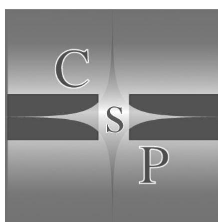
Art Re-formed

Art Re-formed
Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts

Edited by

Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams



CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS PUBLISHING

Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts, edited by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams

This book first published 2007 by

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

15 Angerton Gardens, Newcastle, NE5 2JA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2007 by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.
ISBN 1-84718-311-5; ISBN 13: 9781847183118

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations vii
Editors' Acknowledgements xi

Introduction 1
Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams

1. The Visual Arts and their Functions in the English Pre-Reformation Church 15
Phillip Lindley

Part I: PORTRAITURE

2. Predestined Lives? Portraiture and Religious Belief in England and Wales, 1560-1620 49
Tarnya Cooper

3. "Saved through childbearing": a Godly Context for Elizabethan Pregnancy Portraits 65
Karen Hearn

4. The Reformation of an Icon: Portraits of Christ in Protestant England 71
Richard L. Williams

5. Group Portraits of the Protestant Reformers 87
Pamela Tudor-Craig

Part II: INTERIORS

6. The Reformation of the Virtues in Sixteenth-Century German Art and Decoration 105
Andrew Morrall

7. Images and Ethics in Reformation Political Discourse: the Paintings at Sir Thomas Smith's Hill Hall 127
Richard Simpson

8. The Appreciation of Religious Images in Plasterwork in the Protestant Domestic Interior 147
Tara Hamling

9. Vredeman de Vries' "Last Judgement" in Gdansk: a Calvinist Reinterpretation of a Catholic Iconography 169
Barbara Uppenkamp

Part III: PRINT

10. Images in Books: Foxe *Eikonoklastes* 183
Brian Cummings

11. Pictures of Print: Pierre Ramus, William Perkins and the Reformed Imagination 201
Raphael Hallet

12. A Dutch Devil in Derbyshire: Adaptation and Appropriation in a 1624 Broadside 215
Helen Pierce

Part IV: COMMEMORATION

13. "In the cause of his God and true religion": Sir Philip Sidney, the *Sequitur Celebritas*, and the Cult of the Protestant Martyr 227
Elizabeth Goldring

14. Art and Idolatry: Reformed Funeral Monuments? 243
Margaret Aston

15. Afterword: 267
Art Re-formed: Spiritual Revolution, Spatial Re-location
Maurice Howard

List of Contributors 275
Index 279

List of Illustrations

Colour Plates

1 *The Ascension of Christ*, carved alabaster panel of 1400-1425 in a painted wooden frame dated 1689, 60 cm x 77 cm (open) x 21 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, A.112-1946. By permission of V&A Images/Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

2 Unknown British School, *Portrait of Gawen Goodman*, oil on panel, dated 1582, National Museum of Wales (NMWA 3453).

3 Anon., *Head of Christ*, oil on panel, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, English (London, art market).

4 Anon., *The Protestant Reformers*, painting in the Society of Antiquaries, post 1654, probably post 1662. © The Society of Antiquaries of London. Photographed by John Hammond.

5 Heinrich Sulzer (attrib.), *Family of Hans Conrad Bodmer, Landvogt zu Greifensee and Bürgermeister of Zürich*, oil on canvas, 1643, Zurich, National Landesmuseum, Dep. 3721.

6 "Popular iconoclasm in Judah", 2 Chronicles 31.1, wall painting at Hill Hall, Essex, 1568-69, original size, approx. 2.6 m x 2.3 m. Photograph: Richard Simpson.

7 *Moses* (left), *Pentecost* (centre) and *King David* (right), plasterwork overmantel of c.1635-40 in no. 10, The Butterwalk, Dartmouth, Devon. Photograph: Tara Hamling.

8 Gdansk Town Hall, Red Room. Photograph: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska.

9 Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Last Judgement*, oil on canvas, 1594/95, 146 cm x 260 cm. Photograph: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska.

10 Opening of Book IX: "Actes and thynges done in the reigne of kyng Edward the 6.", John Foxe, *The first* [second] *volume of the Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes*, 2 vols (London: John Daye, 1570). © Trinity College, Cambridge, C.17.25, fol. 2: 1483.

11 Workshop of Claes Jansz. Visscher, *A Pass for the Romish Rabble, to the Pope of Rome through the Divels Arse of Peake*, engraving, c.1624, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

12 *The Deposition*, stained glass panel, English, dated 1629, 81.3 cm x 41.9 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, C.62-1927. By permission of V&A Images/Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figures

1.1 Burying the Dead, painted-glass roundel from a series of the Seven Works of Mercy, originally from 18 Highcross Street, Leicester, c.1500-1520. Photograph: Sophie Oosterwijk. 38

1.2 Bishop Fox's chapel, Winchester Cathedral. Photograph: John Crook. 39

1.3 St Albans Abbey, Great Screen (sculptural programme a nineteenth-century restoration). Photograph: John Crook. 40

1.4 Eton wall painting. Photograph: Phillip Lindley. 41

1.5 Statue of St John the Evangelist, Westminster Abbey, Henry VII's Chapel. Photograph: Professor Helmut Gernsheim. 42

1.6 Statue of St Wilgefort/Uncumber from Henry VII chapel. Photograph: Phillip Lindley. 43

1.7 Virgin and Child statue from Winchester Cathedral. Photograph: John Crook. 44

1.8 Rubbing of brass to Sir Peter Legh, 1527, Winwick, Lancashire. (Rubbing by Patrick Farman). 45

2.1 Unknown British School, *Portrait of William Naylor*, dated 1562, oil on panel, current location unknown. 61

2.2 Unknown British School, *Portrait of Edward Goodman*, c.1560, oil on panel, National Museum of Wales (NMWA 3450). 62

2.3 Unknown British School, *Portrait of John Case*, dated 1590, oil on panel, St John's College, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of The President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford. 63

3.1 The Visitation, in Ashton Church, Devon. Photograph: Karen Hearn. 69

3.2 Marcus Gheeraerts II attrib. *Portrait of an Unknown Lady*, c.1595, oil on panel, © Tate, London 2007. 70

4.1 Portrait Medal of Christ, bronze. Italian, c.1490s. Private Collection. 85

4.2 *Head of Christ* with folding side panels, oil on panel, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, English (Christies sale, 1982). 86

5.1 *The Lamb Speaketh*, German engraving, (Emden, 1556). Second state with some inscriptions translated into English. BM P&D Y.1.92. By permission of The British Museum. 98

5.2 Hans Baldung (Grien), *Martin Luther*, woodcut from title page of Luther, *Acta et res gestae*… (Strasbourg, Johann Scott, 1521), reversing print of 1520 by Lucas Cranach. Luther as Augustinian saint, with Holy Dove hovering over him. BM P&D 1871-8-12.1423. By permission of The British Museum. 99

5.3 Detail from title page of Luther's *Table Talk*, 1567 edn. Photograph: The Warburg Institute Photographic Collection. 100

5.4 *Dr James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh*, engraving dated 1656. BM P&D P.3.36. By permission of The British Museum. 101

5.5 Print of *The Protestant Reformers*, seventeenth century, BM P&D 1877-12-8-325. Note Latimer, Ridley and Tindal ousting Hus. By permission of The British Museum. 102

6.1 Anon. "Spes", "Charitas" and "Fides", detail from the Vault of the *Marienkirche*, Pirna, c.1544-46, fresco. 122

6.2 Johannes Schünnemann (cast by Benedikt Wurzelbauer), *Fountain of the Virtues*, 1583-89, Nuremberg, adjacent to the Lorenzkirche. 123

6.3 Cornelis Anthonisz., *The Wise Man and Wise Woman*, woodcut (N122, H. 38), c.1540, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. 124

6.4 The "Hercules Cabinet", Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Sig. für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, inv. no. 883. 125

7.1 "The Prophet Isaiah visits the sick King Hezekiah", 2 Kings 20.1-7. Woodcut by Bernard Salomon, from *La Sainte Bible* (Lyons: Jean de Tournes, 1554), part 1, 353. Original size 80mm x 56mm. Private collection. 142

7.2 Tile fragment showing part of an image of *Magnanimity*. From Hill Hall, Essex, 1568-69. Original size, approx. 140mm x 140mm. Author's photograph. 143

7.3 *Magnanimitas* or *Magnanimity*. Frans Floris, engraved by Cornelis Cort for Hieronymous Cock, (Antwerp, 1560). Original size, 281mm x 185 mm. © The Trustees of the British Museum. 144

7.4 *Lussuria* or *Lust* (detail). Luca Penni, etched by "L. D." (Léon Davent?), Paris, c.1550-60. Original size overall, 300mm x 460mm. Private collection. 145

8.1 *Pentecost* (centre) surrounded by scenes from the Old and New Testaments and flanked by figures of *Moses* (left) and *King David* (right), plasterwork overmantel, removed in the nineteenth century from a house in Lower Street, Dartmouth, Devon, c.1635-40. Private Collection. 164

8.2 *The Resurrection* (and *Ascension*), detail of plasterwork overmantel depicted in Figure 8.1. 165

8.3 *The Resurrection*, carved alabaster panel, late fourteenth century, English, 38 cm x 26.9 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, A. 61-1926. By permission of V&A Images/Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 165
8.4 *The Annunciation* (centre), plasterwork overmantel, c.1620, formerly in 69, High Street, Barnstaple, now in the Museum of North Devon. Reproduced courtesy of the Museum of Barnstaple and North Devon. 166
8.5 View of the Great Hall at Craigievar Castle, Aberdeenshire, engraving of c.1848 after a drawing by R. W. Billings. Reproduced courtesy of The National Trust for Scotland. 167

9.1 Hans Memling, *Last Judgement*, oil on panel, Muzeum Narodowe, Gdansk. Photograph: SLUB Dresden, Deutsche Fotothek. 180

10.1 “The burning of the Archbishop of Cant[erbury] D[octor] Tho[mas] Cranmer, in the Towndich at Oxford, with his hand first thrust into the fire, wherewith he subscribed before”, John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perrilous dayes* (London: Iohn Day, 1563). © Lambeth Palace Library, **H5067.A5, fol. 1888. 197
10.2 “Tho. Bilney being in prison, diuers tymes proueth the fire with hys finger”, John Foxe, *The first [second] volume of the Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes*, 2 vols (London: John Daye, 1570). © Lambeth Palace Library, Syn. Arc. A82.7/F83 (1570), fol. 2: 1151. 198
10.3 “The burning of Tho[mas] Tomkins hand, by B[ishop] Boner, who not long after burnt also his body”, John Foxe, *The first [second] volume of the Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes*, 2 vols (London: John Daye, 1570). © Lambeth Palace Library, Syn. Arc. A82.7/F83 (1570), fol. 2: 1710. 199
10.4 “The burnyng of Rose Allins hands by Syr Edmund Tirrell, as she was goyng to fetch drinke for her mother, lying sicke in her bed”, John Foxe, *The first [second] volume of the Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes*, 2 vols (London: John Daye, 1570). © Lambeth Palace Library, Syn. Arc. A82.7/F83 (1570), fol. 2: 2199. 200

11.1 “Tabulis Generalis” in Pierre Ramus, *Dialectica Institutiones*, (Basle, 1576), 93. 211
11.2 Taxonomy in Giordano Bruno, *Ars Reminiscendi*, (London, 1583), 108. 212
11.3 “De Lines & Angulis” in Pierre Ramus, Dialectica Institutiones, (Basle, 1576). 213
11.4 “The causes of salvation and damnation” in William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine*, (Cambridge, 1592), folded table. 214

12.1 Unknown engraver, *Pfuh Tevfel Friss Pfaffen Scheiss Landsknecht*, c.1590, engraving, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: IH 16. 224

13.1 Thomas Lant and Theodor De Bry, plate 2 from *Sequitur celebritas* ... (1588): Sir Philip Sidney’s hearse in St Paul’s Cathedral, together with the two conductors to the poor at the head of his funeral procession, 1587. By permission of the British Library, London (shelf mark C.20.f.12). 239
13.2 Hendrick Goltzius, plate 1 from *Haec pompa funebris* ... (1584): William of Orange’s hearse in Delft Cathedral, 1584. By permission of the British Library, London (shelf mark C.160.c.11). 240
13.3 Hendrick Hondius, plate 2 from *Beschryvinge* ... (1615): Walraven de Brederode’s hearse in Delft Cathedral, 1614, together with the beginning of his funeral procession. By permission of the British Library, London (shelf mark 557*.b.21). 241
13.4 Jan van de Velde the Younger, plate 1 from *Haec pompa funebris* ... (1626): Maurits of Nassau’s hearse in Delft Cathedral, 1625, together with the beginning of his funeral procession. By permission of the British Library, London (shelf mark N.Tab.2024/27). 242

14.1 Monument to Richard duke of York (d. 1460), erected 1573, Church of All Saints, Fotheringhay (Northants.).Photograph: National Monuments Record. 262

14.2 Monument to Edmund Chapman (d. 1602), in St Mary’s church, Dedham (Essex). 263

14.3 Monument to Lady Margaret Hoby (d. 1605), in church of All Saints, Bisham (Berks.). Photograph: Anthony Kersting, reproduced with kind permission. 264

14.4 Monument to Sir Nathaniel Bacon (d. 1615), ? by Giles de Witt, Church of St John the Baptist, Stiffkey (Norfolk). Photograph: Courtauld Institute. 265

14.5 Memorial inscription to John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester (d. 1650), Church of St Giles, Bredon (Worcs.). Photograph: National Monuments Record. 266

15.1 Forde Abbey, Dorset. The northern arm of the cloister, enclosed after the Reformation, and on the right the chapter house, converted to a chapel. Photograph: Maurice Howard. 273

15.2 St Martin's Church, Wareham, Dorset. The chancel arch with remains of medieval indented patterns and stars, black-letter inscription of about 1600 and the Royal Arms of 1713. Photograph: Maurice Howard. 274

Note on copyright

Every reasonable effort has been made to identify the current location of the portrait of William Naylor, a photograph of which is reproduced as Figure 2.1. Without information about the location of the portrait it has not been possible to acknowledge any copyright owners.

EDITORS' ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book results from a desire to revisit and reassess long-standing assumptions about the impact of the Reformation on the visual arts, particularly in Britain. The aims and themes of this project were first announced and interrogated as the subject of a conference held at the University of Sussex in April 2005. This conference was supported by a British Academy Conference Grant, the University's School of Humanities research fund and a conference grant awarded by the Society for Renaissance Studies. The conference was held under the auspices of the Centre for Reformation and Early Modern Studies at the University of Sussex. We would like to thank colleagues in the Department of Art History and the School of Humanities at Sussex—in particular Michelle O'Malley, Maurice Howard and Nigel Llewellyn—for support and advice in planning and hosting this conference. In addition we are grateful to Evelyn Welch for writing in support of our applications for funding and Steve Wharton who provided much practical help towards and during the event.

It goes without saying that it would have been impossible to produce this volume without the support, commitment and efforts of the contributors. We are enormously grateful to all the authors for responding to the central themes of this project with such enthusiasm and alacrity, and for revising their essays in the light of editorial suggestions. It should be pointed out that all the contributors have supported the project financially, as well as intellectually, by bearing the costs of fees for copyright and permissions to reproduce images in published form. Their goodwill as well as their scholarship has produced this book. We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Margaret Aston in particular. Her characteristically enthusiastic and supportive response to this project highlights her role in encouraging and promoting the work of other scholars in the field, alongside her own formidable research activities.

We are grateful to Andy Nercessian at Cambridge Scholars Publishing for recognising and supporting this project from an early stage, and to Amanda Millar for her work in type-setting the manuscript.

Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams

May 2007

INTRODUCTION

TARA HAMLING AND RICHARD L. WILLIAMS

Initially it appears surprising and quite baffling that there should be a dearth of art-historical books devoted exclusively to the impact of the Reformation on the visual arts in Britain. Over the past two decades there has been much activity in the field of Reformation studies, represented by the founding of university research centres and networks dedicated to the field[1] and stimulated by ground-breaking yet accessible studies such as Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992) and Diarmaid McCulloch's series of books culminating most recently in *Reformation: Europe's House Divided* (2003).[2] Given that Protestantism was shaped in part by its attitude towards images, it might be expected that the discipline of art history would be at the forefront of this wave of interest in Reformation studies. Indeed, Joseph L. Koerner's account of *The Reformation of the Image* (2004), a study of art in Reformation Germany, has highlighted the role of visual representation in formulating and supporting reformed ideology.[3] Yet it remains the case that there is no substantial art-historical publication dedicated specifically to the relationship between religious reform and the visual arts in Britain.[4]

It is this lack of a single volume study that this book aims to address, taking into account more recent developments in the historiography of the Reformation, new perspectives offered by literary scholars and the significant methodological re-evaluation that has occurred within the discipline of art history itself. The first half of this introduction sets out to position the present volume within recent developments in Reformation history, in other related fields connected with cultural history, and in art history. Quite obviously such a broad discussion can do no more than give an abbreviated consideration of the literature and specific methodological strands and no attempt is made to provide an exhaustive account. But this overview indicates the extent to which this book engages with interdisciplinary debates and participates in new directions for art-historical enquiry. The second part of the introduction describes the book's central theme of "re-forming"; firstly through a brief discussion of a late medieval sculpture that underwent its own particular re-formation in the seventeenth century, and then through a short survey of the various sections and essays in the book.

I

Traditional art-historical accounts of Early Modern Britain effectively marginalised the Reformation in that they recognised it to be an important issue but one that was rarely the exclusive focus of study. This situation derived ultimately from the enduring assumption that the subject of the Reformation and the visual arts was limited in scope, its extent being reached at the destructive act of iconoclasm. The prohibition of graven images in the Second of the Ten Commandments was assumed to have been interpreted quite literally and with a universal application, as much to private houses as to churches. If the Reformation was understood to be "the end of art" then further investigation could only seem futile. For several generations of students, the subject had been raised and summarily dismissed in this fashion in the very opening paragraphs of the best known introductions to British art. One such standard text is Ellis Waterhouse's *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790,* which since its first publication in

1953 has been reprinted many times and, as part of the *Pelican History of Art* series with Yale University Press, has been re-published as recently as 1994. According to this standard account:

> By 1535, at any rate, the old religious themes in painting were proscribed and the painter was no longer able to exercise his art in what had been the most fruitful field of subject matter for artists in Europe for a thousand years. A taste for pictures of classical mythologies had not as yet been imported from Italy, and a new and national tradition in painting had to grope its way to birth by exploring the only outlet which remained, the field of portraiture.[5]

The notion that traditional religious subject matter was "proscribed" for painters leaving portraiture as "the only outlet which remained" has been an underlying supposition in many subsequent studies. Similar assertions have been made concerning the effect of the Reformation on other visual media. For example, another standard text in the *Pelican History of Art* series, Margaret Whinney's *Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830* (1964 and many later editions), referred to "the fact that no religious sculpture was required in England after about 1540".[6] Assumptions such as these have dominated and distorted historical conceptions of the visual arts in Britain until very recently.[7]

This impression of the fate of the visual arts in Britain is perfectly understandable given the earlier historiography of the Reformation on which it relied. Taking the case of England, Protestantism was characterised as a popular movement that triumphed according to a momentum of its own. This conception, which found its classic expression in A. G. Dickens's *The English Reformation* (1964)[8], is often knowingly caricatured as a "rapid reformation from below". According to this view the reformist message, together with anti-clericalism, had so undermined confidence and faith in the Old Church and its teachings that Henry VIII's reforms delivered, largely unopposed, the final blow to an already crumbling edifice. Traditional uses of religious images rapidly became discredited, and to such a degree that an increasing proportion of the population would have supported or at least been indifferent to their purge from the churches, leaving no further use for any other form of religious imagery.

Although such accounts were subsequently to attract much criticism, they acted as a positive stimulus to separate studies of themes such as the ideology and practice of iconoclasm. Two significant books devoted to iconoclasm in England both analysed its theological origins, and documented the hardening line of successive Protestant governments. John Phillips's *The Reformation of Images* was published in 1973 and Margaret Aston's book, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws against Images*, published in 1988, is widely considered the definitive study of the subject.[9]

By the late 1980s, however, an alternative model of the spread and pace of Protestant belief was gaining ground. Often interrogating different categories of documentary evidence which dealt with the practical implementation of reform and the response at parish level, a new picture emerged of the Reformation as a drawn out struggle in which successive governments forced their radical agendas of reform on a reluctant or even hostile people. In these so-called "revisionist" histories, the English Reformation was redefined as a process, working in fits and starts so as to constitute a series of "reformations".[10] This series of struggles did not conclude, as most modern textbooks on the subject had done, with the Elizabethan Religious Settlement of 1559 but rather continued well into the seventeenth century.

Revisionist models of the English Reformation might have established themselves as a new orthodoxy but as Eamon Duffy has noted, "'revisionist' debates have had a regrettable

tendency to produce artificial polarities from a complex set of processes...”.[11] The central source of contention in these debates was pinpointing the moment by which England could be characterised as a Protestant country. However, a growing number of studies have sought to move beyond these polarities and have inevitably been labelled “postrevisionist”. Such studies have turned their enquiry away from determining precisely when Protestantism became the dominant culture in England, to examining the processes by which this transformation occurred. Postrevisionism analyses the means by which Protestant belief was assimilated as a broader, cultural negotiation. An example is Eamon Duffy’s book, *The Voices of Morebath* (2001) in which the “grand narrative” account of the Reformation was eschewed in favour of a “micro-history” study of a single parish community in Devonshire.[12] The various means by which this community made adaptations and accommodations to religious change over several decades helped re-envisage the Reformation as not so much a political and theological revolution than as a cultural transformation.

A deeper awareness and interest in cultural studies across the humanities has become apparent, especially since the 1980s and this has encouraged and facilitated interdisciplinary approaches to art, and to history. “Cultural history” defies precise definition since it is an amorphous concept encompassing a cluster of concerns and approaches that have influenced different academic disciplines in different ways. From these, however, it has been anthropology that has made a significant impact on historians, as has become apparent from the ubiquity of the word “culture” in studies which take as their subject “print culture” or “court culture” and the like. Peter Burke has encapsulated this shift in the use of the word “culture” by historians, commenting “Once used to refer to high culture, the term now includes everyday culture as well, in other words customs, values and a way of life. In other words, the historians have moved closer to the view of culture held by anthropologists.”[13]

In practical terms, for histories of the Reformation, the “cultural turn” has resulted in a shift of attention away from the great Acts of Parliament and factional struggles within the ruling elite, often characterised as the “Magisterial Reformation”, towards the experiences of a broader section of society. This has prompted a renewed interest in such physical remains as surviving fixtures and fittings in churches, which have been examined for signs of unofficial alteration or destruction. Yet, rather than merely being used to illustrate conclusions drawn from documentary evidence, such objects have been treated more as evidence in their own right, offering insights into the changes in experience of societies living through the implementation of reform.

A broader analysis of the cultural impact of Protestantism in England was published in 1988 by Patrick Collinson with the title, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England. Religious and cultural change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*.[14] This pioneering work explored an unusually wide range of cultural practices such as music and drama. Among these was a consideration of the extent to which Protestant beliefs came to affect attitudes to the visual arts. Yet rather than providing another account of iconoclasm in churches the book explored imagery in private houses and other secular settings. According to Collinson, between the first and second generation of Protestant reformers in England there was a shift from iconoclasm, “characterised by the attack on unacceptable images but consistent with the enjoyment of good images”, to “iconophobia”, which is defined as “the total repudiation of all images”, irrespective of either subject matter or context. This was a cultural change “implying an advanced and radical application of the Second Commandment of the Decalogue.” Collinson dated this extreme shift to around the year 1580. Furthermore, this transformation was not restricted to the radical *avant-garde* of English reformers but, so Collinson argued, swept across the population as a whole to create “a society suffering from severe visual anorexia.”[15]

Evidence to contradict this rather extreme conclusion was published in 1991 by Tessa Watt in *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*.[16] This demonstrated that visual imagery, including religious imagery, continued to be openly visible in England after 1580 in the form of wall paintings or painted hangings, and as popular woodcut prints. These were to be found on the walls of relatively modest domestic houses as well as in the local tavern. Cheap printed ballads were often illustrated with pictures of Christ and other traditional themes and were sold to a wide, Protestant market. In this way Watt's book was part of the wider "cultural turn" and helped to extend discussions of the display of imagery to social groups beyond the narrow confines of the cultured elite. Watt even reproduced broadsheet prints aimed specifically at the "godly" Protestant market which indicated that "iconophobia" had apparently not even exerted its totalitarian grip on the more radical English Protestants. However, these findings were not presented as undermining the notion of "iconophobia" but merely to suggest that its scope had been exaggerated.[17] Thus Collinson's interpretative model has remained as standard, and is uncritically presented as such in William Dyrness's, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture* (2004)[18] and in most other books and articles which allude to this subject.

Since the publication of Tessa Watt's research further criticisms and objections have been raised against the notion of "iconophobia". There have even been calls to abandon the term altogether after questioning the principal arguments on which it rests.[19] The argument that from about 1580 Protestants in England began "rejecting realistic religious pictures" and did so "unreservedly" is countered by much of the evidence presented in the present volume. The extreme terms in which English culture has been defined as "iconophobic" can be seen as having further entrenched some of the assumptions concerning the Reformation and the visual arts quoted earlier from standard texts of British art written in the 1950s and 1960s. It has simply post-dated the supposed repudiation of all religious imagery by forty years, from 1535 or 1540 to 1580. The effect has been to prolong this distorted view of the visual arts and discourage further research, particularly into religious imagery produced for Protestants in England.

The 1580 "cultural watershed" associated with the idea of "iconophobia" has created the kind of polarised conception that postrevisionism seeks to escape. It has implied a further stark dichotomy effected by Protestantism in turning England from a culture of the image to a culture of the Word. Tessa Watt has countered such crude yet commonplace characterisations employing the example of cheap broadside prints which combined image and text to create a dynamic hybrid.[20] Similarly, Brian Cummings' essay in this volume identifies an overlooked yet highly sophisticated interaction between image and text in John Foxe's "Book of Martyrs". It is clear that Protestant culture did not simply abandon the visual for the textual but was far more creative in adapting to religious reform.

However, laying too much stress on cultural continuities can be equally problematic and distorting. One of the more ironic jibes levelled at revisionist histories was that in emphasising religious and cultural continuity so heavily they created the impression that no Reformation in England had ever taken place. In contrast, examining the Reformation as a process of cultural transformation allows continuities and discontinuities, innovation and destruction to find their rightful place.[21]

The latter approach has characterised a series of recent publications that have included studies of the cultural effects of the Reformation in Britain and elsewhere. The attention paid to the material realm, including the church furniture mentioned above, can be described not only as a turn towards cultural history, but more specifically to the subcategory of "material culture". The particular insight that the archaeological study of material culture, from

buildings to domestic artefacts, could contribute to Reformation studies was highlighted in a collection of essays published in 2003 entitled, *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*. In that volume the editors, David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist, sought to address "the common accusation that the material legacy of the Reformation is restricted solely to evidence of *destruction*". Rather it could be interrogated to reveal "continuity and change in the landscape, in towns, in churches, in graveyards and in the home".[22] Similarly, Eamon Duffy's 2006 book, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240-1570* studied books of hours, including their post-Reformation successors, not as a general category but as individual and personal objects, by attending to the comments scribbled into them by successive owners.[23] Even space has sometimes come to be included within material culture as scholars attempt to read the "text" of a church or a house.[24] For example, two separate volumes comprising the proceedings of a conference held at Exeter University in 2003, under the title, *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early modern Europe,* included several studies of the uses made by Protestants of churches, chapels and other sites deemed to have been holy by the Late Medieval Church.[25]

This growing acknowledgement that cultural history can offer a central rather than peripheral relevance to Reformation studies serves to set the context for the present volume, *Art Re-formed: The Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*. The book is distinct from previous publications in that it aims to demonstrate the valuable contribution that art history can make to the study of the Reformation as a cultural transformation. Not all the contributors are art historians, yet they bring perspectives from history and literary studies to the same sorts of material examined by their colleagues from within the discipline. The contributors have addressed the book's theme of "re-forming" within the visual arts to help revise traditional conceptions of the wholly destructive cultural impact of the Reformation to one of dynamic and creative adaptation, transformation and innovation.

The geographical focus of the book is England, with chapters that incorporate material from Wales and Scotland. Other chapters concerning Lutheran imagery in Germany and a Calvinist religious painting in Poland provide an extremely valuable comparison of cultural adaptations made by Protestant communities elsewhere in Europe. That several of the chapters dealing with Britain make reference to the wider European context is characteristic of another change in Reformation history over the last twenty years, that it is no longer acceptable to treat England or Britain, or indeed any single country, in isolation. Traditional Reformation historiography often deliberately minimised Britain's, especially England's, connections to figures and events elsewhere in Europe. This Anglocentricity has been accounted for by Diarmaid MacCulloch with reference to the confessional agenda of "Classic Anglican historians" together with a later sense of "imperial nostalgia".[26]

This book also seeks to address some of the distortions perpetuated specifically within the historiography of art history. From quotations such as that cited at the beginning of this introduction from Ellis Waterhouse's *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790*, all religious imagery was assumed to have been "proscribed" for painters and indeed other craftsmen from the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. The present volume not only demonstrates that this was not the case but addresses specifically the corollary that Waterhouse and others drew from this assumption that portraiture remained "the only outlet" for painters. The disproportionate survival rate of portraits has only reinforced the perception that painting in Early Modern Britain was dominated by this genre. In turn, this has resulted in a disproportionate degree of scholarly attention paid to portraiture. However, Susan Foister's important study of English probate inventories, published in 1981, countered this view by highlighting the more diverse subjects and media household imagery could take.[27]

Since Foister's work was published, art historians have continued to look beyond easel painting and other more traditional objects of study to embrace a wider range of imagery. The present book reflects this development by considering imagery in interiors, from painting to plasterwork. The earlier neglect of such media, which often depicted religious subjects, can partly account for the misconception that all religious imagery was unacceptable. Furthermore it has been acknowledged that the hierarchy that privileged "fine arts" over "decorative arts" belonged to a formulation of artistic theory associated with academies of art in a later period.[28] To judge imagery produced in Early Modern Britain in such alien terms can only be anachronistic. Consequently, many art historians no longer choose to evaluate their material according to the aesthetic standards associated with connoisseurship but take a greater interest in the operation of these works as cultural artefacts within their historical context.

However, this move away from concern with the formal qualities of imagery and objects towards an interest in their cultural significance could be accused of evading the considerable problems associated with defining the concept of "art" and attitudes to the visual during this period. This is an issue that several contributions to this collection address. For example, Pamela Tudor-Craig's chapter on Protestant group portraits engages with the artistic merits of the material and in the context of the Reformation, questioning a picture's "quality" can prove illuminating. For example, Joseph Koerner has argued, in *The Reformation of the Image*, that Lucas Cranach's Protestant paintings deliberately suppressed the emotional appeal that had made his pre-Reformation work so admired in order to reduce the threat of an idolatrous response. Such a strategy later led to claims of artistic "decline".[29] It has also become apparent that an appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of paintings and a recognition of the painters responsible were beginning to be embraced in sixteenth-century England, if only by a minority within the cultured elite. The growing fashion for collecting had the potential to redefine the meaning and significance of visual images, including religious images. As Richard Williams's chapter argues, pre-Reformation devotional images of the "true likeness" of Christ could be newly appreciated as a purely secular object of antiquarian interest. Other religious pictures reset into the context of a collector's cabinet, including what appears to have been an altarpiece in the Earl of Leicester's collection, might take on a new meaning as objects of aesthetic and cultural value.[30]

Yet the preoccupation among art historians with the culture of the elite is another issue to have been challenged in recent years. The "cheap print" studied by Tessa Watt is a good example of the ephemeral and affordable sources of imagery available to those in the lower register of the social scale. However, attempts, not including Watt, to use such material in constructing broader histories of "popular culture" have proved problematic. For example, there is no reason to suppose that "cheap print" could not appeal as much to the wealthy as to those of more modest means. The notion of "popular culture" has thus stubbornly resisted attempts to define its scope with any degree of precision. If "popular" simply means "not-elite", then it must refer to every remaining member of the population, which can hardly be characterised as a homogenous group.[31] Similar misgivings have also been expressed in the more specialised area of art history concerned with interpreting historical responses to images. "Reception theory" has undermined confidence that the "original meaning" of an object could be reconstructed accurately since this assumes that there can only be one, unified response to a given work.[32] Instead, "reception theory" acknowledges that the potential audience for an image could be widely diverse, and can be fragmented variously according to such characteristics as class, gender, age and, in the context of the Reformation, confessional identity.

Two chapters in this book that help illustrate these points are Tarnya Cooper's examination of a certain genre of portrait, and Tara Hamling's study of decorative plasterwork. The portraits and plasterwork were commissioned by a section of society that can be defined as committedly Protestant and as of the "middling sort" in rank. The authors explore the possibilities for reception of this imagery within this specific social group. Rather than being interested in Italianate criteria of aesthetic quality, this group's approach to imagery appears to have been informed in part by its Protestant faith. As with the elite circle of collectors, this group could also redefine the meaning and significance of traditional forms of religious imagery but according to a quite different set of priorities.

Thus the ways in which the visual arts were able to be "re-formed" in Protestant Britain varied extensively. It is significant that visual images were not only physically refashioned, or new images formed in different ways, but also the process of reforming might occur only within the internal realm of reception. The rich potential of the theme of "re-forming" which lies at the heart of this book is eloquently evoked by Maurice Howard in his Afterword. Yet before introducing a summary of the different sections that comprise the book and how each author addresses this central theme, it is instructive to take one brief example of how these issues of "re-forming" can be raised by one object.

II

The object consists of a late fifteenth-century alabaster panel depicting the Ascension of Christ set within a wooden box with two hinged panels crafted 250 years later to encase the medieval sculpture. When closed, the panels cover and protect the alabaster, when open they serve as wings in a triptych arrangement (**Plate 1**). The inner surfaces of the panels are painted with scenes of the Crucifixion (left) and Ascension (right). A textual inscription on the wings underneath the paintings explains the circumstances in which this alabaster came to be framed in this way:

> This piece was found in ye Ruines of A [*lacuna*] house [of] [*lacuna*] neare York / Procur'd & Beautify'd by William Richardson of Northbierley. 1689

This inscription provides a tantalising sense of the social life of the object. We can imagine a sequence of events from the time the alabaster was carved in the early decades of the fifteenth century, probably for display as part of a larger altarpiece. After approximately 100 years as a devotional object it was attacked—physically or ideologically—during the process of the Reformation and, we may conjecture, discarded or (more likely) hidden away for protection. More than two centuries later the panel was rediscovered and appreciated to the extent that it was desirable to lavish attention and expense in embellishing the object with a wooden frame as well as extending and enhancing its religious iconography.

It is not clear what set of circumstances or motivations drove William Richardson to acquire and embellish this found object. The curators at the Victoria and Albert Museum tentatively suggest that the re-casing of the alabaster was prompted by Catholic belief and/or an early expression of antiquarian interest in medieval sculpture.[33] Given the body of visual material discussed in this volume, we may question if this seventeenth century re-casing of an earlier religious artefact necessarily means that the owner was motivated by devotional concerns. There is no evidence that William Richardson or the Richardson family of North Bierley in Yorkshire were recusants.[34] Moreover, the pictorial subject of the alabaster panel and the way in which it was "beautified" with the addition of painted imagery does not in

itself indicate Catholic belief. Religious imagery continued to be produced in reformed countries and scenes of the Crucifixion and Ascension, while rare, were not inherently incompatible with reformed ideology. In addition to the reformed images of the Ascension and Christ in Judgement discussed in this volume, there are other notable examples in post-Reformation British art.[35] The permissibility of such imagery depended on issues of scriptural fidelity, context, function and location, which all had a part to play in minimising the risk of idolatry, sometimes reinforced through the inclusion of admonitory texts. The inclusion of a textual inscription to support and explain the nature of the re-casing of the alabaster is in line with a wider Protestant inclination to circumscribe and shape viewer response to the visual, especially in relation to religious imagery. Similarly, while the triptych arrangement is reminiscent of devotional altarpieces, the form itself does not necessarily imply a devotional function. Triptychs continued to be displayed in churches after the Reformation but the form was adapted to Protestant requirements; to exhibit the texts of the Ten Commandments or the Royal Arms.[36] The arrangement of pictorial imagery in a tripartite configuration endured in Royal portraiture (as for example in the painting by an unknown artist of *The Family of Henry VIII*, c.1545 in the Royal Collection) and triptychs were used for the great paintings of family dynasty, most extravagantly represented by Lady Anne Clifford's "Great Piece" of c.1646.[37]

While it remains uncertain if this alabaster and wooden frame was assembled for religious purposes, Catholic or otherwise, the composite object does serve to illustrate some wider trends in the visual arts of post-Reformation Britain. It suggests an engagement with the artistic conventions and material forms of the pre-Reformation past as well as a desire to appropriate and re-present this legacy for new contexts and uses. A particular interest in the religious subject matter is indicated by the addition of painted scenes of the Crucifixion and Ascension. The triptych arrangement of the re-presented artefact indicates the enduring strength of tradition in the physical configuration of visual art. However, the addition of explanatory text reminds the viewer of the worldly circumstances surrounding the production and presentation of the object, thereby imposing human control and agency over the object and diluting its spiritual power. In this way it is a product of post-Reformation culture, reflecting a significant degree of continuity with the visual forms of the medieval past but also illustrating the ways in which this legacy was assimilated, adapted and reinvented.

These, then, are the issues that inform the theme of this book. Its chapters offer a broad survey of some of the transformations, re-formations and innovations in the visual arts that took place following the religious upheavals of the middle decades of the sixteenth century. However, while the collected essays concentrate on the after-effects of religious reform, the post-Reformation period should not be considered in isolation. It is impossible to assess adequately the extent of change and its implications for images following the Henrician, Edwardian and Elizabethan Reformations without understanding attitudes and practices surrounding imagery in late medieval culture. For this reason, the volume opens with an extended essay by Phillip Lindley on debates about the functions of the visual arts in the pre-Reformation Church in England. This essay stands alone as a wide-ranging survey of the categories of religious imagery prevalent in late medieval culture and the various theories, attitudes and practices surrounding them. This account also serves to set the context for the remainder of the volume. Much of the post-Reformation material discussed in the subsequent sections of the book reveals evidence of the partial survival and renegotiation of long-standing traditions in iconography, materials, context and use.

Part One of the book seeks to address some of the misconceptions that have been perpetuated concerning the Reformation and the genre of portraiture. The widely-held view expressed in Ellis Waterhouse's history of British painting, quoted earlier, that the decline of

religious art acted as a fillip to the development of the portrait, has resulted in a series of distortions. In particular it has encouraged an understanding that portraiture was necessarily secular in nature. The historiography is further distorted by the overwhelming emphasis on the making, acquisition and display of portraits in elite circles. However, the four essays in this first section of the present volume are concerned with lesser known types of portrait; intended for display in a wider range of spaces and contexts. Moreover, they challenge the supposed secular nature of this category of image by showing how the making and display of certain types of portrait were indissolubly bound up with religious concerns in Protestant Britain.

Tarnya Cooper describes the development of a particular subcategory of Protestant portrait which emphasised the soteriological concerns of pious sitters. While these represent an evolution of an existing tradition of *momento mori* imagery in Northern European painting, the iconography is adapted and employed to suit the purposes of reformed patrons eager to articulate, establish and memorialise their elect status in visual terms.

The next essay is concerned with the representation of godly women. Karen Hearn further develops her research on the pregnancy portrait in Elizabethan England with a discussion of godly attitudes towards childbirth as a positive spiritual experience. These attitudes were shaped by a visual tradition that celebrated pregnancy as a spiritual gift (as in medieval depictions of the Visitation) and reformers' discussions of childbirth as a re-enactment of the first creation as well as the suffering of Christ during the Passion.

Richard Williams's essay raises questions about the traditional art historical separation of the categories of religious painting and portraiture and demonstrates how reformed image theory carefully discriminated between specific categories and uses of image. Even a pre-Reformation devotional image of the "true likeness" of Christ could be disassociated from its "idolatrous" past and reproduced, displayed and admired as no more than a factual record of His physical features. As such these paintings could take their place alongside "portraits" of other famous historical figures in the secular setting of a private house or palace.

The final essay in this section is concerned with a category of group portrait extant in painted and graphic versions depicting the heroes of the Protestant Reformation seated around a table. Pamela Tudor-Craig shows how the evolution of this group portrait utilised the existing visual tradition of the Last Supper but shifted its theological message away from the sacrament to the Reformers' calling to spread the Word of God.

Part Two is concerned with imagery in interiors. What would later be called the "decorative arts" created for the interiors of domestic and civic buildings have until recently received little attention from art historians or scholars of the Reformation.[38] In focusing overwhelmingly on elite architecture, churches and other places of worship the historiography has failed adequately to acknowledge the existence and significance of religious imagery made for other kinds of environment. This section emphasises that there is no clear demarcation between domestic and public spheres, between personal belief and civil society in the early modern period. The semi-public houses of wealthy citizens were decorated to emphasise personal and public identity, religious belief and political agendas, while civic architecture articulated the religio-political identity of ruling groups.

Andrew Morrall describes the transformations and applications of the iconography of the Virtues in sixteenth century Germany. He examines the use of this iconography in different settings—religious, civic and domestic—and describes the ways in which concepts of Virtue were employed by individuals and groups across the confessional divide. This reveals that the traditional iconography was considered malleable, and could be manipulated and re-configured to serve ideological and ethical purposes.

Continuing this theme, Richard Simpson shows how the concept of public virtue is central to the mid-sixteenth century decorative scheme at Hill Hall created for Sir Thomas Smith. The decorative programme is explicitly political in combining Old Testament prototypes of iconoclastic activity—resonant for Smith as a political agent in the Edwardian reforms but also perhaps intended to exhort Elizabeth I—with the classical myth of Psyche, as an allegory of the spiritual journey of the soul. These two narrative series are connected by an image of Magnanimatis on a decorated tile, the virtue most associated with the conduct of public life and enacted through the display of magnificence or liberality. This suggests that the opulent luxury of Smith's decorations at Hill Hall was excusable to achieve political ends despite reformers' warnings about the moral dangers of excessive building and embellishing of houses.

The essay by Tara Hamling suggests that godly exhortations against worldly luxury might have influenced the choices made by patrons of middling status in decorating their homes. Avoidance of rich and costly furnishings, combined with fears surrounding the corrupting power of the visual image—and attitudes surrounding applied polychromy, in particular—could have recommended the developing craft of monochrome figural plasterwork as an appropriate medium for religious imagery in the houses of the godly. The essay suggests that an emerging Protestant visuality influenced choices about the nature and appearance of crafted imagery in the home. The religious subject matter and the formal arrangement of pictorial iconography suggest a desire to preserve and reproduce long-standing artistic traditions, but there were also significant departures from medieval conventions which indicate the particular interests and concerns of a Protestant audience.

The degrees of tolerance towards religious imagery possible in reformed cultures is further explored by Barbara Uppenkamp in a study of a painting that was displayed as the culmination of a series of pictures in the town hall at Gdansk in Poland. Given that it had been commissioned by a Calvinist town council, it seems quite remarkable that the subject matter of the painting was the Last Judgement. The iconography draws on established pre-Reformation traditions, but it is the various ways in which these were modified that reveal much about Protestant sensibilities surrounding the status and dangers of the image. The figure of Christ in heaven could remain, but the traditional attendant host of saints is replaced by personifications of Virtues. Here again the concept of Virtue is pushed centre stage, emphasising the ethical basis of good Protestant government.

The role of print in reformed culture is an important theme throughout this volume. Most authors discuss the significance of printed imagery in disseminating ideas and as templates for pictorial iconography. The printed word informs all the discussions of Reformation ideology and theology. The essays in Part Three focus specifically on the issue of the dynamic between word and image in the graphic medium.

Brian Cummings reveals the sophisticated visual grammar of a group of illustrations in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'. He identifies a sub-set of woodcuts with a recurring theme; the metonymy of the burning hand. This device serves to fuse traditional hagiographic iconography with classical references directed at the educated, humanist audience for this expensive and copiously illustrated book. The essay not only undermines the standard view of Foxe's illustrations as a simple (and sensational) didactic accessory to the text, but unravels a subtle interplay between the writing / reading of the word and the seeing / reading of the image. Foxe's "readers" form narratives from the images which operate in partnership with the narratives created by the text.

Raphael Hallet's essay on the reform of the language arts is also concerned with the dynamic between text and image. His analysis of diagrammatic guides for the improvement of

the mind hints at reformist ambivalence towards the visual. Protestant logicians such as Ramus and Perkins censored traditional thought-maps and methods for improving reason, memory and rhetoric, stripping them of extraneous pictorial or symbolic devices that might distract the disciplined mind and corrupt the reformed imagination. And yet the "purified" diagrams they produced are inherently visual and communicate symbolic meanings; the text is sculpted into shapes and patterns on the page and the clarity of the unadorned design serves as an emblem of mental purity and order.

An emphasis on purity, plainness and sobriety in visual imagery is explored by several authors in this volume. By contrast Helen Pierce's essay is concerned with how robust and lurid visual satire was employed to serve a Protestant agenda. As with the other essays in this section, this analysis of the propagandistic message communicated through a single-sheet print produced in 1624 is concerned with how viewers form narratives from images. In this case it is narratives that exploit existing iconographies circulating in continental prints, combined with folk histories surrounding a particular geographical location in England.

The role of the graphic medium in the dissemination and exchange of new iconographies across reformed countries extends into Part Four, a section concerned with the nature of commemorative practices in Protestant culture. Elizabeth Goldring's essay examines the memorialisation of Sir Philip Sidney and shows how continental models of fallen heroes of the Protestant cause, such as William of Orange, informed the ceremony of Sidney's funeral, and the visual record of the event as propagated through the medium of print. This essay returns to a recurring theme explored by Pamela Tudor-Craig and Brian Cummings earlier in the volume; the evolution of a specifically Protestant martyrology which appropriated existing visual traditions and tropes but re-invented them in service to the reformed cause.

The final individual study is Margaret Aston's essay on art and idolatry in relation to a group of post-Reformation funeral monuments. This examines significant trends in the design, content, form and location of a group of monuments erected to commemorate members of the "godly". The essay explores how Puritan individuals theorised practices of memorialisation in relation to concerns about vainglory and the risk of idolatry, and describes the result of this on the appearance and nature of monuments. These share certain characteristics; avoidance of figurative imagery, a plain design with little decorative embellishment, and the primacy of the inscription (the Word) in communicating information about the deceased.

Concluding the volume is an Afterword by Maurice Howard; a reflection on the themes that emerge across the essays in this volume. What is clear is that reformed society was not inherently hostile to the visual and material legacy of the medieval past, rather "people lived with the past, re-shaped it, re-encased it". The salvaging and re-configuration began with buildings, but the cultural re-evaluation of old images, materials and objects extended throughout post-Reformation culture. There is evidence of a desire to protect and preserve familiar forms as well as to re-shape, re-fashion and enhance the meaningful and the useful. In this way, a specifically Protestant visual culture emerged which entered into dialogue with existing iconographies and material forms—assimilating, adapting, developing, re-inventing—to serve the needs of reformed belief and ideology.

By focusing on extant visual material, this volume aims to make a serious contribution to the broader historiography of the Reformation. It participates in the wide scholarly interest in examining the Reformation as a cultural transformation by studying unknown or overlooked examples of Protestant imagery, and by employing the distinctive tools of the art historian. The result helps to redress the traditional view that the impact of the Reformation on the visual arts in Britain ended with iconoclasm to reveal instead more dynamic and creative attempts to produce imagery for Protestants that had been safely "re-formed".

Notes

[1] The Division for Late Medieval and Reformation Studies, University of Arizona (1989); The European Reformation Research Group (1991); The Reformation Studies Institute, University of St Andrews (1993); The Centre for Reformation and Early Modern Studies, University of Birmingham (2004).

[2] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992). Diarmaid McCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided* 1490-1700 (London: Allen Lane, 2003).

[3] Joseph L. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004).

[4] Graham Parry's recent monograph, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation: Glory, Laud and Honour* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006) does examine the religious arts of post-Reformation England, but the focus is on the High Church movement of the 1620s and 1630s.

[5] Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790* (London: Penguin Books, 1988 edn), 13.

[6] Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830* (London: Penguin Books, 1988 edn), 27.

[7] A major reassessment and redefinition of the status of sculpture as church art in post-Reformation England and its role in religious belief is provided by Nigel Llewellyn's comprehensive study of *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[8] A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1964).

[9] John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1973); Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws against Images* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[10] A key work from which the term "revisionism" seems to have been derived is Christopher Haigh ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1987). See also Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1993) and Nicholas Tyacke ed., *England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800* (London: University College London Press, 1998).

[11] For this quotation and the following summary of "postrevisionism" see Eamon Duffy, "The English Reformation After Revisionism", in "Recent Trends in the Study of Christianity in Sixteenth-Century Europe", ed. Craig Harline *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006): 720-28.

[12] Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2001).

[13] This discussion of cultural history is heavily reliant on Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Polity Press: Cambridge and Massachusetts, 2004).

[14] Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England. Religious and cultural change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988). Collinson does not cite evidence that the Second Commandment was interpreted in this way. For an alternative view see Aston, England's Iconoclasts, 450-51 and Richard L. Williams, "Collecting and Religion in Late Sixteenth-Century England", in *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* ed. Edward Chaney (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2003): 159-200, 162-64.

[15] Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, 117-19.

[16] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1991).

[17] Watt, *Cheap Print*, 131-253.

[18] William Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004), 123-4.

[19] Richard L. Williams presented a paper entitled "Rejecting the 'iconophobic' interpretation of late-Tudor visual culture" at the *Reformation Studies Colloquium* at Oxford in 2006, which is soon to be published.

[20] Watt, *Cheap Print*, 136 and 217-53.

[21] Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

[22] David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist eds, *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580* (Leeds: Maney, 2003), 1-7.

[23] Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240-1570* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2006).

[24] Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, 69.

[25] William Coster and Andrew Spicer eds, *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2005); Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton eds, *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early modern Europe* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2005).

[26] Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Protestantism in Mainland Europe: New Directions", *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006): 698-706.

[27] Susan Foister, "Paintings and other works of art in sixteenth-century English inventories", *The Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981): 273-82.

[28] For a useful summary of the historiography of art history devoted to Northern Europe in this period see Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance. Burgundian Arts across Europe* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2002), 1-46 and also 76-145.

[29] Koerner, *Reformation of the Image*, 212-51.

[30] Williams, "Collecting and Religion".

[31] Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, 27.

[32] For a brief introduction to the subject see Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History", *Art Bulletin* 73, no. 2 (1991): 174-208 and especially 184-88.

[33] According to the Gallery Label. A study by William Anderson also situates the work within the context of early collecting of alabasters, "Re-discovery, collecting and display of English medieval alabasters", *Journal of the History of Collections* 16, no.1 (2004): 47-58.

[34] In fact other members of the Richardson family were active in support of the established church. William Richardson's elder brother, Dr. Richard Richardson, was responsible for the rebuilding of the Anglican chapel of Cleckheaton in Birstal in 1706.

[35] For example, the Ascension of Christ is the subject of a painted ceiling dated 1619 in the "Heaven Room" at Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire. The risen Christ in Heaven is depicted in the *Allegory of Man* painting of c.1596 by an unknown artist of the British school in Tate Britain.

[36] See, for example the Commandments triptych of c.1550-1600 and the painted triptych with the Royal Arms of Elizabeth I of c.1550s, both from Preston St Mary Church in Suffolk. Illustrated as cat. 270 and cat. 52 in Susan Doran, ed., *Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003).

[37] On Anne Clifford's "Great Picture" see Alice T. Friedman, "Constructing an Identity in Prose, Plaster and Paint: Lady Anne Clifford as Writer and Patron of the Arts", in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1995): 359-376. The proceedings of a conference associated with the display of Anne Clifford's portrait triptych at Tate Britain in 2003-4 will be published in 2007. On the use of the triptych form for post-Reformation dynastic portraits see Jane Eade, "The Triptych Portrait in England, 1575-1646", *The British Art Journal* 6, no. 2, (Autumn 2005): 3-11.

[38] The publication by Yale in 1997 of Anthony Wells-Cole's impressive monograph, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints* was a significant landmark in establishing the decorative arts of England as an important and fruitful area of study within the discipline of art history. It is interesting, however, that the focus of the monograph is the influence of continental engravings; a medium long-established as a "fine art" category.

CHAPTER ONE

THE VISUAL ARTS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS IN THE ENGLISH PRE-REFORMATION CHURCH

PHILLIP LINDLEY

1. Image discourse and cultural amnesia

One inescapable consequence of the English Reformation—or reformations—is that the vast majority of the tens of thousands of images that originally adorned this country's medieval churches have been torn from their settings and smashed, painted over, or defaced. This devastation is, of course, precisely what some ardent Reformers intended. King Edward VI's Injunctions of 1547 required the clergy to: "Take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines [...] pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition: *so that there remain no memory of the same* in walls, glass-windows, or elsewhere within their churches or houses". This order had been followed by a praeter-Zwinglian 1550 Act which enjoined the defacement and destruction of "*anye Images of Stone Tymbre Alleblaster or Earthe graven carved or paynted*, which heretofore have bene taken out of anye Churche or Chappell, or yet stand in anye Churche or Chappell".[1]

The prodigious destruction which ensued, the waves of Puritan iconoclasm of the mid-seventeenth century, and the effects of subsequent neglect, cupidity and malicious damage, have led one distinguished scholar to the depressing conclusion that it is now impossible accurately to assign the few surviving late-medieval sculpted devotional images to the years in which they were produced.[2] It would be unfortunate if this view should lend support to the widely expressed contemporary disdain for the mundane tasks of sequencing and attributing images; a scorn frequently referred back to the talismanic authority of Michel Foucault, who denigrated such work as tiresome and trivial. However, even if one were forced to accept (and I do not) the contention that the sheer scale of losses has rendered typological systematisation impossible, there need be no corresponding pessimism about posing, and answering, questions of a fundamentally different type—questions Foucault would certainly have found more conceptually alluring.[3] How, and in what numbers, we shall enquire, did images function in the pre-Reformation church? What debates circulated round their employment by the laity? Who circumscribed the functions of imagery and how? What different models of understanding can we discern? Indeed, does the very category within which we include imagery—the visual arts—coincide at all accurately with the concepts employed in the period itself?

From the woefully scanty remains of objects, and from a variety of documentary sources, including aggressive vernacular critiques and defences of imagery in the late middle ages, it is possible tentatively to reconstruct something of the functionality of pre-Reformation imagery.[4] Recent scholarship has contributed enormously to negotiating a previously intractable task. Margaret Aston's major studies of iconoclasm, her essay on the use of images in the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Gothic* exhibition catalogue and another recent paper on "Public Worship and Iconoclasm", provide important guidance on the arguments and significance of iconomachs and iconophobes.[5] Other contributors to the present volume have

also made distinctive contributions to the subject, which has recently received welcome boosts from the publication of Kathleen Kamerick's *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages*, Richard Marks's *Image and Devotion* and two collections of essays: *Images, Idolatry, and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England*, edited by Dimmick, Simpson and Zeeman and *The Archaeology of Reformation* edited by Gaimster and Gilchrist.[6] These works help to supplement and modify the views expressed in earlier studies such as Eamon Duffy's influential *The Stripping of the Altars*, with its elegiac evocation of an idealised pre-Reformation parochial religion.[7] So, in spite of Professor Marks's wise cautions against trying to draw broad generalisations about the place and functions of imagery in the late medieval English church, we shall attempt exactly that task.[8]

2. "Plente is no deinte"

A first point to note is that in the century and a half following the Black Death, there was a staggering increase in the volume of religious imagery produced. Contemporaries could hardly fail to observe that they were living in a period of an unprecedented proliferation of images. The early fifteenth-century prose treatise *Dives and Pauper* (whose later currency is testified to by its printing by Pynson in 1493 and by Wynken de Worde in 1496, as well as by Thomas Berthelet in 1536) remarked that "meen doon makyn these dayis ymagys gret plente both in cherche and out of cherche"; [9] the phrase "out of cherche" suggests not just the exterior imagery of churches, but also the wider environment beyond the churchyard, a comment which should (like the 1547 injunction cited above) dispel any anachronistic assumptions that religious images were confined to ecclesiastical buildings. Although our concern here will be with religious imagery within the church, the porosity of late medieval boundaries between secular and ecclesiastical deserves brief attention. It can be easily illustrated, for example, by the series of small painted-glass roundels, showing (inter alia) the Seven Sacraments and the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy, which originated from a merchant's house in Leicester (**Figure 1.1**).[10] A large statue of St Peter, carved from wood, once forming the corner post of the ground floor of a house in Exeter, is a rare survivor of the category of exterior religious sculpture from a secular setting.[11] Similarly unusual in their survival are subjects such as the Madonna and Child and the Immaculate Conception, painted on walls in Cothay manor (Somerset) in domestic settings.[12] Susan Foister has pointed out that many of Hans Holbein's portrait paintings and drawings of Henry VIII's courtiers show them wearing hat badges with representations of the Virgin and Child or saints, and such religious images also adorned other jewellery and ostensibly secular goldsmiths' work.[13] Margaret Beaufort possessed books of gold whose golden leaves served as mounts for images, St John the Baptist, St Katherine, St Jerome, the Nativity, and Our Lady of Pity: these were kept for her personal use, along with other lavish "curiosities of piety", quite separate from her chapel and its imagery.[14] Representations of the Head of St John the Baptist on a platter, carved from alabaster, are frequently listed in early Tudor house inventories, and other devotional images in various media were also numerous.[15] Thomas Goodryche in 1500, for example, had an "Ymage of Seynt Anthony yn Alabast[r]e" and "Another of ower Lady yn free stone". Thomas Parker in 1541 possessed "two pictures stayned with the passyon"; his "lytyll pyctor of saynt George gyltid" was doubtless a sculpture of some sort.[16] The mass production of alabaster reliefs brought their prices within the reach of many and the invention of printing made cheap single-sheet devotional images readily available.[17] At the other end of the spectrum of expense, the great salt-cellars known as "salts" might also feature representations of saints, as did the one

bequeathed by the London baker Thomas Clayton in 1554 to his step-daughter: this had a "cover all gilt with a [figure of St.] Clement in the top"; St Clement was patron saint of the bakers and Clayton also left a goblet with an image of the saint on its cover to the Master, Wardens and Fellowship of the Mistery of White Bakers.[18] The decoration of secular objects with religious imagery was well established by the late middle ages. In 1398, for example, Matilda Bromholme bequeathed a mazer cup (the name derives from the birdseye maple of which they were commonly made) in the bottom of which were figures of saints John and James, and another with a figure of St John, to houses of nuns and monks.[19] This bequest also illustrates the way in which secular items might be donated to the church. More rarely, secular imagery might also be found inside the church, most notably on the choir screens of great churches such as York Minster, with its mid-fifteenth-century screen of English kings, culminating in an image of Henry VI, which the Yorkists removed when it became the focus of a Lancastrian cult.[20] Wayside crosses and images also brought religious imagery into everyday experience.

The vast bulk of religious imagery naturally accumulated in and on ecclesiastical buildings. The suggestion that the increased proliferation of imagery in late medieval churches may have been a response to Lollard heresy is an interesting one.[21] However, this causal explanation can, with equal or greater plausibility, be reversed. That is to say, hostility to imagery may have been aggravated by the very plenitude of images. This was an age of rampant image inflation. It was recognised as such in the mid-fifteenth century by Bishop Reginald Pecock (c. 1392- c. 1459), who warned in *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy* that over-familiarity with images could breed contempt for them.[22] Pecock had realised the importance of vernacular writings to the Lollards and took the dangerous (and for his own career, ultimately disastrous) step of trying to combat the spread of heterodox views by himself writing in the vernacular. He cautioned that images:

> mowe not be multiplied so wijde that at ech chirche, at ech chapel, at ech stretis eende, or at ech heggis eende in a cuntre be sett such an ymage, for certis thanne tho ymagis schulden be as foule or of litil reputacioun and schulde be undeinteose for the grete plente of hem, that bi hem no solempne and fervent remembraunce schulde be maad [...] as experience wole weel schewe that plente is no deinte [...] overmyche homelines with a thing gendrith dispising toward the same thing.[23]

There is no cogent evidence that this pullulating population explosion—a visual counterpart to Lydgate's prolix verse (images and his verses could, indeed, be seen together in Clopton's chantry chapel in Long Melford)—had slowed in growth by the 1520s or 1530s.[24] Rather the contrary: this was a period of new, burgeoning and changing cults—such as that of the Name of Jesus, of which Margaret Beaufort had been a promoter, and massive new building programmes.[25] Henry VII's magnificent chapel at Westminster Abbey, underway from 1503, provided the most splendid of precedents. It boasted a lavish exterior sculpture programme of 36 life-sized figures, contained over 100 sculpted stone images inside, spread between the triforium level and the aisles and apsidal chapels, to say nothing of the large and complex typological programme in the stained-glass windows of the chapel's clerestory and the Prophets and Apostles series in the west window. There were also numerous images of precious metal and wood sheathed in metal on the altars, gilt-bronze and bronze figures on the tombs and enclosing grate, gilt-bronze, marble and terracotta associated with the high altar and carved wooden images on the stalls.[26] At King's College, Cambridge, where the huge chapel's construction was finally being funded to structural completion in the early sixteenth century, it was certainly the Provost and Fellows' intention to provide a full complement of sculpted

imagery. About 1515 an estimate to stock the chapel's interior with 48 figure-sculptures was calculated (estimating the cost of sculpting the sculptures at 5s the foot, excluding the stone), and though nothing came of this project it was surely just a question of priorities for the perennially cash-strapped college authorities: it has never been suggested, to my knowledge, that the figures were omitted because sculpted imagery was now undesirable.[27] Instead, the Fellows prioritized the huge glazing programme of the magnificent chapel. Work on the scheme of typological imagery began in 1515-17 when four windows were completed by Barnard Flower, the king's glazier; it resumed—after a break because funds were exhausted—in 1526 with several new teams of glaziers and was not completed until the end of Henry VIII's reign. (Even then, the west window remained unglazed until 1879 when a former Fellow provided funds for Clayton and Bell's work).[28] A short-lived high altar was shipped up from London as late as 1544-5, presumably designed by "M. Antonio" who was paid for bringing it to Cambridge and separately for engraving or carving (pro celatura) four images and a column (it was then dismantled under Edward VI and finally destroyed in the reign of Elizabeth I).[29]

The saturation of opulent chantry chapels—the most distinctive and characteristic manifestations of late-medieval English pietistic obsessions with Purgatory—with programmes of sculpted and painted imagery seems not to have declined but to have increased in the sixteenth century. Examples drawn solely from monastic churches would include some great, but little known, schemes: Prince Arthur's chapel at Worcester (which retains most of its original programme of imagery), Abbot Ramryge's chapel at St Albans, partly modelled on the earlier chapel of Duke Humphrey (the abbot's programme of imagery has been destroyed, but approximately half of the duke's survives), Bishop Fox's at Winchester (**Figure 1.2**), supplementing those of Bishop Waynflete and Cardinal Beaufort in the cathedral's retrochoir (only fragments of each of these programmes survive), and Bishop West's at Ely, corresponding to that of Bishop Alcock opposite (both have lost virtually all their imagery), the last completed so late as 1534.[30] One incentive to dilate on chapels in monastic churches is the recent concentration by historians on parish churches in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Such an emphasis, redressing, perhaps, the art-historian's typical concern with "great churches" and their contents, is entirely comprehensible because the late middle ages saw a gigantic building and furnishing boom for the increasingly important parish churches where the laity predominantly worshipped; but this focus has tended to obscure the fact that many of the major monastic and collegiate churches were also investing lavishly in new programmes of imagery. A conspicuous novelty of the late middle ages is the category of high altar reredoses, in particular the line of development which leads from Christ Church (Hampshire) via the Oxford colleges—New, All Souls, Magdalen—to Winchester, St Albans (**Figure 1.3**), and Southwark, the last probably a work of the third decade of the sixteenth century.[31] All of these displayed vast programmes of figure-sculpture.

It has been powerfully argued that the later middle ages witnessed a dramatic shift in the relationship between imagery and lay viewers: this relationship became closer and more empathetic, prompted by the new emphasis on the host which placed a distance between officiating clergy and congregation, reducing "lay participation in ritual to passive observation". Saints' images "filled the void, by becoming the focus of individual devotion".[32] Nevertheless, lay participation in liturgy was not necessarily excluded by ignorance of Latin. Chantry masses—masses personalized or privatised for the benefactor's benefit—could be enhanced by devices such as that specified by William Andrewe in 1453: he directed that the chantry priest should, at his first going to the lavatory [i.e. immediately after presenting the oblations and before communicating], turn towards the congregation and say, in English, "Ye