SAINTLY: CHRISTIAN WOMEN IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

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A Thesis Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in Art History

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2024

ABSTRACT

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The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2024
Under the Supervision of Professor Tanya Tiffany

Saintly: Christian Women in Early Modern Europe is a written companion for a physical exhibition of the same name held at the UWM Mathis Gallery in the spring of 2024. The exhibition and accompanying catalog explore the relationship between laywomen and holy women from the Christian canon by examining depictions of the Virgin Mary and women saints in works from the 16th through 18th centuries. Despite gender-related obstacles, women still found ways to meaningfully engage with religious imagery, including through the veneration of other holy women. These 'saintly' female role models functioned as a template for appropriate behavior in both domestic life and devotional practice. This exhibition uses objects from the UWM Art Collection and other Wisconsin institutions to showcase the variety of forms in which this religious subject matter was depicted, including engravings, paintings, sculpture, and books. Particular focus is placed on how early modern women engaged with these objects, making sacred imagery directly relevant to their lives.

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ACNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the multiple institutions which contributed to both the exhibition and catalog. Many thanks to Emilia Layden and the Haggerty Museum of Art at Marquette University for both a loan as well as use of their images within the catalog. Thank you to the Christa Story and the Wright Museum of Art at Beloit College for the loans of their painting and print. The gallery is incredibly fortunate to have such a strong connection with UWM Special Collections and Max Yela, whom I thank for their gracious loan of four books for the exhibition. Other images seen within this essay are from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, the Vatican Museums, the National Gallery, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art and used in this paper through either open access or fair use policies.

Thank you very much to everyone who has supported me in my academic journey, especially Prof. Tanya Tiffany, Prof. Sarah Schaefer, and the rest of the UWM Art History Department. Thank you to Academic Curator Leigh Mahlik and everyone in the gallery who ensured a successful exhibition. Lastly, I am forever grateful to my family: Marilyn, Jeff, Sam, Connor, and Millie.

Introduction

The Catholic Church hosts a wealth of figures whom devotees can turn to for guidance, while maintaining the belief that none surpasses God the Father and his Son, Jesus Christ. During the early modern period (mid fifteenth century through the eighteenth century) women practitioners in Europe found meaningful connections to the saints and stories of the Church. The women who achieved sainthood established paradigms for female Christians in regard to conduct. Throughout the tumultuous periods of conflict and discord following the division of the Church in the beginning of the sixteenth century, women found solace in religion, including within depictions of other holy women such as the Virgin Mary, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Teresa of Avila, St. Catherine of Alexandria, and countless others. Despite setbacks and gender-based inequalities, early modern Christian women adapted to their environments and found ways in which to make interactions with Christianity uniquely feminine experiences. This exhibition uses objects from the UWM Art Collection and other Wisconsin institutions to showcase the variety of forms in which this holy subject matter was depicted, including engravings, paintings, sculpture, and books. The show places particular focus on how early modern women engaged with these objects, making sacred imagery directly relevant to their lives.

The UWM Art Collection is donation-based, meaning the gallery does not seek out the works that enter the collection. While that limits the scope of specific areas, the confines of the collection allow for new approaches to the art, inviting new perspectives into interpreting the objects. This exhibition examines objects from the collection from a feminist perspective, focusing on women viewers' reception of the object as opposed to the male artist's intention.

Problematizing the Early Modern Period

Despite the predominately patriarchal society in which the works featured in this show were created, this exhibition encourages viewers to consider the female reception of such images, not just their male authorship.

The exhibition seeks to contextualize the environment of early modern Europe for a Christian woman and the visual culture of Christianity to which she had access. Hagiographers had long emphasized gender in literary discussion of a saint's life, specifically addressing women readers with advice for invoking the assistance of a female saint.[1] For example, Carthusian prior Giovanni di Dio wrote in a treatise for young women from 1471: "Make yourself an altar which you will take delight in decorating with beautiful and pious images, with beautiful ornaments or embroidery or some of your handiwork."[2] Writings by art critics like sixteenth-century Italian theorist Gian Battista Armenini demonstrate the mindset of the early modern elite man; Armenini admonished nuns to view only the most beautiful depictions of the Virgin Mary and lives of young virgin saints, "so that the nuns should always keep their minds on martyrdom as an example."[3] Marina Warner cites a sixteenth-century enamel plaque of the Virgin and Child (Fig. 1) as a demonstration of the Church's feminine ideals, detailing how the female figures carrying the Catholic virtues of "Humility, patience, obedience, compassion, purity, truth, praise, and poverty all take their place around Mary… Unimpeachable qualities, no

[1] Catherine Sanok, *Her Life Historical: Exemplarity and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval England*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 31.
[2] Paola Tinagli and Mary Rogers, *Women and the Visual Arts in Italy c. 1400-1650: Luxury and Leisure, Duty and Devotion* (Manchester: New York, 2012), 205.
[3] Ibid., 211.

doubt, in themselves, they nevertheless speak eloquently of the gentle personality Mary had acquired by the fifteenth century."[4]

Given the strong masculine influence on women's visual and material culture, it is important to find any primary accounts of how women personally described their involvement with the veneration of such images. Aristocratic women actively promoted images and worship of female saints, as evident through accounts of patronage and the commissioning of devotional objects featuring the representations of venerated women like St. Mary Magdalene, St. Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary.[5] Upper-class women left evidence of the relationships between a woman saint and a woman devotee through written correspondence and legal documents. From leaving images of the Virgin Mary to beloved female relatives in a will, to bringing a cherished book of hours written for women as part of a marriage trousseau, early modern women interacted with these holy images in a way that demonstrates personal agency without the behest of male pressure.[6]

Women Archetypes

There were three archetypes into which women from the Christian canon and apocryphal tradition were sorted within art. The first of these women is exemplified by Eve, who was supposedly tempted by the Devil and therefore corrupted Adam, becoming responsible for the downfall of humanity. The opposite of Eve is the Virgin Mary: a woman perceived as being without sin. As the bearer of the earthly incarnation of God, Mary represented an unattainable

[4] Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 185.
[5] Tinagli and Rogers, *Women and the Visual Arts in Italy c. 1400-1650*, 219.
[6] Ibid., 213.

standard for other women, who unlike Mary and her unassailable chastity, were unable to be free from sin. The third of these three standards is Mary Magdalene. Of these three women, the Magdalene was most applicable as a role model for laywomen. Though the backstory of Mary Magdalene was amalgamated from various anecdotes from multiple figures throughout the Bible, the essence of her character was that though she was a sinner, she was redeemed through her devotion to Christ. Warner summarizes the relationships between these three figures by stating:

> …St. Mary Magdalene... along with the Virgin Mary, typifies Christian society's attitudes towards women and to sex. Both females are perceived in sexual terms: Mary as a virgin and Mary Magdalene as a whore — until her repentance. The Magdalene, like Eve, was brought into existence by the powerful undertow of misogyny in Christianity, which associates women with the dangers and degradation of the flesh.[7]

Using these three women as models, early modern women would have understood that while they were born with sin promogulated by Eve and—try as they might—could not hope to be as virtuous as the Virgin Mary, they all had a chance at salvation like Mary Magdalene and the rest of the female saints.

Eve in Society

The first woman created by God in Christian tradition also was the first woman to receive the blame for the sins of mankind. The first chapter of the Old Testament, Genesis, details the interaction between Eve and the serpent in the Garden of Eden. In Genesis 3:2-7, Eve succumbs to temptation and not only eats the forbidden fruit but offers a share to her husband. Early

[7] Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 225.

modern intellectuals debated the party truly responsible for man's downfall. The fourteenth-century writer Boccaccio summarizes the narrative of Eve's blame in his novel *Il Corbaccio* or *The Crow* (1355), attributing the origin of all of mankind's miseries to the first woman's gluttony and disobedience.[8] In letters written in 1451, the humanist writer Isotta Nogarola and the nobleman Ludovico Foscarini debated the topic of Eve's blame.[9] Nogarola fights back against the widely held belief championed by Foscarini, that Eve had committed the greater sin and was therefore punished to a greater extent. Nogarola defends Eve suggesting that the punishment of birthing pains is far less severe than the sentence of death and lifelong labor issued to Adam.[10] So impressed by her ardent support of Eve, Foscarini concedes that had he been born a woman, Nogarola's argument would have convinced him to change his mind.[11] Foscarini remains steadfast, however, in advocating for the continued blame of Eve as the root of Adam's transgressions, a stance which artists perpetuated within their depictions of the Genesis story.

The gendered nature of this argument implies that Eve, and therefore her female descendants are inherently responsible for the sins that required absolution by Jesus Christ. Depictions of Eve from this time emphasize the interaction between the first woman and the devil as embodied by a snake. Michelangelo depicts Eve accepting the apple from a female-presenting serpent on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel (Fig. 2).[12] The Raphael painting of the fall on the ceiling of the Segnatura room at the Vatican furthers this gendered argument by

[8] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Corbaccio* (Italy, 1355), 77.
[9] Translated by Margaret L King and Diane Robin in 2003
[10] Isotta Nogarola, Margaret L. King, and Diana Robin, *Complete Writings: Letterbook, Dialogue on Adam and Eve, Orations* (Chicago, UNITED STATES: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 147.
[11] Ibid., 147-148.
[12] Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 59.

painting the serpent from the garden as a woman with a snake's body, directly linking the downfall of man to a conversation between two women.[13] (The Peter Paul Westermeyer *Adam and Eve* print from the UWM Collection is based on the Raphael design) (Fig. 3). While Eve is still acknowledged as one of the most powerful women created by God, her actions in the book of Genesis mark her as a poor example for womankind. This unflattering perspective of Eve was in direct contrast to the adoration of the incomparable Mother of God.

Unparalleled

Unlike Eve and the rest of womankind, the Virgin Mary was free from any offence. Mary defied the hypocrisy of expectations: remain chaste but produce offspring. As Olwen Hufton explained, Mary functions as the inverse of Eve, having listened to the word of God as delivered by an angel as opposed to the temptation of Satan as delivered by a serpent.[14] As a role model, Mary held an unattainable status. The Virgin lacked the sins inherit to mankind, brought about by Eve in the mind of early modern society. The Catholic Church championed the concept of Mary's sinlessness at birth with the promotion of the Immaculate Conception, represented in art by Mary standing atop a moon with the sun at her back as shown in works such as Velázquez's early seventeenth- century painting of the subject (Fig. 4).[15] Given that women in early modern Europe still carried the stigma of Eve's poor decisions, Mary was an exception to

[13] "Ceiling," accessed January 25, 2024, https://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/stanze-di-raffaello/stanza-della-segnatura/volta.html.
[14] Olwen H. Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 31.
[15] Tanya J. Tiffany, *Diego Velázquez's Early Paintings and the Culture of Seventeenth-Century Seville* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).

the standard. The Holy Mother's function in Catholicism was as a female alternative for Jesus Christ; an alternative whom women of the time would have found more relatable and therefore sympathetic to their prayers.[16] An unfortunate effect of Mary's matchlessness was that male members of the Holy Mother's cult used her virtue as fuel for misogyny, measuring common women against the framework of the Virgin and finding fault when their impossible standards were not met.[17] Despite the impossibility of following in the Virgin Mary's footsteps, women had alternative female holy figures whom to emulate, as exemplified by St. Mary Magdalene.

A Sinner Redeemed

Mary Magdalene developed a complex narrative throughout history, stemming little from biblical accounts and more from apocrypha, non-canonical writings associated with scripture. Well before the early modern period, Mary Magdalene had assumed the roles of various characters throughout the New Testament, often absorbing the reputations of women of ill-standing throughout the gospels. The Church prioritized penance during the Counter-Reformation, and who better to represent the atonement of sin than a reformed sex worker who bore witness to many of Christ's most important actions?[18] The link between the Magdalene and the sin of prostitution, or more generally sexuality, is attributed to the preaching of Gregory the Great in the seventh century, who identified Mary Magdalene as the repentant prostitute from Luke 7 who wipes Jesus' feet with her hair and anoints him with

[16] Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1993). 184.
[17] Ibid., 184.
[18] Michelle A. Erhardt and Amy M. Morris, *Mary Magdalene, Iconographic Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, Studies in Religion and the Arts 7 (Leiden; Brill, 2012).

ointment.[19] As a culmination of numerous characters, Mary Magdalene became a ubiquitous figure for a sinner who achieved salvation through faith. Artists routinely included her presence in scenes towards the end of the Passion, as is evidenced in the *Lamentation* woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder included in this exhibition (Fig. 5). Mary Magdalene is a recurring presence in retellings of Christ's life, providing abundant scenarios in which an artist could choose to utilize her presence as a symbol for redemption.

Artists included the Magdalene within symbolic images of the life of Christ to reference her importance as a redeemed holy figure within the life of Christ. Correggio demonstrates this concept in his imaginative composition of *The Madonna with the Magdalene and St. Jerome* by showing Mary Magdalene in her youth alongside the Virgin Mary and Christ Child, reproduced in this exhibition in an eighteenth-century engraving by Robert Strange (Fig. 6). While the Magdalene is not the only example of a saint with a troubled past, she is a favored saint for her versatility as a contradictory figure within the narrative of the New Testament.

Dynamics Between Women

Early modern women could turn to countless female saints for assistance and guidance, from the Virgin Mary with her unassailable grace to Mary Magdalene, an extreme example of sinner to sanctified, to numerous other women saints who each brought with them their own story of piety and devotion. Lay Christian women during the early modern period were subject to countless expectations brought about by a patriarchal society and the church. The artistic depiction of holy women from the Christian canon offered a template for behavior for women

[19] Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor,* (London: HarperCollins, 1993).

on which to model themselves, finding shared bonds with specific female saints for a variety of reasons.

The relationship between early modern women and female saints is seen in the connection between "name saints" and their namesakes. The saint with whom one shared a name was viewed as a personal patron. A certain widowed Sister Caterina in 1495 commissioned a funerary chapel dedicated to her patron saint, Catherine of Siena, for a church in their shared Dominican order.[20] The altarpiece of the chapel was to feature the widow's patron saint alongside the Virgin Mary, with the predella displaying scenes from the life of Catherine of Siena.[21] In the case of Maria Maddalena of Austria (1589-1631), she used the accumulated wealth from her marriage into the Medici family to dedicate space within the Pitti Palace's Cappella della Reliquie to depict scenes from the life of her named saint: Mary Magdalene.[22] Such visible displays of religious patronage reflect both a distinct personal link between a woman and her patron saint, as well as an affirmation of such connection in the eye of the public.

Allegorical Portraits

To further emphasize the link between patron of the arts and patron saint, commissioned artists created allegorical portraits, using the appearance of a real-life person as the visage for a divine figure. The conflation of the saintly character with the mortal model lends ambiguity to these representations. From the perspective of the women appropriating the holy attributes of

[20] Tinagli and Rogers, *Women and the Visual Arts in Italy c. 1400-1650*, 257.
[21] Ibid., 258.
[22] Ibid., 225.

a saint, this act of taking on the mantle of a divine figure could be a self-aggrandizing act, equating oneself with a sanctified standard. On the other hand, such images of contemporary women dressed as saints made those saints seem recognizable and accessible to viewers.

The fashioning of an elite early modern woman as a revered religious figure was seen across Europe during this time. Adam Jasienski posits that such allegorical portraits call into question which aspect of the work was more honored: the portrait or the religious subject.[23] Jasienski further suggests that a portrait could be retroactively made religious, with artists altering a standard portrait with iconographical symbols that changed the subject into a holy figure.[24] The multiple interpretations of an allegorical portrait result in a blurring of sacred and profane, creating a type of painting that can appeal to a greater audience, whether based on those who find value in its religious message or celebrate the portraiture.

The slippage between an allegorical versus a standard portrait can result in difficulties identifying a singular subject of a painting. The seventeenth-century painting of a woman holding a perfume bottle in the UWM Art Collection database appears on first glance to portray a Dutch woman in contemporary clothing (Fig. 7). Yet, the Mathis Gallery identifies this painting as an allegorical depiction of St. Mary Magdalene. The key features that mark this subject as the saint include the perfume bottle held within the model's right hand. Mentions of Mary Magdalene within the Bible cite her activity of anointing Christ's head or feet with ointment, as written in John 12:3. The concept of perfume or a sweet smell is a repeated motif in the Magdalene's story, with Jacobus de Voragine reporting in his early thirteenth-century

[23] Adam Jasienski, *Praying to Portraits: Audience, Identity, and the Inquisition in the Early Modern Hispanic World* (Penn State University Press, 2023), 2.
[24] Ibid., 3.

hagiographies of saints lives: *The Golden Legend,* a sweet-smelling aroma that permeated the church where Mary Magdalene died.[25] The inclusion of pearls and precious gems, featured both on the woman's neck as well as on the table, suggests this painting is a representation of the Magdalene . The symbolic nature of pearls suggests idealized femininity and wealth; both are traits associated with Mary Magdalene.[26] Visual evidence also supports the identification of this woman as Mary Magdalene. Early modern European paintings frequently depict the Magdalene with light red hair—hair being an important aspect of her story having used her own hair to dry the feet of Christ—as well as a prominent decolletage, symbolic of her reputation for sensuality. Both of these characteristics are present within the UWM Art Collection's painting. The identification of this woman as the Magdalene is further supported by comparing her to a work in the collection of the Haggerty Museum of Art. The painting is titled *Noli Me Tangere*: a representation of the moment Mary Magdalene is instructed by Christ not to touch his resurrected body in the garden. (Fig. 8) Painted by Jan van den Hoecke in the seventeenth century, this painting utilizes the same conventional visual language to represent the Magdalene. From the light red hair, the bare skin on display, the pearls in her hair, and the perfume bottle central to the composition, this *Noli Me Tangere* strikes abundant similarities with the Dutch woman holding a perfume bottle.

[25] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints,* edited by William Granger Ryan, and Eamon Duffy, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 96.
[26] Erin Griffey, *Sartorial Politics in Early Modern Europe: Fashioning Women*, Visual and Material Culture, 1300-1700 (Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 102.

The Virgin and Motherhood

Despite her virginity and chastity (traits, as discussed previously, greatly valued by the Catholic Church in the early modern period), Mary epitomized motherhood, allowing artists to emphasize her nurturing nature as well as her piety.[27] The lives of mothers during the early modern period often resembled scenes from the life of the Virgin and Christ. As in pictures of the Birth of the Virgin and the Adoration of the Magi, visitors to new mothers often presented them with valuable treats and household goods and offered gifts for the child. [28] These kinds of parallel experiences affirmed women's faith in the Holy Mother, reinforcing the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Catholic promotion of the Virgin Mary as an intercessor.

The prints displayed in this exhibition depict varying interpretations of the Virgin's role as Mother of Christ, capturing scenes of intimate domesticity and showing her singularity as Queen of Heaven. The German artist Albrecht Dürer captures the scope of Mary's character throughout his numerous engravings of the Virgin. There is a stark difference between Dürer's allegorical interpretations and his narrative scenes of the Holy Mother. The life of the Virgin series completed by Dürer in the early sixteenth century is a sequential telling of events in which Dürer uses posture and expression to convey the atmosphere of each scene. In the engraving *Christ Taking Leave of his Mother* which falls towards the end of the narrative cycle, Dürer depicts a grief-filled scenario in which an adult Jesus bids farewell to his mother before heading off to his death in Jerusalem (Fig. 9). As is common in biographies of Mary, she is shown attended to by female followers of Christ who attempt to comfort her as she is

[27] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 14.
[28] Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 50.

overcome by sorrow and falls to the ground.[29] This scene promotes a strong, empathetic reaction from the viewer, who by examining the grief-stricken expression on Mary's face, connects on an emotional level to the distressed mother. By contrast, Dürer's *Madonna and Child with Monkey* is a more regal interpretation of the *sedes sapientiae* motif, in which Mary herself operates as a surrogate throne on which Jesus sits (Fig. 10). As a non-narrative depiction of mother and child, the engraving features multiple allegorical elements that speak to Mary and Jesus' characters. Notably, the bird in the scene is significant in its traditional association with the childhood of Christ. Multiple stories from early Christianity recount tales of the young Jesus animating clay birds as a child.[30] The eponymous monkey of the engraving is symbolic of evil, having been considered a "creature of the devil" as Protestant reformer Martin Luther believed.[31] The chained primate suggests the conquering of such evil by the Christ Child and the Virgin. While *Madonna and Child with Monkey* does not provoke the same visceral sorrow as *Christ Taking Leave from his Mother*, Dürer utilizes similar techniques to appeal to an early modern audience. Both engravings place the figures in landscapes familiar to a German viewer.

Rembrandt van Rjin's etching *The Virgin and Child with the Cat and the Snake* provides an intimate glimpse into the domestic life of Mary and Jesus by choosing a private locale for the setting of the image (Fig. 11). If not for the radiant halo encircling Mary's head, the pair could easily be assumed as an average Dutch family. The recognizability of such a scene would have appealed to the maternal sensibilities of early modern women, who also likely had experienced

[29] Steven J. Shoemaker, *The Life of the Virgin: Maximus the Confessor* (Yale University Press, 2012).
[30] Stephen J. Davis, *Christ Child: Cultural Memories of a Young Jesus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 48.
[31] Colin Eisler, "Masses of Monkeys," *Source (New York.)* 3, no. 1 (1983), 8.

the act of cradling a child in their arms in a tender embrace. Rembrandt emphasizes the religious nature of the engraving in subtle symbols outside of the obvious halo. The snake under Mary's foot has been crushed by the Virgin. Snake imagery is commonly used to represent satanic presence or the devil. In Albrecht Altdorfer's *Adam and Eve,* the snake which tempts the first humans has a skull for a face, clearly emphasizing the association with death and demonic influence (Fig. 12). By showing Mary stepping on a snake, Rembrandt suggests that the Holy Mother conquers evil and is not subject to the same temptation and sinful tendencies as Eve.

During the early modern period, maternity and the act of giving birth were social affairs, as reflected in art of the time. The birthing process was regarded as an exclusively female event, with only women family members, neighbors, and midwives allowed in the room to assist the mother.[32] The importance of childbirth in the lives of early modern women fostered the veneration of Mary's own mother, St. Anne. St. Anne gained a following as the patron saint of childbirth due to her role as the mother of the Holy Mother. Many Christian women felt more comfortable praying to a woman during uniquely female experiences like childbirth and so Anne fulfilled the desire for a specialized protector.

In the present exhibition, the 1520 engraving *The Virgin and the Cradle* by Marcantonio Raimondi reflects the conventions surrounding childbirth in sixteenth-century Italy (Fig. 13). The scene is set in a domestic interior with Anne positioned behind the Virgin and Child. The central three figures are flanked by both a midwife or helpful neighbor as well as a cherub. Raimondi features only those who may have been allowed in such a private setting, excluding

[32] Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy*, *22.*

Joseph and any other male visitors typically associated with the birth of Christ. Raimondi's inclusion of the cherub further elaborates on the culture of the time. The winged *putto* holds a vessel and presides over a large basin filled with water. This set of objects would have been familiar to early modern women viewers. The jug and basin were used by the midwife and others in attendance at the birth to bathe the newborn, with instances of the water from this first washing being used for symbolic rituals across Europe.[33] In the bottom left of the composition, the midwife readies a wooden cradle filled with linens. These objects are typical for a newborn, being listed in sixteenth-century inventories that record the contents of estates following a new addition to the family.[34] By including the elements of childbirth such as the midwife, the basin, and the cradle, Raimondi has developed an alternative to the typical nativity scene. Instead of the biblical stable in Bethlehem, the artist has changed the context of Jesus' birth to reflect the standards of delivery in the sixteenth century.

Imagery of Anne and her daughter tends to demonstrate the bestowal of knowledge and other life skills from mother to child. The Virgin Mary's literacy is consistently depicted across the art historical canon. She is often shown reading a book of prayer during the moment of the Annunciation, as seen in Johannes Sadeler's engraving of the scene, in which Mary's eyes turn towards the page before her (Fig. 14). In the present exhibition Anne's duty in educating Mary and therefore contributing to the raising of the Christ child is shown in a sixteenth-century wooden sculpture from Germany (Fig. 15). Draped in fabric, Anne holds a book in her left hand, while in her right arm she supports her daughter and grandchild. The saint is depicted

[33] Hufton, *The Prospect before Her*, 191.
[34] Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy*, 47.

gazing down at her very young daughter, who, in turn, holds a maternal hand on the arm of baby Jesus who holds a page of the book in his grasp. The sculpture represents the mortal ancestry of Christ responsible for his earthly upbringing. Similar sculptures in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Art Institute of Chicago demonstrate a German affinity for portraying Christ's matrilineal line engaging with the cultivation of knowledge (Figs. 16 and 17).[35] Objects like these demonstrate the cult of St. Anne's regard for her role in caring for the Virgin Mary and subsequently baby Jesus.

The push towards stricter image usage following the Council of Trent did not deter expectant mothers from surrounding themselves with images of the blessed Virgin and holy family in the thought that the sacred mother would watch over the pregnancy and encourage a positive outcome. Catholic officials encouraged the "contemplation" of such images — as opposed to their direct worship — believing that intense observation of the perfection of the holy family would serve to assure a similarly unflawed delivery and newborn.[36] The so called "perfection" of portrayals of the Madonna and Child is undoubtedly colored by the beauty standards of early modern Europe. According to an Italian philosopher from the fifteenth century, the three factors that define eternal beauty are: "a proper arrangement of the limbs and a harmony of body parts, good proportions, and a good general outer appearance."[37] The interpretations of Mary as a contemporary early modern European woman reflect the idealism of these standards. Scenes of the nativity in which Mary is holding the newborn Jesus exemplify

[35] "The Virgin and Child, Saint Anne, and Saint Emerentia." The Metropolitan Museum of Art https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/463810 and "Virgin and Child with Saint Anne." The Art Institute of Chicago, https://www.artic.edu/artworks/102101/virgin-and-child-with-saint-anne
[36] Hufton, *The Prospect before Her*, 184.
[37] Jacque Lynn Foltyn, *Crafting Allure: Beauty Culture and Identity*, Critical Issues (Oxford, United Kingdom: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2014), 72.

this artistic approach of depicting Mary in as beautiful a manner as possible. In *The Visit of the Shepherds* after Peter Paul Rubens as well as *Adoration of the Magi* by Hendrik Goltzius, Mary's face is unblemished and soft (Figs. 18 and 19). In the *Visit of the Shepherds*, the artist utilizes heavy contrast to cast a glow onto the new mother, casting radiant light upon her long neck and quaint features.

Other domestic traits of early modern women were projected in portrayals of the Virgin Mary. Aside from caring for children and ensuring the smooth operation of the household, women played an important role in domestic industry and the creation of what would today be regarded as decorative arts and craft. Wives were expected to have knowledge of needlework or embroidery and a variety of textile-related skills, and constantly be in a state of producing decorative and functional objects for the home.[38] The Virgin Mary in Johannes Sadeler's engraving of *God Sending the Angel Gabriel to Mary* from the UWM Art Collection highlights this act of creation (Fig. 14). Mary is shown in a dynamic pose with a needle in her right hand as if she has just pulled the thread taut. The needlework is central to the illustration, placed on the lap of the Virgin in a precursor to the baby Jesus who will occupy that same space later in subsequent narrative depictions. By showing Mary engaging in typical needlework activities of a sixteenth-century housewife, Sadeler is both framing Mary as a relatable figure and also suggesting that this act of embroidery is somehow holy in its relation to the Virgin, therefore encouraging women viewers to participate in the craft to emulate her.

The Holy Mother's virtues are not simply reflected in her own portrayal, but in the inclusion of symbolic objects within a composition. In the sixteenth-century wooden statue of

[38] Hufton, *The Prospect before Her*, 175.

the Madonna and Child featured in the UWM Art Collection, the most obvious symbol of Mary's status is the crown upon her head (Fig. 20). A closer examination of this statue reveals that the current crown is a later addition meant to replace an original headpiece, apparent due to the texture and color of the wood as well as the twentieth-century use of synthetic adhesives to affix the crown. The headpiece alludes to the role of Mary as queen of heaven, along with all of the other implications that royalty may suggest. Though the left forearm of the Virgin is no longer extant, Mary's posture with the remnants of that arm show an outstretching of the limb, likely holding an object such as a scepter, which would serve to bolster the argument of Mary's royal authority in the heavenly court. A less obvious inclusion of a symbolic object in this statue resides in the infant Christ's hand. Though the wood is brittle and semi-worn after centuries of existence, viewers can still make out a small pear clutched by baby Jesus. Fruit of all varieties is regarded as symbolic of fertility: a quality inextricable from the Holy Mother and the "fruit of her womb."[39] The pear as a symbol of Mary's role as mother of God appears in a number of other early modern works, including a few by Albrecht Dürer in both painting and print form. The pear representing new growth and vitality functions as a foil to the depiction of apples in art, which when depicted with Adam and Eve as in the Altdorfer engraving, suggest evil and the fall of mankind.[40]

Artists utilized other botanicals to further enhance the symbolic nature of their illustrations, allowing viewers to further read into the work. A highly visible example is the palm leaf, clutched in St. Catherine of Alexandria's hand (Fig. 21), informing viewers that this figure

[39] Jan Baptist Bedaux, "Fruit and Fertility: Fruit Symbolism in Netherlandish Portraiture of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 17, no. 2/3 (1987), 162.
[40] Gillian Riley, *Food in Art: From Prehistory to the Renaissance* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015).

must be a martyr as she is depicted holding the frond which is associated with a "martyr's triumph over death."[41] This interpretation stems from the plant's association with both pagan traditions of crowning athletic victors with palm laurels as well as the Christian usage of the palm leaf in association with Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem, therefore linking the leaf with Jesus' own victory over death.[42] Other flowers such as the vase of what appears to be roses in Sadeler's Annunciation engraving (Fig. 14) and the potted lily that has yet to bloom in the scene of the Annunciation from Dürer's *Small Passion* (Fig. 22) are attributes of the Virgin Mary, representing sinlessness and chastity, and are often depicted in the scene in which Gabriel appears to the future mother. [43] By using symbolic elements within a religious artwork, artists took advantage of a preestablished vocabulary of iconography. Viewers familiar with this particular visual language were readily able to understand—and perhaps gain a more nuanced perspective—into the meaning of works of art.

Books as Devotional Tools

Prints like Dürer's *Annunciation* were originally parts of series, often bound as books used by devotees as the focus of meditations on the life of Christ or his mother. Such books would pair image and text, made increasingly more accessible by the invention of the European printing press in the early fifteenth century. Scholars have shown that while female literacy rates were far below those of their male counterparts, women were still deeply engaged with books and other written religious texts, whose illustrations they admired and whose texts they listened to

[41] Mirella Levi D'Ancona, *The Garden of the Renaissance: Botanical Symbolism in Italian Painting*, Arte e Archeologia 10 (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1977), 279
[42] Ibid., 281
[43] Levi D'Ancona, *The Garden of the Renaissance*, 211, 335.

as they were read aloud.[44] By employing a common language of symbols in the illustrations accompanying biblical verses or prayers, even a woman whose education was not as in-depth as the typical early modern man would be able to gain value from the understood connotations of the artwork. In the *Little Offices of the Virgin Mary,* a devotional book of prayers with the story of Mary's life, a scene of the Immaculate Conception is placed on the adjacent page to Psalms 128 and 129 (Fig. 23). Even if the reader could not understand the text, the image of the holy mother standing on a crescent moon would be recognizable as the Immaculate Conception based on iconography alone, therefore giving the viewer another aspect of the book onto which to focus his or her prayer. The book is small, potentially created for a woman as an heirloom devotional object as per its size. Women such as Isabella Gonzaga and Camilla, the wife of Sienese philosopher and physician Master Bartalo di Tura, featured these small prayer books in their possession inventory lists.[45] Books with printed illustrations of the Virgin Mary and other female saints function as loci on which to center prayer and meditation. Operating as both tools for worship and visual catalogs for religious imagery, early modern publications gained appeal for a wide audience that extended past the typical gendered literary barriers.

Eroticism of Catholic Art

The Protestant Reformation forced the Catholic Church to define its doctrine with greater clarity. The Protestant movement broke away from the idea of strict chastity as a fundamental to religious practice. The Catholic Church countered this less-restrained approach to sexuality by retaliating with even stricter support of celibacy and abstinence even after marriage,

[44] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 119.
[45] Tinagli and Rogers, *Women and the Visual Arts in Italy c. 1400-1650*, 212.

evidenced by the revered status of virgin saints, worshiped for their assumed virtue.[46] Despite this chastity-based outlook, members of the church as well as artists found ways to engage with the concepts of sexuality while maintaining propriety.

Catholicism often utilized eroticism within images as a means of equating the experience of spiritual ecstasy with the mortal condition of pleasure. In the early modern period, innuendo and suggestive expression replace explicit sexuality while still evoking that imagery in the mind of the viewer. In popular culture, the portrayal of eroticized saints in moments of ecstasy can become just as recognized as depictions of the same saints with their standard attributes and associations. Such is the case with Saint Teresa of Avila, whose key identifiers of an inkwell and a quill acknowledge her legacy as a writer on the frontispiece of the 1723 Italian publication of her 1565 autobiography (Fig. 24). The saint, perhaps most known for her specific account of being penetrated by the flaming arrow of the Holy Spirit during a divine vision, is most recognized in visual culture for her immortalization in marble as the subject of Bernini's *Saint Teresa in Ecstasy* (Fig. 25). The sculpture, located in the Santa Maria Della Vittoria church in Rome, emphasizes the erotic expression on the face of the saint. Teresa herself uses suggestive language to try and capture her spiritual experience in terms that would be more relatable to a lay audience. In the saint's own words of her encounter with an angel sent from the Lord:

> I saw in his hand a long spear of gold, and at the iron's point there seemed to be a little fire. He appeared to me to be thrusting it at times into my heart, and to pierce my very entrails; and when he drew it out, he seemed to draw them out also, and to leave me with the great love of God. The pain was so great that it made me moan; and yet so surpassing was the sweetness of this excessive pain that I could not wish to be rid of it. The soul is satisfied now with nothing less than

[46] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. 21-24.

> God. The pain is not bodily but spiritual. . . It is a caressing of love so sweet which now takes place between the soul and God. . .[47]

The conflation of the concept of torment with pleasure plays into the Catholic understanding of martyrdom and suffering for the Lord as sanctified action, resulting in the satisfaction of both oneself as well as the Lord.[48]

The exaltation of suffering is evident in the convention of depicting martyrs with their instruments of execution. In the case of St. Catherine of Alexandria, the virgin martyr is almost always identified by a broken wheel. This symbol recalls the spiked device on which she was set to be executed. (She was saved from that method of execution after invoking God to break the wheel, though she later died by beheading.) The subject of the painting from the UWM Art Collection has been identified as Catherine of Alexandria precisely because of the inclusion of the wheel in the bottom center of the composition alongside the palm leaf that marks the saint as a martyr (Fig. 21). Catherine's hagiography details her status as a "Bride of Christ," having refused earthly matrimony and consummation in favor of dedicating her life and purity to God. The substitution of conventional marriage expectations of a young woman for a spiritual merging with Jesus offers insight into the concept of sexuality in Catholic beliefs. As a virgin, Catherine is revered for her chastity, and yet not released from the label of "marriage," instead choosing to bond herself to an intangible relationship. Artistic portrayals of this binding ceremony still tend to evoke expressions of eroticism. The phallic imagery of a ring being

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[47] Teresa, St., *The Autobiography of St. Teresa of Avila: The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus: Including the Relations or Manifestations of Her Spiritual State Which St. Teresa Submitted to Her Confessors* (Rockford: Tan Books and Publishers, 1997), 266-267.

[48] Virginia Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints: An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography*, Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 55.

slipped onto the young virgin's finger contrasts the intention of chastity brought about by a spiritual marriage (Fig. 26).

In the case of portrayals of the penitent Magdalene in a state of undress, instinctually one might attribute this depiction as a product of the heterosexual male gaze. The Magdalene as a character within the Christian consciousness carries a reputation as a former sex-worker, a sinner who would not be unfamiliar with nudity. The use of the penitent expression allows the artists to show Mary Magdalene in a moment of repentance for her suggested transgression. For these reasons, the Magdalene held appeal as a subject for both male artists and female devotees alike. *St. Mary Magdalene in Penitence* by Francisco Trevisani demonstrates this juxtaposition of eroticism and piety, depicting Mary Magdalene nude while in a state of reflection over symbols of *memento mori* and Christ's passion: a skull and a crucifix (Fig. 27).

A unique transference of Mary Magdalene's associated sexuality appears on the painting of St. Catherine of Alexandria in the collection by the Wright Museum of Art at Beloit College (Fig. 28). This seventeenth-century painting shows its subject with a bare breast alongside her crown, spiked wheel, and martyr's leaf. The nudity is unexpected, given that St. Catherine's veneration largely revolves around her virgin status. However, by evoking images of sexuality in the mind of the viewer, the artist may be calling into focus the concept of chastity as the antithesis of lust and therefore sin. More likely, the artist was basing his portrayal on accounts of Catherine's hagiography that include mention of her being stripped of her clothes during her torment by Emperor Maxentius.[49] Controversy over portraying Catherine nude is not

[49] Cynthia Stollhans, "Michelangelo's Nude Saint Catherine of Alexandria," *Woman's Art Journal* 19, no. 1 (1998), 26–30, 28.

an isolated incident, especially within the early modern period. Critics from the sixteenth century were outraged by Michelangelo's nude portrayal of St. Catherine bending over the broken wheel, as featured in the Last Judgment fresco in the Sistine Chapel.[50] Other interpretations suggest that the nudity represents the perseverance despite adversity, maintaining composure in the face of forced exposure. Summarized by Cynthia Stollhans, "The body represents the likeness of God and God is the source of the body's beauty."[51] Heather Sexton Graham discusses the role of specifically a female audience in interpreting the sensuality of paintings. Graham refers to the Renaissance belief of equating exterior appearance with interior value, stating:

> The physical bodies of religious figures were depicted as beautifully as possible in order to communicate their moral perfection… In addition, the symbolic impact of the body during this period was closely linked to the doctrine that humankind was created in God's image. Therefore, beautiful depictions of the body not only served to demonstrate an individual saint's moral worth, but also signified the glory of God.[52]

The numerous variables that result in paintings featuring nudity or sensual subject matter play into the multifaceted interpretations of such artworks. Whether the inherent eroticism of the body in early modern art is a result of the revival of the classical nude during the Renaissance, the Catholic embrace of man as God's image, or the masculine gaze towards a sexualized female body, the sexuality of the female body is undeniable in early modern art despite Catholic reservations on the subject.

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[50] Ibid., 26.
[51] Stollhans, "Michelangelo's Nude Saint Catherine of Alexandria," 29.
[52] Heather Sexton Graham, "Renaissance Flesh and Woman's Devotion: Titian's Penitent Magdalen," *Comitatus* 39, no. 1 (2008), 137–54, 146.

Women Saints

This exhibition also features various female saints who served as additional conduits for spiritual guidance and support for practitioners. An example of a saint whose name and story are far less detailed than her peers is the second-century saint Praxedes. In the early eighteenth century, a book entitled *Notizie al Pellegrino della Basilica di Santa Prassede* (News for the Pilgrim to the Basilica of Saint Praxedes) was published as a guidebook for the devout visitors to the sacred space that bears the saint's name (Fig. 29). The frontispiece of this manual is a gruesome depiction of the titular saint in action. Praxedes kneels on the battlefield, clasping a blood-soaked rag in her hand as she attempts to care for the bodies of the fallen Christians that surround her. She and her sister St. Pudentiana achieved sainthood for their heroic act of caring for the corpses of Christian martyrs who were killed for their religion; though accounts of their deeds differ, the sisters are said to have buried the bodies or soaked up the blood to later inter in a well without the option for a proper Christian burial.[53] The legends around Praxedes and her family are sparse in nature, resulting in the most common invocation of the saint's name in reference to the Basilica named in her honor.[54] The Basilica of Saint Praxedes is medieval church in Rome, unique in that it houses a chapel for a ninth-century Catholic woman bishop, Theodora Episcopa.[55] The site gained enough renown that pilgrimages to the basilica were common. Despite the lack of historical foundation to her hagiography, the link between Praxedes and the basilica ensured the saint's continued veneration.

[53] Cristina Mazzoni, "A Roman Triptych of Holy Women," *Magistra,* 22, no. 1 (2016), 75.
[54] de Voragine, Ryan, and Duffy, *The Golden Legend*, 374.
[55] Mazzoni, "A Roman Triptych of Holy Women," 73.

The Church's reasonings for veneration of an individual varied greatly on a case-by-case basis. In the instance of St. Genevieve, patron saint of Paris, her regard was brought on by a series of miracles. Jacques Callot's engraving of St. Genevieve taken from "Images of All the Saints of the Year" commemorates the saint's feast day of January 3rd while featuring the saint with her typical imagery: a long candle fought over by a devil and an angel. Known in life for curing the sick by anointment with holy oil, St. Genevieve was invoked by the people of Paris for assistance with a range of problems from floods to a deadly case of ergotism that ravaged the city centuries after her death.[56] Women of Paris left tribute to Genevieve after the fall of the Bastille in 1789, thanking the saint for her intercession in liberating the city (Fig. 30).[57]

Saints often gained prominence due to the specificity of the scope of their influence. Like St. Genevieve, St. Margaret of Scotland garnered her acclaim as the patroness of a specific location. The eleventh-century queen-turned-saint gained renown for her work uniting the practices of the Celtic Church with Roman Catholicism.[58] In Alexander Runciman's late eighteenth-century etching of the *Landing of Saint Margaret,* the Scottish artist alludes to St. Margaret's work with church reforms by placing the scene in front of an abbey featuring clergymen holding rosaries in the background (Fig. 31). The image is a dramatic interpretation of the moment Margaret, who was the daughter of an English royal expatriate and raised in Hungary, first set foot on Scottish soil. Runciman emphasizes the blustery weather of the northern isle with the severe wind-blown angle of the drapery that adorns Margaret and her

[56] Thomas M. Izbicki, "Saint Geneviève and the Anointing of the Sick," *The Catholic Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (2018), 393–414. 399.
[57] Hannah Williams, "Saint Geneviève's Miracles: Art and Religion in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *French History* 30, no. 3 (September 1, 2016), 346.
[58] Kate Daffern, "Margaret Queen of Scots 1045-1093," *Catholic Insight* 19, no. 9 (October 1, 2011), 14–17.

companion. Despite what may have felt like an inhospitable new home, as queen, Margaret was able to use her royal status to enact good deeds in the name of her faith, such as using her own wedding banquet to feed the impoverished people of Scotland.[59] One of her most prominent deeds for the Church was her installation of a ferry line between the Scottish Lowlands and the Shrine of St. Andrew, the most popular pilgrimage site in the land.[60] By implementing transportation and lodging along the journey to the shrine, St. Margaret encouraged religious pilgrimage to the site, therefore asserting her own piety.[61] An examination of the population of the cult of St. Margaret based on data consolidated from the "miracula" or catalog of her miracles developed by monks from her church during the twelfth century interprets the characteristics and influence of the cult from a regional and gendered perspective.[62] An investigation into the miracula suggests that although men contributed to St. Margaret's cult, the Scottish queen found a devout following in Christian women. Sang Dong Lee notes that while the accounts of miracle recipients skewed towards male in overall numbers, if one were to discount the monks and priests of Dunfermline from the study, the lay audience was a majority women.[63] Assuming the male clergy may have exaggerated miracles to boost publicity for pilgrimage to the abbey at Dunfermline, Lee posits that while the epicenter of the cult at Dunfermline is strongly made up of men who are a part of the church, Margaret's cult across Scotland and into England "turns out to have been slightly more female-

[59] Daffern, "Margaret Queen of Scots 1045-1093."
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Sang Dong Lee, "The Miracles and Cult of St Margaret of Scotland," *Scottish Historical Review* 97, no. 1 (April 2018), 1–11.
[63] Ibid., 1-11.

oriented."[64] As a woman saint, Margaret was not only revered for her piety but also for her successes as a mother and wife. The queen mother encouraged her children and husband, King Malcolm III Canmore of Scotland, to pursue education, familial devotion, and religious excellence, thus framing her as a role model to other wives and caregivers.[65] Runciman focuses on scenes from Margaret's life that relate specifically to her marital obligations such as the move to her future husband's home in Scotland and her wedding with King Malcolm III (Fig. 32). The artist caps off his depiction of the patroness of his country with a halo, paying tribute to her saintly stature.

Succeeding Scottish queens looked to Margaret for comfort in pregnancy and childbirth, with late medieval and early renaissance queens like Mary of Guelders (1434-1463) and Margaret Tudor (1489-1541) possessing St. Margaret's "sark" or chemise-like shirt during childbirth in an effort to invoke the saint's protection during labor.[66] Her canonization took place in 1250, nearly one hundred and sixty years after her death, making her position in the pantheon of saints long secured by the time Runciman produced his etchings towards the end of the early modern period.

Several women underwent the canonization process during the early modern period, becoming saints between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Despite achieving this revered status, both many men and women saints' reputations and devotion underwent rigorous investigation by authorities. Both Saint Frances of Rome and Saint Teresa of Avila fell subject to scrutiny due to their mystic propensities before being canonized in the seventeenth century. St.

[64] Lee, "The Miracles and Cult of St Margaret of Scotland."
[65] Daffern, "Margaret Queen of Scots 1045-1093."
[66] Lee, "The Miracles and Cult of St Margaret of Scotland."

Frances of Rome, whose image is included in the seventeenth-century publication of saints, *SS Icones Benedictinae* (Fig. 33) had her accounts of visions and prophecies diminished during the canonization process and her legacy as a devout wife, mother, and eventual Mother Superior of the Tor di Specchi in Rome amplified by her supporters in letters of recommendation for her sainthood.[67]

Saint Teresa of Avila's path to sainthood faced numerous obstacles along the way as well. The ultimate key to her canonization was her influential writing, especially a series of meditations published by the nun which provided guidance for other Christians. Her previously mentioned autobiographies exemplified the pious nature of the Spanish nun who launched the Carmelite reform. It helped that her death and eventual sanctification came during a period in which the Catholic Church was desperate for control over "the right to define the sacred," according to Peter Burke.[68] Despite scrutiny from detractors who sent the Spanish Inquisition after her no less than five times, Teresa's legacy was secured with in part due to her supporters who promoted her as a role model of feminine values.[69] Seventeenth- century Carmelite nuns wrote poetry lauding their founder, Teresa, as a capable leader whose talents for leading were not affected by her gender nor the gender of those whom she led.[70] Teresa's legacy proved to be a pathway for other early modern women to maintain a level of autonomy over themselves

[67] Georgiana Fullerton, *The Life of St. Frances of Rome, and Others* (Project Gutenberg), accessed October 8, 2023,
[68] Kaspar von Greyerz, *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800,* (London: German Historical Institute, 1984), 46.
[69] Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, "Negotiating Sanctity: Holy Women in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Church History* 64, no. 3 (1995), 373–88.
[70] Stacey Schlau, "Following Saint Teresa: Early Modern Women and Religious Authority," *MLN* 117, no. 2 (2002), 286–309.

by choosing to take the cloth and follow in St. Teresa's footsteps of intellectual devotion instead of bending to the demands of a patriarchal lay society.

Conclusion

During the early modern period, European society experienced massive cultural shifts and changes in ideological beliefs. At this time, the power of images was called into question by some Protestant groups, brought under Catholic criticism during the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Having faced accusations of idolatry by Protestant opposition, the council discouraged belief in the divine capabilities of venerated images and placed restrictions on artists for the portrayal of biblical and religious subjects. These changes affected women in significant ways: influencing ideas of femininity and devotional expectations. Artists still created opportunities for relationships between Christian women and holy women through relating depictions of the Virgin and female saints to the everyday lives of European women. By engaging with specifically feminine figures of Christianity, early modern women tailored their religious practice to match their lived experiences.

IMAGES

Figure 1

Workshop of Jean Limousin I, *The Madonna and Child with the Ten Virtues*, Late 16th/Early 17th ce., French, Enamel, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

Figure 2

Raphael, *Adam and Eve, Ceiling of the Segnatura Room,* 1508-1511, Italian, Fresco, Vatican Museums.

Figure 3

Peter Paul Westermeyer, *Adam and Eve*, 18th ce., Dutch, Etching. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.1250

Figure 4

Diego Velázquez, *The Immaculate Conception,* 1618-19*,* Spanish, Oil on Canvas, The National Gallery, London.

Figure 5

Lucas Cranach the Elder, *The Lamentation,* ca. 1550, German, Woodcut, Haggerty Museum of Art.

Figure 6

Sir Robert Strange, *The Madonna with the Magdalene and St. Jerome after Correggio,* ca. 1771, Etching and Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Dr. Donald Levy. 1988.001.01

Figure 7

Artist Previously Known, *Lady with a Perfume Bottle (Divinized Portrait of a Woman as The Magdalene*), ca. 1660, Dutch, Oil on Wood.
UWM Art Collection, Bequest of John and Dorothy Estabrook. 1988.005.03

Figure 8

Jan van den Hoecke*, Noli Me Tangere*, 1630/40, Flemish, Oil on Panel, Haggerty Museum of Art.
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Marc B. Rojtman. 59.2

Figure 9

Albrecht Dürer, *Christ Taking Leave from his Mother*, 1504, German, Woodcut.
UWM Art Collection. 1974.006.01

Figure 10

Albrecht Dürer, *Madonna with the Monkey,* 15 ce. German, Engraving.
UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0007

Figure 11

Rembrandt van Rjin, *Virgin and Child with the Cat and the Snake,* 1654, ca. 1790 restrike, Dutch, Etching. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0276

Figure 12

Albrecht Altdorfer*, Adam and Eve*, c. 1513, German, Wood Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0017

Figure 13

Marc Antonio Raimondi, *The Virgin and the Cradle*, ca. 1520, Italian, Engraving.
UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0064

Figure 14

Johannes Sadeler, *God Sending the Angel Gabriel to Mary*, c.1580, Dutch, Engraving.
UWM Art Collection, Gift of Mr. Steven Lopez and Mr. Eric Koehler. 2017.004.12

Figure 15

Artist Previously Known, *Saint Anne with Virgin and Child*, ca. 1500, German, Carved Wood. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John R. Savage. 1987.007.01

Figure 16

Artist Previously Known, *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne,* 1475-1500, German, Painted Walnut and Gilding, Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 17

Artist Previously Known, *The Virgin and Child, Saint Anne, and Saint Emerentia,* 1515-1530, German, Limewood, Paint and Gilding, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 18

After Peter Paul Rubens, *The Visit of the Shepherds*, 17th c. Flemish. Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0321

Figure 19

Hendrik Goltzius, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1594, Dutch, Engraving.
UWM Art Collection, Gift of Mr. Kent Anderson. 1988.007.01

Figure 20

Artist Previously Known, *Madonna and Child,* 16th c, French, Carved Wood.
UWM Art Collection. 1981.004.01

Figure 21

Artist Previously Known, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, 17th c. Spanish. Oil
UWM Art Collection. 1989.004.01

Figure 22

Albrecht Dürer*, Annunciation from the Small Passion,* c. 1510, German, Woodcut
UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0009

Figure 23

Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1664, Book, UWM Special Collections.

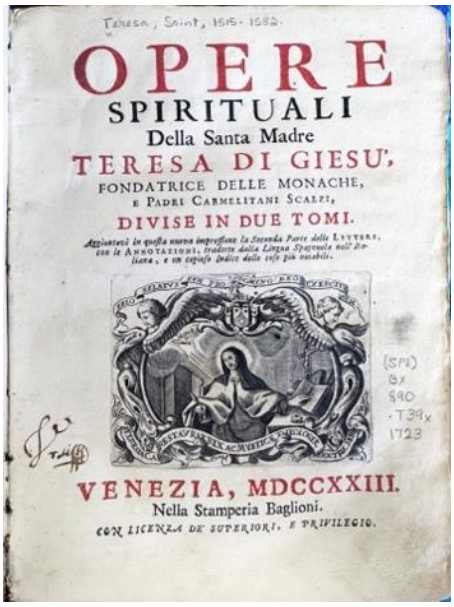

Figure 24

Opere Spirituali della Santa Madre Teresa di Giesu Saint Teresa of Avila, 1515-1582; 1723. Italian, Book, UWM Special Collections.

Figure 25

Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *St. Teresa in Ecstasy*, Italian, 1647-1652, Marble, Santa Maria Della Vittoria. Image courtesy of the Archive for Research on Archetypal Symbolism.

Figure 26

Carlo Marrata, *The Marriage of St. Catherine*, Italian, 17th ce., Etching, Wright Museum of Art.

Figure 27

Francisco Trevisani, *St. Mary Magdalene in Penitence*, Italian, ca 1710-1715, Oil on Canvas, Haggerty Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Marc B. Rojtman. 59.6

Figure 28

Artist Previously Known, *St. Catherine of Alexandria,* Italian, 17th Century, Oil on Canvas, Wright Museum of Art. Gift of Charles H. Morse. 1958.3.1

Figure 29

D. Benigno Davanzati, *Notizie al Pellegrino della Basilica di Santa Prassede,* Printed by Antonio de Rossi, 1725, Italian, Book.

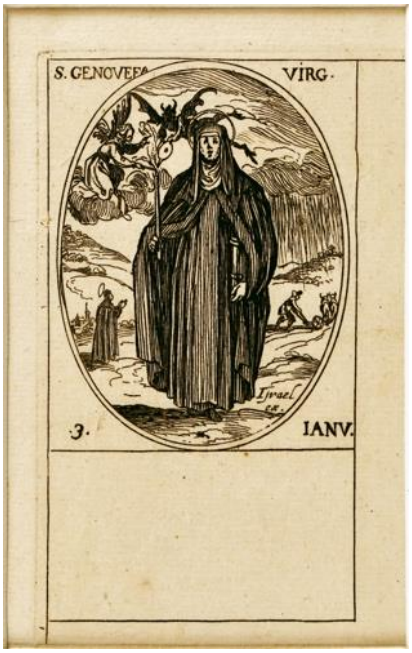

Figure 30

Jacques Callot, *St. Genevieve, January 3,* from *Images of All the Saints of the Year*, published by Israel Henriet, 1632-35, French, Etching. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Liebman. 1984.007.01

Figure 31

Alexander Runciman, *The Landing of Saint Margaret,* 18th ce. Scottish, Etching. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.1250

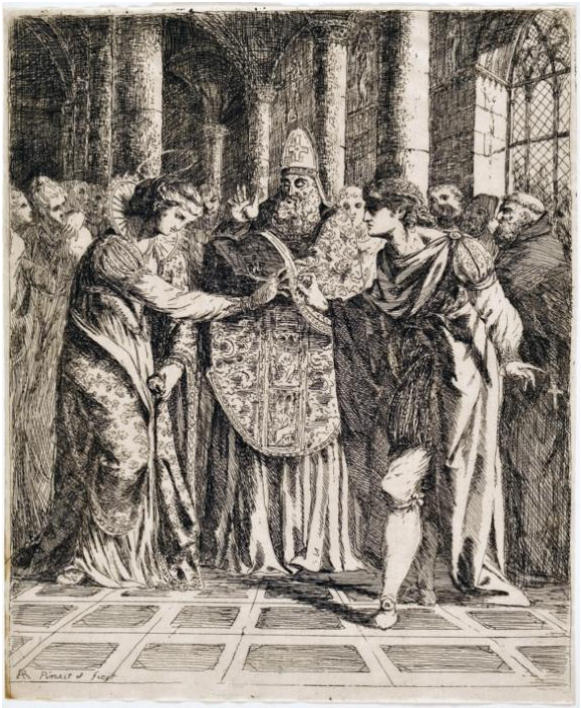

Figure 32

Alexander Runciman, *The Marriage of Saint Margaret,* 18th ce. Scottish, Etching. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0418

Figure 33

Amando Leibhaber, SS *Icones Benedictinae,* 1677, Book, UWM Special Collections.

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APPENDIX: EXHIBITION CHECKLIST

Adrien Collaert, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 16th c., Flemish, UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0040

After Laurent de la Hyre, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 17th c., French, Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0258

After Peter Paul Rubens, *The Visit of the Shepherds*, 17th c., Flemish. Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0321

After Peter Paul Rubens, *Virgin and Child*, n.d., Flemish, Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0319

Albrecht Altdorfer, *Adam and Eve*, ca. 1513, German, Wood Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0017

Albrecht Dürer, *Annunciation* from the Small Passion, c. 1510, German, Woodcut. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0009

Albrecht Dürer, *Christ Taking Leave from his Mother*, 1504, German, Woodcut. UWM Art Collection. 1974.006.01

Albrecht Dürer, *Madonna with the Monkey*, 15 c. German, Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0007

Alexander Runciman, *The Landing of Saint Margaret*, 18th c., Scottish, Etching. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.1250

Alexander Runciman, *The Marriage of Saint Margaret*, 18th c., Scottish, Etching. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0418

Amando Leibhaber, *SS Icones Benedictinae*, 1677, Book, UWM Special Collections.

Annibale Carracci, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 16th c., Italian, Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0037

Artist Previously Known, *Lady with a Perfume Bottle (Divinized Portrait of a Woman as The Magdalen)*, ca. 1660, Dutch, Oil on Wood. UWM Art Collection, Bequest of John and Dorothy Estabrook. 1988.005.03

Artist Previously Known, *Madonna and Child*, 16th c., French, Carved Wood. UWM Art Collection. 1981.004.01

Artist Previously Known, *Saint Anne with Virgin and Child*, ca. 1500, German, Carved Wood. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John R. Savage. 1987.007.01

Artist Previously Known, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, 17th c., Spanish. Oil. UWM Art Collection. 1989.004.01

Artist Previously Known, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, Italian, 17th c., Oil on Canvas, Wright Museum of Art. Gift of Charles H. Morse.

Carlo Marrata, *The Marriage of St. Catherine*, Italian, 17th c., Etching, Wright Museum of Art.

D. Benigno Davanzati, *Notizie al Pellegrino della Basilica di Santa Prassede*, Printed by Antonio de Rossi, 1725, Italian, Book, UWM Special Collections.

Hendrik Goltzius, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1594, Dutch, Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Mr. Kent Anderson. 1988.007.01

Henri Mauperche, *The Annunciation*, 17th c., French, Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0272

Jacques Callot, *St. Genevieve, January 3, from Images of All the Saints of the Year*, published by Israel Henriet, 1632-35, French, Etching. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Liebman. 1984.007.01

Johannes Sadeler*, God Sending the Angel Gabriel to Mary*, ca. 1580, Dutch, Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Mr. Steven Lopez and Mr. Eric Koehler. 2017.004.12

Johannes Wierix, *Visit of the Kings*, 16th c., Flemish, Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0080

Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1664, Book, UWM Special Collections.

Lucas Cranach the Elder, *The Lamentation*, ca. 1550, German, Woodcut, Haggerty Museum of Art.

Marc Antonio Raimondi, *The Virgin and the Cradle*, ca. 1520, Italian, Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0064

Opere Spirituali della Santa Madre Teresa di Giesu Saint Teresa of Avila, 1515-1582; 1723. Italian, Book, UWM Special Collections.

Peter Paul Westermeyer, *Adam and Eve*, 18th c. Dutch, Etching. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.1250

Raphael Sadeler I, *St. Hedwig*, 1615, Flemish, Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0326

Rembrandt van Rjin, *The Virgin and Child with the Cat and the Snake*, 1654, ca. 1790 restrike, Dutch, Etching. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Emile H. Mathis II. 2012.002.0276

Sir Robert Strange, *The Madonna with the Magdalene and St. Jerome after Correggio*, ca. 1771, British, Etching and Engraving. UWM Art Collection, Gift of Dr. Donald Levy. 1988.001.01