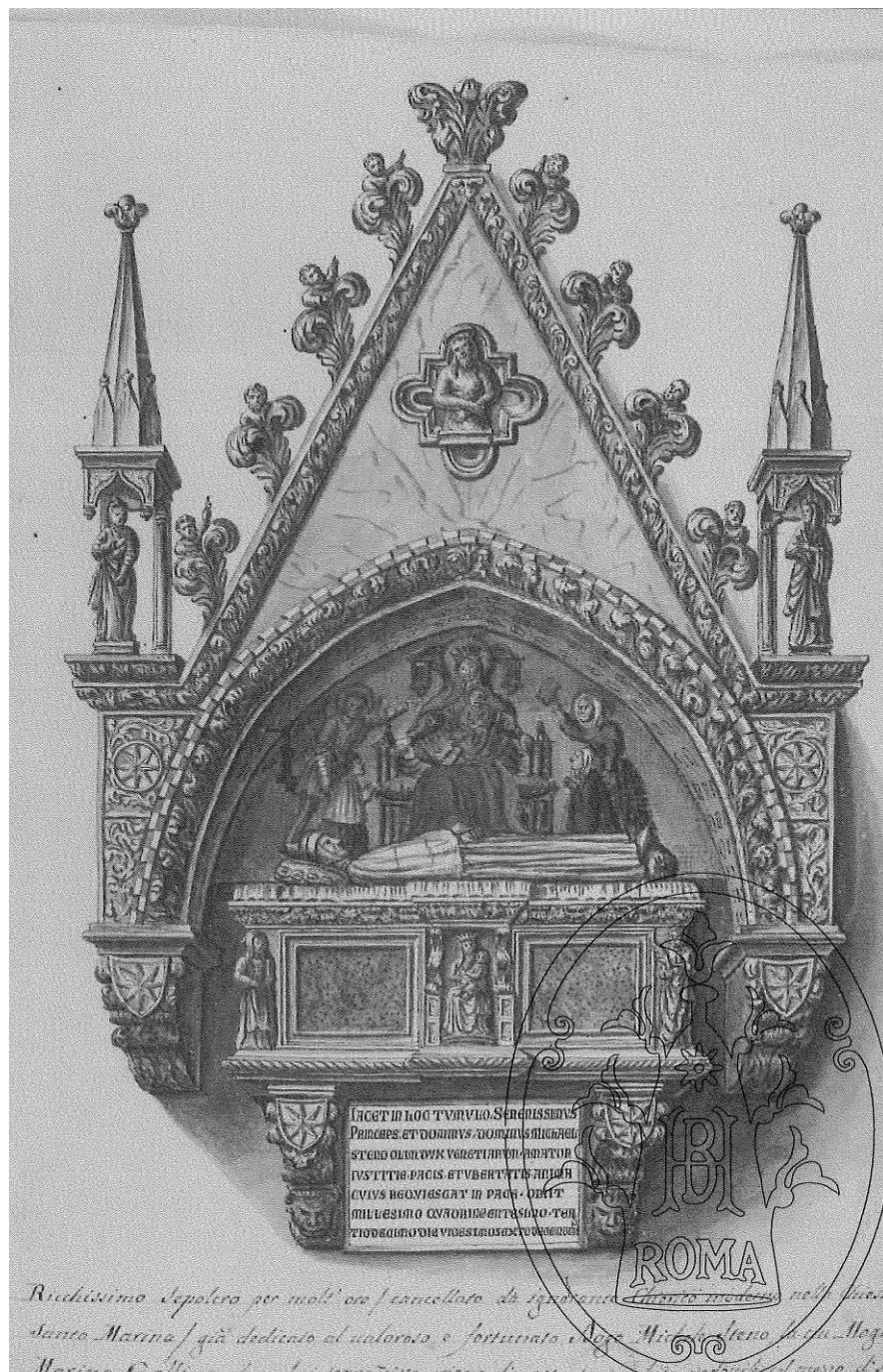


Fig. 125: Saint Marina (right) together with Saint Michael, 1412, Grevembroch Johannes, fol. 33, Venice, Italy, Correr Museum.



Fig. 126: Saint Marina and the Child, 1763, *Compendio della vita di Santa Marina vergina*, Venice, Italy, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

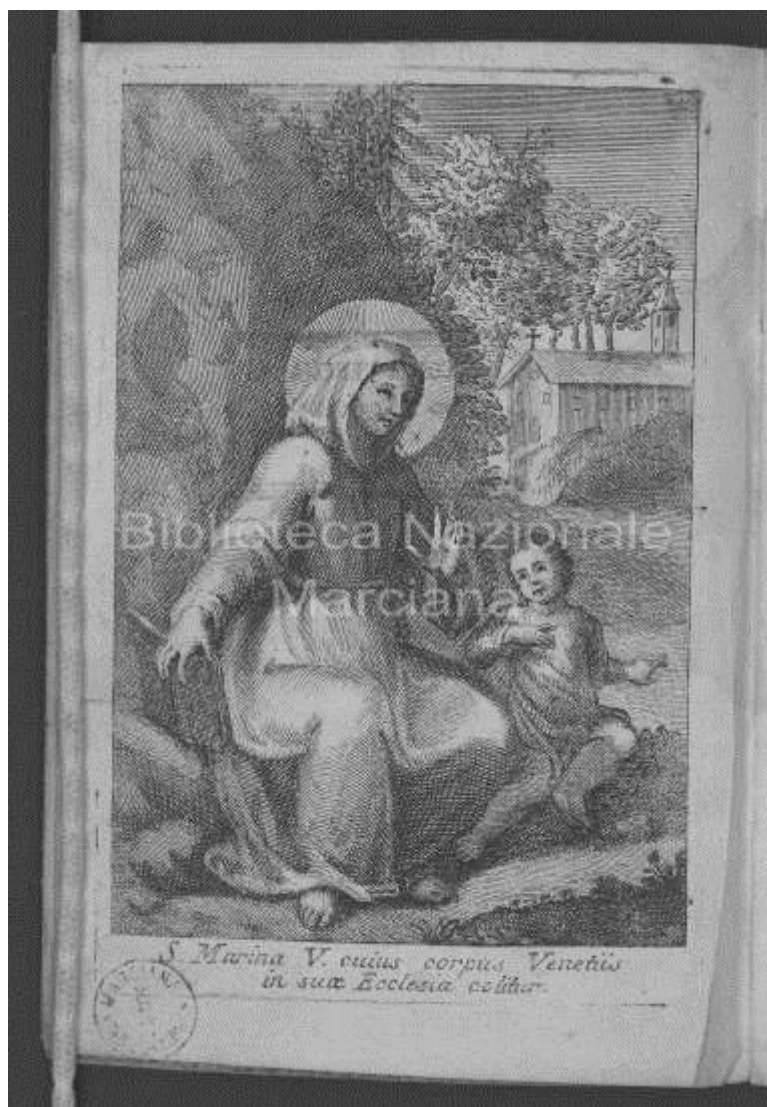


Fig. 127: Saint Marina and the Child, 1763, *Compendio della vita di Santa Marina vergina*, Venice, Italy, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.



Disegno del rilievo di santa Marina all'esterno della chiesa
(T. D'AMADENO, *Biologia S. Marinae*, Venezia 1676.)

Fig. 128: Saint Marina relief depicted outside the church of Saint Marina in Cristina Crippa, "Il culto e la chiesa di Santa Marina a Venezia," unpublished thesis, Venice, Univesita Ca'Foscari, 2007/2008, 128.



33. Disegno dell'icona dorata di santa Marina.

Fig. 129: Saint Marina in Cristina Crippa, "Il culto e la chiesa di Santa Marina a Venezia," unpublished thesis, Venice, Univesita Ca'Foscari, 2007/2008, 131.



34. Lorenzo Bregno, statua di santa Marina.
(foto di L. Nicolodi.)

Fig. 130: Statue of Saint Marina in Cristina Crippa, “Il culto e la chiesa di Santa Marina a Venezia,” unpublished thesis, Venice, Univesita Ca’Foscari, 2007/2008, 132.



35. Disegno della statua di santa Marina.
(T. D'AMADENO, *Biologia S. Marinae*, Venezia 1676.)

Fig. 131: Saint Marina in Cristina Crippa, “Il culto e la chiesa di Santa Marina a Venezia,” unpublished thesis, Venice, Univesita Ca’Foscari, 2007/2008, 132.



regola della scuola e sovvegno di santa Marina in santa
 (Archivio fotografico del Civico Museo Correr.)

Fig. 132: Saint Marina and the child in Cristina Crippa, “Il culto e la chiesa di Santa Marina a Venezia,” unpublished thesis, Venice, Univesita Ca’Foscari, 2007/2008, 140.



53. Venezia, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Lorenzo Veneziano, Polittico part. santa Marina.

(C. GUARNIERI, *Lorenzo Veneziano*, Cinisello Balsamo 2006.)

Fig. 133: Saint Marina in Cristina Crippa, "Il culto e la chiesa di Santa Marina a Venezia," unpublished thesis, Venice, Univesita Ca'Foscari, 2007/2008, 140.



55. Boldrini, xilografia del quadro votivo del doge Andrea Gritti di Tiziano.
(W. WOLTERS, *Storia e politica nei dipinti di Palazzo Ducale*, Venezia 1987.)

Fig. 134: Dodge Andrea Gritti venerating the Virgin (Saint Marina right) in Cristina Crippa, “Il culto e la chiesa di Santa Marina a Venezia,” unpublished thesis, Venice, Univesita Ca’Foscari, 2007/2008, 145.



Fig. 135: Saint Marina (middle), twelfth century, Sicily, Italy, Monreale Cathedral,.



Fig. 136: An Abbot twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina. (photo by the author)



Fig. 137: Saint Marina, twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina. (photo by the author)



Fig. 138: Marina's father, twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina. (photo by the author)



Fig. 139: Saint Marina, seventeenth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina. (photo by the author)



Fig. 140: Saint Marina, city seal, undated, Ardea, Italy.



Fig. 141: Thebais, Buonamico Buffalmacco, fourteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Camposanto.



Fig. 142: Saint Marina (sketches), Buonamico Buffalmacco, fourteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Camposanto.

Spain



Fig. 143: Saint Marina and the child, thirteenth-fourteenth century, *Legenda Aurea*, Spain. Paris, National Library of France, Espagnol 44, folio 123v.



Fig. 144: Saint Marina the Monk, fifteenth century, *Officium S. Marinae*, Spain. Paris, National Library of France, Latin 5264, folio 74r.



Fig. 145: Saint Marina the Monk (episodes of her life), 1602, Prasdip, Spain, Santuario de Santa Marina.



Fig. 146: Saint Marina the Monk (detail), Prasdip, Spain, Santuario de Santa Marina.



Fig. 147: Saint Marina the Monk, destroyed 1936, Pratdip, Spain, Santuario de Santa Marina.

Austrian/German



Fig. 148: Marina and the Child, thirteenth century, *Magnum legendarium austriacum*, Zwettl, Lower Austria, Cistercian abbey, Monastic library, Cod.1, folio 10v.



Fig. 149: Saint Marina on the cart, 1446-1447, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, National Austrian Library, Cod. 326, folio 111r.



Fig. 150: Saint Marina, 1446-1455, *Lives of Saints*, Augsburg, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Germ. 6834, image 248.



Woodcut no. 21

Fig. 151: Saint Marina and the child in Sandra Lowerre, *The Cross-Dressing Female Saints in the Wynkyn de Worde's 1495 Edition of the 'Vitas Patrum'* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 44.

Eastern/Byzantine



Fig. 152: St. Marina (Mavrinos), eight century, Tsirkoli, Georgia, Church of Saint George.



Fig. 153: Marina the Monk (scenes from her youth) - Demestrius of Thessalonica, twelfth-thirteenth century, Qalamoun, Lebanon, Chapel, Grotto of St. Marina.

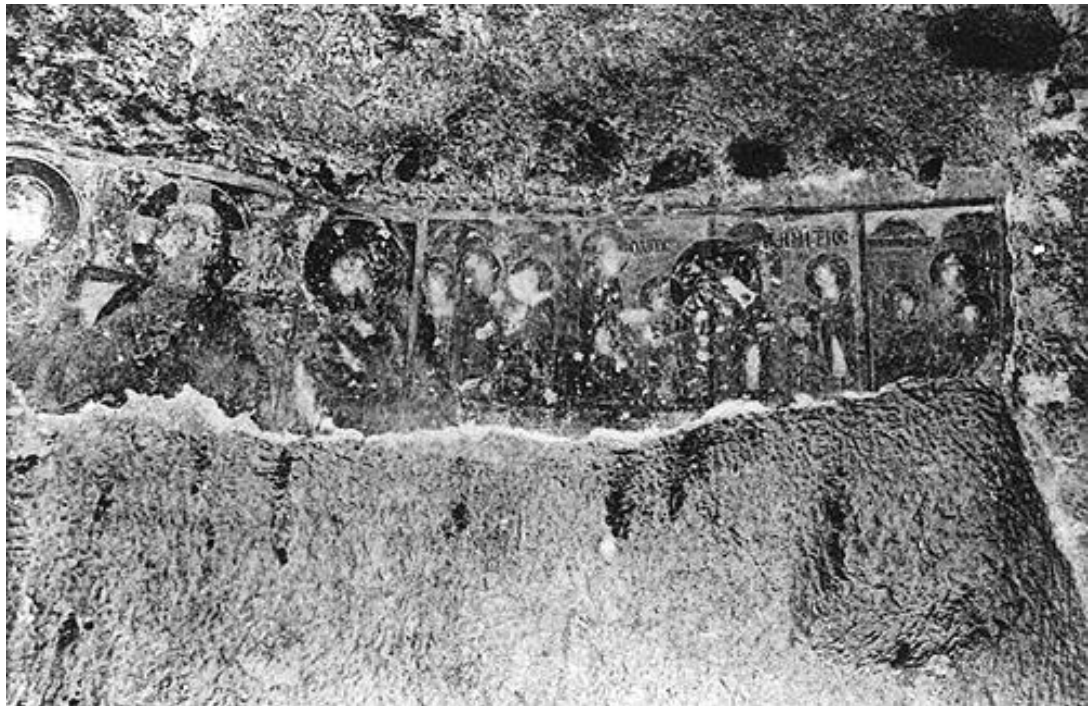


Fig. 154: Marina the Monk (scenes from her youth) twelfth-thirteenth century, Qalamoun, Lebanon, Chapel, Grotto of St. Marina.



Fig. 155: Saint Marina dead, 976-1025, *Menologium of Basil II*, Constantinople, The Vatican Library, Ms. gr. 1613, image 394.

Saint Margaret/Marina of Antioch

Western Art



Fig. 156: Saint Margaret/Marina of Antioch, 1285-1290, *Livre d'images de Madame Marie*, Hainaut, Belgium. Paris, National Library of France, Nouvelle acquisition française 16251, folio 100r.



Fig. 157: Saint Margaret/Marina of Antioch, twelfth century, Venice, Italy, San Marco.

Eastern Art



Fig. 158: Saint Marina, twelfth century, Bethlehem, Israel, Church of the Nativity.



Fig. 159: *Reliquary of Saint Marina of Antioch/Margaret (back) 1213, Constantinople*, (at http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/DetailsPage.aspx?Feminae_ID=32224 Last accessed: February 9, 2016).



Fig. 160: Saint Marina, thirteenth century, Tripoli (?), Lebanon. Houston, TX, The Menil Collection.

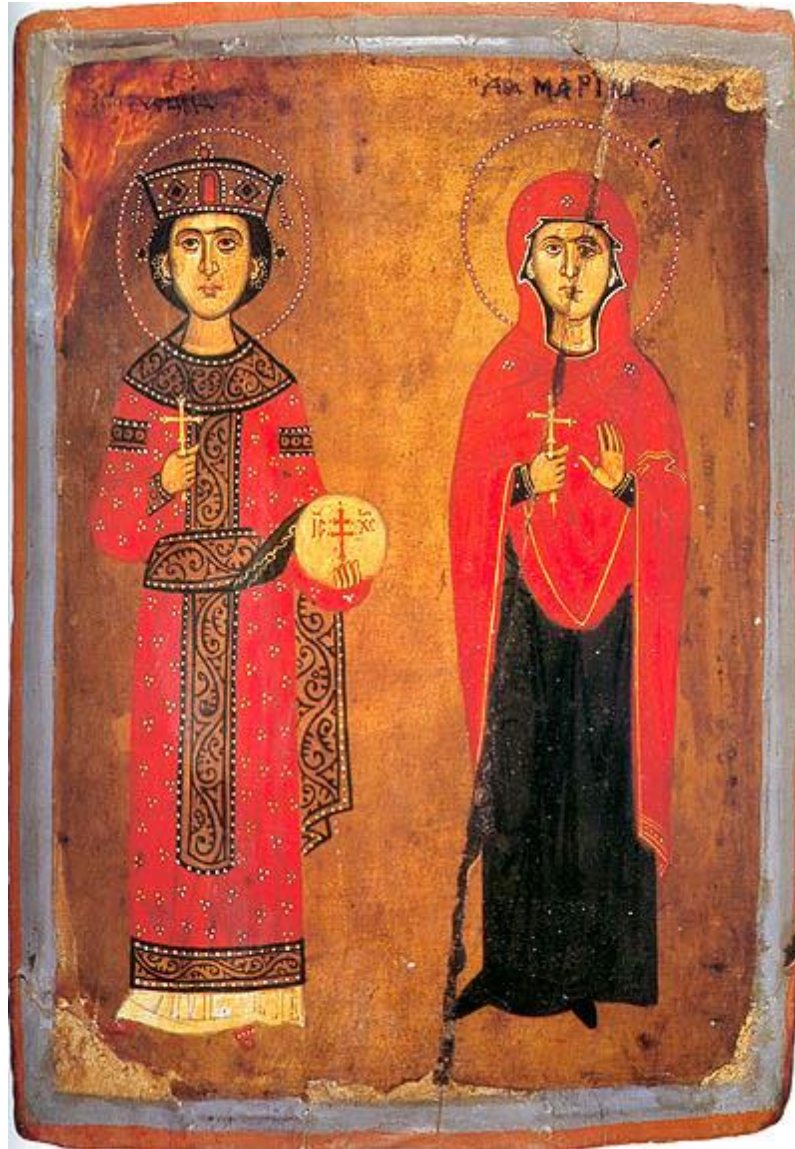


Fig. 161: Saints Catherine and Marina, thirteenth-century, Mount Sinai, Egypt, Saint Catherine monastery.

Other iconographies

French



Fig. 162: Mary's presentation at the temple, 1463, *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 50, folio 193v.



Fig. 163: Saint Mary of Egypt and Zosimas, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 407r.



Fig. 164: Saint Eusebius' martyrdom, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 151v.



Fig. 165: Passion Saint Julien, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 155r.



Fig. 166: Saint Pelagia, fourteenth century, *Saints' lives*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 264v.



Fig. 167: Saint Thays, fourteenth century, *Saints' lives*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 185, folio 265v.



Fig. 168: Saint Theodora of Alexandria tempted by the devil, 1348, Richard de Montbaston, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 241, folio 158v.



Fig. 169: Saint Theodora entering the monastery, 1301-1400, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 20330, folio 155r.



Fig. 170: Theodora of Alexandria and the child (background), temptation scene (foreground), 1480-1490, Jacques de Besançon, *Legenda Aurea*, Paris, National Library of France, Français 244, folio 195v.



Fig. 171: Phillip, Euphrsoyne's father, searching for his daughter, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 409r.



Fig. 172: Martyrdom of Saint Phillip, father of Saint Eugenia, 1335, Mahiet et collab., *Speculum historiale*, Paris, National Library of France, Arsenal 5080, folio 159v.

Austrian/German



Fig. 173: Pelagia the Penitent, 1446-1447, Martinus Opifex, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, National Austrian Library, Cod. 326, folio 213r.



Fig. 174: Mary of Egypt, 1446-1447, Martinus Opifex, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 326, folio 82r.



Fig. 175: Saint Theodora of Alexandria, 1446-1447, Martinus Opifex, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 326, folio 126v.



Fig. 176: Saint Thais, 1446-1447, Master of the Klosterneuburg Missal, *Legenda Aurea*, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 326, folio 214v.

Italy



Fig. 177: Thebais, c. 1418-1420, Fra Angelico, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery.



Fig. 178: Saint Agnes, seventh century, Rome, Sant'Agnese fuori la mura church.



Fig. 179: The Virgin Mary, Church of Saint Eugenia, fourteenth century, Bagnoro, Italy (reproduced in Angelo Tafi, *La millenaria Pieve di S. Eugenia al Bagnoro* (Arezzo: Calosci-Cortona, 1991).



Fig. 180: Tomb of Saint Eugenia, Saint Claudia, and other martyrs, Rome, Church of the Apostles. (photo by the author)

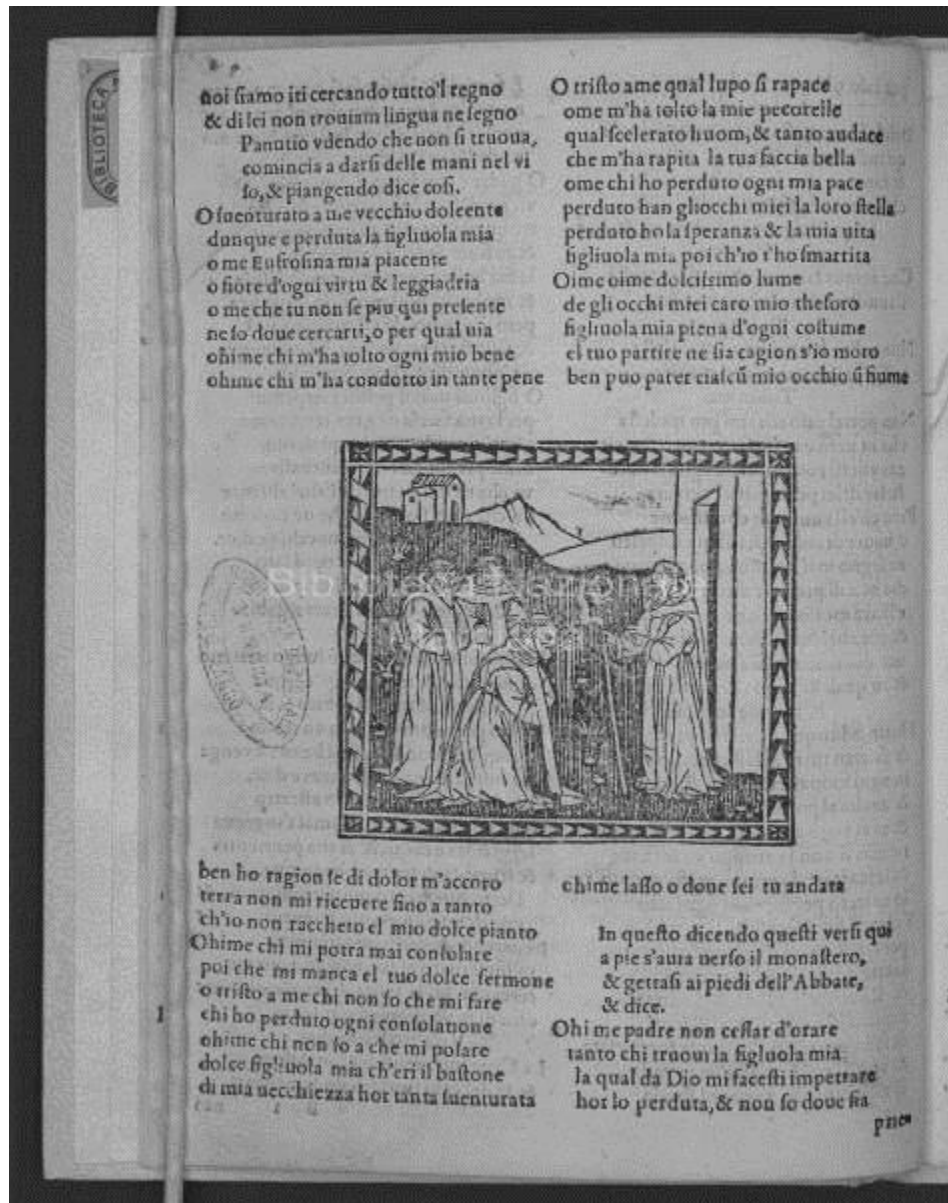


Fig. 181: Saint Euphrsoyne's father, *La rappresentazione di santa Eufrosina vergine*, Florence, 1572.



**Fig. 182: Inscription (detail), twelfth century, Ardea,
Italy, Church of Saint Marina.**



Fig. 183: Saint Anthony, The Virgin and the Child, Saint Roch, twelfth century, Ardea, Italy, Church of Saint Marina.



Fig. 184: Saint Marina's well (statue), seventeenth century, Ardea, Italy.



Fig. 185: Saint Marina's well (inscription), seventeenth century, Ardea, Italy.



Fig. 186: Virgin Mary, eighth century, *Gellone Sacramentary*. Paris, National Library of France, MS lat. 12048, folio 1v.

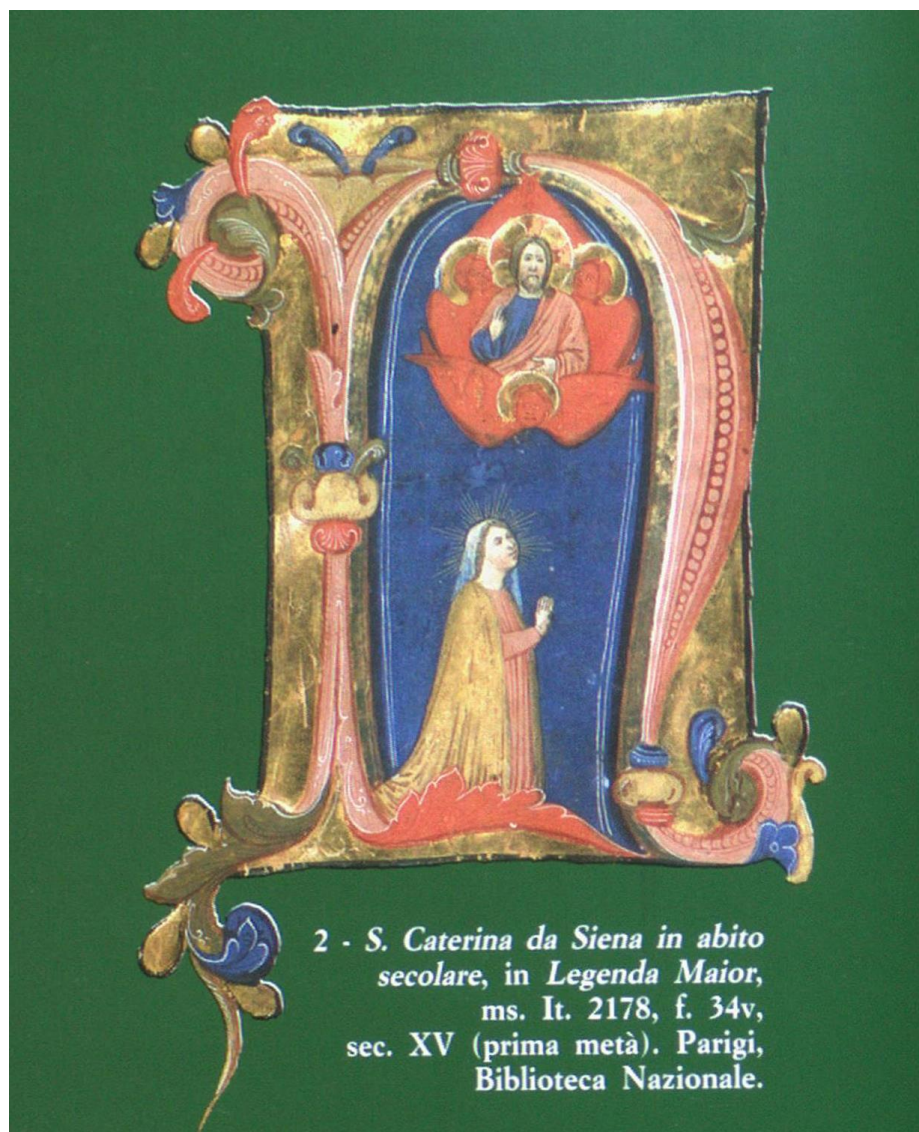


Fig. 187: Saint Catherine in secular clothes, fifteenth century, *Legenda Maior*, Italy. Paris, National Library of France, ms. It. 2178, folio 34v.



Fig. 188: The Church of Saint Marina, no. 6, M. H. Leroy, *Paris*, Paris: Cadart et Luquet, 1862.



Fig. 189: Mary Teaching the Christ Child to Read, 1480-1485, The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, *Book of Hours*, Netherlands, Bruges. London, British Library, Egerton 2045, folio 216v.



Fig. 190: Saint Marina, 1853, Hyppolite Flandrin, Paris, Church of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul.