

**ANDREA NECHITA**

**OFFERING BODY, PLEASURE, AND WEALTH: THE VISUAL  
REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN TEMPTING SAINTS (FIFTEENTH AND  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY)**

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization  
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

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By

Andrea Nechita

(Canada)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in  
Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of CEU.

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Budapest  
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I, the undersigned, **Andrea Nechita**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 21 May 2013

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**Signature**

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# INTRODUCTION

Supported by the Church, the idea of women as seducers, temptresses, and devils in disguise can be traced in numerous texts and also made its way into many works of art. Images of seductresses can be found in altarpieces, private paintings, manuscripts, sculptures, stained glass, prints, and even tapestries. A man's response to an attractive woman is, biologically speaking, involuntary. A beautiful woman's presence triggers fantasies in men's mind and induces feelings of desire. A seductress may induce such feelings, but for her to truly be a seductress there must be some sort of male resistance. Christian doctrine attempts to move away from concepts of biological function and concentrates on elevating chastity.

The topos of woman as seductress has a long textual history and is an archetype already found in the bible and biblical apocrypha. The collections of stories of the Desert Fathers, monks and hermits who lived secluded or in small groups in the Egyptian desert, also contain numerous examples of temptresses. Attempted seduction by temptresses are found in many later saint's lives. These lives and legends were popular throughout the medieval period and into the early Renaissance. Not only did these texts make up a large part of the reading materials available during these times, but they also heavily influenced the arts. Artists, especially in the sixteenth century, often depicted the moment of a saint's temptation. In particular, the temptations of Saint Anthony the Great was a subject that was frequently depicted by German, Flemish, and Dutch artists due to the greater artistic freedom in its representation.

The spaces where these artworks were presented varies greatly. Some works were commissioned by religious institutions, while others were destined for a much more private audience. Thus, these images were viewed and reflected upon in very different settings. Temptation scenes provide strong statements regarding proper moral behavior, as well as,

behavior that was deemed improper. The depiction of certain elements in the works, especially the ways in which the seducing woman is portrayed, offer reflections on the choices of the artist, the wishes of the patron, and larger societal trends of the period, where fears and new attitudes are placed on display. The main interest in this study is the various ways in which the seducing woman is represented. My study will examine the representations of the seducing woman specifically focusing on saints' temptation scenes.

How are the seducing women depicted in saint's temptation scenes between roughly 1400/1450 and 1600? Are there any patterns that are followed in their representation? Does this change over time? How does the space of the beholder affect the representation? By analyzing and comparing the seductresses in the visual sources, my research is intended to reveal the variety of models, and the frequency in which each occurs. Variations in the seducing women should become apparent after close examination of the attributes of each seductress. The patterns of the representations of the seducing woman will be also analyzed over time, and this analysis will illuminate the changing interests of the artists and patrons. The medium in which the work was created will also be taken into consideration. Finally, the space of the beholder is examined and will reveal what representations of seductresses were thought to be suitable for whom.

## **Temptresses and Saints in Art Historical Scholarship**

Interest in the history of sexuality has been gaining ground over the past few decades. The examination of medieval sexualities is still in the beginning stages, though in recent years it has been increasingly debated and is becoming central to the field especially in relation to contemporary gender studies. Early studies into the history of sexuality were met with ridicule and disapproval within the professional sphere and long been ignored or set

aside. Current literature on the topic of medieval sexualities includes authors such as Ruth Mazo Karras, Vern L. Bullough, James A. Brundage, Karma Lochrie, and James A. Schultz. These authors generally touch upon the notion of women as temptresses but it is not something they focused. In art historical research, the late Christa Grossinger examined the representation of women in the art of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance in Northern Europe.<sup>1</sup> Using a number of visual sources, she discussed the two basic categories of how women were imagined, namely, the good woman and the bad/evil woman. Grossinger also charted the way in which these two images underwent period of change, and notes how the advent of printing opened up a whole new genre of caricature representations.

Another art historian, Monica Ann Walker Vadillo, in her book on the representations of Bathsheba in late medieval French manuscript illumination examines the multiple layers behind this traditionally negatively viewed temptress. Vadillo challenges the typical notion of “...good women can only be good, and bad women can only be bad,” and states that this cannot be applied to the figure of Bathsheba as it does not “account for the complexities that surround [her].”<sup>2</sup> Bathsheba is not the typical temptress in that she does not pursue King David. A seductress must be met with some type of male resistance in order to be labeled as such.

Returning to temptresses and saints, not much has been written about this subject and its representation in the visual arts. The temptations and hardships of Saint Anthony the Great, and other hermit saints, became especially popular with artists in the sixteenth century. A volume by Michael Phillip presents around eighty visual sources of the temptation of Saint

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<sup>1</sup> Christa Grossinger, *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Monica Ann Walker Vadillo, *Bathsheba in Late Medieval French Manuscript Illumination: Innocent Object or Desire or Object of Sin?* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 83.

Anthony in various media from the Middle Ages to contemporary times.<sup>3</sup> Sandra Uhrig explores medieval depictions of Saint Anthony and discusses how changes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries lead artists to explore new approaches in its representation focusing especially on Hieronymus Bosch, his works, and other Northern artists.<sup>4</sup> Not much has been written in art history about the images of the temptations of Saint Anthony, and other saints, from this time period and region, and to the best of my knowledge, the temptresses themselves have been discussed even less. The seductresses of saints and their visual representations appear to have been generally passed over by art historians, until now.

## **The Primary Evidence**

The visual sources used in this study were gathered from major online image databases, such as the Real Online image server,<sup>5</sup> museum collection databases,<sup>6</sup> search engines, and printed publications.<sup>7</sup> The analyzed images cover a variety of mediums, including: manuscript illuminations, paintings, drawings, etchings, engravings, woodblock prints, stained glass, sculpture, and tapestry. The majority of the visual materials found for this study were produced in the sixteenth century and most fall into the categories of paintings or paper media. A significantly smaller number of sources come from stained glass, sculpture, and tapestry. Manuscript illuminations which contain temptation scenes of saints with seductresses date to the fifteenth century.

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<sup>3</sup> Michael Philipp, *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius: von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst: eine Ausstellung des Bucerius Kunst Forums*, 9. Februar bis 18. Mai 2008 (Munich: Himer, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> Sandra Uhrig, "Die Versuchung des Heiligen Antonius: Eine Vision des ausgehenden Mittelalters." Ph.D. dissertation. Munich: Ludwig Maximilians University, 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Institute of Material Culture, Austria. <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/index.html>

<sup>6</sup> Notable ones include the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University's Art Gallery, and the British Museum.

<sup>7</sup> Uhrig, "Die Versuchung des Heiligen Antonius," and Philipp, *Schrecken und Lust*.



## Research Problem and Methodology

This study explores the visual representations of a saint's temptation, and specifically, examines the depiction of women as seducers of saints and other religious persons. The initial research into this topic unveiled a number of questions regarding not only the types of representations of the seducers themselves, but also related to the reception of such works. After diving into the topic more thoroughly, it soon became clear that the visual representation of the tempted saint were especially popular in German, Flemish, and Dutch art in the late fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century.

Due to the large number of visual sources, over one hundred, that make up the base for this study I will not be able to discuss each work in detail. I will analyze and categorize each source based on the attributes of the seductresses.<sup>8</sup> The collected sample of visual sources contains some inconsistencies. A significantly larger number of works was created by Flemish and Dutch artists, with a smaller number coming from Germany. Another smaller group of works comes from Austria and today's Slovakia, while all the manuscript illuminations come from France but have Netherlandish influences. The reasons for the greater popularity and/or survival rate of Flemish and Dutch paintings portraying the temptation of saints, in particular Saint Anthony, are interesting to note but will not be pursued in this study.

An initial analysis of the visual sources reveals differing versions of the seducing female; these different forms appear consistent. They have been divided into four models of

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<sup>8</sup> I created a coded catalog of all the visual sources using Extensible Markup Language (XML). Each seducer's attributes and corresponding model were identified and recorded. The coded catalog was then exported into Excel where I was able to observe the patterns of the seducing models in relation to chronology, medium, and region.

seduction. Each seductress fits into one or more of these models based on the attributes present:

- One model of seduction is represented by a richly dressed woman. In this type, the woman attempts to provoke a desire for the material riches of this world in the holy man. Specific identifying traits for the rich woman model include; high quality dress, jewelry, headdress (sometimes including a veil), and luxury vessels. These traits may appear all together, or in some cases, the woman may only be depicted with one or two of these items.
- The second model of temptation is more clearly based in biological function as the goal of the woman is to provoke sexual desire and lust in the male figure. This category encompasses attempted temptations through representations of nudity, as well as, beauty, virginity, and youth. In a large number of the visual sources dealing with the Saint Anthony theme, the woman approaches Anthony in a state of undress, either fully nude, or baring one or both breasts<sup>9</sup>. Nude did not always mean fully nude, and thus the nude category for this study includes any and all states of undress.
- The third seducing model has been labeled the “everyday woman.” In such depictions the temptress wears a simple dress. There are no attributes of wealth on her, nor is she nude in any way. Devil attributes may or may not be present. In the cases where there are no devil traits she is represented simply as a woman, but of course, no less dangerous than any of the other forms when she is tempting the saint or religious man.
- Depictions of the fourth model, the “devil-woman,” were, in the case of Anthony, influenced directly by the Athanasius legend, where the devil came to him

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<sup>9</sup> Sometimes the seductress wears a thin transparent material. They also belong in this category.

in the guise of a woman.<sup>10</sup> Specific attributes which identify the devil woman include the presence of at least one of these indicators: clawed feet and/or hands, cloven hooves, and horns. Sometimes these claws or horns are difficult to spot, especially when they are not portrayed clearly. For example, some artists included clawed feet on the seductress, but they are mostly hidden by the skirt of her dress.

In this study, an effort to keep categories as simple as possible, sources containing more than one form will be labeled with multiple categories depending on the presence of the main identifying traits associated with each model. This method provides the clearest analysis as many seductresses have the attributes of two or more models. The fourth model, woman as a devil, devil in disguise, or “devil-woman,” is unique in that it cannot stand on its own. It must be paired with one of the other three forms. The sources have been grouped and arranged by region, date, and seduction model. Grouping the works according to the model of seduction used allows for an overall analysis of them. Works which I have deemed to be the best representatives of each specific model will be given in the corresponding chapter and dissected in detail.

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<sup>10</sup> David Brakke trans., “Life of Saint Anthony of Egypt,” in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001), 9.

## I. WOMEN

### Seducing and Being Seduced

Women are creatures of their sex. According to the teachings in the biblical and patristic traditions, women are ruled by emotion and carnal appetites.<sup>11</sup> Due to this weakness, they must either be kept under close watch or avoided altogether. Biblical commentaries added to the negative views on women, especially those works which interpreted the story of the Temptation in Genesis 3. In this tradition, Eve was the first temptress of man and was seen to carry a greater share of the blame for the fall of humankind.<sup>12</sup> Although she is not named as a temptress in the narrative, Christian theologians were convinced that Adam committed the first sin due to Eve's temptation. She was blamed repeatedly as the sole cause for the fall of humanity, while Adam was simply seen as the unfortunate one who was wickedly tricked into sharing this sin. Some writers even compared Eve to the serpent itself, calling them one and the same.

The serpent tempted Eve and won. Thus, Eve ended up taking over the serpent's evil qualities and became the tempter herself. Interestingly, this taking over of the other's qualities went both ways. In medieval depictions of the Temptation scene, the serpent was portrayed with the face of a beautiful virgin.<sup>13</sup> The idea behind the serpent taking on the face of a beautiful virgin revolves around the notion that every being loves what is similar to itself, and

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<sup>11</sup> For a detailed and concise overview on the nature of woman focusing on the medieval period see Claude Thomasset, "The Nature of Woman," in *A History of Women in the West*, vol. 2, *Silences of the Middle Ages*, ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 43-69.

<sup>12</sup> For a more thorough discussion of women in relation to the Fall, see Grossinger, *Picturing Women*. For more on the later clerical reception and notion of woman see Jaques Dalarun, "The Clerical Gaze," in *A History of Women in the West*, vol. 2, *Silences of the Middle Ages*, ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992): 15-42.

<sup>13</sup> Gerhard Jaritz, "Draconcopedes, or, the Faces of Devilish Virgins," in *Animals and Otherness in the Middle Ages: Perspectives across Disciplines*, ed. Monica Ann Walker Vadillo et al. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013), 85-93.

so by taking on this face, Eve was more easily deceived.<sup>14</sup> The serpent and Eve became one with their tempting and seducing natures, and this image became the standard for all women. Although women could take up this role of seducers, they themselves were seen to be especially susceptible to being seduced themselves, as Eve was by the serpent. Due to their weaker sex, it was thought that women could be more easily fooled and manipulated by the devil, and thus used by him to do his bidding.

The notion of women as seducers, temptresses, and devils in disguise was popularized by numerous texts in Late Antiquity and continued in the Middle Ages. Saint Jerome, Church Father and an advocate of the ascetic life, in his treatise, *Adversus Jovinianum*, discusses his ideas of what women's real nature was in contrast to men's, including the notion of women being insatiable in regards to pleasures.<sup>15</sup> This work heavily influenced many later writers. In Jerome's letter to Eustochius, he speaks of his own fight against temptations, notably his fantasies of dancing girls.<sup>16</sup> Saint Ambrose's position towards women was influenced by his Stoic education. Stoicism taught that strong emotions create errors in judgment. It was believed that those who could break the bonds of destructive emotions would reach moral and intellectual perfection. Women, because of their greater tendency towards emotion were seen as an especially destructive force. Moreover, Ambrose saw human flesh as tainted with the scar of sexuality<sup>17</sup> and "for him, human sexual feeling stood out in a dark silhouette against the blaze of Christ's untouched body."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> In some cases, the depiction of the serpent's human head developed further and female breasts or entire female torsos ending in a snake tail were added. For a short commentary and visual examples of this, refer to Jaritz, "Draconcopedes."

<sup>15</sup> Saint Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum*. Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina 23. ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: 1863. facsimile reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1982-1993), 211-338.

<sup>16</sup> Saint Jerome, *Letters and Select Works*, in A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second series, Vol. IV. ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids, MI: WM.B. Eerdmans, reprint 1961), 24-25, 27-28, 30. A surviving example of a visual depiction of this vision can be found in the Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry, 1405-1408/9. (Cat. 108).

<sup>17</sup> Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 350.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 352.

Saint Augustine, also shared the view that women were physically subjected to men, though his ideas did not go to the same extreme as Jerome's. Augustine's past sexual activity survives in his *Confessions*, in which he looks back upon his earlier life in detail.<sup>19</sup> Peter Brown states that in this work "sexuality was presented as a facet of human social relations quite as frequently as it was analyzed as a problem for the human will."<sup>20</sup> Like other Church Fathers, Augustine feared carnal temptation and sexual arousal due to the strong emotions and uncontrollability which he believed came along with it. He also saw "the intimate relation between the act of intercourse and the transmission of original sin."<sup>21</sup> Augustine purposefully avoided women, even those who approached him as friends. Even before the Fall the inequality of the sexes existed, as the classical notion of friendship could only be present between equal persons.<sup>22</sup> Although Augustine had correspondences with women through letters, the concepts of the inequality between the sexes resulted in him excluding women as potential friends.<sup>23</sup> As Maureen A. Tilley states "Any friendship between a man and a woman, even in Eden, was ordered to an exclusive relationship for the sake of progeny, a relationship not appropriate for celibate men."<sup>24</sup> But, although women were seen as the cause of humanity's fall from grace, it was a woman who ultimately brought the savior of humanity into the world. The Virgin Mary was seen as the antithesis of all that is good and immaculate. She was the ideal woman and the perfect mother. As Jerome put it, "Death through Eve, life through Mary."<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the notion that Mary conceived and gave

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 388.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 353.

<sup>22</sup> Maureen A. Tilley, "No Friendly Letters: Augustine's Correspondance with Women," in *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography*, ed. Dale B. Martin and Patricia Cox Miller (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 41.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>25</sup> Saint Jerome, *PL* 22: col.408. <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-06/Npnf2-06-10.htm#TopOfPage> (accessed March 2013).

birth all while remaining a virgin created an impossible achievement for any real woman to attain.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries monks still felt the need to find protection from women in isolated places.<sup>26</sup> In the medieval West, literate and educated men, many of them monks, clerics and prelates, wrote on a variety of topics regarding human nature.<sup>27</sup> Included in these topics of course is the nature of woman. Many of these men who wrote about women lived and worked in exclusively male spaces and “clerics, who from the eleventh century on were strictly enjoined to remain celibate, knew nothing about women, or, rather, about Woman, other than what they imagined.”<sup>28</sup> They leaned on Scripture and tradition, especially on the ideas set forth by the Church Fathers. It is no wonder then that the overarching views on the nature of women did not change much. Although the beliefs about women's nature were anything but positive, there again was one very positive woman who was praised by all, the Virgin. This brings about a strong contradiction in which the same men who “praised woman to the skies also condemned her out of hand and yet believed wholeheartedly that all human beings, male and female alike, had a place in the scheme of salvation.”<sup>29</sup>

### **Women Tempting Saints**

As mentioned before, stories of seductions and attempted seductions can be found throughout religious literature including the bible, apocrypha, in the stories of the Desert Fathers, as well as in many saints' legends. Men and women are both found on the receiving

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<sup>26</sup> Dalarun, "The Clerical Gaze," 23. For a further discussion and examination of the fears of Medieval clerics refer to Dyan Elliot, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

<sup>27</sup> Dalarun, "The Clerical Gaze," 15.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 17.

end of such attempts, but in most stories it is the woman from whom the greatest threats of temptation appear. As stated, the seducing woman comes in a number of forms. While she is sometimes depicted as a harlot, an overly lustful woman, or simply a regular woman, the seducing female is also sometimes described as a guise used by the devil. In numerous stories the devil takes on the form of a beautiful young woman with the intent of leading the faithful away from their pious paths.

In many stories the devil would either send demons disguised as women, or would himself take up this role in order to seduce those trying to live a chaste life.<sup>30</sup> Examples of various temptresses can be found in the collections of stories of the Desert Fathers. These religious men, hermits and monks, lived either in seclusion or in communities in the Egyptian desert. As the serpent was fused to Eve, the devil also became fused to woman. Brakke states that “the female body provided a compelling image with which to render visible an unseen drama of temptation, followed by seduction or resistance.”<sup>31</sup> The monastic writers used women, either as real women or as devil in disguise, as a way to visualize the demonic conflict which surrounded a monk.<sup>32</sup> Later saints' legends contained stories in which the saints themselves, their disciples, or other religious persons, also faced temptations of the flesh. Some of these temptations come from the religious person themselves. For example, they may begin to reminisce about a member of the opposite sex from their own doing, from the devil's urging, or from overly zealous admirers. Other temptations are forced upon the chaste man or woman when they are either locked in a room full of women in the case of men, or when they are taken against their will to a brothel.

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<sup>30</sup> For a discussion on men's and women's chastity in the Medieval period refer to Kathleen Coyne Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>31</sup> David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006), 7.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem.



Notable examples which include one or more of these motifs include, in particular, the legends of St. Anthony the Great, St. Benedict of Nursia, Saint Chrysanthus, St. Vitus, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Francis, St. Agnes of Rome, St. Margaret (Pelagius), and St. Justina. The first literary source about Saint Anthony is his *Vita*, written by Athanasius of Alexandria around 360 C.E.<sup>33</sup> In this *Vita*, the devil first came to Anthony disguised as a woman to try and lead him to temptation. After failing to persuade Anthony with this disguise, the devil appeared to him as a little black boy.<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, in monastic literature from the fourth and fifth centuries, the devil sometimes would appear as a dark skinned figure.<sup>35</sup> Brakke states that “such stories are found in nearly every form of early monastic literature, ranging from the collected sayings of desert monks (the *Apophthegmata Patrum*), to hagiography (the *Life of Antony*), to travel accounts (the *Historia Monachorum* and the *Lausiac History*), to discursive treatises on the ascetic life (John Cassian's *conferences*).”<sup>36</sup> Though he also notes that the general idea about black demons is widespread, the actual number of their appearances is small.<sup>37</sup> The black devil, or demon, could take the shape of a boy, girl, man, or woman. This black devil is referred to as the spirit of fornication and its presence, especially in saints’ legends, continued into the medieval period.

In the legend of Saint Benedict of Nursia, there was a monk who instead of focusing on his prayers, would go out and spend his time on worldly matters. When Benedict went out to see what this monk was doing, he saw a small black boy tugging on the man and was

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<sup>33</sup> For a critical edition of the Greek text (with a French translation), see G. J. M. Bartelink, ed. *Athanasius: Vie d'Antoine*, Sources chrétiennes 400 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994).

<sup>34</sup> Brakke trans., “Life of Saint Anthony of Egypt,” 10.

<sup>35</sup> For a thorough discussion and compelling insight into the phenomenon of black demons refer to Brakke's article “Ethiopian Demons: Male Sexuality, the Black-Skinned Other, and the Monastic Self,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10, no. 3 and 4 (2001): 501-535.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 503.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 504.

pulling him outside.<sup>38</sup> Saint Benedict, like Saint Anthony, also had a temptation directly from the devil but in a slightly different manner. Benedict went into the desert to live as a hermit and after being there for some time, the devil made him think of a beautiful woman he once saw. This created such a strong feeling in him that it almost made him quit his hermit life. According to the story, soon after these stirrings, he was touched by the grace of god and so he came to himself and rolled nude in thorns and cured himself of the temptation of the flesh through the pain of his wounds.<sup>39</sup> A reference is made to Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* in the Golden Legend about the experience of a Bishop. It speaks of an evil spirit tempting bishop Andrew of Fondi to lust after a nun living in his house.<sup>40</sup> In the story, a Jew who was traveling to Rome overhears evil spirits speaking of their malicious deeds. One of the spirits explains the temptation he invoked in the bishop's mind and how he even got the bishop to pat the woman on the back. The Jew learns of this and confronts the bishop, who becomes remorseful, sends the women out of his house and baptizes the Jew.

Two short legends about young men who converted from paganism to Christianity contain temptations which were forced upon them by their own fathers. Saint Vitus' temptation came from his father surrounding him with all sorts of worldly pleasures such as music and girls in an attempt to bring him back to paganism but to no avail.<sup>41</sup> Saint Chrysanthus' father also tried to persuade his son to return to paganism. He had his son "locked up in a room, and put five damsels in with him to seduce him with their amorous wiles."<sup>42</sup> But Chrysanthus prayed so that he would not be overcome with carnal lust. The women fell into a deep sleep and he emerged from the room with his chastity intact.

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<sup>38</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, Volume 1, tr. William G. Ryan (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995), 186.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 187.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., volume 2, 172.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., volume 1, 322.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., volume 2, 255.

In the legend of Saint Bernard, the young Bernard faced temptation and attempted seduction multiple times. The first incident describes how he was “gazing rather fixedly at a woman until suddenly, blushing at what he was doing, he rose as a stern avenger against himself and jumped into a pool of ice-cold water.”<sup>43</sup> The legend continues with the next incident involving “a girl, egged on by the devil, jumped into the bed where he was sleeping.”<sup>44</sup> But Bernard ignores the girl completely, and after failing to excite him with “touching and teasing,” she “blushed with shame, felt a flood of horror mixed with admiration, got out of bed, and hurried away.”<sup>45</sup> On the third occasion, while he was a guest in a matron's house, the woman was so impressed by his good looks that she “burned with desire for him.”<sup>46</sup> She snuck into the room he was sleeping in, but each time she did he would yell “thieves, robbers!” and the woman would run out.

Interestingly, in the legend of Saint Francis, one of his temptations comes not from a beautiful young woman, but instead from an old hag. Before Saint Francis took up a life of poverty he was a merchant and had lived a frivolous life. While the saint was on his path towards God, the story states that the “ancient enemy tried to turn Francis aside from his virtuous intention and forced the image of a hunchback woman upon his mind, warning him that if he did not give up the way of life he had undertaken, the devil would make him as ugly as she was.”<sup>47</sup> In another attempt to pull Francis from his new life, the devil “aroused in Francis a violent temptation of the flesh.”<sup>48</sup> Francis in response, “took off his habit and scourged himself with a coarse rope, saying to his body: 'see here, brother ass! Either behave

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., volume 2, 99.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., volume 2, 220-221. In a few visual sources of the temptation of saint Anthony from the sixteenth century an old hag is depicted near the young seducing woman. See catalog numbers 36, 44, 62.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 223.

yourself or take a beating!' But the temptation persisted, so the saint went out and threw himself naked into the deep snow.”<sup>49</sup>

Although many of the temptation stories revolve around men being the objects of seduction, as mentioned earlier women were also susceptible to such actions. Women, in fact, were thought to be especially vulnerable to temptation and seduction due to their emotional natures. The legend of Saint Augustine states that Augustine would not allow any women, not even his own sister or his brother's daughters to live in his house.<sup>50</sup> He trusted his sister and nieces but knew that other women would come to visit them if they lived with him, and with these visits men might also come too, and this would cause the “weaker ones among them to be disturbed by human temptations, or certainly to be put to shame by men's wicked suspicions.”<sup>51</sup>

Female saints and their legends served as models for women in all levels of society.<sup>52</sup> Although the lives tend to emphasize the unique and sometimes extreme circumstances and exceptional piousness of the female saints, these stories nonetheless helped mold ideas about the roles of lay women. In female saints' lives, the protection of their virginity was of the utmost importance. Sexual temptations in female saints' lives take on a more central position than in male saint's legends. With men's legends the defeat of carnal temptation is just one challenge in a long line of temptations and obstacles. On the other hand, in women's legends the sole mission for these women is to keep their virginity intact. Interestingly, female saints are not often depicted as struggling with ideas of sexual temptation as with, for example, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux when he catches himself staring at a woman. Instead, a number of female saints' legends unwind with the woman already having committed to a life of

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, volume 2, 125.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem.*

virginity. Some of these stories unfold with her being promised to a man in marriage, or with her being placed in passive role as a type of unintentional temptress in that her mere existence draws the unwanted attention of the male admirers around her.<sup>53</sup>

In the legend of Saint Agnes of Rome the prefect's son sees the young Agnes and falls in love with her.<sup>54</sup> He promises that if she consents to be his wife he will give her jewels and a rich life. Agnes responds to this by saying "Go away, you spark that lights the fire of sin, you fuel of wickedness, you food of death! I am already pledged to another lover!"<sup>55</sup> This other lover is of course Christ. Agnes promised herself to a marriage with Christ, but this spiritual marriage does little to stop the advances of the prefect's son. In the end, Agnes dies by the blade of a soldier's dagger at the age of thirteen. Saint Margaret (Saint Pelagius) sought to avoid marriage to a young noble man to which her parents consented.<sup>56</sup> She cut her hair, took on the dress of a male monk and joined a male monastery.<sup>57</sup> She was successful in the monastery and chosen to be its leader. Due to Margaret's prosperous path, the devil wanted to ruin her good name and set about to do so. Instead of attempting to seduce Margaret herself, as in many male saints' legends, the devil lured one of the nuns from a convent into committing adultery. After the nun could no longer hide her pregnancy, the monks and nuns condemned Margaret as the father of the unborn child and confined her to a cave. She remained in the cave and only ate the minimum amount of food offered to prisoners. When she was near death she wrote a letter to the abbot and the monks, and when

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<sup>52</sup> For more on women reading saints' legends, see Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Saints' Lives and the Female Reader," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 27, no. 4 (1991): 314-332.

<sup>53</sup> Tereli Askwith, "Aelfric's Female Saints and the Borderlines of Sanctity," in *Proceedings of Borderlines Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Conference 2003*, ed. Julianne Nyhan, Carrie Griffin and Kenneth Rooney. <http://research.ucc.ie/borderlines//Askwith>

<sup>54</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, volume 1, 101.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, volume 2, 233.

<sup>57</sup> For more on the cross-dressing female saints, see: Stephen J. Davis, "Crossed Texts, Crossed Sex: Intertextuality and Gender in Early Christian Legends of Holy Women Disguised as Men," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2002): 1-36.

they heard the true story “Pelagius was acknowledged by women to be a woman and a virgin undefiled.”<sup>58</sup>

Saint Justina, like Agnes of Rome, also drew unwanted attention from male admirers.<sup>59</sup> Justina devoted herself to a chaste life, but that did not stop two admirers from trying to persuade her otherwise. One of these admirers, Cyprian, would later be converted to the Christian life, but not before multiple attempts by both himself, as well as demons and the devil himself, to lead her away from her chaste life. In the story, Cyprian asks for help from a demon to make her lust after him, but Justina defeats the demon with the sign of the cross. He asks for help from another stronger demon but again he is defeated. In the end he calls for help from the devil himself. The devil goes to Justina in the shape of a young woman and says “I come to you because I want to live in chastity with you...”<sup>60</sup> The devil then goes on to question Justina about the reasons for living in chastity. Justina succumbs to the doubts planted by the devil for an instant and almost leaves, but then she senses the presence of the devil and defeats him too with the sign of the cross. The devil tries again to tempt her and takes on the form of a handsome young man but once again he is defeated. Cyprian is not impressed with the devil's inability to make Justina succumb to temptation. In the end of the legend he converts to Christianity and is beheaded along with Justina.

Many of the saints' legends discussed here, both male and female, contain episodes of temptation coming directly from the devil. The devil may take the form of a beautiful woman, handsome man, or even a hunchback old woman. For male saints, sexual temptation is just one obstacle in a long line of challenges waiting to be overcome. In the case of female saints, the resistance to sexual temptation is an essential part of their salvation. In the sources

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<sup>58</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, volume 2, 233.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

found for this study, the visual depiction of male saints being tempted by seducers greatly outweighs the depictions of female saint's attempted seductions.

## II. TEMPTING A SAINT

### **The Variety of Ways to Seduce a Saint**

An essential part of a saint's biography is the overcoming of various forms of temptation. These may include a variety of things. One of the main temptations is related to the pleasures of the body and includes all types of such pleasure: sexual as well as pleasure related to food, drink, etc. Other pleasures are also negatively viewed, such as the pleasures one may get from the possession of worldly things. A person's lifestyle choices would dictate if they could reach spiritual perfection or fall well before coming close to it. Luxury items, fine clothing, and even the pleasure of listening to music are portrayed negatively in saints' lives and are avoided by them. Money and wealth are seen in a selfish light if they are hoarded instead of being given to the poor. Other temptations are related to the ego, specifically a kind of impure ego, and fall into the category of vices. These include temperamental characteristics with negative connotations such as feelings of pride and vanity.

A saint's goal is to achieve a state of complete oneness with god. In the achieved state the saint may be described as having no ego as they exist in an almost thoughtless state and are completely one with God. On the other hand, those who think only of themselves can never reach this state. In saints' legends, the saints must overcome a number of challenges and obstacles throughout their lives in order to attain this state. These challenges must tempt their faith and their self-control. In the case of Saint Anthony, “demons represent the ambiguity of temptation: although it originates from external forces of evil, it nonetheless derives also from the monk's internal fears and insecurities. Demons not only tempt Antony,



but they also try to frighten him and so to undermine his confidence in God...”<sup>61</sup> Anthony remains calm in the face of these torments, proving his faith. In the end, the saints must overcome their internal fears as well as external temptations in order to reach the ultimate goal. The challenges are important to saint’s legends for a number of reasons. One of these reasons revolves around the importance of dedication in the face of hardships. The saints create their virtue by resisting temptations from the devil, and from the outside world. They show their strength and their adherence to the faith by remaining true during difficult times. When they have reached a close relationship with God, the proof of the saint's worthiness is shown through their privileged position as mediators and miracle workers. Another reason why obstacles are important for saints' legends is to teach the reader that perseverance through hard times is not only possible, but it is required for those who seek to become one with God.

### **The Tempted Saints**

The writings of the early Church Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries were responsible for creating a negative view of all the pleasures of the world, both material and physical.<sup>62</sup> Some of these early Church Fathers shied away from worldly commitments and luxuries to live a life of extreme asceticism in one of the harshest climates in the world, the desert. Their writings speak of material and physical pleasures as blocking their paths towards god. In order to remove all types of temptations, they took themselves out of society and created their own spaces in the desert, either in seclusion or in groups. These men were also in large part responsible for creating the image of woman as seducer and temptress. The

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<sup>61</sup> Brakke, trans., “Life of Saint Anthony of Egypt,” 4.

<sup>62</sup> Grossinger, *Picturing Women*, 1.

stories of the desert fathers were immensely popular throughout the medieval period, and artists regularly depicted scenes from the lives of these holy men. Often the moment of temptation was depicted, and though these men resisted such seductions, the tension between the holy man and the beautiful woman made a powerful image.

The temptation of Saint Anthony was a common motif in all artistic mediums. A smaller number of sources, also coming in a variety of mediums, depict other religious persons during their moments of attempted seduction. These figures may be either specific saints or they may represent the temptation that could befall monks in general. A temptation scene of Saint Benedict from a capital in the Church of Saint Madeleine in Vezelay falls into the period well before the scope of this study but serves as a nice example of the negative views on marriage iconography as it “just as easily served the purpose of portraying diabolical temptation.”<sup>63</sup> In the scene, a devil takes the place of the priest and pulls a woman towards the saint in an attempt to wed them. Saint Benedict is shown holding the sacred book to his chest and has his other hand raised, both showing his victory over the situation. The figures in this scene were labeled by the artist. Benedict is identified as *Sanctus Benedictus*, and the other two are both labeled with *diabolus*. Chiara Frugoni explains the labels over the three figures and states that “a woman and a devil were perfectly interchangeable: figure and symbol, for the sculptor, were one and the same thing.”<sup>64</sup>

A series of stained glass from sixteenth-century Cologne depicts Saint Bernard's both attempted seductions by women.<sup>65</sup> In one of the works, Bernard appears to be attempting to exit the room of the woman but is held back by her. Another shows him in bed while the

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<sup>63</sup> Chiara Frugoni, “The Imagined Woman,” in *A History of Women in the West: Silences of the Middle Ages*, Tr. Clarissa Botsford. ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 341. A photo of the twelfth-century capital can be found in the article on page 343, figure number 5.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 344.

<sup>65</sup> James France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2007). Image from cd image-index (Cat. 23, 24, 25, 26).

seductress attempts to have her way with the handsome saint. The woman is depicted in bed with Bernard and has her one arm lifted with her hand out touching, or about to touch, Bernard's arm as he sleeps. The viewer is also given a glimpse of the temptress fleeing in shame with her head bent slightly downwards and eyes closed. Two sources depict Saint Vitus renouncing the pleasures of the world. One of them is a wooden relief from ca. 1475 and shows Vitus seated at a table (cat. 87).<sup>66</sup> A woman sits next to him and points upwards at two musicians playing instruments while a couple dances in the foreground. The table is spotted with dishes and all of the figures, except for Vitus, are wearing extravagant dress. The pleasures of the world in this work are connected to food and drink, luxury dress, and music. The other work is a tempera painting on panel from ca. 1510 that depicts Vitus walking away from his father who appears to be pointing upwards at musicians on a balcony (cat. 89). Richly dressed men and women stand in a long group on the left side of the painting, while Vitus is shown on the far right moving away from them and his father. This painting follows a similar depiction to that of the wooden relief with the exception of the reference to the pleasures of food.

Another painting from Tyrol Austria, dating to ca. 1480, depicts the moment when Saint Justina is approached by the devil in female disguise (cat. 88). Justina stands on the left side of the image wearing a crown and a deep blue dress. The devil, in the guise of a virgin, wears a red dress that stops at the ankles in order to highlight the temptress's big black clawed feet. A banner over the temptress repeats the line in the legend when the devil tries to get Justina's trust by saying she wants to live with her in chastity.

Depictions of Saint Jerome in the desert were also popular with medieval and early Renaissance artists, but to a lesser extent than Saint Anthony. In many works he is shown alone in the desert, or in a rural landscape, sometimes with a lion by his side. Although

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<sup>66</sup> Catalog number.

Jerome had to fight temptations of the flesh in his life, notably the visions of dancing girls he had while living as an ascetic, looking at the surviving visual sources, this was not a common artistic motif for his representation. Sadly, according to Grossinger's research, and mine own in regards to this thesis, depictions of Jerome with his imagined temptresses are rare, even in the Middle Ages and later.<sup>67</sup>

The depiction of the temptations of Saint Anthony by far makes up the majority of the collected sources. It appears that other saint's temptations were not as commonly depicted and were not as popular with German, Flemish, and Dutch artists and patrons in the sixteenth century. This is perhaps due to the legend of Anthony itself. Athanasius wrote Saint Anthony's *vita* in such a way that included many moments where the saint was harassed and beaten by a number of evil demons who could change their shapes and appear as wild beasts, humans, or fantasy creatures. As Brakke states, "Egyptians believed that demons populated the arid desert, and so the decision of monks like Antony to move into the desert represented an attempt to reclaim for God territory that has belonged to the devil."<sup>68</sup> The realities of living in one of the harshest environments of the world is one thing. Add to this the belief that it was filled with evil beings possessing supernatural powers, plus some creative writing from Athanasius, and one gets a drama like no other. An especially vivid moment of Anthony's torments begins with the hermit's dwelling being shaken as if by an earthquake, "the demons, as if they had shattered the four walls of the dwelling, seemed to enter through them, transformed into the appearance of beasts and serpents. And the place was immediately filled with the appearances of lions, bears, leopards, bulls, snakes, asps, scorpions, and wolves, and

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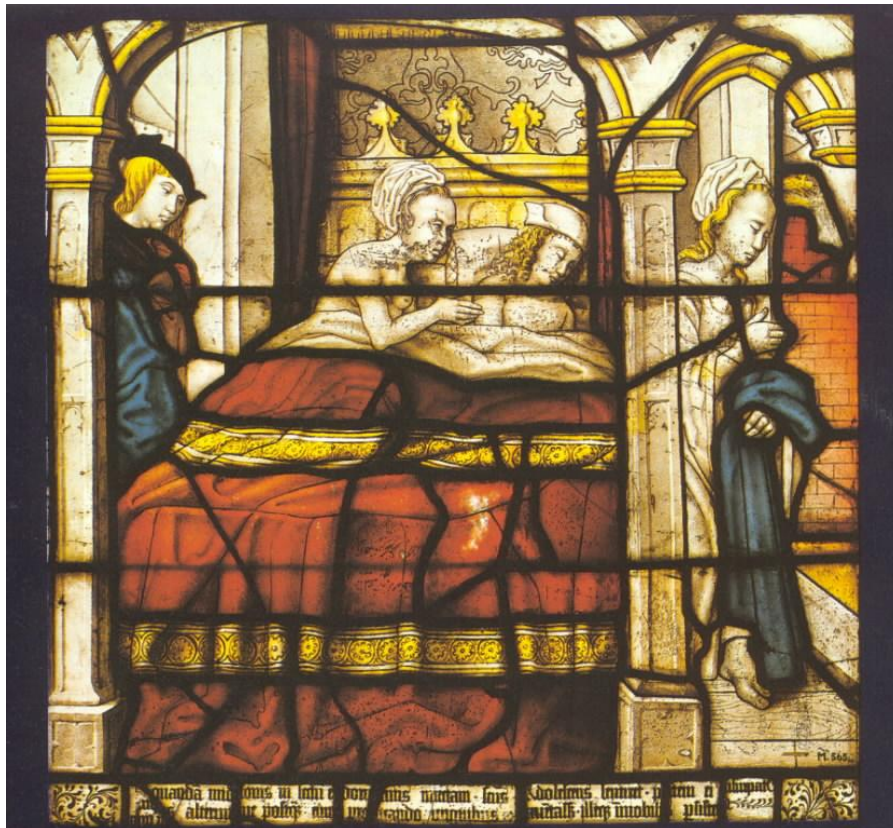
<sup>67</sup> Grossinger, *Picturing Women*, 2. The only visual source of Saint Jerome tempted to be analyzed in this thesis: Limbourg Brothers. St. Jerome Tempted by Dancing Girls, illumination from the Belles Heures du Jean Duc de Berry, ca. 1408. folio 186. New York, Cloisters Museum,. (cat. 103). A painting from the seventeenth century, by the Spanish artist Francisco de Zurbaran depicts Saint Jerome approached by temptresses playing musical instruments but falls out of the geographical and temporal range for this project.

<sup>68</sup> David Brakke, trans., "Life of Saint Anthony of Egypt," 3.

each of them was moving according to his own form.”<sup>69</sup> For sixteenth-century artists such a legend could give them an incredible amount of artistic freedom when it came to depicting these shape-shifting demons.

## The Performance of Seduction

Seducing a saint is not an easy task and some seductresses appear to be more forceful than others. In the majority of the visual sources the seductress is depicted approaching the saint or standing near him. In the temptation scenes of Saint Anthony, he is usually shown with some type of hand gesture indicating to the woman to stay away. Some works depict a more forceful attempt at temptation and show the woman trying to use a physical means to get her way. One of the stained glass pieces from Cologne depicts the moment when Saint Bernard of Clairvaux is harassed by a lustful woman (figure 1).



<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 12.

Figure 1 (Cat. 24). Saint Bernard of Clairvaux being tempted by a woman. Schnuetgen Museum, Cologne, Germany. From: James France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*.

The artist(s) portrayed this scene following the description in the legend. In the story the young Bernard sleeps in a bed alone. A young woman comes and climbs into bed with him and tries to excite him with “touching and teasing.”<sup>70</sup> In the image, the woman is depicted topless and is clearly touching Bernard's arm with her hand. In another stained glass work, Bernard is shown trying to leave from what appears to be a bedroom but is slowed down by a woman dressed in extravagant clothes. She appears as if she is holding on to him as she has both of her hands on his hip and is bent slightly as if she were going to pull him. A manuscript illumination from the early fifteenth century depicts a young Christian man being forcefully tempted by a richly dressed woman (cat. 102). Saint Paul is shown on the far right side and witnesses the incident. The seductress is depicted sitting on top of the young man and she runs one of her hands up his leg. Looking closely one can see a small thin red line coming from the man's mouth. He tries to stop the woman by biting off the tip of his tongue and spitting it at her.<sup>71</sup>

In another work, a forceful seduction is attempted on poor Saint Anthony by a richly dressed woman (figure 2). The wealthy seductress latches on to Anthony's habit with one hand on his hood and the other under his arm. She pulls him forcefully towards her. Anthony's distress is clearly visible on his face as he tries to escape from her grasp.

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<sup>70</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, volume 2, 99.

<sup>71</sup> For a short discussion on this illumination, see the “The Art of Illumination,” ed. Metropolitan Museum of Art. <http://blog.metmuseum.org/artofillumination/manuscript-pages/folio-191r/>



Figure 2 (Cat. 18) Martin Schaffner, The Temptations of Saint Anthony Salem Altarpiece, 1517. Detail. From: Michael Philipp, *Schrecken und Lust*, 33.

The depiction of the physically forceful seductress appears to not have been a common motif amongst her representations. Only a small number of works from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries found in this study depict the seductress using physical contact on her victim. In most cases she is depicted standing near the tempted saint or approaching him.

### III. THE FOUR MODELS OF SEDUCTION

#### Riches and Superbia

The analysis of the visual sources reveals the most frequently occurring model type to be the rich seducer. The rich model type is present in three quarters of the collected visual sources. The model is found in every medium (paintings, ink drawings, manuscript illuminations, sculpture, stained glass, woodcuts, etchings, engravings, and tapestry) and across all regions focused on in this study. Women were regularly used as the mediators of riches, such as in the Old Testament (Isaiah 3:16). Negative characteristics were associated with the possession of wealth, namely *superbia* (pride and haughtiness), and so the rich woman could be seen as becoming a seducer not only due to her wealth, but more importantly, due to the sinful vices that came along with owning it.

Wealth and luxury are mentioned with strong negative connotations repeatedly in the Athanasius legend of Saint Anthony. One of the focuses of the legend is Anthony's dismissal of all worldly pleasures and luxuries. In the beginning of the life Anthony is described as never possessing a love for the finer things in life, even as a boy, "although as a boy he lived in moderate wealth, he did not trouble his parents for diverse and expensive foods, nor did he seek such pleasures. He was happy merely with whatever he found and asked for nothing more."<sup>72</sup> Anthony was born to wealthy parents and when they passed away he was left in charge with their estate and his young sister. Not long after his parents' death, while Anthony was in church he heard a verse from the gospel that spoke out to him, "If you wish to be

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<sup>72</sup> Brakke trans, "Life of Saint Anthony of Egypt," 8.



perfect, go, sell all your possessions and give the proceeds to the poor, and come, follow me, and you will have treasure in heaven.”<sup>73</sup>

From the beginning of the legend worldly wealth is described in an especially negative light, and Anthony's dismissal of it while still being young is one of the crucial features of the life. The devil's first temptation of Anthony is not a temptation of the flesh, but instead involves the devil attempting to lead Anthony astray with memories of the possessions he once had, the bonds of kinship with his sister, and the pleasures of money and life. It is not surprising then to find wealth as a prominent and reoccurring theme in depictions of Anthony's temptations. After this failed temptation the devil tries to rouse lust in Anthony by taking the form of a woman and imitating her gestures. The legend does not mention details about the disguise used by the devil. Instead it only states that he took on the shape of a woman. In the visual sources, the devil is often depicted taking the form of a wealthy woman with extravagant dress and headdress, and frequently offers Anthony an expensive vessel. Although this is not mentioned in the text, the linking of the two types of temptation, luxury and lust, in the visual sources could serve the purpose of merging the two lessons into one for the moral benefit of the audience.

Of the ten manuscript illuminations with Anthony as the object of the temptation, in all but two of them the women have the characteristic attributes associated with wealth present, namely expensive dress, headdress, and luxury item. The carved wooden altarpiece of saints and martyrs by Jaques de Baerze from 1391 (figure 3) falls slightly out of the range of this study but has been included because it serves as an excellent example of the Anthony temptation scene intended for display in a religious space.

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<sup>73</sup> Ibidem.



Figure 3 (Cat. 27) Jacques de Baerze, Altarpiece of Saints and Martyrs: the Temptation of St. Anthony, 1391. From: [www.bridgemanart.com](http://www.bridgemanart.com)

This wooden altarpiece, and the sandstone altar of Saint Anthony by Evert van Roden from ca. 1520 (cat. 11), both include a scene of Anthony's temptation and also depict the seducing woman approaching him in elegant dress while offering a vessel. The sources with the least number of richly dressed seducers tempting Anthony are woodcuts, engravings, etchings, and drawings. Less than half of these sources focus solely on the rich seducing model, while roughly the other half pair one or two rich attributes with the nude model (most often a head dress and/or vessel), and the remaining two works focus on the nude model only. Earlier woodcuts, from the fifteenth century, do not focus on the rich seductress but instead portray her as well off but do not include attributes such as jewelry or luxury vessels.

Of the sources belonging to the category of paintings almost three quarters contain at least one or more attributes associated with the rich seducing model tempting Anthony. A particularly nice example of the rich model type in painting is a work by Jan Wellens de Cock from ca. 1520 (figure 4).



Figure 4 (Cat. 39) Jans Wellens de Cock, The Temptation of Saint Anthony, 1522. From: [http://cultured.com/image/3741/Jan\\_Wellens\\_de\\_Cock\\_The\\_Temptation\\_of\\_Saint\\_Anthony/#.UXqHvEpvBAA](http://cultured.com/image/3741/Jan_Wellens_de_Cock_The_Temptation_of_Saint_Anthony/#.UXqHvEpvBAA)

This work is also a great example of the popular layout of the Anthony temptation scene in Dutch and Flemish art. Saint Anthony is shown seated and is approached from the right by a richly dressed woman carrying a golden vessel. In the background one can see gentle rolling hills, trees, bushes, part of a water-scape and a burning town. Surrounding the



two figures is a number of strange creatures, undoubtedly influenced by the works of Hieronymus Bosch.

Temptation may not only come from a female seducer. An Italian painting by Bernardo Parentino depicts three richly dressed men surrounding Saint Anthony (figure 5).



Figure 5 (Cat. 105) Bernardo Parentino, Anthony is Tempted by Gold, 1494.  
From: Michael Philipp, *Schrecken und Lust*, 89.

One of the men carries a vessel filled with money and offers it to Anthony. The man on the far left has the back of his pants suggestively unbuttoned with the flap down exposing his underwear clad behind. There were no similar examples to this theme of male seduction found in my search of German, Dutch, or Flemish art from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Returning to female seducers, the tapestry from ca. 1550-1570 by an anonymus artist believed to be from the area of Brussels includes a few small rich seductresses (cat. 67). In the work, Anthony is depicted kneeling and praying while he is surrounded by a number of strange creatures and misbehaving people. A woman wearing an extravagant dress with a train and a headdress points at Saint Anthony while the male figure with a rat's tail beside her

offers a silver vessel to him. To the left of these two, another couple is shown at a table filled with food and drink. The man is clearly identifiable as a monk by his tonsure but he is certainly not following the rules of celibacy as he has his arms around the woman and appears to be kissing her. The woman's dress is not clearly visible, but she is wearing a type of headdress. In the distance a strange sort of picnic scene can be seen. A wealthy woman wearing a hennin sits on a blanket and plays a musical instrument beside a nude man. A vessel and plate of food are beside them. The music, drink, food, rich dress, and nudity all speak to the pleasures of this world as well as of their dangers.

Overall, the works created in the sixteenth century and earlier frequently use the rich model type. Often in Anthony temptation scenes the rich seductress approaches the hermit and offers him luxury items. In these cases she is depicted as a clear mediator of wealth. In other cases, the rich seductress is not offering an item but is still obviously wealthy. These works may be using the notion of the *superbia* which was thought to come with owning riches. Thus the woman's wealth gives her more confidence and makes her haughty causing her to become a dangerous seductress. In the early sixteenth century there appears to be an increasing tendency to introduce aspects of the nude model while still maintaining the rich model. In a number of examples from the early to mid sixteenth-century the rich model is no longer the main model type used. Instead the nude is used as a main model and only adds one or two attributes of the rich model as a sort of decoration on the seductress, for instance, jewelry, vessel, and/or headdress.

## The Body: Beauty, Nudity, Virginity, and Youth

The representation of bodies, especially in the nude, is a subject that has a massive discourse in the art historical canon. The role of the nude encompasses a wide range of purposes and meanings in the Middle Ages as well as in the Early Renaissance.<sup>74</sup> Representations of nudity in the Middle Ages, and the periods following it, have a wide range of possible meanings. They encompass multiple notions about the “nature of sexuality, spirituality, sin, virtue, humanity, [and] gender,”<sup>75</sup> and are highly context specific. Nudity, with relation to saints, carries multiple meanings. Some saints' lives include a moment when the saints themselves disrobe and are described as being nude. This nudity serves a very specific function, namely that of humility and self-discipline. In the legend of Saint Francis, after he finds himself aroused by a temptation of the flesh, he removes his clothes in order to rub his body with a coarse rope, and when that is not enough, while nude he jumps into deep snow.<sup>76</sup> In regards to the saints themselves who have episodes of nudity, their own nudity is not sexual, but instead they use their nudity as a means to an end for their reasons for it revolve around discipline and sacrifice.

In regards to the seductresses, their nudity is certainly not connected with spirituality, but is instead a visual representation of sin and unrestrained sexuality. It is not surprising then to find that the second most frequently occurring seduction model is connected to the body, most often the feminine body. The analysis focuses on works containing all temptresses falling into the category of sexual temptation. In this model the seductresses use their youth,

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<sup>74</sup> For an insightful collection of essays on the variety of approaches to exploring the meanings of male and female nudity in European painting, manuscripts, and sculpture to the fifteenth century see Sherry C.M. Lindquist ed., *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

<sup>75</sup> Sherry C.M. Lindquist, “The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art: An Introduction,” in *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C.M. Lindquist (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 30.

<sup>76</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, volume 2, 223.

beauty, and nude body in an attempt to arouse a desire for carnal love in the saint. Seducers falling into this category are sometimes completely nude, while others are depicted only partially nude. Over three quarters of the visual sources, especially paintings, clearly depict young, beautiful seducing women. A small number of works digress from this trend and do not focus on making the tempting woman beautiful and young.<sup>77</sup>

The nude model is found in half of the visual sources and is present in every medium with the exception of sculpture. Around one quarter of all the sources have one, or at least one, seducer that fits into the nude seduction model and has no attributes associated with the other model types. Of the ten manuscript illuminations with Anthony as the object of the temptation, none of them have a seducer that tempts him directly with her body. In one of the manuscripts folios, Saint Anthony is shown seated and reading while two small demons try to disturb him (figure 6).



Figure 6 (Cat. 101) French Master, Saint Anthony, 1570-1580.  
From: Michael Philipp, *Schrecken und Lust*, 191.

<sup>77</sup> Examples: cat. 94, 30.



On the opposite folio, in the bottom margin, two women are shown reclining nude. This is the only example found in this study to place nude women so close to Saint Anthony in a manuscript. Half of the sources connected to the medium of paper (woodcuts, engravings, etchings, and drawings) dated to after 1500 with a temptation of Saint Anthony scene include a seducer fitting into the nude model. All but two of these sources pair one or two rich attributes with the nude model (most often a head dress and/or vessel). The remaining two works, both by Albrecht Durer, focus on the nude model only (cat. 8, 9).

Woodcuts dating to the fifteenth century do not have any examples of nudity. Instead they follow one of the other three models; rich and/or devil woman, or “everyday” woman. The earliest woodcut example found to use the nude temptation model with Anthony is a work by Jost de Negker dating to the beginnings of the sixteenth century (figure 7).

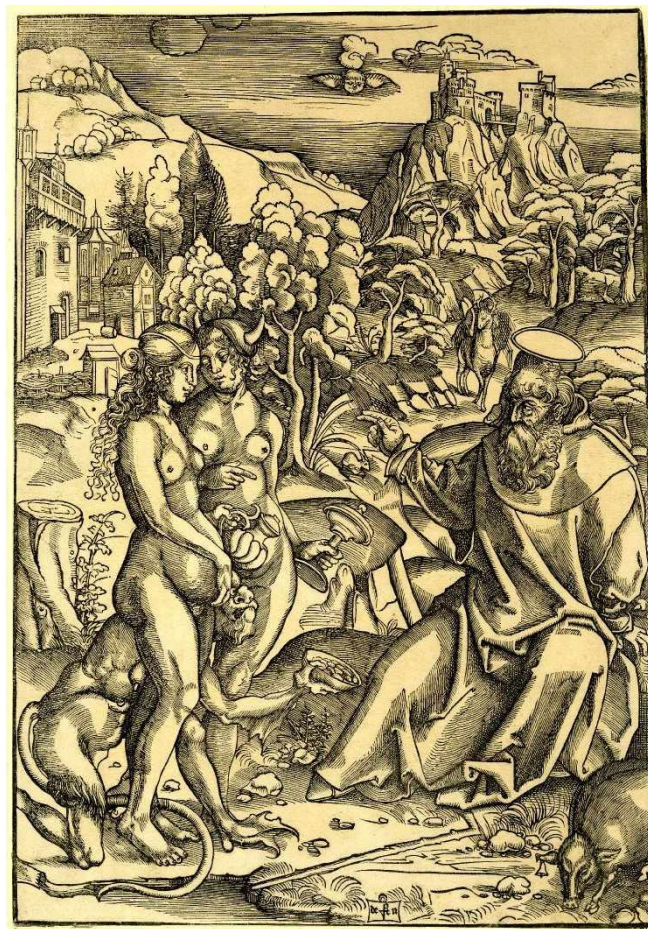


Figure 7 (Cat. 7) Jost de Negker, Temptation of Saint Anthony, 1500-1520. The British Museum, London, England. From: British Museum Image Database.



The scene follows the iconography of other temptation scenes showing Saint Anthony. He is shown seated, with his staff on the ground in front of him and a pig (his attribute) with a bell beside him. Two completely nude women stand in front of him, both offering expensive vessels. One woman looks at Anthony and the other looks at the first, raising her hand, casually pointing towards the holy man as if speaking about him. The one staring at Anthony wears a headband, while the other has a hat with horns on her head indicating links to the devil. Squatting on the ground between the nude women is the devil, or a demon, who tries to squeeze between them in order to offer a bowl to the saint. Both women have small round breasts, and the woman closest to the viewer has a swollen belly typical of the ideal Northern nude. In this image the representation of sexual temptation is in its strongest form as the two women are completely nude. But the rich seducer model is also present by the vessels they hold. Thus, although the image uses the nude model and depicts the two seducers completely nude, this work simultaneously also uses characteristics of the two other models, the rich and the devil woman.

Moving away temporarily from the main regions focused on in this study, one of the earliest paintings to include a nude woman in a Anthony temptation scene comes from today's Slovakia and dates to 1503 (cat. 93). The painting depicts a scene with Saint Anthony where he is surrounded by three women. Two of the women wear expensive dresses. The third woman is nude, stands in water, and gestures towards the two rich women. The focus of the work appears to be the two wealthy women who exchange gazes with Anthony and take up most of the space in the painting. The third woman faces away from the viewer and her long hair covers her back. Interestingly, there has been no attempt to hide her naked bottom, which is clearly visible just above the water. The depiction of women with long loose hair in

saints' temptations is a sign of sinful vanity.<sup>78</sup> When nuns took their vows of chastity, they cut their hair and kept their heads covered. Long hair signifies the temptations associated with bodily pleasures, as well as those related to temperamental flaws, especially vanity. In the case of seductresses, their long beautiful hair grabs the attention of men and represents the danger all women pose to men.

Returning to the German, Dutch, and Flemish works, a number of paintings dating from 1490 to around 1510 use some sort of nude model, but in contrast to the example from today's Slovakia, these women are small in size and often shown in the distance. One painting that includes small female nudes is a work by a German artist referred to as the Master of the Holy Kinship the Younger (Meister der Heiligen Sippe). The work is entitled “The Legend of the Hermit” and dates to around 1500-1510 (figure 8).



Figure 8 (cat. 14) Master of the Holy Kinship the Younger, The Legend of the Hermits. Bavarian state painting collection, Munich, Germany. From: Michael Philipp, *Shrecken und Lust*, 40.

<sup>78</sup> Frugoni, *The Imagined Woman*, 357.

Saint Anthony is shown in a landscape setting with a city in the background. On the left side of the painting, in the background, Saint Anthony stands next to a pond with four nude women. In Dutch painting, Bosch created a number of works which include small nude temptress figures. Four of his works dealing with the theme of Saint Anthony contain them, and were done around 1500-1516 (cat. 73-76).

Small female nudes are also to be found in paintings by other artists. A work from around 1515, done in collaboration by Joachim Patiner, who painted the landscape, and by Quentin Metsys, who added the figures, contains two small partially nude women temptresses (figure 9).



Figure 9 (Cat. 35) Joachim Patenier and Quentin Massys, The Temptations of Saint Anthony Abbot, 1520-1524. Detail. From: <http://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/online-gallery/on-line-gallery/obra/the-temptations-of-saint-anthony-the-abbot/>

Once again, they are shown in the background and are depicted in a small size. In a scene which could stand as a painting on its own, Saint Anthony is shown on the shore running in fear from two women bathing in the water. One wears a drape and washes her hair, while the other is depicted nude, in water up to her hips. The nude woman appears to be coming out of the water, and looks as if she is going to chase Saint Anthony. The saint

appears to be actively running from her while holding a vessel, presumably which he has just filled with water. Paddling near the figures close to the shore is a boat with three women. One woman is partially nude, baring her breasts, while the one across from her sits holding a luxury vessel. The third woman, an old hag, steers the boat with an oar. A work which includes nude men in the Anthony temptation scene is a triptych by Hieronymus Bosch (cat. 75). Bosch's works have been the subject of a number of debates due to the incredible array of monstrous creatures, strange creations, and seemingly contradictory moral lessons found in them. In the right panel, Saint Anthony sits on a rock with an open book and glances towards the viewer. Higher up on the right panel, a nude woman peeks out at Anthony from behind a tree stump. In the bottom of the panel, three nude men are depicted in various poses underneath a table. The figures are smaller in size than Anthony, and their meaning, as with nude women, could point towards the dangers of the flesh.

After around 1520, the small nude temptress figures disappeared in favor of depictions similar to those of sixteenth century drawings and prints. A triptych, dated to approximately 1525, by Jan Wellens de Cock is a beautiful example of this (figure 10).



Figure 10 (Cat. 43) Jans Wellens de Cock, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, 1525. From: <http://www.streekmuseumtiel.nl/2009/index.php?content=3>

The central panel features Saint Anthony being approached by a nude woman. The temptress is no longer small and in the background, but instead stands directly in front of the saint. She is a real and unavoidable temptress. Neither Anthony, nor the viewer, are able to ignore her overwhelming presence. The woman's stance is unmistakably sexual, as her legs are slightly apart, right leg and foot turned outwards, and her wrist balancing on her hip. The stance is awkward, but it does send a clear message of her intentions as she presents her naked body to Anthony. Although the most direct temptation in this work is sexual, the rich woman model, as well as the devil woman model, is still present in the form of an expensive vessel which she holds in her left hand and by the black horned headpiece she wears. Another example of the large nude seductress model is a work by Pieter Huys from 1547 (figure 11).





Figure 11 (Cat. 51) Peter Huys, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, 1547. From: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pieter\\_Huys\\_002.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pieter_Huys_002.jpg)

Paintings dating from the very early sixteenth century by German, Flemish and Dutch artists contain depictions of nude temptresses, but these are limited to small sized figures. In the example from Slovakia, the woman is nude but turned completely away from the viewer. It appears that perhaps during this time it was generally more acceptable to paint female nudes as long as the artist used size or position of the body to limit what was seen. Influences from classical art started to make their way into northern art and thus it is no surprise to find artists exploring the nude temptress model using drawings and prints earlier than in other media. After around 1515 the number of visual sources to depict the seducing woman in the nude form rose, but attributes of the rich model in many of the cases remained present still.

## Everyday Woman – All Women, Woman as Herself

The majority of visual sources found in this study focus on wealthy seducers, as well as beautiful seducers who tempt men with their bodies. The seducing woman is thought of in terms of a harlot who cannot contain her desires, or as a guise of the devil. But, the seducing woman is not always under the devil's control, and she is not always a beautiful rich woman of fantasy. The seductress may be any woman. All women themselves were seen as the incarnation of temptation, and since a woman's sex was thought to embody the weakness of the flesh, every woman had an equal potential to be a seductress.<sup>79</sup> It seems that the images also could concentrate on this opinion. I have called this seducing type the "everyday" woman model. The main attribute of the everyday model includes a dress that a woman might wear on a daily basis. For the seducer to fall into this category there must be an absence of attributes connected to the rich model: most importantly, an omission of jewelry, fancy dress, and luxury items. In some examples the everyday woman is used by the devil as a guise to trick saints, or monks, and contains no attributes associated with the devil woman model that indicates that the devil is present.

Looking at the collection of visual sources, the everyday model is present in only eight works and is the least used model for temptation scenes. Five of these sources are woodcuts from Germany dating to the fifteenth century. A German woodcut from the late fifteenth century comes out of a *Vitae Patrum* and depicts a woman trying to enter a house in order to seduce the friar inside. She is shown actively grabbing on to the handle of the door. The image is titled "The Devil Coming to a Friar in the Form of a Woman," but the artist has not included any attributes of the devil. The seductress simply appears to be a regular woman.

Another German woodcut from around 1450 also serves as an example of the everyday type woman tempting Saint Anthony (figure 12).



Figure 12 (Cat. 1) German woodcutter, The Temptation of Saint Anthony, ca. 1460. From Sandra Uhrig, “Die Versuchung des Heiligen Antonius: Eine Vision des ausgehenden Mittelalters,” Figure 17.

The seductress has no attributes of wealth and instead wears a simple dress. Her hair is long and loose, and flows down her back. As mentioned previously, the depiction of women with long loose hair, especially in saint’s temptation scenes, could represent the sins of pride and vanity as well as the dangers posed to men by attracting them with beautiful locks. The woman is shown with her hands raised in front of her and a scroll above her representing her actively talking to Anthony. In this example the artist depicted the woman in everyday dress and also added cloven hooves to her thus mixing the everyday model with the devil model.

The group of stained glass windows depicting the temptations of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux stand as an exception to the rule of the everyday woman model not including richly

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<sup>79</sup> Frugoni, *The Imagined Woman*, 358.



dressed women as some of the seductresses are in fancy dress. In contrast to the majority of Anthony temptations, the seducing women do not attempt to lead him away with promises of riches. The matron who attempts to climb into bed with Bernard attempts to seduce him through sex (figure 13).



Figure 13 (Cat. 26) Cologne glass workshop, Saint Bernard Tempted, 1525.  
From: James France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*.

As mentioned in the chapter on the rich model, wealthy women are the mediators of these riches and they become seductresses because of their pride and haughtiness. Thus the matron, although she does not directly lure Bernard with riches, the force which causes her to act in this way may be from the haughtiness that is associated with women coming from wealth. Of course, her actions may also be explained by the notion of women having insatiable sexual desires, or may even be a mixture of the two.

An illumination from Vienna, dated to 1411, depicts a woman lying on her back, exposing herself to an unnamed monk who holds his finger over a lit candle (figure 14).



Figure 14 (Cat. 86) Austrian illuminator, Seduction and Penance of a Hermit, ca. 1411. From: Real online. Image Number 007115.

There are no attributes present that are associated with either the rich or the devil model. She is not wearing a fancy dress, nor does she have any luxury items with her. The illuminator has not added any indications that she is the devil in disguise, or has any association with him. The seductress is depicted with her legs raised and dress pulled up in an attempt to entice the monk. Long hair and bare legs were considered an especially dangerous source of temptation.<sup>80</sup> The seductress in this source does not have long hair, but she does show off her legs to the monk. Her appearance is consistent with the everyday seducing model requirements, and she also simultaneously contains attributes of the nude model due to her bare legs. This is the only visual source from those collected to have the everyday model paired with the nude model.

Looking at the everyday model in the visual sources collected it appears to not have been a popular model used by artists. Reasons for this may be due to the increased interest in

the nude form. Other reasons may include the artist's desire to show off their skills by painting more elaborate dress, luxury items, or the female body. Customer demand might also have had a role to play, especially if wealthy patrons wanted lavish and/or racy paintings for their private collections.

## **The Devil-Woman**

As mentioned previously, the topos of the devil dressing up as a young woman to test the virtue of a saint is an essential part in many saints' biographies.<sup>80</sup> In the visual depictions, when the devil is in the guise of a woman, the artist sometimes added attributes to the woman in order to show that she was not who she appeared to be. This made it not only easier for the saint to recognize with whom he or she was communicating with, but certainly also more easily recognizable for the beholders of the images. Most often the devil's attributes come in the form of clawed hands and/or feet, cloven hooves, or horns. The devil woman model is the only model not being able to stand on its own. It must be paired along with any of the other three seducing models; rich, nude, or everyday. One third of the visual sources contain devil attributes, and these occur in every one of these models, with the majority of the works pairing it with the rich model.

Of the ten manuscript illuminations with Anthony as the object of the temptation, six of them contain seductresses with at least one devil attribute. Four of the seductresses are depicted with horns, two with clawed feet, and one with horns as well as a black clawed hand. An illumination by Simon Marimon from ca. 1480 represents a nice example of the devil model mixed with the rich model (figure 15).

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<sup>80</sup> Grossinger, *Picturing Women*, 14.

<sup>81</sup> Frugoni, *The Imagined Woman*, 349.



Figure 15 (Cat. 97) Simon Marimon, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, 1480.  
From: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/TourFrOut.asp>

In the scene Anthony is shown seated with an open book in his lap. He is approached by a young beautiful woman wearing an elaborate peach colored dress with a train, and a pointed headdress. She offers a golden vessel to Anthony who has his hand raised. Looking closely at the bottom of the seductress' dress one can see three dark clawed toes sticking out.

The two carved altarpieces both include seducers with devil attributes. The wooden altarpiece by Jaques de Baerze includes a set of horns on the seductress. In addition to the devil attribute on the woman, two black devils stand beside her and Saint Anthony. The seductress in the sandstone altar of Saint Anthony by Evert van Roden has a clawed foot sticking out from under her dress. A number of Flemish, Dutch, and Austrian paintings



include devil attributes on the seductresses. One example, mentioned in an earlier chapter, depicts Saint Justina being approached by the devil in the guise of a woman (figure 16).



Figure 16 (Cat. 88) Austrian workshop, Saint Justina Approached by the Devil, 1480. Real online. Image Number 001691.

In the legend, the devil almost convinces Justina to abandon her ways but she recognizes the devil in his disguise. In this source the temptresses is shown with large black clawed feet. The beholder of this image would have no trouble at all realizing who the tempting woman really is. Paintings from the sixteenth-century appear to have left the attributes of the devil-woman somewhat behind. A work by Jan Wellens de Cock is one of the few examples found in this study to use an attribute of the devil on a seductress with the rich and nude model present.



Figure 17 (Cat. 38) Jans Wellens de Cock, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, 1522. From the Nelson-Atkins Museum online database.

Less than one third of these paintings use the devil model with the rich, and only eight of them pair it with the nude model. It appears that the devil woman topos may have been left behind in later works. A possible reason for this trend may be due to the increased focus on the nude form in this period.

## IV. SIGNS OF DANGER

### The Threat of Seducing the Beholder

One of the challenges in this study is the examination of the possible ways in which these images of saints' seductresses were perceived. A number of the visual sources collected contain representations of seductresses that could be characterized as erotic or sexual. These works were most likely viewed in private spaces, especially in the case of manuscript illuminations, drawings, prints, and privately commissioned paintings. This opens up discussions which revolve around questions of the gaze<sup>82</sup> and interpretation of meanings. In the Athanasius legend of Saint Anthony, there is no mention of the specific in way in which the devil in disguise tries to tempt the saint. He is not described as richly dressed woman tempting Anthony with wealth, nor is he described as using the woman's body to arouse him. Yet, in the visual sources collected, Anthony is approached by nude, or partially, nude seductresses in half the images. What responses could these seductresses have brought out in the beholder?

Martha Easton states that "virgin martyrs such as Agatha and Barbara were often represented partially or fully nude; especially in the later Middle Ages they are depicted as the visual embodiments of the ideal women described in love poetry and romances, with their long blonde hair, fair complexions, swelling bellies, and high, apple-like breasts."<sup>83</sup> On the other hand, "images of the Last Judgment often explicitly contrast the blessed, fully robed

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<sup>82</sup> For discussions on the gaze, see David Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Los Angeles: University of California Press: 2005) and Margaret Olin, "The Gaze," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Schiff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

<sup>83</sup> Martha Easton, "'Was it good for you too?' Medieval Erotic Art and Its Audiences," *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art* 1, (2008): 6.  
<http://www.differentvisions.org/issue1PDFs/Easton.pdf>

and resplendent in heaven, with the damned, writhing in their nakedness much as they did in the sexual sins that condemned them to hell.”<sup>84</sup> The depiction of nudity in art was not always used in a negative light, but if the good women, female saints and martyrs, and the bad women, seductresses and harlots, are both idealized in the nude in similar ways, the possibilities for an erotic response to either both is entirely plausible.

The recipients of the textual legends on the saints were mostly limited to clerics and people who were able to read. The legends of these saints, as seen in the examples of quotes of the temptations of certain saints, included some moments which were quite racy. The texts appear to place an emphasis on sexuality in their descriptions of attempted temptations, as in the legend of Bernard of Clairvaux when the seductress’ actions while in bed with him are listed. Images on the other hand could have a larger audience, especially ones displayed in public spaces such as in certain areas of churches. Some images may have a much more restricted audience and may only be seen by clerics or people in the upper levels of society.

The visual representations of the temptations of saints such as Saint Anthony offered important lessons to the viewer regarding proper moral behavior and continued faith in God. But viewing the beautiful young seductresses who come to tempt the saint could also bring about temptations in the beholder themselves. One method for deterring the possibility of the beholder becoming seduced by the seductress in the visual sources is to maintain a clear link to her relationship with the devil. Works which were religiously commissioned and displayed in a church's public space, such as altarpieces, tend to maximize the emphasis of the seductresses' relationship with the devil by using recognizable attributes. In addition to this they also often include demons in the scene, as in the previously discussed carved wooden altarpiece by Jaques de Baerze (figure 3, cat. 27).

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<sup>84</sup> Ibidem.



The paintings coming from today's Slovakia and Austria were also religiously commissioned. All of the works contain rich seductresses with devil traits, namely clawed feet, except for one. Although there are no devil traits on the seductress in the painting, her connection to the devil is still maintained by the artist depicting the torture of Anthony by black demons in the bottom of the panel. One of these works, from the Parish Church of St. George in Spišská Sobota, today's Slovakia, dated to 1503, includes a nude woman (cat. 93). Although she is nude, she is depicted facing away from the viewer and her connection to the other two seductresses is clear as she does not look at Saint Anthony, but looks at them instead. The manuscript illuminations collected in this study most often use the rich seductress model with at least one attribute of the devil. Seductresses in privately commissioned paintings on the other hand are not commonly depicted with devil attributes. Out of the visual sources which contain at least one seductress in a state of undress, only eight of them have devil traits paired with them. Could this indicate a new trend in which the erotic aspect of the seductress increased in importance?

It is possible that wealthy patrons, likely males, who commissioned temptation scenes of Saint Anthony were just as interested in contemplating the virtues of the saint as they were in gazing upon the beautiful forms of the seductresses. These depictions of seductresses may have kept their connotations and links to the notion of the bad/evil woman, but the possibility of men enjoying the sight of these bad girls hanging in their rooms cannot be dismissed.

## V. OVERCOMING TEMPTATION

### **The Saint Who Overcomes Temptation as a Model**

The outcome of this study shows that the seducing woman may take a number of forms. She may be depicted as a rich woman, an overly lustful woman, as the devil in disguise, or simply a woman. The earlier representations of the seducing woman focused on the haughty rich woman, or the lustful woman, often with attributes of the devil added, such as clawed feet or horns. The rich seductress was especially popular in works from the fifteenth century, and continued to be used throughout the sixteenth century, but was increasingly added as a second model to complement the newly popular nude seductress. The rich seducing model is the seducing-model type that occurs most frequently as its attributes can be found in three quarters of the analyzed visual sources. The possession of wealth brings pride and haughtiness, characteristics that were seen as sinful vices. The rich seductress is not just a lustful woman whose insatiable desires force her to tempt men. She is also a mediator of riches in the saints' legends and is seen as the embodiment of *superbia*.

The second most frequently used seduction model is the nude. Half of the visual sources include the seductress attempting to ignite lust in the saint though showing either a part of her body, or all of it. Looking at the theme of woman as seductress in art, it is important to keep in mind that biologically speaking, a man's response to a woman's body is involuntary. Attraction to bodies and their evolutionarily set sexual signals is natural. Early Christian doctrine moved away from biological function and instead concentrated on mystifying and glorifying celibacy in order not to be distracted from God. Looking at sexual encounters from this point of view, they were therefore seen in terms of pleasure seeking, loss of discipline and control, and feeding the desires of the flesh instead of those of the soul.

In the early sixteenth century, German, Flemish, and Dutch paintings depicting the temptation of Saint Anthony contain small nude seductresses in the background. These small seductresses appear in a number of paintings and they are often far off in the distance. It appears that it was perhaps more acceptable to depict nude seductresses in the early sixteenth century if they were painted in a small size. But as Italian artistic influences filtered their way into Northern art, especially classical Italian art, interest in the female nude form increased. In my analyzed material, after around 1520, these small seductresses began to be depicted in larger sizes and are moved increasingly to the foreground of the work. When looking at prints and drawings of the same subject, the sources in this study point to an exploration of the nude form already before 1520. Out of the visual sources which use the nude model, almost half of them include at least one seductress who is depicted solely using the nude model. The other half pair the nude model with attributes from one or more of the other forms. Although the nude seduction model began to be used more frequently after 1520, many of the attributes of the rich model remained present in the form of jewelry, headdresses, and vessels.

The third model of seduction, the everyday woman, is the least used model for saints' temptation scenes. Out of all the collected visual sources only eight works use this model. Although all women had equal potential to be seductresses, an everyday woman wearing simple dress appears to not have been a popular choice for artists to depict. A possible explanation for this may be that artists were more interested in depicting elaborately dressed seductresses, or nude seductresses, in order to show off their talents. Another possible explanation lies with the audience of such works. Many of the sixteenth-century paintings in this study were not religiously commissioned. Therefore the artist may have been meeting the demands of his patrons by depicting young beautiful women of fantasy. Attributes of the last seduction model, the devil woman, appear in one third of the visual sources. This is the only model to not be able to stand on its own. The devil woman attributes have examples paired

with each type of seduction model, but most often it is paired with the rich model. One of the reasons for adding an attribute of the devil to the seducing woman may have been to make it clearer to the beholder that the woman is either not who she appears to be (the devil in disguise), or that she has an evil intent.

Although the majority of saint's legends have men being tempted by seductresses, women were also subject to such attempts. Often male saints had to overcome a number of obstacles in order to get a closer relationship with God. Female saints, on the other hand, had one main mission: to protect their virginity. From all the tempted saints, Saint Anthony was the most popular one to be tempted by women in the visual representations. A possible explanation for this could be due to the fact that the Athanasius legend of Saint Anthony was written in such a way that allowed the imagination of German, Flemish, and Dutch artists freer rein than other saints' legends. Saint Anthony overcame numerous temptations and tortures that were thrown at him by demons and the devil. His legend served as a lesson to those who were familiar with it as it taught to always remain calm in the face of hard times, to never give up faith, and to not let lust, greed, and pride run one's life.

Research on the seductresses of saints in the visual arts, especially from the medieval and Renaissance periods, to the best of my knowledge, has been scarce at best. This study has tried to contribute to this area of art history and to open up the doors on a subject that may be examined further through multiple disciplines. Further research into the depiction of seducers and seductresses in art, not only in relation to saints but also to lay people, would open up interesting possibilities regarding questions of representation, dissemination, and perception. Expanding the area of study, as well as the time frame, would allow for a more thorough study of the seduction models.

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# CATALOGUE

The visual sources in this catalog have been organized by region of origin, the object of the temptation, medium, and date.



## Saint Anthony Temptations in German Art

### Cat. 1



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

German, woodcut, ca.1460

Albertina, Vienna

From: Sandra Uhrig, "Die Versuchung des Heiligen Antonius: Eine Vision des ausgehenden Mittelalters." Ph.D. Dissertation. Munich: Ludwig Maximilians University, 1998. Figure 17.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Everyday

Attributes: everyday

Model: Devil

Attributes: cloven feet

## Cat. 2



### The Temptations of Saint Anthony

German, woodcut, Strassbourg woodcut master, ca. 1480

From: Philipp, Michael. *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius: von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst: eine Ausstellung des Bucerius Kunst Forums, 9. Februar bis 18. Mai 2008*. Munich: Himer, 2008, 181.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Everyday

Attributes: everyday

Model: Devil

Attributes: claw feet

Cat. 3



Devils in the Forms of a Queen, a Cripple and a Sick Person Trying to Trick St. Antony  
German, woodcut, 1482.

From: Philipp, Michael. *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius: von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst: eine Ausstellung des Bucerius Kunst Forums, 9. Februar bis 18. Mai 2008*. Munich: Himer, 2008, 31.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 3

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female and male

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: vessel

Model: Devil

Attributes: claw foot

Cat. 4



The Devil Tempting Saint Anthony as He Weaves

German, woodcut, 1482

From: Philipp, Michael. *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius: von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst: eine Ausstellung des Bucerius Kunst Forums, 9. Februar bis 18. Mai 2008*. Munich: Himer, 2008, 31.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Everyday

Attributes: everyday

Cat. 5



The Devil Tempting Saint Anthony as He Weaves

German, woodcut, 1497

From: Philipp, Michael. *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius: von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst: eine Ausstellung des Bucerius Kunst Forums, 9. Februar bis 18. Mai 2008*. Munich: Himer, 2008, 13.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Everyday

Attributes: everyday

Model: Devil

Attributes: claw feet



## Cat. 6



The Devil Tempting Saint Anthony as He Weaves  
 German, woodcut, Ausburger woodcut master, 1497

From: Philipp, Michael. *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius: von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst: eine Ausstellung des Bucerius Kunst Forums, 9. Februar bis 18. Mai 2008*. Munich: Himer, 2008, 181.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

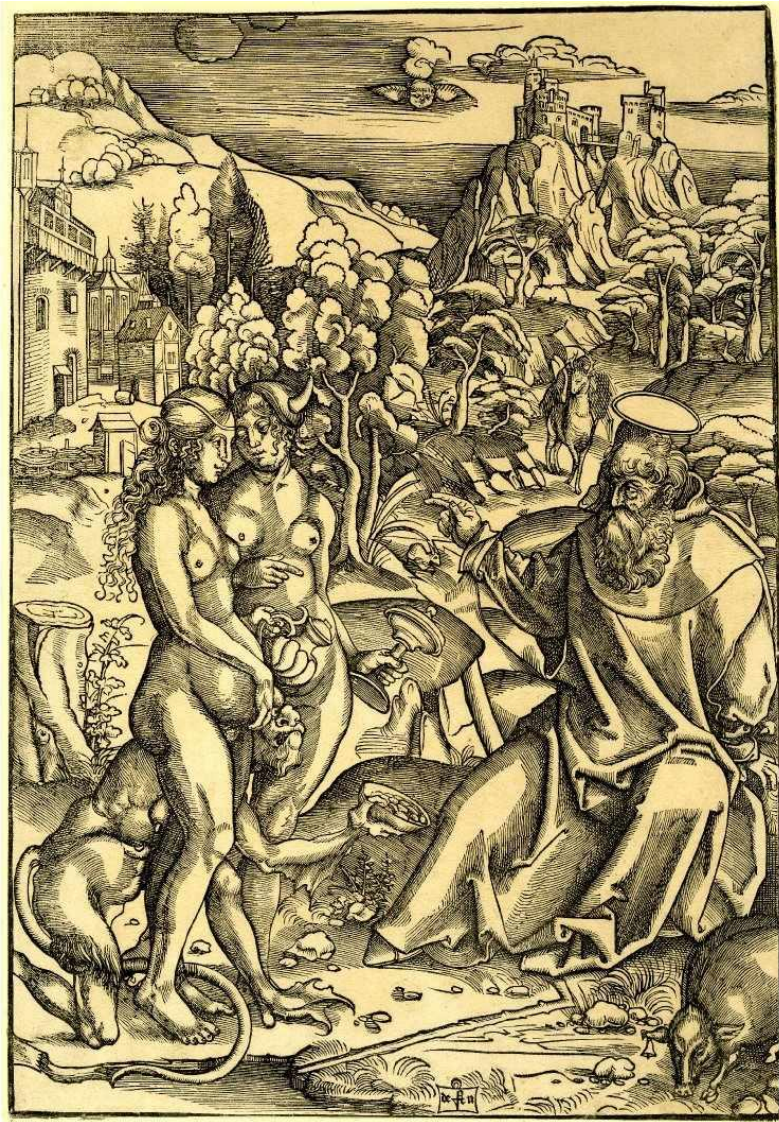
Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Everyday

Attributes: everyday

Cat. 7



Temptation of Saint Anthony  
German, woodcut, Jost de Negker, 1500-1520  
The British Museum, London, England  
From: The British Museum collection database

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 2  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: vessel  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Model: Devil  
Attributes: horns

Seducer 2:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: vessel

Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude



Cat. 8



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

German, ink on paper, Albrecht Durer, 1515

Albertina, Vienna, Austria.

From: <http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/default.aspx?lng=english#70d1304a-42d9-46bc-bbb2-3f86a23eea4e-->

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

**Cat. 9**



**The Temptation of Saint Anthony**

German, graphite on paper, Albrecht Durer, 1521

Albertina, Vienna, Austria.

From: <http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/default.aspx?lng=english#f716639e-4858-4281-b221-4499fc2ce345>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Cat. 10



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

German, etching, Hendrik Goltzius, ca. 1591

Hamburger Art Museum, Hamburg, Germany

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 193.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: vessel, dress

Model: Devil

Attributes: horns

Cat. 11



Altar of Saint Anthony

German, Baumberger sandstone, Evert van Roden, 1520-1525

Westphalian National Museum for Art and Cultural History, Münster, Germany

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 95.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Devil

Attributes: claw foot

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, vessel



Cat. 12



Legend of the Hermit Anthony

Germany, Master of the Little Passion, 1410-1415

Wallraf Richartz Museum, Cologne, Germany.

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 87.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 7

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

Model: Devil

Attributes: horns

Cat. 13



Temptation of Saint Anthony

German, tempera on panel, 1480

Daughter Church of St. Blaise, Kaufbeuren, Swabia, Germany

From: Real online. Image Number 016327

<http://tethys.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/images/7017639.JPG>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Devil

Attributes: clawed hands and feet

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

## Cat. 14



### The Legend of the Hermits

Germany, Master of the Holy Kinship the Younger, 1500-1510

Bavarian state painting collection, Munich, Germany

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 40.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 7

Location of seducers in work: background midground

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Seducer 3:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Seducer 4:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Seducer 5:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, pointed headdress, vessel

Model: Devil  
Attributes: claw foot

Seducer 6:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, bag

Model: Devil  
Attributes: horns

Seducer 7:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Model: Devil  
Attributes: horns



Cat. 15



Scenes from the Life of Saint Anthony Altarpiece

Germany, Jan Baegert of Wesel, 1510.

St. Victor's Cathedral, Xanten, Germany.

From: [http://www.flickr.com/photos/ana\\_sudani/3206153070/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/ana_sudani/3206153070/)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 3

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: rich  
Attributes: dress, headdress

Model: Devil  
Attribute: claw foot

Seducer 2:  
Model: rich  
Attributes: dress, headdress

Seducer 3:  
Model: rich  
Attributes: dress, headdress

Cat. 16



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

German, Cornelis Engebrechtsz, 1510-1520

Dresden State Art Collections, Old Masters Picture Gallery, Dresden, Germany

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 73.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, vessel, scepter

Cat. 17



The Temptation of Saint Anthony by the Woman

German, Nikolaus Manuel Deutsch, 1520

Museum of Fine Arts, Bern, Switzerland

From: Sandra Uhrig, "Die Versuchung des Heiligen Antonius: Eine Vision des ausgehenden Mittelalters." Ph.D. Dissertation. Munich: Ludwig Maximilians University, 1998. Figure #102.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, necklace

Cat. 18



The Temptations of Saint Anthony Salem Altarpiece

Germany, oil on panel, Martin Schaffner, 1517.

State Art Gallery, Karlsruhe, Germany.

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 33.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 7

Location of seducers in work: foreground background midground

Size of seducers: large medium small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Seducer 2:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Seducer 3:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Seducer 4:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Seducer 5:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress



Cat. 19



The Temptations of Saint Anthony Salem Altarpiece  
Germany, oil on panel, Martin Schaffner, 1517.  
State Art Gallery, Karlsruhe, Germany.

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 33.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, jewelry, vessel

Model: Devil  
Attributes: horns



## Other Temptations in German Art

### Cat. 20



#### Holy Father Appellen Tempted by the Devil in the Form of a Woman

German, woodcut, 1482.

From: Philipp, Michael. *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius: von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst: eine Ausstellung des Bucerius Kunst Forums, 9. Februar bis 18. Mai 2008*. Munich: Himer, 2008, 31.

Object of attempted seduction: Father Appellen

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female and male

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Everyday

Attributes: everyday

Cat. 21



The Devil Coming to a Friar in the Form of a Woman

German, woodcut, 1482.

From: Philipp, Michael. *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius: von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst: eine Ausstellung des Bucerius Kunst Forums, 9. Februar bis 18. Mai 2008*. Munich: Himer, 2008, 31.

Object of attempted seduction: Friar

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female and male

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Everyday

Attributes: everyday



The Nude Girl and the Abbot; Eating at a Table in a Bedroom  
German, woodcut, Hans Schaufelein, 1534-1536

The British Museum, London, England

From: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/search\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectid=1466481&partid=1&output=People%2F](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=1466481&partid=1&output=People%2F)

Object of attempted seduction: abbot

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

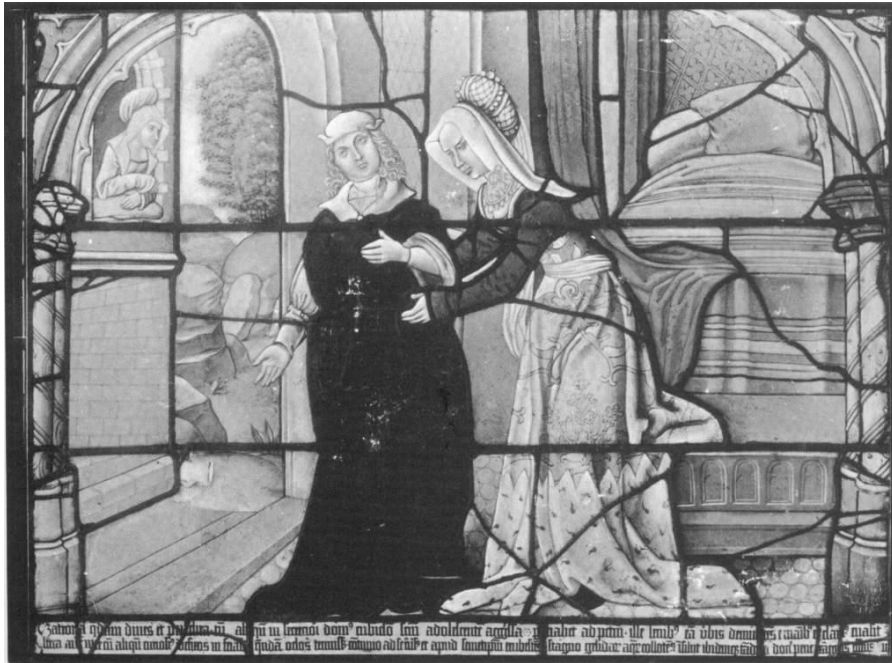
Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Cat. 23



Saint Bernard Tempted

German, stained glass, Cologne glass workshop, 1505-1532

War loss 1939/45.

From: James France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*. Image from cd.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Bernard of Clairvaux

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: foreground and background

Size of seducers: large and small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, head dress

Seducer 2:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, head dress



Cat. 24



Saint Bernard Tempted

German, stained glass, Cologne glass workshop, 1510-1532

Cologne, Schnuetgen Museum

From: James France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*. Image from cd.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Bernard of Clairvaux

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Cat. 25



Saint Bernard Tempted

German, stained glass, Cologne glass workshop, 1525.

Marston Bigot, Somerset, England.

From: James France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*. Image from cd.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Bernard of Clairvaux

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: rich

Model: Everyday

Attribute: everyday



### Saint Bernard Tempted

German, stained glass, Cologne glass workshop, 1525.

The Ludwig Collection: Suermondt Museum, Aachen, Germany.

From: James France, *Medieval Images of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*. Image from cd.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Bernard of Clairvaux

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: background

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: rich

Model: Everyday

Attribute: everyday



## Saint Anthony Temptations in Flemish Art

### Cat. 27



Altarpiece of Saints and Martyrs: The Temptation of St. Anthony  
Flemish, gilded wood, Jacques de Baerze, 1391  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, France.  
From: [www.bridgemanart.com](http://www.bridgemanart.com)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Devil  
Attributes: horns

Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, vessel





The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Flemish, manuscript illumination, Lieven van Lathem, ca.1459

The J. Paul Getty Museum, California, United States

Ms. 37, folio 33

From: <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=1932>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, vessel

Model: Devil

Attributes: claw foot

Cat. 29



Temptation of Saint Anthony

Netherlandish, engraving, Lucas van Leyden, 1509

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut

From: <http://ecatalogue.art.yale.edu/detail.htm?objectId=34835>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, vessel

Model: Devil

Attributes: claw feet

Cat. 30



The Temptation of Saint Anthony (recto); Fantastic Landscape (verso)

Flemish, ink on green paper, Jan Wellens de Cock, ca. 1510–1520

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

From: <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1972.118.276>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1+

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: yes

Seducer 1:

Model: Everyday

Attributes: everyone



**Cat. 31**



**The Temptation of Saint Anthony**

Flemish, brown ink on paper, Jan Wellens de Cock, 1525

Louvre, Paris, France

From: <http://arts->

[graphiques.louvre.fr/fo/visite?srv=mfc&paramAction=actionGetOeuvre&idFicheOeuvre=22438](http://graphiques.louvre.fr/fo/visite?srv=mfc&paramAction=actionGetOeuvre&idFicheOeuvre=22438)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: yes

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Model: Devil

Attributes: horns

Cat. 32



Temptation of Saint Anthony

Flemish, woodcut, Jan Wellens de Cock, ca. 1522

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Netherlands

From:

<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objecten?q=wellens+de+cock&p=1&ps=12#/RP-P-OB-2242,1>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, vessel

Model: Devil

Attributes: claw feet

Cat. 33



Temptation of Saint Anthony

Flemish, engraving, Hieronymus Wierix, ca. 1565-1615

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut

From: <http://ecatalogue.art.yale.edu/detail.htm?objectId=26623>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, vessel

Model: Devil

Attributes: claw feet



Cat. 34



The Temptation of Saint Anthony, Wings of a Triptych  
Flemish, oil on panel, Master of the St. Ursula Legend, ca. 1490  
Middlebury College Museum of Art, Middlebury, Vermont.  
From: [http://museum.middlebury.edu/collections/collection\\_highlights/node/820](http://museum.middlebury.edu/collections/collection_highlights/node/820)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: background  
Size of seducers: small  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, vessel



Cat. 35



Detail.

The Temptations of Saint Anthony Abbot  
Flemish, oil on panel, Joachim Patenier and Quentin Massys, 1520-1524.  
Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain.

From:<http://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/online-gallery/on-line-gallery/obra/the-temptations-of-saint-anthony-the-abbot/>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 7  
Location of seducers in work: background and foreground  
Size of seducers: small and large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: yes

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, jewelry, headdress

Seducer 3:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, headdress

Seducer 4:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, headdress

Seducer 5:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 6:  
Model: Everyday  
Attributes: simple dress

Seducer 7:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, vessel



Cat. 36



The Temptation of Saint Anthony  
Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Wellens de Cock, ca. 1520  
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Spain.  
From: [http://www.museothyssen.org/en/thyssen/ficha\\_obra/516](http://www.museothyssen.org/en/thyssen/ficha_obra/516)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 4  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Model: Rich

Attributes: jewelry, headdress, luxury vessel, scepter

Seducer 2:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Model: Rich

Attributes: jewelry, headdress

Seducer 3:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Model: Rich

Attributes: jewelry

Seducer 4:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Model: Rich

Attributes: jewelry

**Cat. 37**



The Temptation of Saint Anthony  
Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Wellens de Cock, ca. 1520.  
Museum of Art and History, Geneva, Switzerland.  
From: <http://www.vontobel-art.com/resources/5876.jpg>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Model: Devil  
Attributes: horns



Cat. 38



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Wellens de Cock, 1522

The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

From: <http://www.nelson-atkins.org/collections/objectview.cfm?Start=1&ret=1&objectid=4328&7a5c60792806f3f7-DF7DA947-F21A-6BEA-A9F3704A61E4F9C4>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: breast

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, vessel

Model: Devil

Attributes: claw foot

Cat. 39



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Wellens de Cock, 1522

National Museum, Warsaw, Poland.

From: [http://cultured.com/image/3741/Jan Wellens de Cock The Temptation of Saint Anthony/#.UXqHvEpvBAA](http://cultured.com/image/3741/Jan_Wellens_de_Cock_The_Temptation_of_Saint_Antony/#.UXqHvEpvBAA)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, vessel



**Cat. 40**



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Wellens de Cock, ca. 1520-1530

Esztergom Christian Museum, Esztergom, Hungary.

From: <http://www.keresztenymuzeum.hu/collections.php?mode=work&wid=43&page=0&vt>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, vessel

Model: Devil

Attributes: horns

Cat. 41



Detail.

Temptation of St. Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Wellens de Cock, ca. 1520-1530

Private collection.

From: <http://www.bridgemanart.com>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: midground

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress (double pointed hennin)

Seducer 2:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Cat. 42



The Temptation of St. Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel

Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Brussels, Belgium.

From: [http://www.terminartors.com/artworkprofile/Unknown\\_Flemish-](http://www.terminartors.com/artworkprofile/Unknown_Flemish-)

[The Temptation of Saint Anthony](#)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: midground

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: headdress, offering item

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude



Cat. 43



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Wellens de Cock, ca. 1525

Flipje and Streekmuseum, Tiel, Netherlands.

From: <http://www.streekmuseumtiel.nl/2009/index.php?content=3>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: yes

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Model: Devil

Attributes: horns

Model: Rich

Attributes: vessel

**Cat. 44**



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Mandijn, ca. 1530

National Museum, Warsaw, Poland.

From: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mandijn\\_Temptation\\_of\\_St.\\_Anthony.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mandijn_Temptation_of_St._Anthony.jpg)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 3

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Seducer 3:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude



Cat. 45



Temptation of St. Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Mandijn, 1539

North Brabant Museum, 's-Hertogenbosc, Netherlands.

From: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jan\\_Mandijn\\_002.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jan_Mandijn_002.jpg)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 3

Location of seducers in work: foreground and midground

Size of seducers: large and medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

Cat. 46



Temptation of St. Anthony  
Flemish, oil on canvas, Jan Mandijn, ca. 1540  
Museum of Fine Arts, Valenciennes, France.  
From: <http://www.bridgemanart.com>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 2  
Location of seducers in work: midground  
Size of seducers: small  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, headdress

Seducer 2:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Cat. 47



Temptation of St. Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, workshop of Jan Mandijn, ca. 1500-1550

Private collection.

<http://nordonart.wordpress.com/2012/05/14/quirky-beguiling-dutch-flemish-old-masters-for-sale/>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: yes

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: vessel

Seducer 2:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude



Cat. 48



The Temptation of St. Anthony  
Flemish, oil on panel, Circle of Joachim Patinir, ca. 1540  
Private collection. From:  
<http://www.bridgemanart.com>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: small  
Genders of seducers: creature  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: bare legs

Cat. 49



Temptation of St. Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Herri Met de Bles, 1540-1550

Art History Museum, Vienna, Austria.

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 127.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 4

Location of seducers in work: foreground and midground

Size of seducers: medium and small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: headdress

Model: Devil

Attributes: horns (branches –hennin)

Seducer 2:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Model: Rich  
Attributes: vessel, headdress, jewelry

Seducer 3:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Model: Rich  
Attributes: headdress, jewelry

Seducer 4:  
Model: Everyday  
Attributes: everyday



Cat. 50



The Temptation of St. Anthony

Flemish, oil on copper, Circle of Pieter Huys, ca. 1545

Private collection.

From: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/circle-of-pieter-huys-the-temptation-of-5666121-details.aspx>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Model: Rich

Attributes: necklace, umbrella, riding a peacock

Model: Devil

Attribute: horns

Cat. 51



The Temptation of Saint Anthony  
Flemish, oil on panel, Pieter Huys, 1547  
Louvre, Paris, France.

From: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pieter Huys\\_002.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pieter_Huys_002.jpg)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Model: Rich

Attributes: jewelry on hip, platter

Cat. 52



The Temptation of St. Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Circle of Pieter Huys, ca. 1547

Private collection.

From: <http://www.artfact.com/auction-lot/pieter-huys-37-c-346233bd63>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: midground

Size of seducers: small/medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: headdress, musical instrument

Seducer 2:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude



Cat. 53



The Temptation of Saint Anthony  
Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Mandijn, ca. 1550  
Art History Museum, Vienna, Austria.

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 21.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 3  
Location of seducers in work: midground  
Size of seducers: small  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Model: Rich  
Attributes: pointed headdress

Seducer 2:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 3:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Cat. 54



The Temptations of Saint Anthony

Flemish, Marten de Vos, 1549.

Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp, Belgium.

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 24.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: rich

Attributes: dress, vessel



Cat. 55



The Temptation of St. Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Adriaen Isenbrant or Jan Wellens de Cock, first half of 16<sup>th</sup> century  
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 99.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: midground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Model: Rich  
Attributes: necklace, headdress

Seducer 2:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Cat. 56



The Temptation of Saint Anthony  
Flemish, Circle of Jan Wellens de Cock  
Private collection.

From: [http://www.arcadja.com/auctions/en/de\\_cock\\_jan\\_wellens/artist/5970/](http://www.arcadja.com/auctions/en/de_cock_jan_wellens/artist/5970/)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: medium  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Cat. 57



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Flemish, oil on copper, Pieter Huys, second half for 16<sup>th</sup> century

Private collection.

From: <http://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/The-Temptation-of-Saint-Anthony/32733664A30DB65D>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 3

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress

Seducer 2:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Seducer 3:

Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress



Cat. 58



The Temptation of St. Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Mandijn, ca. 1550

Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, Netherlands.

From: <http://darkclassics.blogspot.hu/2012/01/jan-mandijn-temptation-of-saint-anthony.html>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: creature

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: breasts

Cat. 59



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, ca. 1550

Private collection.

From: <http://darkclassics.blogspot.hu/2012/01/jan-mandijn-temptation-of-saint-anthony.html>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, vessel

**Cat. 60**



The Temptation of St. Anthony  
Flemish, oil on panel, Pieter Huys, ca. 1550

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: midground  
Size of seducers: medium  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Model: Rich  
Attributes: vessel



Cat. 61



The Temptation of St. Anthony  
Flemish, oil on panel, Cornelis Massys, ca. 1550  
Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels, Belgium.  
From: <http://www.bridgemanart.com>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 2  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: yes

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Cat. 62



The Temptation of St. Anthony

Flemish, oil on panel, Pieter Huys, ca. 1577

Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, Belgium.

From: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pieter\\_Huys\\_-\\_Versuchung\\_des\\_Hl.\\_Antonius.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pieter_Huys_-_Versuchung_des_Hl._Antonius.jpg)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 2 +

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, riding a horse

Model: Rich

Attributes: necklace, umbrella, riding a peacock

Seducer 2:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude



**Cat. 63**



The Temptations of St. Anthony  
Flemish, oil on panel, 16<sup>th</sup> century  
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum, Bilbao, Spain.  
From: <http://www.museobilbao.com/in/catalogo-online/the-temptations-of-saint-anthony-6939>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 3  
Location of seducers in work: foreground and midground  
Size of seducers: large and medium  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Cat. 64



The Temptation of St. Anthony

Dutch or Flemish, oil on panel, ca. 1550

Art History Museum, Vienna, Austria

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 121.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium and small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress

Cat. 65



The Temptation of St Anthony  
Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Brueghel the Younger, ca. 1590  
Private collection.  
From: <http://www.bridgemanart.com>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 4  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: small  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, headdress, riding on a horse

Seducer 3:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, headdress

Seducer 4:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude



Cat. 66



The Temptation of St. Anthony – Hell  
Flemish, oil on copper, Jan Brueghel the Elder, 1594  
Private collection.  
From: <http://www.bridgemanart.com>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: midground  
Size of seducers: small  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Cat. 67



Temptation of Saint Anthony

Brussels, silk and wool, ca. 1550-1570

Royal Palace of Madrid, Madrid, Spain

From: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:After\\_Jheronimus\\_Bosch\\_011.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:After_Jheronimus_Bosch_011.jpg)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony and men

Total number of seducers: 4 +

Location of seducers in work: foreground and background

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, vessel

Seducer 2:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress



Seducer 3:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 4:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

## Other Temptations in Flemish Art

### Cat. 68



The Temptation of St. Anthony  
Flemish, oil on panel, Jan Mandijn, ca. 1540  
Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna, Austria.  
From: <http://diptyquescrossing.blogspot.hu/2011/06/jan-jean-mandyn.html>

Object of attempted seduction: Man  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: midground  
Size of seducers: small  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: double pointed hennin

## Saint Anthony Temptations in Dutch Art

### Cat. 69



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Dutch, engraving, ca. 1500-1525

The British Museum, London, England

From: The British Museum online collection database

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/search\\_object\\_detail.aspx?objectid=1502359&partid=1&searchText=temptation&fromDate=1470&fromADBC=ad&toDate=1630&toADBC=ad&titleSubject=on&numpages=10&images=on&orig=%2Fsearch%2Fsearch\\_the\\_collection\\_database.aspx&currentPage=3](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_detail.aspx?objectid=1502359&partid=1&searchText=temptation&fromDate=1470&fromADBC=ad&toDate=1630&toADBC=ad&titleSubject=on&numpages=10&images=on&orig=%2Fsearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&currentPage=3)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 3

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: headdress, vessel

Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: vessel

Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 3:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: vessel

Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Model: Devil  
Attributes: horns



Cat. 70



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Dutch, ink on paper, ca. 1575-1600

The British Museum, London, England

From: British Museum online collection database

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/search\\_object\\_detail.aspx?objectid=712329&partid=1&searchText=temptation+of+saint+anthony&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&titleSubject=on&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch\\_the\\_collecti on\\_database.aspx&currentPage=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_detail.aspx?objectid=712329&partid=1&searchText=temptation+of+saint+anthony&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&titleSubject=on&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collecti on_database.aspx&currentPage=1)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Everyday

Attributes: everyday (with box)



Cat. 71



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Dutch, engraving, ca. 1580

The British Museum, London, England

From: British Museum online collection database

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/search\\_object\\_image.aspx?objectId=1549406&partId=1&searchText=temptation&fromDate=1470&fromADBC=ad&toDate=1630&toADBC=ad&titleSubject=on&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch\\_the\\_collection\\_database.aspx&images=on&numPages=10&currentPage=10&asset\\_id=123072](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_image.aspx?objectId=1549406&partId=1&searchText=temptation&fromDate=1470&fromADBC=ad&toDate=1630&toADBC=ad&titleSubject=on&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&images=on&numPages=10&currentPage=10&asset_id=123072)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Model: Rich

Attributes: vessel

Cat. 72



Temptation of Saint Anthony

Dutch, ink on paper, 16<sup>th</sup> century

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

From: [www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-](http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/90002843?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=temptation+of+anthony&pos=12)

[collections/90002843?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=temptation+of+anthony&pos=12](http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/90002843?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=temptation+of+anthony&pos=12)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1 +

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: vessel

Model: Nude

Attributes: bare arm and shoulder



Cat. 73



Triptych of the Temptation of Saint Anthony  
Dutch, oil on panel, Hieronymus Bosch, ca. 1500  
Prado, Madrid, Spain.

From: <http://www.bridgemanart.com>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: midground

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Cat. 74



The Temptations of Saint Anthony Abbot  
Dutch, oil on panel, Hieronymus Bosch, 1500-1510.  
Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain.

From: <http://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/online-gallery/on-line-gallery/obra/the-temptations-of-saint-anthony/>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: background  
Size of seducers: small  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude



Cat. 75



The Temptations of Saint Anthony Abbot  
Dutch, oil on panel, Hieronymus Bosch, 1500-1510.  
Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain.

From: <http://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/online-gallery/on-line-gallery/obra/the-temptations-of-saint-anthony/>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: background  
Size of seducers: small  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 3:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

Seducer 4:  
Model: Nude



Attributes: nude

Seducer 5:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

Seducer 6:

Model: Rich

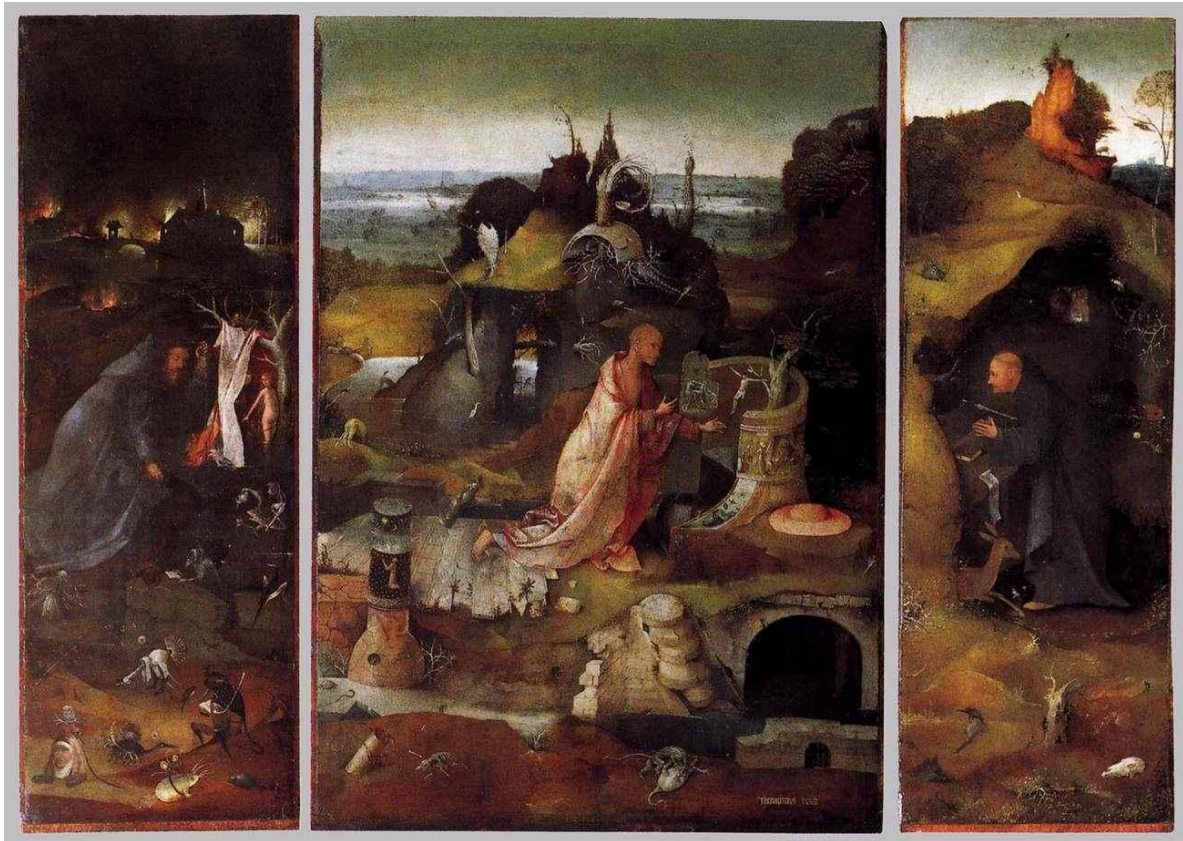
Attributes: dress, headdress

Seducer 7:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

Cat. 76



Hermit Saints Triptych

Dutch, oil on panel, Hieronymus Bosch, ca. 1505

Palazzo Ducale, Venice, Italy.

From: <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/b/bosch/6venice/hermit.html>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: background

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Cat. 77



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Dutch, oil on canvas, Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, 1500-1510

Salzburg Cathedral Museum, Salzburg, Austria.

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 119.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: midground and background

Size of seducers: small and medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Seducer 2:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

Cat. 78



The Temptation of Saint Anthony  
Dutch, oil on panel, Follower of Hieronymus Bosch  
Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands.

From: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Follower\\_of\\_Jheronimus\\_Bosch\\_002.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Follower_of_Jheronimus_Bosch_002.jpg)

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: medium  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: yes

Seducer 1:  
Model: rich  
Attributes: dress, necklace, holding bird



**Cat. 79**



**The Temptation of Saint Anthony**

Dutch, oil on panel, Jan Wellens de Cock, ca. 1530

State Gallery of Stuttgart, Germany

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 123.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium and small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: yes

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, necklace, holding a bird





The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Dutch, oil on panel, Herri Met de Bles, 1540-1550

Art History Museum, Vienna, Austria

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 125.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

Cat. 81



The Temptation of St. Anthony  
Dutch, painting, Gillis van Coninxloo, 1598  
Johnny van Haeften Gallery, London, England.  
From: <http://www.bridgemanart.com>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Cat. 82



Meditation of St Anthony  
Dutch, oil on panel, Jacob van Swanenburg, ca.1600  
Private collection.  
From: <http://www.bridgemanart.com>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 2  
Location of seducers in work: midground  
Size of seducers: medium  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Seducer 2:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Cat. 83



The Temptation of St Anthony

Dutch, oil on panel, Jacob van Swanenburg, ca. 1600

Private collection.

From: <http://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/attributed-to-jacob-isaacsz.-van-swanenburg-leid-17-c-016f2dbe9d>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: midground

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, scepter, riding a skeletal animal

Seducer 2:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude



Cat. 84



The Temptation of St Anthony

Dutch, oil on copper, Jacob Van Swanenburgh, ca. 1600

Hauser and Wirth, London, England.

From: <http://www.hauserwirth.com/exhibitions/27/old-school/list-of-works/34/>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: small

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

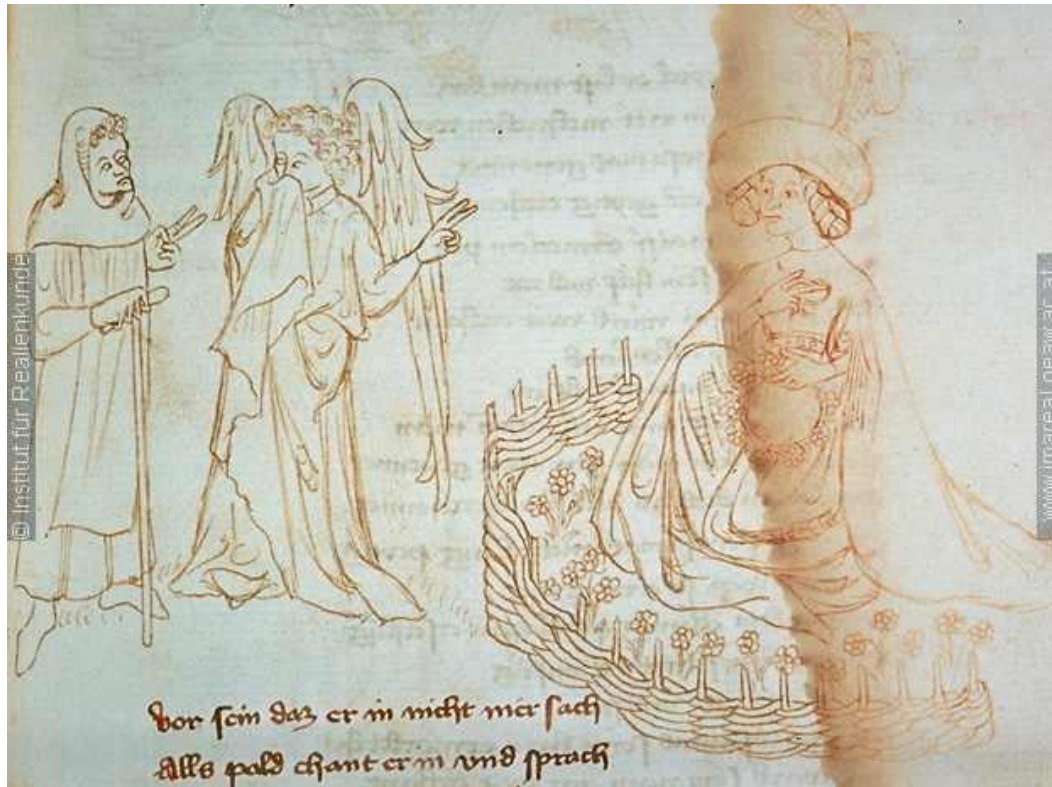
Model: Nude

Attributes: nude



## Other Temptations in Austrian/Tyrolean Art

### Cat. 85



Hermit, Virgin, and Angel

Austrian, pen and ink drawing, ca. 1411

Austrian National Library, Vienna, Austria

Flowers of Virtue, cod. 13567, folio 83r

From: Real online. Image Number 007110.

<http://tethys.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/images/7008936.JPG>

Object of attempted seduction: hermit

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

Cat. 86



Seduction and Penance of a Hermit  
Austrian, pen and ink drawing, ca. 1411  
Austrian National Library, Vienna, Austria  
Flowers of Virtue, cod. 13567, folio 112v  
From: Real online. Image Number 007115.  
<http://tethys.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/images/7008941.JPG>

Object of attempted seduction: hermit  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Everyday  
Attributes: everyday

Cat. 87



Saint Vitus Renounces the Pleasures of the World

Austria, wood relief, 1475

Parish church, Salzburg, Austria.

From: Real online. Image Number 000867

<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/images/7000870.JPG>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Vitus

Total number of seducers: 3

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female and male

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: clothing



Cat. 88



Saint Justina Approached by the Devil  
South Tyrol, tempera on panel, 1480.  
Pacher area, South Tyrol  
From: Real online. Image Number 001691  
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/images/7005384.JPG>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Justina  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Devil  
Attributes: clawed feet

Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, headdress

Cat. 89



Saint Vitus Renounces the Pleasures of the World

Tyrol, tempera on panel, 1510

Tyrolean Provincial Museum, Tyrol, Austria

From: Real online. Image Number 001930

<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/images/7003220.JPG>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Vitus

Total number of seducers:

Location of seducers in work: foreground and background

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female and male

Hag: no

Models: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress



## Saint Anthony Temptations in Slovakian Art

### Cat. 90



Temptation of Saint Anthony  
Slovakia, tempera on panel, 1500  
Sasova, Church of St. Anthony, Slovakia.  
From: Real online. Image Number 012637  
<http://tethys.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/images/7013469.JPG>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, vessel

Model: Devil  
Attributes: claw foot

Cat. 91



The Temptation of Saint Anthony  
Slovakia, tempera on wood, 1503  
Spisska Sobota, Parish Church of St. George, Slovakia.  
From: Real online. Image Number 012069.  
<http://tethys.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/images/7012683A.JPG>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 1  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, headdress

Cat. 92



Temptation of Saint Anthony

Slovakia, tempera on panel, 1503

Spisska Sobota, Parish Church of St. George, Slovakia.

From: Real online. Image Number 012061

<http://tethys.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/images/7012660.JPG>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, crown

**Cat. 93**



The Temptation of Saint Anthony  
Slovakia, tempera on panel, 1503  
Spisska Sobota, Parish Church of St. George, Slovakia.  
From: Real online. Image Number 012065  
<http://tethys.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/images/7012676.JPG>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony  
Total number of seducers: 3  
Location of seducers in work: foreground  
Size of seducers: large  
Genders of seducers: female  
Hag: no

Seducer 1:



Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress, crown

Model: Devil  
Attributes: claw feet

Seducer 2:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Seducer 3:  
Model: Nude  
Attributes: nude

## Saint Anthony Temptations in French Art

### Cat. 94



Anthony Abbot the Great: Scene, Assailed by Demons

French, manuscript illumination, ca. 1430

Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, United States

Book of hours (MS M.64), folio 131r

From: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=246769>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female and male

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

Seducer 2:

Model: Rich

Attributes: crown



Temptation of Saint Anthony

French, manuscript illumination, ca. 1450

British Library, London, England

Book of Hours, Use of Angers, folio 161v

From:

<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8509&CollID=8&NS=tart=5370>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress

Cat. 96



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

French, manuscript illumination, Jean Colombe Workshop, 15<sup>th</sup> century

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France

Laval-Book of Hours

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 37.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, head dress

**Cat. 97**



**The Temptation of Saint Anthony**

French, manuscript illumination, Simon Marimon, ca. 1480

British Museum, London, England

Huth Hours, folio 133v

From: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/TourFrOut.asp>

Object of attempted seduction: Christian Man

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, vessel

Model: Devil

Attributes: claw foot



Cat. 98



Anthony Abbot the Great: Scene, Tempted by Demons

French, manuscript illumination, ca. 1480

Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, United States

Book of hours (MS M.198), folio 110r

From: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=275055>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, vessel

Model: Devil

Attributes: horns

Cat. 99



The Temptation of St. Anthony

French, manuscript illumination, ca. 1500

Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, United States

Book of hours (Ms. Henry VIII), folio 183v

From: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=242636>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress

Model: Devil

Attributes: horns

**Cat. 100**



**Saint Anthony Tempted by Demons**

French, manuscript illumination, ca. 1510

Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, United States

Book of hours (MS M.250), folio 142v

From: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=260625>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress, luxury item



Cat. 101



Saint Anthony

Manuscript illumination, 1570-1580

Royal Library, London, England

Prayer Book of Saint Truiden, Inv. NR. 75 A 2/4, fol. V. 85, 86 r

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 191.

Object of attempted seduction: beholder (?)

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: medium

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Nude

Attributes: nude

## Other Temptations in French Art

### Cat. 102



#### Saint Paul the Hermit Sees a Christian Tempted

French, Manuscript Illumination, Limbourgh Brothers, ca. 1408

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States, the Cloisters Collection

Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry, folio 191r

From: <http://blog.metmuseum.org/artofillumination/manuscript-pages/folio-191r/>

Object of attempted seduction: Christian Man

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, headdress





St. Jerome Tempted by Dancing Girls

French, Manuscript Illumination, Limbourg Brothers, ca. 1408

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States, the Cloisters Collection

Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry, folio 186r

From: <http://blog.metmuseum.org/artofillumination/manuscript-pages/folio-186r/>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Jerome

Total number of seducers: 2

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

Seducer 2:  
Model: Rich  
Attributes: dress

## Saint Anthony Temptations in Italian Art

### Cat. 104



The Temptation of Saint Anthony

Italian, oil and tempera on panel, Girard Master, ca. 1490

Private collection

From: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/old-master-british-paintings-day-sale-112037/lot.304.html>

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 1

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: female

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: dress, necklace, headdress, mirror

Model: Devil

Attributes: clawed feet

Cat. 105



Anthony is Tempted by Gold

Italian, oil on panel, Bernardo Parentino, 1494

Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome, Italy.

From: Michael Philipp, *Terror and Lust: the Temptation of St. Anthony, from Hieronymus Bosch to Max Ernst: an Exhibition of the Bucerius Kunst Forum* (Munich: Himer, 2008), 89.

Object of attempted seduction: Saint Anthony

Total number of seducers: 3

Location of seducers in work: foreground

Size of seducers: large

Genders of seducers: male

Hag: no

Seducer 1:

Model: Rich

Attributes: clothing, bowl of gold

Model: Devil

Attributes: big ears

Seducer 2:

Model: Rich

Attributes: clothing

Seducer 3:

Model: Rich

Attributes: clothing