

The Women in the Family: Behavioural Models and Gendered Social Roles in Transylvanian Medieval Mural Paintings

Maria CRĂCIUN* 

ABSTRACT. *The Women in the Family: Behavioural Models and Gendered Social Roles in Transylvanian Medieval Mural Paintings.* Using visual documents, primarily wall paintings in the churches of medieval Transylvania, this study has a three-fold purpose. It wishes to decode the messages transmitted by visual narratives and compositional types that decorate the northern wall of the nave in several Transylvanian medieval churches, it intends to identify their target audience and to discover the agency involved in their conception. The study relies on the depiction of the *Labors of Adam and Eve* in the church at Mălâncrav and several visual narratives representing the *Lives of Virgin Martyrs*, especially Catherine and Margaret, presented together with the story of St. Ladislav in the churches at Șmig, Ighișu Nou and Drăușeni. Approaching the visual documents by using iconography as the preferred method of analysis, while taking into account its relational and serial versions, the study will focus on the possible functions of these depictions, didactic, mnemonic and devotional, in an attempt to reconstruct the motives of their commissioners. Trying to disengage from the assumption that visual narratives dedicated to the Virgin Martyrs were addressing women, providing them with a devotional model, the study argues

* **Maria CRĂCIUN** (maria.craciun@ubbcluj.ro) is Professor emerita in the Department of Medieval, Early Modern and Art History of the Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj, Romania and a member of the Academia Europaea. Her main field of interest is Lutheran visual culture in early modern Transylvania. By looking at the communication of religious ideas through both image and text, she has become interested in book ownership among Transylvanian artisans and its gendered dimension. Changes in religious culture from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries has led her to explore the building of confessional culture among Transylvanian artisans and their appropriation of religious and social disciplining. The main themes of her work are identity (religious, confessional, social, gendered), communication (textual, oral and visual) and the role of the image in late medieval and early modern religious experience.



that the target audience were the secular clergy who were meant to model their behaviour on the chastity and intellectual prowess of these saints, particularly in the case of Catherine, and enthusiastically assume their pastoral duties, as also suggested by the presence in the program of the martyrdom of the apostles. By placing the Labors of Adam and Eve from Mălâncrav in a series that follows the development of this compositional type between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries, and by focusing on the changes in the meanings attached to them, the study advocates the importance of motherhood for the noble patrons of the church, as this can easily be connected to their concern for fertility, lineage and the self-reproduction of the group. The study ultimately posits that while St. Ladislav is undoubtedly the ultimate role model for men, especially for those with military careers, the three female characters, Eve and the two Virgin Martyrs, can become models of gendered behaviour for women and the constructed third gender of the clergy. Considered together, the two sets of images suggest that secular and ecclesiastical elites were equally invested in their conception: the nobility because they wanted to instill a chivalric spirit in the men of the family and commitment to motherhood in the women, while the higher and the regular clergy, most probably the mendicants, wished to shape the gendered identity of the parish priests.

Keywords: *visual narratives, iconography, gendered social roles and gendered behaviour, secular clergy, nobility, mendicants.*

The northern wall of the nave in the church of Mălâncrav (Malmkrog, Almakerék), property of the Apafi family, challenges the viewer with an exceptionally ample, well-articulated and fairly well-preserved pictorial program, which, paradoxically, has been insufficiently discussed in existing literature.¹ Its beginning, in the upper north-west corner of the church is dedicated to the *Genesis* and includes, as expected, the story of Adam and Eve. The narrative

¹ Although the mural paintings of Mălâncrav have been discussed in existing literature, notably by Vasile Drăguț, "Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav," *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei* 14 (1967): 79–92; Dana Jenei, "Les peintures murales de l'église de Mălâncrav: Notes avant la restauration," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 52 (2015): 47–76; Anca Gogăltan, "Passion Iconography and Narrative Strategies in the Medieval Frescoes Decorating the Church in Mălâncrav (Almkerék, Malmkrog) in Transylvania," *New Europe College GE-NEC Program 2004–2005, 2005–2006, 2006–2007* (2010): 103–152; Anca Gogăltan and Dóra Sallay, "The Church of Mălâncrav/Almkerék and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa," in *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania*, vol. 2 (Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2002), 181–210; Anca Gogăltan, "The Self: Religious and Noble Identity in Late Medieval Transylvania," *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Historia* 58, special issue (2013): 49–75, the focus has been on the pictorial program of the chancel while the painting in the nave has benefitted from less attention and the *Genesis* cycle, which culminates with the story of Adam and Eve, even less.

sequence comprises the usual episodes, the *Creation of Eve from Adam's Rib*, *Adam and Eve in Paradise*, the *Temptation*, *Adam and Eve Chastised by God*, the *Expulsion from Paradise* and the *Labors of Adam and Eve*.² The last episode, dedicated to the lives of the protagonists after their banishment from heaven is somewhat unusual, as it depicts Adam working the land, in the customary manner, while Eve is shown breastfeeding (Fig. 1),³ which is different from the, perhaps better-known, images where Eve is represented spinning.⁴ However, attributing the image of the *Labors of Adam and Eve* from the church at Mălâncrav to a specific compositional type can prove difficult because of the current deteriorated state of the image. Basing her assertion on the watercolour copy made by Zoltán Veres, where both the suckling child and the spindle are visible, Dana Jenei suggests that Eve is shown both breastfeeding and spinning.⁵ However, Vasile Drăguț, who has seen these images in a better state of preservation mentions only the breastfeeding.⁶ In this respect, he concurs with László Éber, who had seen the frescoes in 1915 and described them without mentioning the spinning.⁷

This observation focuses one's attention on the reasons for choosing a specific type of composition, leading one to ask whether the images conveyed gendered behavioural models to the men and women in the family of the patron of the church, investing them with gendered social roles. Therefore, starting from decoding the messages transmitted by these images to the lay men and women present in the church, this study will explore the issue of agency behind their conception, and identify the target audience as well as possible functions of these depictions, didactic, mnemonic and devotional. These are ultimately

² The sequence of episodes is mentioned by Vasile Drăguț, "Iconografia picturii murale gotice din Transilvania: Considerații generale și repertoriu pe teme," in *Pagini de artă veche românească*, vol. 2 (Editura Academiei, 1972), 61 and by Dana Jenei, *Goticul în Transilvania: Pictura (ca. 1300–1500)* (Oscar Print, 2016), 34. Neither comments on the choice of episodes or the manner of their rendition, the nature of the compositions and possible messages.

³ Jenei, "Les peintures," fig. 5, watercolour copy by Zoltán Veres.

⁴ A survey of existing images of the *Labors of Adam and Eve* suggests that images depicting Adam working in the field and Eve spinning became popular beginning with the twelfth century and include outstanding examples such as the mosaics in the Cathedral Church at Monreale, those in the Capella Palatina in Palermo, those in the church of San Marco in Venice, several illuminated manuscripts, such as the York Psalter and the Wenceslaus Psalter, as well as reliefs on the façades of several Italian churches.

⁵ Jenei, "Les peintures," 49.

⁶ Drăguț, "Iconografia," 66.

⁷ Éber László, "Tanulmányok Magyarország középkori falfestményeiről," in *Magyarország Műemlékei*, vol. 4, ed. Forster Gyula (A Franklin Társulat Nyomása, 1915): 71–90, especially 79, who mentions the *Labors of Adam and Eve*, attributing breastfeeding to Eve and tilling the soil to Adam. See images 139 and 140.

issues relevant for all images placed on the northern wall of the nave, in full view of the laity. One is thus led to consider whether the story of Adam and Eve could have been used to offer gendered behavioural models and attribute gendered social roles to the lay men and women who saw them in the church. As this program is unique in Transylvanian churches, this study will consider several examples of coherent narrative programs which feature men and women, for example, the lives of knightly saints and Virgin Martyrs, similarly placed on the northern wall of the nave, and thus able to convey gendered messages to the spectators below. Consequently, by focusing initially on the images of Adam and Eve living their earthly lives after their expulsion from Paradise, and then on the lives of knightly saints and Virgin Martyrs depicted in the churches at Șmig (Schmiegen, Somogyom), Ighișu Nou (Eibesdorf, Szászivánfalva), and Drăușeni (Draas, Homoróddaróc), this study will explore gendered social roles and models of behaviour, forged with the help of the visual discourse, whilst it will also identify the individuals who conceived these visual narratives and the targeted audience for these paintings. These gendered social roles and behavioural models will be discussed primarily by focusing on visual evidence, using iconography as the preferred method of analysis.

*

The Labors of Adam and Eve

In the first case, the *Labors of Adam and Eve*, the topic merits some attention as most art historians who have examined the *Genesis* sequence have focused either on original sin, the visual narrative dedicated to the *Temptation* and the first couple's *Fall from Grace*,⁸ or on *Creation*, on the making of Adam and Eve.⁹ For example, the visual narrative dedicated to the *Genesis* is present on the bronze doors of Hildesheim Cathedral (1007–1015), commissioned by bishop Bernward, where it's juxtaposed with New Testament episodes (Fig. 2). Analysing this program, Adam S. Cohen and Anne Derbes have argued that the depiction of the *Temptation and Fall* is a sexually-charged encounter that essentially blamed Eve for the dismal outcome of events. It is thus suggested that Eve's culpability, her sin and her nature as a temptress are strongly emphasized by the decorative program. Adam S. Cohen and Anne Derbes construct a persuasive argument by linking these messages to reform movements initiated within the Church during the eleventh century, particularly during the papacy

⁸ See for example Adam S. Cohen and Anne Derbes, "Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim," *Gesta*, 40, no. 1 (2001): 19–38.

⁹ Jérôme Baschet, *L'iconographie médiévale* (Gallimard, 2008), 298–343.

of Gregory VII (1073–1085), which emphasized morality, and tried to enforce clerical celibacy and chastity while turning Eve and, ultimately, all women into a threat to clerical virtue. However, no attention is paid to the protagonists' lives after the expulsion from Paradise. Although present on the bronze doors, the episode representing the *Labors of Adam and Eve* is not even mentioned in this analysis (Fig. 3).¹⁰ In contrast, by focusing on the strengthening of the Marian cult during the reform movement of the eleventh century, the authors further argue that Mary is the redemptive counterpart of Eve, who reopens the doors to Paradise. This is reinforced by the juxtaposition of the Old Testament episodes with New Testament ones on the doors at Hildesheim.¹¹ Thus, Eve is not just cast into an arguably gendered role but also drawn into an eschatological repertoire, which includes her in the story of salvation. She is the one who ushers sin into the world, while Mary acts as the ultimate Mediatrix in the story of redemption. Prioritizing Eve's role as an antitype to Mary rather than her activities in earthly life, along with the behavioural models she was likely to disseminate, may be considered persuasive proof that concern for gendered social roles was not always a priority of the art historical field and only surfaced after the meeting between art history and gender history.¹²

Turning to art historical literature on Transylvania, one has to remark that, despite the presence of this specific episode in the work of both authors who dealt with the *Genesis* sequence from the church at Mălâncrav, no attempt has been made to explain this particular choice. Moreover, the fact that there were alternative ways to represent the episode, which possibly rendered distinct or alternative meanings, is completely disregarded.¹³

This suggests that a first step in this analysis will be to consider the meanings of at least three compositional types prevalent in medieval context: (1) Eve depicted spinning, (2) Eve depicted breastfeeding, and (3) Eve depicted

¹⁰ Cohen and Derbes, "Bernward and Eve," 22–24, 26–29.

¹¹ Cohen and Derbes, "Bernward and Eve," 29–33.

¹² For example, Eve Borsook, *The Royal Programs of Norman Sicily (1130–1187)*, (Clarendon Press, 1990), although she discusses the number of episodes included (42 in Monreale and 32 in the Capella Palatina in Palermo), and their spatial arrangement, does not refer to the *Labors of Adam and Eve*. She does remark that the Monreale rendering is closer to the Biblical text and that a deliberate parallel is drawn between Eve and Mary: "The source of the original sin is contrasted with the Virgin as the means of salvation" (62). In contrast, Penny Howell Jolly, *Made in God's Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice* (University of California Press, 1997) dedicates a chapter to the *Labors of Adam and Eve* (59–76) where she argues that Eve does not project a dutiful model of behaviour. Idle and enthroned, her hair uncovered, she does not embrace a submissive wifely role. The author concludes that Eve's postlapsarian nature is condemned by God to be ruled by her body and sexuality (60–64). Thus, submissiveness versus assertiveness seems to be the issue under discussion.

¹³ Drăguț, "Iconografia," 34; Jenei, *Goticul în Transilvania*, 34; Jenei, "Les peintures," 49.

spinning and breastfeeding, presuming that they advertised gendered social roles and encouraged gendered behavioural models. Bearing in mind these compositional types would lead to a better understanding of the gendered social roles and behavioural models attributed to Eve. After having determined the potential meanings of each type, the study will also attempt to understand the choices made by the commissioners of the frescoes from the church at Mălâncrav, and hence explore the messages they forged by choosing to depict the *Labors of Adam and Eve* in a specific way. Finally, the study will tentatively aim to identify the individuals who conceived the frescoes, at the same time considering the most likely intended recipients of these images. As the visual representation of the *Labors of Adam and Eve* developed and changed over time, one needs to decode the meaning of each specific type through a detailed analysis of its features.

The Labors of Adam and Eve are part of most *Genesis* sequences, because the way that Adam and Eve would spend their earthly lives was ordained by God before he expelled them from Paradise (Genesis 3:16–19). They first appear on fourth-century sarcophagi, for example on the sarcophagus of Adelfia,¹⁴ the so-called sarcophagus of Lot, the sarcophagus of Stilicho from the Basilica Sant’Ambrogio in Milan,¹⁵ and a sarcophagus from Arles.¹⁶ In these examples, Adam and Eve are depicted with the fruit of their labor, Adam with stalks of grain and Eve with a lamb.¹⁷ Thus, emphasis seems to be placed, not on the work itself, but rather on its results. Although obliquely, these recurrent symbols refer to the different nature of the work performed by Adam and Eve, or at least to their different responsibilities, as Adam provides nourishment while Eve provides nurture. One could also infer that Adam is destined to work the land while Eve is delegated to raising animals, which are of equal importance in the sustenance of the family. Consequently, in early Christian compositions, Adam and Eve are depicted performing different but equally-valued work.

¹⁴ The Sarcophagus of Lot (340), church of San Sebastiano, Rome. For the image, see <https://www.christianiconography.info/catacombs/adam.html> The object in Eve’s hand has been interpreted as a distaff.

¹⁵ Sarcophagus of Stilicho (late fourth century), Basilica of St. Ambrose, Milan. For the image, see <https://www.christianiconography.info/Milan/santAmbrogio/adamEveStilicho.html> Adam is shown bending over his work, hoe in hand.

¹⁶ Sarcophagus from Arles (330), Musée Réattu, Arles. For the image, see <https://www.christianiconography.info/Wikimedia%20Commons/sarcophagusArles2.adamEve.html> *The Labors* are not explicitly depicted but are alluded to by the presence of a sheaf of wheat near the Tree.

¹⁷ The Sarcophagus of Adelfia. For the image, see <https://www.christianiconography.info/sicily/sarcAdelfia.adamEve.html> The sheaf of wheat and the lamb are clearly visible on the sarcophagus.

The story of Adam and Eve is also told on an ivory casket dated ca. 900–1100, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. On this occasion, however, Adam harvests wheat with a scythe, while Eve carries a cut shaft on her shoulder. On another panel of the same casket, Eve uses the bellows next to a forge, while Adam handles a hammer and an anvil to make an iron object.¹⁸ These examples are different from later ones, as they underline the distinct, yet complementary nature of the work performed by the two protagonists, who strove to achieve the same goal with different means. This type of cooperation is further emphasized by examples where the two protagonists dedicate themselves to the same activity. Thus, on the relief sculpted by Wiligelmo on the façade of the Cathedral of Modena (ca. 1100), Adam and Eve are both shown working in the fields (Fig. 4).¹⁹

A slight, but rather meaningful change of typology is highlighted by the mosaics produced during the twelfth century for Sicilian churches, such as the cathedral in Monreale (Fig. 5)²⁰ and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (Fig. 6),²¹ which include the *Labors of Adam and Eve*, showing Eve spinning or at least holding the distaff, albeit without much enthusiasm, or just sitting on a rock, watching Adam work, propping her chin on her hand and looking exhausted. At San Marco in Venice, the mosaics in the atrium (1220–1290) show Eve seated on a throne, completely inactive, although she is holding the distaff.²² In the following centuries, the gendered nature of the activities performed by Adam and Eve, mainly expressed by the fact that Eve is shown spinning, while Adam is digging in the fields, became a recurrent pattern in various media, such as

¹⁸ Panels from an ivory casket, Constantinople (ca. 900–1100), Metropolitan Museum of Art.

For the image, see

<https://www.christianiconography.info/metropolitan/marchApril2018/adamEveConstantinople.html>

¹⁹ Another example is provided by Verónica Carla Abenza Soria, “Put the Blame on Eve,” in *L’esegesi in Figura*, ed. Fabio Scirea (Publications de l’École française de Rome, 2022), 439–66, especially 456 who mentions Eve holding a shovel in Aelfric’s *Hexateuch* (Cotton B IV fl. 7V).

²⁰ Eve is also holding a spindle in the paintings at Sigena. Abenza Soria, “Put the Blame on Eve,” 456.

²¹ In the Capella Palatina mosaics, Eve is not even holding the distaff or the spindle, she is just sitting, watching Adam work, chin in her hand.

²² Maria Da Villa Urbani, *Basilica of Saint Mark* (Edizioni Kina Italia, 2016), 39 considers the mosaics to be the work of local artists whose style evolved during the thirteenth century and dates them to 1215–1280. Jolly, *Made in God’s Image*, 5, 8 tends to separate the San Marco mosaics from other closely related images of the Genesis story and focuses on the thirteenth-century alterations and the intentions behind them. She dates the mosaics to 1220s–1290s, following Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 2: 4 and 2: 72 rather than Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis, British Library Codex Cotton Otho B. VI* (The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, I) (Princeton University Press, 1986), 18, who suggest ca. 1220–1275.

manuscript illumination, for example in the so-called Hunterian or York Psalter, produced in England ca. 1170 (Fig. 7), the so-called Wenceslaus Psalter, made in Paris ca. 1250–1260,²³ as well as in Giovanni Boccaccio's book *Concerning the Fables of Illustrious Men and Women* (ca. 1413–1415), where the Boucicaut Master uses the same manner in depicting the two protagonists.²⁴ The same arrangement is present in the reliefs of the façade of the Duomo in Orvieto (1310–1330) (Fig. 8), sculpted by Lorenzo Maitani, and the reliefs on the Campanile in Florence, sculpted by Andrea Pisano (1334–1337), now in the Museo del Opera del Duomo (Fig. 9), those in the church of San Zeno in Verona (1138) (Fig. 10), and those of Jacopo della Quercia for San Petronio in Bologna (1425–1428) (Fig. 11).²⁵ Eventually, the theme is present in the relatively new medium of altarpieces, as illustrated by Master Bertram's Grabow Altarpiece (1379–1383) (Fig. 12).

As opposed to previous depictions, this new arrangement emphasizes the different and explicitly gendered nature of the work performed by Adam and Eve, which seems to be preordained by God's indictment, highlighting the ascribed gendered roles. Thus, in a manuscript illumination from the second half of the thirteenth century, the two protagonists leave Paradise holding a hoe and distaff on their shoulders, reinforcing the impression that the tasks they assumed were gendered and that God himself had attributed their roles (Fig. 13).²⁶ When analysing the mosaics in the atrium of San Marco in Venice, Penny Howell Jolly draws attention to a very similar arrangement in the scene of the *Expulsion*: the right hands of Adam and Eve hold the tools of their trade, a mattock in Adam's case and a spindle and distaff in Eve's.²⁷ Thus, in a manner similar to a hoe, which alludes to agricultural activities, the distaff and spindle refer to work that was associated with women in the household.²⁸ But there's more to it than that: on the one hand, spinning is not just a gendered activity but an auxiliary one that married women often performed when they had to contribute to the livelihood of the household.²⁹ In these circumstances women would work, either

²³ The Wenceslaus Psalter (Paris, 1250–1260), J. Paul Getty Museum. For the image, see <https://www.christianiconography.info/getty/genesisWenceslausPsalter.7v8r.html>

²⁴ Boucicaut Master, ca. 1413–1415. For the image, see <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/107RJE>

²⁵ This relief also shows two children, Cain and Abel at Eve's feet.

²⁶ See image at <https://www.christianiconography.info/e-Codices/bernBurgerbibliothekCod27/bibleBernBurgerbibliothek002r.illumination>. The manuscript was probably produced in France during the second half of the thirteenth century and is now in the Bern Burgerbibliothek.

²⁷ Jolly, *Made in God's Image*, 57.

²⁸ Jolly, *Made in God's Image*, 60.

²⁹ For a more recent discussion of this issue, see Sarah Randles, "When Adam Delved and Eve Span: Gender and Textile Production in the Middle Ages," in *Women and Work: Experiences, Relationships and Cultural Representations*, ed. Merridee Bailey, Tania Colwell, and Julie Hotchin (Routledge, 2018), 71–102.

for their husbands or for other artisans in the trade, when they actually received a wage, without becoming weavers themselves. By representing Eve as performing an auxiliary activity, more precisely spinning, she is identified with the 'matron', who contributes to the prosperity of the household, albeit in ways deemed less significant.³⁰ It also suggests that women performed less-skilled work and were placed in a subordinate position to that of men.³¹ This ultimately raises the issue of the inferior position that was constructed for women in the realm of work and household.

In order to gain a better understanding of this phenomenon, one needs to consider what has been labelled in existing literature as 'women's work'. It has often been argued that 'women's work' during the Middle Ages was "low-skilled, low-status, intermittent, and typified by the simultaneous juggling of several occupations,"³² or "as requiring little training or initial capital", or that it "could be done in spare moments and was done by men only as a side occupation, carried low status, and was informally organized and badly paid."³³ Merry E. Wiesner makes a convincing case that "as in the division between guild work and domestic work, gender became a more important determinant in the division between skilled and unskilled than the actual difficulty of the tasks concerned."³⁴ Moreover, the functioning of the workshop/household has made historians like Lyndal Roper conclude that women had greater responsibility for domestic labor

³⁰ For the role of women in the workshop household, see Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household. Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Clarendon Press, 1991), 29–30. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women in the Crafts in Sixteenth Century Lyon," *Feminist Studies* 8, no. 1 (1982): 46–80, here 48–49 also points out that female work was seen as a necessary complement to male work.

³¹ For the discrepancies between man's and woman's work, see Merry Wiesner Hanks, "'A Learned Task and Given to Men Alone': the Gendering of Tasks in Early Modern German Cities," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 25 (1995): 89–106; Martha Howell, "Women, the Family Economy, and the Structures of Market Production in Cities of Northern Europe during the Late Middle Ages," in *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt (Indiana University Press, 1986), 198–222, here 201.

³² Maryanne Kowaleski, "Women's Work in a Market Town: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century," in *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt (Indiana University Press, 1986), 145–164, especially 151–157; Maryanne Kowaleski and Judith Bennett, "Crafts, Guilds, and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty Years after Marian K. Dale," *Signs*, 14, no. 2 (1989): 474–87, here 480 highlight that "women's work was in low-skilled occupations that did not form into guilds."

³³ Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (Rutgers University Press, 1986), 192; Randles, "When Adam Delved," 76 argues that women dominated the various kinds of spinning.

³⁴ Merry E. Wiesner, "'Wandervogels' Women: Journeymen's Concepts of Masculinity in Early Modern Germany," *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 4 (1991): 767–782, here 777; Randles, "When Adam Delved," 79 suggests that "documentary evidence, such as the *Livre de métiers* provide evidence of ordinary women earning or supplementing their living from textile production, often alongside men, in domestic or commercial setting."

and child care, while Natalie Zemon Davis argues that, most of the time, women's work was seen as a necessary complement to men's work.³⁵ This conclusion brings to the fore not just women's subservient position within the household and more generally in the realm of work, but also their married status.

In Eve's case, her clearly defined married status is displayed by her costume. While in earlier images, Adam and Eve are shown with their nudity barely covered by makeshift clothing made from animal skins, in slightly later images (twelfth-century ones, for instance), they are dressed in rough materials, as one can see in the mosaics from the cathedral of Monreale and the Capella Palatina in Palermo. In other images, in manuscript illustrations and on the panels of altarpieces, dated between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries, Adam and Eve are dressed according to the fashion of the time and Eve is depicted as a married woman with her head modestly and decorously covered. The images consequently convey not just Eve's gendered social role but also her status in society.

Her subordinate status, however, within the household and in wider social context was not always as clear. In this sense, the images in the cathedral of Monreale and in the Capella Palatina in Palermo suggest that her contribution to the conjugal endeavour was minimal, as she is not shown actively spinning but rather sitting with an anxious expression on her face while looking rather disdainfully at Adam. In this sense, Penny Howell Jolly's analysis of the mosaics in San Marco adds an additional layer of meaning. Howell Jolly suggests that Eve looks regal as she is enthroned and holding her distaff like a sceptre, occupying a position of power, enthroned and central. She further argues that the Labors at San Marco are an early example of the medieval misogynistic "Power of Women" tradition that ultimately exalts Eve as a Queen of Misrule, while "ridiculing the toiling Adam," thus reversing the divinely ordained hierarchy between man and woman.³⁶ In the same vein, Karen Winstead has astutely pointed out that the distaff, otherwise known as the 'woman's sceptre', "often associated with working women and shrewish wives who lorded it over their husbands and household, have become an emblem of disorder and misrule." She thus concluded that women brandished distaffs when they flaunted their power over men.³⁷ In Eve's

³⁵ Roper, *The Holy Household*, 42; Zemon Davis, "Women in the Crafts," 49 argues that most of the time women's work was seen "as a necessary complement to men's work." A similar argument was constructed more recently by Corine Schleif, "The Many Wives of Adam Kraft: Early Modern Workshop Wives in Legal Documents, Art-Historical Scholarship, and Historical Fiction," in *Saints, Sinners and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jane L. Carroll and Alison G. Stewart (Ashgate, 2003), 202–222.

³⁶ Jolly, *Made in God's Image*, 59–60, 66–67.

³⁷ Karen A. Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs. Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Cornell University Press, 1997), 96.

case, this impression is reinforced by her clothing, as she dons a fillet that ornaments her loose, uncovered hair, worn, one might add, in the style of an unmarried woman, while a blue belt fastens her garments below the breasts.³⁸ The entire composition suggests that women were not always depicted as submissive creatures who performed auxiliary duties to contribute to the prosperity of the household. Far from it, the twelfth and thirteenth-century compositions all seem to convey both attributed gender identities and functions and the ambivalent attitude of Eve, who only partly appropriates or simply rejects the roles centred on the duties of the woman as wife and co-worker. Consequently, Eve continues to be a negative character as she does not fully embrace her gendered, and one might add, submissive, social role.

At this stage, one must comment on one more interesting feature of these compositions. The theme of Eve spinning begins to emerge at the same time as the spread of chivalric culture, during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. In this context, Eve is depicted as spinning and her attire emphasizes her figure as mirroring that of an aristocrat, as can be witnessed in a copy of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* from Westphalia or Cologne, dating from 1360 (see link to image in footnote 47). Spinning thus becomes a gender specific activity, in other words, “woman’s work” in a different way, as a status symbol for those ladies who embroidered clothes or wove tapestries and were praised for it in *Chansons de Toile*, the counterpart of *Chansons de Geste*.³⁹

Thus, when summing up the analysis of the first compositional type, the depiction of Eve and the spindle, one notices, first of all, its development in time and the slightly different messages that accompany these changes. In this sense, in the earliest examples, from roughly the fourth century, Adam and Eve are depicted as performing different, but equally-valued work; somewhat later examples, from the tenth and eleventh century show the protagonists engaged in distinct, yet complementary activities, while beginning with the twelfth century, Eve is consistently represented performing auxiliary and clearly gendered tasks, like spinning. Another layer of meaning is conveyed by these images, as Eve is also placed in a subordinate position by the low-skilled nature of her work and the submissive role bestowed on women as wives. Whether this role was appropriated by women or not is a question brought to the fore by the ambivalent symbolism of the distaff, signifier of lowly, subordinate work or the ‘herald’ of emancipation.

A second type of image, also benefitting from a long history, is that depicting Eve as breastfeeding, while Adam is digging in the field. The image is

³⁸ Jolly, *Made in God’s Image*, 60.

³⁹ Lyle R. Polly, “The ‘Chansons de Toile’ and the ‘Chansons de Geste’: Reconsidering Some Considerations,” *Romance Notes* 22, no. 2 (1981): 224–228.

present in the so-called Bible of Tours,⁴⁰ from which several frontispieces have survived, such as the Moutier-Grandval Bible (840), now in the British Library (Fig. 14), and the frontispiece of the San Paolo Bible, an illuminated manuscript produced during the ninth century, which shows Eve holding a child, while Adam is digging the field.⁴¹ The image is also present on the bronze doors of the Hildesheim cathedral (see Fig. 3), which according to Cohen and Derbes were inspired by the Cotton Genesis (fifth century).⁴² The theme of Eve's breastfeeding is also included in later works, such as the thirteenth-century relief at Saint Chapelle,⁴³ Heinrich Aldegrever's panel of 1540,⁴⁴ and the Nuremberger Chronicle, the *Weltchronik* (1493), highlighting the idea that her main role is that of mother.⁴⁵

Finally, the third type, showing Eve spinning but also breastfeeding, is present in a number of compositions which highlight her role as mother, signposted by the presence of the child, or children and the nature of her work, emphasized by the presence of the distaff and/or spindle. For example, in the wall paintings in the chapterhouse at Sigena (1188), discussed by Verónica Carla Abenza Soria, Eve is shown spinning while both children are included in the picture, gazing at their mother.⁴⁶ Moreover, a *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*

⁴⁰ Cohen and Derbes, "Bernward and Eve," 21. The so-called Bible of Tours is a ninth-century Bible copied in the scriptorium of Tours.

⁴¹ Cohen and Derbes, "Bernward and Eve," fig. 2 and 3. Bible from San Paolo fuori le Mura Codex Membranaceus (ninth century). For the image, see <https://www.facsimilefinder.com/facsimiles/bible-san-paolo-facsimile#&gid=1&pid=1>

⁴² Cohen and Derbes, "Bernward and Eve," 21; Herbert L. Kessler, "Introduction" in *The Atrium of San Marco in Venice. The Genesis and Medieval Reality of the Genesis Mosaics*, ed. Martin Büchsel, Herbert L. Kessler, and Rebecca Müller (Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2014), 9–20 is somewhat critical of Weitzmann's method, who always looked for an Urtext which served as a model for all other functions and of the sweeping assumption that manuscript illumination is most often the basis for all monumental art. Herbert L. Kessler, "Thirteenth-Century Venetian Revisions of the Cotton Genesis Cycle," in *The Atrium*, ed. Büchsel, Kessler, and Müller, 75–94 revises the opinion he had shared with Weitzmann that there was a direct connection between the Cotton Genesis and the mosaics in San Marco, Venice. He consequently suggests that the lacunae in the Cotton Genesis, which existed already in the thirteenth century, made it necessary to create new scenes whenever the Genesis cycle was represented.

⁴³ Sainte Chapelle, Paris (thirteenth century). For the image, see <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-adam-preparing-food-for-eve-who-is-in-bed-nursing-a-child-relief-13th-103876935.html?imageid=CCA93232-DEBE-4D96-8DC7-3E6746A878EB&p=191743&pn=1&searchId=7f1a4d265d180b8bf70436954a8d1d24&searchtype=0>

⁴⁴ For the image, see <https://www.alamy.com/adam-and-eve-at-work-1540-image-433080461.html?imageid=7B244D11-37B6-4BAB-8C29-15F4DFD41FCB&p=842179&pn=1&searchId=7f1a4d265d180b8bf70436954a8d1d24&searchtype=0>

⁴⁵ Nuremberg Chronicle. For the image, see https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_04108/?sp=3&st=gallery

⁴⁶ Abenza Soria, "Put the Blame on Eve," 456 and fig. 10.

of Westphalian origin, possibly from Cologne, made around 1360, introduces a child into the picture,⁴⁷ while an illustration produced in 1396 for Nicholas of Lyra's postil on Genesis shows Adam working with a hoe while Eve is spinning but also interacting with the baby standing on her lap.⁴⁸ A later, German edition of the *Speculum* from ca. 1430 shows Eve spinning, but both children are present, in fact Eve rocks the cradle containing little Abel with her foot while Cain is playing nearby.⁴⁹ This compositional type is replicated in some other images, for instance the relief from San Petronio, Bologna (1425–1428), which represents Eve spinning as two young Abel and Cain are depicted at her feet (see Fig. 11), thus emphasizing motherhood but not necessarily nourishment, while, at the opposite end of the spectrum, an image by Januz Kastov (ca. 1490) from the Church of the Holy Trinity from Hrastovlje, Slovenia, depicts Adam digging and Eve spinning at the same time as breastfeeding two babies (Fig. 15).

Thus, in these images, the gendered nature of Eve's work, her duty to provide nourishment and her social role as mother are all brought together. Among this group, the image by Rüdiger Schopf, illustrating the *Postil to Genesis and Exodus* of Nicholas of Lyra projects the most persuasive picture of domesticity (see link in footnote 48). The two protagonists are dressed as peasants, not in the rough garments made from animal hides, which they wore when they left Paradise. Meanwhile, Adam is gazing fondly at his wife and child, and Eve is apparently bouncing the baby on her lap. Eve's headdress is that of a wife, emphasizing her role and status, anchored in a domestic setting.⁵⁰

Further meanings of the different types of representation of the *Labors of Adam and Eve* can surface when one considers their chronology, or more precisely, the changes that can be noted in the type of work depicted and in the nature of the social roles constructed for men and women. While initially Adam and Eve were depicted with the fruits of their labor, later they were shown

⁴⁷ *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (1360), Westphalia or Köln. For the image, see <https://www.pinterest.com/gbertholet/ms-speculum-humanae-salvationis-ca-1360/>

⁴⁸ Rüdiger Schopf, Manuscript Illustration. Nicholas of Lyra, *Postil to Genesis and Exodus* (1396), Basel, Universitätsbibliothek. For the image, see https://www.christianiconography.info/e-Codices/baselUniversitaetsbibliothekA_II_1/adamEveAbel.html This type of composition also has a long life as it appears in Hans Holbein's *Dance of Death* (1540), where Eve is both spinning and breastfeeding.

⁴⁹ *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. For the image, see <http://virtuabib.free.fr/Speculum%20humanae%20salvationis.pdf>

⁵⁰ Gabriella Signori, "Veil, Hat, or Hair? Reflections on an Asymmetrical Relationship," *The Medieval History Journal* 8, no. 1 (2005): 25–47, especially 31–32 points out that married women covered their hair and wore the wimple. This type of headdress was associated with female honor. The prohibition to wear the wimple was a punishment for adultery supporting the idea that clothing was used to signify dishonor.

engaged in activities, such as tilling the land and spinning wool, while another type emerged almost simultaneously, depicting Eve breastfeeding. A mixed type, dated as early as the ninth century, represents Eve breastfeeding, while sometimes also holding a distaff. One is led to conclude that although the nature of Adam's and Eve's work is always gendered, the value of Eve's work decreases from being equally important to being complementary and, eventually, auxiliary. The status of Eve as mother, although present throughout the chronology considered here, is more strongly emphasized in later images where she is also more explicitly depicted as a wife, as signposted by the wimple covering her hair. Simultaneously, Eve is also shown as increasingly submissive and placed in a subordinate position, as earlier images represented her on a more equal footing with Adam, while later ones anchored her firmly in domestic settings and in her guises as wife and mother, outlining her specific gendered duties, related to her particular biological role of giving birth.

One is compelled to note that all these types depict the protagonists in social roles and that these roles, presented as ordained by God, apart from being assigned to them by society, were strongly gendered. They are also somewhat unequal, as Adam tends to be assigned consistently the role of provider, as his work amounts to nourishing his family, while Eve moves steadily from the role of provider towards that of nurturer. The presence of the baby in some of these images, anchors Eve even more strongly in the domestic setting, outlining, at the same time, her encasement in the stages of a woman's lifecycle, where maturity is associated with her reproductive mission. While anchoring Eve's femininity in the domestic sphere and associating it to childbearing and motherhood, these images also construct Adam as a model of masculinity, as he fulfils two of its essential features, reproduction and providing for dependents.

The text of Genesis 3:16–21 supports the gendered reading of the images by outlining the interaction between genders and the nature of the couple's relationship, more precisely, Eve's subordination to Adam. The text, particularly Genesis 3:16, suggests that the woman is relegated to domestic life and chores, while the man, by stepping outside the home and into the wider world, has to provide the necessities of life for himself, his wife and his family, while still playing his role in begetting children, preferably sons. If one considers the multiplicity of choices available, one is further intrigued by the alternative emphasis placed on Adam and Eve's life on earth, especially by the fact that Adam is generally cast as the same strongly-gendered character, in the perpetual role of provider with reproductive capabilities, while several distinct gendered roles, that of helpful companion to Adam, in an equal or complementary position, or that of mother to his children, are bestowed on Eve.

There is, however, another angle of this analysis that also needs to be mentioned. One notices that, in some images, the intimate interaction between Eve and her baby is highly reminiscent of *Madonna and Child* renditions popular at that time, suggesting that these roles were approved by God.⁵¹ Domesticity and a slight reversal of roles is present in the relief at Sainte Chapelle (see link in footnote 43), where Eve is lying in bed and breastfeeding, while Adam is preparing to feed her from a dish. He is therefore not upstaged by Eve in her role of provider of nourishment as he provides for the entire family. Despite the differences in narrative details, the composition is reminiscent of Nativity scenes, subtly alluding to the comparison between Eve and Mary. The two images seem to suggest that Eve was constructed as Mary's antitype, a trope whose emergence has been placed by Cohen and Derbes in the context of the reform initiated by the papacy in the eleventh century. Moral reform and the promotion of chastity and celibacy for secular clergy developed at the same time as devotion to the Virgin, as intercessor on behalf of human kind and protector of souls.⁵² This association is further explored by Howell Jolly, who compares Eve's distaff and the throne she sits on with Mary's enthronement in some *Annunciation* episodes.⁵³ Moreover, Mary was spinning wool at the Temple when Gabriel visited her, and thus the presence of a distaff and spindle in *Annunciation* imagery is not unusual, particularly in Byzantine representations of the event. Howell Jolly further compares the image of Eve, enthroned and holding the distaff, with a fifth-century image of Mary in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, where the Virgin is also depicted enthroned and holding a distaff. Despite these compositional similarities, in Howell Jolly's opinion, Eve remains an antitype as she clings to pride, disobedience and carnal desire, as opposed to Mary, who humbly obeys God and conceives Christ miraculously.⁵⁴ Howell Jolly's viewpoint is further supported by Kessler, who agrees that, in the episode of the *Labors*, Eve can be recognized as a type of Virgin Mary, as the first woman is shown enthroned and holding a spindle and distaff. Kessler renders his argument even

⁵¹ One could mention paintings by Duccio di Buoninsegna (1280 and 1300), but such compositions became increasingly popular during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, with painters such as Fra Angelico, Giovanni and Jacopo Bellini, Antoniazzi Romano, Sandro Botticelli, Bicci di Lorenzo, Fra Carnevale and Cima da Conegliano.

⁵² Cohen and Derbes, "Bernward and Eve," 26–29. This trope was already present in the writings of the Fathers of the Church at least since early Christianity, being a recurrent theme in the re-evaluation of Mary's role in redemption.

⁵³ Penny Howell Jolly, "Gender, Dress and Franciscan Tradition in the Mary Magdalen Chapel at San Francesco Assisi," *Gesta* 58, no. 1 (2019): 1–25, especially 20 suggests that while Adam is an archetype to Francis, Eve appears opposite the Virgin Mary in *Annunciation* scenes. Portrayed in this manner, Eve is definitely a negative female model.

⁵⁴ Jolly, *Made in God's Image*, 61.

more persuasive by commenting on a connection between Eve and the Virgin, created by the mosaicists working in San Marco. This image is present above the adjacent Porta da Mar. To make matters clearer, an inscription pairs Eve, the “sinful first woman”, with the redemption offered through Mary.⁵⁵ Finally, in Abenza Soria’s reading of the paintings at Sigena, the triumph of motherhood helps Eve become a type of the Virgin as suggested by the medieval palindrome EVA/AVE.⁵⁶ One is consequently led to conclude that depictions of Eve, no matter what their compositional type might be, carry unfailingly loaded messages, associating women with sin and perceiving them as a potential threat. Although some of these doom-filled messages could be abated by bringing to the fore their gendered social roles and models of behaviour, addressed to women, danger still loomed large on the redemptive horizon.

Having discussed the issue in its more general development in time, at this stage in the analysis, one is compelled to assess the roles assigned to Adam and Eve in the frescoes from the nave in the church at Mălâncrav. The problems with the image at Mălâncrav arise from the fact that, due to the state of the fresco we do not know for certain whether Eve was depicted just breastfeeding or also spinning, creating difficulties for those who attempt to assign the composition to a specific type. In 1915, the description given by László Éber, who personally examined the frescoes, does not mention a spindle, while the watercolor copies made by Zoltán Veres include it in Eve’s hand. The current state of the frescos suggests that we will never know for certain. However, this uncertainty does not impact upon the image’s role in communication and on the nature of the message transmitted to the public. As the presence of the spindle is in question rather than that of the child, the image seems to be intended to emphasize Eve’s maternity, providing a model for noble women who were meant to be committed to childbearing and motherhood.

From this perspective, one needs to consider the possible commissioners, the messages conveyed by the image and the targeted audience. As far as the commissioners are concerned, one is led to believe that they are the members of the Apafi family. In her work dedicated to the analysis of the pictorial program in this church, Anca Gogâltan has reconstructed the genealogy of the family and identified three generations whose members were probably involved in commissioning work on the church, Nicholaus of Apa, who was probably responsible for the paintings in the chancel, and Johannes or Petrus as likely

⁵⁵ Kessler, “Revisions,” 83.

⁵⁶ Abenza Soria, “Put the Blame on Eve,” 457 suggests that the pain Eve suffers in childbirth is opposed to the Virgin’s conception through the mediation of the Holy Spirit and attests to the redemptive power of motherhood.

candidates for the patronage of the murals in the nave.⁵⁷ The approximate dating of the frescoes, based on stylistic criteria, combined with the scanty information concerning the two protagonists, does not allow firm and definite conclusions. However, even if it is impossible to certainly identify the person who commissioned the paintings on the northern wall of the nave, one is able to assert that, whoever these persons may have been, they were members of the nobility who owned the church. Their presence in the royal entourage, that of Louis I (1342–1382) and later that of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437), together with Queen Mary (1382–1395), attested in 1366 for Johannes and in 1394 for Petrus reinforces this point.⁵⁸

In this instance, as in others, the commissioners of the frescoes have forged specific messages by choosing to depict Eve primarily as mother, rather than just Adam's companion and fellow worker. One might even speculate that we are dealing with messages forged by men, and thus adjusted to their priorities, but also intended to model the behaviour of women in the family. Beyond the likelihood of this hypothesis, the complexities of the program suggest that other actors, with their own agendas, may have been at work in the conception of the visual narrative.

In order to fully comprehend these messages, one needs to return to the shift from representing Eve primarily as performing specifically gendered work, spinning, which was complementary to men's activity as providers, to her role as mother. But why would one wish to portray Eve as a mother rather than a worker? One possible answer is related to status. When analysing the available

⁵⁷ Anca Gogâltan, "Family, Patronage, and Artistic Production: The Apafis and Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog), Sibiu District, in Transylvania," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 39 (1998): 138–157, especially 140–141 reconstructs the genealogy of the family and their connection to the village. The author suggests that three generations of the family can be considered as patrons of the church (143–144). The idea is reiterated in Anca Gogâltan, "The Self," 51, 57, where the author attributes the painting of the chancel to the initiative of Nicholas Apafi. Jenei, "Les peintures," 59 agrees with this conclusion. The frescoes in the nave, dated to 1350 in some opinions, and in the second half of the fourteenth century in others, may have been commissioned either by Petrus, Nicholas' father, or by Johannes, the son of Gregorius or Gegus. Unfortunately, the lowest register of the paintings on the northern wall of the nave in the church at Mălâncrav, which may provide a clue to the identity of the commissioner of the program, has not been sufficiently analysed in the literature. Gogâltan, "Passion Iconography," 112–120 focuses primarily on the *Passion* narrative in order to unravel its subtleties, while Jenei, "Le peintures," p. 56 succeeds in deciphering the images in the fifth register and on the pillars below. She identifies some of the narrative episodes depicted there, such as the *Martyrdom of St. Catherine*, another martyrdom scene, the *Temptation of St. Anthony* and an image of St. Sebastian. She mentions that, in 1915, Éber had also been able to see the *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, which is no longer visible today. An episode that can be seen on one of the pillars was identified by Jenei as St. Peter in prison who is saved by an angel. She does not however explore the reasons for this particular selection of episodes.

⁵⁸ Jenei, "Les peintures," 59.

images, one cannot help but notice that Eve breastfeeding or breastfeeding and spinning is first of all present in manuscript illumination. Expensive illuminated manuscripts were generally made for and used by members of the elite, who benefited from the means to commission them. This was also a group who valued motherhood as a means to an end. Within this context and encouraged by this frame of mind, Eve's depiction as mother was an unsurprising choice. The family from Mălâncrav fits this pattern, as the choice may be dictated by the concern for reproduction and the wish to perpetuate the noble lineage.⁵⁹ In this particular case, one is led to consider whether this manner of representing the episode may convey certain priorities of the nobility, such as the fertility of women, which was bound to ensure the transmission of property, of the name and lineage, as well as the prestige of the family. However, by encasing them in the role of mothers, the men in the family were still relegating women to the domestic sphere, but, in this case, it was a realm they dominated and ruled over, at least as long as they maintained their position as wives and widows.⁶⁰ Moreover, by ceasing to depict Eve in complementary or, one might say, subordinate roles, spinning wool, holding the bellows, or carrying the stalks of wheat, and by focusing on her motherhood, a role that places her center stage, the pictorial program from the church at Mălâncrav abandons the subordinate role of Eve as a woman in relation to the other gender, represented by Adam. As mother, she has an equally important role in reproduction, ensuring the perpetuation of the species and the survival of the family by bolstering its lineage.

Casting Eve, generally a character perceived as negative, as she succumbed to the temptation of the serpent and then proceeded to corrupt Adam by enticing him to eat the forbidden fruit,⁶¹ in the role of mother, bestows upon her and upon women in general a gendered social role and a definitely beneficial function within the family, at least partly compensating for the sin committed. Through the behavioural model offered, of an imperfect humanity, which redresses itself spiritually by embracing maternity, thus proving one's social worth, the protagonist of the frescoes turns into a character worthy of emulating, a character with whom the feminine side of the laity could identify. By privileging Eve and her depiction, the focus of this analysis has shifted away from Adam and his role in this Old Testament drama. As he is consistently cast as the provider, his behaviour was easy to emulate by the nobility of the

⁵⁹ Erik Fügedi, *The Elefánthy. The Hungarian Nobleman and His Kindred* (Central European University Press, 1998), 24–26 argues that noble women were in a subordinate position even in the sphere of reproduction. They were subordinate to their fathers and then to their husbands as stated in ecclesiastical sources based on St. Paul's statements in 1 Cor. 11:2.

⁶⁰ Fügedi, *Elefánthy*, 25 emphasizes the woman's right to continue living in the house of her deceased husband as long as she remained a widow.

⁶¹ Cohen and Derbes "Bernward and Eve," 22–26.

counties, whose wealth came from the land they succeeded in amassing. Presumably, the Apafi noblemen, as landowners, could identify with Adam, while the women in the family could embrace their role as mothers. Consequently, in this case, the pictorial program seems to have been used to disseminate behavioural models and gendered social roles prioritized by the nobility, who were the owners and patrons of the church. Moreover, even if Eve was also depicted spinning in the fresco from Mălâncrav, in the context of a noble household and within the chivalric culture that it embraced, spinning was not a low-skilled and lowly work. As mentioned earlier in this analysis, the *Chansons de Geste*, along with their counterparts, the *Chansons de Toile*, assigned roles that were completely acceptable and reflected higher social status to both the men and the women in noble families.

Consequently, is one to assume that the story of Adam and Eve after the Fall, centered as it seems to have been on the reproductive strategies of the nobility, was a generally-accepted manner to convey a didactic discourse concerning gender roles to the Transylvanian elite? Moreover, is one to surmise that the elite had a clear idea about the gender identities of men and women, tailored to societal needs and guided by their wish to reproduce themselves as a group?

*

Knightly Saints and Virgin Martyrs

Unfortunately, the pictorial program on the northern wall of the nave in the church at Mălâncrav has no analogies in Transylvania. Consequently, in order to answer this question and test the implicit hypothesis, one could look at other visual narratives which decorated the walls of proprietary churches,⁶² where the choice of various themes was to a large extent the option of the secular commissioner, in close cooperation with the clergy. One's attention is thus channelled towards two groups of visual narratives which are the most persuasive candidates for the transmission and consolidation of gendered social roles: the frescoes that have St. Ladislav as their subject (Fig. 16),⁶³ and those representing

⁶² Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford University Press, 2006); Enikő Rűsz-Fogarasi, "The Relationship Town-Church in the Seven Transylvanian Counties. From the Beginning to the Mohács battle. The Institution of Patronage," in *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta (Efes, 1998), 166–173, especially 167–168 takes her cue from the classic work of Ferenc Kollányi, *A magán kegyúri jog* (Athenaeum, 1906), 41–42, 73, 168–171.

⁶³ These frescoes have been discussed by Ernő Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14.-15. Jh." *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae*, 33 (1987–1988): 211–255; Kerny Terézia, "Historia Sancti Ladislai. A kerlési ütközet ábrázolásáról," in *Történelem-kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon*,

the lives of Virgin Martyrs, the so-called *Virgines Capitales*, especially Catherine and Margaret (Fig. 17).⁶⁴

The narratives dedicated to St. Ladislav are rather numerous, 57 examples,⁶⁵ according to the latest accounts based on more recent restoration work, with a higher density in Upper Hungary, the Szekler Region, Central Hungary, Croatia and Slovenia, and, perhaps surprisingly, in Southern Transylvania, in churches used by Saxon communities, such as Ațel (Hetzeldorf, Ecel), Cricău (Boroskrakkó), Ighișu Nou, Șmig and Drăușeni. Their frequent presence in the churches, as well as their association with narratives dedicated to the Virgin Martyrs, thus devising a program that had both male and female protagonists, has been discussed in existing literature, especially by Zsombor Jékely, Dana Jenei, Dragoș Năstăsoiu, and, more recently, Daniel Gligan.⁶⁶

Although they had occurred earlier, during the Árpád dynasty (ca. 1270–1290), the visual narratives dedicated to St. Ladislav proliferated in the Angevin period, more precisely after 1308, and reached the highest point of their dissemination during the second half of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth.⁶⁷ Interested primarily by their narrative structure and

ed. Mikó Árpád and Sinkó Katalin (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000), 188–195; Ivan Gerát, “Pictorial Cycles of St. Ladislav – Some Problems of Interpretation,” in *Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, ed. Martin Homza (Department of Slovak History of the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University, 2013). They have also been discussed more recently, from new perspectives by Zsombor Jékely, “Narrative Structure of the Painted Cycle of a Hungarian Holy Ruler. The Legend of St Ladislav,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium. Journal of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Age*, 21 (2015): 62–75. Zsombor Jékely, “Transylvanian Fresco Cycles of St. Ladislav in a New Light,” *The Hungarian Historical Review* (2014): 97–109, and Daniel Gligan, “Legenda Sfântului Ladislav în pictura murală din Regatul Ungariei” (BA thesis, Babeș-Bolyai University, 2024).

⁶⁴ Dana Jenei, “The Newly Discovered Murals in the Church of Virgin Mary in Ighișu Nou, Sibiu County,” *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 53 (2016): 47–62, especially 55–58 where she mentions the visual narratives on the northern wall of the nave, St. Ladislav, St. Catherine and St. Margaret. Besides Șmig, Ighișu Nou and Drăușeni, the legend of St. Catherine is depicted as a narrative at Ghelintă, Suseni, Sâncraiu de Mureș and Florești, while that of St. Margaret is present at Mugeni and Mărtiniș.

⁶⁵ According to Daniel Gligan's estimation, based on extensive field work in both Hungary and Romania. Gligan, “Legenda”, 3–4. This has followed restoration work, which has uncovered new examples. Jékely, “Narrative Structure”, 62 mentions 45 visual narratives.

⁶⁶ Jékely, “Narrative Structure”, 70; Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu, Ferenc Mihály, and Loránd Kiss, *Monumente medievale de pe Valea Târnavelor* (Editura ACS, 2018), 122–130, 182–184, 321–326; Jenei, “The Newly Discovered Murals”, 54–58; Daniel Gligan, “Programul pictural din nava bisericii satului Șmig,” *Ars Transsilvaniae*, forthcoming.

⁶⁷ Gligan, “Legenda”, 9–11 suggests that several of these visual narratives were produced during the reign of king Louis I of Anjou (1342–1382) and Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437), seventeen and twenty-five respectively. The visual narratives produced in this period are present in the churches of Lutița, Chileni, Turnișce, Daia Secuiască, Drăușeni, Târgu Mureș, Rákoš, Kraskovo,

the cultural context in which they had been produced, Zsombor Jékely has come to the conclusion that these frescoes are the result of the influence of the chivalric spirit which penetrated Angevin Hungary from the French court, through the so-called 'crusader art'.⁶⁸ Previous literature, through the notable contribution of Gábor Klaniczay, without disregarding the role of the Angevins, has also considered the influence of the Byzantine court with which the Árpád kings had been in contact.⁶⁹

On the other hand, Jékely highlights the relevance of this narrative sequence in the context of the Cuman presence in Hungary, after the thirteenth century, a political development that anchored the confrontation between Christians and pagans in current concerns.⁷⁰ As added proof, one could consider that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, ca. 1310–1320, the memory of the Mongol invasion (1241 and 1285) was still fresh in people's minds, strongly emphasizing the relevance of the conflict between Christians and pagans.⁷¹ Finally, one needs to remember a Franciscan rendition of the battle between the Hungarian army and the Tatars (1345), mentioned by Gábor Klaniczay, where, according to this legend, the relic of St. Ladislav intervened in the scuffle, ensuring the Christian victory.⁷² This text brings to the fore the interest in the confrontation with the pagans, which is increasingly manifest in the frescoes commissioned in the second half of the fourteenth century, ca. 1370–1390. All

Remetea Maghiară, Liptovský Ondrej, Necpaly, Rimavská Baňa, Velika, Bijačovce, Žehra, Ațel, Ighişu Nou, Șmig, Dârjiu, Mihăileni, Armășeni, Bisericiani, Kameňany, Slatvina.

⁶⁸ Jékely, "Narrative Structure," 72–74; Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles," 99.

⁶⁹ Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 183–185 mentions contacts with Byzantium as Béla III spent time at the Byzantine court, where he encountered Byzantine chivalric tradition and the cult of the warrior saints that was encouraged by the Komnenos. All this may have influenced Béla's religious policies and his decision to elevate St. Ladislav and encourage a cult centered on his relics.

⁷⁰ Jékely, "Narrative Structure," 74; Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles," 107 suggests that the first visual narratives were produced around the time of the feared second Mongol invasion (1270); Aleksander Paroń, *The Pechenegs: Nomads in the Political and Cultural Landscape of Medieval Europe* (Brill, 2021), 374–375 discusses the raids which took place during the reign of King Solomon (1063–1074) and comes to the conclusion that the nomads involved may have been the Cumans and not necessarily the Pechenegs, as suggested by most narrative sources.

⁷¹ Martyn Rady, "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary," *Medieval World* (1991): 39–46 argues that despite the devastation, the subsequent famine and the inevitable population losses, the Mongol invasion of 1241 also had some positive consequences for Hungary as it forced Béla IV (1235–1270) to strengthen its defense system, by building fortresses, allowing cities to erect walls and the aristocracy to build their own castles. Despite this, the invasion was perceived as a disaster by both contemporaries and historians. See, for instance, Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526* (I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2001), 98–100.

⁷² Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 189.

these observations represent solid arguments in favour of the use of visual narratives in order to consolidate the chivalric spirit and its ideologization through the combative appropriation of Christianity. Consequently, Jékely is right to suggest that, in the context of the Angevin court and its politics, Ladislas is revalued as a knightly saint, thus ensuring his popularity among the nobility, under whose patronage the visual narratives featuring the saintly king were often conceived.⁷³ This conclusion is valid in the cases considered in this analysis, Ațel (ca 1400), which in the fifteenth century belonged to the Thabiassy family,⁷⁴ Șmig (ca 1410–1420), which was the property of the Somogy family,⁷⁵ and Ighișu Nou (ca 1405–1420), which was one of the villages of the Apafi family.⁷⁶ Thus, the patrons of the visual narratives are likely to have been members of the nobility. Consequently, and contrary to the opinion expressed by Zsombor Jékely and Dragoș Năstăsoiu,⁷⁷ the presence of visual narratives dedicated to St. Ladislas

⁷³ Jékely, "Narrative Structure," 74; Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles," 104; Gligan, "Legenda," 12–13; Terézia Kerny, "Patronage of St. Ladislas Cycles during the Sigismund Period in Connection with a Contract of Inheritance," in *Bonum ut Pulchrum. Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on his Seventieth Birthday* (Argumentum Publishing House, 2010), 259–272, especially 263–265 lists the commissioners of visual narratives dedicated to St. Ladislas, suggesting that they were members of the higher nobility, close to the king or some of the most important prelates in the kingdom.

⁷⁴ Gligan, "Legenda," 12 mentions the military duties of the Saxons, established by the *Andreanum* in 1224 and reconfirmed by the king on several occasions. He particularly mentions the Saxons from Drăușeni and Ațel who had an important role in defending the southern, south-eastern and north-eastern borders. They often participated in campaigns, together with the king and in the wars against the Ottomans. Liviu Cîmpeanu, "Oșteni de nădejde și rebeli de temut. Rolul militar al sașilor în Transilvania medievală (secolele XIII–XV)," in *Institutul de cercetări socio-umane Sibiu (1956–2021). 66 de ani de provocări istoriografice și culturale* (Academia Română, 2022), 151–157. A fragment of a document shows that the Saxons from the seats of Șeica and Mediaș owed the king military service and possessed land: "...*Et quia tunc ipsi Saxones de Medies et de Seelk cum domino rege erant, sub eodem monte, qui predictam possessionem detinebant,*" in *Documenta Romaniae Historica D. Relații între Țările Române*, ed. Mihai Berza et al., vol. 1 (Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977), 41–42.

⁷⁵ Gligan, "Legenda," 13 suggests that the village belonged to the noble family of Somogy and considers the most likely commissioner to be a Ladislas, son of Nicholas; Cîmpeanu, "Oșteni de nădejde," 157.

⁷⁶ Upon its first mention, in 1305, the village was part of the estates of the Apa family and was eventually inherited by Gregorius. See *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, ed. Carl Zimmermann et al., vol. 1, 2, 3 (Hermannstadt, 1892, 1897, 1902), vol. 1, 229–30. Despite the fact that subsequent documents from 1359, 1391, 1392, 1394, 1403 (*Urkundenbuch* vol. 2, 158 and *Urkundenbuch* vol. 3, 599–600) mention count Valterus and count Johannes, Jenei, "Newly Discovered Murals," 48 concludes that it was a free Saxon community. As the village was part of the county of Alba and of the Șeica chapter, this conclusion seems improbable.

⁷⁷ Jékely, "Narrative Structure," 74 and Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles," 104–106 mentions the interest of the nobility and particularly of the Szeklers in this story; Năstăsoiu, Mihály, and Kiss, *Valea Târnavelor*, 325.

in these churches does not attest the enthusiasm of the Saxons for this particular subject, but rather the interest of families who pursued military careers.⁷⁸ One should include in this discussion the Saxons from villages that owed military duties as a consequence of the *Andreanum* (1224), for example, Drăușeni.⁷⁹

Consequently, it is tempting to assume that these visual narratives transmitted gendered messages and notions of masculinity to Transylvanian warriors, or more precisely, to individuals involved in the defensive apparatus of the Hungarian kingdom. A brief look at the structure of these narratives and the selection of episodes contributes to the consolidation of this conclusion. Art historians who have analysed these paintings, especially Zsombor Jékely, agree that the saint is portrayed as a knight and, consequently, his story is reduced to his participation in the battle of Chiraleș (Kerlés) and the acts of bravery highlighted by his confrontation with, and the beheading of the Cuman (Fig. 18).⁸⁰ In the more ample narratives, comprising at least six episodes, or the shorter ones, which only included three, the key events are the pursuit of the Cuman, the single combat of the prince with the Cuman warrior and the beheading of the enemy (Fig. 19). On the rare occasions when the narrative is reduced to a single episode, for example, in the matriculation book of the Hungarians from the University of Vienna (1453), the chosen scene is precisely the combat with the Cuman, which helps to identify the saint, acting as his attribute. Consequently, the visual document fortifies the impression that gendered messages were created for a public whose social aspirations included upward social mobility by means of a military career and whose values were courage in battle and engagement with the Christian cause, in agreement with the normative model of medieval masculinity.

Frequently placed on the northern wall of the nave, this visual narrative is often associated with *Christ's Passion* or the lives of Virgin Martyrs, such as Catherine and Margaret, sometimes presented in parallel registers, for example at

⁷⁸ Gligan, "Legenda," 11–16 discusses all commissioners with military careers throughout the kingdom of Hungary; Cîmpeanu, "Oșteni de nădejde," 151 focuses on the military role of the Saxons; Liviu Cîmpeanu, "Greavii, nobilimea germană din Transilvania medievală," *Alt Schässburg* 3 (2010): 33–42, especially 37–39 argues that the Graffen (counts) belonged to the elite. The Graffen possessed land both in the Fundus Regius and the counties, which they had received from the king, which made them *Servientes Regis*. As they also had to fulfil military duties, they possessed all the traits necessary in order to be part of the nobility. He concludes by suggesting that noble status was a prerequisite for being appointed as Graff.

⁷⁹ Gligan, "Legenda," 12; *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 34–35 mentions the military duties to the king owed by the villages from "Broos bis Draas". In 1465, Laurentius Greb from Draas (*Daraws*) is mentioned as witness to a litigation. The title bestowed upon him, along with the military duties he owed suggests his noble status.

⁸⁰ Jékely, "Narrative Structure," 63, 71–72.

Ighişu Nou (Fig. 20), Şmig, Mugeni (Bögöz), and Mărtiniş (Homoródszenmárton), or on opposite walls of the nave, such as at Ghelinţa (Gelence) and Drăuşeni (Fig. 21). As far as the motives for this association are concerned, Jékely suggests that the heroic representation of Margaret defeating the demon parallels Ladislav's victory against the Cuman. Despite implicitly allowing for a transgression of gender difference, by emphasising the brave nature and valiant actions of the female protagonists, Jékely reads Ladislav's visual story as a model for a group of warriors, particularly noblemen with military careers, while the Virgin Martyrs, whose legends emphasize death for the faith are seen as behavioural models offered to women because of their devotion to Christianity.⁸¹ Thus, in this particular reading, constructs of masculinity are centred around active participation in battle, while constructs of femininity imply steadfast devotion to Christianity.

If the suggestion that narratives having St. Ladislav as their subject acted as behavioural models and conveyed roles attributed to groups dedicated to military careers, whether noblemen, Saxon Gräffen or Szekler Primipili – a fact highlighted by the selection of episodes mostly depicting battle scenes and by the transformation of the combat between St. Ladislav and the Cuman into an attribute of the saint – is sufficiently convincing, the statements referring to the behavioural model offered to noble women by the lives of Virgin Martyrs raise a few questions and would benefit from further analysis.

One is consequently led to explore the messages transmitted by the legends of the two saints and by the visual narratives under discussion in this article, and identify possible gendered social roles and behavioural models. Secondly, the article wishes to identify the target audiences for these textual and visual narratives and, finally, to consider the individuals who conceived these pictorial programs and invested them with meaning.

In order to explore the messages conveyed by the visual narratives, one has to analyse the legends included in the collection compiled by Jacobus de Voragine.⁸² In reading the legends one is confronted with two different stories, each having a young girl as its protagonist. While both girls eventually qualify as Virgin Martyrs because of their death for the faith, their stories and the ideas they put forth, gender constructs included, are quite different.

⁸¹ Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles," 107–108 considers this pairing a Hungarian phenomenon, stresses the similarities between the two narratives and argues that the Virgin Martyrs were presented to women who were meant to model their own piety according to their pious example.

⁸² Dorottya Uhrin, "The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Medieval Upper Hungarian Towns," *The Hungarian Historical Review* 5, no. 3 (2016): 557–586, especially 560–563 mentions the *Legenda Aurea* as the most popular collection of legends from the thirteenth century. This was the basis for the *Hungarian Legendaria*, the *Sermones Compilati*, the sermons of Pelbartus of Themeswar and Osvaldus of Lasko. Pelbartus' sermons were the source for the *Érdy Codex* and the *Codex of Debrecen*, and the vernacular verse legend from the *Codex of Érsekújvár*.

According to her legend, St. Margaret contested paternal and secular political authority, refusing to abandon the Christian faith. She defeated and humiliated the demon, making him prostrate himself at the feet of a woman, while finally taking control of her own execution. The refusal of the marriage offered by the prefect before he learned that Margaret was a Christian is, in this case, implicit, because explicitly, the saint was merely refusing the idea of converting to paganism. The legend highlights the episodes of martyrdom in order to emphasize Margaret's fortitude as well as divine intervention through the miracles performed. Margaret is thus constructed as a model of femininity, but not the one generally espoused within medieval societies. Instead of being meek and submissive, she is the epitome of the unruly, disobedient daughter, defying paternal and political authority.

In Catherine's case, the legend highlights a militant spirit who initiates a dialogue with the emperor in order to prevent the forced conversion of the Christians. The rejection of marriage is, in Catherine's case, explicit and the idea of Christ as groom to whom she had pledged allegiance is introduced. Although the legend dwells on the details of the saint's martyrdom and the ensuing miracles, which act as proof of the divine favour bestowed on Catherine, the most interesting detail of the narrative is the erudition and eloquence of the saint highlighted by the dispute with Maxentius and the confrontation with the fifty philosophers. One is again led to conclude that Catherine defies the political and spiritual authorities and states her own position, commitment to Christianity, most clearly.

Thus, the legends of the two saints present the two young women as forceful protagonists, endowed with initiative, with clearly-formulated and publicly-sustained opinions, ready to contest the authorities in their lives. With Margaret presented as a victorious character, whose femininity and youth are juxtaposed with the 'malefic' forces represented by the demons, whom she ultimately defeats, a success clearly highlighted when the young woman treads on the demon under her feet, and with Catherine, who wins the intellectual confrontation with the pagan philosophers, whom she tames through conversion, using reason and persuasion, the legends bestow new content to the notion of femininity. The new concept is devoid of any trace of obedience, of humility or passivity when confronting the authorities.

On the other hand, the legend of St. Catherine brings to the fore an even more ambiguous gender construct. Several times during the course of the narrative the text highlights the fact that the philosophers, the wise men brought from all the corners of the Empire are confronted by a young girl who defeats them, converts them and instructs them in the Christian faith, before her own martyrdom is ordered by the emperor. A first anomaly in this construct is Catherine's intellectual competence, which is heralded as being exceptional.

Consequently, Catherine is excepted from the characteristics of her own gender, that generally do not advertise intellectual prowess, and invested with attributes that are not necessarily masculine, according to the norms of the moment, but rather typical for a specific construct of masculinity. In fact, in this legend, Catherine is attributed a clerical role, highlighted both by her remarkable education, by her eloquence, which proved impossible to compete with, and by the succinct instruction offered to the philosophers.

If one turns one's attention to visual narratives, one is led to consider the messages conveyed by the images. In this particular endeavour, one notices, first of all, that the association of St. Ladislav's legend with those of Virgin Martyrs is present in several churches in both southern and eastern Transylvania.⁸³ Moreover, if one looks at the structure of the visual narrative, one notices the similarities in the structure of St. Catherine's legend in the churches at Șmig and Ighiu Nou.⁸⁴ In the second example, the legend of St. Margaret also comprises several episodes that do not seem to be a random choice.⁸⁵ Interestingly enough, in all of these visual narratives, the emphasis is not placed on scenes of martyrdom, but rather on steadfastness in faith, or in Catherine's case, on the dispute with the emperor and the philosophers and on the effectiveness of the explanations of the saint, which lead to the conversion of the latter.⁸⁶ In both cases, martyrdom is suggested rather than explicitly described, by focusing the narrative on the

⁸³ Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles," 107 mentions the churches at Ghelinta, Mugeni and Mărtiniș to which one can add the narrative cycles at Șmig, Ighiu Nou and Drăușeni. At Dârlos, although the pictorial program contains a visual narrative dedicated to St. Catherine, it does not associate it with the story of St. Ladislav. St. Catherine's legend from the church at Dârlos has been discussed by Dragoș Gheorghe Năstăsioiu, "Narrative Strategies at the Crossroads," *Zograf: A Journal of Medieval Art* 45 (2021): 1–28, with the intention of highlighting the differences between the western and eastern narratives; Dana Jenei, "Dârlos: un ansamblu mural atipic în Transilvania catolică din Evul Mediu târziu," *Ars Transsilvaniae* XXX (2020): 5–32 also mentions the western and eastern origin of various compositions.

⁸⁴ At Șmig: the prayer of St. Catherine, the princess disrupts the sacrifice made by Maxentius to the pagan gods, the dispute of the young virgin with the fifty philosophers, the martyrdom of the converted philosophers, the martyrdom of the saint, the conversion of Faustina, Maxentius ordering the execution of Faustina, the miracle of the wheel destroyed by an angel. At Ighiu Nou: the conversion of Faustina and of the commander Porphyrius, the execution of the empress, Catherine's disputation with the fifty philosophers, the martyrdom of the converted philosophers and the martyrdom of St. Catherine.

⁸⁵ Margaret defending her faith, the meeting with the prefect Olibrius, the rejection of Olibrius's proposals, Margaret's imprisonment, Margaret's condemnation, the beheading of the princess and her burial.

⁸⁶ Năstăsioiu, "Narrative Strategies," 1, 8, 16, 24 when discussing the visual narrative at Dârlos argues convincingly that western cycles highlight wisdom and eloquence as Catherine's most important virtues, while emphasis on her suffering is more common in eastern cycles, which relied mostly on *menologia*.

miracle of the wheel destroyed by the angel in response to Catherine's prayers (Fig. 22). In the church of Drăușeni, although there are visual references to Catherine's martyrdom (Fig. 23), the emphasis is again placed on the dispute with the philosophers (Fig. 24). Consequently, visual narratives following in the footsteps of textual ones consolidate an atypical gender construct, marked by heroism, agency, eloquence and erudition. Again, Catherine, engaged in the instruction that led to the conversion of the philosophers and to that of the empress Faustina and the commander Porphyrios, seems to be the harbinger of the clerical estate.

This is often visually expressed in a rather imaginative way. For example, in one of the episodes from Drăușeni, Catherine makes a blessing gesture, with Christic references, which can also be construed as a clerical gesture (Fig. 25).⁸⁷ Another detail, which leads one in the same direction, is the presence of books. At Drăușeni, in the episode dedicated to the intellectual debate, both Catherine and her opponent hold books in their hands (Fig. 26). Behind the male character, probably one of the philosophers, who makes a rather didactic, slightly demonstrative, but potentially threatening gesture, pointing his index finger towards Catherine, there are several characters, possibly the other philosophers, who all seem to carry books (Fig. 27). Catherine is thus assimilated among those who used books and were familiar with them, a group who, in medieval Transylvania, were identifiable as the clergy.⁸⁸ Thus, one gets the impression that Catherine is visually presented as appropriating a clerical role.

If one considers the literature dedicated to the legend of St. Catherine, one witnesses a consensus concerning the fact that this saint represents the aspirations of the clergy, a clerical ideal, and is therefore depicted as a cleric and ultimately as a figure of authority. For instance, if one reflects on her wisdom, knowledge and eloquence, her ability to teach and persuade, Catherine does not seem to assume a feminine gender identity, but rather a clerical one.⁸⁹ In this sense, Catherine follows in the footsteps of Barbara who has also been discussed as appropriating clerical functions.⁹⁰ For instance, the latter began to be depicted

⁸⁷ Further comparative research could reinforce this suggestion as well as highlight its presence and use in other, secular contexts.

⁸⁸ Adinel Dincă, "Medieval Literacy from Transylvania. Selected Evidence from Parish Churches," *Transylvanian Review* XXIV, no. 1 (2015): 109–121; Adinel Dincă, "The University and the Parish. The Medieval Books from Cîsnădie/Heltau," *Philobiblon. Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in the Humanities* XXIV, no. 2 (2019): 337–353.

⁸⁹ Maria Crăciun, "The Cult of St. Barbara and the Saxon Community in Late Medieval Transylvania," in *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cults of Saints*, ed. Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš (Hagiotheca, 2010), 138–163.

⁹⁰ Carmen Florea, "The Universal Cult of the Virgin Martyrs in Late Medieval Transylvania," in *Les saints et leur culte en Europe Centrale au Moyen Âge (XIe- début du XVIe siècle)*, ed. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins and Olivier Marin (Brepols, 2017), 39–57, especially 44.

with the attributes of chalice and host, an image that illustrates her privilege of dispensing the sacrament to those who died unexpectedly, suggesting that the very images of these saints were transformed in order to emphasize their clerical status.⁹¹

Reading this development as a masculinization of the saint, Carmen Florea has argued that this transformation was expressed, at least in Catherine's case, by her short hair. Starting from the premise that hair is a marker of identity,⁹² while engaging with conclusions reached by Karen Winstead,⁹³ Carmen Florea has suggested that Catherine was depicted with short hair in an attempt to make her resemble young male clergy.⁹⁴ Persuasive in its major articulations, this argument would benefit from further nuances. First of all, the short hair that allegedly resembles the tonsure sported by clerics could be read as a stylistic rather than ideological choice. This choice may simply convey that Catherine was susceptible to the styles of the moment, introduced by the elite and coveted by the rest of society. For instance, Evelyn Welch has argued that their hair style and accessories were a way for women to create public social identities that expressed their standing and displayed their connections to other women. Welch has analysed several case studies and used the example of Beatrice D'Este, who came to Milan as the bride of Lodovico Sforza, and created a distinctive look for herself, wearing a *coazzione*, a long false braid that ran down from a center parting.⁹⁵ In the fourteenth and fifteenth century, fashionable women wore chin-length hair, that framed their face in loose waves or ripples that covered their ears, creating the illusion that it was a radical haircut, or chose a style that resembled ear-phones, as the hair was coiled over the ears. In both these cases hairstyle was a symbol of social status rather than of gender. The fact that Karen

⁹¹ For Barbara's appropriation of a clerical identity, as she was granted the ability to dispense the sacrament to those whose souls were endangered by sudden death, see Maria Crăciun, "Moartea cea Bună: Intercesori și protectori în pragul mării treceri. Între discursul clerical și pietatea populară," in *Discursuri despre moarte în Transilvania secolelor XVI-XX*, ed. Mihaela Grancea and Ana Dumitran (Casa Cărții de Știință, 2006), 226–269; for the transformation of visual representation of St. Barbara in the context of the Eucharistic cult in German Lands, see Megan Cassidy-Welch, "Prison and Sacrament in the Cult of Saints. Images of St. Barbara in Late Medieval Art," *Journal of Medieval History* 35, no. 4 (2009): 371–384.

⁹² Robert Bartlett, "Symbolic Meaning of Hair in the Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4 (1994): 43–60 considers hair an outward marker of identity for various categories, such as status, age, sexuality, profession, or for various states of mind, such as grief suggesting that the meanings attached to hair were highly contextual.

⁹³ Karen Winstead, "St. Katherine's Hair," in *St. Katherine of Alexandria, Texts and Contexts*, ed. Jaqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis (Brepols, 2003), 171–200.

⁹⁴ Florea, "The Universal Cult of the Virgin Martyrs," 46.

⁹⁵ Evelyn Welch, "Art on the edge: Hair and Hands in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 3. (2008): 241–268, especially 245–249.

Winstead's demonstration, which introduced the idea of Catherine depicted with short hair, relied on manuscript illustration produced in northwestern Europe in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as a luxury product, suggests that it was mostly members of an affluent elite who would have access to these books and implicitly to these fashionable styles. One is thus witnessing a double process of imitation: the saints depicted in these manuscripts were designed to resemble fashionable women from the elite, while the latter, in their turn, may have been inclined to follow the lead of the saints depicted in these miniatures, at least in terms of the fashions they favoured. Moreover, Winstead does not refer particularly to the resemblance between Catherine's hairstyle and that of younger clergy, but rather younger men in general, who may have been equally tempted to follow the latest trend,⁹⁶ as the clergy expressed their status through tonsure, clean-shaven faces and specific vestments.⁹⁷

Moreover, even if one is tempted to concur with the idea that Catherine was depicted in a way that made her resemble the clergy, this development cannot necessarily be equated with a process of masculinization, simply because at this point in time, the clerical estate had begun to be perceived as a third gender.

It consequently becomes necessary to discuss the issue of a third gender, a concept that has been increasingly present in historiographical debates. While several authors, such as R. N. Swanson, Patricia H. Cullum and Jo Anne McNamara, advocated that the clergy could be perceived as a third gender,⁹⁸ Jacqueline Murray argues that, in the absence of a medieval notion of absolute sex/gender

⁹⁶ Winstead, "St. Katherine's Hair," 185–189.

⁹⁷ Jacqueline Murray, "One Flesh, Two Sexes, Three Genders?," in *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe. New Perspectives*, ed. Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 39–51, especially 44–45, sensing the connection between hair and virility, suggests that body and facial hair signaled masculinity and thus tonsure and a cleanshaven face represented not just monastic status, but also a change of gender; Robert Mills, "The Significance of Tonsure," in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Patricia H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (University of Wales, 2004).

⁹⁸ R. N. Swanson, "Angels Incarnate: Clergy and Masculinity from Gregorian Reform to Reformation," in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D. M. Hadley (Longman, 1999), 160–167 argues that medieval clergy as celibates were not meant to be masculine, discussing a societal concept of masculinity and a constructed third gender of the clergy. This brought about a constant tension between the wish that clergy be angels and their urge to be men. Patricia H. Cullum, "Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Late Medieval Europe," in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, 178–196 distinguishes between secular masculinities, defined by fighting and reproducing and clerical masculinities, separating the gender characteristics of monks from those of the secular clergy. Medieval clergy needed to be real men as only men could be priests. The authority of the secular clergy was quintessentially masculine. Cullum thus argues for the existence of varieties of masculinity. See also Jo Anne McNamara, "Chastity as a Third Gender," in *The History and Hagiography of Gregory of Tours*, ed. Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (Brill, 2002), 199–209.

alterity, a conceptual space was born in which a third gender could exist. She has equated this with a worldview that allowed for the “accommodation of multiple identities underneath a dominant discourse of binaries” and the emergence of a social space in which the individual could search for a new sex/gender identity. Murray thus concludes that the acceptance of fluid sex and gender systems provided space for a third gender to develop.⁹⁹ She further argues that religious people, saints and celibate monks may have acted like a third gender, creating a type of their own, a person in whom sex and gender binaries were erased. This process eventually brought holy men and women closer together by blurring the differences between them. This was achieved in both cases by renouncing sexual activity and embracing chastity. In this scenario, women became more masculine, while men became more feminine, rejecting the external signs of virile masculinity, such as waging war and engaging in sexual intercourse.

Murray’s remarkable analysis, however, still leaves open the question of the masculinization of saintly women and the depth of the feminization of the clergy. While accepting some of the ideology that has been associated with clerical masculinity, Ruth Mazo Karras contends that the clergy, both regular and secular, who did remain celibate and chaste, did not thereby abdicate their masculinity. Karras agrees that theirs was a distinct model of masculinity, free from sexual activity and aggressiveness. However, she does interpret the quest for chastity as a struggle, as a battle where the protagonist needed to manifest strength of will. Moreover, Karras draws attention to the bigger issue at stake, the purity of the Church and its independence from dynastic politics that was at the forefront of attempts to enforce celibacy for the secular clergy. Thus, emphasis on clerical celibacy, which Karras relates to the reform movement of the eleventh century, seems to have drawn a line between clergy and laity, which was in turn defined in terms of sexual activity. Karras further argues that clerical, monastic gender identity appropriated some of the positive aspects of femininity and ceased to model masculinity on secular behaviour.¹⁰⁰ A propensity to violence and the belligerent character were abandoned and, to a certain extent, replaced by wisdom and erudition, by eloquence and reason. Thus, according to several authors, the construction of the clergy as a third gender was a process marked by the advocacy and embracing of celibacy and chastity, and by the renunciation

⁹⁹ Murray, “One Flesh, Two Sexes, Three Genders?,” 39–51. She ultimately agrees with Ruth Mazo Karras that, in medieval society, chastity is a distinct sexual orientation, eventually becoming a third gender. See Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe. Doing Unto Others* (Routledge, 2005), 40, 56; McNamara, “Chastity as a Third Gender,” 199–209.

¹⁰⁰ Ruth Mazo Karras, “Thomas Aquinas’ Chastity Belt. Clerical Masculinity in Medieval Europe,” in *Gender and Christianity*, 52–67, especially 53–60, 65–66.

of activities that were typical for the men of the period, especially war. Armed combat and a concern for reproduction were the identifiable traits of normative masculinity, while the assumption of intellectual endeavours, were the domain of the clergy, as suggested by Ruth Mazo Karras and Jacqueline Murray.¹⁰¹

Consequently, if one looks at the gender constructs present in these textual and visual narratives, one is led to conclude that, although masculinity is portrayed in rather traditional ways, femininity is not constructed in the standard manner, which glorified obedience and subservience. Besides portraying rebellious and willful female characters, the legends bring to the fore the third gender designed for and appropriated by the clergy. This distinct gender was masculine in its biology, but socially constructed as exempted from a number of overtly masculine traits.

At this point, one is led to inquire who was the target audience of these textual and visual narratives. Do they offer, as suggested by Zsombor Jékely, a behavioural model and a gendered role to the women in the commissioners' families? Taking into account the analysis undertaken so far, one is led to conclude that the visual narratives in these churches were intended to provide models for three genders, men, women and the clergy. The nobles who commissioned the frescos are presented with a model of traditional masculinity, belligerent and forceful, while committed to Christian ideals, epitomised by the figure of the knightly saint Ladislás. Examining the legends espoused by both textual and visual documents, one is led to conclude that the members of the nobility were offered a model of medieval masculinity, the knightly saint whom they venerated, as suggested by the episodes where a commissioner is depicted kneeling in front of Saint Ladislás, as illustrated by the frescoes of Ghelinta, Crăciunel, Mărtiniş, and Pădureni.¹⁰² Thus, one is led to presume that the legend of St. Ladislás was addressed to men, or more specifically, to Transylvanian nobles.

A detail of her legend suggests that Margaret could become a preferred subject of female devotion, because in the prayers recited during her martyrdom, the Virgin Martyr chose her domain of utmost effectiveness, stating that she wished to protect women during childbirth. It would therefore be obvious that in the environment of the nobility, who exalted fertility in order to reproduce itself as a group, women would be interested in the cult of St. Margaret.

Catherine, on the other hand, is a completely different matter as her behaviour, refusal to marry, defiance of paternal, political and spiritual authority and her appropriation of intellectual endeavours completely disqualify her from being a role model for the daughters of the nobility. Thus, these legends

¹⁰¹ Mazo Karras, "Thomas Aquinas' Chastity Belt," 53.

¹⁰² Jékely, "Narrative Structure," 74; Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles," 104–105.

and their visual renditions present a model of femininity that was not consonant with the wish of the nobility to control the women in the family from whom they expected obedience and humility.¹⁰³ One is thus led to conclude that this rebellious brand of femininity was probably not chosen by the commissioners of the frescos in order to transmit behavioural models to the women in their families. Thus, if one thinks of the target audience for these legends, it is difficult to imagine that these characters were deliberately offered as behavioural models for members of the nobility whose mission in life was marriage, because it ensured the perpetuation of the husband's lineage and cemented relations between clans.¹⁰⁴ If one looks at the matter from the clergy's point of view, daughters of the elite were expected to be obedient, fully appropriating the rules and roles cut out for them. In fact, it has been noted in the literature that Jacobus de Voragine's willful heroines do not portray the kind of behaviour that the clergy was expecting from the laity.¹⁰⁵ Thus, neither the clergy, nor the nobility seem to have been willing to present women with models of confrontational personalities, forceful tempers and disobedient behaviour.

However, this does not mean that, in yet another act of disobedience, women were not tempted to read or contemplate these stories. Caution should be exercised in thinking about this possibility because, as Karen Winstead has persuasively argued, although Virgin Martyr Legends may have been attractive to women, there is little evidence that their male authors were specifically writing for women or that they expected to have predominantly female audiences. In Winstead's view, the plausible explanation for the "emergence and apparent success of legends featuring aggressive, sharp-tongued martyrs" is that the authors saw the saints as "embodiments of clerical rather than feminine authority". The author concludes that the martyrs' legends were perfectly suited to meet the needs of clergy intent on educating the laity, affirming at the same time the superiority of clerical values, such as celibacy.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Fügedi, *Elefánthy*, 24–25 argues that women were in a subordinate position even in the sphere of reproduction and when they left paternal authority, they were subjected to that of their husbands. Girls were married with the consent of the father or kinsmen. Even if a woman remarried as a widow, her former husband's family had a say in the matter.

¹⁰⁴ Fügedi, *Elefánthy*, 28, 45–49 mentions that the "primary duty of every male member of the kindred was to preserve the group by siring sons" thus ensuring the male line; he further argues that estates and noble status could be obtained through marriage and thus, quite often, noble women married commoners. Their nobility and their estates would however pass on to their children; Georges Duby, *Evul mediu masculin* (Editura Meridiane, 1992), 8–33, 52–78; Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Les femmes et la famille," in *L'homme medieval*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Éditions du Seuil, 1989), 315–344, especially 318–323.

¹⁰⁵ Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 68–69.

¹⁰⁶ Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 101.

It is also important to note that, according to several scholars, at least Jacobus de Voragine, the most popular author of saints' legends, wrote primarily for preachers and the parish clergy rather than for lay readers, and although his stories may have appealed to women, they had not been written for the sole benefit of female audiences.¹⁰⁷

In Catherine's case, the saint's attributes, especially the book, transform her into a behavioural model more suited to the clergy than to women or men. Her propensity towards intellectual pursuits is synchronised with that of the parish clergy, who, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, increasingly attended universities, as demonstrated by the studies of Mária Lupescu Makó¹⁰⁸ and more recently of Adinel Dincă,¹⁰⁹ while emphasis on erudition and effective persuasion can be understood in the context of growing concern for pastoral work and for the internalization by the laity of the fundamentals of faith, as suggested by Marie-Madeleine de Cevins.¹¹⁰ Thus, Virgin Martyrs, particularly Catherine, could be the perfect model for the parish clergy when they considered and embarked upon the fulfilment of their duties. The clergy thus embraced their pastoral duties, in an effort to control the religious life of the laity more closely through their ability to preach and explain fundamental Christian tenets of faith.

Moreover, one is also tempted to conclude that one possible function of the Virgin Martyrs was to provide a model for the clergy when they constructed their gender identity. Similarly to the Virgin Martyrs, the medieval clergy refused marriage, assumed celibacy and embraced chastity, at least theoretically. The absence of sexuality from their lives separated them from men, as well as from ordinary women, bringing them closer to Virgin Martyrs, whom they valued for their virginity, which was the highest degree of chastity. The idea that the clergy were invited to construct their gender identities by appealing to the

¹⁰⁷ Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 69–70.

¹⁰⁸ Mária Lupescu Makó, "În labirintul normelor ecleziastice. Relația dintre clerul secular și dominicanii din Cluj în secolul al XV-lea," in *Evul Mediu Neterminat. Omagiu adus profesorului Adrian Andrei Rusu cu ocazia împlinirii vârstei de 70 de ani*, ed. Gianina-Diana Iegar, Péter Levente Szőcs, Gabriela Rusu, and Florela Vasilescu (Mega, 2022), 151–171; Mária Lupescu Makó, "Egy konfliktus margójára: a világi papság és a domonkosok kapcsolatai a középkori Kolozsváron," in *Orășe și orășeni. Városok és városalakók*, ed. Ionuț Costea, Carmen Florea, Judit Pál, and Enikő Rűsz-Fogarasi (Argonaut, 2006), 404–416.

¹⁰⁹ Dincă, "The University and the Parish," 348–351 discusses the impact of university education on the development of an intellectual ecclesiastical elite, as well as the emergence of pastoral ministry under the influence of the Viennese School of Pastoral Theology.

¹¹⁰ Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, "The Influence of Franciscan Friars on Popular Piety in the Kingdom of Hungary at the End of the Fifteenth Century," in *Communities of Devotion. Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450–1800*, ed. Maria Crăciun and Elaine Fulton (Ashgate, 2011), 71–90 argues that although the Franciscan order attempted to shape lay religiosity, it was not fully able to eradicate popular piety, in both beliefs and practices.

model offered by the Virgin Martyrs leads one to consider more closely the agency behind the conception of these programs.

*

When one looks at all the visual narratives discussed in this article, one is intrigued by the fact that the program on the northern wall of the nave at Mălâncrav is so different from the programs in other churches and, in fact, unique. The other intriguing feature of the program is that the story of St. Ladislav, present in all other churches where the commissioners of the frescoes performed military duties, is absent from Mălâncrav, where the patron was definitely a nobleman. Anca Gogâltan and, more recently, Dana Jenei have shown that several members of the Apafi clan were connected to the royal court of Hungary, where they served as knights.¹¹¹ This makes it all the more surprising that they did not commission a visual narrative focused on St. Ladislav to adorn their church. If anything, the choice of pictorial program makes it all the more interesting and challenging to identify the commissioners of the frescoes and to understand their choices.

Although Nicholas of Apa, documented between 1396 and 1451, is generally acknowledged as the commissioner of the painting in the sanctuary,¹¹² the person responsible for the frescoes in the nave is less certain.¹¹³ However, as it has been suggested in this article, the image on the pillars representing Peter liberated from prison by an angel may provide a clue in this respect. Unfortunately, Petrus Apafi's biography does not provide the necessary details to turn this hypothesis into a certainty. Even if Petrus was the commissioner of

¹¹¹ Gogâltan and Sallay, "The Church at Mălâncrav," 184–195; Gogâltan, "The Self," 57–60 deals primarily with the career of Nicholas of Apa, one of the *familiars* of Nicholas Csáki; Jenei, "Les peintures," 59 mentions all the patrons of Mălâncrav beginning with 1258: Gregorius, documented in 1305 and 1340, Johannes (1345–1374), the first to become a knight of the royal court in 1366, Petrus who became a royal knight in 1399 and Nicholas who most probably commissioned the paintings in the sanctuary.

¹¹² Jenei, "Les peintures," 59.

¹¹³ Pending on the dating of the frescoes, the most likely candidates would be Johannes (1345–1374) and Petrus, who is mentioned as late as 1399; Anca Gogâltan, "Maria, Iosif și Isus. Modele vizuale ale salvării divine în nava bisericii medievale din Mălâncrav (Malmkrog, Almakérek), Județ Sibiu," in *Istoria ca interogație. Mariei Crăciun la o aniversare*, ed. Carmen Florea and Greta-Monica Miron (Argonaut/Mega, 2020), 163–178, here 163 follows Drăguț, "Picturile murale," 80 and Jenei, "Les peintures," 56 in dating the paintings in the nave between 1320 and 1350, which would not allow Peter as a possible commissioner of the frescoes in the nave. In an older article, Gogâltan, "Passion Iconography," 105 dates the paintings in the nave to 1350 or the second half of the fourteenth century, which would allow Peter Apafi to be their commissioner.

the frescoes in the nave, it is unlikely that he was the person responsible for the conception and articulation of the program. Given the complexity of the messages the program conveys, a knight, a man of arms, is not a plausible candidate for this role. One is thus led to attempt to identify the individuals responsible for the conception of the program, not just for its actual production.

In this particular endeavour, the most important suggestions are provided by the images themselves. The program on the northern wall of the nave has four tiers which associate the Genesis, focused primarily on the Fall, with the *Childhood* and *Passion of Christ*, culminating in the *Resurrection*, and selected episodes from the life of the Virgin, focused on four events related to her *Dormition* and Assumption. This association suggests the link created between Adam as the prototype of Christ and Eve as the antitype of Mary. Because of the Fall, humanity was tainted by sin, only to be redeemed by Christ's sacrifice and Mary's purity. As this idea was championed by the Franciscans,¹¹⁴ one is led to conclude that the program in the nave may have been devised by representatives of this order. This idea is not entirely new in existing literature, as several authors have detected and discussed a possible Franciscan influence on the choice of episodes.¹¹⁵ Although Anca Gogâltan proves skeptical about the possible Franciscan impact on the pictorial program at Mălâncrav, because nothing is known about the relationship of the Apafis with the order prior to the second half of the fifteenth century, she does admit that this is a highly individual program, which includes four episodes of *Christ's Hearing* and four events related to the *Crucifixion*. By analysing the images in the context of devotional literature produced in Franciscan milieu, the author concludes that the story of the Passion is informed by Franciscan ideology, including the antisemitic sentiment suggested by the multiplication of Hearings and by the Order's devotional concerns, as heralded by the focus on Christ's suffering. Thus, the main motifs of Franciscan spirituality, poverty,

¹¹⁴ Jolly, *Made in God's Image*, 39.

¹¹⁵ Marie Lionnet, "Les peintures murales en Hongrie á la fin de Moyen Âge (1300-1475)," PhD diss., Université de Paris Nanterre, 2004, vol.1, 100; Mihnea Alexandru Mihail, "Regatul maghiar și aspecte ale geografiei artei din perspectiva transferurilor iconografice secolele XIV-XV," PhD diss., University of Bucharest, 2018, vol. 1, 119-121; Gogâltan, "Maria, Iosif și Isus," 170-175 detects the influence of Franciscan spirituality in the nave at Mălâncrav. The author argues that Joseph is a suitable model for the nobility as protector of his family, while establishing links between the lives of Adam and Eve and the childhood of Christ where Joseph protects his family as a provider while Eve is shown breastfeeding parallels Mary's role as *Salvatrix Mundi* as she intercedes with her son. Moreover, Gogâltan, "Passion Iconography," 114, 126-133 focuses on Franciscan devotional themes in the same church. For specific Franciscan themes, see Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy. Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideology and the Levant* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

humility, and the physical suffering of Christ are all present and indicative of Franciscan devotional patterns.¹¹⁶

I have argued elsewhere that the Apafis' connection with the Franciscans was longstanding and manifest in the program of the chancel, where depictions of St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua are placed in the vicinity of the Archangel Michael. Moreover, other images, such as *St. Anne Trinity*, a compositional type intended to give visual expression to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, a theological tenet much favoured by the Franciscans, and the *Coronation of the Virgin*, which renders visible the Bodily Assumption of the Virgin, another doctrine supported by the order, became emblematic for the owner's devotion, in this case, for Nicholaus of Apa's preferences.¹¹⁷ One further clue for the continued interest of the Apafis is the depiction of Klára Macedoniai, Mihály Apafi's wife, with her patron saint, Clare of Assisi, on the central panel of the polyptych placed on the main altar of the church.¹¹⁸ Finally, some of the Apafis, notably Mihály Apafi, were close to Franciscan convents where they wished to be buried and where they expected the friars to pray for the salvation of their souls. Again, Mihály Apafi also wished to be buried in the Franciscan convent at Târgu Mureş.¹¹⁹

It thus stands to reason that Franciscan discourse would inform the opinions of the laity who maintained a close connection to the order. However, if one focuses on the depiction of Eve from the *Genesis cycle*, as the analysis in this article has done, one also has to unravel the connection between the type chosen for this program and its presumed 'authors', the Franciscans. Studies dedicated to St. Francis have emphasized the equalitarian spirit of the original rule that encouraged men and women to live together. It has also been noted that Francis was instrumental in founding the feminine branch of his order, the Poor Clares, and that women featured prominently in his audience.¹²⁰ It has also been pointed out that after embracing chivalric ideology and lifestyle and immersing himself in courtly culture, in the later part of his life, Francis underwent a feminization, portraying himself as mother, thus subverting social, cultural and sexual categories, while emphasizing the educational component of his mission.¹²¹ Consequently, the figure of the mother, dominating Francis' ideology and

¹¹⁶ Gogâltan, "Passion Iconography," 105, 113–114, 120, 122–123.

¹¹⁷ Maria Crăciun, "Mendicant Piety and the Saxon Community of Transylvania ca. 1450–1550," in *Communities of Devotion*, ed. Maria Crăciun and Elaine Fulton, 29–70, especially 32, 44.

¹¹⁸ Crăciun, "Mendicant Piety," 29–30.

¹¹⁹ Zoltán Soós, "The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) and the Franciscan Presence in Medieval Transylvania," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 249–274, especially 261.

¹²⁰ Jacques Le Goff, *Sfântul Francisc din Assisi* (Polirom, 2000), 142–144.

¹²¹ Jacques Dalarun, "Francis and Clare of Assisi. Differing Perspectives in Gender and Power," *Franciscan Studies* 63 (2005): 11–25.

imagination, was something that Franciscans could share with a nobility concerned with its reproduction as a group. If this message was addressed not just to the laity, men and women, but also to the clergy, it was yet another encouragement that the secular priests would assume control over pastoral work and provide intellectual nourishment to the laity.

In other churches where an extended pictorial program was preserved on the northern wall of the nave, the association of St. Ladislav with Virgin Martyrs, such as Margaret and Catherine, also brings to the fore the agents involved in its conception. If the visual narrative dedicated to St. Ladislav was a natural choice for individuals engaged in military service, the lives of Virgin Martyrs did not provide models of behaviour solely, if at all, for the women in those families. The emphasis placed within these visual narratives on wisdom and eloquence, on teaching and persuading, as well as chastity, suggests that these young women were models intended for the parish clergy, who, after the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century, was increasingly encouraged to embrace celibacy and to engage more actively with their pastoral duties.

A further argument in this direction is provided by the martyrdom of eleven apostles depicted at Șmig in the lower registers of the pictorial program. Attempts to interpret this specific program have suggested that, by mirroring the ordeals of the Savior, these martyrdoms drew the faithful present in the nave of the church into a devotional exercise of *Imitatio Christi* meant to illustrate how redemption could be achieved through suffering.¹²² This persuasive conclusion can be enriched by considering the nature of the apostles' mission in the world, spreading the message of the Gospel. In this sense, they became models for the parish clergy, who at this point in time were invested with the duty to preach in order to deepen the laity's appropriation of the Christian message.

Recent research on the cult of saints in medieval Transylvania has contextualised interest in the Virgin Martyrs within a broader feminization of the cults of saints. Integrating interesting suggestions from existing international literature, Carmen Florea considers the cult of the Virgin Martyrs in Transylvania a part of the "feminization of sainthood emerged in the cathedral of St. Michael" and, as such, a devotion stimulated by the clergy, beginning with the bishop of Transylvania. This is suggested by the churches dedicated to these saints, located in territories that belonged to the bishopric of Alba Iulia, by the founding of altars dedicated to these saints in the cathedral at Alba Iulia and by the emergence of confraternities at the behest of the local elites in cooperation with the parish clergy. The author suggests that the impulse came from clergy who had previously

¹²² Gligan, "Programul pictural".

been affiliated with the bishopric of Oradea where the cult of St. Catherine in particular was also strongly supported by the bishops, in order to reflect the ideals of a male ecclesiastical elite, “who maintained a professional interest in the intellectual abilities” of these young women.¹²³

One is thus led to conclude that the clergy, together with the nobility, provided models of masculinity for the commissioners of these visual narratives. The clergy, albeit in a different guise, provided a gendered role model for women by emphasizing motherhood through the breastfeeding Eve in depictions of the *Labors of Adam and Eve* and as a protector of women in childbirth, by including St. Margaret’s life in the pictorial program of the nave. Finally, the clergy offered a distinct gendered model for the parish clergy by building St. Catherine as the erudite Virgin Martyr committed to pastoral endeavours. The three genders were thus offered distinct messages forged by clerical agency. Although these conclusions seem to eliminate the devotional component, it is important to understand that this was not entirely absent, as nobles sought the protection of St. Ladislav, women in the family could place themselves under the care of St. Margaret, who watched over the safe delivery of their children, while both genders were interested in the aid offered by St. Catherine to departed souls, suggested by the confraternities dedicated to the saint, which often had a funerary purpose.¹²⁴ Finally, the messages of the visual narratives could be read by those who saw them in very different ways. The parish clergy could appropriate or reject the celibate, chaste model, married women could embrace or reject maternity, while young girls could find the rebellious and confrontational nature of the Virgin Martyrs appealing. In all three cases, meaning is bestowed on the programs by the receptors as well as by the individuals who conceived the narratives. This leads one to conclude that gender norms were not always enthusiastically appropriated, they could also be rejected or adjusted.

¹²³ Carmen Florea, *The Late Medieval Cult of the Saints. Universal Developments within Local Contexts* (Routledge, 2022), 85–92. The author mentions the founding of altars dedicated to Virgin Martyrs in the cathedral church of St. Michael at Alba Iulia. Moreover, the cults of Margaret and Catherine benefited from the support of the Arpadian and Angevine dynasties.

¹²⁴ Florea, *Medieval Cult of the Saints*, 89–91.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abenza Soria, Verónica Carla. "Put the Blame on Eve." In *L'esegesi in Figura*, edited by Fabio Scirea. Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2022.
- Bartlett, Robert. "Symbolic Meaning of Hair in the Middle Ages." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4 (1994): 43–60.
- Baschet, Jérôme. *L'iconographie médiévale*. Gallimard, 2008.
- Borsook, Eve. *The Royal Programs of Norman Sicily (1130–1187)*. Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Cassidy-Welch, Megan. "Prison and Sacrament in the Cult of Saints: Images of St. Barbara in Late Medieval Art." *Journal of Medieval History* 35, no. 4 (2009): 371–84.
- Cevins, Marie-Madeleine de. "The Influence of Franciscan Friars on Popular Piety in the Kingdom of Hungary at the End of the Fifteenth Century." In *Communities of Devotion: Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450–1800*, edited by Maria Crăciun and Elaine Fulton. Ashgate, 2011.
- Cîmpeanu, Liviu. "Greavii, nobilimea germană din Transilvania medievală." *Alt Schässburg* 3 (2010): 33–42.
- Cîmpeanu, Liviu. "Oșteni de nădejde și rebeli de temut. Rolul militar al sașilor în Transilvania medievală (secolele XIII–XV)." In *Institutul de cercetări socio-umane Sibiu (1956–2021). 66 de ani de provocări istoriografice și culturale*. Academia Română, 2022.
- Cohen, Adam S., and Anne Derbes. "Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim." *Gesta* 40, no. 1 (2001): 19–38.
- Crăciun, Maria. "Moartea cea Bună: Intercesori și protectori în pragul mării treceri. Între discursul clerical și pietatea populară." In *Discursuri despre moarte în Transilvania secolelor XVI–XX*, edited by Mihaela Grancea and Ana Dumitran. Casa Cărții de Știință, 2006.
- Crăciun, Maria. "The Cult of St. Barbara and the Saxon Community in Late Medieval Transylvania." In *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cults of Saints*, edited by Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš. Hagotheca, 2010.
- Crăciun, Maria. "Mendicant Piety and the Saxon Community of Transylvania ca. 1450–1550." In *Communities of Devotion: Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450–1800*, edited by Maria Crăciun and Elaine Fulton. Ashgate, 2011.
- Cullum, Patricia H. "Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Late Medieval Europe." In *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, edited by D. M. Hadley. Longman, 1999.
- Dalarun, Jacques. "Francis and Clare of Assisi: Differing Perspectives in Gender and Power." *Franciscan Studies* 63 (2005): 11–25.
- Da Villa Urbani, Maria. *Basilica of Saint Mark*. Edizioni Kina Italia, 2016.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Women in the Crafts in Sixteenth Century Lyon." *Feminist Studies* 8, no. 1 (1982): 46–80.
- Demus, Otto. *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*. The University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Derbes, Anne. *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideology and the Levant*. Cambridge University Press, 1996.

- Dincă, Adinel. "Medieval Literacy from Transylvania: Selected Evidence from Parish Churches." *Transylvanian Review* 24, no. 1 (2015): 109–21.
- Dincă, Adinel C. "The University and the Parish: The Medieval Books for Cisnădie/Heltau." *Philobiblon: Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in the Humanities* 24, no. 2 (2019): 337–52.
- Documenta Romaniae Historica D. Relații între Țările Române*. Edited by Mihai Berza, Constantin Cihodaru, Damaschin Mioc, Francisc Pall, Ștefan Pascu, and Ștefan Ștefănescu. Vol. 1. Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977.
- Drăguț, Vasile. "Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav." *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei* 14 (1967): 79–92.
- Drăguț, Vasile. "Iconografia picturii murale gotice din Transilvania: Considerații generale și repertoriu pe teme." In *Pagini de artă veche românească*, vol. 2. Editura Academiei, 1972.
- Duby, Georges. *Evul mediu masculin*. Editura Meridiane, 1992.
- Éber László. "Tanulmányok Magyarország középkori falfestményeiről." In *Magyarország Műemlékei*, vol. 4, edited by Forster Gyula. A Franklin Társulat Nyomása, 1915.
- Engel, Pál. *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. I. B. Tauris, 2001.
- Florea, Carmen. "The Universal Cult of the Virgin Martyrs in Late Medieval Transylvania." In *Les saints et leur culte en Europe Centrale au Moyen Âge (XIe-début du XVIe siècle)*, edited by Marie-Madeleine de Cevins and Olivier Marin. Brepols, 2017.
- Florea, Carmen. *The Late Medieval Cult of the Saints: Universal Developments within Local Contexts*. Routledge, 2022.
- Fügedi, Erik. *The Elefánthy: The Hungarian Nobleman and His Kindred*. Central European University Press, 1998.
- Gerát, Ivan. "Pictorial Cycles of St. Ladislav: Some Problems of Interpretation." In *Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, edited by Martin Homza et al. Department of Slovak History of the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University, 2013.
- Gligan, Daniel. "Legenda Sfântului Ladislav în pictura murală din Regatul Ungariei." BA thesis, Babeș-Bolyai University, 2024.
- Gligan, Daniel. "Programul pictural din nava bisericii satului Șmig." *Ars Transsilvaniae*, forthcoming.
- Gogâltan, Anca, and Dóra Sallay. "The Church of Mălâncrav/Almakerék and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa." In *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania*, vol. 2. Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2002.
- Gogâltan, Anca. "Family, Patronage, and Artistic Production: The Apafis and Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog), Sibiu District, in Transylvania." *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 39 (1998): 138–57.
- Gogâltan, Anca. "Passion Iconography and Narrative Strategies in the Medieval Frescoes Decorating the Church in Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog) in Transylvania." *New Europe College GE-NEC Program 2004–2005, 2005–2006, 2006–2007* (2010): 103–152.

- Gogâltan, Anca. "The Self: Religious and Noble Identity in Late Medieval Transylvania." *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Historia* 58, special issue (2013): 49–75.
- Gogâltan, Anca. "Maria, Iosif și Isus: Modele vizuale ale salvării divine în nava bisericii medievale din Mălâncrav (Malmkrog, Almakérek), Județ Sibiu." In *Istoria ca interogație: Mariei Crăciun la o aniversare*, edited by Carmen Florea and Greta-Monica Miron. Argonaut/Mega, 2020.
- Howell, Martha. "Women, the Family Economy, and the Structures of Market Production in Cities of Northern Europe during the Late Middle Ages." In *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt. Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Jékely, Zsombor. "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles of St. Ladislav in a New Light." *The Hungarian Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (2014): 97–109.
- Jékely, Zsombor. "Narrative Structure of the Painted Cycle of a Hungarian Holy Ruler: The Legend of St. Ladislav." *Hortus Artium Medievalium: Journal of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Age* 21 (2015): 62–75.
- Jenei, Dana. "Les peintures murales de l'église de Mălâncrav: Notes avant la restauration." *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 52 (2015): 47–76.
- Jenei, Dana. "The Newly Discovered Murals in the Church of Virgin Mary in Ighișu Nou, Sibiu County." *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 53 (2016): 47–62.
- Jenei, Dana. *Goticul în Transilvania: Pictura (ca. 1300–1500)*. Oscar Print, 2016.
- Jenei, Dana. "Dârlos: Un ansamblu mural atipic în Transilvania catolică din Evul Mediu târziu." *Ars Transsilvaniae* 30 (2020): 5–32.
- Jolly, Penny Howell. *Made in God's Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice*. University of California Press, 1997.
- Jolly, Penny Howell. "Gender, Dress and Franciscan Tradition in the Mary Magdalen Chapel at San Francesco Assisi." *Gesta* 58, no. 1 (2019): 1–25.
- Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others*. Routledge, 2005.
- Karras, Ruth Mazo. "Thomas Aquinas' Chastity Belt: Clerical Masculinity in Medieval Europe." In *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives*, edited by Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Kerny Terézia. "Historia Sancti Ladislai: A kerlési ütközet ábrázolásáról." In *Történelem-kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon*, edited by Mikó Árpád and Sinkó Katalin. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000.
- Kerny Terézia. "Patronage of St. Ladislav Cycles during the Sigismund Period in Connection with a Contract of Inheritance." In *Bonum ut Pulchrum: Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*. Argumentum Publishing House, 2010.
- Kessler, Herbert L. "Introduction." In *The Atrium of San Marco in Venice: The Genesis and Medieval Reality of the Genesis Mosaics*, edited by Martin Büchsel, Herbert L. Kessler, and Rebecca Müller. Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2014.
- Kessler, Herbert L. "Thirteenth-Century Venetian Revisions of the Cotton Genesis Cycle." In *The Atrium of San Marco in Venice: The Genesis and Medieval Reality of the Genesis Mosaics*, edited by Martin Büchsel, Herbert L. Kessler, and Rebecca Müller. Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2014.

- Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane. "Les femmes et la famille." In *L'homme médiéval*, edited by Jacques Le Goff. Éditions du Seuil, 1989.
- Kollányi, Ferenc. *A magán kegyúri jog*. Athenaeum, 1906.
- Kowaleski, Maryanne, and Judith Bennett. "Crafts, Guilds, and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty Years after Marian K. Dale." *Signs* 14, no. 2 (1989): 474–87.
- Kowaleski, Maryanne. "Women's Work in a Market Town: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century." In *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt. Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Sfântul Francisc din Assisi*. Polirom, 2000.
- Lionnet, Marie. "Les peintures murales en Hongrie à la fin du Moyen Âge (1300–1475)." PhD diss., Université de Paris Nanterre, 2004. Vol. 1.
- Lupescu Makó, Mária. "Egy konfliktus margójára: A világi papság és a domonkosok kapcsolatai a középkori Kolozsváron." In *Orășe și orășeni – Városok és városlakók*, edited by Ionuț Costea, Carmen Florea, Judit Pál, and Enikő Rűsz-Fogarasi. Argonaut, 2006.
- Lupescu Makó, Mária. "În labirintul normelor ecleziastice: Relația dintre clerul secular și dominicanii din Cluj în secolul al XV-lea." In *Evul Mediu neterminat: Omagiu adus profesorului Adrian Andrei Rusu cu ocazia împlinirii vârstei de 70 de ani*, edited by Gianina-Diana Iegar, Péter Levente Szőcs, Gabriela Rusu, and Florela Vasilescu. Mega, 2022.
- Marosi, Ernő. "Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger: Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14.–15. Jh." *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae* 33 (1987–1988): 211–55.
- McNamara, Jo Anne. "Chastity as a Third Gender." In *The History and Hagiography of Gregory of Tours*, edited by Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood. Brill, 2002.
- Mihail, Mihnea Alexandru. "Regatul maghiar și aspecte ale geografiei artei din perspectiva transferurilor iconografice, secolele XIV–XV." PhD diss., University of Bucharest, 2018. Vol. 1.
- Mills, Robert. "The Significance of Tonsure." In *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, edited by Patricia H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis. University of Wales Press, 2004.
- Murray, Jacqueline. "One Flesh, Two Sexes, Three Genders?" In *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives*, edited by Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Năstăsioiu, Dragoș Gheorghe, Ferenc Mihály, and Loránd Kiss. *Monumente medievale de pe Valea Târnavelor*. Editura ACS, 2018.
- Năstăsioiu, Dragoș Gheorghe. "Narrative Strategies at the Crossroads." *Zograf: A Journal of Medieval Art* 45 (2021): 1–28.
- Paroń, Aleksander. *The Pechenegs: Nomads in the Political and Cultural Landscape of Medieval Europe*. Brill, 2021.
- Polly, Lyle R. "The 'Chansons de Toile' and the 'Chansons de Geste': Reconsidering Some Considerations." *Romance Notes* 22, no. 2 (1981): 224–28.

- Rady, Martyn. "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary." *Medieval World* (1991): 39–46.
- Randles, Sarah. "When Adam Delt and Eve Span: Gender and Textile Production in the Middle Ages." In *Women and Work: Experiences, Relationships and Cultural Representations*, edited by Merridee Bailey, Tania Colwell, and Julie Hotchin. Routledge, 2018.
- Roper, Lyndal. *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg*. Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Rüsz-Fogarasi, Enikő. "The Relationship Town-Church in the Seven Transylvanian Counties: From the Beginning to the Mohács Battle. The Institution of Patronage." In *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta. Efes, 1998.
- Schleif, Corine. "The Many Wives of Adam Kraft: Early Modern Workshop Wives in Legal Documents, Art-Historical Scholarship, and Historical Fiction." In *Saints, Sinners and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Jane L. Carroll and Alison G. Stewart. Ashgate, 2003.
- Signori, Gabriela. "Veil, Hat, or Hair? Reflections on an Asymmetrical Relationship." *The Medieval History Journal* 8, no. 1 (2005): 25–47.
- Soós, Zoltán. "The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) and the Franciscan Presence in Medieval Transylvania." *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 249–74.
- Swanson, R. N. "Angels Incarnate: Clergy and Masculinity from Gregorian Reform to Reformation." In *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, edited by D. M. Hadley. Longman, 1999.
- Uhrin, Dorottya. "The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Medieval Upper Hungarian Towns." *The Hungarian Historical Review* 5, no. 3 (2016): 557–86.
- Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, edited by Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner. Vol. 1, 2, 3. Hermannstadt, 1892, 1897, 1902.
- Weitzmann, Kurt, and Herbert L. Kessler. *The Cotton Genesis, British Library Codex Cotton Otho B. VI (The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, I)*. Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Welch, Evelyn. "Art on the Edge: Hair and Hands in Renaissance Italy." *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 3 (2008): 241–68.
- Wiesner Hanks, Merry. "'A Learned Task and Given to Men Alone': The Gendering of Tasks in Early Modern German Cities." *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 25 (1995): 89–106.
- Wiesner, Merry E. "'Wandervogels' Women: Journeymen's Concepts of Masculinity in Early Modern Germany." *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 4 (1991): 767–82.
- Wiesner, Merry E. *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*. Rutgers University Press, 1986.
- Winstead, Karen A. *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England*. Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Winstead, Karen. "St. Katherine's Hair." In *St. Katherine of Alexandria, Texts and Contexts*, edited by Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis. Brepols, 2003.
- Wood, Susan. *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*. Oxford University Press, 2006.

Illustrations



Fig. 1. *The Labors of Adam and Eve* in the church at Mălâncrav



Fig. 2. *Genesis cycle on the bronze doors at Hildesheim Cathedral (Web Gallery of Art)*



Fig. 3. *The Labors of Adam and Eve* at Hildesheim (Web Gallery of Art)



Fig. 4. *The Labors of Adam and Eve on the façade of the cathedral at Modena (Web Gallery of Art)*

THE WOMEN IN THE FAMILY: BEHAVIOURAL MODELS AND GENDERED SOCIAL ROLES IN
TRANSYLVANIAN MEDIEVAL MURAL PAINTINGS



Fig. 5. *The Labors of Adam and Eve*
in the cathedral at Monreale
(Web Gallery of Art)

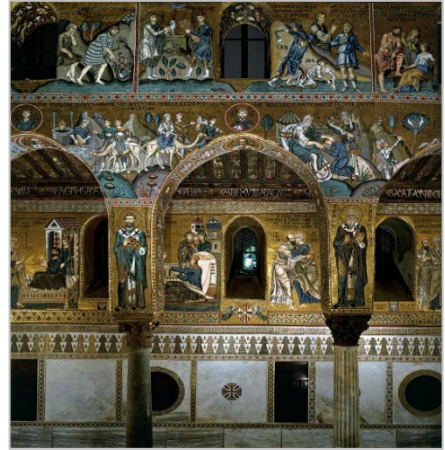


Fig. 6. *The Labors of Adam and Eve*
in the Capella Palatina in Palermo
(Web Gallery of Art)



Fig. 7. *The Labors of Adam and Eve*
in the York Psalter
(Web Gallery of Art)



Fig. 8. *The Labors of Adam and Eve*
on the façade of the Duomo in Orvieto
(Web Gallery of Art)



Fig. 9. *The Labors of Adam and Eve* sculpted by Andrea Pisano for the Campanile in Florence, now in the Museo del Opera del Duomo (Web Gallery of Art)



Fig. 10. *The Labors of Adam and Eve* at San Zeno, Verona (Web Gallery of Art)



Fig. 11. *The Labors of Adam and Eve* at San Petronio in Bologna (Web Gallery of Art)

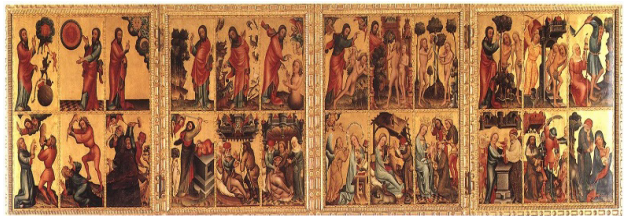


Fig. 12. *The Labors of Adam and Eve*, Bertram's Grabow altarpiece (Web Gallery of Art)

THE WOMEN IN THE FAMILY: BEHAVIOURAL MODELS AND GENDERED SOCIAL ROLES IN
TRANSYLVANIAN MEDIEVAL MURAL PAINTINGS

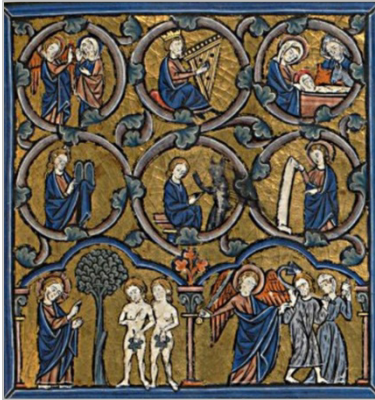


Fig. 13. *The Labors of Adam and Eve* in a French manuscript illumination from the second half of the thirteenth century (Web Gallery of Art)

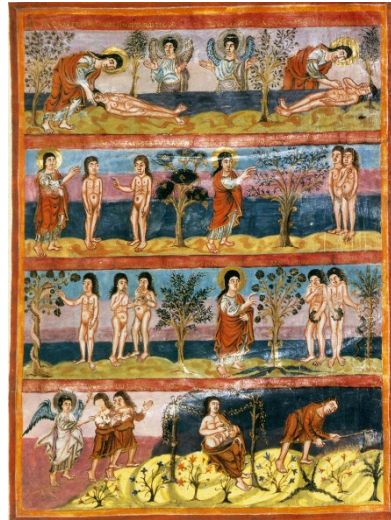


Fig. 14. *The Labors of Adam and Eve* in the Moutier-Grandval Bible ca 840 (Web Gallery of Art)



Fig. 15. *The Labors of Adam and Eve* painted by Januz Kastov in the Church of the Holy Trinity from Hartselle, Slovenia (Web Gallery of Art)

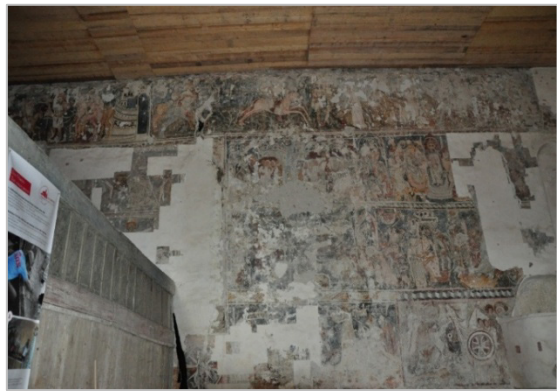


Fig. 16. *The Story of St. Ladislav* in the church at Šmig (Photo Daniel Gligan)



Fig. 17. The legends of Catherine and Margaret in the church at Ighișu Nou
(Photo Daniel Gligan)



Fig. 18. *The Story of St. Ladislav* in the church at Șmig (Photo Daniel Gligan)



Fig. 19. *The Story of St. Ladislav* at Dârjiu (Photo Daniel Gligan)

THE WOMEN IN THE FAMILY: BEHAVIOURAL MODELS AND GENDERED SOCIAL ROLES IN
TRANSYLVANIAN MEDIEVAL MURAL PAINTINGS



Fig. 20. Virgin Martyrs in the church at Ighișu Nou (Photo Daniel Gligan)



Fig. 21. Parallel narratives dedicated to St. Ladislav and St. Catherine in the church at Drăușeni (Photo Maria Crăciun)



Fig. 22. *The Miracle of the Wheel* in the church at Ighișu Nou (Photo Daniel Gligan)



Fig. 23. *St. Catherine's martyrdom* in the church at Drăușeni (Photo Daniel Gligan)



Fig. 24. *St. Catherine's dispute with the philosophers* in the church at Drăușeni (Photo Daniel Gligan)



Fig. 25. *St. Catherine's gesture* in the church at Drăușeni (Photo Daniel Gligan)



Fig. 26. *St. Catherine and a philosopher hold books* in the church at Drăușeni (Photo Daniel Gligan)



Fig. 27. *Philosophers* at Drăușeni (Photo Daniel Gligan)