# 'Ave' / 'Eva:'

# Conflict and Parallelism in Depictions of the

# Virgin Mary and Eve

By

Katherine G. Lewin

[Master of Philosophy Faculty of Arts University of Glasgow]

Christie's Education London

Master's Programme

September 29, 1999 © Katherine G. Lewin ProQuest Number: 13818865

### All rights reserved

### INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



### ProQuest 13818865

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC. 789 East Eisenhower Parkway P.O. Box 1346 Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346



**Abstract** 

The Virgin Mary and Eve are quite possibly the most written about, discussed and

theorized women in the Western World. Since the birth of Christianity these two

women's identities have come to mean different things but when placed together their

similarities are striking. This exhibition hopes to achieve a better understanding of their

connotations, iconography, contrasts and parallelism during one of the most illustrious

periods in artistic history, the Renaissance.

The premise of this exhibition is summed up in the Latin poem, by the eleventh-century

reformer, Peter Damian. In English it reads:

"That angel who greets you with 'Ave'

Reverses sinful Eva's name.

Lead us back, O holy Virgin,

Whence the falling sinner came" (Broude 1982, pg. 84).

In Latin Eve, is spelt 'Eva,' which in reverse spells 'Ave,' the greeting that the Angel

Gabriel spoke in the Annunciation to Mary (Luke 1:28). In this greeting Mary becomes

pregnant with Christ, who redeems the world from original sin. Mary in the New

Testament comes to represent the 'Second Eve.' Mary and Eve's relationship is complex

and difficult to understand like the mystery of the Trinity itself. This small exhibition

explores the meaning and relation of these women in the; Sculpture, Painting, Engraving

and Manuscripts of the Renaissance.

\*Word Count: 14, 865

\*Biblical Text cited from the, The Bible, Authorized Version, Oxford, 1804-1954

# Acknowledgements

There are many people I wish to thank in regards to my thesis: Deborah Lambert, for her advice and for not laughing at my many unrelated and scattered topics; My tutor, Antje Schmitt for her initial planning and enthusiasm. Antie's constant support throughout the year has proved invaluable. The staff at Christie's Education who let me constantly bother them throughout the summer, especially Patrick Sweeny; The excellent museum support I received from Nadine Orenstein and Christine Brennan of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and Sarah Gates and Melissa Leventon of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; Emma Varnam, the curator of the Astley Cheetham Art Gallery, Staleybridge, Tameside who was most helpful in providing me with information; The staff at the National Art Library and the British Library for finding the impossible; The staff at Kinko's, who held my hand through computer trials and tribulations; My wonderful friends who provided constant moral support this year especially Sonja Klein and Lucy Peyton for taking the time to proof read my work. The managers and staff at Spirit bar for being so supportive and for letting me take several days off work; My sister Penelope, whose organization skills saved the day; My dear friends Carol and Dennis Clayson for my mental health and finally, my parents, for without them, none of this would be possible.

# **Table of Contents**

List of Comparative Figures  Chapter One  Introduction	
Chapter Two: Eve  The story of Adam and Eve  The Temptation and the Fall	5
Chapter Three: The Virgin Mary  Mary in the Bible Apocryphal Sources of Mary The Annunciation The Virgin Birth Aeiparthenos (Ever-Virgin)	8
Chapter Four: 'Eva' / 'Ave' and their relationship Old and New The Second Eve Iconography Feminine Beauty Spiritual Love and Lust Mother Divine Fruit	p14
Chapter Five: Other Eve's and Mary's  Venus  Biblical Women	23
Chapter Six Conclusion	26
Comparative Figures	46 89 91
Ribliography	95

# **List of Comparative Figures**

- 1. *The Medici Venus*, Marble, Galleria degli Uffizi, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B.C., Beck 1999, pg. 407; plate 353.
- 2. Fifth day of Creation, Sixth Day of Creation, The Creation of Eve, The Fall, Illuminated Book from the Pierpont Morgan Library, Middle-thirteenth Century, Cockerell 1969, pg 28.
- 3. Eve, Alonso Berruguete, Walnut Choir stall, Toledo Cathedral, 1540, Ceysson 1999, pg. 123.
- 4. Adam and Eve, Lucas Cranach, Panel paintings, Galleria degli Uffizi, 1528, Friedlander 1978, catalogue number 194.
- 5. *The Fall*, Massolino, Fresco, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, 1427-1428, Joannides 1993; plate 79.
- 6. Annunciation, Fra Angelico, Tempera and gold on panel, San Giovanni Val d'Arno Museum, 1432, Hood 1993, pg. 268; plate 254.
- 7. Annunciation, Fra Angelico, Tempera and gold on panel, Museo Diocesano, Cortona, 1434-1445, Hood 1993, pg. 101; plate 87.
- 8. Annunciation, Andrea Sansovino, Marble, shrine of the House of the Virgin, Loreto Basilica, after 1513, Ceysson 1999, pg. 79.
- 9. *The Apocalyptic Woman*, Albrecht Dürer, engraving, British Museum, London, 1497-1498, Knappe, fig. 161.
- 10. Virgins Among Virgins in a Rose Garden, Master of the St. Lucy Legend, Panel, c. 1480, Detroit Institute of the Arts.
- 11. Expulsion from Paradise, The Curse, The Sacrifices of Cain and Abel and The death of Cain, Illuminated Book from the Pierpont Morgan Library, Middle-thirteenth Century, Cockerell 1969, pg. 30.
- 12. Virgin and Child before a Fire screen, Robert Campin, panel, National Gallery of Art, London, c. 1425, Harbison 1995, pg. 51; plate 32.
- 13. Sacred and Profane Love, Titian, canvas, Galleria Borghese, Rome, Beck 1999, pg 383; plate 329.
- 14. *Annunciation*, anonymous, Santissima Annunziata, Firenze, 14<sup>th</sup> Century master, Hood 1993, pg 269; plate 255.
- 15. The Creation and Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, Giovanni di Paolo Tempera and gold on panel, Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, c.1445, Burn 1993, pg. 90.

- 16. Virgin in a Church, Jan Van Eyck, panel, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, c.1440, Harbison 1995, pg. 98; pl. 63.
- 17. The Dream of the Virgin, Michele di Matteo, panel, Museo Civico, Pesaro, Italy, mid 15<sup>th</sup> Century, Lightbrown, pg. 50; plate 24.
- 18a. *The Temptation*, Albrecht Dürer, engraving, Germanisches National museum, Nurenberg, c. 1510, Knappe, fig. 255.
- 18b. *The Expulsion from Paradise*, Albrecht Dürer, engraving, Germanisches National museum, Nurenberg, c. 1510, Knappe, fig. 256.
- 19. Madonna with a Monkey, Albrecht Dürer, engraving, National Gallery Melbourne, c. 1497-98, Knappe, fig. 20.

# **Chapter One**

# Introduction

The Renaissance in Europe was one of the most dramatic and profound developments in art history. The mastering of linear perspective and technical innovation changed the way artists represented the world around them. The 'rediscovery,' of classical works of art provided models of ideal beauty, like the Medici Venus, that artist's strove to imitate (Figure 1). The spread of Humanism also placed an emphasis on man being the center of all things, and a concern with the present and physical world. This was different than the previous Medieval Period, which was more interested in the after-life (Beck 1999, pg. 8). Civic buildings and private patrons facilitated the arts but none were as powerful as the Catholic Church. Artists and craftsmen were commissioned to decorate churches, convents and monasteries with every possible form of visual art. Consequently this dominated the themes and subjects represented in sculpture, paintings, frescos and the decorative arts.

Religious subjects varied from church to church depending on the different religious orders. Franciscans, Benidictines, Cistercians, Dominicans and other sects had particular devotion to certain subjects. However, there were universal topics that appeared throughout Europe. Christ was central to Christianity but during the Middle Ages the cult of the Virgin Mary had been gaining momentum. She was represented in many forms, as a Mother, a Queen and an intervening spirit between this world and the next. Her presence was established by apocryphal texts embellishing her life and legend. Perhaps one of the most famous representations of her life is Giotto's fresco cycle in the

Scrovegni chapel in Padova. His program is based on *The Book of James*, and tells the story of the life of the Virgin. The chapel was built to atone for the patron's earthly sins, so it is fitting that the Virgin, who plays a major role in the salvation of man, decorates the walls.

As her myth and legend spread, so did the heated debates and arguments over her meaning to Christianity. Why was the Virgin necessary to Christianity? Why was she important in Christ's life? What was her role in Salvation? In order to establish her relevance to these questions, she was juxtaposed with Eve, who was known as 'the fallen women' from the Old Testament. By placing these two women side by side their meaning was immediately known to a Christian audience. Their simultaneous representation strengthened the idea that the fall of Man, represented by Eve, created a need for the Virgin Mary, which lead to the Salvation of mankind through Jesus. In order to understand the complex nature of this cycle, it is necessary to look at each character individually and discuss their similarities and differences in symbolic and thematic depictions. In discovering their relationship it is also worth discussing other women from the Bible and from Myth to further understand Mary and Eve's connotation and meaning. The combination of the Renaissance in Europe and the patronage of the Church, provides an excellent environment for the study of Eve and Mary's relationship.

# **Chapter Two**

## Eve

### The Story of Adam and Eve

Genesis, the first book of the Bible, tells the story of Creation and of Adam and Eve. God created the heavens and the earth, the plants and animals. On the sixth day God breathed life into Adam, who had been formed from the dust of the ground. God created a beautiful garden called Eden where he planted every kind of plant imaginable; including the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, which gives one the ability to discern between good and evil. God thought that man should not be alone, so he put Adam into a deep sleep, extracted a rib from Adam's side and created woman. Adam said, "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman because she was taken out of man" (Genesis 2:23). He instructed Adam and the woman, "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" (Genesis 2:16-17). They lived in the Garden and were not ashamed of being naked.

### The Temptation and the Fall

The serpent asks the woman if they may eat of every tree in the garden. The woman explains that they may eat of every tree except for the tree of knowledge: for if we even touch it we will die. The serpent replies, "Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be gods, knowing good and evil" (Genesis 3:5). "And when woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he

did eat. And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons" (Genesis 3:6-7).

God enters the garden. Adam and the woman hide. God calls out to the couple and Adam says they were hiding because they were afraid, for they were naked. God asks them if they have eaten from the tree of knowledge and Adam says that the woman gave him the fruit to eat. The woman says that the serpent 'beguiled' her into eating the fruit. God then cursed the serpent to crawl on its belly for his terrible deed. To the woman he says, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee" (Genesis 3:16). He condemns Adam to a life of hard work and eventual death saying, "for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (Genesis 3:19). Adam then names his wife, Eve for she is the mother of all living. God gives them clothes and they are expelled from the Garden of Eden by a fiery angel brandishing a sword.

The story of Genesis, in its simplest form, is an allegory for the beginning of the world as we know it. It is an explanation of the complexities of our existence and our inevitable demise. The fall of man is a simple story yet its implications are deep, for Eve is blamed throughout history, for the loss of Paradise. The Bible gives us very little information about Eve; it is the *idea* of Eve that feeds artists imaginations. Early Medieval Manuscripts, like the illuminated book belonging to the Pierpont Morgan Library show the stages of Creation in cartoon-strip like clarity (Figure 2). In the scenes of Creation, that occupy the top half of the illustration, God forms the world in a ring, called a *mappamondo*. Later, in the fifteenth Century, Giovanni di Paolo uses the same symbol in his painting, *The Creation of the World and the Expulsion from Paradise* (Figure 14).

The lower portion of the illustration, shows Adam and Eve eating the fruit at the same time, sharing the responsibility. It also shows the labors of Adam and Eve where Adam digs with a spade and Eve sits spinning. This representation follows the text of the Bible practically word for word. In the Flemish tapestry, entitled The Creation and Fall of Man, God is shown as the Trinity that creates the earth in small groupings (Catalogue 1). The creation of Adam and Eve is simultaneous and scenes of the fall and the expulsion appear above them. The work is laid out in an easy to read formula following the events of Creation. Artistic interpretation is clear when Eve is shown alone with the serpent, as in Alonso Berruguete's carved choir stall (Figure 3). The Tree of Knowledge wraps seductively around Eve's leg and emerges at her side holding a she-devil. In the Biblical text, the serpent only speaks to Eve, implying that she is alone, though it is not explicitly stated (Genesis 3:6-7). Most often, Adam and Eve are shown as a pair with the forbidden fruit, as in Cranach's paintings in the Uffizzi (Figure 4) or Massolino's fresco in the Brancacci Chapel (Figure 5). In Antonio Rizzo's sculptures, on the façade of the Ducal Palace in Venice, the moment after Adam and Eve had eaten the fruit and are contemplating their fate is portrayed (Catalogue 2). The monumental sculptures stand outside this government building, as emblems of judgment.

# **Chapter Three**

# The Virgin Mary

### Mary in the Bible

The story of Mary is somewhat complicated for very little is actually written about her in the Bible. According to the Catholic faith, she is the Mother of God and by giving birth to Jesus, she followed God's plan for human salvation. In the New Testament her character is introduced in relation to that of Christ's infancy in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. In Luke's Gospel, The Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity and the Presentation at the Temple are all touchingly described. He includes the story of Jesus preaching among the doctors in the temple, where Mary finds him (Luke 2:46), and the Wedding at Cana, which she attends. Luke's Gospel is most often quoted and studied, for within it she is given the most life and respect. She makes minor appearances in the other Gospels and is referred to sporadically in other stories, like Christ's Crucifixion (John 19:25-27) and Mary with the Apostles after The Ascension of Jesus (Acts 1:14), but otherwise her presence is purely implied. There are also references to her in the book of Revelations and the Song of Solomon, which will be discussed later. First, we will look at the apocryphal sources which spread the legend of the Blessed Virgin.

### Apocryphal sources of Mary

There are several ancient texts which, embellish the life of Mary but have never been accepted as Sacred Scripture. These include the *Transitus Mariae*, a fifth century, Ethiopian text, *The Golden Legend*, written by Jacobus de Voragine around 1260 AD, *The Gospel According to the Pseudo-Matthew* and *The Book of James* or

Protevangelium. These texts aim to establish Mary's miraculous origin to prove her worthy of Christ's divine conception (http://www.udayton.edu/Mary/).

### The Birth and Childhood of Mary

The *Book of James*, was written in the second century (after the birth of Christ). According to the *Book of James*, Mary's parents, Ann and Joachim, were barren. Joachim was wealthy and gave to the poor as well as to the temple. When Joachim goes to the temple to make an offering he was condemned by the High Priest for not having any children, which was considered a sign of God's displeasure. He was so upset that he went into the desert to pray and fast for forty days. Ann, was also greatly troubled and put on her wedding dress. She sat in the garden to weep.

And she saw a laurel tree and sat down underneath it and besought the Lord saying: O God of our fathers, bless me, and hearken unto my prayer, as thou didst bless the womb of Sarah, and gavest her a son, even Isaac (James 1924, pg. 39).

An angel meets her and tells her she will have a child. Joachim is given the same news in the desert and greets his wife at the gate of Jerusalem. In this meeting Mary is conceived. Giotto, in the Arena chapel in Padova, and many other artists often represent this moment called, "the meeting at the Golden Gate."

When Mary is born Ann promises to dedicate her to the temple at the age of three. At six months she walks seven steps and at the age of one they have a feast for her with the priests, scribes, and elders who bless her. When she reaches the age of three she is brought to the temple.

And the priest received her and kissed her and blessed her...the Lord put grace upon her and she danced with her feet and all the house of Israel loved her...And Mary was in the temple of the Lord as a dove that is nurtured: and she received food from the hand of an angel (James 1924, pg. 42).

When she reaches puberty at the age of twelve, the high priest Zacharias declares she must be married for fear she will, "pollute the sanctuary of the Lord." He orders all the widowers of Israel to carry a rod with them to the temple for God would show them a sign. In *the Book of James*, a dove appears from Joseph's rod and lands on his head. Often in paintings, he is shown with flowers bursting from his staff to indicate him as Mary's suitor. He brings her home and then leaves to, "build buildings" for six months (James 1924, pgs. 38-42).

### The Annunciation

The Book of James also describes the Annunciation but since Luke is an accepted part of the Bible we will look to him as the primary source. In the Gospel of Luke the Angel Gabriel came to Mary and said, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women" (Luke 1:28). He explains that the Holy Spirit will come upon her and she will give birth to the Son of God and he will be called Jesus. Luke tells us she was troubled by the news and replies, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" (Luke 1:34). The angel tells Mary of her cousin Elizabeth who conceived a child in her old age and was by this time six months pregnant. The angel explains that with God nothing is impossible. She then agrees to her destiny by saying, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word" (Luke 1:38).

In the text of the Annunciation Mary's character is expressed for the first time and as she chooses to accept God's plan she also becomes responsible for the redemption of man. This theme is epitomized in the work of Fra Angelico, a fifteenth century painter who was also a Dominican priest. He champions this idea in his paintings and sets the standard formula for Renaissance artists. In three of his *Annunciations*, Mary graciously

accepts her fate while in the background Adam and Eve are expelled from Paradise (Catalogue 3, Figures 6 &7). They are all similar, but the Annunciation in the Prado is his most luminous (Catalogue 3). Here Mary, is seated graciously as the Angel Gabriel brings her the news. In these scenes, Mary embodies what a woman should be, according to the Church. Giovanni di Paolo's version is similar to Fra Angelico's, but it is slightly more advanced in its iconography, with the inclusion of Joseph and the naked Adam and Eve (Catalogue 4). During the Renaissance, Leonardo da Vinci, Donatello, Bellini, Van Ecyk, Simone Martini and several others painted this subject, for not only did it demonstrate Mary's willingness to comply with God, but it also stood as a symbol for the Church's doctrines and beliefs. In a version by Sansovino, the energy and action of the incarnation are present in the putti and the Angel Gabriel who rush toward her (Figure 8). The panel is divided into three parts with the Virgin in the middle. She is seated and nearly takes up the entire space as she turns calmly to the activity. In the last section is the Tree of Knowledge, which is surmounted by angels surveying the scene. Lilies and roses are also present and a cat looks outward from the scene. The emphasis during the Renaissance was her human quality. It was also important that she appeared humble and maid-like, unlike the Byzantine Queen-like versions. This would allow the religious audience to identify with her. In these representations the artists capture a graceful and elegant mood.

### The Virgin Birth

Previous to the Renaissance, the cult and myth of the Virgin grew. In the thirteenth century St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274 A.D.) adopted Aristotle's views on conception, which later became the accepted teachings of the church (Warner 1976, pg. 40). Aristotle believed that the active agent in conception was the sperm, which provided the

Alighieri and St. Thomas believed men were the vital life giving matter, and women were the incubator (Warner 1976, pg. 41). This explanation of biology is summed up in the Gospel of John, "the word made flesh," (John 1:14) (Warner 1976, pg. 37). Origen (d. 394) suggested that Mary had become pregnant after hearing words of the Angel Gabriel in the Annunciation and St. Ambrose who expressed this idea when he said, "Not from human seed but by the mystical breath of the Spirit was the Word of God made flesh and the fruit of the womb brought to maturity" (Warner 1976, pg. 37). This imagery is often shown by the words of the Angel Gabriel, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, or even a fully formed Christ child, floating towards Mary in scenes of the Annunciation.

### Aeiparthenos (Ever-Virgin)

The belief that Mary was a virgin *in partu* and *post partum* the birth of Christ was a much debated topic for Catholics. In the *Book of James*, the midwife Salome doubts the miracle of the virgin birth and her hand withers after she examines Mary (James 1924, pg. 46). It also contends that Mary did not suffer any discomfort or pain associated with normal childbirth (James 1924, pg.46). Claiming that the birth of Christ was effortless and divine, however, threatens his humanness. The balance of Christ's human and divine nature revolved around Mary's definition. Under the threats of Gnosticism and Arianism there was pressure to define Mary's role in the incarnation. In 381 A.D., at the Second Council of Constantinople, her unfailing virginity was declared (Warner 1976, pg. 64). Some, like Jovinian, a Christian writer, thought she was a virgin only when she conceived but not after she had given birth. Pope Siricius in 390 A.D. specifies that her virginity was preserved during and after the birth (Warner 1976, pg. 64). There was also

controversy over her title. Around 428 A.D., Proclus of Alexandria proclaimed her *Theotokos*, which translates to, 'the mother of God' (Warner 1976, pg. 65). Nestorius of Constantinople argued that if God had always existed then how could she be the mother of God? He suggested *Christotokos*, 'mother of Christ' instead (Warner 1976, pg. 65). Nevertheless, in 431 A.D. at the Council of Ephesus, she was declared *Theotokos* (Warner 1976, pg. 65). At the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D., the divinity and humanity of Christ were made official, and Mary was given the title of *Aeiparthenos*, 'ever virgin' (Warner 1976, pg. 65). Finally, in 649 A.D. at the Fourth Lateran Council, Pope Martin I declared Mary's constant virginity an official church dogma (Warner 1976, pg. 66). The question of her virginity for theologians was essential to her importance in salvation. If she remained a *virgo intacta*, she remained untainted by original sin which validated Christ's holy birth.

Mary's existence and importance are controversial, yet she is represented in Christian Art as frequently as God. Mary is difficult to define, yet it is necessary to discuss her presence in the Bible and her legend in apocryphal sources. By establishing that her own birth and childhood were miraculous, it was easier to except the Incarnation and the Virgin birth. She was the goal created by the church for ordinary women. Her representation in the arts served as a vehicle of communication for the common woman, and as an example of the perfect wife and mother for men. Her perpetual virginity protected her from original sin and made her immortal, thus reversing the fate brought about by the disobedient Eve.

# **Chapter Four**

# 'Eva'/ 'Ave' and their Relationship

Old and New

The Old Testament prefigures the New Testament, connecting their significance and reiterating similar ideas. This typology is important in the iconography of Christian art, for the general public would understand the relationship between the stories being depicted and what they conveyed. Since the visual arts were the instrument the church used to communicate to the masses, it was important that the images were clear and packed with significance. Juxtaposing Eve and Mary displays the break with the past, the redemption of man and the rewards for obeying God's or the Church's commands. The Images of Eve and Mary were a powerful tool in promoting the Catholic Religion.

The childhood of Moses (Exodus 1 & 2) in the Old Testament and Jesus' flight from Egypt and escape from Herod's massacre of the innocents bare a close resemblance (Matthew 2:13). Moses is the savior of humanity in the Old Testament and Christ is the savior in the New Testament. The Joseph in Genesis, who interpreted dreams, can be compared with Joseph the father of Jesus who is visited by an angel in his sleep three times. The conception of John the Baptist by Mary's cousin Elizabeth is linked with the conception of Isaac to Abraham and Sarah. Both couples were old and barren when they conceived. Abraham is asked to sacrifice his son Isaac, which is parallel to God's sacrifice of Jesus. Jesus is also seen as the second Adam. In paintings, Adam's bones or skull are often placed beneath the cross as a symbol of redemption. Both men were made human and given the option to follow God's wishes. The roles of Eve and

Mary in Salvation are neatly expressed in the *Fall and Redemption of Man*, tapestry from the Southern Netherlands (Catalogue 5). Images of the Old Testament and the life of Mary are connected to a central Crucifixion scene. The tapestry links the ideas of Old and New Testament typology into a single, comprehensive formation. The title page of the Archbishops of Salzburg's missal, *The Tree of Life and Death*, shows Mary and Eve on either side of the tree of Knowledge (Catalogue 6). Here the Old and New Testament come full circle in this small image. The women hand out salvation or death and the idea of Mary as the 'second Eve' is made clear.

### The Second Eve

The comparison and study of Eve and Mary in theology is not a new concept. Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons (c.130-200 A.D.), made this connection in his surviving texts, *Against Heresies* and *Epideixis* or *Proof of the Apostiolic Preaching*. It is difficult to know if Irenaeus was the inventor of this parallelism or if he was merely recording oral tradition (Pelikan 1996, pg. 43).

And just as it was through a virgin who disobeyed [namely, Eve] that mankind was stricken and fell and died, so too it was through the Virgin [Mary], who obeyed the word of God, that mankind, resuscitated by life, received life. (Norris 1999, pg. 234).

Pelikan argues that if Irenaeus was trying to prove his observation he would have defended or argued its importance. Instead, it is reported as a statement of an already excepted idea (Pelikan 1996, pg. 43-44). The theory that history is cyclical was well established by late antiquity. St. Augustine acknowledged that there were unmistakable patterns in history, but also stated that there were unique occurrences that only happened once (Pelikan 1996, pg. 46). Irenaeus called it recapitulation, instead of repetition, because Jesus and Mary succeeded in God's task (Pelikan 1996, pg. 46). Eve was tempted by the devil and disobeyed God's instructions. As a result, she and Adam were

thrown out of Paradise and destined for a life of mortal hardships. Mary, the second Eve, accepts God's wishes, is obedient and conceives Christ as part of God's plan. It is important to Christian teachings that both women made their decisions of their own free will and were not coerced by either the devil or God (Norris 1999, pg. 234). "This was a crucial factor in Mariolatry, the stepping-off place for her exemplary devotion as mother and her powers as intercessor between sinful humanity and the Divine Judge: she had freely accepted God's will. With all the inconvenience, humiliation and suffering that it involved" (Norris 1999, pg. 234).

Eve is essential to the idea and cult of the Virgin. Without Eve there would have been no need for Mary (Norris 1999, pg. 242). St. Ambrose in the Fifteenth century called it *O felix culpa*, (Oh happy fault). Eve was the reason that God elected the virtuous Mary to carry Christ (Warner 1976, pg.60). The Master of the Strauss Madonna places Eve at the foot of the Enthroned Madonna and holds a branch from the Tree of Knowledge to remind us of the 'happy fault' (Catalogue 7).

### *Iconography*

The Virgin and Eve have many attributes, which are significant to their myths. Their symbols have many origins and some are shared. The Virgin's iconography correlates to certain representations of her. In a 'Madonna of the Assumption' for instance, Mary is usually standing isolated, on a crescent moon or on a serpent with stars and angels around her. In the story of the Assumption, Mary is transported or assumed into heaven with her physical body for it was to Holy to remain on earth. It relates to the Immaculate conception, or Virgin birth, which made her Holy. *The Virgin of the Assumption*, (Catalogue 8), is a Polychrome Spanish sculpture that relates to the woman seen in the

Apocalypse who is, 'clothed with the sun and stands on the Moon (Revelations 12:1).' In the vision of the Apocalypse, Mary is symbolic of the church who defeats the dragons (evil) and protects her child; therefore it is fitting that she is associated with, 'a great wonder in Heaven' (Revelations 12:1). In Dürer's print, *The Apocalyptic Woman*, her disturbed gaze alone seems to ward off the dragons that erupt from the left side of the picture plane (Figure 9). The Virgin's hands are clasped in prayer as she stands on a crescent moon. The iconography is also similar to the depiction of a Virgin Annunciate.

The iconography of the Virgin of Assumption is layered and sophisticated; coded within it lies Eve. Eve was given the forbidden fruit from the serpent that represents evil. In the vision of the Apocalypse, evil is represented by the seven-headed dragon, which she overcomes. Eve's fate after the fall, leads to menstruation and painful childbirth, which also relates to the cycles of the moon. In images of the *Virgin Assumption* and the, *Woman of the Apocalypse*, the Virgin conquers both evil and female biology, by literally stepping on them (Warner 1976, pg. 268). The Virgin Assumption seen as the Apocalyptic woman, combines the idea of the incarnation and the conquering of Evil.

Other references to the Virgin run throughout the Bible. Mary is referred to as the burning bush (Exodus 3:2) however, she is not consumed by the flames. She is also seen as a metaphor for Noah's ark in the Old Testament; she protects the future of mankind in her womb. Isaiah prophesied, "For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant and as a root out of dry ground..." He was referring to the Virgin and the incarnation (Warner 1976, pg. 62). The idea of the *hortus conslusus*, or enclosed garden derives from Solomon. "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed" (Song of Solomon 4:12). The garden suggests, fertile yet isolated soil, which is

symbolic of the Virgin birth. In the *Virgin Among Virgins in a Rose Garden*, Mary is seated in the center of a group of female saints; St. Ursula, arrows at her feet, St. Catherine, being given a ring by Christ, St. Barbara, who holds a lily to the Virgin, and St. Cecilia, whose name is on her clothing (Figure 10). The women sit in an enclosed idyllic space symbolizing their chastity.

Adam and Eve were also contained in an enclosed garden, the Garden of Eden. "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward of Eden" (Genesis 2:8). No other painting demonstrates the lushness of Paradise than, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, by Hieronymus Bosch (Catalogue 9). In the left panel Adam, Eve and God, are isolated in the foreground by a wall of shrubbery. The artist has defined the space by segmenting the piece into three panels, forcing the scenes to be restricted. The central panel contains compressed figures, in a fury of movement, confined in a limited amount of space, in regards to their activity. The enclosed Garden of Eden symbolizes the completeness of humans before the fall and corruption.

### Feminine Beauty

In artistic representations, Mary and Eve are usually presented as beautiful. Mary's beauty derives from the idea that since she is free from original sin, her physical and inner beauty could never be corrupted. Eve may often be portrayed as evil but she is still alluring. The difference between the two women is often a matter of clothing. Robetta in his engraving of 1506 models the face of Eve after a Botticelli or Lippi Madonna. Massalino, paints a fair, passive Eve in his fresco (Figure 5) that could double as a Fra Angelico Virgin (Catalogue 3, Figures 6 & 7). Dürer's Eve is an idealized image of the female form that is handsome and strong (Catalogue 10). Both women are usually

shown as youthful and tranquil, except for depictions of the Expulsion from Paradise and the Lamentation of Christ.

### Spiritual Love and Lust

Traditionally, Eve was seen as sexually appealing and tempting but the Virgin could also be seen as seductive. In the fourteenth-century play, *Miracles de Notre Dame par Personnages*, a young man who had promised to serve the Virgin and remain unmarried, inherits a fortune and is told by his uncle that he must wed (Warner 1976, 156). The woman that his uncle had chosen for him was beautiful and wealthy. He finally gave in. On his wedding night the Virgin appears to him and scorns him for his unfaithfulness, "... You must be drunk to give your whole heart and all your love to a woman of this earth? And to leave me, the lady of heaven? Tell me true, where is the woman with greater goodness and beauty than I?" (Warner1976, pg. 156). The man is so upset that he runs away. He leaves a note saying that the Virgin "was so jealous of him because she had made him a bed in heaven, and he had unmade it by his great crime" (Warner 1976, pg. 157). The wife leaves to become a nun and the Virgin takes the man to heaven.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the influence of the Troubadours and courtly love poetry rose. The poetry made the assumption that the women praised as objects of men's desires were too pure and elevated to be capable of a physical relationship. Dante Alighieri's affection was directed towards Beatrice, a woman who was already married and whom he hardly knew. She is his obsession in his poems and the key to his spiritual redemption. He believed that his love for her would bring him to an advanced Spiritual level. Although he claims that his love was purely platonic and that by consummating it

would corrupt its beauty, one has to assume that there was some sort of desire in his admirations. In a sense, the Virgin is a spiritual seductress who lures men by her goodness. She represents the unattainable, as Eve represents earthly lust.

### Mother

Motherhood is another aspect of their relationship that is also important to their portrayal. The Virgin's motherhood is more frequently seen but Eve's is also important. After the fall, "Adam knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, 'I have gotten a man from the Lord" (Genesis 4:1). Later she has another son called, Abel (Genesis 4:2). Cain was a tiller of the earth and Abel was a shepherd. God favored Abel because he was the caretaker of his flock, an allusion to Christ himself. Cain became jealous and killed Abel. God condemns Cain to be, 'a fugitive and a vagabond' (Genesis 4:12). In a way, Cain repeats the Fall of Man. The 'first families' lives are laid out, in a Medieval Manuscript from the thirteenth century (Figure 11). It begins with the Expulsion of Paradise in the top left corner. On the top right, the labors or curse of Adam and Eve. Sacrifices to God from Cain and Abel and the death of Cain, who is killed by Lamech are illustrated by the bottom right image. This is usually the most detail we have however, in the early sixteenth century, in Cristofano Robetta's engraving, the family of Adam and Eve tenderly interact in a scene reminiscent of a Holy Family (Catalogue 11). They have become human and tangible in there three dimensional, Renaissance surroundings. There is an underlying sadness in the downcast gazes of Adam and Eve, eluding to their labors by the tool Adam holds in his hand.

The Madonna and Child is one of the most common representations of the Virgin. She is shown holding the baby Jesus sometimes enthroned with angels and saints like in Marmitta's painting, (Catalogue 12) or standing alone in her glory like Sansovino's sculpture (Catalogue 13). In the Marble statue by Sansovino the monumental Virgin supports the Child on her hip. It is a familiar image but it also has another significance. Since the Virgin is associated with the Church and Christ is seen as the 'New law,' it is fitting that the image also serves as an allegory to Mary holding Christianity. This is even more emphasized in painting where she is actually nursing the baby. In Robert Campin's painting, Virgin and Child before a firescreen, the Madonna is shown seated in an interior with her right hand squeezing her breast to the Child (Figure 12). The fire screen behind her acts a natural halo subliminally suggesting her heavenly spirit. It alludes to her (the Church's) nourishment of the faithful. In Raphael's painting of the Holy Family with Saints Elizabeth and John, Influence of the Renaissance has created the nuclear family (Catalogue 14). The scene is tender and gentle as the characters interact with each other. The Holy Family in Raphael's painting is seated, similar to Robetta's engraving, however, the subjects of Robetta's engraving, 'the first family,' are not clothed. Scenes of the Madonna as mother and Eve, 'the mother of all living,' illustrate women's major role in child bearing.

### Divine fruit

The two women also share symbolically loaded fruit. Everything from pomegranates to oranges shows up in western portrayals of the Virgin and Eve. Artists like Michelangelo and Massolino used a fig in their pictures of the fall, which has a double meaning. In vulgar Italian the word *fica* is the term for female genitalia (Figure 5) (Norris 1999, pg. 338). It was a device possibly used, as a crude reference to women. The Madonna is sometimes shown feeding the Christ Child grapes: a symbol of Christ's sacrifice in the wine of the Catholic mass. The apple is most commonly represented in the fall and with

the Virgin. In Marmitta's, *Madonna and Child with Saint Benedict, Saint Quentin*, The apple is placed directly in front of Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit, in a cameo on the throne of the Madonna (Catalogue 12 &12a). In Latin *malus* could mean apple or evil (Norris 1999, pg. 338). Hall's Dictionary suggests the imagery was borrowed from the classical image of the golden apple tree of Hesperides (Hercules II) (Hall 1994, pg. 30). When the apple is shown with Chris, it is an allusion to the redemption of mankind. The apple, grapes and pomegranate all appear in the love poem of the Song of Solomon. The manuscript by Berthold Furtmayr, shows the Virgin and Eve actually handing out fruits from the Tree of Knowledge, to the saved or the dammed (Catalogue 6).

# **Chapter Five**

# Other Eve's and Mary's

### Venus

The apple as a symbol is also associated with Venus (Hall 1994, pg. 30). It was the reward Paris gave 'to the most beautiful' of the three goddesses Juno, Minerva and Venus in the Judgment of Paris. At first the symbolism may seem absurd, the Pagan goddess of love and fertility matched with the unfailing and virtuous Madonna. However, when one takes a closer look they too have similarities. Both women are symbols of fertility. The Madonna is considered like a pearl from an oyster that did not need fertilization. Venus was born from the genitals of Uranus when they were cut off by Cronos and fell into the sea. Venus has a magic girdle, which enables the wearer to have heightened sexual appeal and energy. The Virgin Mary, during her assumption drops her girdle down to Thomas who does not believe her full bodily assumption into heaven. Mary's girdle symbolizes obedience and chastity. The dove is Venus's immemorial symbol (Warner 1976, pg. 39). The dove for the Virgin has a meaning of peace and is symbolic of the incarnation. Mortals saw both Mary and Venus as an unattainable goal. In Titian's Sacred and Profane Love, the twin Venuses, represent two different kinds of love (Figure 13). Celestial (Sacred) Venus inspires spiritual and divine contemplation while Earthly (Profane) Venus represents beauty found in the material realm. In this painting it could be argued equally that both women could represent each ideal. The only real difference is again, a matter of clothes.

### Biblical Women

In the Bible there are many women who fall into categories of 'good' or 'bad.' For example, Susanna, Lucretia and Judith are all models for ideal womanhood. Frequently the Virgin is compared with the apocryphal heroine, Judith, for her bravery and chastity (after she was a widow). Judith was a widow who came out of seclusion to save Israel from the Assyrian army. In the story, she dresses in her finest clothes and goes to the enemy camp with her maid. She stays three days and on the fourth night was invited to dine with Holofernes, the army General, who was hoping to seduce her. She serves him wine and makes him drunk. Inebriated, he passes out. She takes his sword and cuts off his head, puts the head in a bag and leaves with her maid unnoticed by the guards. She then places the decapitated head on the gates of Bethulia and the Assyrians fled. She was seen as a woman who crushed evil and prevailed, like the Blessed Virgin. In the Renaissance, she is seen as a fore type of Mary and as an emblem of the city (Apostolos-Cappadona 1998, pg. 203).

Delilah and Salome are associated with Eve. Delilah was the lover of Samson, who discovered that his strength lied in his uncut hair. She betrayed him for eleven hundred silver shekels to the Philistines (Apostolos-Cappadona 1998, pg. 99). Salome was the step-daughter of Herod, who danced for him, at his birthday celebration. He was so entranced by her that he promised her anything she wanted. Her mother, Herodias, advised her to ask for the head of the imprisoned John the Baptist who had denounced her for adultery. Herod protested, but Salome insisted and the head was presented to her on a silver platter (Apostolos-Cappadona 1998, pg. 327). These women, like Eve, are symbolic of the fall of man at the hands of a woman.

The woman in the Bible who combines both elements of Eve and Mary, is Mary Magdalene. Mary Magdalene was a prostitute, who after meeting Jesus, who forgives her for her sins, gives up her life to follow him. She is present at the crucifixion and at the Resurrection (Mark 16:1) (Mark 16:9). Mary Magdalene, was an example of someone who had greatly sinned but by repenting, had saved her soul. In a way she was the Biblical answer for a compromise between Eve and Mary. Her human nature had led her into a life of sin but divine inspiration saved her. She was seen as something to aspire to because she was a sinner herself who had earned God's love and forgiveness.

# **Chapter Six**

# Conclusion

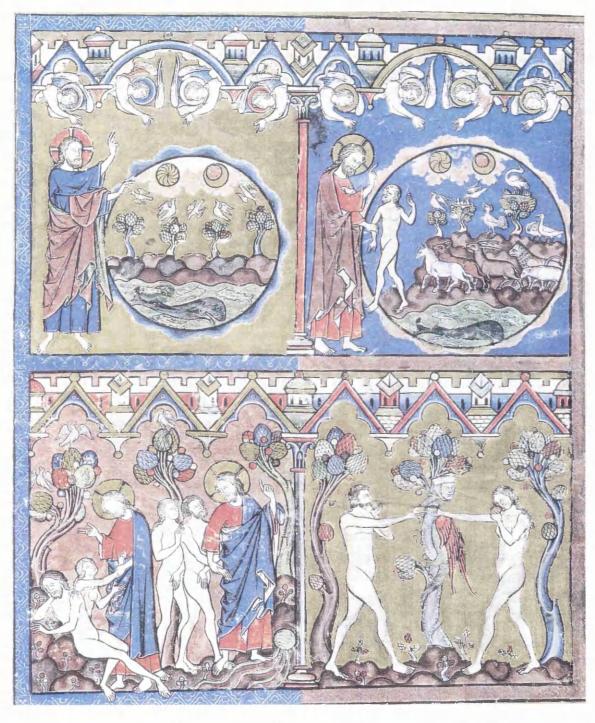
As we have seen, the Renaissance provides and excellent frame work to examine the images of the Virgin Mary and Eve. Its rich works of art create dynamic representations of each female. By appreciating these women individually, their relationship to each other becomes easier to understand. This is especially apparent when looking at images with layered meanings, like the Virgin Assumption. In the imagery of this particular representation, the Virgin conquers sin and evil alluding to Eve. The Virgin is therefore seen as the Second Eve who makes up for the sins of the 'first woman.' The iconography of the two women is complex but key to their meaning. The two most opposite women seem identical when examining their iconography. The ideas of the hortus conslusus, their depiction of beauty, Spiritual love and lust, motherhood and the symbolic fruit are all shared and crucial to their depiction. In relation to other women, Eve and Mary serve as types or categories women were prescribed to. Delilah and Salome were other 'Eve's' to be ashamed of and Susanna, Lucretia and Judith were all other examples of Mary. Mary Magdalene is the only one that embodies the two.

Mary and Eve are different but at the same time are vital to each other and are therefore connected. The idea of this connection is best explained in the 'Ave'/ 'Eva' poem discussed in the Abstract. The interchange of letters contains the key to Mary and Eve's meaning (that they are similar) and demonstrates their complex contradiction.

# List of Comparative Figures



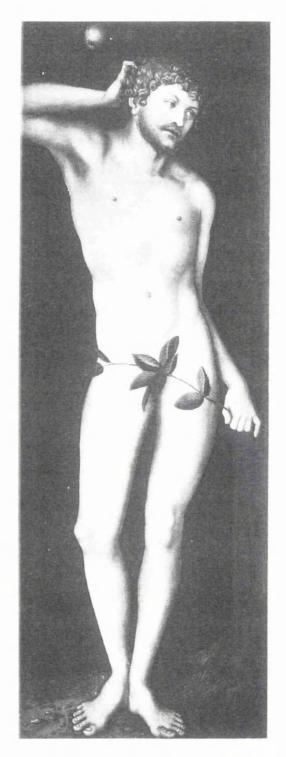
The Medici Venus, Marble, Galleria degli Uffizi, 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B.C., Beck 1999, pg. 407; plate 353.

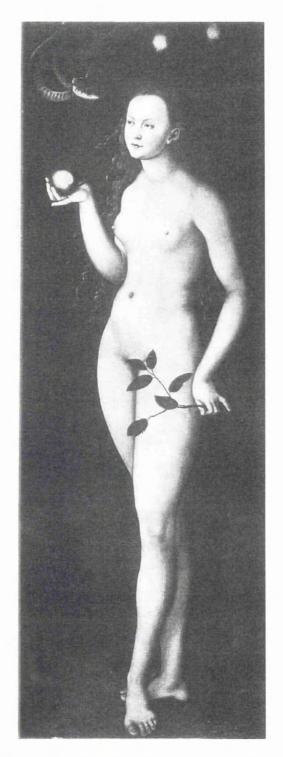


2. Fifth Day of Creation, Sixth Day of Creation, Tthe Creation of Eve, The Fall, illuminated book from the Pierpont Morgan Library, Middle-thirteenth Century, Cockerell 1969, pg 28.



3. Eve, Alonso Berruguete, Walnut choir stall, Toledo Cathedral, 1540, Ceysson 1999, pg. 123





4. *Adam and Eve*, Lucas Cranach, panel paintings, Galleria degli Uffizi, 1528, Friedlander 1978, Catalogue Number 194.



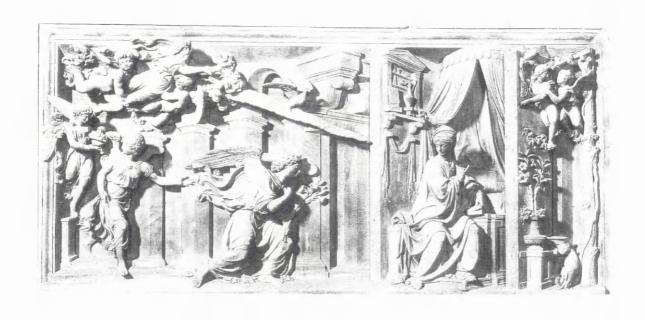
5. *The Fall*, Massolino, Fresco, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, 1427-1428, Joannides 1993; plate 79.



6. Annunciation, Fra Angelico, Tempera and Gold on panel, San Giovanni Val D'arno Museum, 1432, Hood 1993, pg. 268; plate 254.

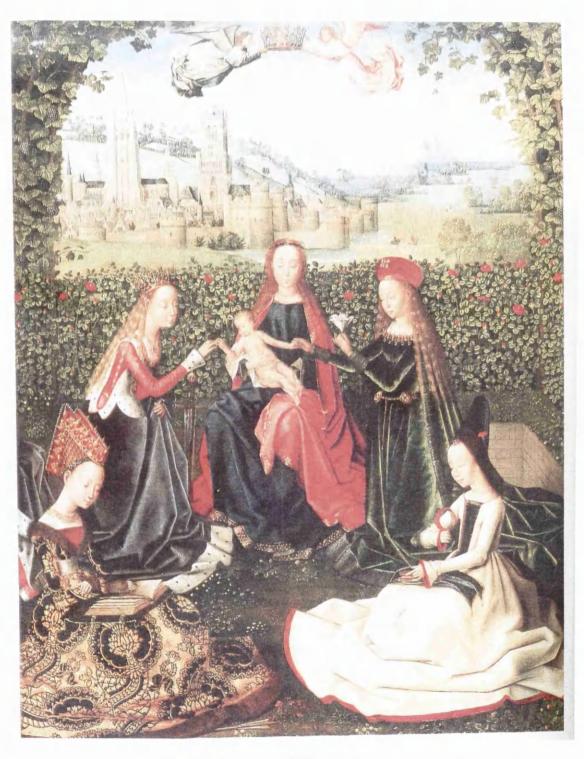


7. Annunciation, Fra Angelico, Tempera and Gold on panel, Museo Diocesano, Cortona, 1434-1445, Hood 1993, pg. 101; plate 87.

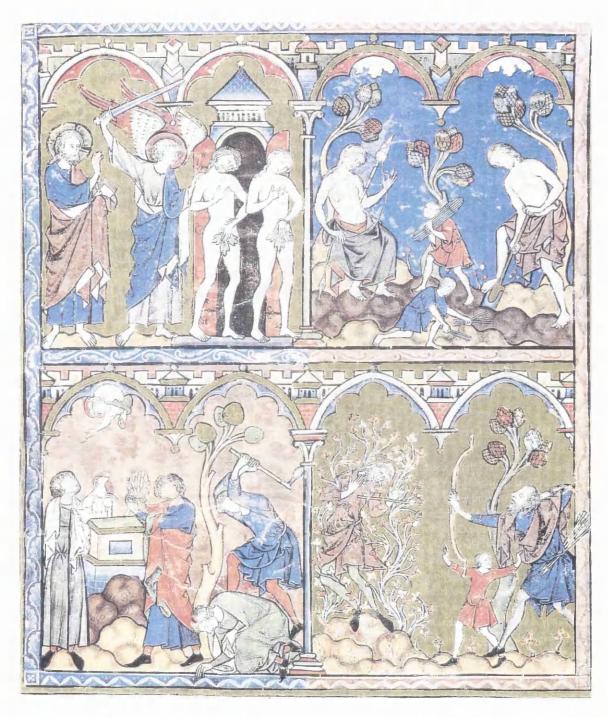


8. Annunciation, Andrea Sansovino, Marble, Shrine of the House of the Virgin, Loreto Basilica, after 1513, Ceysson 1999, pg. 79.





10. *The Virgin Among Virgins in a Rose Garden*, Master of the St. Lucy Legend, Panel, c. 1480, Harbison, pg. 14; plate 5.



11. Expulsion from Paradise, The Curse, the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel and the Death of Cain, illuminated book from the Pierpont Morgan Library, middle-thirteenth Century, Cockerell 1969, pg. 30.



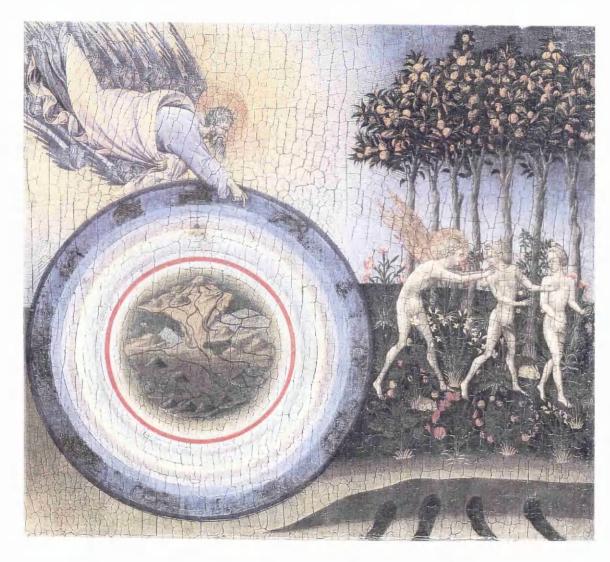
12. Virgin and Child before a Fire Screen, Robert Campin, Panel, National Gallery of Art, London, c. 1425, Harbison 1995, pg. 51; plate 32.



13. Sacred and Profane Love, Titian, Canvas, Galleria Borghese, Rome, Beck 1999, pg 383; plate 329.



14. *Annunciation*, Anonymous, Santissima Annunziata, Firenze, 14<sup>th</sup> Century Master, Hood 1993, pg 269; plate 255.



15. The Creation and Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, Giovanni di Paolo Tempera and Gold on Panel, Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, c.1445, Burn 1993, pg. 90.



16. *Virgin in a Church*, Jan van Eyck, Panel, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, c.1440, Harbison 1995, pg. 98; pl. 63.



17. The Dream of the Virgin, Michele di Matteo, Panel, Museo Civico, Pesaro, Italy, Mid 15<sup>th</sup> century, Lightbrown, pg. 50; plate 24.





18a. *The Temptation*, Albrecht Dürer, Engraving, Germanisches National Museum, Nurenberg, c. 1510, Knappe, fig. 255.

18b. *The Expulsion from Paradise*, Albrecht Dürer, Engraving, Germanisches National Museum, Nurenberg, c. 1510, Knappe, fig. 256.



19. Madonna with a Monkey, Albrecht Dürer, Engraving, National Gallery Melbourne, c. 1497-98, Knappe, fig. 20.



## 1. The Creation and the fall of Man from The Redemption of Man Series

Flemish (Brussels) 1510-1515

Undyed wool warp, 5-6 warp yarns per cm

Dyed wool weft, with silk accents

Size: 4.17m x 8.13m (13ft.8in. x 26ft. 8 in.)

Gift of The William Randolph Hearst Foundation (de Young), The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco,

California [54. 14.1]

This tapestry introduces a series of ten panels (Bennett 1992, pg. 54). The Trinity is represented by the three identical divine kings enthroned in the clouds at the top center of the tapestry. They are shown wearing crowns and rich garments holding orbs and scepters. They are flanked by two female figures that represent Mercy and Justice while an angelic choir sings behind them. The narration of creation begins in the top left corner with the creation of light and water by the Trinity. Moving downward, the trinity point to the ground, illustrating the creation of earth. To the right another group points to the sun and moon above them signaling the creation of the heavens on the fourth day. To the right of them, the creation of the birds and fish take place with the trinity blessing the animals in different poses of the sign of the cross (Bennett 1992, pg. 56). Continuing toward the right corner, the animals on earth, Adam and Eve are created on the sixth Above Adam's head the Trinity is shown from different angles pointing in different directions, perhaps indicating the end of creation. The events of Eden are squeezed into the top right corner. Adam and Eve stand in front of the tree of knowledge with the serpent that has an animal body and female head, between them. The devil offers Eve the apple and she gives it to Adam. An enormous angel threatens the kneeling couple with its sword thus expelling them from the garden.

The series was most likely commissioned for a cathedral, given the subject matter, size and number of panels in the programme (Bennett 1992, pg. 3). It is possible they were commissioned specifically for the Cathedral of Toledo since there is no record of a prior owner. The rest of the compositions illustrate the virtues and vices that men struggle with in life. Notice the close resemblance of the male figures. Based on the reasoning of St. Augustine, all persons of the Trinity were made to resemble Christ: since Adam was created in God's (Christ's) image the artist of the composition has chosen to make them all look the same (Bennett 1992, pg. 56).

The 1993 conservation report says that the reds, blues and greens are still quite intense and that the lighter beige tones of the sea, sky and background are faded. It has been lined with linen and the guards are not original. Parts of the tapestry have been largely rewoven especially in the silk areas. The tapestry is in storage but the report also comments that it is strong and flexible.

The tapestry is significant because it includes the creation of the world with Adam and Eve, linking their existence to the beginning of time. The composition gives a clear idea of the mystery of the Trinity and of Renaissance thinking: that sin existed soon after the world was made.

Provenance: The Cathedral of Toledo until 1900, Ascher Wertheimer, 1902 Weinberg Collection, William Randolph Hearst Collection, San Francisco Fine Arts Museums, 1954.

Exhibited: Treasure Island, California 1936

Literature: Bennett, Anna 1992; San Francisco pgs. 54-57. Cavallo, Adolfo Salvatore 1993; New York. Photo credit: Bennett plate II. http://www.thinker.org/fan/multilingual.html

1. The Creation and Fall of Man

#### 2. **Eve**

Antonio Rizzo (c. 1440-1499)

Italian, c. 1470-1475

White marble from Istria, at one time may have been painted.

Height: Adam 216cm, Eve 214cm. Sala di Liagó, Palazzo Ducale, Venice.

The artist created Adam and Eve as a pair but for the purposes of this exhibition only Eve will be analyzed. Eve stands in an idealized pose as she holds the forbidden fruit in her hand. Her genitals have been covered by fig leaves, indicating her fall from grace. Eve gracefully imitates a Venus pudica (Figure 1) pose while holding the fruit in her right hand. Her eyes are half closed as she gazes downward. She is pensive and forlorn yet her body is sensual as she gently holds the leaf in place.

The sculptures were designed for the east façade of the Arco Foscari and considered Antonio Rizzo's masterpieces (Schulz 1983, pg. 32). Parts of Eve have been left unfinished such as the back of Eve's hair and parts of her base (Shultz 1983, pg. 152). Eve's original right hand and forearm were restored by the Venetian sculptor, Napoleone Martinuzzi (Shultz 1983, pg. 153). The tip of Eve's nose, parts of her hair and eye have been pitted or chipped (Schultz 1983, pg. 153). ANTONIO RIZZO is carved into the base of Eve and Adam is left unmarked. This could indicate the artists' satisfaction with the piece.

Often scenes of Adam and Eve decorate churches, like the marble façade of Orvieto's Cathedral, by Lorenzo Maitani 1310-1330, to reinforce Christ's redemptive significance. In the context of a government building, Adam and Eve represent the necessity of government. It was the belief of St. Augustine and other scholars that in a state of grace it was unnecessary to govern or rule over other men, however in a fallen state a temporal government was needed (Schulz 1983, pg.33). The artist here focuses on the admission of guilt by Adam and Eve, which results in the first administration of lawful punishment by the highest power. The figures flanked an entrance of the most important building of Venetian government and thus illustrate the importance of the state (Schultz 1983, pg.33). The use of the figures of Adam and Eve to flank the entrance to a communal building was unprecedented in Italy (Schultz 1983, pg. 33). It therefore demonstrates the strength of the Adam and Eve story, in all aspects of life during the Renaissance.

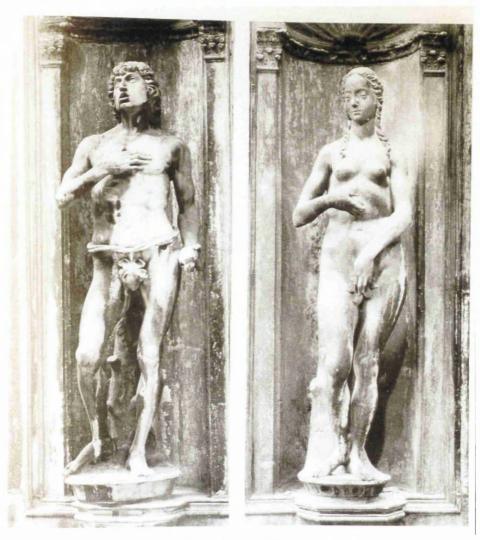
*Provenance:* By 1926, Eve had been removed from the façade to the Ducal Palace. In 1951, both figures were installed in the Sala Grimani in the Appartamenti dei Dogi. They now stand in the Sala di Liagó.

*Exhibited:* In 1964 they were exhibited separately in the Sala del Magistrato al Criminal and the Sala del Magistrato alle Leggi (Shultz 1983, pg. 152).

Literature: Ceysson, Bernard. 1999 Köln. Schulz, Anne 1983; New Jersey, pgs. 32-36, 152-153. Mariacher, Giovanni 1950; Florence, pg. 24: plates 22 & 50. Luchs, Alison 1995; Cambridge, pgs. 41-45: figures 57 & 58.



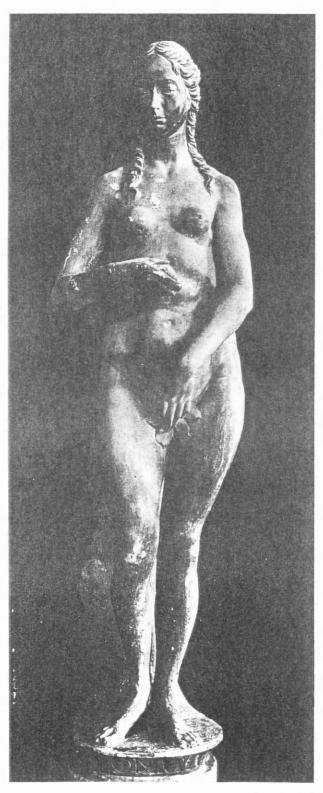
2 Eve Antonio Rizz



2a. *Adam and Eve*The Arco Foscari, Palazzo Ducale, Venice



2b. Eve's Face



2c. Eve's body



#### 3. The Annunciation

Guido di Pietro da Mugello or Fra Giovanni da Fiesole called Fra Angelico (1400-1455)

Italian, c. 1435-1445

Tempera on panel

symbols of the Virgin.

Size: 76 3/8 x 76 3/8 in. (194 x 194cm)

Museo del Prado, Madrid [catalogue no. 15]

Fra Angelico is considered the inventor of this particular format of the Annunciation, a subject, which he painted several times throughout his career (See Figures 6 &7). The altarpiece was originally painted for San Domenico in Fiesole and now hangs in the Museo del Prado. The predella contains scenes from the life of the Virgin, including: The Birth of the Virgin, her Betrothal, The Visitation, The Epiphany, The Presentation of the child at the Temple and her Death (Quintana 1994, pg. 60). The scenes in miniature, a skill Fra Angelico had previously developed, are surrounded by *pastiglia* (Hood 1993, pg. 9). Evidence for his work in miniatures is also apparent in the way the composition is arranged. Beneath the 15<sup>th</sup> century loggia Mary, interrupted from her reading, is accepting her fate from God through the Angel Gabriel. The

Brunelleschi-like arches are lined with a blue celestial pattern, signifying the heavens, while framing an out-of-proportion Mary and angel. From the sun in the top left corner, God's hands send the divine light that conceives Christ. God's face appears in the roundel of the portico between the angel and Mary. To the left of the loggia, Adam and Eve fully clothed, are being expelled from Eden. The garden, flowers, barred window in her bedroom and the swallow are all

Previous to Fra Angelico's interpretation of the subject, one example that dominated 14<sup>th</sup> century Florentine thematic representation is the fresco at the church of Santissima Annunziata in Florence (Figure 14) (Hood 1993, pg. 268). In this version, the Virgin appears as a crowned queen in her bedroom; Fra Angelico makes her a modest yet unmistakably holy maid. His influence is obvious in Giovanni di Paolo's *Annunciation* (See Catalogue 4). The themes and iconographical representations of Fra Angelico's design relate closely to that of the teaching of the Dominican order. Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, Dominican scholars in the thirteenth-century, placed great importance on the Virgin Mary's role in salvation (Hood 1993, pg. 269). By including the expulsion in this altarpiece the artist emphasizes the connection of the Virgin to the fall of man.

*Provenance:* In 1488 it was given to a member of the Gaddi family who was possibly responsible for its original commission (Bonsanti, Giorgio 1998, pg. 122). In 1611 it was sold to the Duke Mario Farnese to help pay for the new bell tower at San Domenico. It was then given

to the Duke of Lerma, Minister of Philip III. In Spain it was first in the Dominican church of Valladolid and then in the Convent of the Royal discalced Carmelite in Madrid. In 1861 it was added to the collection of the Museo del Prado with the help of Federico Madrazo, director of the Prado at that time (Museo del Prado website).

Literature: Hood, William 1993; London, pgs. 9-10, 21, 268-274. Quintana, Alicia 1994; Spain, pg. 58. Argan, Gulio Carlo 1955; Geneva, pgs. 37-50. Bonsanti, Giorgio 1998; Florence, pgs. 122. 131-132, 136. Blanch, pg.281 plate 237. http://museoprado.mcu.es/prado/html/ianun.html



3. The Annunciation
Fra Angelico

### 4. The Annunciation, with the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise

Giovanni di Paolo (1400-1482)
Italian (Sienese), c. 1445
Tempera and gold on wood
15 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 18 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (40 x 46 cm)
Kress Collection [K412], National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (1939.1.223)

The Annunciation is one of five panels belonging to a predella of an unknown altarpiece (Christiansen 1988, pg.191). It is in good condition, although some paint is missing and it needs cleaning. God is encircled in light in the top left corner while rabbits frolic in the garden, rich with flowers and fruit. The rabbits symbolize the existence of Adam and Eve's purity before the fall (See Catalogue 10) and here also relate to innocence (Christiansen 1988, pg. 198). The perspective has been more fully realized, than the Fra Angelico's, evident in the floor tiles and handling of space. The inclusion of the loggia and the expulsion of Adam and Eve have been borrowed from Fra Angelico's formula (Catalogue 3, Figures 6 &7). However, in Giovanni di Paolo's interpretation, Adam and Eve are naked and the angel only wears a filmy piece of drapery. The most unusual aspect of this panel is the inclusion of Joseph to the right of Mary, in front of a fire. Joseph is in a separate room and signifies time passing from the Annunciation in spring (March 25<sup>th</sup>) till the nativity in winter (December 25<sup>th</sup>) (Shapley 1966, pg. 148). Giovanni di Paolo like Fra Angelico also worked in miniatures and did several paintings for Dominican churches (Christiansen 1988 pg. 168-9).

Closely relating to this piece is *The Creation and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise*, (Figure 15) also by Giovanni, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It was made for an altarpiece in San Domenico in Siena (Burn 1993, pg. 90). In this panel the creation of earth and the heavens is represented by the *mappamondo* that God seems to be hurling toward the angel expelling Adam and Eve. The twelve concentric circles with the earth in the center relate to the celestial system described in *The Divine Comedy*, by Dante (Christiansen 1988, pg. 193). The circular formation derives from Medieval sources like Figure 2. The rings relate to the Annunciation scene where they surround God.

Provenance: Sir William J. Farrer, London by 1866, sold as Gentile da Fabriano; Sir John Charles Robinson, London by 1868 (*Memoranda on Fifty Pictures*, Christie's, London April 19, 1902, no. 73, as Giovanni di Paolo); purchased by Charles Fairfax Murray, London and Florence, possibly for Mr. and Mrs. Robert Henry and Evelyn Holford Benson, London (catalogue by T. Borenius, 1914, no. 9, as Giovanni di Paolo); purchased 1927 by (Duveen

brothers, Inc., London); sold 1936 to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York; gift to the National Gallery, Washington D.C., 1939.

Literature: Burn, Barbara and Montebello, Philippe 1993; New York, pg.90. Christiansen, Keith 1988; New York, pgs.168-169, 189-198. Shapley, Fern Rusk 1966; London, pg. 148. figure 402.



4. The Annunciation with the Expulsion of Adam and Eve Giovanni di Paolo

# 5. The Fall and the Redemption of Man

Southern Netherlands, 1480-1490
Wool warp with silk, silver and gilt weft highlights
10ft. 2 ¼ in. x 12ft. 9in. (3.11m x 3.89m)
Bequest of Oliver H. Payne, 1917. Antonio Ratti Textile Center, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (17.189)

The composition is divided into five clustered, circular areas, each containing a narrative sequence, creating space between the outlines of the medallions and the borders of the tapestry. The three largest spaces are filled with human figures holding inscribed parchment and the smaller spaces are filled with filigree work, decorative patterns and grapevines. The left bottom corner contains a pelican and its young and at the right a lion and its cubs. Both animals allude to Christ. The pelican in medieval bestiaries, revives its young with its own blood and the lion breathed life into its young three days after they had been born dead. The borders around the scenes are wide with gold and color thread decoration.

The central compartment is broken at the top, supported by two columns which frame Christ on an intricately carved cross. Tucked under his arms are the two thieves and behind them a detailed landscape which spreads into the other sections. A compact version of the Nativity takes place in the lower left curve below the cross. Mary prays over the child and Joseph is seated behind them. Opposite on the right, the Mary of the Crucifixion is swooning, supported by John and another woman. The two scenes collide centered in the bottom of the curve by Christ as a child. Above him the skull and one bone of Adam lead the eye up to the cross. Their clothes are highly patterned with simulated jewels and embroidery.

In the top left medallion, two angels in Paradise flank Adam and Eve. They are nude and cover their loins with one hand while the other is raised, indicating speech. The group turns towards the right where the scene continues in the opposite medallion. Here, three elaborately dressed angels accompany God. He is crowned and raises his left hand indicating his communication with the other group.

Below this scene Moses is shown explaining the Ten Commandments to the people. Behind them is a landscape illustrating the moment when God gives Moses the stone tablets.

The opposite side contains a much debated about scene. The most logical interpretation is the one given by Lady Cox and Professors Wormald and Cameron (Cavallo 1993, pg. 265). They agree that the scene depicts Mary, kneeling at the right in the temple at the age of thirteen

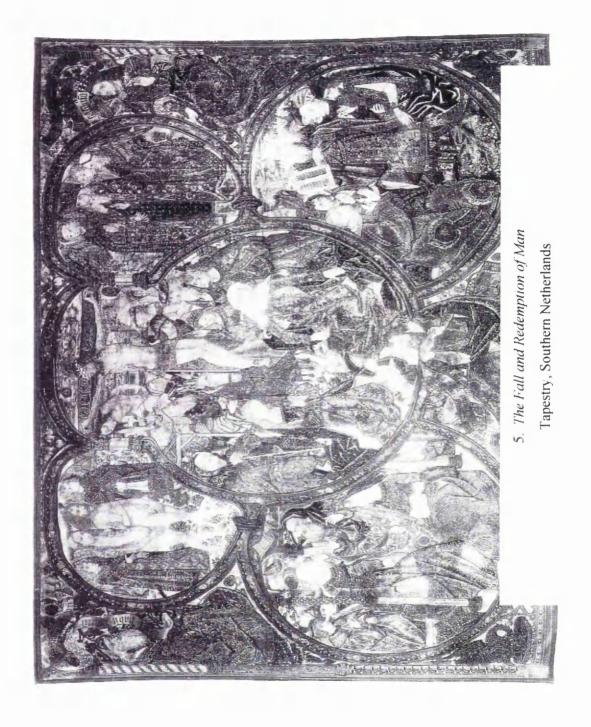
when she is to be married according to the law (Cavallo 1993, pg. 265). In the center, Joachim explains this to Anne. The men who stand behind her are potential suitors.

The subject of the tapestry relates the ideas of God's plan, man's disobedience, which brings about his fall and thus his redemption through Christ and Mary. The right side illustrates the idea of God and Moses as lawgivers. The left shows Adam and Eve, the ultimate lawbreakers and Mary, Anne and Joachim as the faultless law abiders (Cavallo 1993, pg. 265).

Except for some restoration and losses along the left edge, the bottom and left side of the top edge, the majority of the original fabric is intact (Cavallo1993, pg. 254

*Provenance:* Possibly of the Collection of Emile Gavet, bequeathed to the Metropolitan by Oliver H. Payne, 1917.

Literature: Cavallo, Adolfo Salvatore 1993; New York, pgs. 254-271: pg. 255, ill. 15.



6. The Tree of Life and Death from the Missal of the Archbishop of Salzburg

Berthold Furtmayr

1481

Painted manuscript miniature

Size: 375 x 270mm

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich [Cod. Lat. 15710, fol. 60v]

In this illustration the Virgin and Eve stand on either side of the tree of knowledge. They are encapsulated in a medallion created by bent branches and flowers that also form four other compartments. Mary is crowned Queen of heaven and with a gentle sway she distributes 'host-fruits' to the faithful while an angel overlooks the scene. An image of the crucified Christ, symbolizing life and redemption hangs in the tree above her and a skull hangs above Eve symbolizing death and the fall. Eve mirrors the Virgin's gesture but she gives out 'death-fruits', while the other hand takes the fruit from the serpent that is coiled around the trunk. A skeleton lurks behind the unfortunate people who are wearing Jewish hats (Grossinger 1997, pg. 5). Adam sits at the bottom of the tree with his hand to his head.

In this picture Mary and Eve represents *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. The church (*ecclesia*) is Mary who is associated with the establishment of Christianity through her role in man's redemption. She carried Christ in her womb just as the church protects the faithful. In the painting by Van Eyck, Mary is almost as large as the Cathedral she stands in (Figure 16). Eve symbolizes the synagogue, which is the old law (*synagoga*) and the break with Judaism. The Old Testament is the precursor to the New Testament like Judaism heralds Christianity.

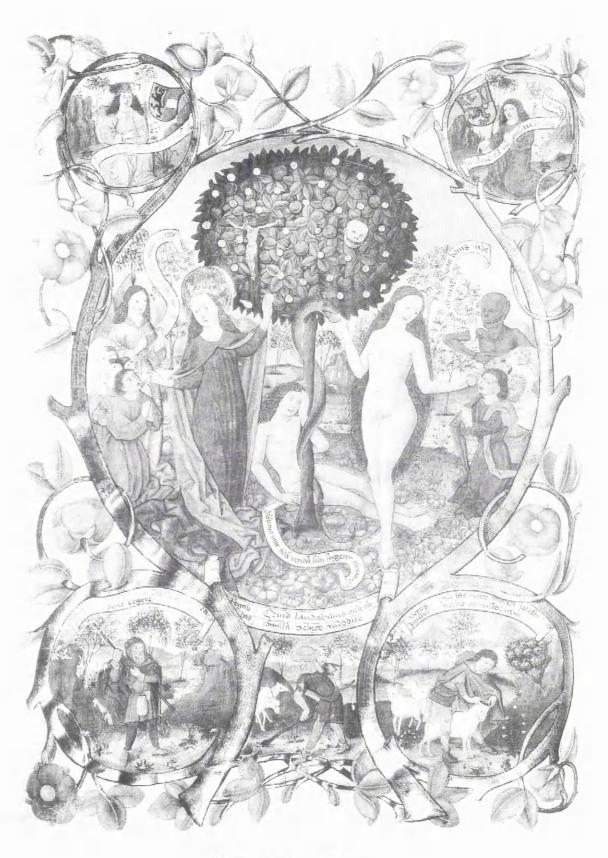
Mary and Eve are seen in a bubble or another version of a *hortus conslusus*. The fruits are symbolic of the fall and also of salvation. In the tree hangs a small depiction of the crucifixion similar to that of, *The Dream of the Virgin*, by Michele di Matteo (Figure 17). In Matteo's panel, the crucified Christ is suspended in the branches of the tree of knowledge. The temptation of Adam and Eve, is simultaneous and the Virgin reclines in sleep on a large red bed. The symbol of salvation, the crucified Christ, is placed in the Tree of Knowledge, which is the root of original sin. The images are obvious and link the messages of Mary's vision or purpose in the role of redeemer.

The missal is one volume of a five-volume set written in black and red, gothic textura. It includes the music for the mass and other miniatures such as: The Baptism of Christ, the calling of Saint Peter and Paul and Christ with Peter.

64

*Provenance:* Completed in 1481 in the Regensburg atelier of Berthold Furtmayr for Bernhard von Rohr and his successor Johann Peckenschlager, archbishops of Salzburg. From the library of the Archbishops of Salzburg given to the Bavarian state library.

Literature: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 1970; Munich. Grossinger, Christa 1997; Manchester, pgs. 5-6. Norris, Pamela 1999; London, pgs. 239-240: plate 29.



6. The Tree of Life and Death
Berthold Futmayr

#### 7. Madonna and Child Enthroned with Angels and Saints

The Master of the Straus Madonna (1385-1415)

Florentine, c. 1410

Tempera and gold on panel

Size: 25 ½ x 16 ¼ in. (69.9 x 46.3cm)

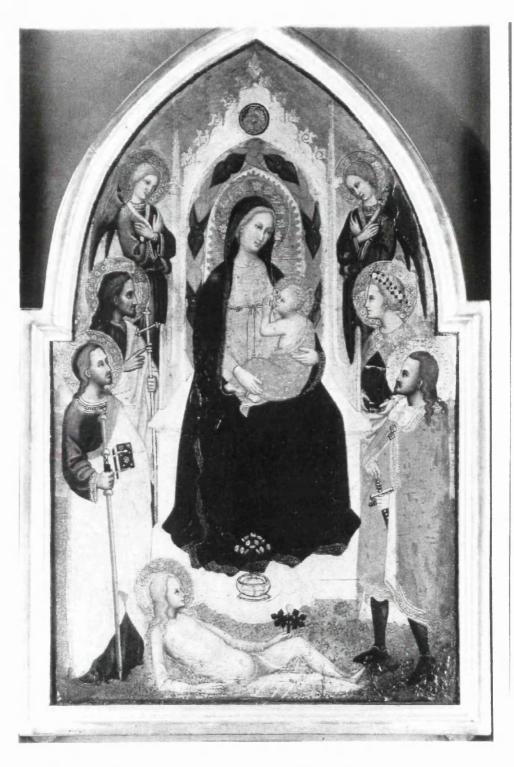
Astley Cheetham Art Gallery, Stalybridge, Tameside [1923.43]

This small panel would have been the central part of a small devotional triptych used for private meditation. Generally, it is in good condition and has a modern frame. The Virgin is shown seated, wearing a gold-patterned dress and high girdle while suckling the Christ child. The baby wears a red and gold off the shoulder garment. Cherubim form an arched decorative pattern in alternating red and blue around her head and halo, centered by an encircled star motif in the apex of the throne. In ascending order on the right are St. Julian the Hospitaller, St. Dorothy and an angel. On the left in the same order are St. James the Great (patron of Pistoia) and St. John the Baptist (patron of Florence) followed by an angel (Smith 1962, pg.62). The base of the throne has a gold baluster shaped vessel, holding flowers. The scene takes place on a red ground with an intricate gold flowery pattern. At the foot of the Madonna lies an outstretched and reclining Eve. She is draped in a transparent cloth, which still reveals her body as she holds a branch of the tree of knowledge.

Eve is perfectly centered with the tree of knowledge, the flowers, the Virgin, baby Jesus and the star. Making her presence obvious in the association with man's redemption. She gazes up at the Virgin and although she is somewhat stiff, the pose is definitely sexual. She is not covering herself in embarrassment but openly displaying her body in the presence of the Madonna. The artist juxtaposes the two women directly, making a striking contrast of flesh and clothing. Eve wears a golden halo. Possibly the artist gave her the halo as his interpretation of Eve's importance in the *felix cupa*, because if there was no Eve there would be no Mary.

Provenance: On the reverse there is a Milan customs seal and two paper labels inscribed: 8(5)?: N7 (?) Giotto 1276 M. G.; Rt. Hon. J.F. Cheetham, 1916. Given to the Gallery by Miss Agnes Cheetham in 1931.

Literature: Smith, Michael 1962; London, pgs. 62-66. Wildenstein 1965; London, pg. 9 cat. 13. Royal Academy of Arts 1962; London, pg. 13, cat. 29. Photo credit: compliments of Astley Cheetham Art Gallery. Royal Academy of Arts 1998, London, pgs. 330-331.



7. Madonna and Child Enthroned with Angels and Saints
The Master of the Strauss Madonna

8. Virgin of the Assumption

Circle of Felipe Vigarny (active 1497-1543)

Castilla, Spain. After 1525

Wood, polychrome and gilded

Size: 53 inches high

Martin d'Arcy Gallery of Art, Loyola University Museum of Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Art,

Chicago, IL [Acc. No. 4-79]

Toward the end of the fifteenth century the theme of the Virgin of the Assumption became

more frequent, especially in Spanish art. In this piece the Virgin is standing on a crescent

moon, like the Apocalyptic Woman (Revelations 12:1). The Virgin of the Assumption is also

sometimes represented stepping on a serpent or with stars around her head. The Woman in

Revelations is associated with the Virgin because she defeats the vicious dragons from hell.

In Dürer's print, the woman is see in a visionary or dreamlike scene. Virgin of the

Assumption imagery also closely relates to that of the Virgin Annunciate. Both subjects

reflect that the Virgin's miraculous conception made her able to defeat evil and therefore she

could be assumed, full body, into heaven.

The Virgins golden hair flows in curves and her hands are clasped in prayer. Her clothes are

rich and sumptuous. Her mantel is richly brocaded in black and gold and reveals her body

with deep folds. She shifts slightly in her stance. The garments spill over her feet onto the

upturned crescent moon. Her right foot rests on the head of a cherub, which has a passive

look on his face.

Although it is difficult to tell from this photo, the Virgin is elongated and especially narrow

which is attributed to her original position. The statue was most likely seen from above,

possibly in a high niche (Stratton 1993, pg87). The painted decoration, estofado, on the

Virgins robes is considerably later than the carving. Stratton suggests as late as the eighteenth

century. The face and hair have also been repainted. The statue has also been recently related

to a group of relief's from an altarpiece now dispersed among the Indiana University Art

Museum at Bloomington, Hearst Castle and several private American collections (Stratton

1993, pg. 87).

Provenance: William Boyce Thompson (acquired prior to 1914).

Stratton, Suzanne New York; 1993, pgs33-38 & 87;pg. 72 cat. 4. Trusted,

Marjorie London; 1995.



8. Virgin of the Assumption
Circle of Felipe Vigarny

#### 9. The Garden of Earthly Delights

Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450-1516)

Dutch, c.1505

Oil on panel, signed

Size overall: 220x 195

The Prado, Madrid [2823]

When closed, this famous triptych shows a crystal ball in *grisaille* with a flat earth contained inside (Cat. 9). There are swirling clouds, rainbows and strange formations emerging from the ground. God the father is seen in the top left corner with the words, "Ipse dixit et facta su[n]t," and "Ipse ma[n]davit et creata su[n]t" (For he spoke and it came to be; he commended and it stood forth [Psalm 33:9] {Harbison 1995, pg. 78}). Often these panels are interpreted as creation on the third day when God had not made anything to inhabit the earth, but Carl Linfert interprets it as a depiction of the world after the flood where the rainbow stood as a sign of God's covenant with Noah (Linfert 1989, pg. 30).

When open, the work shows three panels with The Garden of Earthly delights in the center framed by the creation of Adam and Eve and the last judgment. The 'creation' side panel contains a fantastic landscape with animals and a lake with a curious fountain (Cat. 9a). In the foreground God brings Eve to Adam saying, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it' (Genesis 1:28). The central panel contains men and women riding animals, making love to each other and to fruits, swimming and generally enjoying themselves in this strange land (Cat. 9b.). The landscape is bizarre and highly detailed with unusually shaped buildings and formations. Everyone and every thing are active. There is a great sense of movement and balance within the composition. In the bottom right corner there is a figure that is clothed. It has been interpreted as St. John the Baptist who points to Eve as the creator of all the excessiveness. Others suggest it is a self-portrait of Bosch himself (Quintana 1994, pg. 88). The panel depicting hell is extremely inventive with specific punishments for every kind of sin (Cat. 9c). The whole landscape is ablaze as everyone scrambles to try and escape death. A hollow body in the center of the panel faces the viewer, which has been read as the artist's self-portrait (Quintana 1994, pg. 88).

This painting has been the subject of a countless number of studies and theories. Some consider his work related to the church and alchemy. Others relate it to the cult, 'the Brethren of the Free Spirit,' otherwise known as 'Adamites' after Adam. They supported the view of a complete return to sexual freedom and nudity (Quintana 1994, pg. 88). There are also interpretations related to the Gnostic religions, Manicheism and Catharism (Harris 1995, pg. 24). Very little is known about Bosch's life and it is difficult to say what he actually meant

by this painting. He was familiar with other religious subjects and painted them in: *The Adoration of the Magi 1510, the Haywain* (another version with Adam and Eve) 1505, Marriage at Cana 1502, and others. It is obvious however, that the significance of the story of Adam and Eve is relevant across the board of religious thinking during the Renaissance. It is also thought of in direct relation to hell and the fall of man through sexual pleasure, as illustrated in the central panel of the triptych.

Provenance: May have been in the Brussels palace of Henry III of Nassau, Regent of the Netherlands, in 1517. An Italian visitor described a picture very similar to it in a letter (Cinotti 1969, pg. 99). In the collections of Don Fernando, prior to the Order of San Juan, the illegitimate son of the Duke of Alba. Mentioned in records of paintings sent by Phillip II to the Escorial in 1593.

Literature: Harris, Lynda 1995; Edinburgh: Photo credit, plates 19-23. Quintana, Alicia 1994; Spain, pgs. 88&89. Harbison, Craig 1995; London, pgs 78-81. Cinotti, Mia 1969; London, pgs. 99-101. http://museoprado.mcu.es/prado/html/i38.html



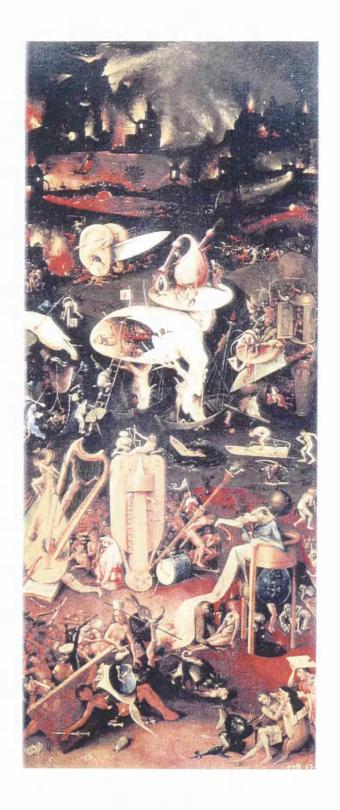
9. The Garden of Earthly delights (Closed) Hieronymus Bosch



9. Creation Panel (left side)



9b. The Garden of Earthly delights (Central Panel)



9c. Hell (right side)

#### 10. The Fall of Man (Adam and Eve)

Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528)

German, 1504

Engraving, fourth state of five. There is one collector's mark: Lugt 2438: E.T.H. Rodenacker. The watermark is a bull's head: Briquet 14874.

Plate: 9 7/8 x 7 7/8 in. (24.9x 19.5cm)

Fletcher Fund, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [19.73.1]

Dürer has chosen the moment before the fall where the serpent gives Eve the apple. Adam and Eve are essentially a display of precise anatomy and proportion. They stand in idealized poses divided by the tree, which the serpent is perched on. Their arm gestures lead the viewer from Dürer's inscription in the top left corner, to the serpent in the center and to their strategically placed fig leaves. The inscription reads "ALBERT DÜRER NORICVS FACIEBAT 1504" (Albrecht Dürer of Nuremberg was making [this] 1504). Animals and foliage in a dark forest surround the couple.

He used stippling and a wide variety of burin strokes to create the different textures of the animals and skin. Dürer prepared several drawings for this engraving. A majority of the dimensions, poses and outlines of the figures were created using several arcs drawn with a compass to form the contours and shapes of the composition (Panofsky 1955 pg. 119). In later engravings of the same subject matter, (Figure 18 a & b) he abandons the subtle gradations and chooses deep, severe undulating lines for the *Temptation and Expulsion from Paradise*. Dürer is exploring the perfect human form in this *Adam and Eve*. Towards the end of his life he wrote *Underweysung der Messung (Manuel of Measurement)*, 1525 and *Vier Bucher von menschlichen Proportion (Four books of human proportion)*, 152; both books explain his theories on ideal human proportion.

Dürer has incorporated several parallels through the animals in the engraving. The tense relationship between the cat and mouse mirrors the intensity of Adam and Eve's relationship. In the background, a ram teeters on a pointed mountaintop about to fall. The branch and parrot, which Adam holds, symbolize the tree of life and wisdom; the tree that stands between them, where the serpent rests, symbolizes evil and deceit (Panofsky 1955, pg.85). Notice that Eve stands on the serpent's side and holds the fruit.

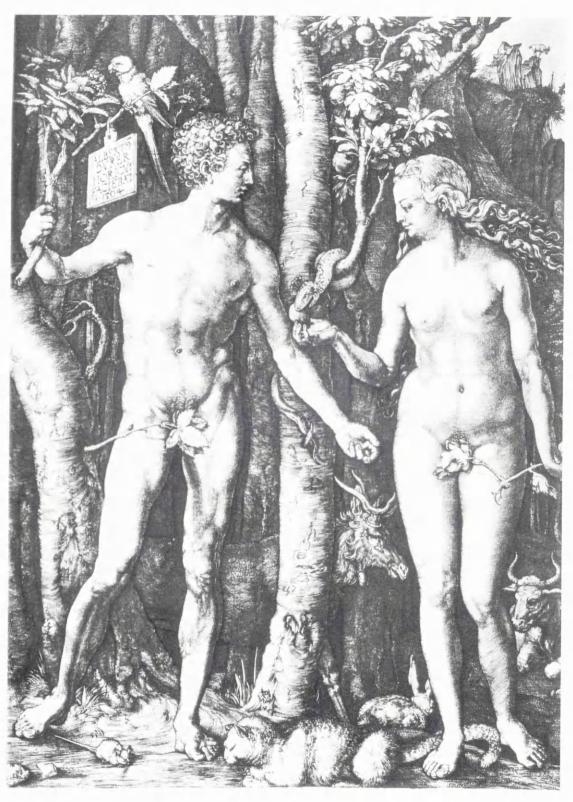
The other animals are references to the "four humors" or "temperaments." Based on an idea fully developed in the twelfth century, man was perfectly balanced with an equal amount of each element (sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric and melancholic): making him immortal and sinless. By biting the apple, man became unbalanced causing him to be susceptible to illness,

death and vice. Animals were always considered less than human and savage by nature. In the engraving, the elk represents melancholic; sadness and distraction, the rabbit symbolizes sanguine; loving and virtuous, the cat equals choleric; inconsistent and short-tempered and the ox stands for phlegmatic; slow paced and mild natured (Popplestone and McPherson 1981, pg. x-xii). All of these references would have been easily recognizable to an educated sixteenth century audience.

Provenance: It was a gift to the Metropolitan Museum from Junius Spencer Morgan in 1919.

Literature: Panofsky, Erwin 1955; New Jersey, pgs. 68, 70, 84-87, 90-91, 119: figure 43. Boorsch, Suzanne and Orenstein, Nadine 1997; New York, pg.31. Harbison, Craig 1995; Great Britian, pgs. 166-167.

http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/view/.asp?dep=9&full=0&item=19%2E73%2E1



10. *The Fall of Man*Albrecht Dürer

#### 11. Adam and Eve with Infants Cain and Abel

Cristofano di Michele Martini called Cristofano Robetta (c.1462-1535)

Italian, after 1500

Engraving, later impression, trimmed to margin.

Size: 10 1/8 x 7 in. (257x178cm)

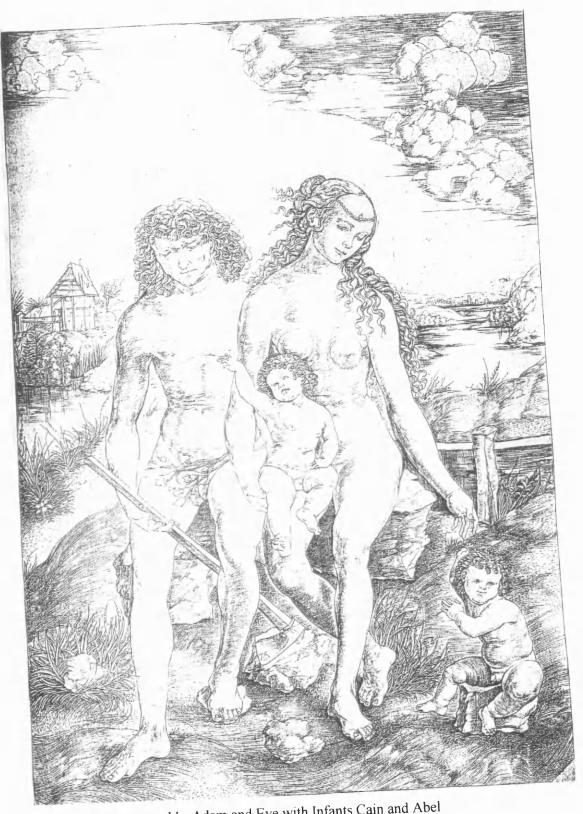
Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. [1946.21.321]

"The first family," are shown nude in a Dürer-like landscape. Adam and Eve are seated on rocks in the foreground while Eve holds one of her children and Adam holds an ax. The dramatic clouds are sweeping across the landscape and there is a northern looking building behind Adam's right shoulder.

Cristofano Robetta was a goldsmith by trade and was mentioned in Vasari's, life of the sculptor and architect Giovanfrancesco Rustici (Levenson 1973, pg.289). He has borrowed the techniques and ideas of other known artists such as: Albrect Dürer, Pollaiuolo, Fra Filippino Lippi and Perugino (Levenson1973, pgs. 290-291). Jay Levenson calls Robetta, "a pasticheur, working from a stock of motifs borrowed from various Italian and northern sources and combining them at will to create his compositions (Levenson 1973, pg.290)." Most obvious is the reference to Albrecht Dürer. The little house behind Adam is almost identical to Dürer's, Madonna with a Monkey in 1498-1499 (See Figure 19). The landscape and the sky also indicate Dürer's influence. Fra Filippino Lippi is evident in Eve's face, which resembles a Lippi Madonna. There are no specific dates given for Robetta's work; however after an examination of Robetta's known works Levenson concludes that the Adam and Eve engraving is a mature work and places it sometime after 1500 (Levenson 1973, pg.291).

Robetta's group suggests that of a depiction of the Holy Family including Mary, Joseph, Elizabeth, Jesus and John the Baptist (See Cat. 14). The clear reference to a Lippi Madonna in the face of Eve and the intimacy of the figures suggests Robetta's deliberate Old Testament typological correlation. The major difference however is that the first family is nude.

Literature: Levenson, Oberhuber, Sheehan 1973; Washington D.C., pgs. 289-304: pg. 305, cat. #122. Bellini, Paolo 1973; Milan, pgs.30-31. Russell, Diane 1990; Washington D.C., cat. 74.



11. Adam and Eve with Infants Cain and Abel Cristofano Robetta

12. The Madonna and Child with Saint Benedict, Saint Quentin and two musical

angels

Francesco Marmitta (1462-1505)

Italian, c. 1500-1505

Oil on panel altarpiece

Size: 220x 138 cm

The Louvre, Paris [inventory number 116]

The altarpiece is a sacra conversazione with emphasis on the Madonna and redemption. The

altarpiece was made for the church of San Quentin, which was Benedictine. The Madonna

and child are seated on a stone throne with a medallion of Adam and Eve beneath the Virgins

feet. In front of the miniature lies an apple symbolizing the fall. Below it on the base

contains a grisaille relief of the flight into Egypt framed by the Angels legs. On the right is

Saint Quentin who was a Roman officer and was martyred in Gallie. He wears armor typical

of the fifteenth century and his sword denotes his rank (Bacchi 1995, pg. 330). Saint

Benedict founded the oldest western monastic order, the Benedictines. He appears canonized

holding a book, which alludes to the rules of the order and a staff, which refers to his power

of exorcism (Murray 1974, pg. 45). On the broach that holds his mantle in place there is an

image of the Annunciation. The garment also shows depictions of other saints with gold

backgrounds.

The figures are contained in a Renaissance portico with pilasters decorated with arabesque

designs. Above the Virgin on the left, suspended on what looks like a wire, is a branch

signifying the tree of knowledge. On the right is another apple signifying the fall.

This painting has many layered meanings using the scenes of the fall, annunciation and flight

into Egypt, along with symbols of the apple and the branch from the tree of knowledge to link

Jesus and Mary to Salvation.

Provenance: The convent of San Quentin in Parma, Italy. Looted by the Emperor Napoleon;

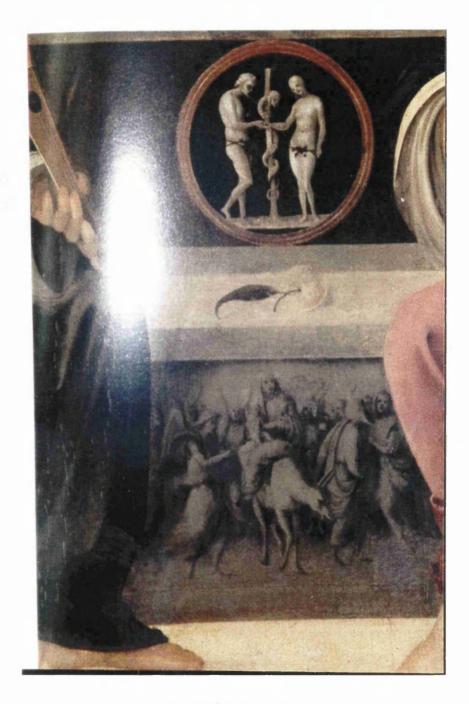
entered the collection in June of 1812.

Literature: Bacchi, Andrea 1995; Torino, pgs. 329-333: plates CXXXIII &

CXXXIX. Norris, Pamela 1999; London, pg. 239.



12. The Madonna and Child with Saints Benedict and Quentin with Two Musical Angels
Franceco Marmitta



12a. Detail of Enthroned Madonna Francesco Marmitta

**13.** Virgin and Child

Andrea Sansovino (1467-1529)

Italian, 1503-4

Marble, inscribed S. SANSOVINVS FLORENTINVS FACIEBAT

Life-size

The Cathedral of Genoa, chapel of Saint John the Baptist, Genoa

The Virgin and Child are placed in a niche above a small choir. This statue and a statue of

John the Baptist, flank a shrine in his honor. The Madonna is in a contraposta pose with the

child balanced on the hip of the Virgin. She holds him in her left hand and gently touches the

Childs foot with the other. He places his arm over the top of her breast and touches his other

hand to his chest. Her face and hair are reminiscent of a classical sculpture. The drapery

covers her head and wraps around her. The deep folds in her clothing convey movement but

there is solidarity in her stance.

According to Vasari, Sansovino, trained with Pollaiuolo but others disagree (Olson 1992, pg.

154). He worked throughout Italy on major commissions. In 1513 he was appointed the

master of works, at the Basilica of Loreto, by Leo X Medici. He was responsible for

decorating the House of the Virgin, which was fabled to have traveled miraculously to Loreto

by angels. The walls of the Santa Casa are covered with marble relief's of the life of the

Virgin (See Figure 8).

The Virgin and Child, is one of the most common images in Religious art. In three-

dimensional form, she is strong and solid like a pillar. Mary as mother, is simple and

uncomplicated message, one that does not change.

Provenance: The Cathedral of Genoa

Literature: Olson, Roberta 1992, pg. 154. Keutner, Herbert 1969, pg. 306; plate 33.

Huntley, pgs. 49-53.



13. *The Virgin and Child*Andrea Sansovino

14. The Holy Family with Saints Elizabeth and John (The Canigiani Holy Family)

Raffaello Sanzio (1483-1520)

Italian, c. 1506

Oil on panel, singed RAPHAEL URBINAS

Size: 51 ½ x 42 ¼ in. (131x 107cm)

Alte Pinakothek, Munich

The composition in later Renaissance pictures becomes more complex. Raphael

harmoniously unites the family grouping in a pyramid structure. Joseph stands at the apex of

the triangle, which is balanced by the seated Mary and Saint Elizabeth. Little John the Baptist

and Jesus play with a ribbon that reads ECCE AGNIVS DEI (Here is the lamb of God).

The painting is rich with detail, the vegetation in the foreground, the gold highlights on the

halos and the edges of the Virgins robes are all expertly executed. The city in the background

is picturesque and places the scene in the modern day. Purple-blue mountains fade into the

horizon and putti in the clouds above spy upon the moment.

The group's unity is achieved through the series of touching gazes. Joseph looks down to

Elizabeth as she looks to him. Elizabeth's face is open towards Mary, but Mary looks toward

John. The children interact with each other. Even the putti in the clouds share glances with

each other. The juxtaposition of the youthful children and Mary to the older Elizabeth and

Joseph creates a dynamic comparison.

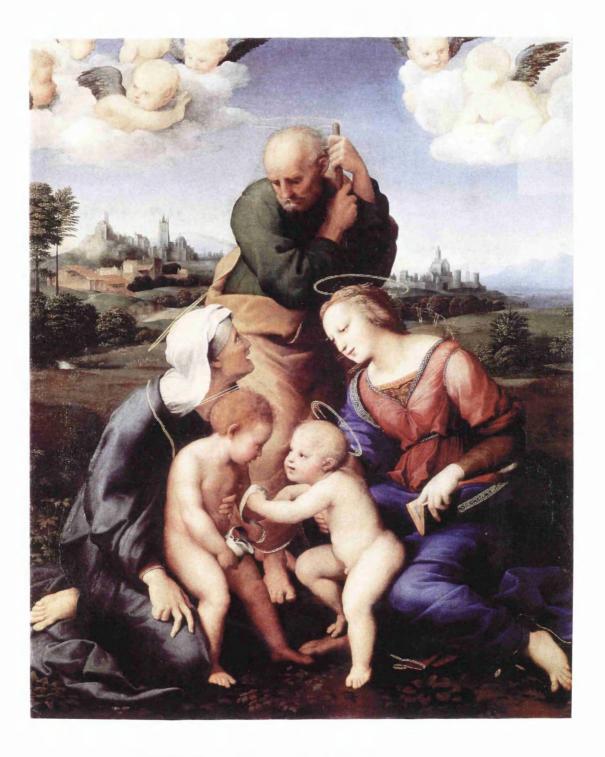
The depiction of the Holy Family grew during the Renaissance and was perfected by artists

like Leonardo, Michelangelo and Raphael. The human interest and obvious affection ties into

the themes of humanism during the Renaissance.

Provenance: Painted for Domenico Canigiani in Florence, now in Munich.

Literature: Oberhuber, Konrad 1999; pg. 72.



14. The Holy Family with Saints Elizabeth and John Raphael

### Glossary

#### Aeiparthenos Ever-virgin

Alchemy The search for the substance responsible for the transmutation of base metals into pure matter such as gold. Pre-scientific societies viewed gold as incorruptible which signified perfection. Its practice combines spirituality and chemistry. Its goal was to find immortality. Western Alchemy has its roots in Gnosticism and considered, man the base metal; transmutation signified his spiritual perfection; the elixir was the means to the immortality of the soul. The medical application of alchemy reached its peak in the early sixteenth century with Paracelsus who revolutionized the art by insisting that the true and only purpose of alchemy was to heal the sick and not make gold. (Dixon pgs.2-3).

**Apocalypse** The Book of Revelations. Prophetic of disaster or the end of the world.

**Apocrypha** Of doubtful authority. Hidden or secret things. Applied to certain books of the New Testament, which have not been accepted as canonical or authoritative by the Christian church.

**Arianism** Believed that Jesus was created by God the father but was not 'of him:' he was human and God adopted him because he was so good.

Cartharism (From the Greek *katharos*, meaning unpolluted or pure). Has its roots in Gnosticism and Manichaean teachings. The Gospel of St. John was the chief source of their doctrine. Some sects practiced celibacy. They rejected the Sacraments and believed that good and evil were equal in the universe. They were devoted to the pursuit of direct mystical experience of pure spiritual light whose true home is with God in heaven (Hinnels 1995, pg. 93).

Covenant From the time of Moses Israel considered itself to be a covenant community. The people of Israel were given the Ten Commandments and agreed to be obedient to God. The 'new covenant' is Christianity, Israel restored (Hinnells 1995, pg. 122).

**Docetists** A branch of the Gnostics who believed that Jesus existed as a phantom or spirit. Christian theologians then had to stress the humanity of Christ (Warner 1976, pg. 63)

**Estafado** is the work done by a *estofador*, who specializes in the imitation of textile patterns and textures on polychrome sculptures. The work is done by painting over gilt areas and then engraving or incising the paint to reveal the gold beneath.

Gnosticism The belief that knowledge is the way to salvation. Gnostics maintained that the material world was evil while the world of the spirit is good. According to their teachings the material and spiritual world had two different creators. They mainly rejected the Hebrew Bible because it was a positive view of the material world. They did not believe that the world was free from original sin and therefore denied the Virgin Birth (Warner 1976, pg. 63).

**Incarnation** The act of embodying in flesh. The manifestation of Christ.

Manichaeism A dualism of body and spirit, good and evil. Mani was the founder of this religion in 216-226CE. Its sources are mainly drawn from Gnostic and Jewish Apocalyptic writings. Mani developed an elaborate myth of an invasion of the kingdom of light (good) by the Prince of Darkness (bad) (Hinnells 1995, pg. 293).

**Mariology** The study of the life and myth of the Virgin Mary.

**Pastiglia** A molded paste used in Renaissance Italy consisting of gesso or white egg binder. Usually applied soft, molded in relief, and then is allowed to harden. It is then carved and either painted or gilded.

Recapitulate Evolutionary stages of a race or type. Reoccurrence.

The Annunciation The announcement to Mary that she will bare the Son of God. To announce.

The Assumption of the Virgin The full bodily assumption of Mary into heaven after she dies. Her body and soul were considered to pure to remain on the earth. She drops her girdle on the head of Saint Thomas who does not believe her assumption. It is a symbol of her earthly chastity and perpetual virginity (Apostolos-Cappadona 1998, pg. 28)

The Book of James A second century source that describes the early life of Mary and give details like the name of Mary's Parents, Ann and Joachim. It is the oldest source known for the life of Mary and although it is considered apocryphal, nothing has influenced the myth and cult of the Virgin more (James 1924).

The Expulsion from Paradise After the fall from grace, Adam and Eve are thrown out of Paradise by a fiery angel who brandishes a sword.

The Golden Legend A Book written by Jacobus de Voragine around 1260 AD. It contains the legends of many saints including the life of Mary (her birth, purification and assumption). It is considered an apocryphal source even though its information about the Virgin has been accepted as church dogma. (http://www.udayton.edu/Mary/)

The Lamentation of Christ The mourning of Christ, after he is taken down from the cross, by his mother Mary.

The Transitus Mariae A fifth century document that recounts the end of Mary's life on earth. Considered an apocryphal source. (http://www.udayton.edu/Mary/)

**Trinity** The idea that God, Jesus his son and the Holy Spirit are one in the same.

Theotokos Mother of God. God-bearer

Mappamondo A French Medieval symbol, frequently pictured in the creation of the world. An abstraction of the Cosmos (Wormholdt, 1984, pgs. 46-47 & 51).

### Appendix I.

#### The Song of Solomon

#### Chapter 2

- 1. I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys.
- 2. As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.
- **3.** As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is m beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet tom my taste.
- **4.** He brought me to the banqueting house, and his banner over me was love.
- 5. Stay with flagons, comfort me with apples: for I am sick of love.
- **6.** His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me.
- 7. I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor awake my love, till he please.
- **8.** The voice of my beloved! Behold, he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills.
- 9. My beloved is like a roe or a young hart: behold, he standeth behind our wall, he looketh forth at the windows, shewing himself through the lattice.
- 10. My beloved spake, and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away.
- 11. For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone;
- 12. The flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land;
- 13. The fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell. Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.
- 14. O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs, let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely.
- 15. Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vines: for our vines have tender grapes.
- **16.** My beloved is mine, and I am his: he feedeth among the lilies.
- 17. Until the daybreak, and the shadows flee away, turn, my beloved, and be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether.

#### Chapter 4

- 1. Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair; thou hast doves' eyes within thy locks: thy hair is as a flock of gats, that appear from mount Gilead.
- 2. Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are even shorn, which came up from the washing; whereof every one bare twins, and none is barren among them.
- **3.** Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet, and thy speech is comely: thy temples are like a piece of a pomegranate within thy locks.
- **4.** Thy neck is like the tower of David builded for an armoury, whereon there hand a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men.

- 5. Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins, which feed among the lilies.
- **6.** Until the daybreak, and the shadows flee away, I will get me to the mountain of myrrh, and to the hill of frankincense.
- 7. Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee.
- **8.** Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon: look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards.
- **9.** Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse; thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes, with one chain of thy neck.
- 10. How fair is thy love, my sister, my spouse! How much better is thy love than wine! And the smell of thine ointments than all the spices!
- 11. Thy lips, O my spouse, drop as the honeycomb: honey and mild are under thy tongue; and the smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon.
- 12. A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed.
- 13. Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; campire, with spikenard.
- **14.** Spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spice:
- 15. A fountain of garden, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon.
- **16.** Awake, O north wind; and come, thou south; blow upon my garden that the spices thereof my flow our. Let my beloved come into his garden and eat his pleasant fruits.

#### **Revelations 12**

- 1. And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:
- 2. And she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.
- **3.** And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.
- 4. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.
- 5. And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.
- **6.** And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that thy should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.
- 7. And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels,
- **8.** And prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven.
- 9. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil. And Satan, which deceive th the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.

- 10. And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night.
- 11. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.
- 12. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them, Woe to the inhabiters of the earth and of the sea! For the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.
- 13. And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman, which brought forth the man-child.
- 14. And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.
- 15. And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood.
- 16. And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon cast out of his mouth.
- 17. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.

## Appendix II.

#### List of Catalogues in the order they should appear in the exhibition.

- 1. Eve, by Antonio Rizzo, Catalouge Two.
- 2. Madonna and Child, Andrea Sansovino, Catalougue Thriteen.
- 3. The Creation and Fall of Man Tapestry, Catalogue One.
- 4. Garden of Earthly Delights, Hieronymus Bosch, Catalogue Nine.
- 5. The Fall of Man, Albrecht Dürer, Catalogue Ten.
- 6. Annunciation, Fra Angelico, Catalogue Three.
- 7. Annunciation, with the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, Giovanni di Paolo, Catalogue Four.
- 8. Virgin of the Assumption, Circle of Felipe Vigarny, Catalogue Eight.
- 9. Adam and Eve with Infants Cain and Abel, Cristofano Robetta, Catalogue Eleven.
- 10. The Canigiani Holy Family, Raphael, Catalogue Fourteen.
- 11. The Fall and Redemption of Man, Tapestry, Catalogue Five.
- 12. Tree of Life and Death, Manuscript miniature, Catalogue Six.
- 13. Madonna and Child with Saint Benedict, Saint Quentin and two musical angels, Francesco Marmitta, Catalogue Twelve.
- 14. *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Angels and Saints*, The Master of the Straus Madonna, Catalogue Seven.

# **Bibliography**

Apostolos-Cappadona, Diane. Dictionary of Women in Religious Art. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998.

Argan, Guilio Carlo. Fra Angelico: biographical and critical study. Skira, Geneva, 1955.

Bacchi, Andrea; Bentivoglio-Ravasio, Beatrice & Raffaella; De Marchi, Andrea; Pettenati.

Silvana. Francesco Marmitta. Umberto Allemandi, Torino, 1995.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Treasures of the Bavarian State Library: an Exhibition of Manuscripts incunabula and Block-books. Munich 1970.

Beck, James H. Italian Renaissance Painting. Könemann, Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999.

Beck, James H. Raphael. Thames & Hudson, London, 1994.

Bellini, Paolo. Catalogo Completo dell' opera grafica del Robetta. Salamon e Agustoni editori, 1973.

Bennett, Anna Gray. Five Centuries of Tapestry, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco and Chronicle Books, San Francisco, 1992.

Blanch, Santiago Alcolea. The Prado. Harry N. Abrams Inc., New York, 1991.

Bonsanti, Giorgio. Beato Angelico: Catalogo Completo. Octavo, Firenze. 1998.

Boorsch Suzanne and Orenstein, Nadine. *The Metropolitan Museum Spring Bulletin*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1997.

Burn, Barbara & Motebello, Philippe (ed.). *Masterpieces of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.* Bulfinch Press/Little, Brown &Co., London, 1993.

Cavallo, Adolfo Salvatore. *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York, 1993.

Ceysson, Genevieve Bresc-Bautier, Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, Francois Souchal. Sculpture from the Renaissance to the present day. Vol. 2. Taschen, Klöln, 1987.

Christiansen, Keith and Kanter, Laurence and Strehlke, Carl. *Painting in Renaissance Siena*, 1420-1500. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1988.

Cinotti, Mia & Martin, Gregory. *The Complete Paintings of Bosch*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1969.

Cockerell, Sydney. Old Testament Miniatures, A Medieval Picture Book with 238 Paintings from the Creation to the Story of David. Phaidon Press Ltd., London, 1969.

Dixon, Laurinda. Alchemical Imagery in Bosch's Garden of Delights. UMI Research Press, Ann arbor, Michigan, 1981.

Dressler, Fridolin. Treasures of the Bavarian State Library: an exhibition of manuscripts, incunabula and block-books. Wittemann & Likkers, Frankfurt, 1970. Translated by Malcolm Turner

Gore, St. John & Sutlon, Denys. *The Art of Painting in Florence & Siena from 1250-1500*. Wildenstein & Co., London, 1965. Feb24-10april 1965.

Graef, Hilda C. Mary: a history of doctrine and devotion. Shead & Ward, London, 1994.

Grimal, Pierre, Dictionary of Classical Mythology. Penguin Books. England, 1991.

Grossinger, Christa. Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1997.

Hall, James. Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art. Cox & Wyman Ltd., London, 1974.

Hall, James. Illustrated Dictionary of Symbols in Eastern and Western Art. Harper Collins, New York, 1994.

Hamburger, Jeffrey, F. Nuns as Artists, the Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent. University of California Press, London, 1997.

Harbison, Craig. The Art of the Northern Renaissance. The Everyman Art Library, Great Britain, 1995.

Hart, Clive & Stevenson, Kay. Heaven and the Flesh: imagery of desire from the Renaissance to the Rococo. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.

Hood, William. Fra Angelico at San Marco. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1993.

Hughes, Anthony. Michelangelo. Phaidon Press Ltd., London, 1997.

Huntley, Haydn. Andrea Sansovino: Sculptor and Architect of the Italian Renaissance. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1935.

James, Montague. The Apocryphal New Testament. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.

Jameson, Mrs., Legends of the Madonna. Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1909.

Joannides, Paul. Masaccio and Masolino, the complete catalogue. Phaidon Press Ltd., London, 1993.

Keutner, Herbert. Sculpture: Renaissance to Rococo. George Rainbird Ltd., London, 1969.

Knappe, Karl-Adolf. Dürer, the complete engravings, etchings and woodcuts, Harry Abrams, Inc., New York.

Knowles, Horace & Stirling, John (ed.). The Bible, Authorized Version. Oxford University Press, London, 1804-1954.

Kraus, Henry. Eve and Mary: Conflicting Images of Medieval Women. In, Broude, N. &

Garrard, M. (eds.) Feminism and Art History. Harper & Row, Publishers, New York. 1982.

Levenson, Jay A., Oberhuber, Konrad, Sheehan, Jacquelyn. *Early Italian Engravings, from the National Gallery of Art.* National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., 1973.

Linfert, Carl. Hieronymus Bosch. Thames and Hudson, London, 1989.

Luchs, Alison . Tullio Lombardo and Ideal Portriat Sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490-1530. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.

Male, Emile. Religious Art: from the twelfth to the eighteenth century. Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1977.

Mariacher, Giovanni. Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia. Del Turco Editore Firenze, Florence, 1950

Murphy, Cullen. The World According to Eve, women in the Bible in ancient times and our own. Penguin Press, Great Britian, 1998.

Norris, Pamela. The Story of Eve. Papermac, London, 1999.

Oberhuber, Konrad. Raphael, The Paintings. Prestel, Milan, 1999.

Olson, Roberta. Italian Renaissance sculpture. Thames & Hudson, Ltd., London, 1992.

Os, H.W. Van. The Art of Devotion in the late Middle Ages in Europe 1300-1500. Merrell

Holberton: Rijksmuesum, London/Amsterdam. 1994.

Pelikan, Jaroslav. Mary Through the Centuries. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1996.

Power, Eileen. Medieval Women. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975.

Quintana, Alicia. Prado Museum. Aldeasa, Spain, 1994.

Royal Academy of Arts. *Primitives to Picasso: winter exhibition catalogue*. Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1962.

Royal Academy of Arts. Art Treasures of England, The Regional Collections. London, 1998.

Russell, Diane. Eva/Ava: Women in Renaissance and Baroque Prints. Feminist Press at The City University of New York, Washington D.C., 1990.

Schulz, Anne, M. Antonio Rizzo, sculptor and architect. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1983.

Shapley, Fern Rusk. Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Italian Schools XIII-XV. Phaidon Press Ltd., London, 1966.

Smith, Quinton M., 'The Winter Exhibition at the Royal Academy I: Paintings of St. Fina and Eve Recumbent.' The Burlington Magazine, CIV, 1962.

Stratton, Suzanne. Spanish Polychrome Sculpture 1500-1800 in United States Collections. Spanish Institute, New York, 1993.

Trusted, Marjorie. Spanish Sculpture. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1995.

Walkington, Thomas. *The Optick Glasse of Humors 1631*. Scholars' facsimiles and Reprints, Delmar, New York, 1981.

Warner, Marina. Alone of All Her Sex. Vintage Books, New York, 1976.

Warner, Marina. Monuments and Maidens: the allegory of the female form. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1985.

#### **Unpublished sources**

Peyton, Lucy. 'Art commentary on the Dual Sculptural motifs of Church and Synagogue.' University of Hull, 1999.

Wormhoudt, Kristi Ann. *Manuscript Illuminations by Giovanni di Paolo*. PhD. Microfilm. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1984.

#### **On-line Sources**

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. <a href="http://www.metmuseum.org/home.asp">http://www.metmuseum.org/home.asp</a> August 2000.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. http://www.nga.gov/ August 2000.

Prado Museum, Madrid. <a href="http://museoprado.mcu.es/prado/html/ihome.html">http://museoprado.mcu.es/prado/html/ihome.html</a> August 2000.

San Francisco Fine Arts Museum. <a href="http://www.thinker.org/fan/multilingual.html">http://www.thinker.org/fan/multilingual.html</a> August 2000.

University of Dayton, Ohio. <a href="http://www.udayton.edu/Mary/">http://www.udayton.edu/Mary/</a> August 2000.

