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Domesticating the Virgin in Early Modern Netherlandish Art

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This essay examines the phenomenon of Protestant Marianism in early modern Dutch visual culture. Assumptions that devotion to Mary must have waned after 1581 when the Calvinist regime of the Dutch Republic outlawed Catholicism neglect the sheer quantity of extant seventeenth-century Marian images and evidence of their immense popularity among both Catholics and Protestants. This paper asks how artists adapted traditional representations of Mary for a broad market in the Northern Netherlands and how Marian imagery, in turn, might have impacted Protestant theological teachings. I posit that Dutch artists, including Rembrandt, drew inspiration for their renderings of Mary as a domesticated woman from sixteenth-century Flemish prints and paintings of the Holy Family. These works share in common the depiction of a *bakermat* nursing couch, associations with the *Virgo lactans*, and evocations of Joseph's role as Mary's protector. I focus on an engraving of a nursing mother made before 1620 by the Utrecht artist, Magdalena van de Passe, which iconographically connects the Flemish pictorial precedents of the Holy Family with their mid seventeenth-century Dutch antecedents of the domesticated sacred family. The production of imagery depicting the domesticated Virgin coincided with her remarkable appropriation in theological literature for Reformed worship. Some Calvinist preachers, including Willem Sluiter and Jodocus van Lodenstein, sought to rekindle Marian devotion among the laity through hymns and poems in her praise. I argue that Mary's transformation from an unearthly exemplar in Catholic veneration into an earthly Everywoman in early modern Dutch art facilitated her acceptance in Protestant religiosity.

Keywords: Holy Family, Virgin Mary, *bakermat*, Magdalena van de Passe, Rembrandt, Willem Sluiter, Jodocus van Lodenstein, Dutch Republic, Calvinism, post-Tridentine iconography

In the 17th century, artists in the Northern Netherlands radically transformed the Virgin Mary's representation in their paintings and prints. They repackaged Mary from her familiar Roman Catholic guise as the *unearthly*, stainless Queen of Heaven into a model better suited for Protestants as an *earthly* domesticated mother and wife. Their depictions of Mary in scenes of the Holy Family were available to wide, multiconfessional audiences in the decades before her remarkable and yet uncontroversial reappropriation in theological teachings for Dutch Calvinists. Perhaps the ubiquity of Mary's domesticated representation in Holy Family imagery palliated fears or suspicions of her among Calvinists. Two contrasting paintings of the Holy Family demonstrate the innovations Netherlandish artists made to Marian iconography by the mid 17th century and provide a lens through which we can assess Mary's role in post-Reformation Dutch visual culture and religious devotion.

On one hand, Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen's *The Holy Family*, c. 1528-1530 (fig. 1), conveys her privileged atemporal and eternal existence in a scene characteristic of her conventional portrayal in Christian art before the principles of the Protestant Reformation took hold in the Northern Netherlands. Vermeyen juxtaposes the infant Christ and his parents with an expansive celestial aura. The Christ child gestures toward God and a chorus of music-making angels peering down upon the family from a ring of clouds in the upper-left corner. On the other hand, the mid 17th-century painting, *The Holy Family* (fig. 2), attributed to the Studio of Rembrandt, presents the family in a darkened domestic interior absent of divine signifiers. Mary hunches over an open book as she reads by candlelight to her child sleeping in his cradle. Her mother Anne rocks the cradle with a rope and Joseph



1 Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, *The Holy Family*, c. 1528-1530, oil on panel, 64.3x54.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



2 Studio of Rembrandt, *The Holy Family at Night*, c. 1642-1648, oil on panel, 66.5x78 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

crouches in the shadow of a staircase nearby. The family's residence in a cozy home filled with contemporaneous household stuff, including a jug, basket, books, a copper lamp, and various items of simple furniture, is a markedly dramatic shift from Vermeyen's representation of Mary. Whereas Vermeyen couches the Holy Family in a heavenly context of God and angels in billowing clouds, the Rembrandt Studio painting represents the family with a map hanging on the wall behind Anne to signify their concern with earthly, not spiritual, matters. The Rembrandt Studio's domesticated mode of Mary's depiction purges her of associations with the doctrine of Immaculate Conception and her bodily Assumption, which Protestants vehemently rejected.¹ The painting offers her, alternatively, with reverence as an exemplar suitable for Reformed worship and with iconography acceptable to the widest, multiconfessional audience possible comprised of both Catholics and Protestants.

By the mid 17th century, depictions of Mary as a domesticated woman flourished in Dutch visual culture despite Protestant reformers' harsh critiques of Mary, their attacks against Catholics for the veneration of saints, and the outlaw of Roman Catholicism in the Northern Netherlands. Following the 1568 Dutch revolt against Spain for independence, the Calvinist-led government of the Dutch Republic confiscated Catholic Church property by 1572 and banned all displays of Catholic worship by 1581. Dutch Catholics responded to their suppressed conditions in the Republic with visceral reactions. They continued to conduct illegal pilgrimages to sacred sites of Marian worship, especially to chapels and wells in North Holland connected to the Dutch national saints Willibrord and Boniface.² Numerous paintings and prints of the pilgrimage sites by artists including Gerrit de Jongh render former Catholic churches that the government seized and reconsecrated for Calvinist worship.³ Nearly all of the works portray Mary with rosary beads and the crescent moon in her post-Tridentine role as a militant and victorious emblem of Catholicism. Yet while Mary signified attempts to reinstate Catholicism as the Dutch Republic's dominant ecclesiastical institution, she also configured prominently in post-Reformation visual culture for a wide market that included Protestants.

The phenomenon of Protestant Marianism in early modern Dutch art remains largely overlooked in scholarly literature. Historians have acknowledged that scenes of the Holy Family couched as a domesticated family, as in Rembrandt's painting, conveyed spiritual and moral metaphors about motherhood, child rearing, and home-making that would have appealed to broad audiences.⁴ Yet scholars have not traced the deliberate shift in Mary's visual representation to a domesticated woman in post-Reformation art. The sheer quantity of Marian images in early modern Dutch art affirms the continued significance of the Virgin as an exemplar even after the Reformation. The emphasis Calvinist theologians placed on God's presence in the mundane reality of humankind's daily existence offered Dutch artists fertile new ground to cultivate innovative pictorial modes of traditional, Catholic iconography. This essay asks the question of how Dutch artists adapted conventional representations of Mary for a wide market and whether Marian imagery might have, in turn, impacted Protestant theological teachings.

One of the first images, I argue, that served as a conduit for Mary's disguised representation as a domesticated woman in seventeenth-century Dutch art is an engraving by Magdalena van de Passe of winter from a series of the four seasons made before 1620 (figs. 3-6).⁵ The artist, referred to henceforth as Magdalena, came from a large family of engravers.⁶ Her father, Crispijn van de Passe, was the prolific Dutch Mennonite artist who began his career in Antwerp before moving his family to Cologne and later to Utrecht where Magdalena likely produced her series of the seasons.⁷ Crispijn provided his children with printmaking instruction and is credited as the 'inventor' of many of their compositions. One of Magdalena's four scenes of the seasons under discussion, *Spring*, includes an inscription in the bottom margin designating Crispijn as inventor and publisher, and Magdalena as engraver. Although his name appears on only one of the four sheets, his drawings might have served as Magdalena's models for the entire series.⁸ Given the lack of information about the authorship of *Winter* in its bottom margin, I attribute the engraving here to Magdalena. Her print, *Winter*, personifies the season as an old man who peers over a young mother's shoulder to gaze upon the infant she holds tenderly. The mother sits close to the floor recalling the Madonna of Humility as she prepares to give suck to her child, suggestive of the *Virgo lactans*. At the left, a little boy sitting beside a roaring fire cradles a cat echoing the mother's embrace of her infant.



3 Magdalena van de Passe, after Crispijn van de Passe (?), *Winter*, c. 1614-1620, engraving, 23.6x16.1 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



4 Magdalena van de Passe after Crispijn van de Passe, *Spring*, c. 1614-1620, engraving, 23.9x16.3 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



5 Magdalena van de Passe, after Crispijn van de Passe (?), *Summer*, c. 1614-1620, engraving, 23.7x16.3 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



6 Magdalena van de Passe, after Crispijn van de Passe (?), *Autumn*, c. 1614-1620, engraving, 23.7x15.9 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

An open doorway in the background leads to a separate room filled with a merry company largely oblivious to the family gathered by the fireplace.

While the main figures in the foreground of Magdalena's *Winter* should not necessarily be identified as Mary, Joseph, and the Christ child, the artist presents the strong likelihood they evoke the Holy Family in three fundamental ways. First, the print's incongruous inscription in its bottom margin bears little relevance to the scene above. Second, the composition deviates from iconographic literature and pictorial precedents about the personification of the winter season. And third, the family group appears strikingly similar to contemporaneous Netherlandish depictions of the Holy Family.

First, Magdalena's scene in *Winter* is wholly incompatible with the Latin inscription in the bottom margin of the sheet:

"Gloomy winter announces old age to us,
and that time of life usually brings stiffness
because of the accompanying snow".⁹

While the print's inscription is appropriate for the theme of the winter season, the scene of an affectionate, smiling family clustered beside a roaring fire can be characterized as anything but "gloomy" or "stiff". While the inscription in the bottom margin has nothing to do with the Holy Family, the melding of sacred family iconography with a secular verse considerably widens the print's market and would have offered collectors opportunities to interpret the image as a puzzle with multiple meanings. The incongruity of the inscription to the scene thus sparks motivation to detect in the image meanings that do not necessarily relate to winter.

Second, Magdalena subtly deviates from conventional representations of winter established in iconographic literature and pictorial precedents. *Winter* is only loosely modeled after Cesare Ripa's instructions in his manual, *Iconologia*, published in 1593, which provided artists with a standardized index of symbols and stock imagery for prints and emblem books. Magdalena follows Ripa's directive to personify winter as an old man by a fire, but she extracts any signifier of winter, such as snow or leafless trees that are typically included in other depictions of the season.¹⁰ A late 16th-century print of winter by the Flemish engraver Jan Sadeler (fig. 7), for example, portrays the season as an old man wearing a fur-lined hat similar to the father figure in Magdalena's *Winter*. He warms his hand and bare foot by a fire and dangles a tankard between his knees, presumably filled with beer drawn from the barrels behind him. While the personifications of winter in the two prints by Sadeler and Magdalena share much in common, the male protagonist in Magdalena's scene sits with his family in a cozy interior with no view of a snow-covered landscape nor does he engage in an activity associated solely with the winter season.

The potential for an alternate meaning of Magdalena's *Winter* becomes further amplified given the print's iconographic deviations within its own series. While *Spring*, *Summer*, and *Autumn* fit in lockstep with their literary and pictorial precedents, *Winter* does not. The prints *Spring*, *Summer*, and *Autumn* faithfully subscribe to Ripa's attributes for the seasons: flowers, milk, and grapes, respectively. These same attributes are included in a print series of the four seasons by the Dutch artist Jan Saenredam from around 1601, which likely served as a model for Magdalena's series.¹¹ Magdalena and Saenredam portray three of their seasons as a male and female couple performing appropriate activities in the outdoors: picking flowers in *Spring*; milking a cow in *Summer*; and producing wine in *Autumn*.¹² Magdalena's *Winter*, however, of a family group in a domestic interior clearly bears no resemblance to Saenredam's corresponding print of a couple ice skating (fig. 8). Because Magdalena directs the viewer's focus in *Winter* on the nursing mother, not on symbols of winter, the print may represent more than a time of year.

The third way in which Magdalena alludes to an alternate meaning for her scene of winter is through the composition's overt similarity to 16th-century depictions of the Holy Family by Netherlandish artists. I contend that Magdalena drew her arrangement of figures, objects, and the setting for *Winter* not from literary or pictorial sources for the season as I have demonstrated, but from a 1581 engraving of the Holy Family at rest in Egypt engraved by the Flemish artist Jan Sadeler after a design by Maerten de Vos (fig. 9). Magdalena could have be-

come acquainted with Sadeler's print through her father Crispijn who was related to De Vos by marriage and with whom he collaborated on numerous printmaking projects in Antwerp.¹³ Crispijn likely owned a collection of De Vos's prints and used them as models for his projects made later in his career while living in Utrecht, including the series of the four seasons he produced with Magdalena.

In Jan Sadeler's scene of the Holy Family, Mary dominates the center foreground looking downward toward the Christ child in the same pose as the mother in Magdalena's *Winter*. In both prints, the mothers sit between a fire, a cat, and a round-bottomed kettle at the left. To their right, linens drape over the side of a partially opened basket. In the background of each print, a darkened wall at the left is articulated with an arched niche and serving dishes propped on a shelf; an open doorway at the far right reveals a luminous scene in the distance. At the focal point of both compositions, the mothers sit with their children in a woven reed couch for nursing infants called a *bakermat*. The *bakermat* functioned as a common item of furniture in early modern Northern European households; it is extant today only in miniature reproductions for seventeenth-century Dutch dollhouses.¹⁴ The earliest representation of a *bakermat*, to my knowledge, is in a scene of the Holy Family from around 1553-1554 by the Flemish artist Frans Floris (fig. 10). Floris's painting perhaps, in turn, might have influenced Jan Sadeler's 1581 print, which served as the model for an engraving of the Holy Family in Egypt by the Flemish artist Theodoor Galle for his series of fifty plates on the life of the Virgin dated before 1633 (fig. 11).

Magdalena's *Winter* is clearly based upon Flemish pictorial precedents of the Holy Family. Her print includes the aged, bearded father figure who resembles Joseph in the works by Floris and Galle. In each print, the male figure gazes intently upon a young nursing mother depicted in profile who looks tenderly at her infant child. In all four images by Floris, Sadeler, Galle, and Magdalena, the families warm themselves by a fireplace in private rooms filled with the accouterments of ordinary kitchen items, including kettles, jugs, bowls with spoons, and braids of onions; all of the scenes also include a basket or chest of linens alongside the mother seated in her *bakermat*. Magdalena's *Winter* is the first representation of a *bakermat* to appear in Northern Netherlandish art produced after the three Flemish pictorial precedents identified here -all of which portray the Holy Family. Thus, the association between Magdalena's scene of a domesticated family in *Winter* and the sacred family becomes further reinforced.

Magdalena substantially increased the marketability of her print by melding together three disparate themes into one composition in *Winter*: first, the personification of a season; second, a genre scene of a family in a contemporaneous domestic setting; and third, the evocation of the Holy Family. The print would have appealed to multiconfessional audiences comprised of Catholics and Protestants in the Dutch Republic and beyond its borders. Protestant viewers of *Winter* would have drawn a positive relationship between the nursing woman and the humble, earthly mother of God. Catholics would have recognized a Eucharistic and specifically Marian meaning for the print through the figures and objects included in the composition.¹⁵

In the center of Magdalena's *Winter*, the mother nursing her infant exposes her bare breast that protrudes awkwardly from the middle of her chest through her tight bodice with deliberate disregard to human anatomy. The exposure of Mary's single bare breast, as in Jan Gossaert's *The Holy Family* from around 1507-1508 (fig. 12), alludes to the iconography of the *Virgo lactans*.¹⁶ As Caroline Walker Bynum has shown, imagery of Mary's single, frontally exposed breast next to, but not touching, the child indicates an offering of her milk to the viewer. In exchange, the viewer represents all of humanity consuming Mary's nourishment.¹⁷

Additional elements in Magdalena's *Winter* suggest the mother's identification as Mary. In the lower-left corner, the small boy sitting beside the hearth with a cat on his lap and pointing toward the mother and child evokes the young John the Baptist. Artists typically depict the young Baptist pointing to or touching the Christ child in scenes of the Holy Family, as in Hieronymus Wierix's engraving made before 1619 of the Holy Family with the Baptist and Saints Anne and Elizabeth (fig. 13). The infant Baptist's gesture theologically signifies his recognition of the child as humanity's redeemer.¹⁸ The boy's cat in Magdalena's *Winter* may also support the mother's identification as

Mary. In scenes of the Holy Family, such as Rembrandt's etching, *The Holy Family with the Cat and Snake*, 1654 (fig. 14), the cat evokes the apocryphal Nativity legend of the *gatto della Madonna* (cat of the Madonna). The legend recounts that Mary gave birth in a manger where at the same time a cat delivered a litter of kittens.¹⁹

Lastly, the old man in Magdalena's *Winter* evokes Mary's husband, Joseph.²⁰ His outstretched arm and the back of his hand facing the fire function as a shield between his family and the blaze. As Cynthia Hahn has demonstrated in her study of the *Annunciation Triptych* from the Workshop of Robert Campin (fig. 15), one of Joseph's attributes is a firescreen, which alludes to his role as Mary's guardian.²¹ Seventeenth-century Dutch artists perpetuated the theme of Joseph's association with fire as in the example of a drawing by an artist in Rembrandt's circle, *The Holy Family Seated Near a Fire*, c. 1645-1655 (fig. 16). Mary sits with the child beside a fire, the heat from which Joseph mitigates with his blanket. In *Winter*, Magdalena calls into question the function of the blaze not only as a source of comforting warmth, but also of light given that a lit oil lamp hangs within the blaze. The superfluity of the lamp's flame within an already roaring fire in *Winter* suggests an association of the fire and the covered pot with Mary's womb.²² As Carra Ferguson O'Meara has shown, the fireplace that can perfectly bake bread is analogous to Mary's nurturing womb - the vessel of the Incarnation and a symbol of the Eucharist.²³ Thus, the seemingly ordinary figures and articles of everyday life in Magdalena's print *Winter* embody a new and powerful meaning as the Holy Family when pictured together.

Magdalena's unprecedented convergence of the sacred and secular realms in the medium of engraving, which by nature is easily reproducible and disseminated to wide audiences, could conceivably have contributed to the phenomenon of Protestant Marianism in the Dutch Republic. Between the 1630s and 1660s, numerous representations of Mary appeared in works of visual art and theological literature that emphasized her earthly, feminine characteristics as a mother - a decisive move away from her unearthly singularity in pre-Reformation art. The key article from Magdalena's *Winter* that facilitated Mary's makeover into a 17th-century Dutch Everywoman, I argue, is the *bakermat*. Representations of the *bakermat* emerged in works of the Holy Family by other Dutch artists after Magdalena produced *Winter*, including Ferdinand Bol's etching, *The Holy Family in an Interior*, 1643 (fig. 17). Bol's *bakermat*, propped upright beside the wicker cradle, is even more clearly discernible in his preliminary drawing for the print (fig. 18). Bol's two scenes of the Holy Family contain numerous similarities to Magdalena's *Winter*. All three images depict a mother cradling her suckling child with the father placed in a subordinate position behind them. The family rests in an intimate domestic interior filled with quotidian household items, including a *bakermat*, a source of fire, and a cat. Their analogous arrangements of figures, signs, and symbols divulge, or at least evoke, the identity of the group as the Holy Family.

The sheer number of 17th-century Dutch depictions of the domesticated Holy Family, some of which are mentioned in this essay, indicate that the theme saturated the art market. Images of the Holy Family in general, and the Virgin Mary in particular, were immensely popular among both Dutch Catholics and Protestants. Evidence that the two confessional groups appreciated Marian iconography can be found in their household inventories indicating they owned and displayed paintings of the Virgin and the Holy Family.²⁴ Despite Calvinist criticisms of Marian devotion and Mary's representation in visual culture, Dutch artists and dealers clearly profited from their sale of such pictures and were not censured by the Calvinist-led government.

Perhaps most surprising is Mary's reappropriation by some Calvinists for their worship. In 1669, the orthodox Calvinist preacher Willem Sluiter published his tribute to Mary in a book entitled *Lof der Heilige Maagt Maria* (In Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary). Sluiter dedicated his large, ambitious volume to Dutch wives and young girls for whom Mary provided an ideal exemplar. In his compilation of simple songs, poems, and prose, Sluiter emphasized Mary's three separate, but simultaneous roles: "as Wife, or Mother, and as Maiden."²⁵ Sluiter encouraged his female readership to model themselves after Mary and these attainable earthly traits in their pursuit of moral excellence. Throughout his text Sluiter asserted his premise that Mary is the single most effective and practical model for the Calvinist mother and wife, describing her in one of his songs as "a crown, far above all"²⁶



7 Johann Sadeler after Dirck Barendsz, *Winter*, 1580-1584, engraving, 17.3x22.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



8 Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Winter*, 1601, engraving, 22x15.9 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



9 Johann Sadeler after Maerten de Vos, *The Holy Family in Egypt*, 1581, engraving, 19.3x13.3 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



10 Frans Floris, *The Holy Family*, ca. 1553-1554, oil on panel, 132x166 cm, Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse (inv. 2796, photo: H. Maertens)



11 Theodoor Galle, *The Holy Family in Egypt*, before 1633, engraving, 5.4x9 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



12 Jan Gossaert, *The Holy Family*, c. 1507-1508, oil on panel, 46x33.7 cm, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum



13 Hieronymus Wierix, *Christ Child Sleeps in the Crib*, before 1619, engraving, 10.5x6.7 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



14 Rembrandt, *The Holy Family with the Cat and Snake*, 1654, etching, 9.5x14.3 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



15 Workshop of Robert Campin, *Annunciation Triptych (Merode Altarpiece)*, c. 1427-1432, oil on oak, overall (open) 64.5x117.8 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1956 (56.70a-c, www.metmuseum.org).



16 School of Rembrandt, *The Holy Family Seated Near a Fire*, c. 1645-1655, pen and brown ink with brown wash, 15.7x17.9 cm, London, British Museum (© Trustees of the British Museum)



17 Ferdinand Bol, *The Holy Family in an Interior*, 1643, etching, 18.5x21.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



18 Ferdinand Bol, *The Holy Family in an Interior*, c. 1635-1642, pen and brown ink with black chalk, 18x20.7 cm, London, British Museum (© Trustees of the British Museum)

* All images from Rijksmuseum are courtesy of the Museum

In the same year Sluiter published his tribute to Mary, the Dutch Calvinist theologian Jodocus van Lodenstein wrote a song in her praise that he later published in his 1676 book of hymns and spiritual poems entitled *Uytspanningen* (Musings). In the lyrics of his Marian song, Van Lodenstein called for his parish to “fear not Mary/ find favor in heaven’s eye”.²⁷ He elaborated upon his high regard for Mary in a collection of his sermons, *De Heerlykheyd van een Waar Christelyk Leven* (The Glory of a True Christian Life), which were published posthumously in 1711. In his tenth sermon on Luke 2:1-7, Van Lodenstein flatly denounced Catholic holidays and trappings as “Papists” and an “abomination to God”.²⁸ Yet he compared the Protestants who abandoned Mary in their absolute rejection of Catholic traditions to a surgeon who, in an effort to cure a man’s heart, had cut out his entire body.²⁹ He criticized both Catholics and Protestants for their misguided piety, writing “[Catholics] go in the Christmas night to cradle the baby, and then in the cold winter, in their godless temple, to Mary as the Mother of God, to honor, serve, worship, etc. What do we do now? We prefer to fall asleep in church”.³⁰ Van Lodenstein directed his Calvinist readers to accept Mary in their devotions, stating “it was well done that you separated from the Papists; but if you are still in all their paraphernalia and their outer splendor is still within you, so you are more miserable than she; a poor Papist who does penance and is blindly ignorant, will be happier than a degenerate Reformed, who does not know of penance and purification of the heart, or the killing of disciples”.³¹

The call for Calvinists to reassess Mary as suitable exemplar in the writings by Sluiter and Van Lodenstein was clearly met with support from their parishioners given that their books were each republished at least nine editions into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their publications rekindled Marian devotion among the laity, thus furthering the phenomenon of Protestant Marianism begun in the first half of the seventeenth century by Dutch artists, including Rembrandt. The phenomenon was fueled by prints, the potential of which Dutch artists maximized for purposes of collectability and the dissemination of ideas. Magdalena van de Passe’s print *Winter* would have been readily available to artists including Rembrandt and his circle for their depictions of the theme produced afterward in the early and mid 17th century. Magdalena’s *Winter*, while not necessarily a scene of the Holy Family, overtly transmits the theme’s iconography in the easily reproducible medium of engraving, as I have attempted to demonstrate in this essay, and thus could have triggered the same signs and symbols in subsequent depictions of the theme by other Dutch artists. So in spite of the early Protestant reformers’ condemnation of Mary’s veneration among Catholics and the outlaw of Catholicism in the Dutch Republic, her transformation in visual culture to a domesticated Everywoman in the end fixed her role as a singular, enduring figure in both Catholic and Calvinist devotional practices and theological teachings.

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1 On Calvinism, the arts, and John Calvin’s commentaries on the Virgin Mary, see P. BENEDICT, “Calvinism as a Culture? Preliminary Remarks on Calvinism and the Visual Arts”, in: *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, P.C. FINNEY (ed.), Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1999, pp. 19-45; C.R. JOBY, *Calvinism and the Arts: A Re-assessment*, Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA, Peeters, 2007; E. SOMMER, “Of Idols and Images. Calvin and Luther on Religious Art”, *Essays in History*, vol. 29, 1985, pp. 67-82; I.M. VELDMAN, “Protestantism and the Arts: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Netherlands”, in: *Seeing Beyond the Word, op. cit.*, 1999, pp. 397-421.

- 2 E. AUERBACH, "Pilgrimage and the Liminal Landscape in Early Modern Netherlandish Art", in: *Formations of Identity: Society, Politics, and Landscape*, E. YANOVIK - F. MARTIN (eds.), Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016, pp. 19-46.
- 3 See Monogrammist Æ, *Ruins of the Chapel of Our Lady of Runxputte*, 1637 or after, hand-colored etching, Rotterdam, Atlas Van Stolk; Cornelis Danckerts, *St. Willibrord at the Former Site of Our Lady of Runxputte*, c. 1650-1656, etching with engraving, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; and Gerrit de Jongh, *Portrait of a Family at the Ruins of Our Lady of Runxputte*, 1630, oil on panel, Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent.
- 4 See especially W. FRANITS, "Domesticity, Privacy, Civility, and the Transformation of Adriaen van Ostade's Art", in: *Images of Women in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Domesticity and the Representation of the Peasant*, P. PHAGAN (ed.), Athens, Georgia Museum of Art, 1996; *idem*, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995; *idem*, *Pieter de Hooch: A Woman Preparing Bread and Butter for a Boy*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006; and M. WESTERMANN, "'Costly and Curious, Full of pleasure and home contentment': Making Home in the Dutch Republic", in: *Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, M. WESTERMANN et al. (eds.), Denver-Newark-Zwolle, Waanders Publishers, 2001.
- 5 I concur with the range of dates ascribed to Magdalena's series by Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Peter van der Coelen, Curator, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Email to the author, 1 June 2016. Personal communication. I thank Robert Fucci for his assistance in attributing the unsigned print, *Winter*, to the Van de Passe series.
- 6 I refer to the artist as Magdalena to distinguish her from other members of her family.
- 7 Crispijn was born in c. 1564 in the Dutch city of Arnemuiden and died in 1637 Utrecht. Four of Crispijn's children worked as professional printmakers: Simon (c. 1595-1647), Crispijn II (c. 1594-1670), Willem (1597/1598-1636/1637), and Magdalena (1600-1638). On the family, see I.M. VELDMAN, *Crispijn de Passe and His Progeny (1564-1670): A Century of Print Production*, M. HOYLE (trans.), Rotterdam, Sound & Vision, 2001.
- 8 Magdalena's *Winter* and *Summer* contain no designations of authorship; in the inscription of *Spring*, Crispijn is identified as inventor and publisher ("*inventor et excud.*"), with Magdalena as engraver ("*sculp.*"); the inscription of *Autumn* includes the abbreviation "*fe*" for *fecit* (made by) beside Magdalena's name, which implies she is the print's inventor and engraver.
- 9 "*Tristis Hiems senium nobis designat, et aetas./Sera Solet niuibus saepe rigere suis.*" I thank Roger A. Noel, Thomas Sienkewicz, and Rebecca van Beem for their assistance with this translation.
- 10 C. RIPA, *Iconologia; ovvero descrizione di diverse imagini cavate dall'antichità, e di propria inventionione [von] Cesare Ripa. With an introduction by Erna Mandowsky*, Hildesheim-New York, G. Olms, 1970, pp. 473-476. See also I.M. VELDMAN, *op. cit.*, 2001, p. 160 n 42. Fire has served as a key attribute of winter since antiquity, as mentioned in Ovid's *Remedia amoris* (11:187-88), cited in *idem*, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck: Cosmo-Astrological Allegory in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints", in: *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, vol. 11, no. ¾, 1980, p. 152. See also OVID, *The Art of Love, and Other Poems*, J.H. MOZLEY (trans.), Cambridge-London, Harvard University Press-Heinemann, 1979, pp. 190-191. For personifications of the seasons as gods, labors of the months, and activities appropriate for the time of year, as well as the association of winter with fire and food consumption, see I.M. VELDMAN, *op. cit.*, 1980, pp. 151-163.
- 11 For Saenredam's series, see Hollstein 89-92 in F.W.H. HOLLSTEIN, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 23, Amsterdam, Hertzberger, 1949-, pp. 67-70.
- 12 The inscriptions for *Spring* and *Autumn* read, respectively: "*Humanas recreo mentes, volucresque ferasque/Omnia floriferi laetantur tempore veris*" (I refresh the human spirit, as I do the birds and the wild beasts: happiness is everywhere in the time of flower-bearing spring). "*En ego maturos Autumnus profero fructus,/Efficioque mei ne sit spes vana coloni*" (Behold me, Autumn; I proffer ripe fruit and ensure that the husband-man does not hope in vain). I.M. VELDMAN, *op. cit.*, 1980, pp. 162-63 n 49.
- 13 Crispijn married Magdalena de Bock, the niece of Maerten de Vos's wife. I.M. Veldman, *op. cit.*, 2001, pp. 20-21.
- 14 J. PIZEL-DOMMISSE, *Het Hollandse Pronkpoppenhuis. Interieur en huishouden in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, Amsterdam, Waanders, 2000, p. 34, 109-111.
- 15 Linda Stone-Ferrier argues that images of the domesticated Holy Family are readily identifiable as both "an anonymous, humble seventeenth-century family and the Holy Family", which infuses the images with a sense of "intimacy and spirituality." L.A. STONE-FERRIER, *Dutch Prints of Daily Life: Mirrors of Life or Masks of Morals?*, Lawrence, The Spencer Museum of Art, the University of Kansas, 1983, p. 21.

- 16 M. WARNER, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1976, reprint, New York, Vintage Books, 1983, pp. 192-205, esp. 193-195.
- 17 C.W. BYNUM, "The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg", in: *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 3, Autumn 1986, p. 425; *idem*, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, New York, Zone Books, 1991, p. 100, pp. 102-103, 106. See also, B.G. LANE, *The Altar and Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting*, New York, Harper and Row, 1984, pp. 6, 13-23; C.J. PURTLE, *The Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 98-126. On food and the lactating Madonna, see E.J. MUNDY, "Gerard David's 'Rest on the Flight into Egypt': Further Additions to Grape Symbolism", in: *Simiolus* vol. 12, no. 4, 1981-1982, pp. 211-222.
- 18 M.R. KATZ, "Regarding Mary: Women's Lives Reflected in the Virgin's Image", in: *Divine Mirrors: the Virgin Mary in the Visual Arts*, M.R. KATZ-R. ORSI (eds.), New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 174, cat. no. 10.
- 19 G. FERGUSON, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, London-Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 13.
- 20 For recent studies of Joseph and his cult in early modern Spain and Renaissance Italy, see C.V. BLACK, *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2005; C.C. WILSON, *St. Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art: New Directions and Interpretations*, Philadelphia, Saint Joseph's University Press, 2001.
- 21 Joseph's association with fire derives from Luke 12:49 in which Joseph declares: "I have come to cast fire upon the earth." C. HAHN, "Joseph Will Perfect, Mary Enlighten and Jesus Save Thee': The Holy Family as Marriage Model in the Mérode Triptych", in: *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 68, no. 1, March 1986, p. 60. See also C.F. O'MEARA, "In the Hearth of the Virginal Womb': The Iconography of the Holocaust in Late Medieval Art", in: *The Art Bulletin* vol. 63, no. 1, March 1981, pp. 75-88.
- 22 G. FERGUSON, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 43.
- 23 C.F. O'MEARA, *op. cit.*, 1981, pp. 82, 86.
- 24 In a case study of seventeenth-century inventories of citizens in Haarlem, forty-one works representing Mary are listed in collections of both Catholics and Protestants. The subjects include devotional portraits of Mary, Mary featured with other saints, the Seven Sorrows of Mary, Mary with the Christ child, the Immaculate Conception, the Birth of Mary, the Presentation of Mary at the Temple, the Holy Family, and other scenes from Mary's life. P. BIESBOER, *Collections of Paintings in Haarlem, 1572-1745*, C. TOGNERI (ed.), Documents for the History of Collecting: Netherlandish Inventories, Los Angeles, The Provenance Index of the Getty Research Institute, 2001, pp. 409-411, 496-497.
- 25 "...als Vrouwe, of Moeder, en als Maagt..." W. SLUITER, *Lof der Heilige Maagt Maria, en de triumerende Christus, over sijne verrijzenis en hemel-vaert*, Amsterdam, H. Sweerts, 1669. Sluiter also wrote the Marian songbook, first published in 1688 in Amsterdam and republished in at least seven editions until 1739. W. SLUITER, *W. Sluiters Lofzang der Heilige Maria en Triumerende Christus, verrijkt met verscheide Gezangen, slaande op de historie van Christus geboorte en leven. Alles seer kurieus op noten gestelt. Noit voor desen soo gedrukt*, Amsterdam, G. Schagen, 1688.
- 26 "Een kroon, verr' boven alle." *Ibid.*, 1688, p. 23. See also J.A.F. KRONENBURG, *Maria's Heerlijkheid in Nederland. Geschiedkundige schets van de Vereering der H. Maagd in ons Vaderland, van de broegste tijden tot op onze dagen*, Amsterdam, F.H.J. Bekker, 1904-1909, p. 190; J.B. KNIPPING, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven on Earth*, Nieuwkoop, Graaf, 1974, p. 245. Knipping includes Jacob Cats and Jeremias Decker among the Dutch Calvinist supporters of Mary. See J. CATS, *Alle de Wercken, so ouden als nieuwe*, Amsterdam, J. Schipper, 1655, p. 252; J. de DECKER, *Rym-Oeffeninghen. Vergdeelt in dry Boecken*. 3rd ed., Amsterdam, W. de Coup, W. Lamsvelt, and P. Verbeek, 1702, p. 72, col. 60. See also K.F. PROOST, *De Bijbel in de Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, vol. 2, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1932-1933, p. 172.
- 27 "Vreest niet Mary/die gunst in 's Hemels ooge vindt", from the song, "De heylige maagd Maria Jesus moeder bevrugted", in: J. VAN LODENSTEIN, *Uyt-spanningen*, Utrecht, W. Clerck, 1676, p. 140, part VII.
- 28 "Tot dat einde hebben de papisten feestdagen bedacht, en dan hebben zij nog wat kinderspelen ingesteld, om het hart des mensen te raken. Dit was goed, maar 't middel deugt niet, en 't is een gruwel voor God." J. VAN LODENSTEIN, *De Heerlykheyd van een Waar Christelyk Leven*, Amsterdam, J. van Hardenberg, 1711, p. 222.
- 29 "In plaats van geheel uw zonden weg te werpen doet gij als een chirurgijn, die een man zou genezen, en hem 't hart uit het lijf sneed: was het toen niet wel?" *Ibid.*, p. 223.
- 30 "Maar gaan zij Kerstnagt het kindje wiegen, en dan in de koude winter, in hun Afgods Tempel, om Maria, als de Moeder Gods, te eeren, dienen, aanbidden, enz. Wat doen wij nu? Wij slapen liever in de kerk." *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

- 31 "Het was wel gedaan dat gij uytging uyt van de Papisten; maar indien gij nu alle haar Santenkraam en uyerlijke pomp nog binnen in u hebt, zoo zyt elendiger als zij; en een arme Papist, die wat penitentie doet, en onwetend blind is, zal veel gelukkiger zijn, als een vervasterde Gereformeerde, die niet weet van boete en zuivering des herten, of dooden der aardsche leden." *Ibid.*, p. 223. See also C. GRAAFLAND, "Jodocus van Lodenstein (1620-1676)": in: *De Nadere Reformatie, beschrijving van haar voornaamste vertegenwoordigers*, T. BRIENEN et al. (eds.), The Hague, Boekencentrum, 1986, p. 111.

Elissa Auerbach

Uvođenje Djevice Marije u nizozemsku umjetnost ranog novog vijeka

U tekstu se raspravlja o fenomenu protestantske mariologije u nizozemskoj vizualnoj kulturi ranog novog vijeka. Prepostavke o slabljenju pobožnosti prema Mariji nakon što kalvinistički režim 1581. zabranjuje katoličanstvo u Nizozemskoj, ne uzimaju u obzir velik broj sačuvanih slika iz 17. stoljeća s prikazom Marije, kao i dokaze njihove popularnosti među katolicima i protestantima. Pitanje koje se postavlja u ovom eseju jest kako su umjetnici prilagodili tradicionalne prikaze Marije za šire tržište u sjevernoj Nizozemskoj te kako su prikazi Marije mogli utjecati na protestantska teološka učenja. Autorica smatra da su nizozemski umjetnici, uključujući Rembrandta, crpili inspiraciju za vizualizaciju Marije kao obične žene iz flamanskih grafika i slika Svete Obitelji iz 16. st. Zajedničko ovim djelima jest prikaz *bakermat* naslonjača za dojenje, poveznice s prikazom *Virgo lactans* te prizivanje Josipove uloge kao Marijina zaštitnika. U radu se analizira grafika s prikazom majke dojiteljice, koju je prije 1620. izradila utrechtska majstorica Magdalena van de Passe, a koja ikonografski povezuje flamanske slikovne preteče prikaza Svete Obitelji s nizozemskim scenama Svete Obitelji iz sredine 17. stoljeća. Izrada slika s prikazom Djevice Marije kao obične žene podudara se s njenom nevjerojatnom aproprijacijom u teološkoj literaturi za reformacijsko bogoslužje. Neki su kalvinistički propovjednici, poput Wilelma Sluitera i Jodocusa van Lodensteina, nastojali ponovno potaknuti marijanske pobožnosti među laicima putem himni i pjesama u njezinu hvalu i slavu. Marijina je transformacija iz nezemaljskog uzora u katoličkom štovanju u ovozemaljsku svakodnevnu ženu u nizozemskoj umjetnosti ranog novog vijeka, pomogla njezinom uvođenju u protestantsku religioznost.

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