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Satana in forma della Madonna
Serafino Razzi and the Dominican Observant Reform in Kotor

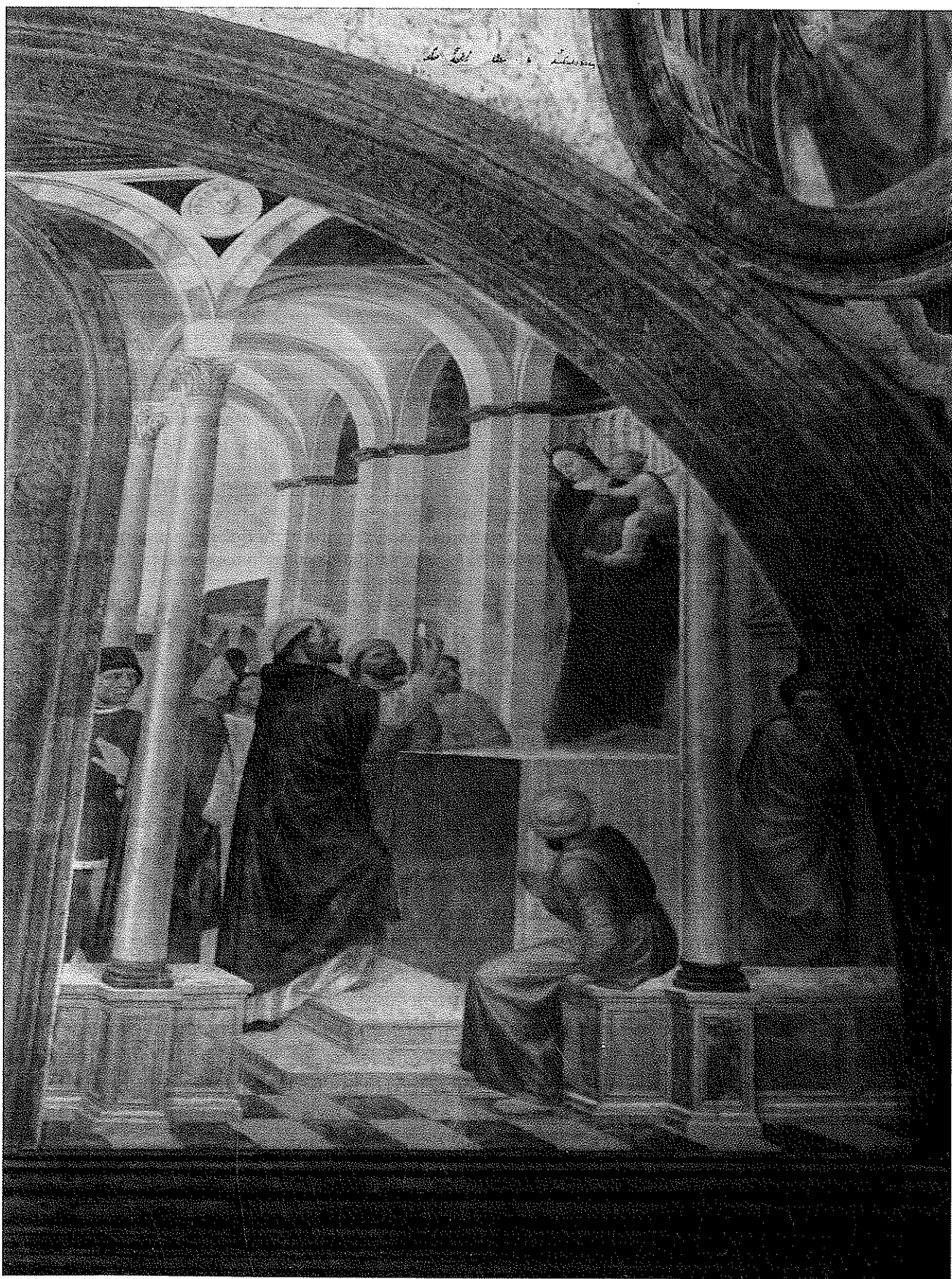
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The aim of this paper is to analyze the meaning of hagiographic and iconographic subject *Madonna finta* within Dominican theological learning and religious practice, through a comparative analysis of word and image in the hagiography of Peter Martyr and female living saints from the 16th century: Caterina de'Ricci and Osanna from Kotor, based on the principles of the Reformed Dominican Order present in the hagiographic literary opus of Serafino Razzi. The framework for considering the use of the iconography of the Madonna and Child to present the apparition of Satan is represented in two essential Dominican theological concepts: accentuating the power of the host and the doctrine of transubstantiation as a real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and eradication of the heresy. Serafino Razzi's mission to spread the observant reform in Dubrovnik and Kotor is a key to understanding many layers of the *vita di Osanna* including the appearance of *Falsa Madonna*.

Keywords: Serafino Razzi, Osanna da Cattaro, Falsa Madonna, Dominican Observant reform, female living saints, Satanic temptations, Eucharist, heresy

The hagiography of the Kotor Dominican tertiary Blessed Osanna (1493–1565), *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio la madre sour Ossanna da Cattaro, dell'ordine di San Domenico*, written in 1589 by Dominican Serafino Razzi from Florence, contains valuable facts for understanding the guiding principles of the Dominican Order at the end of the 16th century. In one episode, Satan took over the form of Virgin Mary and child in order to tempt the Blessed Osanna: "*Lauorando per tanto un giorno, cetto pannolino, di cui douea farsi un corporale pel sacro altare, le apparue Satana in forma della Madonna col figlio picciolo in braccio, e salutandola lodò che ella si esercitasse & occupasse in somiglianti cose*".¹ This is an exceptionally rare sort of demonic metamorphosis and can be found only in several hagiographies. The episode of the "false Madonna is mentioned in the Life of the Dominican preacher and inquisitor Peter of Verona (Peter Martyr) written by Thomas Agni de Leontino in 1272: "*Operatione diabolica non mondana apparuit lux, et in forma virginis filium in gremio tenentis super altare stetit [daemon] et ait: Fr. Petre qui usque nunc mihi fuisti contrarius, ego pietatis mater parata sum a filio meo tibi misericordiam impetrare, si Romanae Ecclesiae errore relicto, horum meorum fidelium volueris ad haerere consortio*".² The examples from the 15th and the 16th centuries refer to the *vita* of Franciscan nun Caterina Vigri (1413–1463) and the *vita* of Dominican mystic Caterina de' Ricci (1522–1590).³ Although the hagiography of Peter Martyr dates from the 13th century, the topic of *Madonna finta* became current only during the Dominican Observant reform and after the Council of Trent. In favor of this is also the fact that the episode from the *vita* of Peter Martyr attained its full iconography only in the Cappella Portinari in the Basilica di Sant'Eustorgio (Milan) where the tomb of Saint Peter Martyr is placed. Vincenzo Foppa painted the fresco *Miracolo della falsa Madonna* also known as the *Miracle of the Host* (1464–1468) – the scene when a Dominican preacher reveals an apparition of the devil disguised in the form of the Madonna with Child.⁴ Agnolo and Bartolomeo degli Erri depicted the cycle of St Peter Martyr in a polyptich for the church of St Dominic in Modena almost at the same time (1460–1470), but the episode with the *Miracle of the Host* was presented with the revealed Satan leaving the church in his demon-like appearance.⁵



1 Vincenzo Foppa, *Miracle of the False Madonna (Miracle of the Host)*, fresco in the Cappella Portinari of the Church of Saint Eustorgio, Milan, c. 1468 (photo: M. Štitić)

In order to understand the phenomenon and the theme's restoration in the second half of the 15th and the 16th century, it is necessary to shed light on the context in which the episode appears in hagiography and iconography. What do all the representations have in common? The Dominicans, female mysticism, Observant reform, stressing the authenticity of the Incarnation and the doctrine of transubstantiation as a real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, as well as an effort to eradicate the heresy which denied the reality of the Incarnation. Thus it is necessary to analyze the meaning of this hagiographic and iconographic theme set in the *vita* of St Peter Martyr in the 13th century, as a part of a female mysticism and the Dominican observant theological learning in the second half of the 15th and the 16th century. The occasions for the analysis of the subject of the *Madonna finta* is its presence in the *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio la madre suor Ossanna da Cattaro*. Although it involves a local cult, the framework and the main figure of the story was Osanna's biographer, Serafino Razzi (1531-1613), a Savonarolan Observant Dominican. Razzi started his activity in the convent of San Marco in Florence where he took the Dominican habit in 1549.⁶ His spiritual father was Francesco Romei da Castiglione (*Generale dell'Ordine*), who wrote about Caterina de' Ricci and her *illusioni del demonio* and *fraudi diaboliche*.⁷ Razzi had an exceptionally significant role in transferring the traditions of the observant reform from Florence to Dubrovnik and Kotor. After the scholarship period, Razzi received an order to travel on a mission to reform the convents in Dalmatia. He settled at Dubrovnik in a Dominican monastery where he worked on the reform of the *Congregazione Domenicana di Ragusa*. During his stay in Dubrovnik, he received an invitation from the Kotor bishop Mons. Girolamo Bucchia in 1589 to come to Kotor in order to hold *la quaresima* in the St Tryphon's Cathedral.⁸ This was an opportunity for Razzi to become acquainted with details from the life of the blessed Osana. Namely, Serafino Razzi in his homeland was especially prominent in promoting the model of the female living saints based on the principles of a reformed Dominican Order and the revering of Girolamo Savonarola.⁹ The life of the local blessed Osanna from Kotor was actually based on the *topoi* present in the rich hagiographic literary opus of Razzi.

Serafino Razzi, as a Savonarolan sympathizer, attempted to rehabilitate his teaching, but very cautiously, considering that church policy did not always favor Savonarola's influence.¹⁰ The influence of the predecessor is especially noted in Razzi's promoting of the model of the female living saint cults, especially in building and shaping of the cult of Caterina de' Ricci. Serafino Razzi, who after being present at Caterina's ecstasy and receiving the stigmata (which emitted a mysterious light), asked to be accepted as her *figliolo spirituale*.¹¹ In 1577 he published the first issue of *Vite dei santi e beati del sacro ordine de' frati predicatori così huomini come donne*.¹² Also, in the later years of his career, Razzi was the confessor to nuns in the convents that had been founded in line with Savonarola's reforms.¹³ For a more profound insight into this issue, it is necessary to recapitulate that soon after Savonarola's death there was a strong tendency on the part of his followers to impose a complete enclosure in some female monastic communities in Tuscany, and then in northern Italy (the Piedmont's visionary Caterina Mattei da Racconigi [1486–1547] is a good example of this activity).¹⁴ I consider that Razzi's endeavor to strengthen the cult of the blessed Osanna from Kotor by writing her hagiography, based on a newly established model of female sanctity – living saints (*sante vive*), should primarily be understood as an effort to convey the traditions of Observant ideas into an area on the very edge of Catholicism – Kotor. This was Serafino's basic task when he set out to Dubrovnik, and the writing of a hagiography for an exceptionally revered local living saint was a very inspirational and rewarding area for spreading the reformed Dominican ideas. The endeavor to promote the cult of the blessed Osanna according to the models which he himself spread and built up in Italy, can be recognized in numerous episodes from Osanna's *vita*. One of these is the tempting of the Kotor tertiary by the devil, a topic which Serafino Razzi often referred to not only in the hagiographies of the Dominican living saints, but also in his sermons.¹⁵

The use of iconography of the Mother and Child, one of the two basic Christian images, as a form of demonic apparition was exceptionally disturbing.¹⁶ In the hagiographies of female mystics, visions and apparitions play a decisive role. The visionary was thought to be particularly vulnerable and fear of demonic delusion is evident.¹⁷ Thereby, the biographer of Caterina Vigri called this *tam subtilem esse fraudem*.¹⁸ The doctrine of *discretio spirituum* provided a means for visionaries and mystics themselves to examine their visions. The sin lay not so

much in having a false vision as in communicating it to others. Only if visionaries conformed to the precepts of *discretio spirituum* could they effectively communicate their visionary experiences and execute their divine mission to influence human behavior and belief. It is also present in the *Dialogue of Caterina da Siena*, the Dominican tertiary and patron saint of the Observants. She warned that the devil may present himself under the guise of an angel or a saint to deceive souls.¹⁹ On the other hand, Franciscan nun Caterina Vigri (also linked with Savonarola's teaching) composed a training manual *Le Sette Armi Spirituali*, the lessons for the novices at Ferrara - Caterina lists the seven spiritual weapons for combating Satan and made it clear that even the most profound mystical experience could be just a demonic illusion, based on her own visionary experiences.²⁰ Satan in Osanna hagiography challenges her *discretio*, her ability to discern between good and evil. The dangerous provocation of a disguised demon is to cause misleading visions, which not only disturb an ascetic's full dedication to God. The ascetics must work on his ability to discern between good visions and demonic appearances and practice uninterrupted prayer in order to combat demons. The desert, as a places of spiritual conversions, was especially full of demons.²¹ The concept of a "desert in the midst of an urban ambience" is the key to understanding Osanna's distinct ascetic accomplishment in Kotor. Serafino Razzi in Osanna's hagiography stresses that her asceticism aroused much astonishment amongst the local people as they had hitherto known that an eremitic life could be practiced within an urban environment (*ne sapeua che eziandio in mezzo alle città si potesse ritrouare l'eremo come l'hauea pure ritrouato questa semplice pastorella*).²² The subtle demonic apparitions had the aim to tempt women mystics into sins of pride and disobedience. Serafino Razzi stresses that *Satana in forma della Madonna* first praised Osanna's needlework and then by using clever language he attempted to convince her that such ascetic sacrifice and daily suffering was not to God's taste, and also, according to the words of *la finta Madonna*, her son was not requesting from anyone to be their own murderer: "*Hora non sai tu, Ossanna mia, che gli è scritto, Non volere essere troppo giusto? Perche dunque tante affizzioni? Perche si lunghi digiuni? Perche cosi acerbe discipline, e flagelli? Perche cosi stretta clausura? Hora sappia che questa tua tanta austerità non è punto accetta al mio figliuolo. Il quale non vuole che alcuno sia di se stesso micidiale. Lascia adunque questo tuo tanto rigore di vita cosi austera: & habbia piu compassione alla tua propria carne. Refero queste parole ambigua, a sospesa l'ancilla di Christo. Onde partita la finta Madonna, mandò à chiamare il padre Fra Vincenzio prefato, à cui ella in quel tempo si confessaua, & il tutto per ordine gli confer*".²³ The way of unmasking the disguised demon in the *Vita di beata Osanna* is formally and in content very similar to the *Vita di Caterina de' Ricci* written by padre Filippo Guidi.²⁴

Razzi stated in Osanna's hagiography how the Kotor-based recluse was instructed by her confessor, padre Vincenzo Bucchia, to spit in the face of the falsa Madonna when she appeared: "*Onde comandò alla sacra Vergine, dopo vna saluteuole esortazione fattale, che inuocando il nome santissimo di Giesu Christo, à i demonii tremendo e spauenteuole, le sputasse in faccia. E si sia disse spirito buono, nõ di spirito cattiuo, per essere superbo, si scoprirrà, e riputerà ciò fatto in sua contumelia, e scorno*".²⁵ Almost the identical episode we find in the *Vita di Caterina de' Ricci* written by Filippo Guidi. He described how Caterina de' Ricci was advised by her uncle and confessor padre Timoteo Ricci: "*Però le comandò, che quando le appariuano più, prima si facesse il segno Santissimo della Croce, e poi sputasse loro nel volto. Disse allora Suor Caterina, dunque volete che io sputi nella faccia di Giesù, della Vergine Maria, e di tanti Santi? come volete ch'io habbia ardire di gittare queste immondizie loro nel volto, e ch'io faccia queste ingiurie al mio Signore? come volete Padre mio ch'io v'obbedisca? Rispose il Padre, che non hauesse questo timore, perche se fussero veramente santi, non resterebbono macchiati, perchè la loro gloria non può infettarsi da immondizie terrene, si come il raggio solare non si macchia*".²⁶

The differences are in the details: before that, Osanna should *inuocando il nome santissimo di Giesu Christo*, while Caterina should first make *il segno Santissimo della Croce*. In fact, the scene of unmasking a demon by spitting in the face was also present in numerous satanic temptations in the ascetic life of the blessed sister Caterina Matthei di Racconigi. She was a Dominican tertiary, very much influenced by Savonarola and was a contemporary of Osanna and Caterina de' Ricci. In 1577, Serafino Razzi published a collection of hagiographies of significant members of the Dominican order, among others also the *vitae* of Caterina di Racconigi and Caterina de' Ricci.²⁷

The framework for considering the use of the iconography of the Madonna and Child to present the apparition of Satan are two important elements in the hagiography of Saint Peter Martyr and Blessed Osanna. The first involves the power of the host and the doctrine of transubstantiation as a real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the second the fight against heresy. In both episodes in which the demon appears in the form of Madonna and Child, there is an emphasis of a real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and the power of the host as the real flesh of Christ. Essential and conceptual similarities can be seen via a comparative analysis of the context of the theme in the two examples. Heretics invite Peter Martyr to see the apparition of Mary holding the baby Jesus in their church, hoping this will convert him to their faith. Suspecting the apparition to be a devil for protection the preacher brought the host concealed in his garments (*cappa*).²⁸ He displays the consecrated host before the apparition, thus unmasking the devil, who had taken the appearance of the Madonna ("*Tunc B. Petrus pyxidem, in qua Christi posuerat corpus, quam sub cappa detulerat, protulit, et ipsam aperiens, dixit ei: si es vere mater Dei, adora hunc filium tuum*").²⁹ The power of the Eucharist is underlined.³⁰

Unlike priests, female mystics could not unmask Satan with the elevating of the host. However, in Osanna's hagiography, the Eucharist as a way of struggling against demons was highlighted appropriately, which stresses the role of the lay woman and female mystics. Satan appeared at the moment when Osanna was embroidering *un corporale per sacro altare*, upon which the host was to be laid out. The accent on the strength of the host points to an underlining of the significance of the Incarnation of Christ mystery. The presence of the Madonna and the host in the episode emphasizes the parallel between the Incarnation and Consecration. It is exactly the authenticity of the Incarnation which was the key topic marking the Dominican and especially Peter Martyr's religious practice and inquisition.

Linked with this is the second issue, which shall be more closely studied. It is very important to point out the context in which both episodes with *Madonna finta* appear. Specifically, in the case of Peter Martyr, his most important role should be stressed – an effort to eradicate the heresy which denied the reality of the Incarnation. Born in Verona c. 1205 into a family of heretics, Peter reportedly proved early on his willingness to defend the Roman Catholic faith in the face of heresy.³¹ In the phenomenon of the appearing of the blessed Osanna in Kotor society in the 16th century, the Observant Dominican effort in preserving the Catholic faith should be noted – Osanna was born in Christian Orthodox family (*Rasciani* - Raška, medieval Serbia), and S. Razzi considered them schismatics ("*I parenti suoi furono cristiani, ma imperò della seta dei Greci detti Rasciani, i quali in molte cose discordando dalla chiesa Romana, oggi da noi, come scismatici sono tenuti*").³² The use of the well known iconography of the Madonna and Child in a form of Satan's temptation served to stress the learning which the Dominicans strove towards: the authentic devoted are able to discern between the real and false Madonna.³³ A symbol of victory over heresy was Saint Peter Martyr. In Florence, his cult was fostered by the Dominicans in the San Marco, the convent where Serafino Razzi started his activity.³⁴

The iconography of Falsa Madonna from the *vita* of Saint Peter Martyr in the Cappella Portinari, and the use of this episode as a model for building the image of female living saints in the opus of Serafino Razzi, gives a significant insight into the development of the Dominican theological concepts. Due to the significance of the Dominicans in the effort of eradicating heresy, from the 15th century an effort was invested by reformed Dominicans in spreading Observant learning, it is necessary to follow the traces of this didactical tale on a wider plane: from Milan, the cult headquarters which held the relics of the inquisitor patron, to Florence, where Serafino Razzi, Osanna's biographer is from. Namely, Peter Martyr was originally buried in San Simpliciano (Milan), and then his body was transferred to Cappella Portinari in the Dominican basilica of Sant' Eustorgio. It was commissioned by the manager of the branch of Medici bank in Milan, Pigello di Folco Portinari (1421–1468) from Florence, who had been decreed by Peter Martyr in a vision to found a chapel in St Eustorgio, according to the legend.³⁵ The Basilica of St Eustorgio in Milan was the seat of the Dominican Order in the city and had special status after Pope Gregory IX in 1232 announced the church as the first seat of the inquisition in Lombardy and Peter of Verona

as the first inquisitor. Peter had a carefully worked out concept of fighting against heresy. In practice, this also meant organizing groups of laymen into pious confraternities, as well as founding monasteries for women in Milan and Florence.³⁶ From the standpoint of the Dominican Order in the 15th century, it is necessary to bear in mind that words and images on the victory over Satan disguised as the Madonna are linked with one of the first students of Dominic Guzman, and the first one canonized after him.³⁷ From that aspect, even though the Basilica di Sant'Eustorgio, where the painting *Madonna finta* can be found, did not belong to the Observants, the word, that is, the hagiography according to which the painting occurred, was gathered (for the *Acta Sanctorum*) by the learned Dominican Amrogio Taegio (deceased in 1517) from the Observant monastery of Santa Maria della Grazie in Milan and from 1559 the seat of the *Tribunale dell'Inquisizione ai domenicani osservanti*.³⁸

These are the foundations for analyzing the phenomenon of the theme of *Satana in forma della Madonna* in Kotor tradition. The politics of strict Observants and sustaining of the Catholic faith by the Kotor Dominicans was a key requirement in this area at the border of Catholicism, surrounded by an Orthodox population and the Ottoman threat. Serafino Razzi's mission to spread the Observant reform in Dubrovnik and Kotor is a key to understanding many layers of the *vita di Osanna* including the appearance of *Falsa Madonna*. By seeking the traces of this motif in the centers whence it spread, it is possible to create a wider context for understanding the meaning and didactical role of this narrative.

- 1 *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio, Suor Ossanna da Cattaro, dell'ordine di San Domenico, Scritta da fra Serafino Razzi, dell'istesso Ordine, e Provincia Romana*, Firenze, 1592, pp. 28-29. <http://books.google.rs/books?id=szJSAAAAcAAJ&ots=Xb5-M063-S&dq=Viita%20della%20reverenda%20serva%20di%20Dio%20la%20madre%20suor%20Ossana%20da%20Cattaro&hl=sr&pg=PP6#v=twopage&q&f=false> (accessed 1 October 2015).
- 2 *Vita scripta per Thomam de Leontino coaevum Ord. Praed. postea Patriarcham Hierosolymitanum; Aucta ab Ambrogio Taesio ejusdem Ord. ex ispius MSS. Mediolani in Conventus S. Mariae Gratiarum, Acta Sanctorum*, t. III, Paris et Romae, 1866, p. 694. <https://archive.org/details/actasanctorum12unse> (accessed 3 February 2016) The saint's later successor as Dominican prior at Asti, Jacobus de Voragine, included Peter in his *Legenda aurea* (ca. 1263-1267); the order's apparent dissatisfaction with this hagiographical collection did not prevent the Dominican patriarch of Jerusalem, Thomas Agni da Lentino, from using it as a source for his *Vita sancti Petri Martyris*. Thomas's vita became the official life; C. CALDWELL, "Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint", in: *Comitatus, A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 31, no.1, 2000, pp. 146-147, 159, n. 32; D.S. PRUDLO, "Mothers and the Martyr: the unlikely patronage of a medieval Dominican preacher", in: *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2012, pp. 315-316.
- 3 On Caterina Vigri see: J.R. BERRIGAN, "Franciscan Mystic. Saint Catherine of Bologna", in: *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation*, K.M. WILSON (ed.), Athens and London, The University of Georgia Press, 1987, pp. 81-95; A. VAUCHEZ-I. GRAZIANI. *Pregare con le immagini: il breviario di Caterina Vigri*, V. FORTUNATI-C. LEONARDI (eds.), Firenze, Sismel Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004; S. SPANÒ MARTINELLI, "Caterina Vigri (1413-1463). Nascita e sviluppo di un culto cittadino", in: *Revue Mabillon*, vol. 17, 2006, pp. 127-143; G. CAPRIOTTI, "Visions, Mental Images, Real Pictures. The Mystical Experience and the Artistic Patronage of Sister Battista da Varano", in: *Ikon, Journal of Iconographic Studies*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 213-224. On Caterina de' Ricci see G.D. DI AGRESTI, *Santa Caterina de' Ricci*, Olschki, 1974; T. HERZIG, *Savonarola's Women: Visions and Reform in Renaissance Italy*, University of Chicago Press, 2008, pp. 305-308, 568. A. SCATTIGNO, "La costruzione di un profilo di santità femminile nella Firenze del XVII secolo", in: *Annali di Storia di Firenze*, vol. VIII, 2013, pp. 145-170.
- 4 *La Cappella Portinari in Sant'Eustorgio a Milano*, R. CIPRIANI-G. DELL'ACQUA-F. RUSSOLI (eds.), Milan, 1963; M. BALZARINI, *Vincenzo Foppa: la formazione e l'attività giovanile*, La Nuova Italia, 1995; *Vincenzo Foppa. La Cappella Portinari*, L. MATTIOLI ROSSI (ed.), Milano 1999. On iconography of Peter Martyr see: R. RUSCONI, "The Preacher Saint in Late Medieval Italian Art", in: *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, C. MUESSIG (ed.), Brill, 2002, pp. 192-193.

- 5 M. CHIUSA, "Sul dossale di san Pietro martire. Un'ipotesi di lettura", in: *Bolletino d'arte* vol. 56, no. 7 (Jul.-Oct. 1989), pp. 109-134. Ann Markham Schulz interpreted the scene of the altarpiece from the church of Corpus Domini in Venice (a work by Caterino Moronzon and Bartolomeo di Paolo) as the *Exorcism by St Peter Martyr of a Diabolical Apparition* in which the saint routs the Devil that had appeared to heretics in the church, disguised as the Virgin with Child; see: A. MARKHAM SCHULZ, *Woodcarving and Woodcarvers in Venice 1350-1550*, Firenze, 2011, p. 237-238. Her claim was refuted by M. Vicelja and B. Španjol-Pandelo in M. VICELJA-MATIJAŠIĆ-B. ŠPANJOL-PANDELO, "The Altarpiece of the Corpus Domini in Venice Revisited", in: *Scripta in honorem Igor Fisković*, M. JURKOVIĆ-P. MARKOVIĆ (eds.), Motovun-Zagreb, 2015, pp. 153-163.
- 6 The convent of San Marco in Florence was bestowed to the Observants in 1438 and merited a good leader who would promote the Observant reform. Savonarola managed to separate the Florentine friery of San Marco from the Dominican Congregation of Lombardy (which was politically dominated by Milan) to which it had hitherto belonged. Fra Girolamo himself was a member of the Lombard Congregation and, as prior of San Marco, was subject to its superiors – his plan to found an independent Observant Congregation headed by San Marco, cfr. T. HERZIG, *op. cit.*, 2008, pp. 20-28.
- 7 Serafino Razzi, in striving for the preservation and promotion of the original Dominican learning appeared more than a century after the Florentine luminaries from the preaching order: Antoninus, archbishop of Florence and Girolamo Savonarola. He retained the memory of his famous predecessors during his intensive work on sermon-giving and hagiographic literature; see: M.P. PAOLI, "Tradizioni e metamorfosi della pietas nella Firenze medicea", in: *Annali di Storia di Firenze* 8, 2013, p. 183. On Razzi: *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis* J. QUÉTIF-J. ECHARD (eds), Paris, 1719-1721 (reprinted in New York 1959), 2:386-388; O. REDON, "Hagiographies croisées dans la Toscane de la fin du XVIe siècle", in: *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, S. BOESCH GAJANO (ed.), Schena Editore, 1990, pp. 143-157; T. CHERSA, *Degli illustri Toscani stati in diversi tempi a Ragusa, commentario*, Tipi della Minerva, 1828, pp. 19-21; L. FERETTI, "Fra Serafino Razzi" in: *Memorie domenicane* XX, 1903, pp. 211-216; "Fra Serafino Razzi, appunti biografici del P. Lodovico Ferretti O. P.", in: S. RAZZI, *La storia di Ragusa*, Ragusa, 1903, pp. 6-52; "Della prova dello Spirito della Beata Caterina fatta dal Padre Fra Francesco Romei Provinciale dell'Ordine di S. Domenico", in: *Compendio della vita della beata Caterina de' Ricci, monaca del venerabile convento di San Vincenzo di Prato del terz'ordine di San Domenico da' processi fatti per la sua beatificazione*, Firenze 1733, pp. 33-45; P. MACEY, "The Lauda and the Cult of Savonarola", in: *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 3, 1992, pp. 439-483; S. DALL'AGLIO, *Savonarola and Savonarolism*, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Toronto, 2010.
- 8 *Appunti biografici*, in: S. RAZZI, *La storia di Ragusa*, pp. 3-6.
- 9 S. DUVAL, "The Observance's Women: New Models of Sanctity and Religious Discipline for the Female Dominican Observant Movement during the Fifteenth Century", in: *Religious Orders and Religious Identity Formation, ca. 1420-1620: Discourses and Strategies of Observance and Pastoral Engagement*, B. ROEST-J. UPHOFF (eds.), Brill, 2016, pp. 13-31. On female living saints see: G. ZARRI, *Le Sante vive: Cultura e religiosità femminile nella prima eta moderna*, Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990.
- 10 Savonarola and his followers took control of several female communities in Florence and the surrounding district, they reformed them in accordance with strict interpretation of the Dominican Observant rule – the complete separation of religious women from the secular world, the adherence to strict standards of individual and communal poverty and asceticism; T. HERZIG, *op. cit.*, 2008, pp. XIV-XV, XXV. On veneration of Savonarola throughout the sixteenth century, cfr. S.T. STROCCHIA, "Savonarolan Witnesses: The Nuns of San Jacopo and the Piagnone Movement in Sixteenth-Century Florence", in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2007, pp. 393-418.
- 11 *Appunti biografici*, in: S. RAZZI, *La storia di Ragusa*, pp. 6-52. On stigmatisation of Caterina de' Ricci, see: T. HERZIG, "Stigmatized Holy Women as Female Christs", in: *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 26, 2013, pp. 172-174.
- 12 S. RAZZI, *Vite dei santi, e beati del sacro ordine de' frati Predicatori, così huomini, come donne*, voll. I-II, Firenze 1577; *Vite dei santi, e beati del sacro ordine de' frati Predicatori, così huomini, come donne Con aggiunta di molte vite, che nella prima impressione non erano. Scritte dal R.P. maestro Serafino Razzi dell'istesso ordine*, Firenze, 1587. https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_n9OEAXpkWygC. The models which Serafino Razzi used by describing the *vitae* were also pointed out by S. DUVAL, *op. cit.*, 2016, pp. 13-31.
- 13 Dominican nun Caterina de' Ricci entered the Convent of St Vincent in Prato near Florence, a cloistered community of the Religious Sisters of the Third Order of St Dominic, disciples of Girolamo Savonarola, who followed strict living regimens. Caterina died in 1590, but the convent maintained its devotion to Savonarola under confessors such as

- Serafino Razzi; cfr. *Vita della venerabile madre Suor Caterina de Ricci Fiorentina Monaca nel Monistero di S. Vincenzio di Prato dell'ordine de'Predicatori. Scitta da Fra Filippo Ggidi Fiorentino, del medesimo Ordine*, Firenze, 1617, pp. 11-12. In the canonization process (1746) of Caterina de Ricci, mostly used were the hagiographic notes of Padre Filippo Guidi, see: A. SCATTIGNO, *op. cit.*, 2013, p. 156. Catterina de' Ricci turned the monastery of San Vincenzo in Prato into a center for the cult of Girolamo Savonarola, and she gathered together a large collection of his writings and relics. Along with Savonarola, Saint Peter Martyr was also revered in San Vicenzo in Prato: *i titoli di culto più significativi venivano scolpiti nelle medaglie e ne' camei mentre sulla teca di un dito scampato delle fimme e conservato in San Vincenzo di Prato scrivevasi: Dito del Beato Jeronimo Profeta e Martire*. Cfr. *Appunti biografici*, in: S. RAZZI, *La storia di Ragusa*, pp. 27-28, 33-34; G. SCALIA, *Girolamo Savonarola e Santa Caterina de' Ricci*, Firenze, 1924. On veneration of Savonarola throughout the sixteenth century see: S.T. STROCCHIA, "Savonarolan Witnesses: The Nuns of San Jacopo and the Piagnone Movement in Sixteenth-Century Florence", in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2007, pp. 393-418.
- 14 T. HERZIG, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. XXIII; E. LURGO, "The Testaments of a 'Witch of God': the Beata Caterina da Racconigi (1486-1547)", in: *Quaderni storici*, vol. 44, no. 3, 2009, pp. 827-858.
- 15 *Sermoni predicabili dalla prima domenica dell'Auuento; fino all'ottaua di Pasqua di Resurrezzione, scritti da F. Serafino Razzi, Dottore Teologo, dell'ordine de i Frati Predicatori, e Professo del Conuento di S. Marco, di Firenze*, Firenze 1590. In his sermons, he frequently mentioned the temptations of Satan and the struggles with him. Serafino Razzi's emphasis on moderation and restraint, sought to maintain the preacher's medieval heritage and refine the preacher's art for a new era; see: E. MICHELSON, "Dramatics in (and out of) the Pulpit in Post-Tridentine Italy", in: *The Italianist*, vol. 34, no.3, 2014, pp. 449-462.
- 16 Virgin was also a protector of orthodoxy, scourge of heretics, tool for enlightening of those who err, a teacher without words, see: M. RUBIN, "Europe Remade: Purity and Danger in Late Medieval Europe", in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 11, 2001, pp. 101-124; R. FULTON, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2002; M. RUBIN, *Emotion and devotion: the meaning of Mary in medieval religious cultures*, Central European University Press, 2009; Eadem, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009; A. BARTOLOMEI ROMAGNOLI, "L'immagine di Maria negli scritti delle donne medioevali", in: *Hagiologica. Studi per Réginald Grégoire*, A. BARTOLOMEI ROMAGNOLI-U. PAOLI-P. PIATTI (eds.), Collana della Bibliotheca Montisfani, 31, Fabriano, 2012, pp. 511-512, n. 73.
- 17 The Benedictine monk John of Morigny, having experienced many visions while practicing the forbidden *ars notoria*, ultimately renounced this magical art only to devise his own, suspiciously similar practice for conjuring visions of Mary. John describes in the prologue how Satan may also appear in the Virgin Mary's likeness, confusing practitioners. Not surprisingly, John's text was condemned and burned at Paris in 1323; see: D. JACKSON, "The Geography of the Imagination: Understanding Place in John of Morigny's Liber visionum", in: *Thought*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, 165:67, pp. 1-18; C. FANGER-N. WATSON, "The Prologue to John of Morigny's Liber Visionum: Text and Translation.", in: *Esoterica: The Journal of Esoteric Studies* 3, 2001, pp. 108-217; B. NEWMAN, "What Did It Mean to Say 'I Saw'? The Clash between Theory and Practice in Medieval Visionary Culture", in: *Speculum*, vol. 80, no. 1, 2005, pp. 1-43.
- 18 *Ter etiam daemon sub imagine Christi Cruci affixi, ac Mariae Virginis parvum Jesum in amplexu tenetis., tam subtilem esse fraudem*, v. *Acta Sanctorum*, t. 8, Parisiis et Romae, 1865, p. 37. <https://archive.org/stream/actasanctorum08unse#page/n115/mode/2up>
- 19 R. VOADEN, *God's words, women's voices: the discernment of spirits in the writing of late-medieval women visionaries*, Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 1999, pp. 40-47; G. MANGANO RAGAZZI, *Obeying the Truth: Discretion in the Spiritual Writings of Saint Catherine of Siena*, Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 109-110.
- 20 ...impercioche il demonio alcune volte appare in specie di Christo, ò della Vergine Maria, overo in qualunque figura d'Angelo, ò di Santo; e perciò in ogni apparitione, che vi avvenisse, prendete le Armi della Sacra Scrittura. Cfr. *Vita di S. Caterina da Bologna composta dal p. Giacomo Grasseti della Compagnia di Gesù*, Bologna, 1724, pp. 341-343. Among the poetic works of Savonarola is a fragment of a *canzone* he composed in honor of Caterina Vigri. Saint Catherine employs methods of narration and dialogue in her treatise that are typical of spiritual exercises in this period: she lists the seven spiritual weapons for combating Satan, explains their necessity, and explicates their benefits. The lessons of Caterina Vigri for the implied readers (novices), to undestand how the Devil does his utmost to subvert those who desire a life of perfection. Clever demonic apparitions that tempted her into sins of pride and disobedience with

- divine visitations that rewarded her humility and obedience. In this context, obedience becomes the foremost virtue of Poor Clare nuns and the truest measure of Christian perfection. Near the end of the book, Saint Catherine recalls that when she was beset by terrible doubts concerning the divine presence in the Eucharist, she was blessed with a visitation from Christ who personally clarified transubstantiation for her. From that moment the saint not only craved the spiritual nourishment of communion, but she also made the Incarnation the centerpiece of her writing and painting. Cfr. J.M. WOOD, "Breaking the silence: The Poor Clares and the visual arts in fifteenth-century Italy", in: *Renaissance quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 2, 1995, p. 273; B. ROEST, *Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares between Foundation and Reform*, Leiden, Boston (Brill), 2013, p. 320.
- 21 Demons ruled over the desert but are at present increasingly threatened by ascetics who are taking over the desert for themselves; cfr. A. DIEM, "Encounters between Monks and Demons in Latin Texts of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages", in: *Miracles and the Miraculous in Medieval Latin and Germanic Literature*, A. HARBUS-T. HOFSTRA-K. OLSEN (eds.), Germania Latina, vol. 5, Leuven, 2004, pp. 51-67.
- 22 *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio, Suor Ossanna da Cattaro*, p. 17.
- 23 *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio, Suor Ossanna da Cattaro*, p. 30.
- 24 *Vita della venerabile madre Suor Caterina de Ricci Fiorentina Monaca nel Monistero di S. Vincenzio di Prato dell'ordine de'Predicatori. Scitta da Fra Filippo Guidi Fiorentino, del medesimo Ordine*, Firenze, 1617, pp. 11-12.
- 25 *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio, Suor Ossanna da Cattaro*, p. 30. On spitting in the face in the context of Christ's passion cfr. T.H. BESTUL, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996, pp. 55, 60, 88, 107-109, et passim. Witches deny their faith in Christ by spitting three times and trampling on the cross; see: M. BAILEY, "The medieval concept of the witches' Sabbath", in: *Exemplaria*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1996, pp. 419-439.
- 26 *Vita della venerabile madre Suor Caterina de Ricci, Scitta da Fra Filippo Guidi Fiorentino, del medesimo Ordine*, pp. 11-12.
- 27 Caterina da Racconigi was tempted by a demon in the shape of a 14 year-old boy, leading her to believe in transubstantiation: "Come possibile è che veramente Christo sia un quell'hostia? Voi christiani seti in errore". Caterina replied nothing, spitting in his face and thus the demon disappeared immediately; see: E. LURGO, "La 'Vitta e legenda admirabile' di Caterina da Racconigi di Gabriele da Savigliano OP e Domenico da Bra OP (1525CA)", in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 78, p. 218; G. ZARRI, *Le sante vive: cultura e religiosità femminile nella prima età moderna*. Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990, pp. 390-394; T. HERZIG, *op. cit.*, 2008, pp. 83-85, 277-280, 290, et passim.
- 28 A much valued relic for use against all kinds of terrible sicknesses was the cape worn by Peter the Martyr, v. G.J.C. SNOEK, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist. A Process of Mutual Interaction*, Leiden-New York-Köln, 1995, pp. 340-341
- 29 "Ad hujus vocem et corporis Christi ostentationem omnis illa phantastica visio disparuit, cum strpitu terribili et foetore, pariesque ecclesiae malignatum a summon usque deorsum scissus est: nobilis autem ille, qui a diabolo seductus fuerat, cum pluribus aliis ad fidei veritatem et ad B. Petri rediit reverentiam: ex quo confusi sunt vehementer haeretici, et sectatores impietatis et pravitatis", in: *Acta Sanctorum*, t. III, (*Vita scripta per Thomam de Leontino*), p. 701.
- 30 D. WEINSTEIN-R.M. BELL, *Saints and society: The two worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700*, University of Chicago Press, 2010, p. 164. On the significance of the Eucharist during the uncovering of Satan, see: T. HERZIG, "Le sante vive' italiane tra propaganda antiereticale, appello alla crociata e critica luterana", in: *Genesis*, vol. X, no.1, 2011, pp. 125-146. There was a long history of miraculous uses of the Host in exorcism. It was considered that the proximity of the Host was sufficient to force demons to surrender. The central ritual manifestation was in the Mass. When priests offered the Host to the possessed, their devils show their torture in the presence of God; see: S. FERBER, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism: In Early Modern France*, Routledge, 2004. By the mid-sixteenth century, before and after the Council of Trent, this led in Florence as elsewhere in Italy, to a proliferation of sacramental companies. This associations emphasized the necessity to take frequent communion and the importance of the sacraments. This led to the development of devotions associated with the host and in particular the Quarantore; see: C.F. BLACK, *Italian confraternities in the sixteenth century*, Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 95-99; J. HENDERSON, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*, The University of Chicago Press, 1997, pp. 441-442.
- 31 C. CALDWELL, *op. cit.*, 2000, pp. 146-147, n. 32, 159.
- 32 *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio, Suor Ossanna da Cattaro*, p. 9. It is presumed here that distinction between schismatic and heretic was not clearly defined in the world of popular imagery and the associations conveyed by that imagery. The confusion and difficulties of those times was witnessed by Cosimo and most of his colleagues at the Council of Flor-

- ence. One of the actions performed by Pope Martin V in Florence on Holy Thursday 1418 (in the piazza of Santa Maria Novella) had been the excommunication of all heretics, schismatics and simonists; see: C. LAWLESS, "Myth, Ritual and Orthodoxy: Cosimo de' Medici and St Peter Martyr", in: *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2005, pp. 273-300.
- 33 The Marian prayers were a powerful weapon in the spiritual fight against the heretics who denied the reality of Incarnation; see: A. BARTOLOMEI ROMAGNOLI, *L'immagine di Maria*, pp. 493-495.
- 34 It is significant to stress that the *vita* used by the Bollandists in the 17th century was a 15th century manuscript version of the 13th century life composed by Saint Peter's contemporary, Fra Tommaso de' Agni of Leontino, which they had found in the convent of San Marco in Florence. The cult of Saint Peter Martyr was fostered by the Dominicans in San Marco; see: C. LAWLESS, *op. cit.*, 2005, pp. 273-300. On the history of San Marco as a Dominican institution see: W. HOOD, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, Yale University Press, 1993.
- 35 Pigello was under the strong influence of Cosimo de' Medici who commissioned him to become the branch manager of the Medici bank, first in Venice and then in Milan; see: J.G. BERNSTEIN, *A Florentine Patron in Milan: Pigello and the Portinari Chapel*, La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1989, pp. 171-200.
- 36 He founded the Society of the Virgin in Florence (c. 1245) which spread to other Italian cities; the confraternity emphasized Mary's status as mother, as a strike against the Cathar rejection of Christ's material body; see: C. CALDWELL, *op. cit.*, 2000, p. 140; D. PRUDLO, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona ([martyred] 1252)*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008, pp. 107-109. The inquisitor Peter Martyr and the 13th-century societies set up to defend the True Faith against the attacks of heretics, to propagate the main tenets of Catholicism. The Societies of Faith and the Marian companies were founded to aid the Inquisition in its fight against ignorance and heresy; see: J. HENDERSON, *op. cit.*, 1997, pp. 26-27.
- 37 On canonization of Saint Peter Martyr see: A. VAUCHEZ, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 11-112, 120-122, *et passim*. A. DONDAINE, "Saint Pierre Martyr. Études", in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 23, 1953, pp. 66-172; C. CALDWELL, *op. cit.*, 2000, pp. 137-174; *Martire per la fede. San Pietro da Verona domenicano e inquisitore*, G. FESTA (ed.), Bologna, 2007; D. PRUDLO, *op. cit.*, 2008, pp. 109-111.
- 38 S. NOCENTINI, "Le Grazie nell'opera di Ambrogio Taegio", in: *Santa Maria delle Grazie. Una storia dalla fondazione a metà Cinquecento. Atti del Convegno di Milano (Convento di S. Maria delle Grazie - Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 22-24 maggio 2014)*, Milan, 2015.

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**Satana in forma della Madonna
Serafino Razzi i dominikanska opservantska reforma u Kotoru**

U tekstu se analizira značenje teme *Madonna finta* u hagiografiji i ikonografiji, u okviru dominikanskog teološkog i religijskog učenja i napora u provođenju opservantske reforme. Prikaz se temelji ponajprije na komparativnoj analizi riječi i slike u hagiografiji Sv. Petra Mučenika i ikonografiji scene *Čudo hostije (Falsa Madonna)* u Kapeli Portinari u crkvi San Eustorgio u Milanu, a zatim i na interpretaciji iste teme u hagiografiji Ozane Katorske krajem 16. stoljeća. Ključ za razmatranje predstavlja djelatnost Ozaninog biografa, dominikanca opservanta Serafina Razzija iz samostana Sv. Marka u Firenci. Iz komparativne perspektive posebno su značajni elementi u okviru literarnog hagiografskog opusa S. Razzija i njegovih slijednika, pogotovo model postavljen u djelu *Vita di Caterina de' Ricci*. Okosnicu za promatranje prikaza *Satana in forma della Madonna* (Sotona u Marijinom liku) predstavljaju dvije teme od posebne važnosti za dominikansku reformu druge polovice 16. stoljeća. Prva je isticanje uloge i snage kulta hostije i doktrine transsupstancijacije, a druga je isticanje borbe protiv hereze. Upravo se na ovim dvjema temama sagledava i fenomen pojave blažene Ozane u katorskom društvu 16. stoljeća.

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