

Female Splendor: the Role of Twelve Women Saints in the Apse of the Euphrasian Basilica of Poreč (Parentium)

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Some years ago the former president of the United States, Jimmy Carter (1977-1981), publicly broke ties with his church, the Southern Baptist Convention, of which he had been a member for six decades. As is well known, Carter was awarded the Nobel Prize long after his presidency for his work in finding peaceful solutions to international conflicts, for advancing democracy and human rights, and for promoting economic and social development in troubled parts of the world. The reason for severing ties with his church came as a surprise; it had to do with the stance of church authorities toward women. Carter's charge was that some of the church leaders would select verses from the Holy Scriptures to justify male supremacy and female subjugation. He felt that the reasoning of male church leaders had more to do with maintaining their influence than with sound religious beliefs. Carter stated that "the justification of discrimination against women and girls on grounds of religion or tradition, as if it were prescribed by a higher authority, was unacceptable." In his opinion, the same biblical arguments had been made to support slavery and oppressive regimes. He continued by saying that male church leaders twisted and distorted the holy scriptures to perpetuate their

ascendant position within the religious hierarchy and that “in the same scriptures women were revered as pre-eminent leaders. During the years of the early Christian church women served as deacons, priests, bishops, apostles, teachers and prophets.”¹

A statement like this is undoubtedly inspired by the work of feminist theologians over the last fifty years, work that has made its way into mainstream Christianity and church communities. In reconstructing the history of early Christianity, feminist scholarship tried to read biblical and other early Christian texts in a less conventional way - “against the grain” as some defined it.² This means that the textual message should be viewed more in terms of rhetorical discourse and less as “historical reality” – or, I would add, historical reality taken at face value. No one studying ancient texts would ever claim that those texts should be read as factual historical documents, though they might reflect history.³

From this less-conventional perspective feminist scholars tried to trace out and confirm the legitimacy of the role of women in the ministry in early Christian communities and bring to the surface the position of marginalized people in general. Thus the inner circle of women around Jesus received special attention. In addition to the mother of Jesus, the canonical gospels and even more prominently the non-canonical gospels identified a number of women followers with whom Jesus may have had more or less close relationships. Another group of women appear around the apostle Paul – his letters, the book of Acts, and again some apocryphal acts show that various women

1 Jimmy Carter, <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/losing-my-religion-for-equality-20090714-dkov.html>

2 See for example, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, The Sprunt Lectures 2015 “Liberating Scripture – Reading Against the Grain.” Lectures at the Union Presbyterian Seminary, May 4-6, 2015, Richmond, Virginia.

3 As expressed by James Romm, *Dying Every Day. Seneca at the Court of Nero*, New York: Vintage Books, 2014, XVIII.

played significant roles in his missionary activities. Moreover, these women were also portrayed as functionaries in the emerging house churches, comparable to their Jewish contemporaries, who could be leaders in their religious communities.⁴ Feminist scholars argued that this initial prominence of women in the earliest Christian communities was gradually overtaken by male dominance in a more centralized and authoritarian church structure, especially after the edict of Constantine.

Be this as it may, one genre of early Christian writings shows a particular predisposition toward an egalitarian presentation of women; these are texts and documents connected with martyrdom. As I have argued elsewhere, in literary texts such as those of Clement of Alexandria, traditional gender roles seem to be reversed when dealing with martyrdom. When Clement speaks about women in the context of marriage in book III of the *Stromateis*, he proceeds along traditional lines, but in the next book (*Strom.* IV) in the context of martyrdom he offers a novel perspective; male dominance no longer prevails.⁵ The same egalitarian approach can also be found in the large corpus of the martyr acts themselves.

The relative equality in the literary perception of male and female martyrs seems to have persisted in the actual cult of the martyrs from early times onward and through its reformulation in later times, especially after the Constantinian turning point. Scholars have argued

4 Bernadette Brooten, *Women Leaders in The Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues* (Brown Judaic Studies 36), Chico CA: Scholars Press, 1982. Eadem, "Female Leadership in the Ancient Synagogue," in Lee I. Levine and Zeev Weiss (eds.), *From Dura to Sepphoris: Studies in Jewish Art and Society in Late Antiquity*, Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 2000, 215-223 (with PDF on line) .

5 Annewies van den Hoek, "Clement of Alexandria on Martyrdom," *Studia Patristica* XXVI, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, Leuven: Peeters, 1993, 324-342, esp. 335-339.

that by the fourth century in the West the martyr cult was not only reformulated but also “reinvented,” usually for reasons of ecclesiastical politics.⁶ Although females apparently did not rise to the ranks of apostles, all of whom were customarily viewed as male and in later traditions also as martyrs,⁷ female martyrs still managed to retain a numerical equality. Local fame sometimes spread beyond geographical borders and extended to Christian communities at large. At times theological and doctrinal issues played a role in the propagation of a particular saint. At other times martyrs or saints from different geographical areas could be replaced with local ones who happened to have the same name.⁸ A case in point is Felicitas who was not only the well-known servant of the North-African lady Perpetua but also a martyr in her own right from Rome.⁹ These preliminary remarks lead me to my main subject: the appearance of twelve women martyrs in the apse of the Euphrasian Basilica of Poreč, ancient Parentium, on the Istrian coast (fig. 1).

- 6 Dennis Trout, “Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33/3 (2003): 517–536. Marianne Sághy, “Pope Damasus and the Beginnings of Roman Hagiography,” in *Promoting the Saints Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period*. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for His 60th Birthday (eds. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebök, Katalin Szende), Budapest: CEU Press, 2010, 2–15 (and further bibliography). On the liturgical reforms of Damasus, see Massay H. Shepherd, Jr., “The Liturgical Reform of Damasus I,” in *Kyriakon*. Festschrift Johannes Quasten, 2 vols. (eds. Patrick Granfield and Joseph A. Jungmann), Münster: Aschendorff, 1970, vol. II 847–863.
- 7 On the identification of apostles as martyrs, see Antoon R. Bastiaensen, “*Ecclesia martyrum*. Quelques observations sur le témoignage des anciens textes liturgiques,” in *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective: Memorial Louis Reekmans* (eds. Marthijs Lamberigts and Peter van Deun), Leuven: Peeters, 1995, 333–349, esp. 340–43.
- 8 The words “martyr” and “saint” will be used indiscriminately in this article.
- 9 Also a different Perpetua is known on the via Appia, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Brussels: Société des bollandistes, 1933.



Fig. 1: Apse mosaics of the Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

The church, which dates to the second quarter of the sixth century (539-550), was built under the auspices of a local bishop by the name of Euphrasius; he is depicted in the apse mosaic of the church, which was rebuilt on older foundations, possibly on a site connected with the veneration of martyrs (fig. 2).¹⁰

¹⁰ Gillian Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function and Patronage* Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2003, p. 46: “Bishop Euphrasius also added a cella tricocha to the left of the apse, now dedicated to St. Andrew; it was probably formerly the memoria of the Parentine saints Maurus and Eleutherius, who lie there in a sarcophagus dated 1247.”



Fig. 2: Bishop Euphrasius, Archdeacon Claudius, and his son Euphrasius.
Apse mosaic of the Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

The building is a three-aisled basilica with relatively long rows of columns, as is common across the Adriatic in early Christian Italy. The columns and other marblework, however, are largely imported from Constantinople or the nearby Proconnesian quarries. This combination of works of local construction and imported decoration marks the churches built in this area after the Byzantine reconquest, as Richard Krautheimer characterized it.¹¹ Two shallow side apses, which are also Eastern features, flank the central large apse (fig. 3).

11 Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (The Pelican History of Art. Rev. ed.) Middlesex.: Penguin Books Ltd., 1975, 290.



Fig. 3: Interior of the Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč: a three-aisled basilica with columns

Its glittering mosaics were heavily restored in the late 19th century, as can be seen upon close inspection. The overall effect, however, is still grand and impressive.¹² Since 1997 the whole complex has been included in the UNESCO list of World Heritage sites – and for good reason. The Euphrasian Basilica is the most integrally preserved early Christian cathedral complex in the region (fig. 4).¹³

¹² For a detailed report on the restorations, see Ann Terry and Henry Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor, The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrosius at Poreč*, 2 vols., Penn State: Penn State University Press, 2007. For a shorter description of the church, see Milan Prelog, *The Basilica of St. Euphrasius in Poreč* (Monumenta Artis Croatiae), Verona: Buvina-Laurana, 2004.

¹³ As the UNESCO website describes it, “The Euphrasian Basilica in Poreč is the

1. Basilica, 6th c.
2. Ciborium, 1277
3. Atrium, 6th c.
4. Baptistry, 5th c.
5. Sacristy, 15th c.
6. Memorial chapel, 6th c.
7. Archaeological remains of the 4th and 5th c. cathedral
8. Bishop's palace, 6th c.
9. Canon's house, 1251

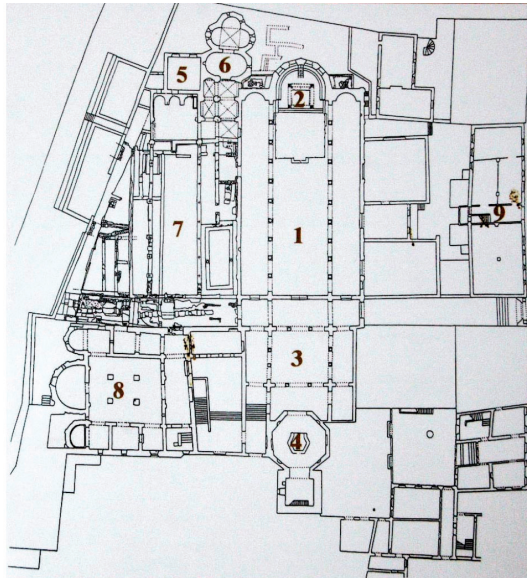


Fig. 4: Plan of the cathedral complex in Poreč

To give a quick impression of the complex, the narthex and the atrium were probably erected at the same time as the basilica of Bishop Euphrasius, but the overall layout reflects the earlier structures (fig. 5).

most integrally preserved early Christian cathedral complex in the region and unique by virtue of the fact that all the basic components - church, memorial chapel, atrium, baptistry and episcopal palace - are preserved. The Basilica, including its earlier phases (oratory, *basilica gemina* and basilica proper), is a characteristic example of 5th- and 6th-century religious architecture, showing significant Byzantine influence.” See <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/809>



Fig. 5: Excavated remains of the 4th and 5th century cathedrals in Poreč

The facade of the church was decorated with mosaics, which have now mostly disappeared. Opposite the church is a 5th century baptistery, and a medieval tower is built over it. From above one has great views over the old city and the bay. It is tempting to discuss more interesting aspects of this complex, but we now return to the main subject: the mosaics in the church itself with its female martyr portraits.

The front wall of the apse shows a band on top with representations of the twelve apostles, six on each side and inscribed with their names (fig. 1).¹⁴ They all are turned toward a youthful Christ who is

¹⁴ They read: SCS SIMON, THOMAS, BARTOLOMEVS, IACOBVS, ANDREAS, PETRVS (to the right side of Christ) and PAVLUS, IOANNES, FE-

seated on a blue sphere in the center. He is holding an open book with the inscription: EGO SVM LVX VERA. On the underside (soffit) of the triumphal arch appear the twelve female portraits in large roundels centered on a medallion of the Agnus Dei (fig. 6).



Fig. 6: Underside (soffit) of the triumphal arch with portraits of female saints. Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

Like the apostles, the female saints are provided with their names and situated on each side of the lamb of God in groups of six; in this way they form the visual and numerical counterpart of the apostles, as Christ on the globe corresponds to the symbolic lamb of God. They frame, as it were, the apse mosaic itself, which forms the main focal point for the viewer whether in ancient or modern times - perhaps even more in ancient times since the ciborium which partially blocks the view is a medieval addition.

The mosaics in the central apse do have a female emphasis: they show the Virgin Mary with the Christ child on her lap (fig. 7).

LIPPVS, MATTEVS, IACO(bus) ALFEI, IVDAS IACOBI (to the left side of Christ).



Fig. 7: Apse mosaic with the Virgin Mary and the Christ child in the center flanked by angels, saints, and ecclesiastical officials. Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

She is flanked by two angels and a procession of figures. On her right (our left) Saint Maurus and the builder of the church, Bishop Euphrasius and the Archdeacon Claudius and his young son, who is also named Euphrasius. On Mary's left are three martyrs holding crowns and a book. They are unnamed, and careful examination of the restorations makes it clear that they always lacked inscriptions.¹⁵ The letterforms L, H, N on their robes are just ornaments. Underneath this apse mosaic is a long inscription in Latin distichs, advertising Bishop Euphrasius' good deeds and pious intentions.¹⁶ The lower part of the apse shows more mosaics: the Annunciation and the Visitation of Mary and Elizabeth (figs. 8-9).

15 Terry and Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor* I, 113-116; 142-147.

16 Hoc fuit in primis templum quassante ruina terribilis labsum nec certum robore firmum exiguum magnoque carens tunc $\text{f} < \text{o} = \text{V} > \text{rma}$ metallo / sed meritis tantum pendebant putria tecta ut vidit subito labsum pondere sedem providus et fidei fervens ardore sacerdos Eufrasius s(an)c(t)a precessit / mente ruinam labentes melius sedituras d*e*= E =ruit aedes fundamenta locans erexit culmina templi quas cernis nuper varo fulgere metallo perficiens coeptum decoravit / munere magno {a}ecclesiam vocitans signavit nomine |(Christi) congaudens oper<e>= I > sic felix peregit. "At first this temple, with ruin shaking it, was terrible in its [threatened] collapse, being neither solid nor secure of strength, small,



Fig. 8: Lower apse wall with mosaic of the Annunciation.
Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

filthy, and then devoid of great mosaic decoration; the rotted roof hung only by the power of grace. Immediately when Eufrasius, provident bishop and fervent in the zeal of faith, saw that the church was about to fall under its own weight, he forestalled the ruin with saintly inspiration; he demolished the ruinous temple in order to set it more firmly. he built the foundations and erected the roof of the temple, finishing what you now see, shining with the new and varied mosaic (glittering in a variety of gold: AvdH). Completing his undertaking, he decorated it with great munificence and naming the church he consecrated it in the name of Christ. Thus joyful from his work, a happy man, he fulfilled his vow.” Translation: Terry and Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor*, vol. I, 4-5; for the Latin text, see also Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, 37-40, no. 81.



Fig. 9: Lower apse wall with mosaic of the Visitation.
Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

Both women are visibly pregnant, which adds to the female prominence of the mosaics' program and design.¹⁷ Behind the figure of Elizabeth is a delightful detail: a small female figure peeks out behind the curtain with a puzzled expression (fig. 10).

17 Henry Maguire pointed out this detail to me (personal communication).



Fig. 10: Detail of the mosaic of the Visitation: figure peeking out of the doorway. Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

Other panels in the lower part show Zacharias, an angel with a globe, and John the Baptist. They are also without names, but their attributes define them. The lower part of the apse has liturgical furniture: a bench for the clergy and a throne for the bishop. It is embellished with gray-banded Proconnesian marble and multi-colored inlays; the mother-of-pearl makes the design sparkle (fig. 11).



Fig. 11: Proconnesian marble column and lower part of the apse with multi-colored inlays. Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

Few other places have such a striking array of female saints (fig. 12).



Fig. 12: Underside (soffit) of the triumphal arch with portraits of female saints. Apse mosaic of the Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

Although their portraits are executed in a rather repetitious way, they do have some individual features. Starting from the center downwards to the left, they represent to the left: SCA AGATHE, AGNES, CICILIA, EVGENIA, BASILISSA, FILICITAS;



Fig. 13: Mosaic roundels of female saints depicted on the underside of the triumphal arch. Apse mosaic of the Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

and to the right: EVFYMIA, TECLA, VALERIA, PERPETVA, SUSANA, IVSTINA.



Fig. 14: Mosaic roundels of female saints depicted on the underside of the triumphal arch. Apse mosaic of the Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč

While the sequence of the apostles on the wall above the apse is common to many other churches, the selection of female martyrs is unusual and intriguing. The principle behind the selection is not immediately apparent. While contemplating these fascinating roundels glittering in gold, as Euphrasius so eloquently phrased it in his dedication, a variety of questions came to mind. Why were these martyrs selected, and what was their role in this setting? How did this group of twelve land on the Istrian shores? Did bishop Euphrasius himself decide on these twelve martyrs? Are there other mosaics or representations of female saints to compare them to?¹⁸

After looking into these questions, the group took on a strongly Italian flavor. Portraits of female martyrs find parallels across the north Adriatic in Ravenna, a port city near the mouth of the Po. The individual saints in the Euphrasiana also have strong Italian connections, although not all come from Italy itself: the famous North African martyrs, Perpetua and Felicitas, were already included in the earliest martyr list from Rome: the *Depositio Martyrum* of the Philocalian Calendar of 354.¹⁹ There they are listed together with Cyprian, another North African saint, adopted by the early Christians in Rome as one of their own. It is very likely that the works of Tertullian²⁰ and

18 For individual saints, see *Acta Sanctorum*, now also available as database online: <http://www.bollandistes.org/online-resources.php?pg=bollandistdatabases>. Further: *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, ediderunt Socii Bollandiani. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1949. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis: novum supplementum*, edidit Henricus Fros. Bruxelles: Société de Bollandistes, 1986. *Bibliotheca sanctorum*. Roma: Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università lateranense, 1961-1970. Louis Goosen, *Dizionario dei santi. Storia, Letteratura, arte e musica*, Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2000.

19 For the Chronography of 354, see the online edition (with introduction, manuscripts, contents, notes, and bibliography): http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/chronography_of_354_00_eintro.htm

20 Tertullian, *De anima* I 12. He called Perpetua a *fortissima martyr*.

Augustine²¹ played a significant role in promoting these martyrs beyond their own geographic borders.²²

Agnes was a very popular saint from Rome itself; she was also included in the Calendar of 354, and her cult site was located on the via Nomentana.²³ Her church was counted among the Constantinian foundations, and, according to the records, embellished and restored in subsequent centuries under various popes of the fourth, sixth, and seventh centuries (Liberius, Symmachus, Honorius). In the fourth century, Pope Damasus set up an inscription in her honor (fig. 15),²⁴ Ambrose evokes some of her suffering in a hymn,²⁵ and Prudentius sang her praises in his *Peristephanon*.²⁶ At her cult site a 4th c. marble relief has been preserved which shows S. Agnes as an orant in between lattice work (fig. 16).

21 For Perpetua and Felicitas, see Augustine *Serm.* 280-282. Augustine refers to their martyr acts in *De anima* 55 (*nec scriptura ipsa canonica est*). He delivered numerous sermons on Cyprian at his *dies natalis*; see Vincent Hunink, “‘Practicing what he had taught’: Augustine’s Sermons on Cyprian,” in *In Search of Truth. Augustine, Manichaeism and other Gnosticism*. Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty (eds. Jacob Albert van den Berg, Annemaré Kotzé, Tobias Nicklas, Madeleine Scopello. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, vol. 74), Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011, 97-108, esp. 98 for a discussion of still-existing sermons.

22 Delehaye, *Les origines*, 377.

23 Delehaye, *Les origines*, 276.

24 Damasus, *Epigram* 37 - the inscription is located in the wall along the internal set of steps; see also Sághy, “Pope Damasus,” 6-8.

25 Ambrose, *Hymn* 8.

26 Prudentius, *Peristephanon* XIV 69-78.

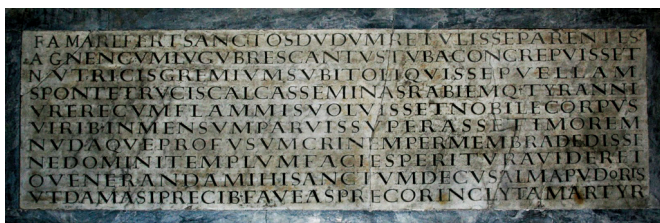


Fig. 15 and Fig. 16: Damasus, Epigram 37, Elogium S. Agnetis. Church of S. Agnes Outside the Walls, Rome, access ramp to narthex; Marble relief with S. Agnes as orans between lattice work as part of an altar or shrine (?), 4th century, Church of S. Agnes Outside the Walls, Rome, access ramp to narthex

The latter could have been part of an altar or a shrine.²⁷ Agnes also appears frequently on gold glass vessels found in fragmentary state in the catacombs - one is still in situ (fig. 17).²⁸ She had a second feast day

²⁷ The relief is located in the wall along the internal set of steps. See André Grabar, *Christian Iconography. A Study of Its Origins* (Bollingen Series XXXV.10), Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968, 75, fig. 191.

²⁸ Gold glass with St. Agnes, two doves, and two stars, ca. 350-400 CE. Cimitero di Panfilo (*in situ*), Rome.

also in January, listed in the *Hieronymian Martyrology* (5/6th c.)²⁹ and she represents the quintessential martyr cult in Rome.³⁰



Fig. 17: Gold glass with St. Agnes, two doves, and two stars, ca. 350-400 CE. Cimitero di Panfilo (in situ), Rome. Photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra

The *Hieronymianum* also lists Eugenia and places her in the Coemeterium Apronianum on the Via Latina in Rome. In a poem on virginity, the 6th c. court poet Venantius Fortunatus who actually

29 Delehaye, *Les origines*, 276. Delehaye thought that the first recension came from northern Italy (within the patriarchate of Aquileia) in the 430s or 440s, Hippolyte Delehaye, “Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum ad recensionem H. Quenti,” in *Acta Sanctorum* XXIV November II, part II, Brussels, 1931.

30 See also Nicola Denzey, *The Bone Gatherers. The Lost Worlds of Early Christian Women*, Beacon Press: Boston, 2007, 157-160.

came from northern Italy before migrating to Gaul praised Eugenia together with Euphemia, Agatha, Iustina, Thecla, Paulina, Agnes, and Basilissa for their modesty.³¹ Interestingly enough, all except for Paulina appear in the apse mosaic of Parentium. The last one, Basilissa, is otherwise not well known.

Santa Caecilia is another Roman who turns up in the apse at Poreč; she probably developed from the titulus Caeciliae, which eventually became the titulus sanctae Caeciliae and thereby an official saint – other examples at Rome attest to a similar transformation, in which the name of the founder of the titulus becomes sanctified.³² Saint Agatha was originally an outsider from Catania in Sicily, but at an early date she achieved international repute, both in North Africa and Rome. Around 470 the Arians built a church in Rome in her honor, which was reconsecrated by the Catholics in the late 6th c. under pope Gregory the Great. Less well known is the Roman Susanna, whose sanctuary is said to be located “ad Duos domos” near the baths of Diocletian.³³

Not all the Italian saints represented in the Poreč church have Roman associations; Valeria and Iustina are both martyrs venerated in northern Italy, Valeria possibly in Milan and Iustina in Patavia (Padova).³⁴

Thecla is an important name that comes from the East. She was worshiped as a female protomartyr, and remains of a large late antique pilgrimage site in her honor still survive in Seleucia on the southeast coast of Turkey. Egeria, a lady who in the late 4th c. made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and beyond, made mention of Thecla's

31 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina*, lib. VIII, III, p. 182, v. 33-35 (ed. Fr. Leo): Eufemia illic, pariter quoque plaudit Agathe, / et Iustina simul consociante Thecla. hic Paulina Agnes Basilissa Eugenia regnant, / et quascumque sacer vexit ad astra pudor.

32 Delehaye, *Les origines*, 297. Denzey, *Bone Gatherers*, 148-54.

33 Delehaye, *Les origines*, 274.

34 Delehaye, *Les origines*, 324; 327.

site.³⁵ Thecla's fame spread far and wide, from the coast of Asia Minor through the Levant to Egypt and farther west to Spain (Tarragona). Her cult also left traces in Italy - the earliest cathedral in Milan was dedicated to her. In Rome on the via Ostiense, the Catacomb of Saint Thecla was included in medieval pilgrim guides.

Euphemia was another saint from the East, from Chalcedon on the Bosphorus, and her cult has an interesting theological twist in the West. Her name is attested in the *Hieronymianum*, and Egeria wrote that the site of Euphemia's martyrdom in Chalcedon was shown to her.³⁶ In 451, the Council of Chalcedon took place in her martyrium.³⁷ Her cult was widespread with many churches and chapels dedicated to her,³⁸ including one in Rome and a number in northern Italy. Toward the middle of the 6th c. a church, chapel, or perhaps a baptistery was dedicated to her in Ravenna, as recorded by Andreas Agnellus, the 9th c. cleric and historian of that city.³⁹ Agnellus, moreover, makes mention of Euphemia's relics, which in the year 550 had been deposited in the church of Saint Stephen, together with relics of saints Agatha, Agnes, and Eugenia.⁴⁰ Relics of Euphemia are also recorded in Milan and Aquileia, which confirms the importance of her cult in North Italy.⁴¹

In Grado bishop Elias dedicated a basilica to Ermacora and Fortunatus, the protomartyrs of Aquileia and to Saint Euphemia of Chalcedon. This dedication to her sheds light on the ecclesiastical politics of the time (fig. 18).

35 Egeria, *Itinerarium*, 23,2-7.

36 Egeria, *Itinerarium*, 23,7

37 Description in Asterius of Emesa, see Delehaye, *Les origines*, 152-3.

38 Delehaye, *Les origines*, 152-3; 206; 237.

39 Agnellus did not see the building personally, since it had already been destroyed by his time.

40 All of them are shown in the apsidal arch of Parentium.

41 Delehaye, *Les origines*, 332, 338. *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* in *Acta Sanctorum* LXXXII, Nov. II Pars I, Page LXXIV.



Fig. 18: Grado, Church of S. Euphemia (6th century) and baptistery

In the controversy known as the Three Chapters Schism, the bishops of Aquileia, Milan, and the Istrian peninsula had refused to condemn the so-called Three Chapters. Those were texts written by three 5th c. bishops of the East, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ibas of Edessa, and Theodoret of Cyrrihus, who were suspected of Nestorian sympathies. This conflict, which led to the 5th oecumenical Council in Constantinople in 553, was for a large part driven by the imperial politics of Justinian, who saw an opportunity to reconcile the Monophysites with Constantinople.⁴² The north Italian and Illyrian bishops may not have been much interested in the intricate

42 Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, 119.

It repudiated the Three Chapters as Nestorian (and also condemned Origen of Alexandria, decreed the Theopaschite Formula, and condemned the Western bishops who didn't adhere).

theological disputes of the Eastern churches, but they were firm in standing by doctrines that had been defined by previous oecumenical church councils.⁴³ They argued that they would betray Chalcedon if they signed on to the proposed condemnation of The Three Chapters. Pope Vigilius (537-55), who together with the Western bishops initially had refused to sign, was brought to Constantinople and coerced into submission after a long and humiliating struggle. His change in position led to a breach with other churches that fell under the authority of Rome but were out of reach in reality because of political instability in the North. Some churches broke off communion with Rome altogether and caused a schism, which lasted several decades. Around 580 Bishop Elias of Aquileia and Grado proclaimed himself patriarch and thus was free to do whatever he wished. Thus the figure of Saint Euphemia of Chalcedon takes on significance when seen against the background of these struggles. She embodies the resistance against imperial intervention in church affairs, a growing disaffection with Eastern theological disputes, and consequently a rise in the Christian identity of the Latin-speaking churches.⁴⁴

Mosaics of female martyrs from roughly the same time in Ravenna can give further insight into the selection of the twelve female saints in the church of Parentium. The earliest example at Ravenna is in the archiepiscopal chapel, a kind of private oratory that has survived until today on the first floor of the episcopal palace and is now part of the archiepiscopal museum (fig. 19).

43 Herrin, *The Formation*, 122.

44 Herrin, *The Formation*, 126



Fig. 19: Archbishop's Chapel, Ravenna. Vault mosaic with busts of apostles and martyrs. Photo: © B.O'Kane / Alamy Stock Photo

The chapel was built around the year 500 in the form of a Greek cross with an apse on the eastern side and a rectangular vestibule on the western.⁴⁵ Although many restorations have taken place, the mosaics covering the vault and the soffits of the four arches seem to have remained largely intact.⁴⁶ The soffits on the eastern and western sides show the twelve apostles in groups of six; the most important ones such as Peter and Paul flank Christ on the eastern side toward the apse along with James, John, Andrew and Philip, while the other six apostles flank Christ on the western side. The north and south sides show the portrait roundels of six female and six male saints. On the south are the male Saints Cassianus, Chrysogonus, Chrysanthus,⁴⁷

45 Gilian Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function, and Patronage*, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2003, 104-114, fig. 47 (plan).

46 Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 107.

47 The names of Saints Chrysanthus and Daria appear in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, and a church was built over their reputed burial place on the via Salaria in Rome. Damasus dedicated two epigrams to these martyrs; no 44 (S. Maurus); no. 45 (SS. Chrysanthius and Daria). See Sághy, "Pope Damasus," 14.

Sebastianus, Fabianus, and Damianus. On the north are the now familiar Saints Euphemia, Eugenia, Caecilia, Daria,⁴⁸ Perpetua, and Felicitas - only Daria being unparalleled so far; they all are conveniently labeled (fig. 20).



Fig. 20: Archbishop's Chapel, Ravenna, north arch with female martyrs

Other churches or chapels may have had roundels of female martyrs – some fragments have been recovered – but none so far have survived with the full array of images as in the churches of Ravenna and Parentium.⁴⁹ Roundels of apostles, saints, and popes were, of course, well known in all kind of materials not only in mosaic or painting, but these female portraits prove to be exceptional.⁵⁰

48 Damasus, *Epigram 45* (Ss. Chrysanthius and Daria).

49 Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 39, and fig. 25.

50 Many examples can be cited, such as the apse mosaic of S. Catherine's in the Sinai; S. Vitale and S. Paul, S. Apollinare in Classe, in Ravenna. In Rome, old St. Peter's and S. Paul's outside the walls were known to have had portrait roundels, which are no longer existing in their original form. A nice example

In the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, which like Parentium had its mosaics applied around 550, all six female saints of the bishop's chapel reappear. No longer, however, are they portrait busts in roundels but rather full-length figures covering the north wall of the nave immediately above the supporting arches (fig. 21).



Fig. 21: Basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna: nave with mosaic processions of martyrs above the arcades

It has not escaped notice that in spite of their full-length format, the female saints of S. Apollinare Nuovo have features similar to those in the roundels in Poreč, both in quality and workmanship.⁵¹ In Poreč, however, the female martyrs are somewhat more austere than in Ravenna, where most have jewels in their hair (fig. 22).

on a different medium (an ivory casket - a *lipsanoteca*) exists in the Museo Civico in Brescia. For a discussion and more examples, see Terry and Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor*, II 176ff.

⁵¹ Terry and Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor*, I 59-69.



Fig. 22: Female martyrs, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

The numbers of saints have greatly increased in S. Apollinare Nuovo compared to the episcopal chapel or Poreč; the majestic procession of female martyrs counts 22. The male saints on the south side of the nave even surpass that number: 25 are shown proceeding forward with crowns in hand (fig. 23).



Fig. 23: Male martyrs, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

Strangely enough, however, only three of the male saints had appeared among the six of the episcopal chapel. The female selection shows a much greater continuity in the three north Adriatic monuments; most of the female saints from the smaller groups continue into the large group in S. Apollinare Nuovo. All six female saints of the bishop's palace and ten of the twelve female saints of Parentium return in S. Apollinare Nuovo.

In order to find patterns in the selection of the female martyrs, I made a database, in which I put together the information on female martyrs from the mosaics (Ravenna: Archbishop's chapel; Ravenna: S. Apollinare Nuovo; Ravenna: the deposition of relics as recorded by Agnellus; the poems of Venantius Fortunatus; and Parentium (Appendix, fig. I). In his indispensable volumes on the churches of Ravenna, Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann had suggested that the martyrs in S. Apollinare Nuovo were possibly related to relics deposited in that church.⁵² This suggestion, however, doesn't correspond with the list of relics that are known from historical sources; only 3 of the 25 male saints in the mosaics, namely Laurentius, Apollinaris, and Vincentius show up in the lists of relics (Appendix, fig. II).

From the beginning of this endeavor I had the impression that another connection could exist, namely, between saints in the mosaics and saints in liturgical practices. For this reason, I looked at the earliest rubrics of the mass and the prayers of intercession.⁵³ I am not a specialist in this field, and I do not try to reconstruct eucharistic celebrations as they might have happened in early Christian communities. I was merely interested in the lists of saints that can be found in various Western liturgical traditions, most of which are transmitted through documents later than the sixth century.

52 Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, Bd I Geschichte und Monumente, Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1969, 199.

53 Many thanks go to Stefanos Alexopoulos who provided me with 'liturgical' help and bibliographical information.

My main sources were (early medieval sacramentaries and missals (fig. 24).



Fig. 24: Page of the so-called Sacramentary of Charles the Bold, 869-870, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Latin 1141.
Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France

As the great Joseph Jungmann in his classic work on the Roman mass explained, intercessory prayers began to be inserted into the eucharistic celebration toward the end of the 4th century.⁵⁴ The po-

54 Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite, its Origins and Development* (Missarum Sollemnia; new rev. and abridged ed.), New York: Benzinger Bros., 1959, 26; 40; 392. For eucharistic prayers, see Enrico Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, New York: Pueblo, 1986.

sition of these intercessions in the liturgy has a complicated history,⁵⁵ but in simplified terms one could say that they were connected with the commemoration of the living and of the dead. It has long been known that in antiquity lists of names were recited in a liturgical setting; references to such practices can be found in early Christian authors in both West and East, for example, Cyprian, Augustine, and Chrysostom.⁵⁶ These lists of names could be inscribed on and read from tablets, called diptychs, and some examples have survived and are now kept in church treasuries and museums.⁵⁷ They were often made of precious materials, such as ivory, whose value probably contributed to their survival.⁵⁸ The diptychs assembled in the extensive study of Richard Delbrueck are by and large secular in nature and only a few have biblical imagery (fig. 25).

55 Jungmann, *The Mass*, 40-43; 391-408.

56 Cyprian, *Ep.* 10; Augustine, *Confessions* IX 12. For Chrysostom and diptychs, see Robert F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: Vol. IV, The Diptychs* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 238), Rome: Oriental Institute Press, 1991.

57 F. Cabrol, "Diptyches," *DACL*, 4.1:1045-1094; 1094-1170. Richard Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, 2 vols., Leipzig: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1929.

58 Some of them were made of wood, see the example from Egypt at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (MFA 72.4358), dated to the 7th c. and published by Michael McCormick, "A Liturgical Diptych from Coptic Egypt in the Museum of Fine Arts," *Le Muséon. Revue d'études orientales*, 4 (1981) 47-54. For a picture, see <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/tablet-of-wood-197708>



Fig. 25: Leaf of an ivory diptych with the emperor in triumph (Justinian?), so-called Barberini Diptych, 6th century, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photo: Museum

These secular diptychs are also called consular diptychs; they were intended as luxury gifts by consuls at the inception of their position as a reward to people who supported their candidacy. A law of 384 decreed that only consuls could manufacture and distribute precious diptychs made from ivory or gold.⁵⁹ These consular diptychs then were taken over for ecclesiastical or liturgical purposes. Some may also have been given to influential bishops at the time, but there is no record to prove this.⁶⁰ Of the sixty-eight ivory consular diptychs in-

⁵⁹ *Cod. Theod.* 15.9.1. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 68; cat. no 20.

⁶⁰ Delbrueck only includes a few diptychs with Christian imagery; Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, cat. nos. 68-71. For a more extensive description of the liturgical use of diptychs in both East and West, see Cabrol, "Diptyches," *DACL*, 4.1:1045-1094. For diptychs with Christian imagery, see also Fritz W. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 2nd ed., Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1952, 56-77.

cluded in the study by Delbrueck, 62% have come down to us through treasuries in Western cathedrals and monasteries.⁶¹ Their liturgical use is documented back into medieval times, and some still preserve lists of names.⁶² They survive in various states of preservation; some are fully intact even with their hinges, and others only have one leaf left. Some are fragmentary or have been reworked and incorporated into bindings of biblical and liturgical books.

As noted above, prayers of intercession for the living and the dead began to be inserted in the eucharistic service toward the end of the 4th century.⁶³ Although these intercessions initially formed one group, they seem to have been remodeled and divided in the course of the 5th century. Thus they form two groups placed in different positions in the canon of the mass, one before and the other after the consecration.⁶⁴ First comes the “Memento of the Living,” followed by intercessory prayers that start with the words “Communicantes”; then the “Memento of the Dead” followed by the words “Nobis quoque” comes after the consecration. Interestingly, one of the preserved ivory diptychs shows faint traces of an inscription with the “Communicantes” formula followed by names of apostles and saints on one side, while a possible commemoration for the dead with personal names is inscribed on the other (fig. 26).⁶⁵

For the later Christian appropriation of consular diptychs, see Kim Bowes, “Ivory Lists: Consular Diptychs, Christian Appropriation and Polemics of Time in Late Antiquity,” in *Art History* 24/3 (2001) 338-357.

61 These numbers are based on the assemblage of Delbrueck.

62 See also below, note 59.

63 Jungmann, *The Mass*, 391-2. The Gallic liturgies/Mozarabic mass did not follow this development; there the intercessions precede the eucharistic prayer.

64 As is still the case today in the Roman rite.

65 See Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 128-131, cat. no 20. Delbrueck prints a question mark after the *Commemoratio pro defunctis*. This diptych originates from St. Lambert's cathedral in Liège/Luik, whose destruction started in the late 18th century and whose treasury was sold thereafter. One tablet ended up



Fig. 26: Leaf of a diptych of the Consul Anastasius, 517 CE, ivory, Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Photo: Museum

Putting the saintly names into the database with the mosaics it becomes possible to see interconnections between early Western liturgical traditions and the mosaics of Ravenna and Parentium. First the correspondences and variations of the liturgical traditions themselves should be examined. In the liturgy, most male saints occur in the first intercession of the “Communicantes”; they are placed after the twelve apostles.⁶⁶ The female saints, however, occur in the second intercession of the “Nobis quoque,” accompanied by a few other male saints or protomartyrs. It is worth noting that in the sacramentary of

in Berlin (Neues Museum), the other in London (V&A). About 20 of the 70 diptychs have later inscriptions. One diptych was found with a paper/parchment list inside the tabulae.

66 In some cases the list starts with the virgin Mary. After Vatican II also Joseph was added.

Verona (6-7th c.), the saints of both the first and second intercessions correspond closely with those of the sacramentary of Milan/Biasca (10-13th c.). Jungmann explains that the Milanese liturgy was permeated with Roman forms, but that details of pre-Roman usage also survived.⁶⁷ Compared to the sacramentary of Verona, the Milan/Biasca list includes additional names of 4th c. Milanese bishops: Maternus, Eustorgius, Dionysius, Ambrosius, and Simplicianus. This shows that local churches added and continued to add their own bishops' lists. The Gelasianum (6-8th c.) in contrast offers a selection that is more adjusted toward bishops from Gaul, North Africa, and Rome with Hilary, Martin, Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, and Benedict at the end of its list (Appendix, fig. III).

Comparing the liturgical texts with the mosaics, one can see that the names in the Verona/Biasca sacramentaries correspond closely with the female saints in the Euphrasian church; they have eight of the twelve names in common (Appendix, fig. IV). The parallel seems striking. Four saints included in the Verona/Biasca lists but missing from Parentium, Anastasia, Lucia, Sabina, and Pelagia appear in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, indicating another parallel between these liturgies and the mosaics from this environment. Susanna and Basilissa are not accounted for in the liturgy, but Venantius Fortunatus included Basilissa in his list of eight, which as we saw above has close links to the group in Parentium. Elsewhere in his poetry he lauds Susanna together with Thecla as models of purity.⁶⁸ Since we have so little liturgical evidence of the time, the poems of Venantius Fortunatus are a welcome supplement to these lists of saintly names. When we compare the Verona/Biasca lists with the whole group of female saints in S. Apollinare Nuovo, we see that they share eleven of

67 Jungmann, *The Mass*, 33.

68 Basilissa: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina*, lib. VIII, III, p. 182, v. 92 (ed. Fr. Leo, 1881). Susanna: *Carmina*, Appendix, lib. XXIII, p. 287, v. 19 (ed. Fr. Leo, 1881).

the twenty-two names. Three saints in the mosaics, Paulina, Daria,⁶⁹ and Valeria, who are not included in the canon list, can be found in Venantius' poetry, in the episcopal chapel, and in Parentium, respectively; eight others do not have parallels in the materials at hand. S. Eugenia appears in all the church mosaics, in the list of relics from Ravenna, and in the Venantius' poem, but is absent from the Verona/Biasca sacramentaries. She re-appears in the Gallican traditions and the Bobbio missal. Euphemia who is present in all the mosaics, the martyr list from Ravenna, and Venantius' poem, continues to be enlisted in the north Italian sacramentaries, but is absent from the others, and understandably so considering her history.

When the liturgical traditions from Verona and Milan are compared to the male saints of S. Apollinare Nuovo, we find sixteen of the twenty-five names in common, again a high rate of correlation (Appendix, fig. V). Two others on the mosaics, Ursicinus and Casianus appear in Venantius' poetry, in the episcopal chapel, and in a mosaic of the church of S. Apollinare in Classe. Cosmas and Damian are both in the canon lists (as well as in one of the side apses of Parentium), but not on the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo; Damian alone appears in the bishop's chapel in Ravenna. The mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo show saints Demetrius, Polycarpus, and Sabinus, who are not included in the canons. Nazarius, Celsus, and Victor in turn are saints from Milan, who are included in the Verona/Biasca lists but do not figure on the mosaics. It is a surprise to see that five Roman martyrs are shown in the mosaics but are not listed in the Roman canon itself; they are: Hippolytus, Sebastianus, Protus, Hyacinthus, and Pancratius.⁷⁰ Except for Hippolytus they do not appear in the sacramentary of Verona either.

69 For Daria, see also footnote 47 above.

70 See Hippolyte Delehaye, "L'hagiographie ancienne de Ravenne," *Analecta Bollandiana* 47 (1929) 5-30, esp. 11-12.

All of this shows a complex situation, in which liturgical practices appear to be fluid and variable. Intercessory prayers were, after all, locally designed and must have changed from generation to generation. In spite of this variability, however, one also can see common features and clear interconnections between local churches. The strong relationship between the liturgies and the saints on the mosaics plus the flexibility of the liturgies make it possible to imagine liturgies in Parentium and Ravenna that listed the saints of the mosaics.

Thus in answer to the initial question as to why bishop Euphrasius decided on these particular twelve female martyr saints: it seems clear that the celebration of the eucharist had a major influence on his selection, since eight of the twelve portraits correspond with the lists as we have them in the sacramentaries of Verona and Biasca. The greater variety of male saints in the north Adriatic churches may simply reflect the variability of liturgical prayers. Relics may also have played a role in selections of saints, but the dominating factor in Parentium and the Ravenna churches seems to be the canon of the mass. The splendor of the female portraits in the arch above the apse at Parentium was meant to illuminate the faithful below as they called upon the martyrs' names to intercede for their spiritual requests.⁷¹

71 Many thanks go to John Herrmann, my first reader, for his encouragement and help, to Stefanos Alexopoulos, for his "liturgical" support, to Henry Maguire for his comments, and to the audience at the conference in Nyíregyháza, for their comments and suggestions. Unless otherwise indicated, the photographs are by the author.

Appendix

Fig. 1 Female martyrs: mosaics, relics, poetry

Ravenna Arch.chapel c. 500 Mosaic	Ravenna S.Apollinare 500-550 Mosaic	Ravenna N. Agnellus c. 550 Relics	Venantius F. c.530-c.600 Poetry	Parentium c. 550 Mosaic	
	6	22	4	8	12
Eufimia	Eugenia	Agathe	Euphemia	Agathe	Agnes
Eugenia	Savina	Eufimia	Agathe	Agnes	Agnes
Caecilia	Cristina	Agnes	Iustina	Cicilia	Cicilia
Daria	Anatolia	Eugenia	Tecla	Eugenia	Eugenia
Perpetua	Victoria		Paulina	Basilissa	Basilissa
Felicitas	Paulina		Agnes	Filicita	Filicita
	Emerantian(a)		Basilissa	Eufymia	Eufymia
	Daria		Eugenia	Tecla	Tecla
	Anastasia			Valeria	Valeria
	Iustina			Perpetua	Perpetua
	Felicitas			Susanna	Susanna
	Perpetua		Cecilia	Iustina	Iustina
	Vincentia		Susanna		
	Valeria				
	Crispina				
	Lucia				
	Cecilia				
	Eulalia				
	Agnes				
	Agatha				
	Pelagia				
	Eufimia				

Fig. II Male martyrs: mosaics and relics

Ravenna Arch.chapel c. 500 Mosaic	Ravenna S.Apollinare 500-550 Mosaic	Ravenna N. Agnellus c. 550 Relics
6		25
Cassianus	Clemens	Petri
Chrysogonus	Systus	Pauli
Chrysanthus	Laurentius	Andreae
Sebastianus	Yppolitus	Zachariae
Fabianus	Cornelius	Iohannis B.
Damianus	Cyprianus	Iohannis E.
	Cassianus	Iacobi
	Iohannis	Thomae
	Paulus	Matthei
	Vitalis	Stephani
	Gervasius	Vincenti
	Protasius	Laurenti
	Ursicinus	Quirini
	Namor	Floriani
	Felix	Aemiliani
	Apollinaris	Apollinaris
	Sebastianus	
	Demiter	Martyrii
	Policarpus	Sisinnii
	Vincentius	Alexandri
	Pancratius	
	Crisogonus	
	Protus	
	Iaquintus	
	Sabinus	
	12 Apostles	12 Apostles

Fig. III Male martyrs: mosaics and sacramentaries/missals

Ravenna	Ravenna	Veronese/Milan/Biasca		Gelasianum
Arch.chapel	S.Apollinare N.			
c. 500	500-550	6-7 c.	10 c.-	6-8 c.
Mosaic	Mosaic	1st intercession: Communicantes		1st intercessi
Cassianus	Clemens	Xysti	Xysti	Lini
Chrysogonus	Systus	Laurentii	Laurentii	Cleti
Chrysanthus	Laurentius	Hippolyti	Hippolyti	Clementis
Sebastianus	Yppolitus	Vincentii	Vincentii	Xysti
Fabianus	Cornelius	Cornelii	Cornelii	Corneli
Damianus	Cyprianus	Cypriani	Cypriani	Cyprianus
	Cassianus	Clementis	Clementis	Laurentii
	Iohannis	Chrysogoni	Chrysogoni	Chrysogoni
	Paulus	Iohannis &	Iohannis &	Iohannis &
	Vitalis	Pauli	Pauli	Pauli
	Gervasius	Cosmae &	Cosmae &	Cosmae &
	Protasius	Damiani	Damiani	Damiani
	Ursicinus	Apollinaris	Apollinaris	Dionysii
	Namor	Vitalis	Vitalis	Rustici &
	Felix	Nazarii &	Nazarii	Eleutherii
	Apollinaris	Celsi	Celsi	Hilarii
	Sebastianus	Protasii &	Protasii	Martini
	Demiter	Gervasii	Gervasii	Augustini
	Policarpus	Victoris	Victoris	Gregorii
	Vincentius	Naboris	Naboris	Hieronymi
	Pancratius	Felicis &	Felicis	Benedicti
	Crisogonus	Calimeri	Calimeri	
	Protus		Materni	
	Iaquintus		Eustorgii	
	Sabinus		Dionysii	
			Ambrosii	
			Simpliciani	

Female Splendor: the Role of Twelve Women Saints in the Apse

Fig. IV Female martyrs: mosaics, relics, poetry, and sacramentaries/missals

Ravenna Arch.chapel c. 500 Mosaic	Ravenna S.Apollinare 500-550 Mosaic	Ravenna N. Agnellus c. 550 Relics	Venantius F. Parentium c.530-c.600 Poetry	F. Parentium c. 550 Mosaic	Veronese/L 6-7 c. 2nd interest
	6	22	4	8	12
Eufimia	Eugenia	Agathe	Euphemia	Agathe	Agnete
Eugenia	Savina	Eufimia	Agathe	Agnes	Caecilia
Caecilia	Cristina	Agnes	Iustina	Cicilia	Felicitate
Daria	Anatolia	Eugenia	Tecla	Eugenia	Perpetua
Perpetua	Victoria		Paulina	Basilissa	Anastasia
Felicitas	Paulina		Agnes	Filicita	Agatha
	Emerantian(a)		Basilissa	Eufymia	Euphemia
	Daria		Eugenia	Tecla	Lucia
	Anastasia			Valeria	Iustina
	Iustina			Perpetua	Sabina
	Felicitas			Susanna	Thecla
	Perpetua		Cecilia	Iustina	Pelagia &
	Vincentia		Susanna		Catharina
	Valeria				
	Crispina				
	Lucia				
	Cecilia				
	Eulalia				
	Agnes				
	Agatha				
	Pelagia				
	Eufimia				
					8 in common

Fig. IV Female martyrs: mosaics, relics, poetry, and sacramentaries/missals (continuation)

Milan/Biasca	Gelasianum	Gregorianum	Gallicanum	Bobbio	Stowe
10 c.-13 c	6-8 c.	7-9 c.	7 c.	8 c.	9 c.-
sion- Nobis quoque	2nd intercession- Nobis quoque				
12	7	7	8	8	7
Agne	Felicitate	Felicitate	Perpetua	Perpetua	Perpetua
Caecilia	Perpetua	Perpetua	Agne	Agne	Agna
Felicitate	Agatha	Agatha	Cicilia	Cicilia	Cicilia
Perpetua	Lucia	Lucia	Felicitate	Felicitate	Felicitate
Anastasia	Agne	Agne	Anastasia	Anastasia	Anastasia
Agatha	Caecilia	Caecilia	Agathe	Agatha	Agatha
Euphemia	Anastasia	Anastasia	Lucia	Lucia	Lucia
Lucia			Eogenia	Eugenia	
Iustina	variable sequence				
Savina					
Tecla					
Pelagia					
8 in common	5 in common	5 in common	6 in common	6 in common	5 in common

Female Splendor: the Role of Twelve Women Saints in the Apse

Fig. V Male martyrs: mosaics, relics, poetry, and sacramentaries/missals

Ravenna Arch.chapel c. 500	Ravenna S.Apollinare 500-550	Ravenna N. Agnellus c. 550	Venatius F. c.530-c.600	Veronese/Leoni 6-7 c.	Milan/Biasca 10 c.-
Mosaic	Mosaic	Relics	Poetry	1st intercession: Communican	
Cassianus	Clemens	Petri	Vitalis	Xysti	Xysti
Chrysogonus	Systus	Pauli	Ursicinus	Laurentii	Laurentii
Chrysanthus	Laurentius	Andreae	Apollinaris	Hippolyti	Hippolyti
Sebastianus	Yppolitus	Zachariae		Vincentii	Vincentii
Fabianus	Cornelius	Iohannis B.	Laurentius	Cornelii	Cornelii
Damianus	Cyprianus	Iohannis E.	Vitalis	Cypriani	Cypriani
	Cassianus	Iacobi	Martinus	Clementis	Clementis
	Iohannis	Thomae	Vigilius	Chrysogoni	Chrysogoni
	Paulus	Matthei	Marturius	Iohannis &	Iohannis &
	Vitalis	Stephani	Sisennus	Pauli	Pauli
	Gervasius	Vincenti	Alexander	Cosmae &	Cosmae &
	Protasius	Laurenti		Damiani	Damiani
	Ursicinus	Quirini		Apollinaris	Apollinaris
	Namor	Floriani		Vitalis	Vitalis
	Felix	Aemiliani		Nazarii &	Nazarii
	Apollinaris	Apollinaris		Celsi	Celsi
	Sebastianus			Protasii &	Protasii
	Demiter	Martyrii		Gervasii	Gervasii
	Policarpus	Sisinnii		Victorls	Victorls
	Vincentius	Alexandri		Naboris	Naboris
	Pancratius			Felicis &	Felicis
	Crisogonus			Calimeri	Calimeri
	Protus				Materni
	Iaquintus				Eustorgii
	Sabinus				Dionysii
					Ambrosii
					Simpliciani