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Being Seen: An Art Historical and Statistical Analysis of Feminized Worship in Early Modern Rome

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Being Seen:
An Art Historical and Statistical Analysis of Feminized Worship in Early Modern Rome

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Introduction

In order to gain perspective on early Christianity and the weight of artistic trends, this paper examines Christian proliferation in, the history and culture of female martyrdom and feminism within early modern Rome (1500-1800), the urban setting around the churches, the specific content of the Sant' Agnese frescoes, the nature of the additional frescoes through descriptive statistics, and how female saint frescoes propagate feminine presence in Christianity.¹ These components are the leading characteristics for determining how a church is designed to be a site of feminized worship. Feminized worship is the concept and practice of women participating in/viewing Christian ceremonies in a manner that allowed them to be cognizant of or recognize the place and importance of women in the religion.

The *Basilica di Sant' Agnese fuori le mura*² is a case study of a larger perspective on feminized Christianity. In order to determine to what extent Sant' Agnese is the rule or the exception of this phenomenon, seventeen other Roman churches will be analyzed analogously. The churches added to the Sant' Agnese case study were chosen because of their interior decoration that featured a female saint. Other Roman churches were excluded if they lacked any frescoes that contained a female saint as the primary subject of the painting. The additional churches add a notable collection of frescoes to the project. In total, this paper statistically examines 121 frescoes in the eighteen churches in order to determine what artistic elements of the frescoes contribute to the aura and establishment of the site being highly feminized. This

¹ I would like to first thank all of those who were instrumental in helping me accomplish this project. Without the original inspiration from Ellen F. Arnold I would have never found my passion for Christianity and visual culture. Kristin Lanzoni, Susanna Drake, and Peter Weisensel have also been inexplicably helpful in research and guidance throughout this project.

² Translated as "The Basilica of Saint Agnes Outside the Walls," and will be referenced as Sant' Agnese so as to differentiate it from references to Saint Agnes. Also note that each church's name will remain in Italian throughout because included are several obscure churches that are rarely referenced in English scholarship.

paper aims to look for a significant female presence within Roman churches and thus limits its analysis of frescoes to those that contain a female saint.

The Eternal City, Rome, is a cradle of art and religion in the western world. The ancient city has survived hundreds of years of political, social, and religious turmoil with enough grace to retain some of the most coveted sculpture, architecture, and paintings in Christian art.

Although a visitor to modern Rome would still see remnants of its ancient grandeur, the city lacks the brilliance it had during the peak of its artistic existence.

Prior to the fifteenth century, the city had lost the marvel and dominance of ancient Rome, leaving the city a shell of its former self. The fourteenth-century poet, Petrarch, wrote about the city's disheveled appearance, "although almost nothing was left of that old Rome but an outline or an image...among those ashes there were still some noble sparks."³ Despite the deterioration of *Roma caput mundi*,⁴ the city saw a chance at revitalization with the return of the papacy from Avignon with the election of Pope Martin V (1417-1431) in 1417.

Along with the restoration of its religious center, Rome's economic status gained stability and prosperity as individual popes began to make personal investments in the city's restoration.⁵ This spark in reconstruction required new relationships between patrons, artists, and architects in order to rebuild the most holy of sites within the city limits--the churches. Beginning with Pope Martin V, the greatest motivation behind the restoration of Rome was to reclaim and exalt "the

³ Ingrid D. Rowland, "Cultural Introduction to Renaissance Rome." In *Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance: Rome*, ed. Marcia Hall. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1.

⁴ Rowland, "Cultural Introduction" 1. Translated as "Rome, head of the world." Originally written by Lucan for Roman Emperor Nero (54-68 C.E.).

⁵ Carolyn Valone, "Women on the Quirinal Hill: Patronage in Rome, 1560-1630" in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (College Art Association, 1994) 145. That is not to say that the papacy was the only means of restoration and patrons of art. In fact, the sixteenth century saw an influx of female patrons commissioning religious buildings such as Camilla Peretti and the church of Santa Susanna in Rome.

power of the Holy See throughout Christendom because great buildings, which are...monuments...made by the hands of God, demonstrate that the authority of the Roman Church is the greatest and highest.”⁶ Two popes, Sixtus IV(1447-1455) and Nicholas V (1585-1590), had strong participation in urban development were inclined to do so because they too felt that Christian authority would strengthen and legitimize papal claim to “universal, temporal, and spiritual power.”⁷

At the start of the sixteenth century a wave of artistic campaigns sought to restore the glory of ancient Rome and reclaim the “Christian capital.”⁸ The surge caused patronage to split between secular and religious motivations as men and women along with the papacy and his extensive curia commissioned churches and their interior decoration and embellishments.⁹ Nonetheless, the dominating nature of Christianity in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in particular, resulted in a significant body of art with religious undertones. It was during this time that the Counter Reformation restored and reinforced artistic trends of Early Christianity so as to redefine and strengthen Catholicism against the Protestant faction.

As early modern Rome progressed towards a revitalized standard of devotion there was a general increase in the depiction of Rome’s greatest triumph: Christianity. Although we can see the visual presence of this goal in a plethora of different ways, this paper uses one location in particular, the Basilica di Sant’Agnese fuori le mura, that demonstrates early modern Christian allegiance in the renewed Rome. La basilica di Sant’Agnese fuori le mura exemplifies the visual

⁶ Loren Partridge, *The Art of the Renaissance in Rome, 1400-1600*. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1996), 21.

⁷ Partridge, *The Art of the Renaissance*, 21.

⁸ Rowland, 6-12.

⁹ Charles Caffin. In *The Story of Spanish Painting*. (New York: The Century Co., 1910), 148.

culture of Rome as the capital of Christianity begun in the fifteenth century, but concentrates the power of religious illustration in a new direction--femininity. The small church is home to a set of frescoes that detail the power and triumph of women in Christianity. Within the space, seventeen virgin martyrs are portrayed that used their female bodies to disseminate and strengthen the religion. The presence of the frescoed women made this church a highly feminized site of worship.

Feminist History and Females in Christianity

During the growth of the Christian community in Europe¹⁰, gender became a devotional division within the Church, paralleling the gendered hierarchy in society. By examining only the female subjects in the frescoes of Sant' Agnese and the additional frescoes from the supplementary churches, I am able to investigate how female devotion compared to male devotion, and how it distinguished women in a patriarchal society. According to Judith Bennett

¹⁰ Laurie Adams, *Art Across Time: Prehistory to the Fourteenth Century*. Vol. 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill College, 1999), 271-73. Prior to the fourth century Christianity was illegal and a minor religion within the Roman Empire. Originally adopted by lower class citizens in urban settings the religion was marginalized by the aristocracy until the reign of Constantine. In 313, the emperor issued the Edict of Milan which granted religious tolerance to all religions, especially Christianity. In 325, Constantine convened the Council of Nicea and established the doctrine that Christ and God were equal. He also moved the capital of the empire from Rome to Byzantium in 330, because Christianity had firmly established itself in the Eastern portion of the empire. However, interesting to note, Constantine never officially converted to Christianity until he lay on his deathbed. He was then baptized and died as a Christian. William Diebold, *Word and Image, An Introduction to Early Medieval Art* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), 18, 104. Once legalized in the fourth century, Christianity still faced complications in spreading through Europe, partly because of the religion's heavy reliance on the written word. Christianity faced the Herculean task of converting an illiterate population to a religion that came in direct conflict with their previous pagan rituals, customs, and practices. Paganism and the Greco-Roman world centered their devotion on statues of their deities and emperors—their religion was visual and three-dimensional. Bishop Gregory of Tours noted, "pictures substitute for the sacred word, allowing the illiterate to read what they cannot read in books." While it may be unfair to claim that all Christian artwork originated out of a propensity for conversion, the fact cannot be ignored that some, even the majority, of early medieval religious artwork was used for such a purpose. Thomas Head, *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 2001), xxiv. Thomas Head argues that worshipping saints, specifically martyrs, in the fifteenth century did not supersede, supplant, or erase the traditions of early Christian practices. Venerating the martyred became increasingly important in the late fifteenth century through iconographic representation. Therefore we can use the lessons of early Christian propagation to analyze veneration in later centuries.

the main goal of feminist historians is to understand and illuminate women's disadvantages that stem directly from interactions with/by men.¹¹ This paper looks at the feminine power dynamics and political and social position of Christian women in early modern Rome, but I consciously aim to avoid the term "feminism" within my analysis because of its loaded potential to engage the readers' minds to a purposeful, constructed political movement to gain women's rights by early modern contemporaries. However, I cannot avoid--nor do I wish to--Bennett's and other theorists' observance that women construct their identity based on interactions with men.¹² Having said that, a gendered approach to history must be careful not to impose and assume that feminist theories are truth for agents of early modern Rome.

From Bennett's description of women's disadvantages, the female saints within the martyr frescoes can only be seen as devotional subjects to a male God's power--a discursive avenue that leaves room for debate. Although most medieval theologians agreed that men and women had the same opportunity to worship the Christian God, they concluded that men were more devout and thus more likely to have the virtues necessary for salvation.¹³ In the development and spread of Christianity, women were less likely to be venerated as saints because of their exclusion from the clergy and the necessary practices of piety.¹⁴

Traditionally seen as the brides of Christ, female saints are used in scripture to bond the

¹¹ Judith Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism*. (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 10. For my purposes of investigation and critique I will not be delving into the controversy and complexity of binary sexes and the social creation of "women" as proposed by Judith Butler and many other feminist scholars.

¹² For a more thorough theoretical discussion of feminism within art see Stephen Ross, ed., *Art and Its Significance: An Anthology of Aesthetic Theory*, 3 Sub ed., ed. Stephen David Ross (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 565-98.

¹³ Some qualities for salvation include asceticism, performing miracles (usually associated with healing the sick/wounded and providing food), or conversions.

¹⁴ Thomas Head, "Hagiography," accessed by *ORB: Online Reference Book for Medieval Studies*, ed. Kathryn Talarico, 1999. <http://www.the-orb.net/encyclop/religion/hagiography/hagio.htm>

male Savior to the Incarnation and Resurrection--both scenes in which women play momentous roles. Yet, in practice women were still marginalized in Christianity and were forced to develop new means of worship compared to their male counterparts. According to Caroline Walker Bynum, becoming a nun was the greatest opportunity for women to participate in Christianity in a specialized role during the early Middle Ages. Although the population of medieval Europe is difficult to estimate, the proportion of monks to nuns is overwhelmingly skewed towards monasteries, which reveals the practical limitations to women in Christianity. Bynum also describes the tension and anxiety felt by the male community from the maturation and expansion of female houses of worship, and she argues that this resistance impeded the growing number of convents.¹⁵ However, this new form of inclusion (by societal exclusion) of women into nunneries was followed by a similar form of marginalization.

In the twelfth century a new form of “quasi-religious” participation for women emerged to give religious credence to women’s ordinary lives. *Tertiaries*¹⁶ were Italian women who associated with a larger order, such as the Dominicans or Franciscans, and followed a path of asceticism, charity, and prayer. The women who chose this lifestyle were originally part of the aristocratic class, but as the trend continued into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the groups were recruiting from the emerging bourgeoisie and lower nobility.¹⁷ Although admitted into houses of worship, forms of corporeal devotion (i.e. voluntary poverty, fasting, flagellation),

¹⁵ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 14-17. In the twelfth-century, the two largest orders that increased their number of women’s houses were the Premonstratensians and the Cistercians.

¹⁶ Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 17-18. This form of devotional congregation was seen especially in Italy, but the same type of devotion was popular in Northern Europe and Spain. In the north the women were referred to as *beguines* while in Spain they were named *beatas*. The etymology of the words is debated but most scholars agree that it comes from a slur meaning “heretic.”

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

seen as “spiritual almsgiving,” were initiated because Popes Gregory IX (1227-1241) to Boniface VIII (1294-1303) prohibited women from giving material alms. The act of self-sacrifice and self-suffering became the foremost avenue for “female valorization.”¹⁸ Thereby making martyrdom the preeminent form of female valorization, especially because of the characteristics traditionally assigned to women (i.e. weak, fragile, dependent.). Female martyrs, like those that line the walls of Sant’Agnese and the other seventeen churches, developed an emphatic physical identification with Christ. These women saints form a select group of Christians that maintain their equal status in terms of devotion and veneration.¹⁹

The History and Culture of Frescoes

The art of frescoing is a complicated process that is inextricably tied to architecture. Although there are many examples of frescoes in a secular context, the majority of existing ones come from the early modern period and are religiously affiliated. Contrary to the demands of iconoclasts, in the mid-ninth century iconophiles were given legal freedom for image-making and the use of icons, thus becoming one of the most important tools incorporated into conversion and religious education in Christianity.²⁰ The granted use of imagery was completed “*buon fresco*: pigments mixed in limewater applied to the walls before the plaster had dried.”²¹

¹⁸ Cazelles, *Images of Sainthood*, 11-16.

¹⁹ Camillo Beccari, “Beatification and Canonization” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 2. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907) <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02364b.htm>>. The term “veneration” is used specifically before the eleventh-century. Derived from the pagan tradition of apotheosis (deification), canonization was not officially constructed until the late eleventh-century when the Pope decreed it necessary to examine the miracles and virtues of the person to be publicly venerated. Furthermore, the difference between canonization and beatification lies in the precept of devotion from the whole church. Only canonization contains a precept that is universal and binding for the whole church to venerate the individual.

²⁰ Laurie Adams, *Art Across Time*, 301.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 243. Wax was added to the mixture to increase the shine of the fresco when it had been polished and buffed.

Beginning in the fourth century, expansive blank wall spaces were used to narrate scenes from the Old Testament and the lives of saints using frescoes and mosaics.²² William Diebold argues that images of Christ and the holy family and saints were used to teach the illiterate or semi-illiterate about the holy figures' importance in Christianity.²³ The fresco was an excellent solution in central Italy for saturating the walls of the church in color and educational material.²⁴ Within a church an artist had to work with space that was limited architecturally and thematically by the dedication of the church or the existing art. For example, Sant'Agnese's interior was thematically dictated by the dedication to Saint Agnes and structurally dictated by the presence of the catacombs beneath the basilica. According to Hermann Voss, an artist's career had peaked in early Modern Italy when he had the opportunity to paint within a church and was faced with the daunting task of illustrating biblical scenes, while thematically and visually connecting each painting and fresco together so that the "worshippers are overwhelmed" with piety and divinity.²⁵

Large-scale decorative campaigns and programs in churches were a venue for public art because of the commonality of the space.²⁶ All societal classes of Christians had access to these works making them a fundamental part of the Christian messages. Diebold summarizes the importance of Church art by stating that "pictures could thus have played a crucial part in the transmission of ideas because they were already in a kind of vernacular, accessible to all."²⁷ By

²² William Diebold, *Word and Image*, 62.

²³ Alta Macadam, *Blue Guide to Rome* (London: A & C Black Publishers, 2003) 99.

²⁴ Marcia Hall, "The Art History of Renaissance Rome." Introduction in *Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance: Rome*, ed. Marcia Hall. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 22. Fresco is also a suitable medium for the arid conditions in central Italy and stayed in popularity through Raphael's use of stucco and its lasting qualities.

²⁵ Filippo Pedrocchi, Introduction in *Painting in Renaissance Italy, 400 Masterpieces*. (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1999), 28.

²⁶ Diebold, *Word and Image*, 4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

translating text to images, a “successful metamorphosis of the Word into pictorial images,”²⁸ religion became accessible to the entire population.

Frescoes were a permanent visual aid and acted as reinforcements for the verbal teachings about Christianity, martyrdom, and the sanctity in suffering. The visual representation of grotesque mortal torture and death--imagery that proliferated in Counter Reformation Rome--would have elicited a significant emotional response from the audience. The frescoes gave faces to the tortured and the sufferers. Such specificity allowed the illiterate population a chance to identify with the characters of the *acta martyrum*. The propagandistic purpose of frescoes proved instrumental in the agenda of the Catholic Church because of their permanence and continuity within the building.

Painted Imagery in Early Modern Rome

Frescoes, like those of Sant' Agnese, were derived from Roman mural painting. Divided into four styles of painting, the Third and Fourth Style show the greatest connection to the frescoes of Sant' Agnese.²⁹ The Third Style is characterized by attention to shading, geometric framing of the figure, and the use of a monochromatic background. As will be discussed later, the painted red frames and white backgrounds of the virgin martyr frescoes echo this technique. The Fourth Style incorporates an illusion of depth by adding architectural elements to the background of the fresco.³⁰ This range of technique allowed Roman mural painting to have

²⁸ Brigitte Cazelles, Introduction in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell. (London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 9.

²⁹ Adams 248. The First Style is defined by the simulation of marble and the use of bright colors to signify the wealth of the patron or subject. The Second Style is characterized by illusions. This style works to create a three-dimensional effect using relative perspective.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 250.

applications within religious and ceremonial sites where the color and technique encouraged veneration of the deity and provided inspiration for worshippers.³¹ Burial tombs, especially those of martyrs such as Saint Agnes, used frescoes to distinguish Christians from pagan tombs. Within burial art, artists combined traditional geometric framing and *orantes* (rigid females standing frontwards with their hands in prayer) to personify faith and the power of the church.³²

In the Renaissance, secular patrons and religious commissioners used painted art-- especially frescoes--for religious purposes. Renaissance painting offered two types of content, 1) a symbolic gathering of saints around Christ or the Virgin Mary, and 2) religious narratives. The goal of the former was to inspire Christian followers, the latter intended to teach the 'correct' historical narrative of Christianity and the Savior.³³ Yet, even within these two strict thematic guidelines the Church tightened control of depicted content due to the religious tensions begun in the sixteenth century.

At the start of the sixteenth century, the Church faced an unprecedented form of criticism and rivalry from Martin Luther and his followers. Beginning in 1517 with the Luther's publication of The Ninety-Five Theses, the reformers protested to some the Church's doctrines and rituals. The Protestant Reformation gained popularity and widespread support through Europe, causing large numbers of Christian followers to abandon their traditional faith and align with the new sect, Protestantism. Vocalizing the condemnation of the Church's use of indulgences, the hierarchy of ecclesiastical positions (aimed at criticizing the Pope's power), the

³¹ Ibid., 280.

³² James Snyder, *Medieval Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture 4th-14th century*. First ed. (New York: Prentice Hall, 1989), 17-19.

³³ Hermann Voss. *Painting of the Late renaissance in Rome and Florence: From the High Renaissance to Mannerism*. Trans. Susanne Pelzel. Vol. 1. (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1997) 30-36.

virtuosity of Christian asceticism and vows of monasticism, as well as the sacristy of the Eucharist, the Protestant movement caused the largest schism in the Church to date.³⁴

As an official response to the Reformation, the Council of Trent began on December 13, 1545, initiating the Catholic Church's Counter Reformation. The council, which concluded in 1563, focused on specifically defining the doctrine of the Church and officially responding to the denigration brought from the forefront of Protestant criticisms.³⁵ The Protestant Reformation instigated a Catholic response that required art to be more direct. As Reformers complained about the untamed and eccentric nature of bold coloring techniques like *cangiantismo* and their detrimental effects on the representation of religion, Roman artists in the later part of the sixteenth century, began to turn towards more naturalistic tones, less ornamentation, and simpler spatial composition in their works.³⁶ The Council of Trent dictated that art should be direct and compelling, depict biblical narratives or saints' lives, and encourage piety. The trends stipulated by the Counter Reformation continued through the eighteenth century and are visible in the virgin martyr frescoes in Sant' Agnese. The vivid images of Christian saints frescoed in churches were systematic and poignant representations of an attempt to re-evangelize the population. The political nature of the time allows us to study the illustrations as a product of the Catholic Church's efforts to re-instill piety and devotion to its populous.

Martyrdom: From Cemetery to Church

Christian martyrdom has been a revered, sacred, and respected form of devotion and

³⁴ Johann Peter Kirsch, ed. "The Reformation" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appellton Company, 1911) Accessed 9 May 2010 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12700b.htm>>.

³⁵ Kirsch, "The Reformation."

³⁶ Hall, "The Art History of Renaissance Rome," 23.

display of piety since the religion's inception. Since the religion was born out of violence, bloodshed, and bodily sacrifice—the Crucifixion of the Christian savior Jesus Christ—it is not surprising that the doctrine of the Church continued to venerate and propagate the imitation of Christ's meekness, poverty, humility, and sacrifice.³⁷ Therefore, Christian propaganda has encouraged and honored the adumbration of the Crucifixion. Driven by the prominent percentage of the illiterate population, the illustration of Christian martyrs proved to be the perfect vehicle to teach and circulate the Word of God and the necessity of sacrifice to the community.

Martyrs and saints fill a large part of Christianity's devotional subject matter, and unlike Roman paganism's distaste for the violent deaths and physical remains of their deities, Christians sought to highlight their saints' bodily sacrifices. Diebold claims that one of the most poignant shifts from the classical world to the medieval one is the adoration of the remains of the dead, cultivating a celebration of body relics.³⁸ Congruently, Peter Brown's analysis of the transition in the third and sixth centuries of the topographical location of Christian worship supports the increased importance of the physical remains. The tombs of saints were kept strictly on the periphery of the city in the ancient world; however, with the evolution of Christianity the cemeteries became the geographical center of devotion and liturgical practice. Furthermore, Brown shows how the ancient Mediterranean world was disrupted by Christianity's development of the cult of saints that sprang from the exercise of digging up, dismembering, touching, and kissing the bones of saints (whom were mostly likely martyrs) and moving them into areas that

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁸ Diebold, 97.

had previously been forbidden.³⁹ Transitioning from the pagan abhorrence of physical remains, the corporeal methods in Christianity served to increase worship and became elemental in the imitation of Christ.

The most physical example of piety is martyrdom.⁴⁰ Evidence of the first Christian martyrs shows that their deaths were punishments for refusing to worship the Roman emperor, simply a means to weed out disloyal citizens.⁴¹ Yet martyrs became the quintessential people for the development of Christian worship because they had “died as human beings, [and] enjoyed close intimacy with God. Their intimacy with God was the *sine qua non* of their ability to intercede for and, so, to protect their fellow mortals.”⁴² Thomas Head also explains the use of the martyrs as “a model, albeit an extraordinary and almost unattainable one, of the Christian life. The records of the lives of the saints were a template of Christian virtue, a map of the path to salvation.”⁴³ The virtue, as described by Head, sprang from the combination of power and purity, both symbols derived from bodily self-sacrifice.⁴⁴ The adoration of physical devotion gave rise to the cult of martyrs, and as the cult of the martyrs grew so did people’s interactions with the stories of martyrdom.

As Nicole Kelley points out in her article, “Philosophy as Training for Death,” listening

³⁹ Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints, Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 1-6.

⁴⁰ Originally the word ‘martyr’ meant ‘witness,’ the meaning transformed in the mid-second century and became associated with dying for a religious cause.

⁴¹ G.W. Bowersock, *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 5. ‘Martyr’ is derived from the Greek word μάρτυς, which was a part of legal jargon in the court system in ancient Greece.

⁴² Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 6.

⁴³ Thomas Head, “Hagiography.”

⁴⁴ Rona M. Fields, *Martyrdom: The Psychology, Theology, and Politics of Self-Sacrifice* (London: Praeger, 2004), xvii.

to the stories of martyrdom became a normal practice within the Christian community.⁴⁵ The *acta martyrum*, stories of the martyrs, were part of the aural tradition in both private devotional practices as well as public veneration.⁴⁶ Designed to inspire the illiterate, the clergy read the *acta martyrum* aloud to teach the congregation how to suffer. They used the stories of the martyrs as models for ideal behavior—in accordance with the above-mentioned claim by Head.

Furthermore, hearing the stories taught the public that suffering was normal, expected, and ultimately a crucial aspect of becoming a pious Christian. Judith Lieu concludes that martyrs were the perfect example of personal commitment to the ideals and values of Christianity.⁴⁷

Ultimately, while the illiterate population was receiving their education about martyrs aurally they were encouraged to “internalize the religious principle exemplified by the martyrs. They [the *acta martyrum*] allowed their Christian readers and hearers to cultivate a particular kind of self—a ‘suffering self.’”⁴⁸ Judith Perkins also supports this philosophy during her discourse of power dynamics in the ancient Roman world and the developing Christian one, claiming that Christianity’s growth erupted from a category of sufferers.⁴⁹ Christian worshippers were submerging themselves in the idea of a justified exchange between a gruesome, yet heroic, death and eternal paradise. Didactically, this form of reciprocity shows that only through death can a Christian body be used for salvation, cures, and a mediator between the mortal and the

⁴⁵ Nicole Kelley, “Philosophy as Training for Death: Reading the Ancient Martyr Acts as a Spiritual Exercises,” from ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials, 2006, 3.

⁴⁶ The saint’s narrative was read aloud during their feast day as a means of commemoration.

⁴⁷ Kelley, “Philosophy as Training for Death,” 7.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁹ Judith Perkins, *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era*. (London: Routledge, 1995), 8.

divine.⁵⁰ Clearly, the lives of the martyrs were instrumental for the development of Christianity because the stories alone gave the illiterate of the community, which undoubtedly would have been the majority (around fifty percent would have been women), a model of behavior to follow.⁵¹ The virgin martyr frescoes in Sant' Agnese continue to reinforce the didactic motivation behind this gruesome, but necessary, cult.

Location and Description of La Basilica di Sant' Agnese fuori le mura

Sant' Agnese (Fig. 1), dedicated to the young martyr Saint Agnes, was originally built by Pope Onorio I (625-638). Saint Agnes was martyred c. 305 at the age of 13 when she refused marriage because of her dedication to Christ and her refusal to ruin her consecrated virginity.⁵² Upon emperor Diocletian's orders, the young girl was stabbed through her throat with a sword and buried in the Christian catacombs on the Via Nomentana (Fig. 2). A cult quickly developed, gaining devout followers such as the Constantina (the daughter of the first Christian Emperor Constantine) around the martyr and a shrine was erected over her grave. As the cult expanded, the construction of a basilica was necessary in order to prevent the dispersal of the saint's relics.⁵³

Alongside Sant' Agnese is the Mausoleum of Santa Constanza, a centrally planned building erected in the fourth century by the daughter of Constantine. Her mausoleum was

⁵⁰ Cazelles, 16.

⁵¹ Kelley, 8.

⁵² David Hugh Farmer. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Vol. Fifth Edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 7.

⁵³ Valeria Teodoli, Paolo Subioli, Daniela Pedicone, and Gerardo Doti. *Il Complesso di S. Agnese fuori le Mura*. <http://www.santagnese.org/> (accessed Sept. 6, 2010). Saint Agnes's head is enshrined in the Church of Sant' Agnese in Agone in the Piazza Navona, Rome.

originally attached to La Basilica di Santa Constanza, and is regarded as a masterpiece of ancient Roman architecture because of the two concentric circles that make the nave, as well as the richly decorated ambulatory. The mausoleum was built to house her sarcophagus and was situated next to the tomb of Saint Agnes because of Constantina's deep devotion to the child martyr.

The close proximity between Santa Constanza and Sant'Agnese defines the area on Via Nomentana as decidedly feminine. The space surrounding Sant'Agnese is an important feminine location because of the religious and political nature of the inhabitants. The catacombs beneath the basilica and mausoleum physically connect the two buildings through underground passageways, further reinforcing the connection between the religious burial site and prominent female figures. The catacombs, basilicas, and mausoleum provide a tangible grouping between the early Christian liturgical practices, the memory associated with virgin martyrs, and Constantine who legalized one of the world's largest religions. In the seventh century, Pope Onorio I expanded upon Constantine's Christian Rome by developing the shrine over Saint Agnes's tomb, echoing early Christian architecture in form and function.⁵⁴

Fig. 1 The west entrance and medieval bell tower, La Basilica di Sant'Agnese fuori le mura⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Adams, 219 and 279. The church of Sant'Agnese follows the traditional structure of a Roman basilica: a longitudinal cross composed of the narthex, a nave with two side aisles, transept, and apse. Initially used as a space for commercial transactions and a municipal hall, the basilica was transformed as a site of Christian worship in the fourth century as Christians emerged from hiding and were able to publicly express their devotion and develop their liturgical practices as a unified community. The wide, long hall of the nave allowed crowds to gather inside the building for worship and eventually became the standard for Christian church architecture in Western Europe.

⁵⁵ *Lato ovest del cortile con la torre medievale*. Galleria Fotografica: Il Complesso Monumentale di S. Agnese fuori le mura. http://www.santagnese.org/galleria_foto.htm#1 (accessed Sept. 8, 2010).

Fig. 2 General Plan of Sant' Agnese, Il Mausoleo di S. Costanza, and the catacombs⁵⁶

The basilica was constructed in a similar fashion to the Basilica di Sant Lorenzo fuori le mura,⁵⁷ built by Pope Pelagio II (579-590) due to several architectural difficulties the site provided.⁵⁸ Along with Sant Lorenzo, the church of Sant' Agnese proved burdensome because of the presence of a semi-abandoned church cemetery nearby and the access to the catacombs. Pilgrims who came to see the body of Saint Agnes caused logistical problems, but the Church refused to move the body--an object of veneration--to another location due to the economic prosperity that the influx of pilgrims brought. Sant Lorenzo and Sant' Agnese also shared functional semblance because both sites had galleries that would have allowed enough space for overflow of worshippers on major holidays. Most importantly, both churches included a second-level gallery (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4).⁵⁹ Intended for women, the *matroneum* was a structural element that separated female worshippers from the clergy and male community. The basic architecture of the basilica created gendered spaces, thus creating disparate interactions between the female and male parts of the community. The separation and elevation of the female portion of society proves exceptionally important when analyzing the influence of the virgin martyr frescoes. The traditional decoration of basilicas will be returned to later.

⁵⁶ *Planimetria generale delle catacombe di S. agnese (da frutaz)*. Galleria Fotografica: Il Complesso Monumentale di S. Agnese fuori le mura (accessed Sept. 8, 2010). <http://www.santagnese.org/catacombe.htm>

⁵⁷ The Basilica di Sant Lorenzo is approximately 1.5 miles south of the Basilica di Sant' Agnese.

⁵⁸ Overall, Sant' Agnese emulates a monumental and simple style of architecture incorporating ancient Roman columns, Corinthian capitals and drums, decorated pilasters, and entablature in porphyry.

⁵⁹ Danila Bracaglia. "The Monumental Complex of St. Agnes Outside of the Walls." Rome Heritage Tours. <http://nuke.romeheritagetours.com/MONUMENTALCOMPLEXOFSTAGNESOUTSIDETHEWALLS/tabid/483/Default.aspx> (accessed Dec. 10, 2010).

Early Christian basilicas of the fifth century were typically decorated with paintings of male and female martyrs as well as narratives from the Old Testament. Within these religious sites art became multifaceted; it was used to decorate wall space but was also used didactically to spread Christian dogma. Eloquently summarized by James Snyder, “mural decorations were not merely embellishments for the new church but were also instructions for those who could read their messages.”⁶⁰ Specifically related to the location of the virgin martyr frescoes in Sant’Agnese, the nave of early Christian basilicas were traditionally lined with frescoes of the most important members of the religion: apostles, saints, and prophets. As previously described, the longitudinal character of the nave naturally encouraged movement and progress from the narthex to the altar and apse, therefore the walls of the nave could be used as story boards of the *ecclesia*. Moreover, the nave elevation was divided into three zones. In the clerestory at the top, the spaced was used “as a portrait gallery for the earliest authorities of the church, the most honored citizens.”⁶¹

Fig. 3 Interior view, La Basilica di Sant Lorenzo fuori le mura, http://www.flickr.com/photos/sacred_destinations/3381817046/

Below, within the gallery, the walls were frescoed with scenes of biblical narratives. In the spandrels there are painted medallion portraits of important popes associated with the church. As seen in Fig. 4 and Fig. 5, the decoration in the nave of Sant’Agnese follows this traditional decoration blueprint precisely.

Fig. 4 Interior view, La Basilica di Sant’Agnese fuori le mura, <http://www.santagnese.org/img/s.agnese101.jpg>

⁶⁰ James Snyder, *Medieval Art*, 42.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

The interior of Sant' Agnese, as well as the roof, has undergone multiple restorations spanning the fifteenth through the nineteenth century. While this makes dating some of the interior decorations more difficult, the frescoes of interest were originally painted in the thirteenth century but were subsequently covered by a layer of white limestone by Cardinal Veralli in 1620.⁶² In 1855, Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) called for a complete restoration of the frescoes. As the last patron of the church, he had the original frescoes removed and stored in the *Pinacoteca Vaticana* and new frescoes made. The largest fresco, *The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes*, was completed by Pietro Gagliardi while the sixteen individual martyr frescoes were completed by Domenico Tojetti, Bozzi and Giuseppe Sereni.⁶³ The final frescoes and interior were finished under Pope Pius IX in 1856.⁶⁴

Description of the Virgin Martyr Frescoes

The largest fresco, *The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes*, is the main painting above the apse and mosaic-decorated hemispherical vault. The fresco spans the entire diameter of the nave, approximately ten meters, and depicts the martyrdom of Saint Agnes (Fig. 6 and 7).

The young girl, dressed in white robes, is kneeling with her hands in prayer in the center, turned away from Emperor Diocletian. The kneeling saint is flanked by two executioners. The first executioner violently pulls the saint's hair, the other holding the sword that will eventually

⁶² Amato Pietro Frutaz. *Il Complesso Monumentale di Sant'Agnese e di Santa Constanza*. (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1960), 42. The medieval frescoes were painted by an unknown family of Roman painters in a Tuscan style.

⁶³ Frutaz, *Il Complesso Monumentale*, 43.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 44. There is no definitive indication whether or not the remaining nineteenth-century frescoes were direct copies of the original frescoes.

behead her. Saint Agnes gazes up, towards the angel who holds the palm of martyrdom.

Diocletian sits in his throne on the left side of the fresco, gazing down at Saint Agnes, holding his head in his left hand. There are three men behind him talking amongst themselves, most likely political advisors.

Fig. 5 Main view of the nave from the central isle⁶⁵

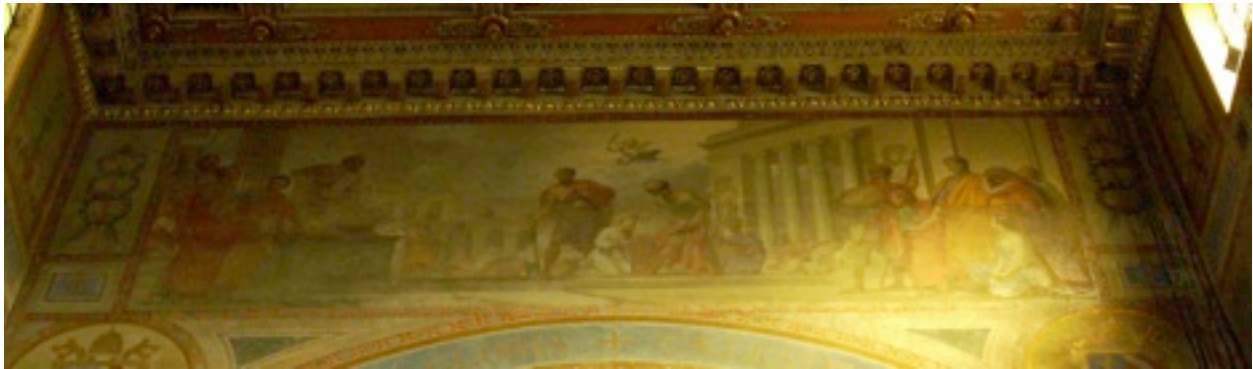


Fig. 6 *The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes*, above the apse, photo by author

⁶⁵ Kalervo Koskimies, 2002. *Vista assiale interna dall'ingresso principale*. Galleria Fotografica: Il Complesso Monumentale di S. Agnese fuori le mura. http://www2.siba.fi/%7Ekkoskim//rooma/pages/367_006B.HTM.



Fig. 7 *The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes* and mosaic apse, photo by author

The divine world is represented by the angel over Saint Agnes's extending the palm and a crown of flowers looking down on the saint. To the right of the saint is Cardinal Veralli, to the left is Saint Emerenziana, in the center is Saint Trinita.⁶⁶

The setting of the fresco is a city within the Roman Empire, as distinguished by the columns and grand architecture in the background. The fresco is evenly illuminated with the exception of the divine light in the center of the fresco to highlight the angel. The color palette of the piece is bright, yet subdued with a predominance of reds, blues, greens, yellows, and whites. Lastly, the fresco is framed with a painted red border and flanked on the right and left by a cross with three laurel wreaths. Below the fresco there are two coat of arms.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Frutaz 43. Cardinal Veralli commissioned the medieval frescoes that originally decorated the church. Saint Emerenziana is Saint Agnes's foster-sister and was stoned to death while praying at the tomb of Saint Agnes.

⁶⁷ I have identified these as the coat of arms for Pope Pious IX (1846-1878). This is consistent with the fact that he was the last Papal patron of the church and commissioned the restoration of the frescoes.

The second category of frescoes are the sixteen individual paintings (Fig. 9) that line the northwest, northeast, and north walls of the nave. Each fresco is approximately one and a half meters in diameter. Contrasting with the largest fresco, these do not illustrate the martyrdom of a saint. Instead, each fresco shows a virgin martyr holding a palm, an attribute of the saint, a golden halo, and a label to identify the saint, echoing *orantes*.



Fig. 9 Saint Flora, virgin martyr, photo by author

The female saints represented in the frescoes are summarized in Table 1. Each fresco is framed within a painted red border and flanked by a window on either side. Within each fresco the virgin martyr is in the center foreground and the background is painted in white with no further illustration. This functions to emphasize the place of each female saint. The color scheme of these frescoes is similar to the large fresco: bright colors with an emphasis on red. Each saint's

eyes looks a different direction to potentially make eye contact with different viewers within varied locations.

Table 1. *Virgin Martyr Fresco Descriptions*

Saint	Garment Color	Attribute	Martyrdom*	Place
S. Victoria	yellow, red	none	A 4th century Roman martyr, she was killed under Decius when she refused to marry a pagan man and give sacrifice to the gods.	To the right of the central fresco, in order from the apse to the narthex.
S. Lucy	yellow, red	book	She was a 4th century martyr in Syracuse whose eyes were gouged out when she refused to marry. Her wealth was distributed to the poor and she was finally killed during the persecutions under Diocletian.	
S. Agatha	green, red	left hand on chest	A Sicilian martyr in the 3rd century, she was tortured by having her breasts cut off when she vowed her virginity to Christ and refused the seduction of the consul Quintinian.	
S. Barbara	purple, red	miniature model of a tower and sword	A 3rd century Roman martyr, she was kept in a tower by her father in order to preserve her for marriage. After secretly becoming a Christian her father beheaded her.	
S. Cecilia	red	scroll of music, organ	A Roman martyr of the 3rd century, she refused to consummate her marriage because of her devotion to Christ. She converted her husband, brother, and executioners to Christianity. The prefect of the city had her beheaded after suffocating her did not kill her. She is the patron saint of music because of the organs and song she sang at her wedding feast.	

Saint	Garment Color	Attribute	Martyrdom*	Place
S. Martina	pink, gold	child	When left as a young orphan she proclaimed her faith so ferociously that she was arrested and beheaded by Alexander Severus in the 3rd century in Rome.	
S. Bibiana	blue, red	hand in prayer	She was beaten to death in her own Roman home after her mother and sister were executed for being Christians. The 4th century virgin was part of the persecutions started by Emperor Julian.	
S. Emerenziana	red, green	stone	A martyr of the 4th century, she was stoned to death while praying at the tomb of Saint Agnes in Rome. She is buried near Saint Agnes' tomb on the Via Nomentana.	Above the narthex
S. Rufina	brown	sword	She was beheaded in the 3rd century in Seville after she refused to renounce her faith and after watching her sister Saint Justa die from starvation and torture.	
S. Columba	red, gold	sword	Also known as Saint Columba, she was beheaded in the 3rd century in France after fleeing from the persecutions of Emperor Aurelian.	To the left of the central fresco, in order from the apse to the narthex.
S. Julia	purple, gold	noose	As a young girl in South Africa she was captured and sold as a slave to a pagan merchant in France. The governor of the city tried to buy her, since she was such a good servant, but the master refused. When she refused to sacrifice to the Governor's pagan gods he kidnapped her from her master, tore out all of her hair and hung her on a cross until she died.	
S. Apollonia	yellow	fire	An old deaconess of Alexandria in the 3rd century, she willingly jumped into a fire in order to avoid being forced to recite blasphemous sayings.	

Saint	Garment Color	Attribute	Martyrdom*	Place
S. Flora	blue, gold	sword	An old deaconess of Alexandria in the 3rd century, she willingly jumped into a fire in order to avoid being forced to recite blasphemous sayings.	
S. Catherine	yellow, red	wheel and scroll	Also known as Catherine of Alexandria, she was tortured on a wheel after she professed that she was the bride of Christ. She was later beheaded during the persecutions of Christians under Maxentius during the 4th century.	
S. Susanna	yellow, red	sword	A 3rd century Roman martyr, she was beheaded when she refused emperor Diocletian's order to marry his son in law.	
S. Candida	white, pink	none (arms are covered by robes)	Also known as Saint Whyte, there is almost nothing known about her. Theories include that she was a West Saxon with no remaining records of her life; that she was a Welsh Saint Gwen whose relics were a gift to Whitcurch in Dorset; or that she was actually a man martyred with Boniface.	

* The lives of these martyrs were taken from Farmer, David Hugh. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Vol. Fifth Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. and "Saints and Angels," Catholic online. <http://www.catholic.org/saints/> (accessed Dec. 10, 2010).

All of the saints represented are geographically associated with the Roman Empire and early Christianity. Furthermore, all of the martyrs were tortured and executed in an attempt to protect their virginity and devotion to Christ; most of the female saints refused marriage proposals and demands to honor pagan gods. Therefore, we can assume that these saints were chosen as the subjects of the frescoes due to their association with Rome, their continuity in preserving their virginity, and as models of idealized female behavior.

Extended Visual Analysis of the Virgin Martyr Frescoes

Judith Butler's framework on the importance of the body in power relationships between men and women serves as a logical approach to my consideration of these frescoes. The majority of the females that will be subsequently studied in the frescoes are victims of religious murder, martyrdom. Therefore, the physicality of the process of martyrdom makes Butler's views pertinent. Butler explains that "sex" can no longer be viewed as a biologically determined facet of our humanity, but rather a social construction that is forged through normative acts of materialization of sex, and "the forcible reiteration of those norms."⁶⁸ Moreover, the material and performative nature of gender--in the act of martyrdom--is what creates sexual difference in heteronormative standards.⁶⁹ This framework allows an investigation of how the female saints' bodies were used in constructed modes of feminine worship and how those means were repetitively used to create an idea of gendered devotion in the eighteen churches studied in this paper.

Because the frescoes only depict female martyrs they describe and promote the presence of females within Christianity. The main fresco above the apse in Sant' Agnese emulates the violence in martyrdom while echoing early Christian churches like San Stefano Rotondo whose frescoes are obscenely gory and labeled for didactic reasons. Because the scene positions the executioners and Saint Agnes only moments before her beheading the fresco illustrates the potency associated with venerating Christian martyrs. The fresco alludes to the bodily sacrifice that Christ made by depicting another Christian self-sacrifice. Furthermore, *The Martyrdom of Sant' Agnese* is populated with painted spectators in a Roman city (pulling from the Fourth Style

⁶⁸ Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. (New York: Routledge, 1993), 2.

⁶⁹ Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, 2.

of ancient Roman mural painting). The presence of witnesses shows how the martyr is made an example of piety.⁷⁰ Saint Agnes's facial expression is neither pained nor frightened which makes her suffering exemplary--she knows that her death only strengthens others' beliefs while it brings her closer to God. Finally, the cherub's open arms and crown of flowers demonstrates the comforts heaven provides for those willing to make the ultimate act of devotion.

The content of the fresco is extremely direct, demonstrating to the audience how sacrifice will be rewarded in the afterlife. Both of these characteristics exemplify the standards in art set by the Council of Trent. The simple style in which the fresco above the apse is executed makes the painting "readable" to any and all levels of literacy within the Catholic community. The readability of the fresco allow it to be used as a tool for propagation just like traditional church decorations were in Early Christianity. Furthermore, the fresco illustrates the efficacy of saints and the power of devotion.

The physical acts illustrated in the frescoes determine the saints' femininity and create a feminine space (and a sexed space as Butler assesses to be a juxtaposition to males' roles) for (female) worshippers. Along with these feminist theorists' guides, I am interested in how the interpreted iconography of the subjects changes our views of the feminine presence in the wall paintings. Yet, I want to steer clear of, as Linda Nochlin describes, a misreading of the subtext in an effort to illuminate new meanings and untold truths that were unrealized by the artist.⁷¹ Akin to Nochlin's work in her essay "Women, Art, and Power," I want to use images to discover

⁷⁰ In the Life of Saint Agnes, the martyr makes a speech moments before her death about how Christ does not forget his faithful and modest followers. He helps those who are modest and pure and does not let them suffer. She finishes by declaring that these men might taint the sword with blood, but not her body with lust. *Christo non e talmente immemore dei suoi fedeli, che voglia il nostro aureo pudore perduto e anche noi derelitti. Egli assiste i pudici: e non soffre che siano insozzati i doni della intatta purita. Macchierai la spada di sangue, se vorrai. Ma non lorderai con la libine il corpo.* Frutaz, 12.

⁷¹ Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays*. (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1988), 2.

various power relationships between the subjects and the viewers, between women and men. Nochlin attempts this analysis by exploring the functions of ideology to “veil the overt power relations obtain[ed] in society at a particular moment in history by making them appear to be part of the natural, eternal order of things.”⁷² Therefore, the power of symbolism in the painted ideology comes from the audience’s submission to it--consciously or not--or when they exercise resistance to it.⁷³ For that reason, I look at how the aforementioned bodily actions of the subject create, reinforce, or confront commonplace assumptions of femininity--such as weakness, passivity, sexual subjection, nurturing or maternal instincts, objectification, and domesticity--and women’s attempts to activate their agency in a male dominated religion or political sphere.⁷⁴

The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes embodies the complications of feminine worship and the male-female power dynamics. Since Saint Agnes is going to be beheaded at the hands of a male executioner, from the orders of a male emperor, her power of self sacrifice is defined, or at least is sharply contrasted to her opponents, by her gender. Besides for the emperor, who wields political power, and the executioner, who wields physical/violent power, Saint Agnes is the strongest character. The female saint maintains control over herself, her present family, and all other spectators because she is choosing and accepting her death in peace and serenity. In Nochlin’s words, Saint Agnes is “veil[ing] the overt power relations in society” by accepting Diocletian’s death sentence with open arms and confidence in her afterlife in the Kingdom of Heaven. Furthermore, Saint Agnes’ feminine appearance, underscored passivity in the painted scene, sexual objectification of being given away for marriage, as well as being an object of

⁷² Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power*, 2.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁴ I combine religion and politics because in Rome, the capital of Christendom and the Papal States, they were one and the same.

display in her execution make her an ideal female. Yet because she is dying for Christ, Saint Agnes is activating her agency against Diocletian and the executioner, thus becoming the most dominant figure in both the religious and secular spheres of the fresco.

On the other three walls of the nave, the individual virgin martyr frescoes complement the first. In each painting the female martyr is upright, beatified, and placed against a white background. These elements are characteristic of the *orantes* and the monochrome background used in the Third Style of Roman mural painting. The virgins are not depicted in the moment of their martyrdom, but are shown in their saintly state following their assumption into heaven. However, the saints' attributes remind the viewer of their brutal death, thus connecting the virgins to the illustration of Saint Agnes's martyrdom and refocusing the viewer's attention to the importance of sacrifice in the imitation of Christ. The sixteen martyrs are also portrayed as acutely feminine. Each has a gentle, caring expression, long hair, and are illustrated in colors that link them to the Virgin Mary's typical blue and red mantel. Because of these physical traits the female saints are maintaining their femininity and not completely succumbing to a masculine imitation of Christ. They are able to promote self sacrifice and adoration of their male savior while distinguishing their sex and character as female. In the following quantitative analysis further examination of the saints' physical characteristics will be discussed.

As previously mentioned, along the bottom of each virgin martyr fresco, the saint's name is labeled. Illustrating the saint's name ensures that the literate portion of the community identifies them. The labels are also a poignant didactic tool used to educate worshippers about

the identity and martyrdom of each saint.⁷⁵ The didactic nature of the label refers to the aforementioned use of church decorations as means to teach Christian doctrine began in the fourth century. The formulaic nature of the sixteen martyr frescoes allows the viewer to read the paintings less as individual pieces, but as a series of female saints telling a collective story of piety and devotion. Just as early nave decorations showed stories from the Old Testament, meant to be read as the worshipper physically moved through the nave towards the apse, the martyr frescoes of Sant' Agnese can be read laterally to conclude with the most celebrated example of piety within the walls of the basilica: the martyrdom of Saint Agnes. The visual analysis of the church of Sant' Agnese is an important case study of female saint frescoes because we can transfer the same analytical readiness to the other 104 frescoes in the seventeen additional churches examined in this study.

The Others: Seventeen Churches in Rome

The addition of seventeen churches into the analysis will accomplish three things. First, by examining multiple locations, and broadening the sample space, statistical results are more representative of the entire church population. Second, if this analysis were confined only to one site, Sant' Agnese, the visual and historical analysis surrounding the content of the frescoes would be strictly limited to that singular church. Adding the other churches allows me to compare and contrast the case findings from Sant' Agnese to other churches and therefore link the frescoes from Sant' Agnese to other frescoes around the city. Lastly, the supplementary

⁷⁵ Each name label begins with *S.* and ends with *V.M.* The abbreviated letters stand for "Saint" (*santa* or *sanctus*) and "Virgin Martyr" (*vergine martire* or *virgo martyr*). The abbreviations correctly translate from Latin to Italian to English. The original frescoes were probably inscribed in Latin and were changed to Italian during the restorations under Pope Pious IX.

churches give credence to the implementation of a mathematical approach in determining the plausibility of the frescoes creating sites of feminized worship. Space limitation does not permit an in depth discussion/description of each church, but below is a snippet view of the history (dedications and foundation myths, as well as architectural renovations) of each religious site.⁷⁶

Basilica di S. Maria in Trastevere

The site of the basilica was originally used in ancient Rome for resting legionnaires, called the Taverna Meritoria. Legend describes the location of the basilica to be the site of a large oil explosion from the ground that was heralded as the sign of the coming power of Christianity. In 224, during the reign of Alexander Severus, the basilica was used as an ecclesiastic home, dedicated to Pope Calisto I (217-222). The building was transformed from a domestic residence into the basilica in 349 by Julius I (337-352), and the dedication was made to the Virgin Mary. The basilica fell into disrepair and abandonment during the twelfth century, but was restored numerous times during the late twelfth to the early eighteenth century. Clement XI Albani (1700-1721) commissioned Carlo Fontana to rebuild the façade in 1702, which notably has a portico with five arches that is adorned with four statues dating from the seventeenth century, taken from the earlier church portico. Above the portico are three frescoes by Silverio Capparoni,—in between the three large windows—picturing four palms, sheep grazing, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, as well as a thirteenth century mosaic, *The Madonna and Child between Two Groups of Saints with Lamps in their Hands*. Beneath the portico there are two frescoes from the fifteenth century: the *Annunciation* and *The Madonna and Child with Saint*

⁷⁶ Ferruccio Lombardi, *Roma: Chiese, Conventi, Chiostrri, progetto per un inventario 313-1925* (Rome: EdilStampa, 1993).

Wenceslas. The interior of the church is divided into a nave with two side aisles decorated with female martyr frescoes on the upper most part of the walls.

Basilica di S. Croce in Gerusalemme

The founding of the church is debated. One myth says that Constantine, the first Christian emperor, founded the church when he saw a vision of the Cross that predicted his victory over Maxentius. Another story tells that Saint Helena, the mother of Constantine, founded the church for guarding the relics of the True Cross that she had discovered in Palestine. Nonetheless, the current basilica was created by transforming the pre-existing basilica (dating from the early fourth century), the Basilica Sessoriana (dedicated to Saint Silvestro), into Santa Croce. Between the eighth and eighteenth centuries the basilica was restored, included the addition of a convent which was then turned into the Biblioteca Sessoriana. In 1743, under Benedict XIV Lambertini (1740-1758), the façade was added. The façade is monumental in size and is divided into three convex bays, each with a doorway. The top of the façade is adorned with statues of the Four Evangelists. The interior of the church is a nave with two side aisles divided by granite columns found in the original basilica. The central apse was frescoed by Antoniazio Romano (1452-1508) in the fifteenth century, while the vault is decorated with frescoes by Melozzo da Forlì (1438-1494), restored in 1593. To the right of the apse is an ancient Roman statue from Ostia that was transformed into Saint Helen that stands over earth taken from Jerusalem by the saint. Left of the nave is the *Cappella delle Reliquie* (Chapel of Reliquaries), built in 1930, that houses fragments of the True Cross, three thorns from the crown of thorns, an incomplete nail, the finger bone of Saint Thomas, a part of the Titulus Crucis, and pieces of the Scourging Pillar.

Basilica Minore di S. Cecilia

The basilica stands on the remains on the ancient roman house of Saints Valerian and Cecilia from the second century, martyred during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180). Specifically, Saint Cecilia was killed for converting to Christianity and refusing marriage. The young woman was locked in the steam baths of the house for three days, but miraculously survived. She was then beheaded and left in the home to bleed to death because the executioner could not fully decapitate her. The site was consecrated by Pope Urban I (222-230) in 230 and was dedicated to Saint Cecilia. The basilica was decorated with frescoes by Piero Cavallini in 1293, and was restored multiple times during the thirteenth century. In 1599, the body of Saint Cecilia was miraculously found in the church and was copied by Stefano Maderno (1575-1636); the marble statue still resides in the church under the high altar. Between 1712-1728, Cardinal Francesco Acquaviva commissioned Domenico Paradisi (1691-1721) and Luigi Berrettoni to renovate the interior of the church as well as the high altar, piazza, and gardens.

Chiese della SS. Annunziata nel Monastero delle Oblate di Tor de' Specchi

The monastery was founded by Francesca Romana di Paolo Bussa de Leoni, born in 1384, along with thirteen other women who had taken vows, the Oblate di Monte Oliveto. The Oblate women lived in a modest house named after the windows that decorated it. In 1433, the women were moved into a new house, where they currently reside, attached to a small cloister, oratory, and a church, built at the end of the sixteenth century. Above the doorway, there is an eighteenth-century fresco of *The Madonna with Saint Benedict and Saint Frances*. Near the high altar is a fresco, *The Annunciation of the Virgin*, dating from 1638. The most impressive preserved frescoes in the church date from 1468. These frescoes line the oratory and are a cycle

of stories on the life of Saint Frances, *Stories of the Life of Saint Frances of Rome*. The frescoes are attributed to Antoniazio Romano (1452-1508).

Chiesa di S. Maria Antiqua

The church of S. Maria was adapted from the imperial palace of Domitian in the sixth century. During the papacies of John VII (705-707), Zaccaria (741-752), Paul I (757-767), and Adrian I (772-795), the church underwent multiple restorations. After being rebuilt from the destruction suffered in a ninth-century earthquake, the church was renamed S. Maria Liberatrice in memory of Pope Silvestro I (314-335), who died while battling a dragon that was terrorizing the Roman population. In 1617, Onorio Lunghi (1568-1619) redecorated the interior of the church and sought to preserve some of the thirteenth-century frescoes.

Basilica Minore di S. Maria in Aracoeli

The origins of the church are uncertain but some scholars think that the building was constructed upon the ruins of the Temple of Juno in the seventh century. However, legend says that emperor Augustus (27 B.C.E-14 C.E.) heard a prophecy of the coming of the son of God while he was on top of the Capitoline Hill and immediately ordered that an altar and church to be built at that site. Later, the church was given to the Franciscan Order to be restored and rebuilt after it had fallen into disrepair. The grand staircase, 124 stairs in length and attached to the façade was designed and built by Lorenzo Simone Andreazzi in 1348 as a tribute to the Virgin. The interior of the church was decorated in the baroque style in 1689, but was destroyed and looted during the Napoleonic occupation in the late eighteenth century. The basilica was renovated along with the construction of the nearby monument of Vittorio Emanuele II in the 1900's. The interior has a nave with two side aisles and is lined with individual chapels that

have the tombs of many prominent senators, cardinals, military leaders, and Italian artists. The high altar is richly decorated with an image of the Madonna from c. 1100.

Basilica Minore di S. Anastasia

The church was built on the ruins of Saint Anastasia's, a martyr during the persecutions of Diocletian, house, in 492, near the Circus Maximus. The cult of the fourth-century martyr spread through Rome during the reign of Constantine (306-337), which led to the creation of the church and its name "Sant'Anastasia sub Palatino." The church was refurbished and expanded during the papacies of John VII (706-707), Leone III (795-816), Gregory IV (827-844), and Innocent III (1198-1216). The façade was added in the late sixteenth century by Cardinal Sandoval under Pope Urbano VIII Barberini (1623-1644). The interior of the basilica was completely restored in the eighteenth century by the Maltese architect, Carlo Gimach.

Basilica Minore dei. SS. Cosma e Damiano

The identifying rotunda of the church has been linked to the Constantinian era, and has been identified as the remains of the Temple of Romulus. This building as well as an adjacent building in the Forum were adapted into Christian basilicas and dedicated to Cosmas and Damian, both martyrs during the reign of emperor Diocletian (284-305). In 1512, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese funded a major renovation of the church as well as granted it to the Third Order of Saint Frances. During the papacy of Pope Urban VIII Barberini (1623-1644), the cloister arches and central fountain were added. The façade includes three levels of windows as well as two large pillars that surround an inscription of the dedication to the two saints. The side chapels were done by Giovanni Baglione (1566-1643), G.A. Galli detto lo Spadarino, and Francesco Allegri.

Chiesa di S. Luigi de'Francesi

In the fourteenth century, Charlemagne (742-814), the Frankish King, built a small chapel dedicated to the crusader king, Saint Louis, for pilgrims on their way to St. Peter's Basilica. In the fifteenth century, the French community (The Brotherhood of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Louis King of France) in Rome exchanged the small chapel with the construction of the Church of St. Louis, under Cardinal Guglielmo d'Estouteville. The Brotherhood was given a piece of land adjacent to their church by Leo X Medici (1513-1521) in 1518, which they used to construct a larger basilica that adequately fit the needs of the Brotherhood (the current Church of S. Luigi). The façade was later completed by Domenico Fontana (1543-1607).⁷⁷ The nave and side chapels are covered in frescoes depicting Saint Luigi by various Italian and French artists. The chapel on the left for the Cornaro family includes the *The Calling of Matthew* and the *The Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* by Caravaggio (1571-1610).

Basilica minore dei SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti

The church was created during the papacy of Sergio II (844-47) to combine two smaller basilicas: the house of *Titulus Silvestri* and the small basilica dedicated to San Martino di Tours. The basilica was granted to the Benedictine monks in the ninth century by Pope Leone IV (847-855). The coffered ceiling was added in the sixteenth century through the financial contributions of San Carlo Borromeo. The façade was added in 1644 by Filippo Gagliardi (d. 1659), while the interior underwent massive renovations in the nineteenth century after extensive damage from a large fire. The apse is decorated with frescoes from the sixteenth century by Antonio Cavallini.

⁷⁷ It was originally designed by Giacomo Della Porta (1513-1554), in 1576, after a significant monetary contribution from King Henry III.

Basilica minore di S. Stefano Rotondo

The largest round church in existence, this church was originally constructed in 480 during the papacy of Simplicio (468-483). The design of the church echoes that of the Holy Sepulcher and has been restored under six popes ranging from the sixth to twelfth centuries. In the sixteenth century, Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni (1572-1585) granted the church to the Collegio Germanico-Ungarico, who still owns it. The most notable decorations of the church, the 34 frescoes depicting Christian martyrs, were added to the outer most wall by Pomarancio (1517-1596), also known as Circignani, and Tempesta (1555-1630) between 1555-1630. In the center of the church is an octagonal marble enclosure that is decorated with frescoes that portray the life of Saint Stefano. Recent archeological work has shown that the church stands on the remains of Roman imperial barracks from the third century.

Basilica minore di S. Prassede

According to the story about Saint Prassede, she and her sister, Saint Prudenziana, were martyred because they buried other Christian martyrs who were prosecuted by Antonius Pius (138-161). In 498, Pope Felix II (483-492) converted the house of Saint Prassede into the church, but not until the reign of Pope Paschal I (817-824) was the actual church that can be seen today built. The façade designed by Martino Longhi the Elder (1534-1591). In 1560, the restoration of the church was overseen by Cardinal San Carlo Borromeo. The interior of the church has a nave with two side aisles and is divided by sixteen columns from the fourth century. The apse is decorated with a fourth-century mosaic of Christ and Saints Peter, Paul, Prassede, and Prudenziana. The church is most well known for several prominent pieces of art that include

the tomb of Cardinal Ancherò by Arnolfo di Cambio (1265-1302), the bust of Bishop Sontoni by Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), and the tomb of Cardinal Alfano, by Andrea Bregno (1418-1503).

Basilica minore di S. Prudenziana

The sister saint and church to the Basilica minore di S. Prassede, the church is understood to be the home of Saint Peter a few years before his crucifixion. The house was dedicated as the church of S. Prudenziana by Pope Pius I (140-155). Saint Siricius (384-399) transformed the location into the basilica and dedicated it to Saint Prudenziana. In the sixteenth century, Cardinal Enrico Caetani da Volterra oversaw the total reconstruction of the church, while in the following century Cardinal Luciano Bonaparte approved the modification of the façade which led to the destruction of the sixteenth-century frescoes by Circignani (1517-1596). The interior of the church has a nave with two side aisles, while the dome was created by Francesco da Volterra and frescoed by Circignani.

Chiesa dei SS. Quirico e Giulitta

The church was originally built in the fourth century and dedicated in the sixth century to the martyr saints Lorenzo and Stefano by Pope Vigilius. The eighth century dedication was changed to Quirico and Giulitta, mother and son Christian martyrs of the fourth century. After going through several renovations during the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, the church was severely damaged by fire in 1716. Lost in the fire was the archive of the church that held all documents that were related to the church's history. After the devastation, Pope Benedict XIII (1724-1730) authorized the reconstruction of the church by Filippo Raguzzini (1680-1771), and the new façade was completed in 1733. The interior of the church has one nave, with no side aisles or side chapels. Pietro Gagliardi (1809-1890) frescoed the vault in 1856.

Chiesa di S. Susanna della Nazione Americana

The church was built in the location of Saint Susanna's martyrdom, where she was beheaded for refusing to marry Emperor Diocletian's son. The site was restored by Adrian I (722-765) and again by Pope Leo III (795-816). Under Cardinal Rusticucci, at the end of the sixteenth century, the interior of the church was remodeled and a new façade was added by Carlo Maderno (1555-1629). Seen as one of the first examples of the Baroque style, the single nave (with no side aisles) is richly decorated with stucco. To the right and left of the altar are two large chapels. The Peretti Chapel was commissioned by Domenico Fontana (1543-1607) and Camilla Peretti (1519-1605) and frescoed by Giovanni Pozzi (1699-1768). The vaulted ceiling is also frescoed. The church houses several relics from Saints Eleuterio, Genesio, Gabiano, Susanna, Felicita, and Sileno. In 1922, the church became the Official Church of the United States of America in Rome.

Chiesa di S. Agostino

The church was built in 1420 and dedicated to Saint Augustine, yet the Augustinian Fathers requested the patron of the Order, Cardinal Guglielmo d'Estouteville, for a new church since they had outgrown the previous. The new basilica was added to the first one in the late fifteenth century by Jacopo da Pietrasanta (1452-1490) and Sebastiano Fiorentino.

Chiesa di S. Maria dell'Anima

The site was originally a hospice for pilgrims funded by Giovanni di Pietro da Dordrecht. In 1399, Pope Boniface IX Tomacelli (1389-1404) approved the construction of a chapel, titled Santa Maria dell'Anima, on the site for the worship of an ancient image of the Virgin Mary between two souls in purgatory. A small church was built around the chapel during the fifteenth

century, the work of Pietro Pisanelli. However, this primitive church was demolished in the beginning of the sixteenth century and a new, larger church was built for the use of the Comunita della Nazione Teutonica. This construction was funded by Cardinal Giovanni Burckard of Strasbourg and designed by Giuliano da Sangallo. The façade, attributed to Andrea Sansovino (1467-1529), features three doors and three large windows. Internally, the church has a nave with two side aisles. The nave is split asymmetrically with very tall and thin pillars, characteristic of medieval German churches. The central vault was frescoed by Ludovico Seitz (1844-1908).

Visual Analysis of Additional Frescoes

With over 120 additional frescoes in the scope of this project, space limitations confine the visual analysis of most. I have selected four frescoes that are unique, but that illustrate and serve as examples for the body of frescoes in the study. These frescoes are located in the Basilica di Santa Prassede, the Chiesa della SS. Annunziata nel Monastero delle Oblate di Tor de' Specchi, the Basilica minore di S. Stefano Rotondo, the Chiesa di S. Susanna della Nazione Americana, and the Basilica minore di S. Cecilia. These four are meant to be a representative sample from the population so that the quantitative analysis can reference certain visual cues with ease. They also demonstrate how the previous visual analysis of Sant' Agnese is similar and applicable to the other female saint frescoes.

Seen in la Basilica di Santa Prassede, the fresco of interest is one of Saint Frances of Rome. The fresco is in the Cesi Chapel, the third on the left side of the nave. The chapel was originally built by Baron Federico Cesi in 1595 and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The chapel's

vault is partitioned into five parts by cornices in gold stucco, and was painted by Guglielmo Cortese (1628-1679) in the seventeenth century. In the center of the vault is God the Father blessing the world surrounded by angels, while Paschal I alongside a model of the Basilica di Santa Prassede, Saint Philip of Neri, Saint Firmin, and Saint Frances of Rome are painted in the pendentives.⁷⁸



Fig. 10 The Cesi Chapel vault, Saint Frances in the lower right corner, photo by author

Saint Frances of Rome, a devout Christian who became a nun after years of charity in the late fourteenth century,⁷⁹ is painted in a tranquil and learned position. The saint, clothed in a

⁷⁸ “The Basilica of Saint Praxedes,” *Edizione d’Arte Marconi*, 3, no. 28 (1992): 37-38. It is also interesting to note that the side lunette (on the corresponding side that Saint Frances is illustrated) is painted with an image of Saint Pulcheria, a Byzantine empress in the fourth century, erecting a statue of the Virgin Mary.

⁷⁹ Farmer. *Dictionary of Saints*, 202. She was canonized by Pope Paul V (1605-1621) in 1608.

blue and white nun's habit, is seated on a bed of clouds. Behind her is a soft golden sky that seems to spread from God's center in the vault. Two cherubs are alongside Saint Frances; one holding her shoulder and the other by her feet (although her feet are not showing). She is holding an open book, presumably the bible, and reading. Her right hand lays open to her side as if welcoming the knowledge from scripture or the blessing from the Father. As will be discussed in greater detail in the quantitative section, the significance of the saint's garment color references the Madonna.

Saint Frances is the only female painted in the vault, making it especially important to note that she is reading. A sign of intellect, wealth, and devotion, this simple activity provides the audience with significant information. Although some viewers would see this fresco and not identify her as Saint Frances of Rome (especially since she is painted without a halo) the bible, placement, and garment color indicate her power. She can be interpreted as a woman who had the means to buy a book, the education to read and understand it, and independence from men that is associated with a cloistered life. Furthermore, because she is frescoed singularly, but near to powerful figures, the audience can group her with commanding individuals such as Pope Paschal I (817-824) and God. The illustration of Saint Frances allows a female worshipper to identify with a solitary, yet distinct, subject within the chapel even though the dominating gender within the decoration is male.

In contrast to the pendentive fresco of Saint Frances in the Basilica di Santa Prassede, the frescoes of Saint Frances in the Chiesa della SS. Annunziata nel Monastero delle Oblate di Tor de'Specchi, are quite different.⁸⁰ Within the original house of the convent, there is a cycle of

⁸⁰ Ibid., 202. The nuns, also known as Oblates of Tor de'Specchi were started by Saint Frances in 1436 after the death of her husband. She formed this society of women under the Rule of Saint Benedict and was its superior for the last years of her life.

frescoes that depicts the miracles of Saint Frances. Completed in the fifteenth century by Antoniazio Romano, the cycle focuses on the generosity of Saint Frances. In accordance with the saint's *vita* the cycle illustrates Saint Francis praying for more wine and distributing it during a famine, healing a man's badly injured leg, giving a mute girl the ability to speak, healing a man's hunchback, and reviving a sick child. There is one particular fresco within the cycle that proves to be more significant than the others, though.

The Small Paralytic Iacovella is Healed is an image that is striking because of the composition and the role Saint Frances in it. Like the other frescoes in the cycle, Saint Frances is wearing a black robe and white headdress--the nun's habit--and has a solid gold halo (the importance of wearing a halo will also be discussed in the following quantitative section). Also consistent with the other frescoes, Saint Frances is the key figure in the piece. Within *The Small Paralytic Iacovella is Healed* there are a few differences that make Saint Frances' position of power more noticeable. To begin with, she is framed in a doorway which, as a visual cue, indicates to the viewer her importance within the fresco. Secondly, the fresco moves in a horizontal, linear fashion, both compositionally and chronologically from left to right. The two men carrying the paralyzed girl direct the movement from the left side of the fresco to the right, where Saint Frances is waiting in the doorway to heal the girl.

Fig. 11 *The Small Paralytic Iacovella is Healed*, http://www.tordespeschi.it/public/index.php?download=ceccolella_dei_murales.pdf

The right portion of the fresco shows a young girl kneeling in front of the saint while one attendant and another nun await Saint Frances' miracle. The three subjects grouped in front of Saint Frances add to her dominant role in the fresco because they are directed toward the saint

with a sense of anxiety and anticipation. The young girl does not dare to look at the revered saint; she only kneels with her head down and her hands crossed in prayer over her chest.

Fig. 12 Detail of *The Small Paralytic Iacovella is Healed*, http://www.tordespecchi.it/public/index.php?download=ceccolella_dei_murales.pdf

Saint Frances commands the scene by looking upwards towards heaven and her right hand raised in prayer instead of interacting with the other subjects. Because the saint's attention is focused solely upwards it seems as if she is engaging more emphatically with the spiritual world instead of the mortal one--she is an intercessor for God on Earth. In fact, we know that her spiritual connection is legitimate because the paralyzed girl is healed.

The fresco alerts the viewer to the power that this female saint has acquired through her devotion to Christ. Saint Frances' space--a house of worship--indicates to the female audience that devoting your life to Christian worship is beneficial not only to yourself but to those around you. Therefore, Saint Frances is proving to early modern women that subverting the cultural norms (i.e. marriage, bearing children, running a household) is a valid lifestyle.⁸¹ Saint Frances's paramount presence and miraculous abilities distinguish her as an outstanding female even within a group of religious women.

Another local Roman saint is Saint Susanna, a Christian martyr from the third century. After Saint Susanna's execution at her Roman house, the ruins of which the Chiesa di S. Susanna della Nazione Americana lies on, a cult developed which gave credence to her public veneration and eventual canonization. The fresco that shows the martyred saint is in the hemispheric vault

⁸¹ These traditional female roles are not completely rejected by Saint Frances. Before her life as a nun she was married at the age of 13 to Lorenzo Ponziano with whom she bared six children. Therefore it may be possible to see Saint Frances as an example of how women in Christianity could live both a domestic lifestyle and devote their life to Christianity.

of the apse.⁸² Saint Susanna is frescoed directly below Christ, who fills the circular space that corresponds with the oculus in other domes. To the right and left are frescoes of angels playing musical instruments.

Fig. 13 Fresco of Saint Susanna in the Apse, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fa/Lazio_Roma_SSusanna1_tango7174.jpg

Principally, the saint is painted alone. Saint Susanna is neither being martyred nor is she in the midst of other men or women, as were the previous examples. As a single saint she gains the audience's complete attention. Her white dress, the color of purity, and golden halo inform the viewer of her vow of virginity and devotion to her savior, Jesus. The luminescence of the fresco emerges from the halo-like light emitting from behind Saint Susanna's body.

Impressively, the saint's body shows signs of a contrapposto pose while she kneels. Saint Susanna's left foot is uncovered by her position, revealing that the saint is barefoot--another key characteristic that will be discussed later. Additionally, her hands are raised in prayer to the left side of her face, further strengthening the contrapposto conception of the figure.

Finally, the saint's eyes are looking upwards towards heaven. In this scenario her heaven entails Christ holding a crown and scepter. Saint Susanna's gaze is the most important feature of this fresco because it draws the audience's vision towards Christ. Her attentiveness and devotion encourages viewers, especially female viewers, to look towards Christ. Even more striking is the fact that Christ returns Saint Susanna's gaze. He looks down upon her with warmth and open arms as if awaiting her assumption into his heavenly kingdom. Furthermore, since Christ is holding the crown and scepter instead of wearing them, the objects are an offering to Saint

⁸² Filippo Titi, *Descrizione delle Pitture, Sculture e Architetture Esposte al Pubblico in Roma* (Rome: Nella Stamperia di marco Pagliarini, 1763), 297. Although the other frescoes that line the walls of the church are attributed to P. Matteo Zoccolino Teatino, there is no specific attribution for the fresco above the main altar.

Susanna; she is going to be crowned for her sacrifice. The composition of the fresco and the presence of Saint Susanna's awaiting crown commensurate to that of the Coronation of the Virgin.

These characteristics about the fresco are extremely relevant because they teach the audience about Saint Susanna's power and position in Christianity. She is strong enough to be frescoed as a free-standing saint, and important enough to warrant Christ's direct eye contact. These two characteristics allow female members of the audience to associate the power of Christianity with a woman--a holy intercessor for them. For the male faction of worshippers, the fresco demonstrates equality and female presence in a masculine religion because the fresco lacks any male intercessors. Although Saint Susanna was a martyr, this compelling illustration of her does not show her in the midst of her death, a traditional way of portraying female saints.

In the Basilica Minore di S. Stefano Rotondo the walls are lined with dozens of frescoes that graphically portray Christian martyrdoms. One of these frescoes is *The Martyrdom of Saints Agatha, Popes Fabia and Cornelius, Cipriano, Trifone, Abdon and Sennen*, by Niccoló Circignani. This fresco is one of the most grotesque illustrations of female martyrdom in the church. Saint Agatha, described as a noble virgin in the Latin inscription that accompanies the fresco, suffers in a specifically feminine way: her male torturer is dabbing her gaping chest with a cloth as he dries the blade that he used to cut off her breasts. Even through this bestial torture, Saint Agatha, clad in a light blue dress and gold shawl, looks serene and unaffected. Her gaze is soft as she tilts her head to her right side and gazes upwards towards heaven. Furthermore, the scene also shows Saints Fabiano, Cornelio, Cipriano, Trifone Abdon, and Sennen being martyred

in the background. One is being burned alive, others are decapitated, and the last are being assaulted by lions.⁸³

The fresco is for the illiterate portion of society as demonstrated by the letters that correspond to the Latin description of the martyrs that label the painting. This technique clearly identifies these frescoes as teaching tools; yet, more to the thesis of this paper, the interesting point is that Saint Agatha is the first saint labeled, letter A, and the main subject in the center foreground of the painting even though there are six other men being martyred. Compared to the size and space devoted to the woman's suffering, the male martyrs are afterthoughts of Christian examples. The male figures are so small it is only through the labeling that we can distinguish who they are. The scene prioritizes Saint Agatha's martyrdom over the men, which gives her feminine presence more weight. In addition to being graphic (Saint Agatha is the patron saint of women who have suffered sexual assault) the fresco is an explosion of gender specific commentary.

⁸³ "Santo Stefano Rotondo," in *Roma Sacra: Guida alle Chiese della Città Eterna*, ed. Paolo Galeotti (Comune di Roma: Elio de Rosa, 2007), 39.

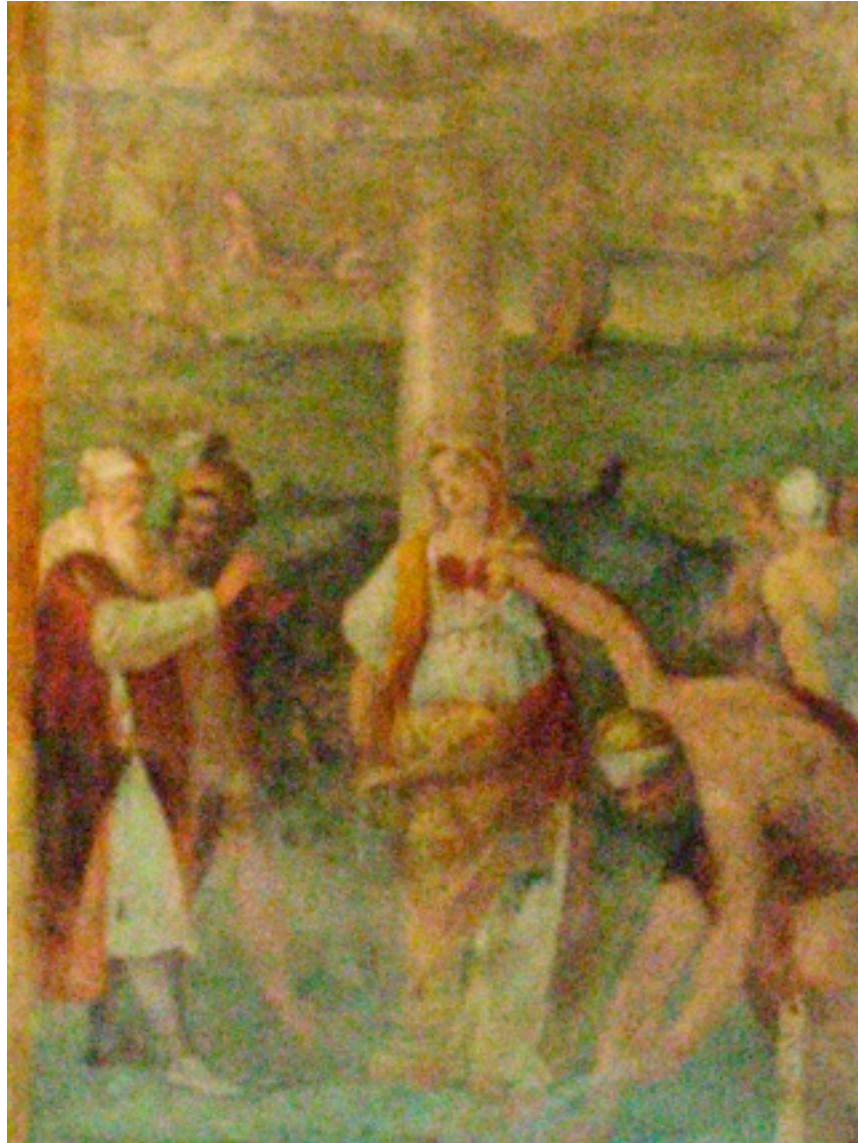


Fig. 14 *The Martyrdom of Saints Agatha, Popes Fabia and Cornelius, Cipriano, Trifone, Abdon and Sennen*, photo by author

Due to the fact that the female saint is being tortured through her gendered anatomy, it is no surprise that her executioner is male and is accompanied by no less than five other male spectators. This form of torture and martyrdom directly intersects the importance of gender because it is biologically impossible for a man to die in this manner, making the gender of Saint Agatha her most important and striking quality. Because her femininity is the focus of her death, and the focus of the fresco, we are led to assume that the fresco was designed to target the female

portion of the audience. However, this was not possible until later centuries because in 1587 the church became a Jesuit College, indicating that only men would view the frescoes. The all male audience does not detract from the gendered goal of the fresco and the significance that femininity is brought to the forefront of Christian behavior and expectations, teaching the men about sexual assault, exemplifying the differences between male and female suffering, and all the while continuing to equate female suffering with the same valor and expectations of Christianity. In addition to Saint Agatha's gendered form of torture, the fresco has other layers of gendered interpretation.

The vague portrayal of the male martyrs, allows us to assume that any illiterate viewer would have paid less attention to the figures in the background. Thus, we can assume that while the male dominance and majority in numbers illustrates the typical superiority of masculinity within Christianity, the focus of this fresco is centered on feminine sanctity. The community would interact with this fresco as a tool for understanding the equality and strength of the female saint, and consequently the equal responsibility of women within the sixteenth-century Christian community to be held to the same standards as males—just as their model female saints were held to the same levels of torture as their male peers. Moving from the visual analysis of a few frescoes to analyzing the set of 121 frescoes as a whole unit will require new methods in order to identify the significance of selected frescoes in the establishment of overall trends.

Quantitative Additions

Adding quantitative analysis to a clearly qualitative project can make any historian cautious. History is, at its core, a discipline based on interpretation of primary and secondary

sources, thus opening up avenues for reinterpretations and negotiations of the meaning behind these sources. Historians typically do not have the luxury of mathematical proofs or chemical reactions to ensure that the conclusions we derive are correct. These scientific methods do not necessarily devalue our work or validate the biologists' or chemists' work over ours--it simply differentiates it.

History, like most areas of humanities, is evolving. The field as an academic pursuit has emerged from oral histories in ancient Greece to the first written accounts of social history by Herodotus and Thucydides. Saint Augustine revolutionized history in the fifth century by translating his histories into linear accounts of time instead of cyclic stories used by the Greeks. In the Middle Ages, history was recorded in mass with annals and chronicles. Pertinent to this study, Christian Scripture is simply a conglomeration of oral stories about Jesus and his apostles that were turned into the Gospels.⁸⁴ From these simple, yet monumental beginnings history has sprung from untraceable oral accounts to written documents that have influenced millions of people over hundreds of years.

In the fourteenth century, history saw a shift from supernatural explanations to a secular approach. Although Christianity had gained strength and control over daily life in medieval Europe, history had begun to revert back to traditional Greek methods of rigorous observation, rational thinking, and a critical review of evidence and artifacts. Fate, predestination, and the will of God were no longer seen as the only justification for past events. It is also during this century that history developed as a professional discipline within universities. However, during

⁸⁴ Mark T. Gilderhus, *History and Historians, A Historiographical Introduction*, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1992), 12.

this crucial development of history into a certified discipline the subject faced methodological dilemmas associated with dating and verifying the legitimacy of documents.⁸⁵

These methodological needs spurred the adaptation of the field in the seventeenth century to the scientific revolution. The driving question became to what extent should hard sciences determine the study of human affairs? The question was never fully or adequately answered, but it did spark new developments within the historical field. Historians of the Enlightenment, such as Voltaire and Hume, expanded the grasp of history to include social, economic, and cultural dimensions--as well as non-Europeans. These two historians as well as others had completely rejected moral and religious reasoning as justifiable evidence for historical claims and worked on characterizing the past through a set of rigorous and strict guidelines about interpretation. This awareness of prejudices and problems associated with exaggeration gave birth to the analytical history practiced in the twentieth century.⁸⁶ Recently, scholars have begun to take a quantitative approach to history in the last twenty years. It is at the last phase of the evolutionary process that this project on female saints stands.

An impressive work within this mathematical branch of history is *Saints and Society* by Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell. *Saints and Society* provides statistical evidence to support a “macrocosmic” approach to defining sainthood through saints’ *vitae*.⁸⁷ Weinstein and Bell indicate that previous scholars such as Pitirim A. Sorokin, Katherine and Charles George, and Michael Goodich have also worked quantitative analyses into their studies of saints and early

⁸⁵ Gilderhus, *History and Historians*, 29.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 50-70.

⁸⁷ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). This work, originally introduced to me by Ellen F. Arnold, has been an inspiration and guide to my own research and path as an historian.

Christianity with varying degrees of success.⁸⁸ Similar to Weinstein and Bell, this study uses statistical analysis to accurately describe the trends and clustering phenomena within the frescoes that might otherwise go unnoticed.

By including a statistical analysis of the saints and frescoes described above, this study aims to be a part of the growing movement to make history engage methods typically employed by the hard sciences. Mark T. Gilderhus outlines a three-stage model of historical inquiry. First, the historian asks what happened, and what primary sources are essential. Second, the historian asks why this event happened, thus flushing out or interpreting a motive from the primary resources. Third, what were the consequences of the event? The historian looks for the benefits or repercussions and answers any larger, broader questions.⁸⁹ Statistical analysis will be fundamental in solidifying the first stage of this process. By quantifying the visual observations of the frescoes, the results will be standardized and more objective, thereby eliminating as much bias as possible from the primary source. In hopes of ascertaining the cause-effect relationships that led to developing sites of feminized worship, quantitative history will be used as a means of highly detailed descriptions of factors that led to and defined these feminine creations.

⁸⁸ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 2-3. Sorokin, in *Altruistic Love: A Study of American "Good Neighbors" and Christian Saints*, compiled a "statistical consensus" of 3,090 saints for whom he compiled information about their sex, nationality, race, occupation, economic status, route to saintliness, and age at death. The George's article, "Roman Catholic Sainthood and Social Status: A Statistical and Analytical Study" involved an analysis of the social status of the saints, and found links between "spiritual and social elites." Goodich, in *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, studied behavioral patterns of over 500 saints from the thirteenth century.

⁸⁹ Gilderhaus, 8-9.

Data

The data presented for this study was collected in Rome during the spring of 2010.⁹⁰ The data is comprised of 121 individual frescoes from eighteen churches that were analyzed. The churches were used in the study if, and only if, they had frescoes in the interior decoration, including private chapels, that featured a female saint. Therefore the frescoes chosen from the churches were only those that featured a female saint.⁹¹ The dataset includes 26 explanatory variables for each individual fresco that account for region, name of the female saint, the date of the fresco,⁹² the artist and patron known to have worked on or commission, total number of subjects, total number of female and males subjects within the fresco, the type and color of garment the saint is wearing, whether or not the saint's hair is showing, if the saint has a halo, if she is wearing shoes, what object(s) she is holding, what position she is in, the direction of the saints' eyes, and the location of the fresco within the church.⁹³

In addition to any overall trends the data may present, the covariates will be analyzed in comparison to region. This specific analysis will illuminate any trends that have geographic bounds. For instance, can we see that a clustering of churches near the ancient Aurelian walls have a higher concentration of frescoes that picture a barefoot saint in non-traditional colored

⁹⁰ The fresco data was compiled by the author by visiting the Roman churches between February 2010-May 2010.

⁹¹ This means there is an unequal number of frescoes for each church, and that not all frescoes or interior decorations within the 18 churches are accounted for within this dataset. These limitations will be addressed in the discussion section.

⁹² Dating some of the frescoes has proven to be difficult because most churches go through multiple renovations from the time of their construction to modern day. Thus it is always a concern that frescoes have been changed, modified, removed (in rare cases), or painted over. The set of frescoes compiled in this paper is comprehensive, yet the total body of information regarding female saint frescoes is incomplete--and always may be. By virtue of church renovations there is no possible way to know the "truth" about the female saint frescoes or their impact on the audience, but we can discuss the trends that are still present in the frescoes and their implications upon Christianity and worship. Yet, for the dates that are listed they are accurate to within the century.

⁹³ This is not a complete list of the explanatory variables. For a more accurate description of each variable see the attached dataset and accompanying codebook.

garments. From these types of patterns we can infer--the second stage of Gilderhus' historical model--about the motivation behind the feminine frescoes and what it adds to the site of worship.

The region covariate was determined by the churches's locations in Rome according to the *Pianta di Roma di Gian Battista Nolli, 1748*. The map of Rome, created for Pope Boniface XIV (1294-1303), partitioned the city into fourteen new regions in addition to its ancient city center. Nolli's map was composed of twelve sheets (44cm x 69.5cm each) for a total size of 208.5cm x 132cm. Ferruccio Lombardi used the map to split the city into 24 territorial regions, incorporating both antique and modern areas. The city is divided into the following categories: The Antique/Historic Region which includes regions I-XIV, comprised the heart of the city within the Aurelian Walls; the Modern Region (after 1870) which includes sections XV-XXII; la Citta del Vaticano (Vatican City); and Roma fuori le Mura (the city that lies outside of the Aurelian Walls).⁹⁴ The Nolli map was chosen because of its detail and evidence for buildings no longer extant. While all of the churches within this study are extant, the map puts their geographic/urban location into a more appropriate early modern context.

Methodology

In order to determine visual trends within the saint frescoes, 26 covariates were analyzed separately and in conjunction with the region. Each variable was examined independently so that the general distribution of the variable was clear. For example, the distribution of Halo⁹⁵ is split evenly: of the 121 frescoes 60 saints are portrayed without a halo and 61 saints are painted

⁹⁴ Lombardi, Ferruccio, *Roma: Chiese, Conventi, Chiostrri, progetto per un inventario 313-1925*. (Rome: EdilStampa, 1993), 26-29.

⁹⁵ See the attached Code Book of the variables for a description of this variable. Capitalized variable names refer to the variable within the dataset.

with a halo. For variables that are not binary, such as the primary color of the garment, the distribution was still done the same way. For the primary color, 17 saints were wearing black, 3 were in gray, 10 in white, 8 in pink, 8 in red, 19 in gold/yellow, 9 in green, 32 in blue, 12 in violet, and 1 was in brown. From these simple distributions we can see any immediate clustering--in this case blue is the most popular color for the female saints to wear.

Once the general distributions were done, a table of proportional values was used for the interaction between each covariate and Region.⁹⁶ The table of proportions was constructed to determine what region had the highest percentage of the specified variable. For example, the regional distribution of the Halo variable showed that in region thirteen approximately 60 percent of the female saints were not wearing a halo. While in region two approximately 90 percent of the female saints were not painted with a halo.⁹⁷ Although we must take into consideration the discrepancy between how many frescoes are located in each region, we are still able to see general clustering or patterns. While all 26 variables were analyzed independently and in comparison to region, only several will be discussed in depth in the following section.

Results

The supplementary quantitative analysis of the frescoes adds further dimensions to their previous visual analysis, thereby identifying characteristics of the frescoes that determine or add to the idea of a feminized site of worship. Seven variables out of the 26 show significance to the analysis. The covariates of interest are the general and regional distribution of secondary male

⁹⁶ Region was also analyzed as a regular covariate for its distribution of occurrence. The proportional tables of the study are available in Appendix A.

⁹⁷ See Appendix A.

and female figures within the frescoes, the primary color of the saint’s garments, if the saint was or was not painted with a halo, if the saint was barefoot, and the direction of the saints’ gaze. Each of these variables will be discussed separately and then the results will be combined and analyzed as a cohesive unit within the discussion section.

Region

We need to begin by examining the distribution of Region. The distribution of individual frescoes was compared to Region as well as the distribution of churches. The number of churches versus the number of frescoes in each region is an important difference to quantify because they are not proportional. We can see a larger number of frescoes in one area even though it may have only one unique church. The distribution of frescoes and churches in each region are as follows:

<i>Table 1. Fresco Distribution by Region</i>								
Region	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
Frescoes	15	11	3	12	42	19	2	17

<i>Table 2. Church Distribution by Region</i>								
Region	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
Churches	5	1	1	2	5	2	1	1

We can see the discrepancy between the number of frescoes and the number of churches in each region by looking specifically at region one and region ten. Both have the same number of churches (5 churches), but region ten has a significantly higher number of frescoes (27 more than

in region one). Nonetheless, regions one and ten are areas of interest because they show some clustering of the churches (also note that these regions are adjacent). Although region thirteen and twenty-three have more frescoes than region one, we can attribute those differences to the fact that they have a multitude of frescoes within one church. Therefore, the churches in region thirteen and twenty-three are not examples of regional clustering, but are more explanative of fresco clustering within an enclosed space.

In region one there are several key locations that may account for the clustering seen in the above table. The Colosseum, the Arch of Constantine, the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore, and the Basilica di San Giovanni in Laterano. The Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano are part of Rome's original seven pilgrim churches.⁹⁸ Santa Maria Maggiore was built in the fifth century and houses important relics from the sixteenth century as well as a relic from the Holy Crib.⁹⁹ San Giovanni in Laterano was the first church built in Rome and is the official cathedral of the Pope.¹⁰⁰ The Colosseum, the largest Roman amphitheater, has long been an eternal icon of the city and of the power, history, and mass

⁹⁸ P.J. Chandlery, *Pilgrim-Walks in Rome, A Guide to the Holy Places and its Vicinity* (London: Manresa Press, 1903), 60.

⁹⁹ P.J. Chandlery, *Pilgrim-Walks in Rome, 107-109*. Santa Maria Maggiore is one of the largest basilicas dedicated to Mary, and the first in Rome (this is disputed among scholars who believe that la Basilica di S. Maria Antiqua was the first). According to the basilica's foundation myth, the area on the Esquiline Hill where it was built was originally owned by a patrician. He and his wife had a vision of Mary and she commanded them to build a church in the place that was marked by snow. The church was finished in 360 C.E. and was consecrated by Pope Liberius (352-366) in the same year. The Confession in front of the high altar, a crypt chapel, houses the body of the apostle Saint Mathias as well as the relic of the Holy Manger.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 60-61. San Giovanni in Laterano takes precedence over St. Peter's basilica because of its tradition and history. The church was originally a palace for a rich patrician family named Laterani (the church has kept its association to the family). When the head of the family was executed by Nero in the late first century, the palace was appropriated as the Imperial Palace for the emperor. The palace eventually became the home of Constantine through his wife Fausta. After Constantine's victory over Maxentius he gave the palace to Pope Saint Melchiades (310-314) as the official residence of the Popes. Since then, each Pope is crowned at San Giovanni and officiates the first day of Lent, Easter Sunday, and other important Christian holidays at this basilica.

Christian executions associated with the Roman Empire.¹⁰¹ Between these three icons of triumph and Christianity, it is obvious why there is a congregation of churches, yet why are there a slightly higher concentration of female figures in this location? By claiming space next to three powerhouses of worship and political domination, the five churches in region one (Basilica Minore di Santa Prassede, Basilica Minore dei SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti, Basilica Minore di S. Prudenziana, Basilica Minore di S. Stefano Rotondo, and Chiesa dei SS. Quirico e Giulitta) were able to stake a claim in the significance of the area. Therefore, the presence of feminine figures in the churches contrasts with the surrounding dominated sites of worship.

Region ten, the other site of clustering, also has several important architectural and political locations. The churches (the Basilica minore di Sant'Anastasia, Basilica minore di Maria in Aracoeli, Chiesa di Santa Maria Antiqua, the Basilica minore di SS. Cosma e Damiano, and the Chiesa della SS. Anuziata nel Monastero delle Oblate di Tor de'Specchi) are distributed alongside the Piazza del Campidoglio, the Teatro Marcello, the Foro Romano, and the Circo Massimo. These four sites are incredibly influential examples of Roman history, culture, and politics. The Foro Romano is one of the most well-preserved sites of ancient Rome that served as a market place and as a hub of worship (in both Roman cultic religion and early Christianity). The Circo Massimo was the first and largest circus in the city, constructed around 329 BCE. The oblong ring was used for chariot races and could hold up to 380,000 spectators (depending on what stage of reconstruction it was in). Teatro Marcello was a theatre constructed during the reign of Julius Cesar in memory Augustus' son, Marcellus. Finally, the Campidoglio is the city's

¹⁰¹ Alta Macadam 123, 266, 289. The massive structure was begun by Emperor Vespasian in 72 C.E. and was finished in only eight years by his son, Titus. The Colosseum was built by Jewish slaves that were brought back after the demolishing of Jerusalem (an estimated 97,000 slaves were taken back to work on the theatre). Throughout the amphitheater's use thousands of slaves, animals, and martyrs were killed for the enjoyment of Romans.

political center, designed by Michelangelo in 1538.¹⁰² More importantly, the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was placed in this piazza as a sign of religious devotion and as a sign of imperial glory. In view of the fact that the statue was originally thought to be Constantine, the first Christian emperor, the piazza is a very important location that combines religion with politics, ideal for a church's to be association.

The combination of the four aforementioned sites illuminates the prominent location of the churches in region ten. The distribution of the churches shows that the patrons were aware of the history and political power scattered throughout this region. Because each of the five churches is located next to one of the four above-mentioned sites, the feminine presence is closely tied to the historical and political orientation of the city. The patrons, or those who chose the feminine content of the frescoes, were undoubtedly conscious of the visibility the frescoes were gaining because of their association next to such powerful, thus well populated, sites in Rome.

Saint

Another basic variable that should be considered at the onset of this quantitative analysis is the distribution of the female saints. In particular, this variable shows us that there were several trends concerning which saints were displayed habitually (recall that the Virgin Mary is excluded from this research because of her universality). The data indicates that of the 121 analyzed frescoes 16 saints were unidentified, 18 were Saint Cecilia, 14 were Saint Frances of Rome, and 5 were Saint Susanna. Other saints, such as Saint Catherine or Saint Prudentiana, were not figured more than twice and thus have not been discussed. The identified saints were

¹⁰² Macadam, 76-112.

evenly distributed through the regions, except for regions five, fifteen, and twenty-three which had no unidentified saints. Region 2 had a noticeable illustration of Saint Susanna a total of 5 times, whereas region eight had 5 frescoes with Saint Cecilia. Region ten has the highest proportion of frescoes that portray Saint Frances of Rome--frescoed 13 times. Finally, in region thirteen Saint Cecilia makes another clustered appearance in 10 frescoes.

The distribution of the individual saints shows where one saint might have had a stronger following. It is also possible that within the areas of high concentration of a particular saint the high number of occurrences is due to a private chapel dedicated to her. Saint Cecilia provides an example for this situation. Within the Basilica Minore di Santa Cecilia, there is a private chapel on the right side of the nave that that is dedicated to Saint Cecilia and is frescoed with images of her. Therefore, the clustering of Saint Cecilia in region thirteen is due to this one chapel.¹⁰³

Secondary Female Figures/Secondary Male Figures

Examining to what extent the female saints are frescoed alone or alongside others is both interesting and illuminating. The importance of this variable is to distinguish whether or not the female saints have enough prowess to stand alone, and therefore be recognized and used appropriately as a symbol for Christianity. If the distribution showed that a majority of the female saints were painted alongside other female figures, or, more importantly, other male characters, then their presence and individual authority would diminish. The context of their situation within each fresco is important to show how much power and dominance the female saints command.

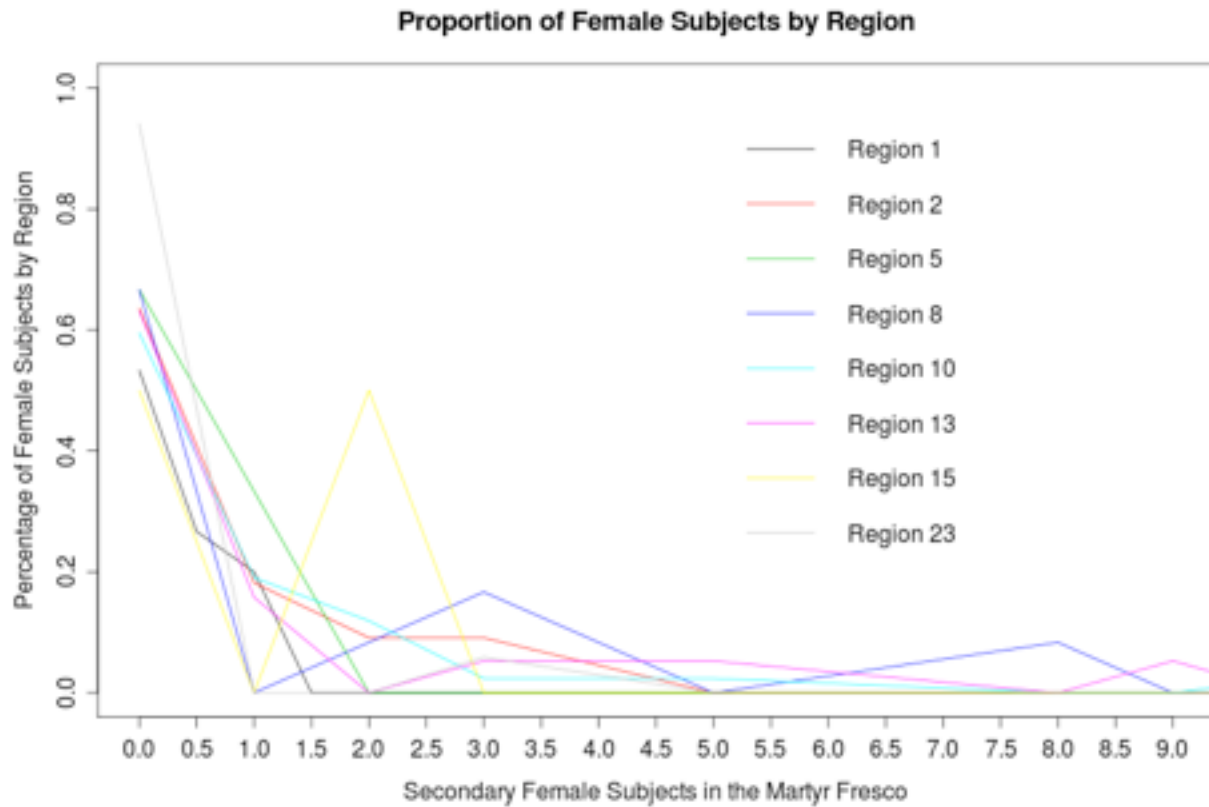
¹⁰³ The Chapel of Saint Cecilia shows a clustering of female frescoes within an enclosed space, which can be attributed to the fact that the chapel was dedicated to her. This chapel also shows evidence that chapels or enclosed/separated spaces from the main program of the church's interior decoration have their own program that typically involves one theme--in this case, female martyrs and Saint Cecilia.

Analysis of the variable shows that in each region the highest concentration of female saints were painted with 0 to 5 secondary female figures. To be more precise, the regional proportions show that each region has a 50 percent, or higher, occurrence of illustrating the saint with 0 other female figures. Five out of the eight total regions that are examined show that over 60 percent of the frescoes picture the saint by herself. The regional distributions accurately represent the general distribution of this covariate:

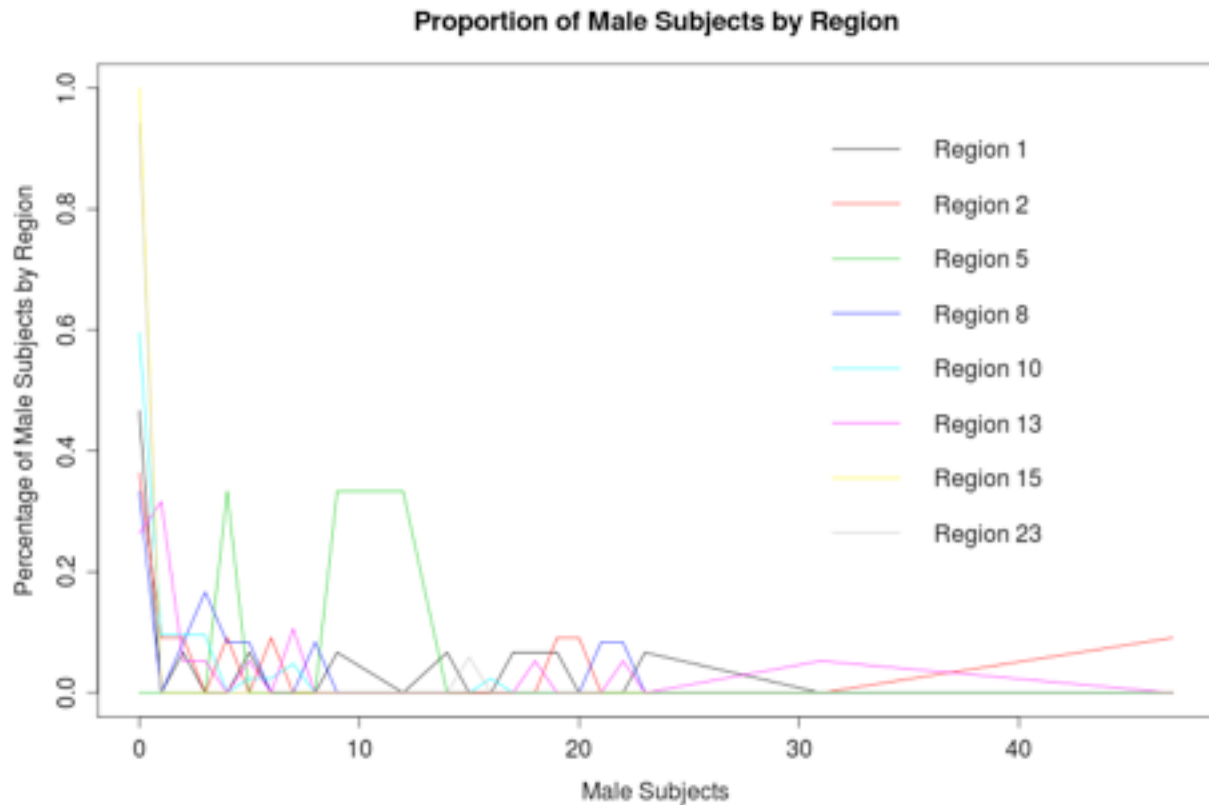
Table 3. General Distribution of Secondary Female Subjects

Secondary Subjects	0	1	2	3	5	5	8	9	10	15	21
Frescoes	79	18	11	6	2	1	1	1	1	1	1

These patterns show that female saints are generally illustrated without other women, which allows us to infer that the female saints were not dependent on each other or another prominent woman with Christianity, most notably the Virgin.



In contrast to the secondary female subjects, the secondary male subjects show more variation. While there are is a high proportion of frescoes that do not have any male characters, we can see that more of the frescoes have at least one male counterpart.



In five of the eight examined regions, less than 40 percent of frescoes have 0 secondary male figures alongside the female saint. Although there is still a trend for fewer figures in the frescoes, the percentage of secondary males is much less drastic compared to secondary females. Region fifteen does not play a significant role in this variable because 100 percent of the frescoes have zero secondary male subjects; however, keep in mind that region fifteen only has one church in it and only two frescoes. Overall, the distribution shows that all regions have the largest percentage of frescoes that portray 0 to 3 secondary male figures. This pattern can also be seen in the general distribution of the data:

Table 4. General Distribution of Secondary Male Subjects

Secondary Subjects	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Frescoes	63	11	8	7	3	4	2	4	1	2

Primary Color

Within painted works color proves to be a vibrant contributor to the impact of the piece. Visually, it allows the viewer to trace an intended path through a work, it illuminates key elements, and can provide a point of focus for the audience. Mentally, color promotes religious connections and connotations. For example, white is symbolically associated with purity, cleanliness, innocence, and glory. The connotations of this color have led to representations of Christ always wearing white after the Resurrection and Mary often painted in white in her Assumption.¹⁰⁴ Another exemplary model is the Virgin Mary in pieces other than the Assumption. She is almost exclusively portrayed in blue and red. Mary is one of the most easily identifiable subjects because of the long standing tradition of illustrating her in these two colors. Just as Mary has stock colors, the analysis of the saints' primary color was done to identify patterns and to see if they emulate any stock color combination that relates to prominent religious icons.

The total distribution of color indicates that blue is the most common color for the saints to be painted with. Gold/yellow and black were the second and third, respectively, most painted colors. This outcome was partly surprising because I had hypothesized that red would be a dominant color for the female saints, the majority of whom are martyrs, because the color typically connotes passion, fire, blood, and martyrdom.¹⁰⁵

<i>Table 5. General Distribution of Primary Color of Saints' Garments</i>										
Color	Black	Grey	White	Pink	Red	Gold	Green	Blue	Violet	Brown
Frescoes	17	3	10	8	8	19	9	32	12	9

¹⁰⁴ Gertrude Grace Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Touchstone, 1975), 30.

¹⁰⁵ Sill, *Symbols*, 29.

Owing to the fact that blue has a much larger presence than any other color, we can infer that the female saints are illustrated in comparison to the Virgin Mary--who is arguably the most important woman in Christianity.¹⁰⁶ The Virgin's universality has made her a popular character to illustrate in any and all forms of devotion, thus it is logical that an artist commissioned to paint a female fresco would use Mary as a reference. Moreover, the link between the painted female saints and the Madonna can be made visually. The audience is asked to make an intrinsic comparison between the ideal Christian woman, the Virgin, and another visionary woman, the saint. This links back to the analysis of the image of Saint Susanna over the main altar and the fresco's resemblance to the the Coronation of the Virgin because of Saint Susanna's position, color, and Christ waiting to crown her.

The colors that ranked second and third in frequency, gold and black, also have similar explanations of their popularity. Gold is often used to illustrate the divine or royal subjects in a piece of art because of its association with spiritual light and divine intelligence.¹⁰⁷ The lavish embellishment was not only a signifier to the patron's wealth but also alerted the viewer to the power of the featured subject. Black is prominent in the analysis because of the high proportion of nuns that were portrayed as saints. The nun's habit--a combination of black and white, dark and light--is a symbol for "penance, humility, and purity of life".¹⁰⁸ If nuns are venerated because of their commitment to Christ, then (female) viewers would make a connection between

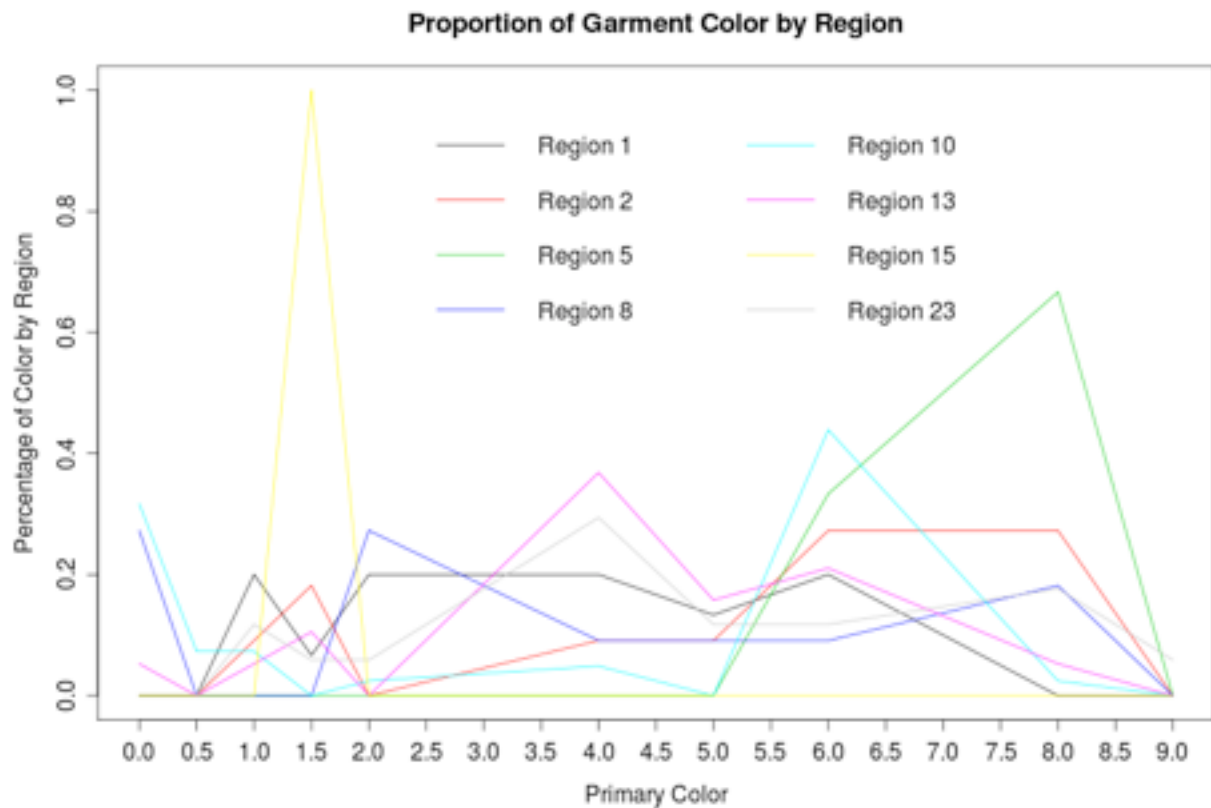
¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 29. Blue has connotations of heaven, spiritual love, and truth, which make it appropriate for the Virgin as well as the female saints.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 30.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 29. The evidence also shows that a majority of the saints were dressed in a traditional robe and stola. Within the frescoes 42 percent of the saints were wearing a robe and stola (traditional clothing of the Virgin Mary as well as other saints), while 26 percent of the saints were in traditional nun garments. These two statistics support the color inference that illustrated female saints are either emulating the Virgin or have chosen a path of worship in a convent.

a religiously devoted lifestyle, its portrayal, and how its representation is recognized by society and by Christianity. Further connotations of these ideas will be expanded in the following discussion section.

Regionally, the color distribution varied much more. In region one, 20 percent of the saints were painted in white, red, gold, and blue. In region five, 27 percent of the saints were wearing blue and violet. In contrast, approximately 67 percent of the saints were wearing violet in region five. Regions eight through twenty-three showed slightly more even distribution among the saints' colors.

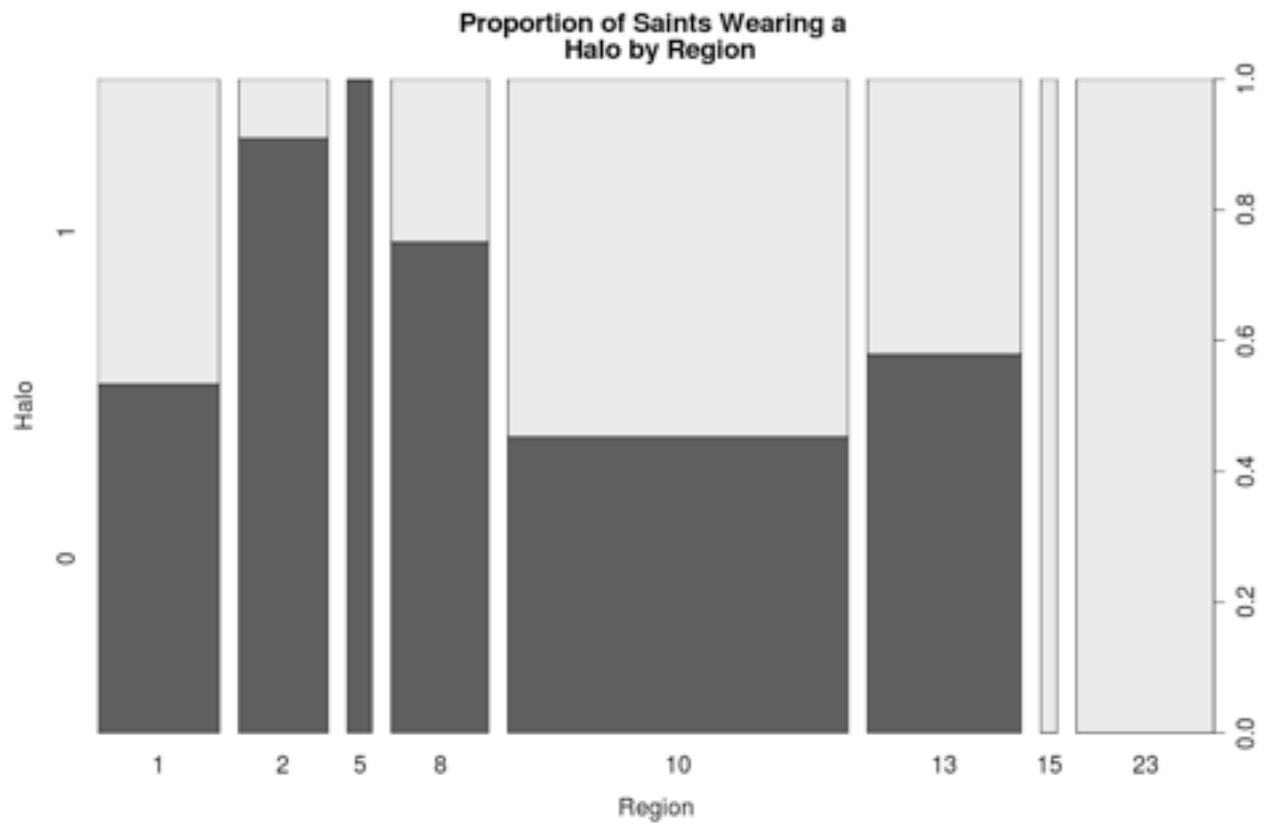


From the above graph we can see that region five tends to have saints frescoed in darker colors: blue, violet, and brown. In regions one, thirteen, and twenty-three the saints' colors are slightly lighter in contrast, ranging from red, gold, green, and blue. Although these are interesting trends

and patterns within the color scheme of the saints, the regions do not show any similarities or shared characteristics that would explain these findings.

Halo

Halos are crucial symbols within Christian art that distinguish individuals as holy or divine. Typically seen in an oval or circular shape around a figure's head, the halo is a symbol of supernatural light, and therefore it is a connection to Heaven.¹⁰⁹ Within the 121 frescoes the distribution of which saints were wearing halos and which were not was almost exactly even: 60 without, 61 with. These results carried over to the regional analysis as well.



¹⁰⁹Ibid., 59.

The above graph¹¹⁰ shows that in regions one, ten, and thirteen the appearance of halos hovered around 50 percent. While in regions two, five, and eight at least 60 percent of the female saints were without halos. Finally, in regions fifteen and twenty-three all of the frescoes had saints with halos. This may be explained by the time period in which the frescoes in these regions were painted. The frescoes within regions two, five, and eight (where we see a high percentage of females without halos) were completed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The frescoes in regions fifteen and twenty-three (where we see all female saints with halos) were painted, in their most recent restoration, in the nineteenth century. The lack of halos in the earlier frescoes may be a result of the halo's decline in artistic representation.¹¹¹

Barefoot

The discussion of saints' feet may seem trivial, but it corresponds directly to the condition of ascetic lifestyles. The foot is the closest connection, physically, that humans have with the Earth, thus these lower extremities are associated with a connection to the natural and spiritual realm. Bare feet, in particular, are a step further along the foot's symbolic path. If a saint is illustrated barefoot the association typically relates to a state of humility and bondage.¹¹² Saints who have given up their material lives in order to imitate Christ's wandering and suffering typically forgo shoes/sandals.

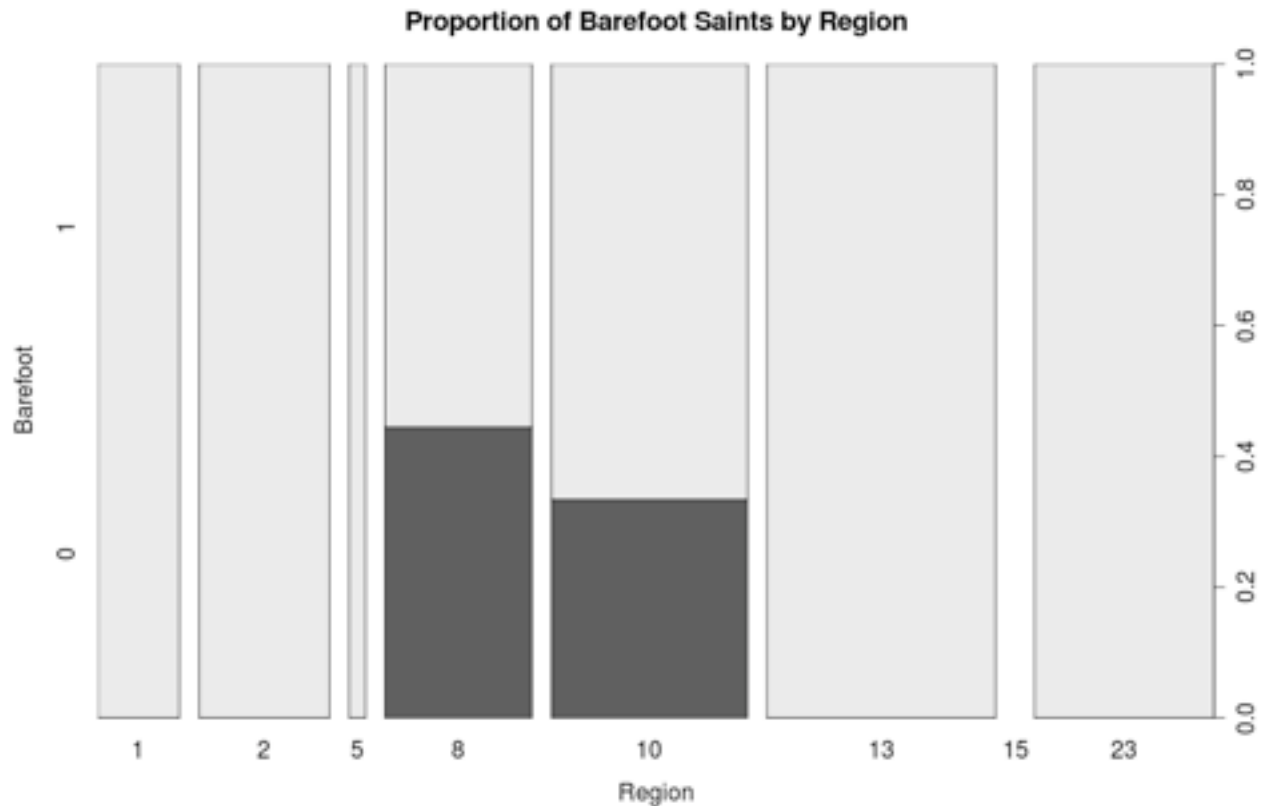
¹¹⁰ This histogram is read by the y-axis, x-axis, and the width of the bars. The width of the bars correlates to how many frescoes are in that particular region. As expected, region 10 is the thickest bar and region 15 is the thinnest bar.

¹¹¹ "Halo," in *Merriam-Webster's Encyclopedia of World Religions*, ed. Wendy Doniger (New York: Merriam Webster, Inc., 1999), 408. The halo saw a decline in representation during the fifteenth century Renaissance with the rise of naturalism. By the sixteenth century the halo was almost eliminated from Christian art when masters such as Michelangelo and Titian cut it from their works altogether.

¹¹² Sill, 62.

The distribution of the saints' footwear is a clear example of the universal concept of humility through a lack of shoes. Out of the 121 frescoes, only 60 women are painted in a position which makes their feet visible. Yet, 87 percent of the women who do show their feet are barefoot. Only 8 saints have shoes/sandals visible in the frescoes. These results indicate that when a saint's feet were illustrated, they were almost always barefoot in order to convey the saint's humbleness and servitude.

Regionally, this variable proved to be insipid because of the overarching trend for saints to have bare feet. Only in two regions, eight and ten, is there a presence of footwear.



Because these two regions split the 8 frescoes that show a female saint in shoes/sandals, the evidence is hardly worth extensive commentary. The frescoes that lack barefooted saints may

have done so only at the request of the patron or fashion trends of the day, instead of following traditional Christian artistry.

Gaze

Often described as a window to the soul, the eyes of any person are a telling aspect of their character. In Christian scripture, the eyes of God are constantly referenced to invoke omniscience and omnipotence. The saints' eyes can be a point of direction or interaction in the frescoes. As in any other visual work, the subject's gaze can be interpreted as a direction of importance. A telling example is Michelangelo's *David*. Carved from marble in 1504, the statue has a front view that exemplifies Herculean strength. Yet, the main draw of the piece is the statue's intense and aggressive eyes. The danger and imminent battle that is conveyed in the statue's gaze leads to the power of the statue, and thus it's problematic and disputed placement.¹¹³ From the *David's* influence on political and artistic trends, we are afforded an idea of the importance of the direction of a subject's eyes.

The female saints were split evenly between three different positions: forward, upward, and in the direction of a significant figure. Each of these directions has consequence in its own right. When the saints look forward (33 percent were looking forward) they are engaging with the viewer and thus can allow a closer connection between the viewer and the subject. Linking the subject of veneration directly with the audience would be a very powerful tool to stimulate a sense of feminine space and culture in both the church and Christianity. Nonetheless, instead of

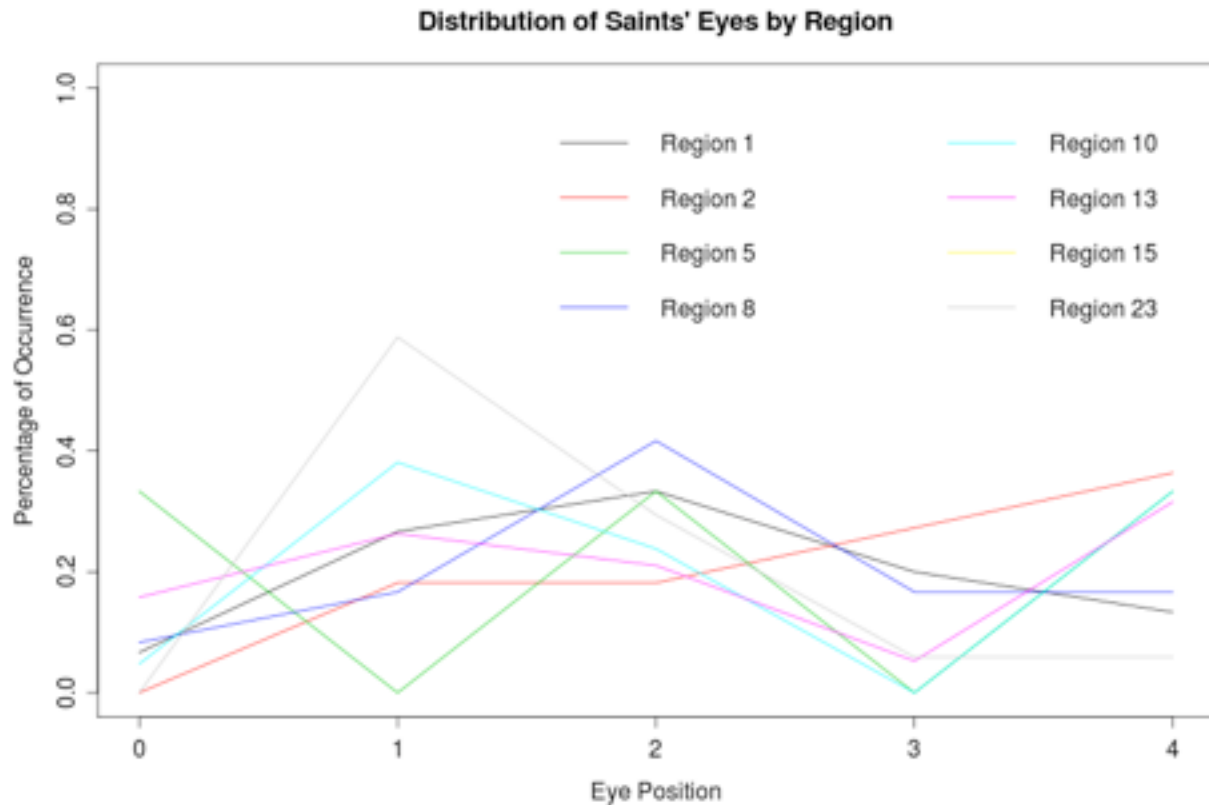
¹¹³ Saul Levine, "The Location of Michelangelo's David: The Meeting of January 25, 1504," in *The Art Bulletin*, 56 (March 1974): 33. The *David's* position was disputed because of the recent exile of the Medici family from Florence. Some believed that the statue should gaze south towards the Medici family (the dangerous Goliath) and others--Medici sympathizers--were keen to place the statue in the Loggia dei Lanzi to avoid the political implications of the gaze.

using the saints' gaze to directly engage the viewer the saints' eyes could guide the viewer to another point of reference within the fresco.

The second most common direction of the saints' gaze was upwards (27 percent of saints look upwards). In a large number of frescoes heaven is painted as white clouds, a bright light, or a dove or angel overhead. Even if the scene lacks a traditional symbolic elements of heaven, an upward gaze will associate the saint with thoughts of Paradise. Just as before, the gaze of the painted figure will guide the gaze of the viewer towards heaven, and once again the audience is led from a Christian woman to heaven--thereby linking women with positivity and eternal bliss.

Thirdly, the saints were looking towards another prominent figure (25 percent of the saints were looking towards another character). Significant subjects within a fresco were limited to religious figures, such as the embodiment of God, Christ, the Virgin Mary, or symbolic representations of these characters (i.e. a lamb or dove). As previously stated the gaze is a powerful tool to guide the viewer from one area of the fresco to another, or to another area of the church entirely (some saints were looking towards the high altar).

Regionally, there is also an even distribution. Regions one and eight both have at least 30 percent of the female saints looking upwards towards heaven; regions two and thirteen have at least 31 percent of the female saints looking towards a prominent figure in the fresco; and in regions ten and twenty-three at least 38 percent of the saints looking forwards towards the viewer.



Graphically, the trend is easy to follow since there are peaks, at least an increasing trend, in almost all of the regions at the x-axis location 1, 2, and 4. From this graph we can also see that, excluding region eight, there are oscillations in the distributions that fluctuates between approximately 0.10 and 0.40.

Statistical Discussion

The results of these statistical analyses shows several patterns within the female saint frescoes. The regions that are most important are one, Rione I Monti, and ten, Rione X Campitelli, because of the church clusterings within them. As previously discussed, the landmarks of political and religious significance that occupy those two regions make them 1) extremely important sites within the city center, 2) compelling in the history and traditions of

ancient Rome and Christianity, and 3) crucial bodies of symbolic architecture with which female saints are associated. Therefore, in order to compile a cohesive image of the female frescoes, the other six variables will be compared to regions one and ten. Although regions one and ten have ten of the eighteen churches within them, it is important to remember that the regions only account for 57 out of the 121 frescoes.

Simply because a church is dedicated to a female saint does not necessarily mean that the interior decorations will all be devoted to her. In fact, one of the saints that had the highest proportion of appearance in the set of frescoes, Saint Frances of Rome, does not have a church dedicated in her name. Region ten, though, has a multitude of 13 frescoed depictions of Saint Frances. Because Saint Frances is a local saint within the region, the repetition of her image is an attribute of her local cult following. Saint Frances's popularity within the city led to her illustration in a number of churches at poignant locations of the city. Moreover, the reoccurrence of Saint Frances stems from the fact that her story was so well known that she could have been a successful saint within a church to encourage piety and worship. These same conclusions can be applied to the frescoes of Saint Cecilia and Saint Susanna, both of whom are local saints.

After identifying the female saint within the fresco, the secondary subjects within the fresco become extremely important. In region one, 47 percent of the female saints were pictured without any male companions, while in region ten 59.5 percent of the saints were pictured without men. In comparison, the female saints in region one showed that 53 percent did not have any female counterparts (26.6 percent were painted with one other female) and in region ten 59.5 percent were painted alone (19 percent were illustrated with one other female). If we combine the results from the secondary male and female subjects we can see that the overarching trend in

both regions is to fresco the female saints alone or with one other character. Thus, the female saints are prominent; they do not need secondary subjects to provide context for their place in Christianity. More importantly, these women do not need male partnership or guardianship in order to legitimize their veneration or place in the Christian art.

The color of the saints' garments is also of particular interest because the color, like the secondary subjects, prove to be representative of femininity. The Virgin Mary is undoubtedly the figure the saints are referencing when they are illustrated in blue. In region ten over 43 percent of the saints wore blue as their primary color. Yet, in region one we have a slight variation. The previous color analysis indicated that region one had a split percentage of saints in white, red, gold, and blue (each approximately 20 percent). The majority of the saints in region one are martyrs which accounts for the separation from the Madonna's blue. Red and gold allude to the saints' *passio* and subsequent veneration and canonization while white and blue are traditional references to purity, virginity, and the Virgin. It is also possible to see a connection between the high number of martyrs represented in the frescoes of region one and the presence of the Colosseum in the same region. Since the Colosseum was a popular arena for the execution of Christians in Rome, their presence in local churches is understandable. The women martyred inside and outside the Colosseum developed a strategic place within Christianity as symbols of veneration.

Martyrdom was used in Early Christianity as a path to sanctity. As the martyrdom of saints became more rare after the legalization of Christianity in the fourth century, the need to distinguish between saints and the laity in visual art became unnecessary. The results of the Halo variable show that in both regions one and ten the distribution of halos were split evenly. One

possible explanation of this 50/50 distribution is that halos were used only when necessary to illustrate to the viewer that the subject was indeed a saint. Eliminating the halo from figures such as Christ, Mary, or the apostles would not be detrimental to educating the public about which characters to worship because of their prominent position within services. In the case of lesser known female saints, however, the use of halos in church art would be instrumental in alerting the audience of the woman's status as a saint. Teaching the women in the community the importance of female saints is a crucial link for women participating in religious life and in the acknowledgment of women's place and gravity within the religion, and connecting/inspiring a female audience.

Parallel to the importance of halos as didactic symbols, the saints' feet are another such symbol. Due to the fact that less than 40 percent of the saints in only one region, ten, have some sort of footwear, the impact of bare feet is one-sided. Every saint in region one, and the majority of the saints in every other region, are barefoot. This associates them with Christ's wanderings and devotion to an ascetic lifestyle. In contrast to the complete didactic nature of the halo, bare feet do not seem to have the same optionality--they have bare feet if they are saints.

Furthermore, the absence of footwear illuminates the fact that the viewer should be cautious about valuing material goods (i.e. shoes, clothes, jewelry) because those aspects do not make a person holy or worthy of a place in heaven. The consistency in the quantitative analysis demonstrates the universality of this rule and teaching in Christian art.

Finally, the gaze of the saint needs to be placed in conjunction with the regional distribution of the churches and the importance of its presence within the frescoes. In region one 30 percent of the saints are looking upwards towards heaven, and in region ten 38 percent of the

saints are looking towards the audience. The direction could be associated either with femininity or a subjection to masculinity. If the saints were looking towards the viewer, then it is reasonable to think that the worshippers would be more engaged with the saint.

If the majority of the audience were women, such as in convents, then it is reasonable to see that the images would have had a stronger visual appeal to female worshippers. Envisioning the audience as a female dominated group this framework is appropriate to acknowledge that the female saints' gaze was intended for women. This would then create solidarity between the painted and actual woman over their participation in Christianity. If the saint was looking towards a figure the result could spark two different outcomes. First, the saint could continue the patriarchal hierarchy in the church by looking towards Christ or a male embodiment of God. However, if the saint was to look towards the Madonna, another female saint, or Christ on the Cross then the female saint would be perpetuating the prominence of female veneration or the emulation of Christ's suffering. Instead of reiterating the importance of each path of the gaze, this variable can be used as a gateway to the limitations of the statistical analysis.

The definition of the different categories (i.e. the direction of the gaze, the location of the fresco, the color of the garments) has flaws. Similar to the Location and Action variables, simplifying the frescoes into typified levels could potentially lead to mislabeling or inconsistencies. For example, there were certain saints that were looking upwards, but above them was a prominent figure, such as Christ. Should that saint have been labeled as looking upwards or towards an important subject? These types of problems were the largest drawbacks of the project.

What do we lose when we reduce a visual image into a set of numbers? By taking a vibrant and emotive piece of art and simplifying it into levels and categories of color, location, eye movement, etc., how can we fully understand the fresco as a tool within ecclesiastical decoration? Using typology to dissect a complex system, such as an artwork, could inadvertently overlook something. Reducing an image into numerical categories consequently strips the image of its sentimentalism and tempestuous persuasion. These questions and limitations do steer a variety of art historians away from a quantitative approach to their discipline, but the value gained by the analysis outweighs the limitations. The general patterns and regional distributions of the saints would be nearly impossible without the help of a quantitative methodology. The ardent nature of the artworks, while temporarily lost during the analysis, is restored to an even greater extent once the quantitative analyses illuminate the impact, spread, and consequence of the pieces. The combination of visual analysis and statistical analysis presents and emphasizes the most complete picture of the artworks, which thereby allows us to conclude that saints in regions one and ten were most likely frescoed alone, painted in blue, barefoot, looking upwards or forwards, and wearing a halo if they were lesser known.

Conclusions

The frescoes in Sant' Agnese are a prime example of the aforementioned use of art and suffering to promote Catholic values determined by Rome's standards of religious representation formalized at the Council of Trent. The permanence of the frescoes allows the worshippers of Sant' Agnese to repeatedly interact with and interpret the female subjects. Especially significant

is the largest fresco, above the apse, that displays Saint Agnes's death. Her beauty, tranquility, and her assurance of the bliss awaiting her in the Kingdom of Heaven exemplify her self-sacrifice as an archetype of female Christianity. Furthermore, the style of painting--grand, pious, and easy to interpret--make the fresco a successful didactic tool for the Church. The location and subject matter of *The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes* ensures that the visual culture of sacrificial veneration is evident to the worshippers of Sant' Agnese.

The sixteen subsequent frescoes that line the walls of the nave further reinforce the dynamism of the first. The illustration of female martyrs ensures that they are identifiable and recognized as models for the female portion of the audience. The sheer volume of frescoes surrounds the viewer with the concept of female self-suffering and piety. One can imagine that upon entering Sant' Agnese, the worshipper would be surrounded with images, relics, and stories of feminine virtue and reverence, which in turn makes this church successful in translating the presence and importance of women in Christianity. The frescoes illustrate the possibilities of feminine virtue and devotion, making the church a place where women in the early modern period could aspire to be saved in a manner associated with their femininity.

Equally important to the interpretation of the frescoes is the architectural construction and location of Sant' Agnese. The female domination of the urban setting around Sant' Agnese indicates how the area was highly feminized by the structural elements (i.e. Sant' Agnese, Santa Constanza, and the mausoleum of Santa Constanza). Within the church of Saint Agnes the *matroneum* further exemplifies the way the structure itself was feminized. By separating female worshippers from the clergy and male community the second floor gallery was a gendered space that changed the interactions between the women and the interior decoration.

The elevated vantage point from the second gallery shortened the distance between the women and the frescoes, which tightened and strengthened female worshippers' interactions with the illustrated martyrs. Instead of being interspersed with the men (within the context of patriarchal Christian gender roles) and thus dominated by men, the elevation and separation allowed women a minor amount of autonomy to experience Catholicism with other women--question, meditate, and revel in the power of Christ through highly feminine discourses and opinions. Comparatively, the men were closer to the round medallion paintings of popes, which would allow them to connect to the masculine space within a church.¹¹⁴

Within the larger context of the project, the structural significance of the churches were directly related to the monuments and other churches near where they were situated. In the case of region one and ten, the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore, San Giovanni in Laterano, the Circus Maximus, and the Colosseum were architectural indicators of the power in the region. The fact that these two regions proved to have the most churches with female dominated frescoes shows how feminine worship was not a marginalized practice in early modern Italy. The centrality of the churches gives their interior decoration more consequence because more worshippers would have interacted with them, thus allowing the ideas of feminine worship to reach a wider audience.

In accordance with the power associated with the Sant' Agnese paintings, the frescoes from the seventeen other churches prove to be riveting as well. The trends found within the complete body of frescoes supports and confirms the conclusions drawn from Sant' Agnese. The statistical descriptions indicate that female saints were usually Marian imitations painted as

¹¹⁴ Frutaz 43. The round medallion paintings on the lowest part of the nave walls depicted Popes Liberius, Gregory the Great, Innocent I, Onorio I, Adrian I, Pasquale I, Julius II, Leo XI, Paul V, and Pius XI.

independent figures, engaging the audience or heaven, barefoot and with a halo. These aspects are consistent with the visual analysis of the Sant'Agnese frescoes, illuminating the saints' chastity, piety, and sacrifice. Therefore, we can conclude that the general trend of frescoes continued to create and contribute a layer of feminized worship within churches in early modern Rome.

Although the gendered hierarchy in Catholicism has yet to be abolished (women are still excluded from the clergy and papacy), the frescoes within Sant'Agnese and the other seventeen churches allude to the sexual equality inherently *possible* within salvation. Given that Christianity is founded on the bodily sacrifice of the male, Jesus Christ, it is astounding that females have found such a role alongside him. Parallel to Christ, the Virgin Mary is the most represented and important female figure within the religion, which suggests the power and responsibility assigned to Christian women. As women within the frescoes demonstrate, the doctrine of Christianity elevates and sacralizes women's roles within a patriarchal society, using religion as a vehicle to legitimize the powerful position of women within the Catholic church.

The endurance, sacrifice, and personal tranquility illustrated by the female saints shows that Christianity has an avenue for realizing sanctity through feminine means. Because the stories of the female saints are translated from the written word to a visual representation of feminine salvation, the locations of the illustrations become sites of feminized worship. It is not unreasonable to draw the conclusion from the saints in these frescoes that a woman within an early modern audience would experience a feminized form of Catholic devotion.

Appendix A

Proportional Tables for All Variables used for Statistical Descriptions

Region

	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
	0.12	0.09	0.02	0.10	0.35	0.16	0.02	0.14

Region

Date	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
15	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.16	0.00	0.00	0.00
16	0.09	0.07	0.00	0.08	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00
17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.00
18	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
19	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20

Region

Patron	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
0	0.11	0.09	0.02	0.04	0.26	0.06	0.02	0.00
1	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.09	0.10	0.00	0.14

Region

Total.Subjects	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
1	0.025	0.033	0.000	0.033	0.174	0.058	0.008	0.132
2	0.017	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.017	0.025	0.000	0.000
3	0.025	0.008	0.000	0.008	0.017	0.008	0.000	0.000
4	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.033	0.008	0.000	0.000
5	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.017	0.025	0.000	0.000	0.000
6	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.008	0.025	0.000	0.000	0.000
7	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.017	0.000	0.000	0.000
8	0.008	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000
9	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.017	0.008	0.000	0.000
10	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
11	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.008	0.000	0.000
12	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.017	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

```

13 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000
14 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000
16 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.000
18 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000
19 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.008
20 0.017 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000
22 0.000 0.017 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000
23 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000
24 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000
26 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000
32 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000
33 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000
50 0.000 0.017 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000

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                Region
FemSubjects    1     2     5     8    10    13    15    23
0 0.066 0.058 0.017 0.066 0.207 0.099 0.008 0.132
1 0.033 0.017 0.008 0.000 0.066 0.025 0.000 0.000
2 0.025 0.008 0.000 0.008 0.041 0.000 0.008 0.000
3 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.017 0.008 0.008 0.000 0.008
5 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.008 0.000 0.000
8 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000
9 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000
10 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.000
15 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.000
21 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000

```

```

                Region
IdentFem      1     2     5     8    10    13    15    23
0 0.05 0.10 0.00 0.10 0.31 0.12 0.02 0.02
1 0.12 0.00 0.02 0.00 0.10 0.05 0.00 0.00

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                Region
MaleSubjects  1     2     5     8    10    13    15    23
0 0.058 0.033 0.000 0.033 0.207 0.041 0.017 0.132
1 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.033 0.050 0.000 0.000
2 0.008 0.008 0.000 0.008 0.033 0.008 0.000 0.000
3 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.017 0.033 0.008 0.000 0.000

```

4	0.000	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
5	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.000	0.000
6	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000
7	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.017	0.017	0.000	0.000
8	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
9	0.008	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
12	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
14	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
15	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008
16	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000
17	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
18	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000
19	0.008	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
20	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
21	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
22	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000
23	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
31	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000
47	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Region

IdentMale	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
0	0.03	0.08	0.05	0.08	0.17	0.19	0.00	0.00
1	0.10	0.03	0.00	0.05	0.12	0.05	0.02	0.02

Region

Garment	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
1	0.008	0.025	0.000	0.017	0.017	0.008	0.000	0.017
2	0.050	0.050	0.008	0.033	0.058	0.099	0.017	0.107
3	0.033	0.000	0.008	0.008	0.025	0.017	0.000	0.000
4	0.017	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008
5	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
6	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.017	0.025	0.000	0.000
7	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008
8	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.025	0.231	0.008	0.000	0.000

	Region							
PriColor	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
0	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.025	0.109	0.008	0.000	0.000
0.5	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.025	0.000	0.000	0.000
1	0.025	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.025	0.008	0.000	0.017
1.5	0.008	0.017	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.017	0.017	0.008
2	0.025	0.000	0.000	0.025	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.008
4	0.025	0.008	0.000	0.008	0.017	0.059	0.000	0.042
5	0.017	0.008	0.000	0.008	0.000	0.025	0.000	0.017
6	0.025	0.025	0.008	0.008	0.151	0.034	0.000	0.017
8	0.000	0.025	0.017	0.017	0.008	0.008	0.000	0.025
9	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008

	Region							
SeColor	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
1	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.31	0.10	0.00	0.00
1.5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
2	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.09
4	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.04
5	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01
6	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00
8	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
9	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00

	Region							
TerColor	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1

	Region							
Hair	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
0	0.035	0.009	0.009	0.026	0.287	0.026	0.000	0.009
1	0.017	0.043	0.000	0.061	0.017	0.000	0.017	0.000
2	0.052	0.043	0.017	0.017	0.061	0.113	0.000	0.139

		Region							
Halo		1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
0	0.066	0.083	0.025	0.074	0.157	0.091	0.000	0.000	
1	0.058	0.008	0.000	0.025	0.190	0.066	0.017	0.140	

		Region							
Barefoot		1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	
1	0.08	0.13	0.02	0.08	0.13	0.23	0.00	0.18	

		Region							
Object1		1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
1	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.04	0.11	0.09	0.01	0.00	
2	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.02	
3	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.00	
4	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.00	
5	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
6	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.11	
7	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	
8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	
9	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	

		Region							
Object2		1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
1	0.07	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.03	0.00	
2	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.03	
3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	
4	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	
6	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.03	
9	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.07	0.03	0.00	0.00	
10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	

		Region							
Object3		1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	
2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	

4 0.0 0.1 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.1 0.0
 6 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.1 0.0 0.1
 7 0.0 0.1 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0
 9 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.1 0.1 0.0 0.0 0.0

Region
 Position 1 2 5 8 10 13 15 23
 0 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.099 0.000 0.000 0.000
 1 0.099 0.041 0.017 0.017 0.174 0.099 0.017 0.132
 2 0.008 0.025 0.000 0.058 0.050 0.017 0.000 0.000
 3 0.008 0.025 0.000 0.017 0.017 0.033 0.000 0.008
 4 0.008 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000
 5 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.000

Region
 Action 1 2 5 8 10 13 15 23
 0 0.050 0.042 0.008 0.042 0.218 0.092 0.000 0.109
 1 0.076 0.050 0.008 0.050 0.134 0.067 0.017 0.034

Region
 Eyes 1 2 5 8 10 13 15 23
 0 0.008 0.000 0.008 0.008 0.017 0.025 0.000 0.000
 1 0.034 0.017 0.000 0.017 0.134 0.042 0.000 0.084
 2 0.042 0.017 0.008 0.042 0.084 0.034 0.000 0.042
 3 0.025 0.025 0.000 0.017 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.008
 4 0.017 0.034 0.008 0.017 0.118 0.050 0.000 0.008

Region
 Architecture 1 2 5 8 10 13 15 23
 0 0.091 0.050 0.000 0.058 0.256 0.116 0.008 0.132
 1 0.033 0.041 0.025 0.041 0.091 0.041 0.008 0.008

Region
 Location 1 2 5 8 10 13 15 23
 1 0.058 0.017 0.000 0.000 0.017 0.074 0.000 0.140
 2 0.017 0.008 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.008 0.000
 3 0.008 0.025 0.000 0.000 0.099 0.000 0.000 0.000
 4 0.017 0.025 0.000 0.000 0.000 0.008 0.000 0.000

5	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.025	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
6	0.008	0.017	0.000	0.000	0.033	0.017	0.008	0.000
7	0.008	0.000	0.025	0.074	0.190	0.058	0.000	0.000

	Region							
Chapel	1	2	5	8	10	13	15	23
0	0.107	0.091	0.000	0.000	0.124	0.074	0.008	0.140
1	0.017	0.000	0.025	0.099	0.223	0.083	0.008	0.000

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