

Ave Mari(n)a!
Representing a Cross-Dressed Saint
in Fourteenth- to Sixteenth-Century Italy/Venice:
Influences, Models, and Patterns of Female Sanctity

Andrea-Bianka Znorovszky

Cross-dressed saints' illuminations are found not only in versions of the *Golden Legend*, but also collections of *Saints' Lives*. They are offered as spiritual models for members of monastic communities or laity. One such cross-dressed saint is Saint Marina the Monk, a fourth-fifth-century saint, whose *vita* is included in Italian or French writings.¹

One of the earliest versions of Marina the Monk's *vita* narrates how she decided to enter together with her father into a monastery after her mother's death.² As women were not accepted to dwell in that place, she cut off her hair, dressed up as a man, and had her name changed from Mary to Marinos or Marina in the Greek and Syriac versions respectively. Before her father died, she promised him that she would not reveal her secret, namely, that she was a woman.

¹ For recipients of Latin versions from France see: Philippe Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1940), 408, Ms. 2328, which belonged to Saint Martial, bishop of Limoges. For recipients of Latin versions from Italy see: Lèon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine* (Paris: Libraire A. Picard et Fils, 1905), 254 listing a manuscript belonging to an Italian Cistercian monk. For recipients of French versions see: H.-V. Michelant and others, *Catalogue des manuscrits français: ancien fonds* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1868), 177 describing a manuscript addressed to "Blanche de Navarre, comtesse de Champagne," or J. Van Der Gheyn, S.J., *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Brussels: Henri Lamertin, Libraire-Éditeur, 1905), 349 listing a manuscript addressed to a certain "lequel est a monseigneur Charles de Croy, comte de Chimay."

² I refer to the earliest Eastern version I could access that dates from 778 C.E. See Agnes Lewis Smith, "Selected Narratives of Holy Women," *Studia Sinaitica* 10 (1900): 36-45. See also Cristina Crippa, "Il culto e la chiesa di Santa Marina a Venezia," Diss. (Venice: Università Ca' Foscari, 2007/2008), 35; the author mentions that in the Greek and Syriac versions the saint's name is Maria and Marinos, as a "man" inside the monastery. Crippa points to the possibility that the copyists transliterated in a wrong way the masculine *Marinos* and transformed it into the feminine *Marina* when translating the texts into Latin.

According to the vita, one day, she was sent by the abbot to bring provisions to the monastery. On her way back, after accomplishing her tasks, she retired to an inn for one night. At the same time, the innkeeper's daughter got seduced by a man and after a while, when her pregnancy became visible, she accused Marina of fathering her child. Marina did not reveal her identity, but accepted to do penance outside the monastery and raise the child that was supposedly hers. They stayed at the gates of the monastery living on crumbs of bread. After three or sometimes five years, Marina was accepted back to the monastery and ordered to do the humblest of works. It is only after her death, when preparing the body for burial, that the monks realized that she was an innocent woman and began to praise her.

In a nutshell, cross-dressed female saints' lives focus on stories of women who decided to wear men's clothes, denounced the world, and lived in hiding.³ They became *exempla* for the faithful, not only women, but also men, particularly monks. Their lives, originating in the East, as early as the sixth century, circulated also in the West where they were translated into Latin, first, and, then, into the vernacular, and were quite popular even in the Late Middle ages.

This paper is a case study about the influence of the cult of the Virgin on the visual representations of Saint Marina the Monk particularly concentrating on Italy. It aims at finding out if cross-dressed saints' popularity are to be seen in general patterns of female sanctity and their representation.

In the thirteenth century, Giovanni Buora, a Venetian merchant, transferred Saint Marina's relics from Constantinople to a church dedicated to her⁴ in Venice without any written document regarding their authenticity,⁵ making it questionable to which saint these relics belonged, as there are more than three saints bearing the same name. The permanent confusion that emerged from the overlapping of Saint Marina the Monk and Saint Marina of Antioch has been a subject of scholarship⁶ due to several reasons including the same feast day on 17 July,⁷ the same name, and similar depictions.

³ Either in solitary places like Saint Pelagia the Penitent, or in monasteries like Saint Marina the Monk.

⁴ Antonio Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia: profilo biografico* (Venice: Chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa, 1998), 10 and Cristina Crippa, "Il culto," 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 from the eleventh century, prior to the relics' translation.

⁵ Crippa, "Il culto," 63.

⁶ 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), 173-74; idem, *Studi Storico-Critici intorno a S. Marina Vergine* (Naples: Tipografia Pontificia M. D'Auria, 1908), 19-21 and 164-66; Léon Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine* (Paris: Librairie A. Picard et Fils, 1905), 7-9; Marina M. Sacopoulo, "Sainte Marina dans l'hagiographie et l'iconographie," *Revue du Caire* 7, No. 70 (1944):



Figure 1: *Reliquary of Saint Marina of Antioch/Margaret* (back) Constantinople, 1213 (at http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/DetailsPage.aspx?Feminae_ID=32224
Last accessed: September 18, 2014).

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

This particular Marina's relic was almost complete, except for one bone: the left arm.⁸ A hand reliquary that apparently contained the missing part was brought together with her relics.⁹ (Fig. 1) Dating before the thirteenth century¹⁰,

494-502. Sacopoulo 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.

⁷ Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Marina (Maria)-Marino, monaca, santa," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, ed. Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università lateranense (Rome: Citta' Nuova Editrice, 1967), 1168-69.

⁸ Crippa, "Il culto," 69.

⁹ 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 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.

¹⁰ Wixom, "Byzantine Art in the West," 496.

incised with Greek¹¹ inscriptions, 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 Marina of Antioch. (Fig. 2)



Figure 2: *Saint Marina of Antioch/Margaret*, c. 1400, Austrian, Vienna, Austrian Gallery.
(at <http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/index2.html>
Last accessed: September 18, 2014)

According to her *vita*, Saint Marina of Antioch was born into a pagan family in the third century.¹² Raised secretly as a Christian, she refused to venerate pagan gods and rejected Olybrius when asked to marry him. She was tor-

¹¹ Lazzi, "Lo splendore," 60. See also, Ross and Downey, "A Reliquary of Saint Marina," 41-44.

¹² *Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 368-71.

tured 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.¹³

The reliquary medallion represents the saint at bust-length depicted according to the Byzantine standards for female saints: wearing a *maphorion*, she is positioned frontally blessing with her left hand and with a cross in her right hand.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ A similar representation from the reliquary is found in an Italian manuscript testifying the fact that the illuminator must have known the imagery from the reliquary and possibly image cycles of Saint Marina of Antioch's life.¹⁶ Crippa, for instance, pointed at two possibilities with regard to the reliquary: the arm belonged to Saint Marina the Monk but her *vita* was confused with that of Marina of Antioch; or the arm belonged to Saint Marina of Antioch but had been identified as belonging to Marina the Monk.¹⁷

In Venice, depictions of two saints with the name Marina may have co-existed in a kind of entanglement. One of the earliest representations of Saint Marina the Monk in Venice, dating back to the twelfth century, is found inside the Church of San Marco.¹⁸ But which Marina is depicted here is difficult to say because of shared attributes. This confusion in the earlier visual representations of Saint Marina the Monk is still to be found in seventeenth-century examples. According to depictions of Theodoro D'Amadeni, 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.¹⁹ It is reasonable to suggest that these iconographical attributes belong

¹³ Lazzi, "Lo splendore," 54.

¹⁴ Wixom, "Byzantine Art in the West," 497.

¹⁵ 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, 2006), 120-21.

¹⁶ Lazzi, "Lo splendore," 61. MS Riccardiano 453, in the Riccardiana Library, Florence, is the only thirteenth-century Florentine manuscript that contains the Latin version of Saint Marina of Antioch's *vita*.

¹⁷ 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."

¹⁸ Crippa, "Il culto," 11.

¹⁹ Reproduced in Crippa, "Il culto," 85 and 128.

to an earlier phase of Marina the Monk's visual representation and that the borrowing of these attributes is due to religious syncretism. (Figs. 3 and 4)

There are a number of written references to Marina the Monk's visual representation: a wooden casket, restored in 1491,²⁰ 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,²¹ and the early depiction in Lorenzo Veneziano's polyptych (*polittico*) dating from the fourteenth century. In this last depiction, Marina the Monk is not positioned close to any women saints, but to Saint Lawrence, a martyr. It is also important to stress that the saint is not depicted close to the Virgin Mary situated at the center.



Figure 3: *Saint Marina*, Pseudo Jacobello del Fiore (Lorenzo di Giacomo?), 1420-1450, Venice (at

http://www.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/ricerca.jsp?percorso_ricerca=OA&tipo_ricerca=semplice&decorator=layout_S2&apply=true&mod_autore_OA=contiene&autore_OA=&mod_titolo_OA=contiene&titolo_OA=Santa+Marina&mod_tipo_OA=contiene&tipo_OA=&mod_data_OA=contiene&data_OA=&mod_localita_OA=contiene&localita_OA=&galleria=&ordine_OA=localizzazione Last accessed: September 18, 2014)

In brief, in the earlier phases, Saint Marina the Monk's non-narrative visual representations from Venice were influenced by the depictions of a homonymous saint. She is represented wearing monk's clothes, 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.

²⁰ Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 11.

²¹ Crippa, "Il culto," 86-87; Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 11.

Saint Marina the Monk is celebrated throughout Italy.²² If one pays closer attention to her imagery as found in some of these areas, a striking difference to the early Venetian examples becomes apparent, as all concentrate mostly on a single pattern: the saint is depicted exiting the monastery with a child in her arms.



Figure 4: *Saint Christopher and Saint Marina*, Anonymous Venetian painter, 1350-1399, (at http://www.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/ricerca.jsp?percorso_ricerca=OA&tipo_ricerca=semplice&decorator=layout_S2&apply=true&mod_autore_OA=contiene&autore_OA=&mod_titolo_OA=contiene&titolo_OA=Santa+Marina&mod_tipo_OA=contiene&tipo_OA=&mod_data_OA=contiene&data_OA=&mod_localita_OA=contiene&localita_OA=&galleria=&ordine_OA=localizzazione Last accessed: September 18, 2014)

Her fourteenth-century depiction from Camposanto is part of a representation concentrating on the desert fathers.²³ (Fig. 5) The image is followed by a written epitaph which helps identifying the saint. The qualities which this text highlights are Marina the Monk's humbleness, chastity, and discipline.²⁴ 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 fifteenth-century statues represent her with the baby.²⁵ The Italian

²² Crippa, "Il culto," 47-52.

²³ Crippa, "Il culto," 48; Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 27.

²⁴ Crippa, "Il culto," 48: "Un vergine pudicha, Santa Marina,/ Che entrasti monacha in acto maschile,/Servendo il ministerio casta et umile,/Stando in oratione et disciplina;/Un fanciullo in fascie una mattina/Fu posto as luogo dove ella era servile:/ Dato fu colpa ad quell'alma gentile,/Che era ripiena di gratia divina,/ Che gli era suo, et lo aveva acquistato/ D'una femina che era nel paese:/Ad Sancta Marina apposon quel peccato!/ Quella non si scusò né fe'difese,/Come maschio di chiesa fu cacciato/Con esso in braccio e mai nol fe'palese./Li monaci poi che'l corpo suo fu morto/Cognobeno che gli avevan facto torto."

²⁵ Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 27.

illuminations of Saint Marina the Monk progress from individual depictions to narrative cycles. (Fig. 6) But none of these depictions includes either the 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 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 began to regularly include the attribute of the child as is the case of Lorenzo Bregno's statue (1512) also copied by D'Amadeni.²⁶



Figure 5: *Saint Marina and the child* (detail) La Tebaide, Buffalmacco, Camposanto, Pisa (at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:La_Tebaide_by_Buffalmacco_in_Pisa Last accessed: September 18, 2014)



Figure 6 : *Episodes from Saint Marina's life*, Roberto Oderisi, 1350-1375, Naples, *Vitae Patrum*, M. 626, folio 130v, New York, Morgan Library

²⁶ Crippa, "Il culto," 87.

This same representation is found in the books of rules (*Mariegola*) of a Scuola di Santa Marina founded in 1324,²⁷ as well as numerous cultic objects.²⁸ 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 is reminiscent of French illuminations focusing on Marina the Monk teaching her child. (Fig. 7) Even more, a later sermon²⁹ on Saint Marina the Monk's life, besides focusing on her patience, humility and charity, emphasizes her education of the baby.³⁰ In this context there is a clear similarity between her and the representation of Virgin Mary from Siena which concentrate on Mary bringing the child to school.³¹ So, it is the tender motherhood and youth, but also an aspect of daily life that Marina the Monk borrows from the representations of the Virgin. 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.³² In this case there are certain similarities between these two saints: both *vitae* were translated into Italian vernacular 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 feast 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 reminding of the *Enthroned Virgin*.³³

In an initial phase the child barely touches Marina the Monk's clothes, but this intermediary phase would be soon over as the year 1509 brought a new turn in her iconographical development. Sources record that 17 July 1509, the day when Doge Andrea Gritti conquered Padova, fell on the feast day of Saint Ma-

²⁷ Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 11.

²⁸ Crippa, "Il culto," 103-104.

²⁹ 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).

³⁰ Volpi, *Divoto apparecchio*, 12.

³¹ Miri Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures* (Budapest: Central European University, 2009), 95.

³² Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion*, 95.

³³ *Office of Saint Marina*, Venice, 1708. For Marina the Monk: *Oratio. Concede quęsmus Domine ut suffragant precibus B. Marine Virginis, cujus translationis memoriam colimus ab omnibus liberemur Angustis; Per Dominum etc. and for the Virgin: Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui gloriose Virginis Matris Mariae corpus, et animam, ut dignum Filij tui habitaculum effici mereretur, Spiritu Sancto cooperante preparasti; da ut cujus commemoratione laetamur, ejus pia intercessione ab instantibus matis, et a morte perpetua liberemur; per eundem Dominum nostrum etc. Amen.*

rina the Monk. Consequently, in honor of the saint a special feast was held every year³⁴ and in 1511 she became the patron saint of Venice.³⁵



Figure 7: *Saint Marina, expelled from the monastery, is teaching the child who is supposedly hers*, fifteenth century, France, MS 6 448, fol. 156, National Library of France. Photo reproduced from L  on Clugnet, *Vie et office de Sainte Marine* (Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1905)

The growth of the saint's importance 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 funerary monuments such as that of Michele Steno.³⁶ The fifteenth-century funerary monument found only in a reproduction³⁷ shows the doge and his wife praying to the Virgin Mary. They are presented to the Virgin by two homonymous saints: Archangel Michael and Saint Marina the Monk; this is an obvious reference to gender division. Here, in this context Marina the Monk's cross-dressing 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) before a holy woman, the Virgin Mary.

Paintings of Tintoretto from the Palazzo Ducale and a woodcut copy of Titian represent Doge Andrea Gritti venerating the Virgin Mary. (Fig. 8) But

³⁴ Crippa, "Il culto," 73-77. Ernesto Volpi, *Compendio della vita di santa Marina vergine, il di cui sagro incorrotto corpo si venera in Venezia nella chiesa parrocchiale, e collegiata di essa santa* (Venice, 1763), 19-20.

³⁵ Giuseppe Veronese, *Delle laudi di Santa Marina: orazione scritta dall'abate Giuseppe Veronese* (Venice: G. Merlo, 1862), 25.

³⁶ Crippa, "Il culto," 96.

³⁷ Crippa, "Il culto," 97.

the Virgin is not alone; she is followed by a group of saints including Saint Marina the Monk. What might draw one's attention is that the saint is not only together with the child, but also holds a martyr's palm in her hand. The martyr palm is most certainly an iconographic reminiscence of an earlier phase of her iconographic development which occurs mostly in Venice. Looking at Marina the Monk's representations from other areas of Italy from approximately the same period, it is clear that the saint's depictions bear something in common: the saint is more intimate with the child in the sense that she actually holds it as depicted in fourteenth-fifteenth-century Siena (Figs. 9 and 10) whereas initially the child barely touched her clothes. These details point to a change in the development of her patterns of representation taking place somewhere at the end of the fourteenth, beginning of the fifteenth century. Such depictions increase in number in the sixteenth century.



Figure 8: The Prayer of Doge Andrea Gritti (*Doge Andrea Gritti assisted in prayer by Saint Marc in front of the Madonna with the Child, Saint Marina, Saint Bernardino de Siena and Sant'Alvise*), Robusti Jacopo (Tintoretto), sixteenth century, Venice (at http://www.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/ricerca.jsp?percorso_ricerca=OA&tipo_ricerca=s+emplice&decorator=layout_S2&apply=true&mod_autore_OA=contiene&autore_OA=&mod_titolo_OA=contiene&titolo_OA=Santa+Marina&mod_tipo_OA=contiene&tipo_OA=&mod_data_OA=contiene&data_OA=&mod_localita_OA=contiene&localita_OA=&galleria=&ordine_OA=localizzazione Last accessed: September 18, 2014)

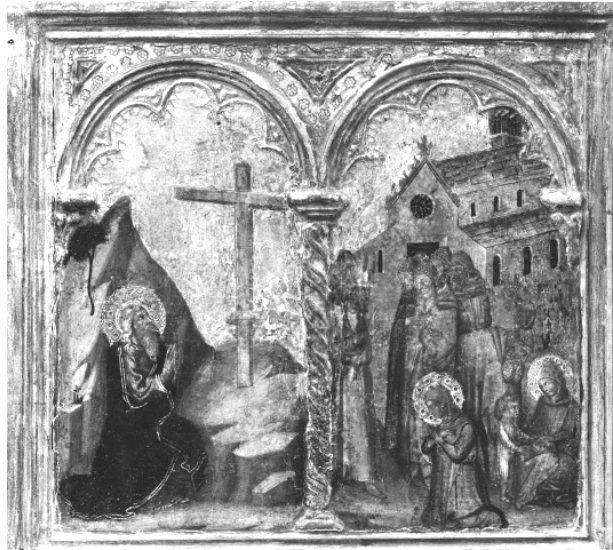


Figure 9: *Saint Andrew adoring the cross, Saint Marina raising the child outside the monastery, Sacrifice of Isaac, Saint Francis receiving the stigmata* (detail),
(attributed to Andrea di Bartolo, 1385-1428, Siena) (at

http://www.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/ricerca.jsp?percorso_ricerca=OA&tipo_ricerca=simplice&decorator=layout_S2&apply=true&mod_autore_OA=contiene&autore_OA=&mod_titolo_OA=contiene&titolo_OA=Santa+Marina&mod_tipo_OA=contiene&tipo_OA=&mod_data_OA=contiene&data_OA=&mod_localita_OA=contiene&localita_OA=&galleria=&ordine_OA=localizzazione Last accessed: September 18, 2014)



Figure 10: *Episode from Saint Marina's life*, Anonymous Venetian painter, 1430-1470 (at http://www.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/ricerca.jsp?percorso_ricerca=OA&tipo_ricerca=simplice&decorator=layout_S2&apply=true&mod_autore_OA=contiene&autore_OA=&mod_titolo_OA=contiene&titolo_OA=Santa+Marina&mod_tipo_OA=contiene&tipo_OA=&mod_data_OA=contiene&data_OA=&mod_localita_OA=contiene&localita_OA=&galleria=&ordine_OA=localizzazione Last accessed: September 18, 2014)

Around these dates another change takes place in Marina the Monks's visual representations: from a Saint Marina influenced by the confusion with another saint to a new Marina influenced by the Virgin's proximity. This closeness between the two women saints has several explanations which refer to the history of Venice. First, among the fourteen patron saints of Venice, there are only two women: the Virgin Mary and Marina the Monk.³⁸ Second, according to legends, Venice was founded on the feast of the Annunciation, a celebration dedicated to a woman, and won an important battle, on 17 July a feast day celebrating a holy woman.³⁹ It is evident that this connection is reflected in the visual source details.



Figure 11: *Saint Cecilia, Saint Marina, Saint Theodore, Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian adoring the Madonna and Child in glory*, Robusti Jacopo (Tintoretto), 16th c., Venice (at http://www.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/ricerca.jsp?percorso_ricerca=OA&tipo_ricerca=semplice&decorator=layout_S2&apply=true&mod_autore_OA=contiene&autore_OA=&mod_titolo_OA=contiene&titolo_OA=Santa+Marina&mod_tipo_OA=contiene&tipo_OA=&mod_data_OA=contiene&data_OA=&mod_localita_OA=contiene&localita_OA=&galleria=&ordine_OA=localizzazione Last accessed: September 18, 2014)

³⁸ Crippa, "Il culto," 102, note 496. Three main feasts in Venice: Annunciazione, san Marco, san Lorenzo; and fifteen 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, and san Teodoro di Eraclea.

³⁹ Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian and the Franciscans* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press: 1986), 48.

In all of the later visual sources Saint Marina the Monk is depicted close to the Virgin Mary, sometimes so close that she is right beneath the heavenly realm where the Virgin sits. (Figs. 11 and 12) Considered the perfect model by the Church, the Virgin became the embodiment of chastity and humility.⁴⁰ Her visual representations focus on these characteristics starting from the *Annunciation* and ending with *Nativity* episodes.⁴¹ There are two major developments of Mary's representations in the Middle Ages both focusing on affection.⁴² Mary is depicted either as a mother with a baby or a grieving mother next to her Son.⁴³ In the following the first development will be considered primarily. As Mary obeys to the heavenly Father, Marina the Monk obeys the will of her earthly father not to reveal her identity, and becomes an *exempla* through her humility and by raising her child. Depictions of the Virgin start focusing on her motherly quality in thirteenth-century France.⁴⁴ It is this type of representations of *The Virgin with Child in Her Arms* as a human and intimate mother that became predominant with the development of her cult. The characteristics that these depictions indicate are humility, submissiveness and tender motherhood, all appropriate for women, including Saint Marina the Monk.⁴⁵ (Fig. 13) A later work, the *Compendium of Saint Marina the Virgin's Life*, from the eighteenth century, develops 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 the heavenly Father.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Susan L'Engle, "Depictions of Chastity: Virtue Made Visible," in *Chastity: A Study in Perception, Ideals, Opposition*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 106.

⁴¹ L'Engle, "Depictions of Chastity," 106.

⁴² Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion*, 80.

⁴³ Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion*, 70.

⁴⁴ Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985), 65-69.

⁴⁵ The resemblance between Mary and Marina is even more striking if one adds a detail from a Latin translation of an Apocryph. In the *Gospel According to Pseudo-Matthew*, translated into Latin around the eighth-ninth century, Mary refuses to be married since she vowed to be a virgin. A manuscript version of the *Legenda Aurea* contains the following characterization of Marina: "Marine scest dicte aussi qui e enseble avec Marie. Ele ensemble avec la Vierge Marie pour ce que ele garda virginite humilite et pascience." The development of the cult of the Virgin offered the possibility of this type of approach and comparison between the two women: 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. The episode of Marina's penitence is emphasized in the written sources by the pattern of *imitatio Christi* when she is beaten. 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 mother which connects her to the Virgin Mary. She takes over the characteristics of the Virgin Mary and becomes a model for women by humility and submissiveness.

⁴⁶ 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 al-



Figure 12: *Madonna with Child in glory with Saint Benedict, Saint Marina, Saint Francis of Assisi and two saints*, anonymous author, 16th c., Venice (at http://www.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/catalogo/ricerca.jsp?percorso_ricerca=OA&tipo_ricerca=semplice&decorator=layout_S2&apply=true&mod_autore_OA=contiene&autore_OA=&mod_titolo_OA=contiene&titolo_OA=Santa+Marina&mod_tipo_OA=contiene&tipo_OA=&mod_data_OA=contiene&data_OA=&mod_localita_OA=contiene&localita_OA=&galleria=&ordine_OA=localizzazione Last accessed: September 18, 2014)

Not only have the iconographies of the two saints borne similarities, but also their *vitae* and cult. According to Eastern versions of Marina the Monk's *vita*, after being chased out from the monastery, she miraculously breastfed the child, while in other versions, in order to avoid being seen naked by monks after her death, Marina the Monk writes them a letter explaining who she is.⁴⁷ These two elements of her *vita* are important for various reasons. On the first hand, the miraculous breast feeding is a common motif that is found in the life of the Vir-

lontanarsi del precetto paterno di non appellesar 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 volentieri farsi creder rea 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."

⁴⁷ Crippa, "Il culto," 41.

gin. Both of them obey their male superior (God/the abbot/the father) and give birth/raise a child. The Virgin mothers a child and Marina is considered to be fathering one.



Figure 13: *Saint Marina entrusted to the monastery*, Richard de Montbaston, 1348, France, Paris, the *Golden Legend*, MS French 241, folio 139v, National Library of France

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.⁴⁸ Thus, in the western versions Marina the Monk is not breastfeeding the child, but asks for milk from shepherds.⁴⁹ However, it is reasonable to believe that this detail must have been acknowledged in a more restricted, private space, but not in the public sphere. The second eastern addition fits well with the development of a fictitious saint's *vita*, Saint Margareta dicta Pelagius. According to her *vita*, Margareta dicta Pelagius ran away during her wedding night and hid in a men's monastery dressed as a monk. Be-

⁴⁸ Brossé, *Les Peintures de la Grotte de Marina*, 45 see also Guita G. Hourani, *Saint Marina the Monk*, part 1 (http://maroniteinstitute.org/MARI/JMS/january00/Saint_Marina_the_Monk.htm Last accessed: April 11, 2011), 4.

⁴⁹ Crippa, "Il culto," 46, note 196.

cause of her exemplary behavior she is elected abbot of a nunnery where, later, she is accused of immorality towards a nun. She is punished and locked in a rock cave. When feeling her death approaching, she writes a letter in which she explains who she is.

The sources concerning Marina the Monk's burial place are unclear and point to areas situated in the Near East.⁵⁰ The last place where her relics were situated before their *translatio* to Venice is Constantinople. But it is unclear how, whence 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.⁵¹ Miraculously, the casket which had her relics opened up and, while the sailors prayed, the storm subsided and the ship reached Venice faster than initially presumed.

Observations

There are two phases in the development of Saint Marina's visual representations: one influenced by the confusion with a homonymous saint, Saint Marina of Antioch, and a second influenced by the cult of the Virgin Mary. These phases of iconographical development are a reflection of the continuous promotion of Marina the Monk's cult.

In visual representations, Saint Marina the Monk is viewed in numerous depictions as a woman. When depicted with the child, there is no focus on her cross-dressing, which is only a means for concentrating on penitence, sacrifice, maternity. Portraying her as a young, innocent mother, her *vita* resembles that of the Virgin Mary. The similarity of patterns leads to Saint Marina the Monk's conformity to a model, namely, that of the Virgin.

It is the Italian confraternities that were influenced the most and were not similar to those in France or Germany.⁵² So, in this context, it seems natural to represent Marina together or in the proximity of the Virgin in paintings, but not in illuminations. During the Gregorian reform the major geographic boundary, the Alps, protected the central-southern parts of Italy from imperial influence⁵³ and it was in northern and central Italy where numerous representations of Mary in lay contexts emerge.⁵⁴ This is one of the reasons for the frequent paintings

⁵⁰ Crippa, "Il culto," 34-35, Clugnet, *Vie et office*, 9-16.

⁵¹ Crippa, "Il culto," 63, Niero, *Santa Marina di Bitinia*, 9-10, Volpi, *Compendio de la vita*, 18-19.

⁵² Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion*, 102-03.

⁵³ 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. D. Iogna-Prat et al. (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996), 238.

⁵⁴ Russo, "Les représentations mariales," 277.

representing Saint Marina holding her child in a similarly maternal manner as the Virgin.

Anschriften der Autorinnen

Andrea Vanina Neyra , Instituto Multidisciplinario de Historia y Ciencias Humanas, CONICET, Saavedra 15, C1083ACA, Buenos Aires, Argentina
avaninaneyra@yahoo.com.ar

Anne M. Scott, School of Humanities M208, University of Western Australia, 35 Stirling Highway, Crawley WA 6009, Australia
anne.scott@uwa.edu.au

Marina Viallon, Ecole du Louvre, Palais du Louvre, Porte Jaujard, Place du Carrousel. 75038 Paris cedex 01, France
marinahotep@yahoo.fr

Andrea-Bianka Znorovszky, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Nádor utca 9, 1051 Budapest, Hungary
Znorovszky_Andrea-Bianka@ceu-budapest.edu

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Vorwort

In diesem Heft von *Medium Ævum Quotidianum* zeigt sich im Besonderen die Internationalität, die sich heute in Forschungen zur Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters erkennen lässt. Jene Situation kann zur Hoffnung Anlass geben, dass sich auch die internationale und kontinentenübergreifende Kooperation in Zukunft in ähnlicher Weise verstärken wird.

Die zwei ersten Beiträge von Autorinnen aus Argentinien und Frankreich, Andrea Vanina Neyra und Marina Viallon, basieren auf Vorträgen, die am International Medieval Congress in Leeds im Jahre 2014 in einer Sektion zu „Animals and Identity“ präsentiert wurden. Anne M. Scott von der Western Australian University analysiert die Exempla des englischen Gilbertinermönches Robert Mannyng (ca. 1275-ca. 1338) in dessen *Handlyng Synne*. Der vierte Beitrag der rumänisch-ungarischen Wissenschaftlerin Andrea-Bianka Znorovszky konzentriert sich auf das Phänomen des Cross-Dressings von heiligen Frauen und dessen Repräsentation im visuellen Befund.

Gerhard Jaritz