Picturing the Invisible: Religious Printed Images in Elizabethan England

Submitted by David Jonathan Davis to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in HISTORY

This thesis is available for Library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

(signature) ..............................................................................................................
Abstract

This thesis analyses the culture of printed images during the Elizabethan period, particularly those images of a religious nature. Focusing on images which depict invisible beings (i.e. angels, God, demons etc.), the thesis addresses the assumption that Protestant England all but completely eradicated religious visual imagery from society. Examining images that were first created and printed in Elizabethan England as well as older images which had been recycled from earlier texts and others imported from Europe, the research offers an analysis of Protestant printed imagery between 1558 and 1603. Questions of how images were read, altered, augmented, copied and transmitted across time and space have been posed. What was depicted and how? How were religious images used? What was their understood role in early modern print culture? How did Protestants distinguish between church images to be destroyed and printed images to be read? In this, the images have been historically contextualised within both the theological and cultural milieu of Calvinist theology, the growing international marketplace of print and early modern English society. Attention has been paid to how images were received by readers and how they may have been seen. Emphasis is placed upon the role of the printed image as both a representation and an agent of culture, as well as an integral aspect of the printing industry. Ultimately, this thesis seeks to explain how printed images were employed and utilised by both printer and reader in the context of an iconoclastic English Reformation.
Contents

Abstract p. 2
List of Illustrations p. 4
List of Abbreviations p. 8
Notes on the Text p. 9
Acknowledgements p. 10
Chapter 1: Introduction p. 11
Conclusion p. 367
Appendix A p. 375
Appendix B p. 378
Appendix C p. 381
Bibliography p. 383
List of Illustrations

Plate I: ‘Annunciation to Mary’ The manuall of prayers, or the prymer in Englyshe (London: J. Mayler f. J. Waylande, 1539), STC 16010, F3r.
Plate II: ‘Annunciation to Mary’ in David Lindsay, A dialogue betweene Experience and a Courtier (London: T. Purfoote and W. Pickering, 1566), A7r.
Plate III: ‘Annunciation of the Virgin’ in John Calvin, A sermon ... containing an exhortation to suffer persecution for followinge Jesus Christe (London: R. Waldegrave, 1581), STC 13568, series 4, H4v.
Plate VIII: ‘Revenge for a Quarrel’ in Anon., A rehearsal both straung and true, of heinous actes committed by Elizabeth Stile (London: J. Allde, 1579), STC 23267, frontispiece.
Plate IX: ‘The Cat Satan’ in Anon., A rehearsal both straung and true, A5v.
Plate XIV: ‘Pope with Devil as a Lion’ in Walter Lynne, The beginning and ending of all popery (London: J. Charlewoode, 1588), STC 17116, E1r.
Plate XIX: ‘Devils skewer souls’ in Kalender of Shepherds (1556), E7v.
Plate XX: ‘Devils force-feed souls’ in Kalender of Shepherds (1556), F2v.
Plate XXII: ‘Queen’s carriage with Death removed’ in Anthony Munday, The travailed pylgrime, M2v.
Plate XXIV: ‘Faith dueling with Envy’ in Batman, A christall glasse, H1r.
Plate LXXXI: ‘John Dee kneeling in prayer’ in John Dee, A letter, containing a most briefe discourse apologeticall (London: P. Short, 1599), STC 6460, frontispiece.
Plate LXXXII: ‘Pope knocked to the ground’ in Lyne, The beginning and ending, frontispiece.
Plate LXXXIII: ‘Saul’s vision of Christ’ in The newe testament of our Lord Jesus Christ (London: C. Barker, 1575), STC 2877, 2F3r.
Plate LXXXIV: ‘Pope feeds bears’ in Lyne, The beginning and ending, C4r.
Plate LXXXV: ‘Pope kneels before God’s hand’ in Lyne, The beginning and ending, D2v.
Plate LXXXVI: ‘Morning Prayer’ in A brye ye summe of the whole Byble, L1v.
Plate LXXXVII: ‘Evening Prayer’ in A brye ye summe of the whole Byble, L4v.
Plate LXXXVIII: ‘Prayer while at work’ in A brye ye summe of the whole Byble, L5v.
Plate LXXXIX: ‘Prayer while travelling’ in A brye ye summe of the whole Byble, L6r.
Plate XC: ‘Prayer at Meals’ in A brye ye summe of the whole Byble, M7r.
Plate XCII: ‘Wrath as religious oppression’ in Batman, A christall glasse, D1v.
Plate XCII: ‘Pharaoh orders execution’ in The bible in Englishe, S3r.
Plate XCIII: ‘Faith as Christian Warrior’ in Batman, A christall glasse, M4r.
Plate XCIV: ‘Hope as a City on a Hill’ in Batman, A christall glasse, N3r.
Plate XCV: Frontispiece in Augustine, Certain select prayers (London: J. Day, 1574), STC 924.
Plate XCVI: Border images in Augustine, Certaine select prayers.
Plate XCVIII: ‘King Solomon kneeling in prayer’ in Rogers, A golden chaine, L2v.
Plate XCIX: ‘The Conversion of Saul’ in The newe testament in Englishe (London: J. Cawood, 1569), STC 2873.7, S1r
Plate C: ‘Stoning of Stephen’ in The newe testament (1569), S5r.
Plate CIII: ‘Ship of Life’ in Kalender of Shepherds (1556), F8v.
Plate CVIII: ‘Christ as the Lamb of God’ in The holye bible (London: R. Barker, 1602), STC 2188, frontispiece.
Plate CXII: ‘Hermit reading before a Crucifix’ in A brye ye summe, I7r.
Plate CXV: ‘Good Shepherd and hirelings’ in Urbanus Rhegius, A lytle treatise...wherein he declareth the dyversyte (London: H. Lynne, 1566), STC 18499, frontispiece.
Plate CXVI: ‘Christ preaching “come unto me”’ in Lycosthenes, A doome warning, 1v.
Plate CXVIII: ‘Lower portion of frontispiece in Francis Newport, An epytaph, of the godlye constaunt... confessor mystres Darothy Wynnes whiche slepte in Chryst’ (London: O. Rogers, 1560), STC 18499.
Plate CXX: ‘Christ washing the disciples feet’ in frontispiece of John Philips, The examination and confession of certaine wytches at Chensforde (London: R. Johns, 1566), STC 19869.5.
Plate CXXI: ‘Christ preaching’ in Lindsay, A dialogue betweene experience and a courtyard, A8v.
Plate CXXII: ‘Christ preaching’ in A brye ye summe, E6v.
Plate CXXIII: ‘Christ teaching the paternoster’ in Kalender of Shepherds (1556), F5r.
Plate CXXIV: ‘Christ giving the Gospel’ in A brye ye summe, G3r.
Plate CXXV: Frontispiece in The Byble in Englyshe (Rouen: C. Hamillon, 1566), STC 2098.
Plate CXXVIII: ‘Crucifixion’ in frontispiece of *The byble in Englyshe* (1561).
Plate CXXX: ‘Virgin and child in Glory’ in *Kalender of Shepherds* (1570), F4v.
Plate CXL: ‘Crucifixion’ in *Kalender of Shepherds* (1556), M4v.
Plate CXL1: ‘Crucifixion’ in *Kalender of Shepherds* (1559), M4v.
Plate CXLVII: Anon., *A marvelous tydynges both wonders old and new*. s.sh. fol.
Plate CXLVIII: ‘Last Judgement’ in *A bryefe summe*, D5v.
Plate CLI: ‘Last Judgement’ in Bentley, *Monument of matrons*, 4D4r.
Abbreviations

BBTI—The British Book Trade Index: http://www.btti.bham.ac.uk/


CSPD—Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I, 1547-[1625], vol. 10: Elizabeth (London: Public Record Office, 1867)


EHR—The English Historical Review


P&P—Past & Present: A Journal of Historical Studies


SCJ—The Sixteenth Century Journal: The Journal of Early Modern Studies


TL—The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society

Notes on the Text

When referencing early modern editions, spelling and punctuation has been kept as it appears in the original texts, with the exception of i/j and u/v, which have been distinguished in accordance with modern usage. All Biblical references have been taken from the New International Version, unless otherwise stated. Because of their importance to this study, the names of the printers have been inserted into the footnotes for works published pre-1700 (though footnotes for secondary works still conform to the MHRA style guide).
Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been completed in the same manner without the generous funding of the Overseas Research Students Award Scheme and a School Scholarship from the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Exeter. Also, I am deeply appreciative of the staff and librarians at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Cambridge University Library, British Library, Bodleian Library, Ashmolean Museum, British Museum and the University of Exeter Library (Special Collections). I have special gratitude for Richard Kuhta (at the Folger Shakespeare), Alan Coates (Bodleian), Karine Sauvignon (Ashmolean) and the Admissions Office at the Bodleian. Their patience with my tedious requests was unending. I have also been dependent upon the extensive electronic resources of Early English Books Online and the British Book Trade Index, and for Prof. Michael Hunter’s gracious permission to access the British Printed Images to 1700 database before its official launch.

I am also in the debt of an entire host of scholars who have all enriched both my thesis and my life. These include: the history faculties at the University of Texas at Tyler, Cardiff University and the University of Exeter. Also, I am particularly grateful for the support and guidance of Jonathan Barry, Peter Marshall, Kevin Passmore, Garthine Walker, Patrick Collinson, Ian Green, Ann Dillon, Ann Overell, Elizabeth Evenden, Adam Morton, Laura Sangha, Martha Driver, Mike Duffy, John King and Sarah Toulalan. Their comments, suggestions, conversations, guidance, criticisms and encouragement were vitally important. Most of all, my supervisor Alex Walsham has provided me with not only countless hours of intellectual engagement, poignant questions and suggestions and a wealth of historical scholarship but also an excellent model of how to be an academic. Any academic virtues I possess are a testament of her example, and the excellent guidance of Garthine Walker and Kevin Passmore over the past few years.

I am forever indebted to those who have graciously engaged in the laborious task of proofreading portions of this work. Jennifer Evans, Sarah Scutts, Hannah Newton, Tamsin Rowe, Natasha Milhailovic and Alison Carrol have all interrupted their own work and schedules for this job. However, my wife Lisa has read and commented upon more of this thesis than anyone else. Her patience and commitment both to my research and our life together continues to be an unseen, powerful impetus behind my work. Sine amore, nihil est vita.
Chapter 1: *Introduction*

**A Vision for Protestant Images**

After months of imprisonment at the Council of Constance in 1415, facing certain death, the Bohemian heretic and reformer Jan Hus awoke one morning with a smile on his face. Inspired by God in a dream, he was so overcome with mirth and confidence in spite of his own situation that he could not help but laugh. What is most interesting about this dream is its place in Protestant legend as it was recounted by John Foxe in his martyrology:

[Hus] had a vision by night that he had painted in the said church of Bethleem certain pictures of Christe and hys Apostles, the whiche pictures the bishop of Rome with certaine Cardinalles came and defaced: which beinge done wythin a while after, it semed unto him that other painters cam in place, renuing and repairing the said pictures which he had painted before of Christe and hys Apostles, and muche more fairer then he had done before, the nomber of … painters was so great that they gloried againste the Poope and all his Cardinals.

Subsequent editions of Foxe’s *Actes and monuments* provided a copy of the letter from Hus to John Chlum (or Jan of Chlum), one of Emperor Sigismund’s knights ordered to escort Hus to Constance.¹ While the Hussite movement existed in a distant context from Reformation England, this vision influenced how English reformers perceived their own revolts against papal tyranny. The summary of Hus’s vision and its prophetic message to sixteenth-century Protestants was read by the godly as a providential precursor to God’s plan for reform, as the second round of painters in the dream were interpreted as the Protestant reformers. It placed their struggle within a historical narrative of continual conflict with papal corruption. Interestingly, many Wycliffites and Hussites expressed a deep suspicion of sacred images, even though Hus believed images could be used as liturgical aids. However, in the sixteenth century, it was the reformers and not the papacy

---

who destroyed the icons and pictures, leaving it to the printers and stationers of the period to recreate these holy scenes in the printed page.²

This thesis will demonstrate that while English Protestants were intent upon cleansing God’s house from Catholic corruption, there remained, as Hus envisioned, a recognised need and compulsion to depict the same images in other contexts. Part of this will entail a critique of the concept of *iconophobia* and the underpinning perception common to many scholars that English Protestants increasingly grew suspicious of all religious imagery. However, this discussion is secondary to the primary purpose of studying the role of religious imagery in Elizabethan print. This thesis is first and foremost a history of early modern culture and belief as represented in the printed images, and it demonstrates how these visual representations can be used to understand early modern culture. Subsequent chapters focus on the depiction of religious imagery in Elizabethan printed works, examining images of good and evil angels, God and Christ. Within this, the complex place of images, as both conveyors of visual religion and representations of things seen and unseen, will be investigated, elaborating on the intricate relationship between the printed word and the printed image.

This study is concerned with certain aspects of the English Reformation that coincide and augment much of the current historiography, which has revealed an altogether more complex and longer Reformation than has been suggested in the past. Most recently, the fruitful labour of Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke has contributed to this version of the Reformation in its Protestant dimensions.³ Their study of the role of the altar in Reformation culture accentuates the complicated developments of belief and practice in this period. By weaving the Edwardian, Elizabethan, Stuart, Civil War and Restoration periods into one narrative, Fincham and Tyacke undermine many periodising assumptions that have become almost axiomatic in early modern

history. They argue that while the ‘radical nature of religious change’ of the Edwardian reforms was the bedrock of the Elizabethan church, the ‘seeds’ of Laudianism were already being planted in the 1560s. These seeds bore fruit in the later Elizabethan period with groups like the anti-Calvinists and the *avant garde* conformists who advocated more material and visual forms of devotion. Thus, it seems the early years of English Protestantism created the elements of its own division.\(^4\)

Other studies, most prominently those by Alec Ryrie, have revisited the important years of the 1530s and 1540s in the development of English Protestantism and its relations to moderate and humanistic Catholicism.\(^5\) Other contributions have revised our understanding of Catholics both before and during Elizabeth’s reign, particularly in their responses to reform and their attempts to accommodate as well as implement certain changes in traditional religion.\(^6\) This thesis shares with these studies a belief that sixteenth-century reformers and reform movements exhibited strong associations with the medieval past. Thus, despite some of its polemical rhetoric, Protestantism did not present an absolute, discontinuous break with traditional religion. Some of the most significant evidence for this can be found in the printed images.

First, we must reassess our understanding of early modern conceptualisations of images and pictures, not only as visual depictions but also as vehicles of ideas and beliefs. Too often, scholars have assumed that deep divisions existed between early modern visual, oral and literate media, which have been embedded into descriptions of early modern culture. These divisions have most often been described along confessional


boundaries. Even when scholars such as John Dillenberger and Andrew Pettegree set up these divisions to qualify them, the end result often perpetuates the divisions. This forces early modern religious opinions into a-historical moulds, generating conclusions such as Dillenberger’s sweeping statement that Protestants must be studied by ‘the word alone in the medium of words, not the medium of sight’. For Dillenberger, ‘sight’ is relegated to Catholicism whereas Protestants are understood to have simply read and heard the Word without any visual displays.7

Such a divide, however, ignores recent studies of the survival of traditional belief and the interchange between traditional and reformed texts. Neither Adam Fox’s work on the transmission of popular early modern texts or Tessa Watt’s study of the interrelations between different early modern mediums completely overcome this general assumption. This assumption downplays any account of visual images that were particularly Protestant or were used in particularly Protestant fashions. One of the most important examples of these Protestant images has been revealed by the research into John Foxe’s Actes and monuments (or the Book of Martyrs).8 Nevertheless, the underlying assumption continues to be that Reformed cultures had a ‘profound hostility to the representation of holy things’, which inhibited their visual modes of expression.9

7 John Dillenberger, Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth Century Europe (Oxford, 1999), p. 190. Particularly, Pettegree’s argument laid out in Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion, while campaigning for a ‘complex programme’ of Protestant conversion in which several media played an integral role, evolves around the understanding of strict divides between literate and illiterate and rich and poor. Thus, the rich (and literate) have access to certain media and the poor (illiterate) are influenced by others [Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion(Cambridge, 2005), p. 2.].


Part of the reason for this assumption has been the reluctance to acknowledge the complexities within the word/image relationship in early modern culture. Particularly in books, the two were used in conjunction to convey various degrees and types of meaning. Pictures could be seen in lieu of words, as aids for the illiterate or for the limited reader. Further, as Lucy Gent has noted, the word ‘picture … was an extraordinarily wide and vague word’, that could be used to refer to literary, visual or oral imagery.\textsuperscript{10} Also, the words ‘form’ and ‘figure’ could refer to a picture but could also indicate a diagram, chart or map. These terms could even describe the figurative language used in poetry and other literary prose. Gent explains that one of the reasons for this is an early modern model of eloquence and meaning, in which mere words were elevated to the status of beautiful works of art. Language was revered for its clarity, but visual images were recognised as having a higher degree of mental influence and overall expressiveness.\textsuperscript{11}

Even Protestant theologians embraced this literary device as a way to intertwine the beauty of pictures with the clarity of language. In a prefatory poem to Roger Hutchinson’s \textit{The Image of God}, Dr. William Bill, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, differentiated between useful and corrupt images:

\begin{quote}
Images are made to put us in mind  
Of that which is dead, or far absent;  
But God is neither, as we do find,  
But aye living, and each where present.  
\ldots
An image is painted here, in this book,  
Neither with false colours nor man’s inventions;  
But out of God’s book set out to all folk,  
Fruitfull and necessary to all Christians.\textsuperscript{12}
\end{quote}

Words could be transformed into mental images, and images could be used to depict a narrative or doctrine. The word/image relationship was not necessarily one of conflict, and oftentimes, it was one of consensus. Barbara Lewalski’s study of Protestant poetics

continues to be highly suggestive as to the nature and depth of this relationship. The idea that words could become pictures, carrying with them the same emotional power, coincided with the traditional notion of the eye of the mind where concepts, beliefs and ideas were seen and understood by the soul.\textsuperscript{13} Although images and words were not considered to be the same, they were used in very similar ways and were discussed alongside one another. It is in this context that the printed images must be discussed.

This thesis will argue that the iconoclastic force in English Protestantism was never directed at all, or nearly all, forms of religious representation. The truth of the matter is that there never was a loud call for a universal abolition of religious imagery in sixteenth-century England. In fact, in terms of printed imagery, many traditional forms survived the iconoclastic fury and flourished far beyond the iconophobic sell-by date. What will be argued here is that printed images offered an alternative means of visually representing religious figures that did not inherently infringe upon the boundaries of what many Protestants considered to be either sacred or idolatrous.

\textbf{The Context of Iconophobia}

A discussion of the proliferation of printed images in early modern England must coincide with an understanding of the simultaneous destruction of religious images. In many ways, one could envision the adamant Protestant with a hammer aimed at idols in one hand and an illustrated Bible in the other hand, regarding printed image and sacred idol as completely different. While this vision may seem inconsistent, many Protestants (including Calvinists) defended such a position. Thus, in order to understand the reasons why Protestants used printed images, it is necessary to establish the basis for their impulse to destroy images. This will not only aid in our interpretation of their actions, but it will also augment current concepts of Protestant aesthetics and cognition.

\textsuperscript{13}The notion of the ’eye of the mind’ will be discussed in more detail later in the introduction. Barbara Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton, 1979), pp. 3-27, 179-212.
Reformation iconoclasm has been thoroughly studied by historians. Carlos Eire’s work on European iconoclasm was followed by excellent studies, both in local and national centres of reform.¹⁴ Usually, European iconoclasm embodied an act of rapid cleansing of society’s idolatry, and it often quickly subsided in ferocity. In England, however, iconoclasm was an instituted policy as well as a popular tradition, which dated at least to the late fourteenth-century Lollard movement. John Philips’s study was among the first comprehensive works in England. Fifteen years later, Margaret Aston produced her magisterial work, *England’s Iconoclasts*. Aston carefully teases out the underlying motivations, both doctrinal and psychological, for the mass defacement and removal of so many images. Her study positioned iconoclasm as both an officially sanctioned act and a popular ritual with a medieval heritage. Following Aston’s work, Eamon Duffy has concluded that iconoclasm was a ‘violent disruption’ of religious practice and belief rather than a ‘natural fulfilment’ of the decaying Catholic structure.¹⁵

Much of this work was preceded by Patrick Collinson’s use of the term *iconophobia* to describe the general religious atmosphere of Protestant England at the end of the Elizabethan period. In his 1985 Stenton Lecture (published in 1986), Collinson suggested the watershed date of 1580 for a transition from an iconoclastic to an increasingly iconophobic atmosphere in England. Collinson argued that after this date the nation grew devoid of religious imagery, whether it was pictorial, dramatic or musical. Relying upon the art historical opinions of Karl Höltgen, Collinson exclaimed, ‘Nothing demonstrates more forcefully the absolute refusal of so many late Elizabethan and Jacobean religious communicators to appeal to the senses and to the popular taste than


the pictures which are missing from their books’. This was not merely an elimination of pictures. It was a cultural revolution ‘of mountainous proportions’ that permanently divided the late medieval culture from English Protestantism in both religious doctrine and in the way culture was communicated. It was an epistemic shift from the orally and visually rich world of ritual and representation to one based upon the ‘invisible, abstract and didactic word’.

A few years later, Tessa Watt heavily qualified Collinson’s thesis. Watt’s study treated popular English Protestantism less along confessional lines and more in terms of ‘a mosaic made up of changing and often contradictory fragments.’ In challenging iconophobia, Watt suggested that Protestants were more inclined to adapt and alter traditional themes and media to suit their own needs, rather than destroy wholesale. Though she refutes Collinson’s 1580 dating, Watt believes the more egregious error was Collinson’s discussion of iconophobia as a mentality of ‘the nation as a whole’. Collinson’s conclusion, Watt argues, was built upon three faulty biases latent within the iconophobia thesis.

Though iconophobia post-1580 is no longer a serious claim in Reformation historiography, iconophobia continues to exert influence as a historical context, and a brief mentioning of these biases will help us to understand the discussion in more depth. Watt’s first point was that Collinson’s idea of ‘picture’ was fairly anachronistic, demonstrating an assumed divide between visual images and written words, as though early modern people perceived them as opposing methods of communication. Her second

18 Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, p. 3.
criticism was levelled at Collinson’s strong focus on only those images created during Elizabeth’s years, not accounting for what had survived from previous decades. Finally, Watt identifies Collinson’s ‘blurring’ of distinction ‘between rejection of religious pictures, and hostility to art in general’, so that Protestants appear not only as anti-icon but also anti-visual. These biases, taken together, create a skewed interpretation of Protestant culture, in which all pictures (of the mind or eye) are said to be idolatrous.

Nevertheless, Watt does not denounce iconophobia altogether. As we shall see in later chapters, many of her analyses hint at a growing anxiety toward all religious imagery. Watt suggests that Protestants continued to produce images, albeit ‘within increasingly constrictive boundaries.’ While she is critical of Collinson, Watt accepts the spirit if not the letter of iconophobia, as she often fails to acknowledge other factors which limited the use of images. Most important among these is the marketplace of print with its economic fluctuations of supply and demand. Also, though Watt identifies the limited amount of skilled labour in England and the English dependence upon European artisans, she does not seem to account for this in the later years of Elizabeth’s reign. Certainly those Dutch exiles like Giles Godet or Marcus Gheeraerts or those that had worked in John Day’s shop had either returned to Europe or died by the early 1580s. However, new groups such as the Huguenots like Thomas Vautrollier continued to make an impact, and European images continued to flood into the London market.

Other scholars have been similarly reluctant to eschew the spirit of iconophobia.

---

20 I would also add to these points, as Watt demonstrates in her work, that Collinson does not take enough account of how many images were ferried across from Europe during the sixteenth century as well as the number of recycled images from pre-1558 and pre-Reformation printings that continued to appear later in the century (Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, pp. 175-190). In fact, concerning the latter, Collinson remarks that these ‘were now altogether destroyed’ (Collinson, ‘From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia’, in The Impact of the English Reformation, p. 296.).


Interestingly, several works on Foxe’s woodcuts have contributed greatly to our understanding of early modern printed images, but these studies often treat Foxe’s work as something of an anomaly in the English print trade. Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram promote the somewhat contentious idea that the woodcuts of martyrs were evidence of a possible ‘religious art of via media’, though any sort of middle way dwindled in the latter years of Elizabeth’s reign. While I would not suggest such a via media nor a significant dwindling of religious images, the importance of understanding the images’ influence in early modern belief and culture is clearly evident. Even Damian Nussbaum, who suggests Foxe and John Day were attempting to initiate a Protestant iconography, concludes that such imagery all but disappeared as iconophobic tensions strangled Protestant visual culture. In fact, the general trend has been to describe examples such as Foxe’s work as wholly exceptional in English Protestantism. Even William Dyrness, who is otherwise sympathetic to a model of Protestant iconography, laments, ‘visual media in general seemed to be declining as the century came to an end.’

Such studies ultimately fail to account for the range of images in circulation during Elizabeth’s reign. Rather than addressing what is a substantial sum of woodcuts and engravings, most studies have relied upon Reformation iconoclasm in establishing Protestant opinions about religious images. By deeming such imagery as either culturally insignificant, remnants of a fading tradition or a via media that never fully blossomed, these views have hindered the study of Reformation visual culture. Such arguments generally stem from a reliance on traditional art historical modes of analysis, which tend

to overlook the image’s lasting influence and examine images only in the immediate context in which they were created. These art historical models must be coupled with the recognition that images were material objects which were put to use across long periods of time. The cultural influence of the images did not rest solely (or even significantly) in their aesthetic qualities or within the immediate years of their first appearance.²⁷

Furthermore, iconophobia is closely related to another more significant issue, that of the survival of traditional religion. In response to many critics of Reformation revisionism, Duffy writes:

The religion of Elizabethan England was of course full of continuities with and developments of what had gone before … enough of the old imagery and old resonances remained in the churches in which the new religion was preached to complicate, even, in the eyes of some, to compromise, the new teachings.

Duffy has expanded this line of thought in an article published several years later, in which he describes late Tudor culture as one that continued to retain a great deal of Catholic material.²⁸

This point was first highlighted by Helen White’s work on prayer books and has been reemphasized by several historians working on late medieval and post-Reformation culture. Robert Lutton and Susan Wabuda have demonstrated some of the most popular and vibrant beliefs before the Reformation were those that were most easily adapted to early reform practice. This continuity, as Ryrie has demonstrated, translated over to Catholics like John Redman who refused to divorce themselves from the traditional church, but who also promoted the reform of true religion. Likewise, Tyacke and Fincham have demonstrated that even in the late sixteenth century, alongside ardent iconoclasts on one side and recusants on the other, there was a variety of Protestants, some of whom advocated ‘a greater ceremonialism’ and increasingly challenged the

²⁷ Aston and Ingram’s study is certainly the major exception to this point [‘The Iconography of the Actes and Monuments’]. However, particularly between the years 1536-1558, there remains a large portion of unacknowledged imagery that has been overlooked because of its limited aesthetic appeal.
boundaries of orthodoxy. Rather than a categorical break with traditional religion, such studies suggest a survival and transformation of traditional belief with new meaning and purpose.

The shortcomings of Collinson’s thesis aside, his excellent insights at the conclusion of *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* are particularly significant here. When considering Richard Bernard’s text *Contemplative pictures with wholesome precepts* (1610), which contained no printed images, Collinson asks what was the purpose of such imagery, and it is in such questions ‘where an account of Protestant culture ought to begin’. Suggestive interpretations of the uses and purposes of different types of imagery put forth by scholars like Richard Williams and Tara Hamling have demonstrated how correct Collinson was on this point. In *Art Re-formed*, Hamling and Williams (and their contributors) have presented a way of looking at Reformation art through the lens of a ‘process of cultural transformation’, allowing for ‘continuities and discontinuities, innovation and destruction to find their rightful place.’ One of the most significant aspects of Reformation visual images is to what degree they did or did not diverge from traditional forms and where those lines of divergence were drawn. The chapters in *Art Re-formed* range from studies of portraiture, monuments, interior design and printed images, demonstrating the breadth of visual material, which continued to play a significant cultural role after the Reformation. Also, *Art Re-formed* is sensitive to the connections between the religious and cultural developments in England and those in continental Europe. The depth of these connections has yet to be fully excavated; however, as chapter two of this thesis demonstrates, printed images often crossed national and confessional borders with relative ease. Furthermore, Hamling’s research

---


into domestic interiors offers an understanding of images that focuses more on their physical presence and placement than on their visual aesthetics and meaning. In a similar manner, this thesis will assess the pictures along the lines of their religious and cultural representation, as something important for their presence in print. The images were creations and expressions of Elizabethan religious culture as well as objects that were physically and meaningfully contextualised by printed words.

**Studying Printed Images**

The study of printed images has passed through several academic disciplines. While they have each had a considerable impact, the variety of methodologies and interests amongst these disciplines complicates any analysis of the images as a whole. Simply put, over the past century, printed images have moved from bibliographic studies published in journals such as *The Library* to more historically, culturally and textually focused examinations. The historical importance of this visual culture has only recently been identified. In 1988, Roy Porter announced his desire for the establishment of what he referred to as ‘schools of “visual history”’ similar to the scope and variety of those studying oral history. The majority of historians, Porter comments, ‘remain latter-day iconoclasts’, as they ‘assume the primacy of written records in terms of both reliability and representativeness.’ Though Porter’s critique is fairly accurate, he does not take sufficient account of Robert Scribner’s and Peter Burke’s studies on European visual culture, and Porter dismisses more focused antiquarian studies (e.g. emblem books, wall paintings and tapestries).

---

Burke’s research on Renaissance Europe recognised the importance of visual representations not only amongst the elites but also within popular culture. His study of cultural transmission through words and images continues to be an important discussion of how ideas, beliefs, mentalities and general social sentiments were transmitted and transmuted.³⁵ Where Burke focused on the general mentalities in Europe, Scribner put forward the idea of the ‘rhetoric of the image’, in his study of German polemical woodcuts which, he argues, served as a popular medium for Protestant propaganda.³⁶ For Scribner, images were a medium intended for the ‘illiterate or barely literate’, even though the educated could still enjoy and be enriched by the images.³⁷ Scribner’s work was the first comprehensive study of a body of popular visual media in Reformation history. His careful interpretative expertise has not been surpassed, and his analysis of Panofskian visual models and discussion of visual propaganda remain relevant to the field. Both his warnings against any ‘dubious attempt at identification’ of an image and his debunking of the desacralisation process as inherent in the industrialising and mechanising of European society are also salient to this thesis.³⁸ Though many of his ideas have recently come under heavy scrutiny, his work on German propaganda and visual culture in general remains one of the important oeuvres on early modern images.

By way of an aside here, it is important to recognise the strong criticism that Scribner’s work has received, in so far as it has bearing on this thesis. In *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, Andrew Pettegree unleashed the most direct assault on Scribner’s thesis, which can be summarised in three basic points. First, Pettegree

---


³⁸ Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk*, p. 254. Scribner’s debunking of the sacralisation thesis was expanded into an excellent article several years later ['The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the “Disenchantment of the World”’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23 (1993), 475-494].
identifies poor eyesight as an insurmountable problem for much of the population. Second, Pettegree posits that even those illiterate and impoverished people who were able to see properly would not be able to comprehend the ‘freight of interpretation’ that images carried. Third, he questions the reality of reading groups with mixed literacy skills, where the literate could aid the ignorant in understanding. He concludes that there is no direct evidence of any such activity, and it is ‘almost impossible to imagine’ as a common practice. Pettegree sets out these points as an ultimatum, explaining that ‘only if these conditions could be met … could visual images function as a bridge between the message and the masses.’ For him, the printed image naturally belonged in the hands of the ‘leisured, moneyed readership’ that could see and afford them. Though he grants that some cheap images continued to be printed, Pettegree dismisses these as having ‘little imagination or originality’, and so, apparently, having had no significant influence upon the reading public.

Pettegree should be commended for attempting a coherent challenge to Scribner’s work. In particular, Scribner’s idea that broadsheet images were intended specifically for an illiterate audience has never been fully convincing. But, Pettegree’s challenge is levelled in such an absolute fashion that these points become a censorious condemnation rather than a suggestive critique. Moreover, it leaves several critical points unattended. First, since much of Pettegree’s own work rests on the assumption that printing did have a powerful impact on the early modern period, it would seem that he needs to explain how people (who were nearly blind) could read words without being able to see images. Second, one must question why, in a strong oral culture, these symbolically rich images

---


40 Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, pp. 107, 123, 122.
could only be accessed by those who could read. While much of the imagery concerned current events, Biblical stories and popular allusion (e.g. Wheel of Fortune, the Ass and the Fool), which would have been accessible to most early modern adults, Pettegree assumes that the symbolism of the images was completely bound up with other texts and had little or no relation to oral communication. Finally, Pettegree’s analysis leaves little room for degrees and levels of readership. By setting up strict paradigms of either rich or poor and either fully educated or completely illiterate, one is forced to assume the best or worst of the readership. However, as this thesis will demonstrate, there is a wealth of insight to be found in these nuanced degrees of understanding and in the varying reading capabilities with which people accessed the printed images. The fact that images carried multiple layers of meaning, allowing them to be read alongside the text or on their own, and were seen by a variety of readers from different social and cultural milieus, make them a much more valuable source to the historian than Pettegree seems to believe.

These criticisms aside, Scribner’s work remains a foundational analysis of Reformation visual culture. Other works on European images, following Scribner’s example, include Charles Zika’s work on sixteenth-century German images of magic and witchcraft. Zika offers an insightful body of research elucidating how images both reflect and inform the contemporary culture. His insistence upon studying the images through the perceptions and practices of the period in question is an important model for future studies. Though Zika’s work *Exorcising Our Demons* is a collection of shorter pieces rather than a single, coherent argument, he has done more than most historians in successfully ‘writing the visual into history.’ Also, his more recent book *The Appearance of Witchcraft* constructs what he describes as visual discourses of witchcraft in the early modern period and examines the sources and reasons for these discourses.

---

Both of his works rightly insist upon recognising that ‘visual and literary discourses often overlap and interact’, but also ‘develop separately and remain quite distinct.’ Visual images often reflect and elaborate upon textual sources, particularly the texts they illustrate, but they equally could depict messages uncommon in literary works.

Scholars like Keith Moxey and Joseph Koerner have advanced the field of art history in their studies of German printed images and art. Depending heavily on theories of ideology derived from the philosophy of Louis Althusser, Moxey analyses the representations of stereotypes and social categories in Nuremburg. In this, Moxey works on the assumption that all sign systems are inherently ideological and that each image fits nicely into a culture of semiology. Koerner, on the other hand, has examined the impact of the Lutheran Reformation and the nature of Lutheran art. He describes such art as both something less complex than Renaissance art and ultimately unartistic (in art historical terms) in its efforts to turn people’s attention away from the picture and toward Christian truth. His depth of interpretation into the artists’ motivations is highly original, though not always straightforward. With a keen awareness of the interactions between Reformation thought, word and image Koerner’s study suggests that an essential part of interpreting Reformation art consists in answering the question why the images were even there to begin with. Eschewing much of what he considers to be an a-historical dependence upon modern aesthetic models, he comments, ‘Reformation images look less like bad art than like bad art history.’ Reformation art does not fit properly into the mould that has been fashioned by art historians. Instead, Koerner calls for an uncluttered approach to this visual media, one that recognises the intended simplicity of these works and seeks to understand the deeper meanings and motivations behind this simplicity.

Printed images in England were first examined in the early- and mid-twentieth century in the excellent catalogues and bibliographies of F.S. Ferguson, R.B. McKerrow and Edward Hodnett. These catalogues were based almost entirely upon the Short Title Catalogue (STC). The excellence of the STC, however, is limited by the large number of unregistered (and thus un-catalogued) printed images, either surreptitiously printed in England or imported from Europe, and the non-standardised way in which many books with the same STC number (that is of the same edition) could contain different images without any record of the discrepancies.

Interpretations of English printed images before 1980 were offered by art historians who focused entirely upon the limited nature of the trade in England and its aesthetic backwardness in comparison to Europe. English printed images, in general, were perceived as a second rate tradition, and usually conceptualised as an unsophisticated and limited body of work. H.G. Aldis stated, ‘The general condition of the trade probably militated against any high standard being attained or even aimed at … or to bestow the pains required to ensure good workmanship.’ Informed by art and literary theory, such studies tend to value European print over English print and judge early modern images according to a modern aesthetic value system.

In historical terms, there seems little reason for either the strict separation of European and English printing or the aesthetic comparisons between the two trades.

While sixteenth-century printed images in England usually originated in Europe, the

---

47 Devices; McKerrow and Ferguson; English Woodcuts. European printed images have been recorded most prolifically in the The Illustrated Bartsch based upon the work of the eighteenth-century Austrian scholar Johann Adam Berhard von Bartsch: The Illustrated Bartsch, vols. 1-50, general editor Walter L. Strauss (New York: Abairis Press, 1978--).

48 An example of this is the popular text Stephen Batman, A christall glasse of christian reformation, London, 1569. The British Library copy (call number C.37.d.2.) is lacking one of the catalogued woodcuts (f. 11r).


relationship was more symbiotic than parasitic, as images and texts travelled to and from England and Europe. Throughout the century, the print trade developed a matrix of connections, often influenced by the political and religious climates. One overlooked element is the large number of religious exiles fleeing the wars of religion in France and the Netherlands, as well as the English Protestants fleeing the reign of Queen Mary. Many of these individuals were readers and producers of books, and their mass movements, as chapter two demonstrates, helped to shape the nature of Protestant printing.\(^5\) Also, Englishmen worked and traded in Paris, Antwerp and Frankfurt, and European printers exploited a fresh demand for their stock in London, Oxford and Cambridge. An image such as the Papal Ass could be created in 1522 for a Lutheran polemic, then copied in Antwerp for a Calvinist broadsheet and finally reprinted in London for several works in the 1570s.\(^5\) Transported through the networks of stationers, printers and artisans, many images could be seen across Europe, creating several thousand copies within various confessional contexts.

Along with the recent work by Richard Williams and Tara Hamling, one of the key contributions to undermining this divide between Europe and England is Anthony Wells-Cole’s study of the influence of European printed images on English painting, interior decoration and architecture. Wells-Cole’s extensive research into both the visual relations between the images and the people involved in production and dissemination is invaluable.\(^5\) Manor halls, university colleges and government buildings—all participated

---


in this cultural infusion of European visual imagery, reproducing Biblical, allegorical and historical scenes and motifs in the plasterwork, canvases, masonry and woodwork.

As mentioned previously, the study of printed images in early modern England revolves around a few popular illustrated texts, specifically Foxe’s martyrlogy. Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram’s analysis, along with Ruth Luborsky’s comments, continue to be the most useful and original work on Foxe’s woodcuts. Luborsky’s own extensive research has done the most to further future examinations of British images in general.\(^5\) However, even more broadly conceived studies, such as James Knapp’s study of visual representations of the past in Elizabethan England, overlook a large body of material, focusing on major works from Raphael Holinshed, Philip Sidney and John Derricke. Certainly, these studies are a valuable contribution, but they lack a breadth needed to be suggestive about the wider body of visual imagery. Again, part of this deficiency is an underlying assumption, which is perhaps a remnant of *iconophobia*, that no such body of material exists.\(^5\)

A way forward may be found in Martha Driver’s contribution to the career of Wynkyn de Worde and his pre-Reformation printed images. Driver’s work offers a great deal of background detail for this thesis, focusing attention not on a single work but on a single printer, who produced most of the images in early sixteenth-century England. Tracing the provenance and printings of the images, Driver demonstrates the nature of English printed images at the time and analyses several modes of social representation. Further, she successfully identifies many of the characteristics of English printed images

\(^5\) Of particular importance are Aston and Ingram’s contribution to the transmission of images from drawing to print (‘Iconography’, pp. 72-72, 90-100). Luborsky’s nuanced discussion of the types of woodcuts, their uses, the effects upon the reader, and the recycling of images is indispensable: ‘Connections and Disconnections Between Images and Texts: The Case of the Secular Tudor Book Illustration’, *Word and Image*, 3(1987), pp. 74-83.

\(^5\) James Knapp, *Illustrating the Past*, chs. 1-2. Elizabeth Evenden’s comments about such studies is particularly insightful. The illustrations appearing in books on the scale and magnitude of Foxe’s work ‘generally were not intended to increase a book’s [sic] popular appeal (or to be ripped out, for that matter), but were … designed to appeal to the social and educational elites’ [Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 103.].
(particularly the recycling, reprinting and transmitting of images), which would continue to influence their use during the Reformation.\textsuperscript{56}

In the same manner, this thesis will treat Elizabethan printed images as a body of visual culture. Rather than focusing on a single printer, this study has chosen the theme of invisible beings to frame the examination. Here, the emphasis will not be placed upon particular texts which were considered the epitome of book illustration (e.g. Actes and monuments or the Bishops’ Bible). Though these major works are referenced several times, it is the scale and breadth of printed imagery that is most important. Also, this thesis will only be concerned with artisans and artists in so far as they can offer an indication as to the purpose and intent of the image. I do not mean to suggest that this thesis is some sort of visual poststructuralist study, detaching the visual text from its authorial meaning. However, as most English printed images were created anonymously, this thesis has focused attention upon the stationers and printers who commissioned the images and produced the printed works. Certainly, there were influential authors who had some say in the printed images, such as: Stephen Batman, John Dee and John Foxe. On the whole, however, as Elizabeth Evenden and Driver have indicated, it was the printers who controlled the production and circulation of the images.\textsuperscript{57} Their lives and careers provide a more robust context within which to trace and assess the development of printed images in sixteenth-century England.

**Cultural Importance and Ways of Seeing the Images**

To fully discover the cultural and religious impact of the printed images, one must look beyond the printers. As art historian E. H. Gombrich explains, ‘The information extracted from an image can be quite independent of the intention of its

\textsuperscript{56} Martha Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and Its Sources* (London, 2004).

\textsuperscript{57} Driver, *The Image in Print*, pp. 34-36; Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, pp. 95-100.
maker.’58 Unfortunately, readership and how readers interacted with the images remains one of the more indistinct aspects of early modern visual culture. However, there are several characteristics that can provide indications as to how people would have seen the images.

In the early years of cultural history, what people saw would have been examined within a system of symbols and semiotic signifiers, eventually producing the ‘meaning’ of the images. This cultural anthropology, based primarily on the work of Clifford Geertz, asserted that there were fixed, constructed systems of signs and signifiers within every cultural milieu. However, recent work on readership and cultural experience has demonstrated that such a structured model is too rigid. It simply cannot explain the variety of ways in which people interact with and interpret cultural symbols and meanings.59 Beyond the symbolism of the picture, a history of printed images must examine several other aspects to understand how they were seen and read within early modern culture.

One aspect that may assist in understanding how images were seen is the number of images in circulation. There is a dangerous allure, however, surrounding the nature of quantitative evidence. We must resist the assumption that by counting the number of images and the number of times images were printed we can calculate their influence. Any calculated numbers must be placed within several interlaced contexts, including: the strength of the print trade, the availability of raw materials and skilled labour, the purpose of the particular printed image, the intended audience and what is being represented. Compounding this problem is the fluid nature of the printed book as a material object. Since books were usually sold unbound, their pages (and their images) could go missing or be intentionally removed without notice. They could be manipulated,

moved around and attached to other texts with relative ease, making any analysis of the number of printed images much more complex and muddled. Further, quantitative evidence does not account for the separate and competing forces of the market, the public demand for such material goods and the government censors, which often banned salacious or heretical works. That said, quantitative evidence can provide a basic backdrop to the density of printed images and a basic understanding of the size and shape of visual culture.

The *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* estimates that eleven thousand titles were published in England from 1558—1603 and more than five thousand printed images have been catalogued from 1536—1603.\(^{60}\) While the numbers are considerably lower than in other European countries, they are not nearly as insignificant as the visual vacuum of *iconophobia* would suggest. Though no single catalogue for English printed images exists, several older bibliographic works, like those of Edward Hodnett and R.B. McKerrow (which have already been referenced), establish a starting point. The more thorough *Guide to English Illustrated Books* by Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram and the current *British Printed Images to 1700* project offer hope for a more extensive catalogue in the future. However, even with a significant number of printed images as yet unaccounted for, the numbers currently catalogued are significant. If the more than five thousand images recorded by Luborsky and Ingram had a conservative 200 copies printed, excluding any reprints or recycling (both of which were common), over one million images would have been in circulation.\(^{61}\)

---

60 The number of titles is derived from the Appendix I of *CHBB, vol. IV*, pp. 779-784. While this conservative number of printed images is based on the exhaustive *Guide to English Illustrated Books*, it does not include the numerous single sheet woodcut and engraving prints in the Prints and Drawings Room, British Museum, the Cambridge University Library and the Ashmolean Library. Also, the Herculean work of the many scholars at the British Printed images conference must be acknowledged. Though this resource had yet to be launched when I wrote this introduction, it will include many of the yet undiscovered images, particularly those at the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum. I am very grateful for Michael Hunter’s permission to view the bpi website before its launch: *British Printed Images to 1700* project, [http://www.btn1700.org.uk/](http://www.btn1700.org.uk/).

61 By ‘recycling’ I mean the practice of reprinting images in texts other than the text an image originally was printed in.
In many ways, the limited nature of English printing and the iconoclastic spirit of Protestantism testify to the influence and importance of the images. The fact that images were a limited commodity, and yet seem to appear and reappear across the spectrum of English print, indicates that they were both popular and culturally valuable. Woodcuts and engravings were often reproduced in six or seven different titles, creating thousands of copies of a single image. This process of copying and recycling images numerous times was characteristic of the English print trade during this period. While it has often been seen as evidence of the limited and backward nature of English print, the recycling effect, as Luborsky suggests, also shaped the nature of English print creating continuities between images and texts across a large span of time.62

This thesis has examined the printing of religious images within 226 STC editions in Elizabethan England. More than eight-five of these were reprints or examples of recycling. The majority of the images were recycled or copied from pre-1558 printed works. Many pre-Reformation (before 1536) images, along with five complete titles of illustrated works, were transmitted into Elizabethan print, demonstrating the powerful compulsion to reuse and recycle even the oldest images.63 Many of those examined have been studied in multiple copies and editions to ensure that those images reportedly printed in a book were commonly present. The scenes portrayed in the images tend to be Biblical, though many are more contemporary in content alluding to some scriptural passage or narrative. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the purpose of these images was not merely illustrative. They not only visualised the Biblical past but they also used the

62 Luborsky, ‘Connections and Disconnections’, pp. 81-84.
63 Sebastian Brant, Stultifera navis or The ship of fooles (London: J. Cawood, 1570) STC 3546; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Batman upon Bartholome his booke De proprietatibus rerum, newly corrected, enlarged and amended: with such additions as are requisite, unto every severall booke: taken foorth of the most approved authors, the like heretofore not translated in English (London: T. East, 1581) STC 1538; The shepardes kalender Here beginneth the kalender of shepardes newly augmented and corrected (London: T. East for John Walley, 1570) STC 22415; John Mandeville, The voyage and travayle of syr J. Maundevile (London: T. East 1568) STC 17250.
scriptural narrative and language to interpret and understand early modern events and circumstances.64

Another pertinent aspect of the images that can indicate cultural importance is their materiality on the page and in the book. Every aspect of a picture was experienced by the reader and influenced how they interacted with the images. The pictorial representation and symbolic codes were not the only visual displays projected by these pictures. The colour, size and shape of the image are also important. The image’s placement both within the surrounding text and within the work as a whole can provide insight into its purpose.65 As recent studies into the psychophysics and phenomenology of sight demonstrate, the physical attributes as much as the symbolic coding carry significance and meaning that must be understood in order to access how the images were seen.66

Recent studies on the history of the book dealing with printed and handwritten margin notes can enhance our understanding of how readers engaged with the images. Particularly relevant here is William Slights’s work on the various uses of printed margin notes.67 Slights outlines fifteen different uses of margin notes, from mocking to justification and appropriation to simplification. These were used not only to guide the

---

64 One of the major roadblocks in offering a more thorough catalogue of the images is that many of these religious figures appeared within the same printed image. As such, it has proven impossible to speak in terms of specific numbers for specific figures without creating a convoluted, meaningless mess, wherein numerous images must be cross-referenced in the various categories.


66 The scholarship on vision perception and cognition is vast, and my own studies have only had the opportunity to access a small portion. Of particular interest to this research has been the idea of active vision, that is a way of seeing that is not based upon the mere passive reception of light waves. See: John M. Findlay and Iain D. Gilchrist, Active Vision: The Psychology of Looking and Seeing (Oxford, 2003).

reader but to control and shape how the reader interacted with the text. The message in
the margin, like that of the image, could be quite different from the central text, but the
two were encountered in relation to one another. Such studies promote a common way of
reading in the early modern world that was ‘decidedly non-narrative’, moving from text
to margin to image to diagram and back again, creating an ‘experience both
discontinuous and self-conscious.’

With this in mind, one aspect that this thesis will consider closely is the
placement of the image in a work. I have thus far come across seven different distinct
places an image could be printed: on or opposite the frontispiece, at the end of the
literary text, at the beginning or ending of a section/chapter, on the border, within the text
and on the opposite page of the first page of literary text. Each location evoked certain
meanings and was used with different intentions. Those images printed on the
frontispiece or at the opening or closing of a section transmitted a sense of
commencement and authority, introducing and concluding the written text. Images
appearing in the text have a more interactive relationship with the words around them.
Images on the borders may illustrate the text, but often they present a parallel narrative to
the text and usually act as guides for the reader. Like margin notes, printed images
carried on an intimate relationship with the reader. Most small woodcuts would need to
be studied, with the readers’ eyes gazing intently from image to text in a more cyclical
manner rather than the linear reading style that characterises so much of modern
reading.

Another aspect involved in the reading and seeing of printed images is
understanding how they related to the written text. It must be kept in mind that this
relationship is by no means straightforward. The traditional understanding of book
illustrations is echoed by Keith Moxey, when he explains that woodcuts were completely

---

68 Slights, Managing Readers, p. 95.
reliant upon the written text and served only as pictorial representations of textual meaning. Based on semiotic theory, Moxey treats both text and image as cultural representations of language, though the text remains the dominant aspect of this representation. Despite recognizing that images do contain a language different from the text, he concludes, ‘The illustration’s dependence on the text was exploited to radically reduce the complexity of the image.’

Scribner was one of the first to move away from this viewpoint, offering a more nuanced division of various uses, which he places under the categories of ‘anchorage and relay’. Though he does not expand upon the idea of ‘relay’ in much detail, he does suggest ways in which images could be considered to have both an illustrative (anchor) and correlative (relay) relationship with the text. Roger Chartier has expanded on these categories, explaining printed images were ‘to be viewed close to, not at a distance’, and they are ‘always connected with the written word (in a spatial or textual sense)’. Lee Palmer Wandel in her study of images in Reformation Zurich suggests that woodcuts offered the reader an ‘interpretation’ of the text, which guided the reader through a pictorial representation of what the written word attempted to describe. In this, the image is not only illustrative of the text but it also enters into a discursive relationship with what is written, complementing and augmenting it. Elsewhere, Thomas Betteridge argues that the woodcuts of the martyrs acted as protectors of the veracity of the martyrdom tales by visually demonstrating the reality of the scenes.

One of the key barriers to discerning these relationships between text and image is the insufficient understanding of how readers interacted with the text and image. With the linguistic turn, the divorce of the text from authorial intent has led many scholars to

---

70 Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives*, p. 127. I do not necessarily disagree with Moxey’s point that many images were limited by space on the page and the craftsman’s skills and so the text could be used to explain what was not obviously apparent; however, I believe the assumption that this was the inherent relationship between all texts and images is unqualified.


suggest that textual meanings are limited only by the variety of their readers. Recent investigations into early modern readers have emphasised this point. Texts and images were not static objects simply to be read or misread. Printed material was not accepted as truth *a priori*. Even the Bible, as Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker explain became something ‘to be edited, emended, retranslated, glossed, interrogated and, *in fine*, deconstructed.’ The reality of this liberty to use a text as the reader saw fit must be accounted for. An individual’s reading of a text may extract any number of meanings and significances. However, as Sharpe and Zwicker explain, readers are still a product of a particular time and place, even if their views are not commonly accepted, and so they must be understood within that context. As Zika states, ‘Social modes of viewing govern the ways in which individuals or groups see, and consequently, they influence the relationship between reader and image.’

In his later work, Scribner offered some approaches to this problem. His study of ways of seeing visual images in late medieval and Reformation Germany posited that there was ‘a syncretism of traditional and evangelical modes of visual piety, found in several variations.’ What differed between these modes was how the images were intended to be seen and read. Thus, depending upon the cultural and religious context, how they were portrayed and set out in the text was adjusted to evoke a different response. Scribner offers several possible ways of seeing images, but he particularly directs his attention toward the ‘sacramental gaze’, which he associates with late-medieval Catholic piety and the ‘cold gaze … that characterized many pious images of

---


74 Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, p. 540. Patrick Collinson has made a similar assessment about the diverse ways a text can be read, concerning Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*: ‘I think it more likely that Foxe was read in ways that were shared and mutually understood than that he was read in any number of ways’. (Patrick Collinson, ‘John Foxe and National Consciousness’, in *John Foxe and his World*, p. 210).

the Reformation.76 He locates the sacred gaze in the centre of medieval piety, as the means by which people entered into fellowship with and worship of the sacred. The cold gaze, on the other hand, was the reformers’ ways of accessing images in a more didactic and doctrinally way, by removing any aura of the numinous. Though he does not use the term ‘cold gaze’, Koerner explains Reformation images along these lines as something that was essentially iconoclastic, by unveiling the mysteries of the sacred image as fraudulent and pointing to the simple truth of scripture.77

The Eye of the Mind: Reading the Printed Images

In ‘A Faithful and Solemn Exhortation to the Swiss Confederates’ (1524), Ulrich Zwingli expounded upon his theology of Christ in the Word, explaining that:

From a picture one learns only the facts of what happened, but one learns the story and the efficacy of his sufferings through the Word … We are not saved merely by knowing how he was crucified, but by knowing that he was crucified for us, and that he, the crucified one, is Lord God. This cannot be learnt from any picture or image.78

Though Zwingli was an iconoclast, he did not advocate the demolition of all visual imagery. In fact, he found certain images, even those of religious subjects, quite fruitful if used correctly. Zwingli, like many reformers, believed images were useful as literary devices, memorials, commemorative emblems and visual allegories. Salvation could not be found in them. But they were capable of directing a person’s mind toward the truth.

As words could be made beautiful, so images could be read and studied. This thesis will put forward the concept of reading images, above that of merely viewing or seeing, as reading seems more in keeping with the Protestant purpose of printed images. Also, the idea of reading the image coincides with and augments Scribner’s ways of seeing. Scribner and others are correct in suggesting that the reformers wished to eradicate what they perceived as superstitious images. However, the implication that the

76 Scribner, For the Sake of the Simple Folk, pp. 121-123 (p. 123).
cold, unemotional gaze was a categorically Protestant means of seeing images creates an anachronistic dichotomy with the traditional ‘sacred gaze’. On its own, such a divide leaves little room for the diversity of opinions and pious practices in the Reformation. This division between emotional and unemotional ways of seeing oversimplifies the depth to which Protestants interacted with visual images. The works of several scholars have proved particularly evocative in demonstrating these intricacies.79 Also, there are numerous examples of readers engaging with images in much more complex and subtle ways.80

To understand why these images continued to be so important, even to the well educated reader, we must understand how early modern culture understood the nature and purpose of seeing. Like late medieval Catholicism, the Protestant reformers based their epistemology of sight upon the Augustinian/Aristotelian concept of the eye of the mind. Thus, physical images interacted with the images of the soul, which in turn affected the entirety of a person’s being. In one sense, to see a thing, that is to study and ‘read’ it, was to focus one’s soul upon the form and representation that it presented. The

80 Other examples that will be mentioned in this thesis include the Huntington Library copy of John Merbecke’s The lyves of holy sainctes, prophetes, patriarches, and others, contayned in holye Scripture (London: H. Denham & R. Watkins, 1574), STC 17303 [Huntington Library call #28899]. This copy has been augmented by a reader with twenty-five Dutch and Flemish engravings from the late sixteenth century. Most of these were taken from a series of engravings titled Thesaurus sacrarum historiarum testamenti (1585), published by Gerard de Jode. Interestingly, in several copies of the text that I have studied, the work contains several blank pages throughout, suggesting that the stationers had such practices in mind when they printed it. This practice also occurs in a 1568 copy of Thomas Kempis’s The imitation of Christ which was augmented in the late seventeenth century with an engraving of the crucifixion done by Simon Gribelin (Thomas Kempis, The imitation or following of Christ and the contemning of worldly vanities (London: H. Denham, 1568 [1571?]) STC 23971 [British Library IX.Eng.163]). Also, readers inserted woodcuts into commonplace books, such as the Lutheran Johannes Spon’s miscellany manuscript written in the late 1550s. Spon devotes more than one hundred fifty pages, almost half of the manuscript, to small images of the Old and New Testaments (British Library MS Egerton 1178: ALBUM Amicorum of Johannes Spon, of Augsburg). At least three different woodcut series are represented in a total of 168 images, including a random portrait of Zwingli, who sits near the middle of the images.
mind and soul were intricately linked to the eyes, in such a way that what passed before the latter impressed itself on the former.\footnote{Miles, ‘Vision: The Eye of the Body and the Eye of the Mind in Saint Augustine’s “De trinitate” and “Confessions”’, \textit{The Journal of Religion}, 63 (1983), 125-142. Aristotle’s thoughts on this are summarised in: \textit{De memoria et reminiscencia}, translated by Richard Sorabji (London: Duckworth, 1972), 449b30—450b20.}

Several scholars have emphasised the importance of sight in the Protestant world as a way into the sacred realm, describing a Protestant (and even Calvinist) reverence for what was seen. In his general work on iconoclasm, Alain Besançon remarks, ‘in a strange reversal, by means of the very representations of earthly things, an underlying sacred content emerges from the art’, which Calvinists dedicated to the physical world. This content acted as ‘altars of sorts, made for contemplation and summoning the soul to perpetual adoration’ of what God had created.\footnote{Besançon, \textit{The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm}, translated by Jane Marie Todd (Chicago, 2000), p. 189} Stuart Clark has assessed the field of early modern vision, explaining, ‘A form of religious seeing that was non-sacramental became possible.’ Clark, however, does not seem to discard completely the idea that Protestants could not see something emotionally as he describes this religious sight as a ‘dispassionate act—like looking at objects through a window’.\footnote{Clark, \textit{Vanities of the Eye}, p. 183.} But, it is apparent in this thesis that how one saw depended upon what one was seeing and why they were gazing, as much as the medium through which one saw. William Dyrness is closer to the truth, arguing that the reformers and particularly Calvin were intent upon reforming the idea of ‘the place of worship’ and indeed the entire definition of what was religious. For sixteenth-century Protestants, it was imperative that people saw not particular objects or places as sacred but rather ‘all places as potentially sacred.’\footnote{Dyrness, \textit{Reformed Theology and Visual Culture}, p. 82.}

What implications does this have for Elizabethan printed images? If Calvin and the reformers that followed him found the possibility for sacredness in everything in Creation, then we must begin to refine our understanding of what they were seeing and reading in these images. Representations of invisible beings, particularly as they were
described in scripture, cannot simply be read as mere memorials or illustrations. Instead of a simple dispassionate gaze, there seems to be something more contemplative which Protestants invested in these images. If we are to grasp what Zika describes as ‘social modes of viewing’ in Elizabethan England, I believe we must first and foremost understand the importance of the eye of the mind.

The Elizabethan discourse on idols of the mind, as discussed by Margaret Aston, has directed historical thought in understanding Protestant imagery and the cleansing of the mind’s eye. However, little has been done to establish what Protestants intended to do with this spotless eye. Sixteenth-century concepts of sight and vision continued to draw heavily upon Augustine’s blend of biology and metaphysics, allowing for a co-mingling between the physical eye and the spiritual soul. In this, seeing was an active, engaging and wilful process, similar to what modern society might consider as intense reading.85 What one sees with the physical eye is transmitted and impressed permanently upon the soul, influencing not only a person’s perceptions but also their beliefs, thoughts and actions. Those images set before a person’s eyes were intended to strengthen and train the mind via the sensual aspect of the eye.

The language of the Augustinian eye of the mind was everywhere present in sixteenth-century Protestantism. Calvin emphatically stated ‘faith it selfe is indeed the eye of the minde.’ 86 Here, Calvin reaffirms the importance of an active, trained mental eye but also alters Augustine’s motif so that belief itself composes the essence of the mind’s eye. Abraham Fleming, the virulent anti-papist and editor of the 1587 edition of Holinshed’s Chronicles, furthered this idea that faith cleanses the mind to see images rightly and truly. In his prayer book The diamond of devotion (1581), Fleming wrote, God ‘has opened the eies of our understandings, and sanctified them by the visitation and

86 Susan Hardman Moore, ‘For the mind’s eye only: puritans, images and “the golden mines of Scripture”’, Scottish Journal of Theology, 59 (2006), 281-296; John Calvin, A harmonie upon the three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke with the commentarie of M. John Calvine (London: T. Dawson, 1584), STC 2962, p. 166.
presence of thy holy spirit’. If one’s beliefs were false, the mind would be corrupted.

Martin Bucer also employed this epistemology when condemning Catholic idols, saying, ‘Let us (I saye) have this Jesus nailed faste upon the crosse / set up before the eyes of oure mynde’. 87 John Foxe explained the relationship between the physical and mental eyes, asking:

Wilt thou have a sight of the wonderfull workmanship and riches of this thy invisible world? The beholdyng of this Sunne, this light, this life, doth, I know, greatly please thine eyes, but how much superexcellent is the sunne within thy body, the sincere Eye of the Minde, illuminated with the light of JESUS CHRIST, the brightnesse wherof cleareth, and cheareth the whole mynde of Man? 88

As light rays momentarily fixed object and eye together, so the soul was connected with the form and image of what was being represented. The popular moral philosopher Pierre la Primaudaye stated, ‘as the eie is illuminated by the beames that proceed from the sunne, so the mind is illuminated by the brightnes of the divine light’. However, if one lacked faith (i.e. the light of Christ), one could not see the form and image properly. 89 Eric Saak has explained that the purpose of this sort of seeing was not a return to late medieval modes of devotion, seeking to create a mystical experience or union with Christ. It was instead intended ‘to stimulate the faculties of memory, intellect, and love’. 90 The images for such meditative stimulation could be created in the mind by the words of a sermon, the tune of a lyric and the beauty of prose or an image.

**Summary of Chapters**

87 Abraham Fleming, *The diamond of devotion cut and squared into sixe severall points* (London: H. Denham, 1581) STC 11041, p. 171; Martin Bucer, *A treatise declaring and showing that images are not to be suffered in churches* (London: T. Godfray, 1535), STC 24238, B7v.

88 John Foxe, *Christ Jesus triumphant A fruitefull treatise, wherin is described the most glorious triumph, and conquest of Christ Jesus our saviour, over sinne, death, the law, the strength and pride of Sathan, and the world, with all other enemies whatsoever against the poore soule of man* (London: J. Day, 1576), STC 11231, p. 8.

89 Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The second part of the French academie Wherein, as it were by a naturall historie of the bodie and soule of man, the creation, matter, composition, forme, nature, profite and use of all the partes of the frame of man are handled* (London: G. Bishop, 1594), STC 15238, p. 70.

The following chapters will plot how Elizabethan printed images were used as cultural and religious media, both as visual representations and textual guides. Certainly, these were not the only reasons for the printed images. They served more economic and social purposes, as a means to boost profit and marketability. Also, many images acted as printers’ marks and markers of the quality of the text.

I have chosen the focus of these chapters as much for their relationship to the discussion of iconophobia and Protestant belief about religious images as for what such imagery can tell us about Elizabethan culture. The power and pervasiveness of these figures in early modern mentalities is difficult to ignore. Indeed, the importance of such spiritual beings in the entire worldview (*Weltanschauung*) deserves greater acknowledgement and recognition.

To begin, the place of two specific socio-cultural contexts must be fully explained. In the first, the context of the marketplace of print will be assessed. In this, the images will be contextualised within the world dominated by the controlling levers of economic limitations and early modern censorship and regulation. Also, the relationship between the printing trades in Europe and England will be examined, along with the importance of the stationers as the keepers and transmitters of printed images.

The second chapter will place the printed images within the context of Protestant theology as it evolved during the sixteenth century. Though early modern books and readers did not always conform to the tenets of scripture, they did exist in a world where the Biblical narrative and Christian theology were the dominant discourses. The Bible was more than a list of moral platitudes, it also provided a model and narrative within which early modern culture understood the world. In this, the theology of iconoclasm, traced from the Lollards through the Elizabethan reformers, will be placed alongside the Protestant use of certain types of imagery. The reasoning behind why certain images were considered more acceptable will be discussed as well as the influential role played
by several continental theologians in establishing how English Protestants conceptualised a functional use for imagery. Ultimately, the doctrine of *adiaphora* as well as a recognized need to depict Biblical scenes will emerge as the underlying impetuses behind the theological approval for religious printed images.

The final three chapters will provide specific analysis of the cultural and religious significance of good and evil angels, God and Christ as they were represented in the printed images. Rather than focusing on only a handful of images or a single text, as many earlier studies have done, these chapters will address the common themes that can be found in the body of visual culture. As much as I would like it, this study cannot treat these topics in any systematic way. The intent here will be to demonstrate the historical importance of the beliefs and values represented in the printed images. That Protestants shared a penchant for certain religious scenes and ways of depiction is also important. While I wish to avoid the oversimplification of developing a hierarchy of importance (important scenes being those that were depicted more often), I do want to assume that there were particular reasons for depicting certain figures and scenes more than others. Some of these reasons, though certainly not all, were iconoclastic; others had more to do with socio-economic motivations and the meaningfulness of certain images to the events of the period. The intent here is to highlight what those images were and explain the reasons for their representation. I have made every effort to confront and discuss each image both on its own terms (how it appears in the text) as well as within a wider thematic group, extracting general cultural representations of belief.

This is by no means an exhaustive study. In fact, quite the contrary. I hope that this will only highlight, if merely in the broadest of strokes, the possibilities for further historical study in the area of early modern printed images. This thesis will demonstrate that the printed imagery of Elizabethan England did not dwindle to near extinction if indeed it dwindled at all. In this, I wish to avoid any unhelpful dichotomies that set up a
nebulous body of acceptable images, all of equal value, worth and confessional positioning. As we shall see, the boundaries of censorship were never this clear, and many images printed in Protestant texts attracted criticism. However, other images, seemingly of a more traditional iconography received no recorded criticism, even though they depicted saints, the Virgin and God. Those few artisans working in England at the end of the century produced religious woodcuts and engravings like their forebears, and European printed images continued to be a popular commodity well into the seventeenth century. Rather, what can be seen are various shifts in emphasis within the visual culture. This does not imply a complete elimination of other forms of depiction, but it does suggest a conscious use of particular visual media to depict, represent and display religious belief.
Chapter 2: *The Marketplace of Images: Elizabethan Printed Images within the Historical Context*

To walk through St. Paul’s Cathedral churchyard or down Paternoster Row or Fleet Street in the late sixteenth century was to be surrounded by a world of print. These were the epicentres of print in early modern England. Large or pocket-size Bibles, folio tomes of theology and science, cheap quarto pamphlets and folio broadsides, prayer books and small devotional octavos filled bookstalls and merchant’s shops. Within each, printed images could be found emblazoned upon frontispieces and inserted amongst the text or along the borders. While the industry for image making in England was quite small, many images were recycled or copied from older works and imported from the thriving markets overseas, providing an untold amount of printed visual material for the Elizabethan market. In general, however, as many scholars have duly noted, England was ‘part of this outer circle’ of European printing in the sixteenth century, lacking the raw materials, skilled labour and market demand found elsewhere in Europe.\(^1\)

The limited nature of the English market, however, does not negate the importance of the role of printing in English society. Instead, it must be understood within the wider European context. This chapter intends to map out the place of printed images within this larger marketplace of printing, establishing many of the key factors that one must consider when examining English printed images during this period. Before considering the images themselves, it is important to clarify and define their place within the culture and economy of early modern England, so to better understand why they were printed.

Currently, the study of English print suffers from a somewhat messy historiography of various methods. Research undertaken in the early and mid-twentieth

---

century focused upon bibliographical aspects of the development of the book. With thorough catalogues and bibliographic detail, these works have elevated the status of English printing and provided useful tools in modern research. Though informative, these studies have created a problematic picture of a timeless mechanised process of printing, almost wholly separated from the culture and society within which the books were made. Only with the work of scholars like D.F. McKenzie and most recently David McKitterick have the social aspects of readership, history and culture been taken fully into account in such bibliographical study. McKitterick has noted, ‘With some notable exceptions, this extra dimension, of time, is underestimated or ignored by many who have written about the creation of a book in the printing house’. The greater awareness of the historical context in this scholarship offers a more complete view of print technology and its development over time. Moreover, with their attention to time and place, the works of McKenzie and McKitterick has emphasised the material nature of printed images, as objects of paper and ink, derived from wood and metal. Not only did the metal and the wood fade and erode over time, but the nature of paper made images much more mobile, transient and destructible than other forms of representation (e.g. statues, paintings or metalwork).

Elsewhere, the cultural and social impact of printing has been addressed, most prominently by Elizabeth Eisenstein. Her teleological claim, that the press was an agent of dramatic change, asserts that print revolutionised European culture, drastically altering the structure of society. Interestingly, though Eisenstein’s purpose is to place printing

---


within the historical context of early modern Europe and demonstrate its powerful agency in the period, her analysis clings to the idea of print as a timeless agent. As Adrian Johns has pointed out, ‘In her work, printing itself stands outside history.’ Particularly, Eisenstein’s lack of recognition of the media of the previous centuries and the medieval development of manuscript reproduction has generated strong debate.4 Though the work is not without its many critics, Johns foremost among them, it has set an example for other scholars of culture and posed vital questions about the nature of printing as well as the book.

A final contribution to this historiography is the cultural history of the book popularised by Roger Chartier and others, which focuses upon the mentalities and conceptualisations of print and the effects of reading in society. If Eisenstein was concerned with the grand scale and influence of printing, these works have derived inspiration from a methodology that could be considered a social history of the book. Coming from a different perspective than McKenzie’s bibliographic analysis, Chartier calls for a more integrative approach that deals with ‘the text itself’, ‘the object that conveys the text’ and ‘the act that grasps it’.5 Fusing literary analysis and cultural history (in the tradition of the Annales School), such studies emphasise both the materiality of print and the appropriation of these objects and texts. Studies like William Sherman’s examination of early modern handwritten margin notes have followed this trend,

---


attending not only to the materiality of the book but also to readers’ responses and the sociological aspects of printed works within history.⁶

Any understanding of early modern printed images must begin by recognising the multi-faceted context of text, readership, market and technology. Like the literary text, the image too (as a visual text) was first created in the mind of an artisan then manufactured by printing, sold by a merchant and seen by a diverse readership. Moreover, the material which created the image (the woodblock or metal plate) could be transmitted, exchanged, sold, stolen, copied and reused. The inherent messiness in the printing process, and the often non-uniform result of the printed text, is made apparent in McKitterick’s work. Concerning illustrations, McKitterick explains that this process ‘could be by no means straightforward. They sometimes arrived late; they were often mislaid; and their size and shape were not necessarily in accord with the format or page size’.⁷ An example of this non-uniform messiness is Richard Day’s much discussed prayerbooks *Christian prayers and meditations* (1569) and *A booke of Christian prayers* (1578). While these are some of the most heavily illustrated works of the Elizabethan period and were printed by Richard’s father, the famous John Day, there are several inconsistencies in the various editions of the books. In the 1590 edition, two allegorical figures, the Knowledge of God and the Love of God, are missing and are never reprinted, suggesting that they were either lost or destroyed. Also, as William Engel has noticed, many of the grotesque decorations and elaborate borders often are upside down, reversed or placed in non-standard order. Even copies of the same edition varied in this regard,

---


likely do to accidents or shoddy workmanship in the printshop, leading to dissimilarities between copies that one might assume were uniform in appearance.\(^8\)

Moreover, while images usually originated in Europe, the relationship between Europe and England was more symbiotic than parasitic, as images and texts travelled to and from England and Europe. Throughout the century, the print trade in England and Western Europe developed a matrix of connections, often influenced by the political and religious climate of the locations where printers were established. Englishmen worked and traded in Paris, Antwerp and Frankfurt. Europeans exploited a fresh demand for their stock in London, Oxford, Cambridge and other provincial market towns. With this, the images moved with the stationers (booksellers, publishers and printers), who retained ownership of the images.\(^9\) Transported through the network of stationers, printers, and artisans, it carried a history and a visual depiction that was reproduced across Europe, creating thousands of copies and influencing multiple levels of society.

This chapter lays the foundation for understanding these images within a marketplace that extended in space and time beyond the boundaries of Elizabethan England. This market was complex, having exports and imports, regulations as well as legal, political and economic limitations, which criss-crossed international boundaries. First, this chapter will sketch a history of the English relations with its European counterparts in the sixteenth century. In this, methods of image transferral will be examined, particularly as they pertained to the Elizabethan period. Of course, it is untenable to track every image, because the information that connects one stationer to another has often been lost. However, two case studies of the careers of the Elizabethan printers Henry Bynneman and Thomas East will be offered, to provide examples of how


images can be contextualised within the market. Also, the printed images will be placed into the framework of censorship in Tudor England, in order that their influence and their survival can be better understood. Finally, this chapter will return to many of the questions about the cultural effects and influences of the printed image in early modern society, by examining the notion of the image as a commodity and an aspect of a growing consumer print market. While there is no denying the profitable quality of book illustration, this chapter will suggest that there are complex reasons for such profitability. That is to say, the meanings given to and importance of the images were not created by price-tags and market demand, in fact it is more likely that the reverse is true.

**English Printing: A European Tradition**

The history of the printed image in England, like the history of the print trade, is one of international relations. From 1484, when Richard III permitted European stationers easier access to the English market, until Elizabeth I gave the Stationers’ Company charge over licensing in the 1560s, direct monarchical regulation and heavy European influence characterised English printing.\(^\text{10}\) That the English print trade was influenced by its European contemporaries is no longer in doubt. E. Gordon Duff was one of the first scholars to expound upon the dozens of European stationers who took advantage of Richard’s Act. Because of the high costs of printing, coupled with the limited supply of paper and skilled labour, England was heavily reliant on its continental connections. R.B. McKerrow and F.S. Ferguson believed that ‘almost to the close of the [sixteenth] century foreign influence is still very considerable’. Andrew Pettegree has remarked that without Richard’s provisions for foreign printers, the English trade ‘would

\(^{10}\) General overviews include: McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, vol. I; *CHBB*, vols. III-IV.
have been throttled at birth’. While this point has often been reiterated, there remains a great deal of ambiguity as to how printed images figured into these relations.

In the early sixteenth century, the greatest names of English printing were European immigrants. But even William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde borrowed and copied from their European counterparts. Rather than immigrating, many European printers found it more appealing to ship books to England or work in Europe and England, either simultaneously or concurrently. Though there was at this time a fairly prosperous provincial book trade, it could not match either the levels of output or the quality of books being produced in Europe. Printing houses in France and the Low Countries during this open period (1484-1534) bolstered what was a rather limited trade from London and the provincial stationers, with a large output of missals, breviaries, Books of Hours and primers, which were often distributed by foreign booksellers like Arnold Birckman in Cambridge. Some of the most influential and active printers were from France. Perhaps foremost in influence was the Parisian printer Antoine Verard (1485-1513). Though he only published a handful of popular English works, including the first English edition of *The Kalender of Shepherds* and *The Art of good living and dying*, his influence upon the early English print was extensive. His lavish illustrations were used, copied and recycled in England throughout the sixteenth century, and Martha Driver refers to Verard as Wynkyn de Worde’s ‘most immediate Continental source for composite images’.

---

11 McKerrow and Ferguson, p. xvi; Pettegree, ‘Printing and the English Reformation’, p. 163.
Other printers such as Frederick Egmont, Francis Regnault and Henry Jacobi had places of business in both France and England. Jacobi, who died in 1514, worked with both de Worde and Pynson on different projects. Also, Jacobi’s printer’s mark, which contains the Trinity represented by three crowns, is probably the inspiration for a common printer’s device found on many frontispieces throughout the sixteenth century. Among the most influential stationers, Regnault was known for his excellent skill at using text and image. His printing of missals, psalters and Books of Hours of high quality in the English language was unmatched at the time. In a letter to Thomas Cromwell in the 1530s, the English Bible translator Miles Coverdale and the English stationer Richard Grafton defended Regnault’s reputation. Responding to Henry VIII’s prohibition against foreigners selling books, they explained that Regnault ‘hath a great number at this present in his hands, as primers in English, missals, with other such like, whereof now by the company of the booksellers in London he is utterly forbidden to make sale’ even though he had for ‘a long time … hath been an occupier into England more than forty year’. In fact, Regnault’s reputation for printing in English was so renowned that Coverdale and Grafton chose him to print the 1538 edition of the Great Bible, which coincided with this letter to Cromwell.

As this letter suggests, the period of a relatively open market with Europe had come to a close. In the 1520s and 1530s, Henry VIII began tightening the licensing laws as well as stringently regulating the immigration of foreign printers. One of the major concerns for Henry was the growing number of Lutheran books, pamphlets and popular single sheet prints available in the market, particularly being produced in the Low Countries. Robert Scribner has demonstrated the large scale production of Lutheran

propaganda, often in the form of printed images, in the 1520s. Because of the networks between the various print trades, it was relatively easy for foreign booksellers like Thomas Garrett to be able to sell Lutheran works in Oxford.\textsuperscript{21} Even the most well respected stationers, such as de Worde, were not above reproach when it came to censoring reformist works. In December 1524, de Worde was arraigned for his involvement in the printing of \textit{The ymage of love}, which had been declared heretical the previous year. Though little in the way of punishment was meted out to de Worde, many others during this period were not so fortunate. The following year, a host of prestigious London stationers including de Worde, Robert Redman, Robert Copland, Pynson (the King’s printer at the time), Robert Wyer and Pynson’s former assistant Thomas Berthelet were warned by Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall not to print any Lutheran or other heretical work.\textsuperscript{22} Acts passed in 1534 and 1538 firmly established a strict format of licences carried out by the ecclesiastical authorities in England, but this system was ultimately governed by the King.

Despite religious fluctuations and tightening constraints in Henry’s reign, many Europeans found their way into the English market. Stephen Kevall from Calais was denizened in 1535. The Dutch reformer Walter Lynne, who probably helped Cranmer with the 1548 English catechism which was derived from the Lutheran original, was also in London by 1540. Also, the stationer responsible for Holinshed’s chronicles, Reinar Wolfe, had moved from Strasbourg in 1533.\textsuperscript{23} Even with the legal restrictions on the foreign sale of books and the entry of foreign craftsman, many European printers continued to sell books to English booksellers and printers. Also, as David McKitterick


has demonstrated, many second generation foreign stationers retained their connections with Europe. Those foreigners who had permanently established themselves in England, like Reinar Wolfe, continued to maintain a steady business with Europe. Wolfe, one of Cranmer’s favourite printers, yearly did business with the prolific Zurich printer Christopher (Christoph) Froschauer at the Frankfurt book fair.\textsuperscript{24}  

After 1542, however, the print trade did begin to suffer from exorbitant restrictions, when England’s religious policies moved sharply back to a more conservative bent, leaving many printers and evangelicals exposed to the King’s judgement. In one example during the following year, Bishop Edmund Bonner issued a list of prohibited books, and several stationers including William Middleton, John Maylour, and Thomas Petyt, as well as Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch (the printers of the \textit{Coverdale Bible}), were arrested and fined in connection with these works.\textsuperscript{25} Alec Ryrie’s discussion of the print trade during this period is enlightening; his attention to Thomas Becon’s publishers John Gough and John Mayler in particular illuminates the subtle differences between two distinct Protestant groups during the period.\textsuperscript{26} Printers, such as Gough, Mayler, Grafton and Whitchurch, who successfully maneuvered the religious trends of this period were able to print Protestant works as long as these works did not threaten the political stability of Henry’s government.

By the end of the 1540s, a tradition of international printing, particularly religious printing, had been established. During Edward VI’s reign, the king repealed Henry’s regulations on the printing trade allowing for a great influx of Protestant propaganda, though his government was also determined to silence the conservative Catholics that had been given more leeway in Henry’s final years. Protestants like Grafton, Whitchurch and John Day worked closely together to revive the Protestant output, whereas, as John

\textsuperscript{26} Ryrie, \textit{The Gospel and Henry VIII}, pp. 119-122.
King has reported, only one Catholic text was printed in the same period. Day in particular developed an acute ability to make the most of European skilled labour, employing several Dutch artisans in the late 1540s.  

One of the most important and influential additions to the print trade on the eve of Edward VI’s reign was the immigration of the Dutch printer Stephen Mierdman in 1546/7. While a prolific stationer in his own right, Mierdman was also the apprentice and brother-in-law of Antwerp printer Matthias Crom, and Mierdman carried a portion of Crom’s stock with him to England.  

This body of material included many of the woodcuts for the English version of the Coverdale Bible (1537), many of which were reused in other English books printed by Mierdman, Richard Harrison, Richard Jugge, and Christopher Barker, as late as 1578. It seems that when Mierdman returned to the Low Countries in 1553, he was forced to leave behind his entire stock of printing materials which were forfeited to the royal printers, Richard Jugge (who would soon follow Mierdman to the Low Countries) and John Cawood. As the royal printers held the copyrights on the printing of the official English Bibles, it is logical that the cuts passed to Christopher Barker when he assumed the post as Elizabeth’s printer after Jugge and Cawood died. Thus, the cuts that originated with Matthias Crom in Antwerp, which were copies of earlier works, became a part of English culture and continued to be printed during the Elizabethan period. It should also be kept in mind that even though the

---


28 Willem Heijting, ‘Mierdman, Steven [Niclaes van Oldenborch] (c.1510x12–1559)’, ODNB [accessed 27 March 2007]

29 GEIB, vol. 1, p. 96.

30 Richard Harrison’s connection with the cuts seems to be through Cawood, who may have given Harrison the right to print the 1562 Great Bible, STC 2096 (the only time he used the cuts), for Cawood printed with the cuts from the Coverdale and from the 1562 Bible in a New Testament translation: The newe testament [Bishops version] (London: J. Cawood, 1569), STC 2873.7. GEIB, vol. 1, p. 121.
images were used last in 1578 many of the books continued to be distributed around England for many years later.31

Because of this strong emphasis on propaganda in Edward’s brief reign and the increasingly strong ties to printing in Reformed centres in Europe, Mary was doomed to struggle with a host of Protestant exiles that had grown addicted to printing. This is not to suggest that printing was a purely Protestant endeavour. The traditional assumption that Mary’s regime neglected the technology of print was successfully assailed by Jennifer Loach, who concludes that Marian and Edwardian officials ‘regarded the printing press in a similar fashion—as a tool to be used, but used for only limited purposes’. However, unlike her brother, Mary faced a torrent of Protestant propaganda from abroad and from secret presses in England.32 Almost as soon as she ascended the throne, the Queen deemed it necessary to ban any book ‘except they have her grace’s special licence in writing’. Having foreseen the undeniable swing in English religion with the impending death of Edward VI, on May 1, 1553, John Burche wrote to Heinrich Bullinger in Frankfurt requesting as many Protestant texts as possible be immediately shipped to England.33 Also at this time, Edward Whitchurch was forced to evacuate the printing house in Fleet Street, formerly owned by de Worde, and flee to Europe because of his Protestant sympathies. Whitchurch had received the shop after the death of John Byddell,

de Worde’s former assistant, in 1545. However, in June 1553, he sold the shop to the partnership of William and Humphrey Powell.\(^{34}\)

To avoid persecution, English scholars and preachers fled to the centres of European reform (e.g. Antwerp, Emden and Frankfurt) finding havens where they could challenge Mary’s regime from afar. Many of these Protestants, like the ten students who lived and worked with Froschauer, came into contact with various Protestant texts as well as the various artisans and authors of the works. During this period, it is believed that Richard Jugge worked in the Emden shop of Egidius van der Erve on the texts of Thomas Cranmer.\(^{35}\) Although John Day’s movements are not entirely clear during Mary’s reign, Elizabeth Evenden revealed that he was surreptitiously printing in England at least on a small scale under the alias Michael Wood, for which he was subsequently imprisoned.\(^{36}\) These findings make it clear that while printing was well-established in England by this time, it was still dependent upon its European counterparts and it accessed these connections in a variety of ways.\(^{37}\)

In this discussion of European influence, however, it would be negligent to overlook the English artisans who participated in this marketplace. While England had no woodcutters of any lasting repute, there are some examples of English engraving. Perhaps foremost among them is the miniature portrait painter Nicholas Hilliard whose popular frontispiece was first used in John Calvin’s *Sermons upon the booke of Job*

---

\(^{34}\) Henry Plomer, ‘An Inventory of Wynkyn de Worde’s Shop House “The Sun in Fleet Street” in 1543’, *TL*, 3rd series, 4 (1915), 228-234. In the end, the Powell’s defaulted on their payment and the house ended up in the hands of John Wayland by the end of 1553, see: David Davis, ‘Images on the Move: The Virgin, the *Kalender of Shepherds*, and the Transmission of Woodcuts in Tudor England’, *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 12 (2009), 100-132.


Another example is Thomas Cockson’s engravings for John Harrington’s translation of *Orlando Furioso* (1591). While Cockson copied the images from Girolamo Porro’s plates in the Italian edition, Harrington says of Cockson that he is among the best artisans of ‘that kinde that has bene in this land this manie yeares’. Also, McKitterick has discovered examples of Cockson’s work being inserted into later Italian editions of *Orlando Furioso* in Venice, when Porro’s images were not available. This sort of image movement from England to the continent, while rare and usually occurring in the latter half of the century, should not be overlooked. It implies that the same prejudice that modern art historians hold toward English printed images was not necessarily present within early modern culture. Though generally of poorer quality, there was no reason why English prints could not be used in even the most renowned works of Italian literature. Of course, these examples of English engravings are paltry in comparison to the mass of European printed images. But they do attest to the increasing number and skill of English artisans in the late sixteenth century, a time in which many historians have pointed to a growing spirit of *iconophobia* in England.

Certainly, it is impossible to deny the majority of printed images were in some way influenced, if not completely produced, by European hands. Not only did images and texts often originate in Europe, but several English stationers and authors owed much of their careers to relationships with the European print trade. Because of this, Wells-Cole goes so far as to describe any English image as a ‘perversity’ for ‘so many prints made in the country’ were European influenced or of European origin. While

---


aesthetically this could be true, in a historical examination such statements create a false paradigm, strictly labelling images either European or English and neglecting the fact that once a printed image was in circulation it became very much a part of the broader early modern culture. There is no evidence that this influx of European images was perceived as a continental incursion upon the English market. The fact that it was not an Englishman’s hand creating the image does not seem to have had any influence on the reception of the image or its cultural impact.

Moving Images: The Elizabethan Marketplace

What is important here is how the images moved within the international market. As subsequent chapters will demonstrate, the primary sources for printed images in Elizabethan England were Europe and the images printed in early sixteenth century England. By 1558, the connections with Europe were intricate and widespread. The strict regulations on European printers in England still had not completely halted a continual flow of immigrant stationers. The Protestant strongholds of Europe during the 1530-40s (Strasbourg, Frankfort, Lyons, Geneva and Antwerp), which were also centres of printing, found England to be a more amiable environment in which to distribute their texts. This movement was duplicated again in the 1560-70s with many Protestants from the Low Countries and Huguenots from France. Often, the connections were so tight that it becomes almost impossible to surmise fully how a European image arrived in England as there were several viable possibilities.

The most influential group of immigrants in the early Elizabethan period was from the Low Countries. Margaret Aston, Tessa Watt and recently Elizabeth Evenden have highlighted the lasting influence these immigrants had upon printed images circulating in Elizabethan England. After 1565, the religious turmoil in Europe drove

---

42 Foxe’s *Actes and monuments* is the prime example of this, as its excellent and extensive illustrations were influenced and produced mainly, if not completely, by Dutch artisans hired by John Day (see, Elizabeth Evenden, ‘The Fleeing Dutchmen?’ pp. 63-77.)
many Dutch Protestants to seek haven in England. Several Dutchmen, like Thomas Gemini and John Betts, worked with the more prominent shops, like that of John Day.43 The most well known among these immigrants were Giles Godet and Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder who often either published works of their own or employed London stationers. Godet had several such prints licensed by the Stationers’ Company, though few survive.44 These included the popular *The city of London, as it was before the burning of St. Pauls ste[ele]eple* (1569). Among those that do not survive are pictures of Elizabeth, Edward VI and Henry VIII, along with pictures of Creation and the genealogy of Christ.45 Gheeraerts, while less prolific than Godet, is believed to have created the 39 woodcuts for Day’s printing of *A christall glasse of Christian reformation* (1569), along with several popular paintings and single leaf woodcuts.46

While the Dutch were most influential during the early Elizabethan period, illustrated books from across Europe frequently found their way into English hands.47 The London bookseller Jan Desserans and the French Huguenot printer Thomas Vautrollier, living in London, had a strong partnership, which brought in several printed images and illustrated works. Also, both Vautrollier and Desserans had strong connections to the Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin, who was encouraged by Desserans to print books that were easy to sell in England.48 Though Plantin printed mostly in Latin and French, he did have a few English books, and many of his

---

44 Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, pp.181-191
illustrations found their way into English titles, being readily copied by London stationers. Furthermore, the London printer Thomas Purfoote had ties to Plantin. In 1576, Plantin published *Plantarum seu stipium historia*, the second part of which was first printed by Purfoote in 1573. After Plantin’s publication, Purfoote bought eight hundred copies of the work and later purchased 250 of the 272 woodblocks that Plantin had used to illustrate the work.  

Also, Italian illustrated books were popular with texts like *The morall philosophie of Doni* (1570) and *The hypnerotomachia polipholi*, which was printed three separate times in 1592. French books included Claude Paradin’s *The heroicall deuises* (1593). Additionally, Hans Holbein produced *The images of the old testament* with ninety-eight woodcuts, which became an essential source for English Bible illustration.

A most interesting and popular work of this kind is a Lutheran catechism by Cornelius van der Heyden, *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble*, which was first printed in England by Anthony Scoloker in 1549 and reprinted by Thomas Marsh in 1568. The Lutheran characteristics of the catechism and the reprints it underwent in Edwardian and Elizabethan England make it a curious book. While some of the images were lost from the earlier edition, Marsh’s printing of the catechism retained several images such as the Virgin teaching the Christ child, the Last Judgement, Christ teaching his disciples and the hand of God blessing the marriage of Adam and Eve. Ryrie has convincingly argued that English Lutheranism had been suffocated by several aspects of English Protestantism coupled with events at the end of Henry VIII’s reign. The printing of such a text almost a

---


decade into the Elizabethan period is suggestive of a continued Lutheran sentimentality in at least a portion of English Protestants.52

This sort of reliance on Lutheran (and even traditional) devotionals was not uncommon, as Helen White and Eamon Duffy have demonstrated. Their works demonstrate Protestants had a strong proclivity to actively reform and reuse traditional Catholic forms of prayer.53 Other examples of images used in multiple religious contexts include Richard Day’s *Christian prayers and meditations* (1569), also known as ‘Queen Elizabeth’s Prayer Book’, and the subsequent *A booke of christian prayers* (1578). Both were heavily influenced by early sixteenth-century Catholic images printed by Antoine Verard. The frontispiece image of the Tree of Jesse (leading to an image of the Virgin with the Christ Child) in both prayer books reflected the popular use of the image in Catholic Books of Hours.54 Arthur Watson’s work on the image revealed that the Tree of Jesse became popular in the eleventh century. Subsequently, it appeared in manuscripts, church walls, baptisteries and windows throughout the medieval period, establishing a strong tradition of its image in medieval Christianity.55

Nevertheless, European transference was not the only means by which images moved around the marketplace. Particularly in England, stationers transferred texts and images amongst themselves, often carrying on a tradition of a text or image for several decades. In fact, it is one of the more unique characteristics of English printing that images were recycled into different texts, not moving with the text for which they were first created. This innovative approach, created by a limited supply of material and

---

53 Helen White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (Westport, 1979); Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, pp. 171-179. The images from the catechism are discussed in more detail in chapters 4-6.
54 Richard Day, *Christian prayers and meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Latine* (London: J. Day, 1569), STC 6428 and Richard Day, *A booke of Christian prayers out of the auncient writers* (London: J. Day, 1578), STC 6429. For Day’s frontispiece, see McKerrow and Ferguson, #128. For the Verard image, see, MacFarlane, *Antoine Verard*, plate 52. It should also be noted that the rest of the pages in Day’s prayer books carried similar influence from the books of hours, particularly in the engraved narrative scenes in the borders. But these will be discussed further in later chapters.
skilled artisans, blurred any clear lines of definition for interpreting the image on its own, so that a single picture could convey numerous messages by being recontextualised with various texts.⁵⁶ The image of Christ Triumphant was used in a variety of texts, sometimes having little in common with the words on the page. Originally created for John Day’s publication of John Foxe’s Christ Jesus Triumphant (1579), the image of Christ standing over death and the serpent was recycled into more than a dozen different editions of various works before 1603, most often printed by John Windet.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, only a scant amount of literature exists on the topic of the recycling of images.⁵⁸

In another example connected to Day, the frontispiece depicting King David and Moses with cherubs and satyrs above and below first appeared in The rule of reason (1563) and was printed by John Kingston. It was subsequently reprinted thirty-six more times before 1612. The woodcut seems to be in the joint possession of Kingston and Day until 1585, used only once by Thomas Purfoote in 1581.⁵⁹ As to the connection between Day and Kingston, it is known that Kingston was freed from the Grocer’s company by Richard Grafton, a good friend of Day’s, in the mid-1540s. If, as Evenden says, Day and Grafton were working closely together, it is likely Kingston and Day would have met and perhaps even worked together.⁶⁰ However, after Kingston’s death, Thomas Orwin eventually acquired all of Kingston’s material by marrying the former Joan Kingston (John’s widow). Making good use of the frontispiece, Orwin printed twelve different works with it between 1587 and 1592 including Abraham Fraunce’s The Countesse of

---

⁵⁶ Driver, The Image in Print, pp. 3, 75.
⁵⁷ John Foxe, Christ Jesus Triumphant (London: J. Day, 1578), STC 11231. Devices, #202. McKerrow has a listing of five works between 1579 and 1603. However, I have discovered twenty in total: Appendix C.
⁵⁸ Ruth Luborsky, “Connections and Disconnections between Images and Texts: The Case of the Secular Tudor Book Illustration,” Word and Image, 3 (1987), 74-83; Davis, ‘Images on the Move’. The historian must trace the footsteps of each image, through the lives of the printers. Because of the lack of source material about both printer and image, the historian is forced at times to speculate as to how images moved from one print shop to another
⁵⁹ McKerrow and Ferguson, pp. 102-104.
Pembrokes Emanuel (1591) and Lyly’s Sapho and Phao (1591). The image was then revived by Kingston’s son Felix in 1610 for two final printings.⁶¹

Other images travelled in groups, as single collections which were attached to a specific text. Perhaps the longest and most widespread example of this transmission of images were those printed first in 1506 by Richard Pynson in the Kalender of Sheperdes. As mentioned above, Pynson certainly acquired these cuts from Verard’s edition of the Kalender. Also, in 1508, de Worde printed his own edition of the Kalender with a different set of woodcuts. Finally, in 1518, Julian Notary printed a third series of Kalender images, borrowing images from the earlier editions and creating his own. Thus, by 1535, three different sets of images for the Kalender were in circulation.

Both the text and the images were a popularised medium for what Eamon Duffy describes as ‘the basic task of catechesis’.⁶² Also, between 1500-1535, several of the images appeared outside of the Kalender, particularly those in the shops of de Worde and Pynson. What is most interesting about these images is that by 1556, those surviving were all in the hands of William Powell, who printed the Kalender in the same year. Though Pynson’s images dominate the series of 101 woodcuts printed by Powell, both de Worde’s and Notary’s cuts made appearances. The subsequent five editions during the Elizabethan period, most of which were printed at the behest of John Walley, followed this propensity for Pynson’s cuts.⁶³

To explain how Powell first was able to collect this body of images, one must look first at the ownership of the printing shops. As William Caxton’s shop in

---


Westminster passed to de Worde, both de Worde’s and Pynson’s shops on Fleet Street passed, with all of their materials, to John Byddell and Robert Redman respectively. After this, the Pynson images passed in a fairly straight line of succession. When Redman who occupied Pynson’s shop for ten years died in 1540, his widow Elizabeth Pickering continued the business for a brief period until she remarried and sold the business to William Middleton in 1541. Middleton proved to be a successful stationer in Pynson’s old shop until his death in 1547, when his wife Elizabeth quickly remarried another stationer, William Powell, who helped produce the *Kalender* in the early Elizabethan years.64

The de Worde cuts, on the other hand are more complicated. For after de Worde’s death in 1535, John Byddell held business in the shop until he died in 1545, leaving the business to Edward Whitchurch. As mentioned above, Whitchurch, a devout Protestant, was forced to sell the business in 1553 to Humphrey and William Powell on the eve of Mary’s ascension. However, after the Powells failed to make payment on the shop and its materials, they were forced to vacate the shop and John Wayland was recorded to be printing there before the end of 1553.65 Even though E. Gordon Duff has mistakenly recorded Wayland’s death in 1556, Evenden has demonstrated his survival and continued presence in the print trade until 1571. Nevertheless, at no time did Wayland use any of the *Kalender* images.66 Also, by 1553, even though he was evicted within several months of owning de Worde’s house, William Powell had either in his possession or a very brief access to the majority of printed images appearing in the *Kalender* editions. Although the stationer John Walley would be the caretaker of the images during the Elizabethan period, Powell seems to have been the point of convergence where most of the three

collections came together under one roof. It seems that by 1560, however, Walley possessed the images.67

This example is interesting because it covers a wide array of possible methods of exchange, including: borrowing/sharing, death, marriage and patrimony. While in Europe, once a woodcut was used it ‘simply joined the lumber of the printshop’, this was not the case in England.68 Because of the limited resources, woodcuts were widely recycled by the printers in England and were reused in various texts. Whether for necessity or convenience, or perhaps both, it was often rare for an image to be used only once. What is more, the Kalender images illustrate the tendency to recognise a group of images as a coherent body, associated with a specific work (though able to be used elsewhere). While some images are used in various texts, such groups of images usually moved as a whole when they were transferred between stationers.69 In retracing these connections, the lives of the printers become vital to understanding the images as material objects of a commercial trade and the transferral of those objects between the stationers. Only by examining stationers’ careers can one fully appreciate and understand the intricate connections that such relationships entail.

The Images of Thomas East and Henry Bynneman

In order to demonstrate the connections between stationers and printed images, this chapter will now examine the careers of two prominent Elizabethan stationers: Thomas East and Henry Bynneman.70 Thomas East, freed from the Stationers’ Company in 1565, was most renowned for his later career in the printing of music, particularly after he received much of the stock of John Day’s shop as well as the music font from Thomas

68 Andrew Pettegree, Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion (Cambridge, 2005), p. 121.
69 Only one Kalender image was printed elsewhere during the Elizabethan period, in: I. or J. D., The most wonderfull and true storie, of a certaine withc named Alse Gooderige of Stapenhill (London: V. Simmes f. J. Oxenbridge, 1597), STC 6170.7.
70 For the full illustrated works of both East and Bynneman, see: Appendices A and B.
Vautrollier’s materials in 1587. However, the twenty years of his career before this success have received little scholarly attention, even though it was in his early years that East printed several fine illustrated works. According to Elizabeth Ingram and Ruth Luborsky, East printed thirty-nine editions with printed images between 1565 and 1603, twenty-eight of which were produced before 1590. These illustrated works can be divided into three groups. In the first are a collection of secular works which were commissioned by several different stationers, such as Thomas Cadman and the bookselling father and son partnership of John and Thomas Wight. These texts were on subjects ranging from medicine, husbandry and seafaring to gardening books such as Leonard Mascall’s *A booke of the arte and maner how to plant and graffe all sorts of trees* (1590). All of these were printed with a handful of practical illustrations and diagrams, and all were printed by other stationers in the period (including Bynneman), which indicates they were not owned by East but rather were owned by East’s commissioners.

The second group printed by East consisted of a curious collection of late medieval romance tales, complete with early sixteenth-century illustrations. Among these was the 1570 edition of the *Kalender of Sheperdes* printed for John Walley. The others were collections of woodcuts from de Worde’s shop, probably acquired first by Robert Copland, to whom de Worde bequeathed a portion of his stock, which were passed to Copland’s son William Copland in 1547. How East gained possession of the images is unclear, but what is even more curious is the fact that after de Worde’s death none of the images were used until East’s editions. The most elaborate work in this group was the

---

71 Jeremy L. Smith, ‘East, Thomas (1540–1608)’, *ODNB* [accessed 23 May 2008]
73 John Wight likely acquired the images, or the connections to have the images produced, from the stationer Thomas Petyt who freed Wight from the Drapers Company in 1540 (*STC*, vol. III, p. 183). Appendix A.
romantic tale of *The voyage and travayle of syr John Maundeville* (printed by East in 1568), with fifty-nine of the sixty-eight cuts recycled from de Worde’s 1499 edition.\(^{75}\)

The final group printed by East include a small collection of religious and anti-Catholic books, pamphlets and single-sheet prints. At least two of these are examples of recycling or reprinting of images from earlier editions. The first was East’s revival of the 1540’s Protestant polemic by John Bale, *The image of both churches* (1580). Originally printed in Antwerp by Stephen Mierdman in 1545, East reproduced fourteen of the nineteen woodcuts with scenes from the book of Revelation. This group also included *Of two wonderful popish monsters* (1579), which was printed with two woodcuts originally produced by the German artist Lucas Cranach.\(^{76}\) Also, East printed Stephen Batman’s, *The new arrival of the three gracis* (1580), with four woodcuts that likely belonged to Batman, one of which was copied from a Calvinist broadsheet.

East’s early career was not uncommon for the Elizabethan stationers. If one wished to print with images, they would probably need to come from elsewhere, either on commission or being recycled from previous works. Of course, not all of East’s woodcuts were copies or recyclings. In 1602, well established and highly prosperous as a printer of music, East printed Richard Vennard’s devotional *The right way to heaven*, with an image of Christ as the Good Shepherd which seems to have been its first printing.\(^{77}\) However, this was much later in his career, years after he had achieved much of his professional success with the printing of psalms and music. His early years demonstrate both a willingness to seek out older illustrated works and a desire to print both religious and secular images whenever possible.

Unlike Thomas East, Henry Bynneman had more control over most of his images. Though several publishers and booksellers like the Wights and Thomas Hacket


\(^{76}\) *GEIB, vol. I*, p. 579.

\(^{77}\) *GEIB, vol. I*, pp. 66, 725; Appendix A.
commissioned Bynneman for certain books, an examination of Bynneman’s forty-two illustrated works indicates greater experience with printed images than East. Moreover, unlike East whose career only began to gain prominent recognition later in life, Bynneman was dead after two decades in the print trade.

In 1563, Henry Bynneman was released from his apprenticeship, after his master Richard Harrison died. In all likelihood, through his apprenticeship with Harrison (while Harrison was partnered with Reinar Wolfe), Bynneman was introduced to John Day, during the time when Day was in the process of producing Foxe’s first edition of *Actes and monuments*. In the early 1560s, Day’s shop was a popular place for Protestant stationers and artisans from the Low Countries and France. It was here that Bynneman established connections with the European exiles in London, making it possible for him to print illustrated works like *Den sack met die stucken voor den paus van Roomen* (1568). This was the Dutch translation of the popular polemic *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, first produced in the Cranach workshop in 1521. In 1569, Bynneman printed the English translation of Jan van der Noot’s *A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries and calamities that follow...*, (1569) with the original engravings copied into woodcuts. It is also likely that through these foreign connections Bynneman was able to print the English translation of Pierre Boiastuau’s judgement book *Certaine secret wonders of nature* (1569), containing sixty-two woodcuts many of which Bynneman recycled in 1581 for another work.

Bynneman seems to have always been in the shadow of Day’s pre-eminence, never quite achieving the same level of craftsmanship or professional success. His envy of Day’s success came to a head in the 1570s when Bynneman attempted to pirate Day’s

---

78 Maureen Bell, ‘Bynneman, Henry (b. in or before 1542, d. 1583)’, *ODNB* [accessed 27 May 2008]
80 Jan van der Noot, *A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings as also the greatre joyes and plesures which the faithful full do enjoy* (London: H. Bynneman, 1569), STC 18602. Boiastuau, *Certaine secret wonders*; *GEIB*, vol. I, pp. 231-235. Bynneman assigned Ralph Newberry to use most of the woodcuts in: Batman, *The doome warning all men*. 
texts, with the help of Day’s son, Richard. In 1578, Bynneman even printed one of Day’s easily identifiable woodcuts, the large letter ‘C’ depicting Queen Elizabeth enthroned and John Day, William Cecil and Robert Dudley standing to her right. This appeared in Gabriel Harvey’s *Gratulationum Valdinensium*, seemingly as a means of ‘targeting both Cecil and Dudley’s approval’ in order to possibly entice them as patrons.\(^{81}\) However, it also indicates a more subtle form of deception on Bynneman’s part. Rather than forging Day’s name on the title-page, by using this very popular image, Bynneman was making a claim to the same standard of print quality that was associated with Day’s work.

This is not to say that Bynneman was without his own patrons. In the early 1570s, Bynneman’s career entered a second phase when he secured the patronage of Archbishop Matthew Parker, and in 1574, he acquired Reinar Wolfe’s printing materials (along with portions of John Cawood’s).\(^{82}\) This large stock allowed Bynneman to begin printing folios, many of which were academic Latin texts, and it drastically increased his printing quality and quantity. Also, it gave Bynneman access to a collection of woodcuts that Wolfe had assembled, which Luborsky suggests was probably produced in Germany by Hans Burgkmair.\(^{83}\) Wolfe had intended this collection to be used in an definitive chronicle of England. In the 1570s, Bynneman did not disappoint his masters, as he printed four sets of chronicles with the woodcuts of the rulers, as well as some of his own stock, including Raphael Holinshed’s *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (1577) and John Stow’s two histories *A summarie of Englyshe chronicles* (1575) and *The chronicles of England* (1580).\(^{84}\)

---

82 Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, pp. 171-172; Henry Plomer, ‘Henry Binneman, Printer, 1566-83’, *TL*, 2\(^{nd}\) series, 9 (1908), 226-244. On 9 August 1569, Parker wrote to William Cecil on Bynneman’s behalf hoping to obtain a priviledge for Bynneman to print ‘two or 3’ grammar texts [Bodleian Library MS Ballard 62, f. 35.].
83 Ruth Luborsky, ‘Cuts of Rulers in the Chronicles’, *GEIB*, vol. 1, p. 621.
After these monumental texts, Bynneman was considered one of the most successful printers in England (having three presses and the patronage of Sir Christopher Hatton), but he was also heavily in debt. Though popular, the chronicles unlike Day’s *Actes and monuments* could not generate sufficient capital to sustain such a large undertaking. Perhaps, as a result, the final years of his career saw the production of only a few illustrated titles of any note. Among these was the anti-Catholic pamphlet *A newyeares gifte to the Popes Holinesse* (1579), with what is perhaps Bynneman’s final original image, a fold-out folio woodcut depicting and describing the various trinkets and materialistic popery of the papacy.\(^85\)

The purpose of these brief profiles is to identify key questions and starting points when examining printed images. To understand the place and purpose of any particular image or collection of images first requires an orientation with the methods of image transmission and movement. Key questions can help to unravel the often complicated movement of images between texts, printers and countries. Where did particular images originate? Which stationers had possession of the images and during what periods? When and where were the images printed? Do the book titles imply any obvious political or religious associations that were possibly attached to the images? Even with this bibliographic information, we must keep in mind that woodcuts and engravings, like any material objects that composed a printed work, were not fixed representations of a text or even of any one theme. Once in England, the image could be circulated through the print trade for decades, often being used in ways other than what was originally intended. Printers and readers could alter the context of the image, either by transferring the woodblocks themselves or by removing the images from a text after it was printed. This

---

attention by both printers and readers as to what images were appearing within printed works is an example of what Ulinka Rublack has described as a ‘new culture around the Word’, a culture that was both international and attentive to visual imagery.86

**Censorship and the Printed Image**

In this discussion, one must remember that the print trade both in England and in Europe operated within fairly strict limitations. Certainly, economic and political circumstances altered how the book trade operated. For much of the sixteenth century, printing was directed largely toward religion.87 Though printing was hailed by Protestants, they understood and warned others about the misuse and particularly ‘popish’ abuse of books. At least in England, there is a conscious concern, and at times an obsession, with books becoming dangerous weapons against the church and the state.88

As has already been discussed, in the 1520s and 1530s, Henry VIII exemplified this obsession by burning and destroying heretical and seditious books. Also, Henry’s children and the early Stuarts waged a continual battle to regulate and control the print trade. In particular, the monarchs were prone to focus on seditious and heretical texts which were ‘traitorous or lewd and slanderous … in writing or in print’.89 Even while John Foxe writes of the birth of printing as ‘the advauncemente of his [God’s] glory … for the abolishtynge of ignorans and Idolatry’, print was never seen as an *a priori* blessing

---

for the realm. Though it can be argued that Protestants often emphasised and utilised printing more effectively, Catholics had made use of print for the better part of a century before the Reformation. Heavily illustrated Catholic devotionals and single sheet prints were prominent in European printing. Also, the more radical factions in the sixteenth century reforms, as early as the Anabaptists and as late as the Family of Love, proved proficient at printing. So, while printing for many Protestants was often surrounded by a providential aura, it was not without its hazards, for it was used simultaneously by Catholic and Reformed, heretic and orthodox alike.

In part, because of this, the Tudor monarchs assumed authority over the regulation of printed materials in England. While a complete re-examination of the censorship process is beyond this chapter’s purview, it will be enlightening to focus on a few aspects of print regulations during the Elizabethan period in order to better understand the parameters within which printed images existed. The regulation and licensing process instituted by Henry VIII remained in effect throughout the early modern period. While the surrendering of licensing administration to the Stationers’ Company in 1566 did alter the process of censorship, instituting a more bureaucratic body, the ecclesiastical and royal officials continued to play a significant and overseeing role. The need for such strict regulation was particularly prevalent in the Elizabethan period. Protestants like George Elyot believed that Catholics intended ‘to drawe the Queenes Majestres subjects their heartes and faithes both from God and her highnesss, as namely by delivering unto them Bulles from Rome, Pardons, Indulgences, Medalls, Agnus Dei, hallowed graines and beades, Crucifixes, painted pictures, & such other

---


paltrie’. This was not only a matter of religion but also of national identity, as Catholics used print and other media to lure people away from loyalty to God and queen.

From 1558 to 1603 there are more than fifteen proclamations concerning the illegal printing or dispersal of printed and written works. Most of these deal in very broad strokes with sedition, heresy, treason and lewdness. Only a few of them even focus on specific books or groups such as Jesuit priests from Europe, the Family of Love and the Martin Marprelate tracts. Even Queen Mary’s legislation is surprisingly silent about Protestant printed images, such as those that would have been found in a copy of Tyndale’s New Testament or John Bale’s *The image of both churches*. Instead, the wording of the laws focused upon the literary rather than the visual text of Protestant works. In June 1555, Mary banned the works of the most prominent Protestants both in England and in Europe, identifying over twenty reformers by name. The Elizabethan prosecutions in the Privy Council reveal the same sort of intention, channelling efforts toward expunging seditious and heretical writings as well as quelling any illegal printing and selling of books.

In 1595, William White and Gabriel Simson (former apprentices of Richard Jugge) were charged with illegally printing Hugh Broughton’s *A concent of scripture* (1588), complete with the engravings done by Jodocus Hondius, which Broughton had produced for the book. The Privy Council threatened them with imprisonment and fined them ten shillings. John Wolfe, a prime example of surreptitious printing, was several times before the council on charges of breaching copyrights. In the early 1580s, Wolfe was the *de facto* leader of a group of renegade printers who were determined to break the copyright monopolies held by printers like Christopher Barker and Henry Bynneman.

---

But even the most rebellious printers like Wolfe could be swayed by profit and patronage; for later in the same decade, Wolfe became an officer of the Stationers’ Company and was in the employment of Francis Walsingham.96

The fact was that the discovery of illegal printing houses and other such major offences was uncommon. Most charges were brought for breaching copyright and printing without a licence, which were altogether petty offences; however, the concept of a free market was still alien in sixteenth-century England, and it would be foolish to believe images were free from regulation. Whether the year was 1522, 1553, or 1580, English regulations on print were often strident and at times violently enforced. What can be inferred from this is that printed images seemed to have found an ambiguous area within the legislation in which to exist. It was the textual meaning and not the images amongst the text which received the brunt of the legislation.

Interestingly, it is to the religious injunctions of the Tudor period that one must turn to discover any particular restrictions on printed images. These directives from each bishopric acted as a memorandum on the policies to which each parish was expected to adhere. In Elizabeth’s reign, as early as 1560, printed images are identified among the possible popish remnants that should be removed and destroyed. Bishop Parkhurst exhorted his clergy:

Whether all altars, images, holy water stones, pictures, paintings—as the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, of the descending Christ into the Virgin in the form of a little boy at the Annunciation of the Angel, and all other superstitious and dangerous monuments; especially paintings and images in wall, book, cope, banner, or elsewhere, of the Blessed Trinity or of the Father (of whom there can be no image made), be defaced and removed out of the church and other places and are destroyed.97

In identifying particular images, the language of this injunction is more precise and selective than other injunctions during the Tudor period. However, it does establish some structural boundaries within which to understand the official stance on religious imagery. Aside from the fact that Parkhurst identified specific subjects (the Assumption, the Annunciation, the Trinity and God the Father) as idolatrous, there is also a generalisation in Parkhurst’s language. He specified certain images, but then included the sweeping statement, ‘all other superstitious and dangerous monuments’. A similarly vague wording can be found in other injunctions, concerning all books ‘which served for the superstitious Latin service’. These were to be ‘utterly defaced, rent, and abolished’.\(^{98}\)

Though the condemnation of traditional Catholic service books is clear, the position of other printed images remained a silent question. These injunctions, which first appeared in the early 1560s and were reinforced until 1571, were not simply for the books within churches, particularly as more and more Catholic groups were discovered gathering in homes to celebrate the Mass. In one example of the discovery of such practices, a group of men led by a John Ferne stormed into Groman Abbey, at two in the morning in July 1599, discovering Catholic books and items for saying the mass (e.g. a chalice, cross, etc).\(^{99}\)

Also, according to the injunctions, the clergy were expected to report any known popish book of any kind and subsequently destroy it; and the images inside would simply follow the text. On this point, the evidence makes clear that these injunctions were not completely successful. Clearly intended to target images of Catholic devotion, particularly those of St. Thomas Becket, the injunctions failed to root out many works. Books of Hours and prayer books in print and manuscript survived, though at times suffering a measure of destruction. Many newly printed works from Catholic centres in

---


Europe were ferried into England during Elizabeth’s reign, either by daring merchants, Catholic students, or priests. In 1572, one such courier was seized by Henry Lord Hudson’s men and found to have sewn Catholic books, printed images, and beads into his travelling cloak. However, subsequent chapters will demonstrate that even certain Catholic images were not always destined for destruction but rather licensed for print by the Stationers’ Company.

In fact, several historians have shown that in Catholic missals and Books of Hours it was often the text rather than the images which became the focus of destruction. Eamon Duffy’s work on the manuscript and printed Books of Hours from Francis Regnault’s shop reveals a great deal of ambiguity concerning printed images as the subject of iconoclasm. Duffy provides only one example in eight wherein the image was attacked; in the others, it is the offensive text, usually concerning the Pope, the Virgin, or the saints, which is eliminated. In fact, there seems to be a deliberate effort on the part of most of these censorious readers to avoid defacing the images. It is unclear why this was. However, if we keep in mind that these images could be recontextualised and reinterpreted (much more so than the text), it is possible to account for the survival of these traditional images alongside the erasure of certain texts.

The current evidence suggests that the printed image, in the contexts of official policy and popular practice, seemed to fare better in the Reformation than many texts. Again, it is important not to assume that this implies a freedom for printed images that did not actually exist in early modern England. However, it does reveal a deep ambiguity surrounding printed images within the Reformed culture. One possible reason for this lies within the framework of the censorship mechanisms of the period. As S. Mutchow

---

100 July 3, 1572: 67, CSP, vol. VII, p. 416. The Elizabethan state papers have several such episodes of discovery.

101 The first reference to this phenomenon to my knowledge is in Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, p. 133 ['Image of pity’, Bodleian Library. MS. Rawlinson D.403.f.1.v]. Also see: Driver, The Image in Print, pp.199-200; Eamon Duffy, Marking the Hours, pp. 152-170.

102 Duffy, Marking the Hours, p. 164 (British Library MS. Sloane 2683, fos. 16v-17r).

Towers has recently demonstrated, in early Stuart England, the censors were far more rigorous toward first editions than toward reprints because reprints did not need a licence to be printed.104 This speaks directly to the heart of the English print trade, which often survived upon the recycling and reproducing of texts. Although it is unlikely that Books of Hours or the *Ave Maria* would have been reprinted in Elizabethan England, this may offer some insight into how many late medieval works were permitted.

In this regard, it is worth reconsidering many of the former assumptions posited about how the Reformation changed the status of visual images. It is common to assume a diminishing number of images because of an increasing iconoclastic sentiment in England. Even in Tessa Watt’s critique of *iconophobia*, there is the assumption that the stationer Henry Middleton had the small images of an elephant and a rampant lion removed from the border of Christ as the Good Shepherd because they were ‘pagan images’.105 But, the truth is that the removal was done neither for religious or, as others have argued, for ‘aesthetic reasons’.106 As Watt correctly noted, the image was originally cut for the printer Henry Wykes who used it twice in the 1560s; it then was transferred to Ralph Newberry after Wykes’s death.

However the history of this image is more complex than a reflection of a simple transition from being in an iconographic to an iconoclastic society. It was afterwards used several times in the 1570s by Newberry, as well as Henry Middleton, George Bishop, and Thomas Woodcocke. Sometime after 1579, the image was permanently transferred to Henry Middleton who is the sole printer of the image after this.107 As Henry Wykes’s shop was at the sign of the Black Elephant in Fleet Street, it is likely that Middleton would make an effort to remove the distinguishing marks of Wykes’s ownership after he had obtained the image permanently. Moreover, the two stationers

106 *Devices*, # 153, 202, 207.
107 *Devices*, pp. 56-57.
had always been closely linked through Wyke’s master, Thomas Berthelet. As Newberry had taken up shop in Berthelet’s former bookstall, next door to Wyke’s printing house, it is easy to see how Newberry finally acquired the woodcut and wanted to distinguish his own work from the subsequent work printed next door to him.\footnote{STC, vol. III, pp. 18, 124, 192.}

In other works during the Elizabethan period, particularly those that were reprints of earlier editions, often there are fewer images compared to their earlier counterparts. Again, it seems obvious to blame Protestant fears of idolatry; however, there are other factors to keep in mind. We have already discussed the limited resources for producing good illustrations and the lack of accomplished English artisans. Other reasons include the cost of printing and the desired cost of the book after it was printed. For example, William Turner explained in a letter to Foxe about the price of his martyrlogy, ‘But of the poorer sort not a few have complained of the greatness of the price of the book’.\footnote{Letter from Dr. William Turner to John Fox, British Library Harleian MS. 416, f. 132 [in The Works of Nicholas Ridley, edited by Henry Christmas (Cambridge, 1843), p.491.].} In this, he suggests how to limit the price by removing much of the Latin text and any writings and histories of papists as well as ‘many things superfluous’. Timothy Bright took this to heart and had published an abridged version, in quarto rather than folio, with only a few images. He hoped that ‘those … not able to reach to the price of so great a booke’ might be able to afford a smaller one. Although Bright’s edition removed those things he believed to be superfluous, financial concerns rather than iconoclastic compulsions seem to have motivated his edition.\footnote{Timothy Bright, ‘To the Christian Reader’, in An abridgement of the booke of acts and monuments (London: J. Windet ass. T. Bridget, 1589), STC 11229. For fuller details on this edition see: Damian Nussbaum, “Whitgift’s “Book of Martyrs”: Archbishop Whitgift, Timothy Bright and the Elizabethan Struggle over John Foxe's Legacy”, in John Foxe: A Historical Perspective, edited by David Loades (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 135-153.}

Even in the Stuart period, the censorship of print is as silent concerning printed images as it was in the sixteenth century. Cynthia Clegg’s argument that there was a ‘proliferation of agency that actually diminished central authority’ is perhaps overstated.
The censorship and regulation of books did increase, if only in a bureaucratic manner. However, even in this, the fact remains that printed images during the period were not the primary focus of such censorship and legislation. Printed images did fall into the hands of destructive reformers who occasionally felt the need to remove an offensive depiction. In Europe, images of Luther had his eyes poked out by Catholics, and images of Thomas Beckett’s martyrdom in England were scraped from the page during the reign of Henry VIII. Joseph Koerner has interpreted such acts as Protestants and Catholics doing ‘battle by disfiguring each other’s representations’. Certainly, there is some truth in this. By engaging and challenging the icon or image, the opposing sides could demonstrate and depict the impotence of the other. However, in general, even with the increasing concern of popery amongst most Protestants, and the growing number of heretical sects infiltrating Elizabeth’s realm, printed images in England remained an acceptable and influential form of cultural representation.

A Market of Images: Commodity and Cultural Object

In this final section, we return to some of the issues raised in the chapter’s introduction. Apart from the bibliographic works on printing and the cultural histories of the book, some studies of printing and the early modern marketplace have focused attention on the growth of consumerism and a mass market in early modern England. Influenced by Jurgen Habermas’s sociological theories of the public sphere as well as economic histories of the birth of capitalism in Europe, these works have emphasised the popularity of print and its increasing appeal to a wide scope of society as a correlative of the creation of materialistic capitalism. While they provide interesting insights into the
multi-faceted role of images as commodities and visual representations, they tend toward oversimplified explanations concerning the use and influence of the images, which are led as much by theory as they are by evidence.

The popularity of print has been underpinned in studies of cheap print by Margaret Spufford, Tessa Watt and Joad Raymond, which demonstrate both an increasingly widening influence of the printed page and the increasing sense of printed works as commercial objects. This wide appeal plays out in the printed image as well. While each printed work had a certain audience, based on its content and market cost, an image could be first engraved for a more costly work and then copied into a wood block for a cheap broadsheet. From the numbers of printed books discussed in the introduction, a conservative estimate for a single printed work was two hundred copies, and a maximum was usually fifteen hundred. However, if a printed image appeared in several texts over the course of its life, then this number of two hundred to fifteen hundred copies of the same image would increase greatly.

Considering the image of ‘Christ as the Good Shepherd’ used predominantly by Henry Wykes, Ralph Newberry and Henry Middleton in at least nine separate works between 1560 and 1590 there would be a very conservative estimate of 1800 copies of this image in circulation. Since several of these works were popular texts by Jean Calvin and Heinrich Bullinger, it is possible that the maximum number of copies of 1500 could have been printed for each work, making the total number of images above 10,000. While this example may be a generous one, it is not unique to Elizabethan prints.

---

Sphere in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1997); Chandra Mukerji, From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism (New York, 1983).


116 Margery Corbett and R.W. Lightbown, The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550-1660 (London, 1979), p. 2. This remains the key work on this type of illustration; however, there are many points and aspects of frontispieces, including their recycling and reprinting, that deserve updating and further investigation.
Furthermore, these numbers should be understood within the evolving nature of the print trade. With the increasing commercial distribution that printing offered, early modern literary studies have begun to pay close attention to this increasingly influential agency of commodity. Michael Saenger’s study of ‘front mattes’, that is printed items at the front of a book like its title page and preface, concludes that such material constructed ‘contemporary ways of understanding’ the text as well as ‘marketing relations between readers and books’.\(^{117}\) As manufactured means of advertisement, both text and image were used to help shape the social interaction between people and books. With the immense growth of the print trade, Saenger recognises, these advertisements also influenced broader issues such as religious belief, monarchical loyalty and social stability. In a different sort of study, David Hawkes has examined how the birth of the market economy came into contact, and oftentimes conflict, with the ‘natural teleology’ of early modern England. Eschewing cheap print, and a more social history of commodification, Hawkes focuses upon the premier works and thinkers of the period, highlighting a ‘homology’ between early modern ideas of idolatry and modern fetishization. Hawkes argues that because of the market economy which seems to be a result in his opinion of the technology of print and other mass-marketing industries there was an emerging anxiety about the objectification of material objects during the period of 1580-1680.\(^{118}\) The purpose of Hawkes’s study seems muddled, as he compares early modern with modern mentalities toward what he perceives as similar economic phenomena. However, his study does avoid anachronistic comparisons of modern theoretical frameworks with early modern society and offers telling insights into early modern beliefs concerning the economic market of the period.

Alexandra Halasz offers a deeper reading of several well-known pamphlets of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries in the context of the public sphere.

\(^{117}\) Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements*, p. 3.
\(^{118}\) Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace*, pp. 6, 17.
Avoiding any strict determinist link between the rise of print technology and a consumer-oriented capitalism in the early modern period, Halasz suggests that there was at least ‘a phobic conception of widely circulated discourses’, which was produced by the influence of printing and its dissemination.\textsuperscript{119} Though she does not assess images directly, there is the sense that visual texts can form their own sets of discourse like their literary counterparts. For Halasz, the commodity of print could be found more in the possibilities of printing, rather than its agency. In particular, cheap print signified ‘a proliferation of texts that undoes distinctions of status and vocation and provides indiscriminate access to irresponsible discussions of topical issues’.\textsuperscript{120} This undoing of social boundaries, Halasz posits, was essential in constructing a marketplace of printing.

One aspect of printed images lends itself to such a conclusion, that of recycling and reprinting. In her examination of images of Jews in Elizabethan print, Ruth Luborsky explains that, ‘the image itself irrespective of the text … became a general one’.\textsuperscript{121} While an image could illustrate and advance the meaning of a text, it also had an ability to move beyond the literary text, containing its own meaning and message. This was something the reader could see in the image itself, which allowed for the image to be removed from the confines of a single page. Images could be transferred amongst various texts between printings, and they could be moved also by readers before and even after a book was bound. In this, images had the opportunity to be an even more widely dispersed object than the literary text they illustrated.

While such insights are useful, the early modern printed image cannot be reduced to advertisements and marketing tools. To plot purely economic and consumerist motivations on these printed images is deceptive. Though early modern society demonstrated aspects of capitalism, it by no means resembled the modern framework of

\textsuperscript{119} Halasz, \textit{The Marketplace of Print}, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{120} Halasz, \textit{The Marketplace of Print}, p. 57.
consumption and materialism. Chandra Mukerji’s analysis of patterns of early modern consumption is a case in point of the limitations of this interpretation. Analysing the growth of pictorial prints in the sixteenth century, Mukerji states, ‘The movement of goods could be such a powerful cultural force because the increased production and use of consumer commodities was helping to join both rich and poor into similar market relations and gathering together buyers into common patterns of taste’.122

This expansion of a similar marketplace—whether it be of texts, discourse, books or images—is at the heart of such examinations of early modern material consumption. Critiquing Weberian ideas of a religious market driven by modesty and efficiency, Mukerji attributes the popularity of prints to a growing hedonism and materialism, which fuelled the emergence of a mass culture. While Mukerji criticises historians for not fully attending to illustrations and printed images, she herself fails to comprehend the full importance of the images. By using them solely as an example of this mass culture, she assumes that the images ‘tend to be valued for nothing more than their decorative uses’ in early modern culture. Assigning simplistic and solitary uses for the images, Mukerji overlooks their possible cultural importance, beyond that of mass market items, dividing prints into ‘great’ and ‘little’ traditions which were intended to appeal to one of the distinctive class-based communities of the period.123 Furthermore, she does not recognise the continuity of late medieval and early modern markets for printed images and icons.124

Studies such as these offer key points of departure into how the printed works became material objects and commodities. Historians cannot ignore the role materialistic consumerism played in the development of print. However, nor can we assume that this was printing’s predominant characteristic. To do so, we would overlook two integral elements of the study of print, the subject of the text or image and the consumer as reader. Printed images, like other visual media, conveyed a pictorial message that must

122 Mukerji, From Graven Images, p. 77.
124 Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, ch. 8.
be understood within the wider cultural framework. The success of these images depended upon their ability to connect with the widest number of readers. Printed works were vehicles of religious, political and social themes, but they also transcended national, linguistic and social boundaries to communicate to a variety of people. Martha Driver comments that, ‘Though images may not directly record reality, they remain suggestive about practices and attitudes of the cultures producing them, appearing as projections of cultural consciousness’.  

The popular text *Das Nerrenschiff* or *Ship of Fools*, written by the German humanist Sebastian Brant and first printed in Basel in 1494, illustrates how widespread and versatile printed images could be. Translated into several German dialects, Dutch, Latin, and French, the English *Ship of Fools* underwent four printings in the sixteenth century; the last one was printed by the Queen’s printer John Cawood in 1570.  

Interestingly, although it is a translation, most of the original woodcuts are retained in Cawood’s printing, along with seven cuts original to the English editions. In all, one hundred seven woodcuts, believed to be originally designed by Durer, illustrate the satiric tale of a band of fools headed for Narragonia, the fool’s haven. While the tale was intended to teach people how to escape foolishness, because of its popularity, the images also served to strengthen the cultural narratives and imagery.  

One example of this is the use of the ancient and medieval concept of the Wheel of Fortune, so famous in the works of Giovanni Boccaccio. While the wheel is usually considered to have little continuity in the early modern period, both Chaucer and Shakespeare make use of the imagery, restating the idea that, ‘Thus Fortune with a light /
Turn of her wheel brings men from joy to sorrow. Also, the printer Richard Tottell uses the wheel image for a translation of Boccaccio in 1554, establishing the visual imagery well inside the early modern period. In the Ship of Fools, an ass, a fool and a fool with an ass’s head are on the wheel, as the hand of God turns the wheel with a rope. In this, the reader is reminded that ‘they to climbe up have pleasure and desire, / Their feete them fayleth, so fall they in the mire’. Beyond the moral of fortune’s fleeting nature, the use of such imagery in Elizabethan printed images created bridges between the traditional culture of pre-Reformation society and the construction of Protestant England in the sixteenth century.

Only recently with studies of late medieval and early modern devotion have scholars begun to recognise the strong cultural links between these two periods. The cultural transition of the fifteenth and sixteenth century was much more complex than a mere rooting out of Catholic tradition and ceremony. For many reformers, the idea of losing such vast amounts of the past was no less painful than the invasion of idolatry into the church. The Protestant antiquarian and minister Stephen Batman bemoaned the loss of medieval texts saying:

he is no wyse man. yt for the haveng of spiders, Scorpions, or any outher noysom thinge in his howse will therefore set the whole howse on fier: for by that meanes, he disfornisheth himselfe of his howse: and so doo men by rashe borneng of ancient Recordes lose the knoweldge of muche learnenge / there be meanes and wayes, to presarve the good corne by gathering oute the wedes.

129 Giovanni Boccaccio, A treatise...shewing the falles of sundry most notable princes (London: R. Tottel, 1554), STC 3177.
130 Sebastian Brant, Stultifera navis or The ship of foole (London: J. Cawood, 1570), STC 3546, M5r.
However, for such medieval texts or images to have an impact and any sort of contextual meaning, they had to originate ‘from a common cultural background, drawing on and adapting creatively the traditions in which they had been trained’. 133 While those scholars who emphasise the commodity of print are correct in recognising the selling power of images that were purchased, it is equally true that images continued to be popular because of their appeal to common cultural themes and tropes. Also, within this, there is a sense that images provided something to the reader outside the direct meaning of the text. Not merely illustrations of the words, the visual depictions of well known themes and narratives served to reinforce a familiarity with traditions and beliefs. Another element overlooked in the study of printed material as consumer objects is that of the consumer as reader. As Joad Raymond explains, ‘Readers are inventive creatures and have always improvised with texts. Manners of consumption cannot be reduced to patterns of production: the reader’s encounter with the texts involves negotiations, appropriations and improvisations’. 134 Printed images were not only pictures, they were tangible, mass produced and accessible objects that could be used in a variety of ways, many of which might completely evade our historical imagination. Not only could a printed image be seen by a vast number of people, but also a person could purchase an image from a shop, hold it in their hands, gaze upon it or study it with an academic eye. 135 Robert Scribner constructs a complexity of relationships even a reader could have with an image, saying, ‘A viewer could move from image to text and back again, the text could explain aspects of the image, present information not included in it, or clarify the significance of the image on several levels’. 136 The images offered another means to communicate with the reader. Even though Reformed theologians dismissed the Catholic concept of images as laymen’s books, these printed images were in fact part of

133 Scribner, For the Sake of the Simple Folk, p. 241.
134 Raymond, Pamphlets and Pamphleteering, p. 92.
135 Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, p. 12; Sherman, Used Books, pp. 3-24.
136 Scribner, For the Sake of the Simple Folk, p. xxviii.
everyman’s books. Whether or not printed images were the objects of pre-industrial mass consumerism, as Mukerji argues, they were certainly produced and reproduced on such a scale that their influence on what Watt has described as the early modern ‘visual vocabulary’ deserves a greater deal of examination.137

Many descriptions of the use of printed images, usually drafted by stationers or writers, were fairly straightforward. In John Harrington’s translation of Orlando furioso (1593), it is simply stated that, ‘The use of the picture is evident, which is, that (having read over the booke) you may reade it (as it were againe) in the very picture’.138 Most Protestants were amenable to images being used for didactic, decorative, civil, or memorial purposes. Religious works encouraged the reader to use the image as a reading aid or a tool to illuminate concepts which may extend beyond the descriptive qualities of the text. However, readers had their own ways of reading the images, and this could involve the augmenting, mutilating or complete reformatting of the text. Tessa Watt’s study of late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century cheap print has revealed that images could be removed from the text and given a new environment on the walls of a home, like a modern art print or pasted into another book. McKitterick has provided evidence of images being ‘printed on walls, or onto pieces of furniture or other household objects’.139

An example of this from the Elizabethan period is the collection of fine engravings of Biblical heroes originally produced separately in Antwerp (by Gerard de Jode, Hans van Luyck, Jan Sadeler, and Martin de Vos) that have been haphazardly pasted into a copy of John Merbecke’s The lyves of holy sainctes, prophetes, patriarches, and others, contayned in holye Scripture (1574), though it is uncertain whether this occurred before or after the book was bound. Henry Denham and Richard Watkins, the stationers in charge of the text, did not print any images in either the folio or the quarto

137 Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, p. 322.
138 Lodovico Ariosto, Orlando furioso in English heroical verse (London: R. Field, 1591), STC 746, A1r.
139 Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, ch.5; McKitterick, Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, p. 61.
editions of Merbecke’s work (both in 1574); however, several pages in the quarto edition were left completely blank by the printers, perhaps for the very purpose of pasting illustrations into the work.\textsuperscript{140} While such fast and loose activity might offend modern aesthetic sensibilities or the bibliophilic personality, modern aesthetics had nothing to do with these acts. Relying on modern paradigms to understand early modern culture only leads to inaccurate assumptions about the past that have been fabricated upon current presumptions. In another example, the Lutheran Johannes Spon cut out dozens of printed woodcuts, designed by Hans Holbein, from their original texts and inserted them into his manuscript commonplace book.\textsuperscript{141} As this thesis demonstrates, neither the printing nor the binding of printed images in a work established their fixedness to that particular page. They seem to have had a practical purpose that transcended any ideas of the static unity of a single text.

Though the images pasted into Merbecke’s book provided illustration for the text, they were not intended to do so, either by the printers or the producers of the pictures. This was the act of the reader, a party that is often not accounted for in studies of the consumptive economy of early modern printing. What this demonstrates is that readers participated in, and were to some degree the final authority of, the formation of a text. While stationers and booksellers shaped the material of the text in order for it to sell, this was not necessarily how the reader intended to access and interact with the text. As Roger Chartier has explained, ‘printed matter is never merely a text’.\textsuperscript{142} Printed works were paper, ink, thread, woodcuts, type and often a binding (which usually came after the work was purchased). They were material objects that communicated certain messages, and those messages could be altered by printer, publisher or reader. Each in his/her own

\textsuperscript{140} John Merbecke, \textit{The lyves of holy sainctes, prophetes, patriarches, and others, contayned in holye Scripture} (London: H. Denham & R. Watkins, 1574), STC 17303 [Huntington Library call number 28899].
\textsuperscript{141} For a full description see chapter 1, footnote 80 of this thesis. Also, see the examples in McKitterick, \textit{Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order}, pp. 53-57.
way could tamper with the material used to make the text. Thus, the study of printed material must consider not only the intentions of those who created the text but also the meaningfulness of the text and its impact upon the wider readership.

As for printed images, because of their transitory nature, this is particularly important. While they were created to depict specific scenes and illustrate certain texts, this direct illustrative quality was not a necessity for an image. Since the images were not necessarily ‘directly representative of ideas expressed in the texts or dependent on the texts for explication’, the printed image must be understood as having had a life of its own.\(^{143}\)

**Conclusion**

While this chapter has attempted to address several broad issues concerning the printed image in Elizabethan England, the primary purpose has been to examine how the printed image existed within the early modern marketplace of print. Mainly, it has outlined some key areas of enquiry, to which subsequent chapters will attend. How were images situated in relation to the legislation and censorship mechanisms? How were images used in daily life and reading practices? And perhaps most importantly, how should printed images be examined within the milieu of the marketplace? The chapter has attempted to follow Chartier’s insight by offering ways in which research into the printed image can focus attention upon the text, the materiality of print and the ways in which people interacted with the text.

With the evidence presented here, neither the authority of official policy nor the growth of capitalist markets seems to explain printed images entirely. Instead, it is better to understand the printed images as having an ambiguous position in the legal and religious restrictions of the period. Printed images seem to lead an almost double life in

---

the Reformation. The homily against idolatry warns that the ancient church had allowed images slowly ‘by stealth to creepe out of private mens houses into the Churches’.\footnote{Anon., ‘An homilie against perill of Idolatrie, and superstitious decking of Churches’, in Certaine Sermons or HOMILIES Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547-1571), facsimile edition by Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, FL, 1968), 2B6v.} However, it was in the private homes of Protestant readers that these printed images resided. Either in books or as a part of the domestic décor, images of Christ and the Virgin, of the martyrs and Biblical narratives, of angels and of God’s providence could be found throughout Elizabethan England. Moreover, the homily specifically condemned any image of Christ, for ‘no true Image can be made of Christes body, for it is unknownen now’.\footnote{Anon., ‘An homilie against peril of Idolatrie’, 2D2v} But there is no other Biblical figure more represented in Elizabethan printed images than Christ.

This serves to underpin what has been shown throughout this chapter: that the place of printed images and their influence in early modern society is far from clear. As material tools in the manufacturing of printed works, the images served an international market of stationers and booksellers. They were used as marketable commodities to be used as printed works in their own right, advertisements for other works and profitable additions to a literary text. Moreover, printed images were not hindered by spatial and geographic boundaries. The images printed in Germany, France and Italy also appeared in England, and vice versa, creating a cosmopolitan printed visual culture.

We must also keep in mind Natalie Zemon Davis’s advice that, ‘it is especially important to realize that people do not necessarily agree with the values and ideas in the books they read’.\footnote{Natalie Zemon Davis, Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays (Stanford, 1975), p. 191.} Certainly, this cannot be applied sweepingly across the mass of printed images. However, there was not an either/or paradigm of either universal praise or condemnation for images. Many existed in a netherworld of general condemnation of its subject while being printed without censure. Furthermore, the historical revisionism of
the past thirty years has shown that the Protestant reforms were neither homogeneous nor always popular. Protestant religion may have dominated Elizabethan England, but people’s own experiences were imbued with more than church mandate. In the words of D.F. McKenzie, ‘My argument therefore runs full circle from a defence of authorial meaning, on the grounds that it is in some measure recoverable, to a recognition that, for better or worse, readers inevitably make their own meanings’. Both the creation of the images and their reception in early modern society has something to offer historians. As this chapter has explained, the culture of readership played an important role in both the survival and the reception of the text. Printed material was not a fixed object when it left the press or even after it was bound, because books could be rebound and bound with other texts. The influence of the reader offers important signs of how an image was received and read.

The context of the marketplace requires attention to every aspect of the printed image. Printed images were not private opinions; rather, they were material objects that were both public and commercial. Recovering the meanings and intentions embedded in the act of printing images is of primary importance. Alongside this, we cannot forget that these images were objects in themselves separate from the text. Their relationship to the text as illustration and decoration did not define the images absolutely. Much like the letter type, binding, paper and other materials of printing, these images existed both as matter and media. Subsequent chapters will demonstrate that these images were a type of text, an adaptable and resilient one, which found a degree of acceptability in the midst of the Reformation.

147 McKenzie, Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts, p. 19
Chapter 3: Seeking a Knot: Adiaphora and a Theology of Images in Reformation England

The title of this chapter initially bore the mundane title ‘The English Reformation and a Theology of Idolatry’. However, in examining the relevant texts, it became apparent that reformers in England and Europe were no less interested in expostulating on the existence of idols and what idols were than they were in identifying acceptable images. In England, there was a conscious effort to establish certain images, whether they be visual or literary, as permissible and even Biblical. This has led Susan Hardman Moore to ask, ‘zealous Protestants wanted to strip images out of churches and books … So why fill the mind’s eye with pictures?’.

Protestants across Europe destroyed and preached the destruction of idols. In the same breath, however, they bought, sold and created images for their own benefit, using them as emblems, decoration, didactic tools, laymen’s books and entertainment. Because of this, as the Reformation took shape, it became important to clearly define the boundaries of acceptable imagery. This chapter will explore how the theological constructions of acceptability developed in Protestant thought. Three different strands of reforming discourse which informed English theology—the Lollards, the Lutherans, and the Reformed—will be analysed, along with criticisms of more traditional Catholic thought, in order to offer a clearer understanding of the evolution of this theology.

Though these strands do not comprise the totality of English theology, they are the most predominant and provide a good indication of these developments. The intent here is to map certain nuances and distinctions that arose within the Protestant understanding of

---

images and to better understand how these printed images were perceived, read and understood.

The necessity of a chapter on theology in the context of the history of printed images springs from the relation between a theological discourse and the culture that that discourse informed. This chapter attempts to avoid the a-historical pitfall described by Lee Palmer Wandel as ‘the two-tiered model’ of early modern society, where elite theologians are separated ‘from the practice of Christianity’ among the people.3 Stimulated by revisionist history, this model has instead found social, legal, political and economic motives for the use and abuse of popular images. Furthermore, it tends to focus too much attention on what John Walter terms, ‘the political constructions placed on these iconoclastic acts’, separating the religious thinking of the popular and elite classes.4

In this, it must be acknowledged that theology was only one aspect in early modern perceptions of images. However, one cannot neglect the influence of the theologian as an instructor of the educated and a preacher to the populace.5 It is remiss to assume a strict mental divide between the theologian and the people, particularly in a society that depended so much upon religious belief to shape its understanding of the world. Only through a clear understanding of the reformers’ ideas concerning images as well as how those ideas fluctuated over time can any sense be made of this seeming contradiction between acceptable and unacceptable images.

Germane to this mindset was the principle of adiaphora, or things indifferent, which informed much of the ecclesiastical discourse of the sixteenth century. The works

---

of Bernard Verkamp and John S. Coolidge have illustrated the importance of this principle in terms of the reformers’ attempts to both rid the church of superstition and establish an authorial foundation for true religion.\footnote{Bernard Verkamp, \textit{The Indifferent Mean: Adiaphorism in the English Reformation to 1554} (Athens, OH, 1977); John S. Coolidge, \textit{The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible} (Oxford, 1970). See also: W. J. Torrance Kirby, ‘“Relics of the Amorites” or “Things Indifferent”’? Peter Martyr Vermigli’s Authority and the Threat of Schism in the Elizabethan Vestiarian Controversy’, \textit{Renaissance and Reformation Review}, 6 (2004), 313-326; Victoria Ann Kahn, ‘Revising the History of Machiavellism: English Machiavellism and the Doctrine of Things Indifferent’, \textit{Renaissance Quarterly}, 46 (1993), 526-561.} Both European and English Protestants undermined the authority of the papacy and the Catholic system of ceremony, by arguing that those practices, activities and beliefs not mandated or prescribed in scripture were to be considered neither good nor evil inherently. Although the study of \textit{adiaphora} has usually been restricted to the controversies over Catholic ceremony, the wearing of vestments and the like, its importance in early modern thought carries implications for a wider range of mentalities.

However, this sense of indifference must be placed alongside the English Calvinism of mid and late sixteenth-century England. Often, this religious framework has been construed by scholars to be inherently abstemious and progressively more anti-aesthetic as the century progressed.\footnote{Against this assumption, see: \textit{Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition}, edited by Paul Corby Finney (Cambridge, 1999); Ann Kibbey, \textit{The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism} (Cambridge, 1986).} This is borne out in the religious injunctions against images. In Henry’s reign, the image of God the Father in a church was considered acceptable, as long as it was not idolised. By 1560, certain religious images in houses were considered suspect. Elizabeth’s first injunctions in 1559 stipulated:

\begin{quote}
They shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candle-sticks, trindals, and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere within their churches and houses, preserving nevertheless or repairing both the walls and glass windows. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.\footnote{\textit{VAI, vol. II}, pp. 5-6, 38, 48; \textit{vol. III}, pp. 16, 79, 100 (p. 16).}
\end{quote}
As Margaret Aston has demonstrated, these injunctions were ambiguous enough to permit several interpretations. Embedded in the injunctions lay the concept of religious liberty, which seemed to undermine the iconophobic condemnation of all visual depiction. Coolidge explained, ‘Elizabeth committed her Church to the principle that order is to be established by the regulation of indifferent things’. Coolidge goes on to say that this was cemented through the objects of adiaphora, as they were available for the monarch’s use in establishing order.9 Unlike the abused objects of Catholic piety, things indifferent were not to be elevated to the level of divine mandate, remaining only things which were used by civil authorities to establish order.

Many reformers perceived a thin but clear line between scriptural regulation and legalistic attempts at identifying these non-prescribed things, or as many of them described it, ‘to seek a knot in a rush.’ Those things not commanded by either the Word or the crown were adiaphora, the moral value of which hinged upon how they were used and the motivations behind that use.10 Echoing the adiaphora principle, the proverb ‘to seek a knot in a rush’ became popular as a means to describe the fault-finding mentality that perceived heresy or false belief where none could possibly exist. Humanist scholar Levinus Leminus explained that the phrase was ‘very aptly and fitly applied to those which are scrupulous in cases, where no neede is; or that make doubt of a thing, that of it selfe is most plaine’.11 The phrase in essence was used as common jargon to dismiss argumentative and mendacious attacks. As we shall see in this chapter, this liberty, along with the use of things indifferent, became a pillar of the Elizabethan defense of images outside places of worship. However, to appreciate this fully, we must first understand how visual images changed in the minds of Protestants, not so much from icon to idol,

9 Coolidge, The Pauline Renaissance, p. 49
10 I do not wish to suggest that there was a general consensus throughout the English Reformation about the parameters and specifics of adiaphora. There was not. However, explaining the nuances of each view reaches far beyond the purposes of this chapter. Nevertheless, as Verkamp and especially Coolidge have shown, there continued to be recognition of the adiaphora principle in most English Protestant circles until the late sixteenth century.
but rather from religious object to a more desacralised picture. Thus, to offer worship to such a thing became absurd.\textsuperscript{12} To discover the roots of this transition, it is necessary to examine the thinkers that gave fuel to the reforming fervour.

In this, I think it is more productive to turn this examination toward what reformers believed were acceptable and even praiseworthy images rather than what they were intent upon eradicating.\textsuperscript{13} While the literature about iconoclasm has produced a unique insight into Reformation studies, as discussed in the introduction, it has depended too much on ‘image’ as a generalised term, particularly for religious depictions, which has clouded the distinctions latent in Protestant thought.\textsuperscript{14} To avoid such murky waters, this chapter will move toward a more nuanced understanding of the types of distinctions Protestants made, in conjunction with the contexts of place, subject, intent and historical significance. The purpose here is not only to provide insight into the perspectives of Protestant theologians but also to unravel the layers of early modern visual culture as a whole. What was discussed amongst theologians one day would certainly be preached from the pulpit in the subsequent months and years. The principles discussed here informed the Elizabethan religion, how people as a whole saw, read and understood printed images. Ultimately, this examination will show an acute awareness of distinctions between idols and images and how those lines of distinction shifted, between a principle of \textit{adiaphora} and a more strident iconoclastic line. The theology of images was neither wholly intellectual in its pursuit nor was it a progressive evolution, slowly eliminating even the slightest semblance of Catholicism. Instead, the theology was adjusted across time and space indicating attempts to recreate society’s understanding of what images


\textsuperscript{13} Margaret Aston has made the greatest strides in regards to distinguishing types of images, particularly in the contexts of place, subject, and dimension [\textit{England’s Iconoclasts, vol. 1: Laws Against Images} (Oxford, 1989), ch. 7.].

were, in a way that both condemned Catholic idolatry and permitted certain acceptable forms of representation.

**Lollards and the Early Reformers**

Any theology of images in the English Reformation must begin not in the 1530s with the Henrician reforms but with the radical Lollard groups of the fifteenth century. The Lollard contribution to the English reform of images is often understated, both by modern historiography and by the reformers themselves. Fortunately, Margaret Aston and Anne Hudson have contributed several volumes to examining both the Lollards and their influence on late medieval and Reformation thought. However, Hudson in particular has demonstrated that John Wycliffe paid little attention to visual displays, and it was quite separated from Wycliffe that the Lollards developed an acute opposition to certain icons.

One contribution the Lollards made was to enhance greatly the possibility that Christian images could be identified with idols. Aston explains, ‘Opposition to images can be regarded as one of the most consistent features of the Lollard heresy, and was a criterion for distinguishing its adherents at the beginning of the movement and its end’.

Even in the Edwardian years, many English clergy agreed with the preacher Roger Edgeworth that, ‘An ydole is a similitude representing a thing that never was nor maye be. Therefore the ymage of the crucifixe is no ydole’. This critique held true for many clerics and laymen well into the seventeenth century. Idolatry depended to a great degree on the subject of the image, for only those representations which had never existed could

---

15 Though Lollards were known to have destroyed images on occasion making use of them for fuel in fires, it was their theological conception of idolatry that had the greatest impact: W.R. Jones, ‘Lollards and Images: the Defense of Religious Art in Later Medieval England’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 34 (1973), 27-50.
be an idol. However, the Lollards were among the first to criticise this paradigm, focusing the accusation of idolatry instead toward the worshipper and the abuse committed, often signified in the form of audacious decoration. One Lollard sermon explained that such vain décor was ‘an opyn errour agenst Christis gospel’, for it ‘taughten that Christ was naylid on the crosse with thus myche gold and silver and precious clothis, as a breeche of gold ententid with perry, and schoon of silver and croune fretted ful of precious jewelis’. Maureen Jurkowski’s study of Lollards in Northampton illustrated the close associations which Lollards made between idolatrous objects and the adorning ceremonial images and decking pilgrimage icons. The problem arose not in visualising religious figures, but rather in the efforts and energies wasted on the gaudy dressing of images.19

The popular Lollard treatise *The Lanterne of Light* directed disdain not toward the image itself but toward those that would use the image to deceive the worshippers. *The Lanterne of Light* explained:

The peyntour makith an ymage forged with diverse colours til it seme in foolis eyes as a a lyveli creature. This is sett in the chirche, in a solemne place, fast bounden with boondis, for it schulde nat falle. Prestis of the temple bigilen the peple with the foule synne of Balaam in her open preching.20

The accusation is not directed at the image or the subject of the image but at its creator, the ‘peyntour’, who has created a temptation, rather than a devotional image. Also, the priest in allowing such a temptation, and even promoting it in his preaching, is also culpable for any sins of idolatry. So then, in attacking images, the Lollards were not criticising images of Christ, the Virgin or the saints, *per se*. They were instead confronting and condemning the sinful desires of others *via* the images that were created to indulge those desires. Furthermore, in other Lollard texts, there was a distinct

---


20 *Lanterne of Light*, p.84.
recognition of icons giving images a practical purpose beyond that of decoration. But even these laymen’s books needed to be ‘true images’ that correctly depicted Christ or other venerable subjects without any worldly pomp, so that they would not easily be abused in worship.21

As an antithesis to the materially corrupt form of devotion which heaped wealth and sumptuous decoration upon blocks of wood, Lollards preached a more practical piety which advocated good works, prayer, abstinence and caring for the poor. In particular, the latter was placed in opposition to corrupt pilgrimages. Hudson explains, ‘true pilgrimage is that taken in ministering to the poor and distressed’. The idea that true images to be adorned with a person’s wealth were the poor who needed clothes and food would find renewed influence in the Reformation, particularly in Zwingli’s Zurich.22 This comparative distinction was useful for Lollards and later Protestants alike, as it stressed ‘the spiritual quality of their faith’. Both Protestants and Lollards believed such ephemeral images were of no inherent value, and their contempt was directed at the abuse of images. This allowed a modicum of permissibility for other images.23

Perhaps more than any other theological principle, this concept of idolatry was among the most long lasting Lollard contributions. While Protestants praised the Lollards in martyrologies and histories, they were not completely taken with Lollard theology because of its basis in medieval (and Catholic) thought. Aston explains, ‘Lollards might not actually make Protestants, but they could sow fertile seeds of doubt’.24 However, this Lollard seed of iconoclasm, attacking the deceptions of falsely adorned images, bore fruit in the long Reformation. The sixteenth-century iconoclasts generally intended their destruction to be a denouncement of beliefs as well as of the people who had invested

---

22 Hudson, The Premature Reformation, p. 308.
23 Jones, ‘Lollards and Images’, p. 34.
24 Aston, Lollards and Reformers, p. 232.
their faith in the images. Much of the English Reformation would destroy for spiritual reasons, banishing from the eyes what the sinful heart desired.

**Adiaphora and the Early Reforms**

The intellectual attention afforded to *adiaphora* in the Reformation most often concerns itself with the Protestant rejection of material, outward signs as necessary things for proper devotion. This is understandable, because among most early English reformers the discussion of things indifferent usually consisted of an attack on the papal necessity for signs such as pilgrimages, vestments and kneeling. John Hooper bemoaned, ‘there be more ceremonies in the church of Christ than were in the church of the Jews’. However, this expression of *adiaphora*, denouncing the Catholic requirement of signs not specifically prescribed in scripture, must be taken in conjunction with the principle of indifference imbued in these same signs. Though many reformers, such as the Puritans, would eventually condemn all ceremony and pomp, it was not the ceremonies that most vexed the Protestants. Rather, the crux of the matter was the assumption that such things were necessary for religion.

The ambiguity of the *adiaphora* principle in Protestant thought was illustrated by one of the Protestants’ many critics. One of the early Catholic criticisms of iconoclasm was that Protestant translations of the Bible misled people by confusing the terms ‘image’ and ‘idol’, using the latter for both terms. In his sermon, ‘Treatyng of the Gift of the Holy Ghost, Called the Spirite of Science’, Roger Edgeworth, who ‘had a knack for using the evangelicals’ arguments against them’, reasserted this critique. Edgeworth argued, ‘They would have that this latine worde Imago signifieth an Idole’, so that ‘the translatours would bring men to beleve that to set up Images or to have Images is

---

idolatrye’. Edgeworth’s point was that, while Protestants claim a degree of initial indifference toward imagery, they had already established in their interpretation of scripture a negative denotation of images. Playing on the words things indifferent, Edgeworth continued ‘that Paul sayth that an Idole is nothinge’ but is an image of Christ, God, or any of the saints, ‘a thynge of nothinge’?28

This certainly was a complication for Protestants like Latimer and the Edwardian reformers, as it was the case that in many instances the terms image and idol were used interchangeably to justify their iconoclasm. In his arguments with William Tyndale, Thomas More similarly remarked that Tyndale’s ‘bark agaynste holy ymagys’ hinged upon the understanding ‘that idoles and ymages be all one, bycause the idoles be a kind of ymages, and ymage is a terme indifferent to good and bade’.29 Again, the emphasis is upon the Protestant hypocrisy of using adiaphora only towards those things which they wished to eradicate from mandatory worship. Even Tyndale was forced to admit this muddled usage; however, he defended his translation, saying that ‘we now know no other use but to worship’ images, so that his translation was merely reflecting contemporary reality. Continuing, he explained that this was not always the case, and that there is no reason why images could not still be used in a godly manner. Tyndale stated:

If (for an esample) I … make a little crosse therof and beare it about me/ to loke theron with a repentinge hert/ at tymes when I am moved therto / to put me in remembraunce that the body of Christ was broken and his bloud shed theron/ for my sinnes … then it servith me and I not it and doeth me ye same service as yf I red ye testament in a booke/ or as iff the preacher preached it unto me.30

Comparing the devotional impact of a cross to that of the scriptures and a sermon is insightful, for it offers even further credence to the adiaphora principle latent within Protestant thought. That an image could be the equivalent of the spoken and written word

28 Roger Edgeworth, Sermons very fruitfull, f. 40v, 42r.
30 William Tyndale, An answere unto Sir Thomas Mores dialogue (Antwerp: S. Cock, 1531), STC 24437, E3v-E4r.
not only establishes its inherent indifference but also the possibility of a glorified and highly spiritual use.

Martin Luther, on the other hand, faced criticism of his indifference toward images from radical German reformers. In his letter, ‘Against the Heavenly Prophets’, he announced, ‘On the subject of images, we saw that they ought to be abolished when they are worshipped otherwise not … Nevertheless, we cannot and ought not to condemn a thing which may be in any way useful to a person’. 31 Though this was a response to the violent destruction undertaken by Andreas Karlstadt and others in Wittenberg in 1522, throughout his career, Luther was more inclined to accept devotional images in churches. Echoing the concept of _adiaphora_ or things indifferent, Luther argued against the destruction of anything that could potentially benefit the true believer.

In the letter, Luther offered a thorough defence of images in the language of _adiaphora_, condemning the violence perpetrated by those like Karlstadt. For Karlstadt and other iconoclasts of his mould, the concern for idolatry in churches, compelled them to preach that ‘blessed is he who tears away his brother’s destruction even against his will’. In their sermons and writings, emphasis was placed upon what the apostle Paul referred to as the weaker brethren. The impetus was the protection of those who did not know any better but to worship images. But advocating a more educational and steady reform, Luther turned the radical view around saying, ‘when they are no longer in the heart, they can do no harm when seen with the eyes’. 32 In his letter, he continued:

> to instruct and enlighten the conscience that it is idolatry to worship them, or to trust in them … Beyond this let the external matters take their course. God grant that they may be destroyed, become dilapidated, or that they remain. It is all the same difference, just as when the poison has been removed from the snake. 33

---

33 Luther, ‘Against the Heavenly Prophets’, p. 91.
This was not an apathetic appeal to do nothing. Instead, Luther wanted reformers to consider and address the sources of the idolatry, the human intent. Simply to remove or destroy the object would be like throwing a poisonous snake back into the tall grass, where it might go unseen but was still able to strike.

However, Karlstadt never allows for such a distinction. Later Puritans echoed his opinion that *adiaphora* was more a stumbling block than an aid to godliness. In the early seventeenth century, the firebrand preacher William Bradshaw argued that, ‘nothing is in it selfe indifferent’, but instead, everything whether in scripture or elsewhere possessed a moral value based on its context and purpose. Concerning Luther’s *adiaphora* toward images, Karlstadt responded, ‘All visible and external acts of worship are useless’ and even dangerous. There were no things indifferent, only those things of the spirit which were beneficial and those of the material flesh which were destructive. Karlstadt’s ‘dualistic biblicism’ eventually took on a strict legalism, attempting to purge every corruption of the flesh from spiritual matters. In 1524, Karlstadt declared, ‘Spare not! Destroy them!’ Dismissing Luther’s waffling *adiaphora*, he continued:

If as little danger and as trifling injury arose from idols as you allege, God would not have forbidden them so often through Moses and the prophets … It does not follow that because God commanded the Jews not to exterminate the heathen (their enemies) hurriedly and quickly, but rather by degrees in a leisurely and gradual manner, therefore Christians should also proceed gradually and slowly when they abolish offenses.

It must be noted that while Karlstadt demanded iconoclasm everywhere, Luther was not completely opposed to iconoclasm. In fact, his praise for the destruction of abused images was a crucial element of Luther’s *adiaphora* that strongly differed from the Catholic defence of images. Whereas Catholics believed no Christian image could be an idol, Luther along with Tyndale and other early reformers acknowledged this

---

36 *Karlstadt’s Battle with Luther*, pp. 66-67.
37 Luther, ‘Against the Heavenly Prophets’, pp. 91-2.
possibility. However, Luther vehemently argued that the matter of idolatry resided within the human heart and not the material object. ‘If it is not a sin but to have the image of Christ in my heart, why should it be a sin to have it in my eyes?’ he asks and answers, ‘However I must cease lest I hereby give occasion to the image-breakers … to tear the heart out of the body.’ Luther saw in Karlstadt’s method of iconoclasm another form of idolatry. Luther explained, ‘he who only smashes them in pieces outwardly, while he permits idols to remain in the heart and set-up other [idols] alongside them, namely false confidence and pride in works’. The tendency to aggrandise the iconoclasm, because of its zeal, could take on idolatrous tones. Joseph Koerner has described this potential hazard saying that by ‘Desecrating the sacred icon, exhibiting it not as object but as abject, they release a strange, transgressive power.’ This power could exhibit itself as a violent devotionalism, becoming no less a source of idolatry than Catholic objects, and as such would also need to be removed.

The underlying issue for early Protestants like Tyndale and Luther was not the images themselves but distinguishing the boundaries of acceptability. Many of the images being debated had long been worshipped, prayed to, adorned and gazed upon, not merely in individual devotion but by papal direction. Brian Cummings explains, ‘Devotion to images, and their destruction, was concerned not with the object but with what it was felt to contain, not with what was seen but with ways of seeing’. Any understanding of how Protestant theology dealt with images must begin and end on this point. In the minds of the later English Protestants, images and idols were not inherently the same, but distinguishing between the two could be both tedious and dangerous.

38 Luther, ‘Against the Heavenly Prophets’, pp. 99-100, 81.
39 Koerner demonstrates how Lutheran iconoclasts and Catholics alike created fictional narratives in which they acted out the destruction, as well as leaving the rubble of the defaced image behind as an anti-image: Reformation of the Image, pp. 104-136 (p. 105).
Reformed Theology and the English Reformation

The message of *adiaphora* was not everywhere so obvious as it was in the writings of Luther and Tyndale. Other early reformers like the German theologian Martin Bucer were not as accommodating. In 1535, Bucer’s work *A treatise declaring and showing that images are not to be suffered in churches* was the first book devoted to images and image worship published in English.41 Here, Bucer established a polemical framework, particularly for Reformed churches, which lasted through the sixteenth century. His basic premise was:

ones forbidden [images] must nedes stande always styll forbidden / specially for this cause. Bycause the trewe honouring of god can nat be but either mynisshed / or els diverse wayes letted: as sone as we shall suffer the sayde ymages / contrary to the commaundement of god in churches / or in the other places: where they be honoured or els maye be honoured.42

Again, the pivotal issue is the location of the image, namely in churches and honourable places, and the perceptions of the people when seeing images in such contexts. However, Bucer is not condemning all imagery. He granted, ‘that carvers and painters crafte / are craftes both given by god / and also lawfull’. Rather, the matter of images rested on this point: what was considered too dangerous to be allowed? For Bucer, and those who found his short treatise enlightening, images should be purged from churches so that worshippers can truly commune with God through what Bucer refers to as ‘the eye of the mind’. As he continued:

But syth it is so that in churches every were / ymages are honoured / and namely roodes. It is nat possible though thou prech never so ofte / nor never so earnestly unto the people / that ymages are nat to be honoured: buth that there wyll be some / which wyll hold on styl to put of their capes … and make curtesye to them.43

Images were not an aid for Bucer but a distraction. They might be acceptable outside the church walls, but inside images became a hindrance to true worship, keeping the people

41 For a deeper analysis of this work, see: Aston, *England’s Iconoclasts*, pp. 203-10.
42 Martin Bucer, *A treatise declaring and showing that images are not to be suffered in churches*. *Translated by J. Bedrote* (London: T. Godfray, 1535), A7v.
43 Bucer, *A treatise declaring*, C1r, C4r.
from focusing on God. While Bucer’s opinions would influence both European and English reforms, particularly after he accepted a Regius professorship at Cambridge, it must be noted that his ideas were only among the opening words on the theology of images. What Bucer provided to future theologians were basic principles of acceptance, particularly concerning the location of an image and how images influenced people’s minds as religious objects.

Nevertheless, it is important not to posit *adiaphora* entirely against the Bucerian or even Calvinist theology of images. Certainly, this can be difficult in the face of the overwhelming destruction of church images in the late 1530s, coupled with what would become the general Reformed belief that ‘the human mind [has always been] a perpetual forge of idols’.44 However, while the followers of Bucer and Luther did not see eye to eye on church images, most reformers acknowledged the reality of things indifferent and that in certain contexts images could be considered *adiaphora*. Also, both groups used *adiaphora* in their condemnation of Catholic popery and useless ceremonies, and both recognised a need to distinguish between proper and improper images. Within these distinctions, however, lay the rub.

In *Actes and monuments*, John Foxe recorded a letter from the Bishop of Winchester Stephen Gardiner to Nicholas Ridley, with the intention of demonstrating the importance of the right understanding of *adiaphora* in relation to images. In it, Gardiner takes issue with a recent sermon of Ridley’s and opposed Ridley’s promotion of iconoclasm. Gardiner argued that religious images were ‘an instrument’ that ‘by the sight, work like effect in man … wherby we attain ye understanding … but remayneth in his nature, of stone or timber, silver, copper or golde’. In this, Gardiner stressed not only the traditional use of images, pointing out that Luther argues that ‘they shuld stand stil’,

but also the requirement that images should not be abused by superstitious belief.\textsuperscript{45} For Gardiner, the issue was not one of essence ‘not at that thimages be’ but rather one of emphasis ‘that thimages signify’. Here, he is very much in line with Lutheran and early reformed thought. In fact, he echoes Luther, when he states, ‘it wold be a problem, seing if graving wer taken away, we could have no printing. And therefore they that presse so much the wordes, of \textit{Non facies tibi sculptile}, ever me thinketh they condeme printed bookes, the originall wherof is of graving’.\textsuperscript{46} However, by this time, among the more ardent reformers the significance of the place of the image had been firmly established, so that to suggest images in churches could be considered \textit{adiaphora} was highly dubious. Interestingly, while the reformers dismissed Gardiner’s more traditional use of images, they defended their own graven images with the same sort of argument. In his marginal comments, Foxe responded at great length to Gardiner’s letter, oftentimes with scathing \textit{ad hominem} remarks. As to Gardiner’s critique of Protestant graven print, Foxe wrote, ‘If ye did see any printer yet to do worship to his graven letters, then might you well seke thus (as ye do) a knotte in a rushe.’\textsuperscript{47} Foxe’s confidence aside, this example demonstrates the tension between the boundaries of things indifferent which were deeply embedded in the early Reformation.

This growing tension was clearly borne out in the later years of Henry VIII. As Alec Ryrie has demonstrated, the favour of the King, between 1542 and 1547, markedly shifted away from reformers like Thomas Becon, John Bale and John Hooper, back to Gardiner and the conservative camp.\textsuperscript{48} Attempts were made at conciliatory balances between the iconoclastic regime and those more conservative stances. It is likely, however, that these five years did more to foster the dogmatic rifts between the various

\textsuperscript{46} Foxe, \textit{Acts and Monuments} [Accessed: 12.02.2007], p. 752.
\textsuperscript{47} Foxe, \textit{Acts and Monuments} [Accessed: 12.02.2007], p. 752.
\textsuperscript{48} Ryrie, \textit{The Gospel and Henry VIII}, pp. 113-156. For more on this shift, see: Aston, \textit{England’s Iconoclasts}, pp. 239-246.
camps that would become so prominent in the Edwardian and Marian reigns. The same evangelicals would lead the charge of iconoclasm in King Edward VI’s reign, where, ‘All images, instead of the variously abused images, were to go from churches and chapels’. While Gardiner and other more conservative voices continually resounded the principle of *adiaphora*, saying ‘If ye allow nothing but Scripture, what say you to the king’s rings … why doothe the king weare S. Georg on his brest … why kepe we S. George feast?’.

Such accusations of hypocrisy were often considered by Protestants to be little more than seeking a knot in a rush, as the idolatrous image was not cut on to a ring or a breastplate. Instead, what attracted Protestant attention in the late 1540s was not types of images so much as the displays of devotion toward the images. By 1549, the measurement of idolatry was raised to the point that both Bishops Hooper and Ridley felt that any sort of display in churches, even ‘to be more affectionate to one [image] than another’ was too much reverence. The principle of *adiaphora*, however, continued to inform even the more radical voices like Hooper. Even in the iconoclastic Edwardian years, distinctions were made between what was acceptable and what was idolatrous. What reformers emphasised was use and that those images formerly considered to be devotional should receive no more sentiment or attention than the printer’s shop sign of the Black Bear in St. Paul’s churchyard.

Even Hooper and Ridley, however, were not entirely in agreement about the scope of *adiaphora*. The debates over the Vestarian Controversy in 1550 are a prime example of how ambiguous the nature of *adiaphora* could be. As a term used in polemics against Catholic corruption, *adiaphora* united the Protestants. Unfortunately, by its very

---


50 Hooper, *A Declaration*, p. 317. While I believe John Philips has missed the mark in attributing Edwardian iconoclasm to more economic and social policies rather than religious reform, his discussion of this period in English iconoclasm remains one of the more illuminating (Philips, *The Reformation of the Images*, pp. 89-100.).
nature, it created differences of opinion concerning its application and scale. The entire controversy is too large to discuss here, but this ambiguity is obvious in Ridley’s own stance on the wearing of vestments. While Hooper refused to include vestments as *adiaphora*, categorising them amongst things completely corrupted by Catholicism, Ridley believed that vestments as ‘God’s creations’ could be used for good. Though, as Hooper certainly enjoyed pointing out, this seemed to contradict Ridley’s own stance on images in churches. A few years earlier, Ridley stated, ‘images placed in churches and set in an honourable place of estimation … and especially over the Lord’s table … especially after so long continuance of abuse of images, and so many being blinded with superstitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent’.\

Whatever Ridley’s motivations, what is important here is the variety of applications and possible interpretations which were possible amongst the different Protestant thinkers. For, these differences were much deeper than basic paradigms of Catholic and Lutheran, Protestant and Catholic.

Even the English Protestant exiles in Germany and Switzerland during the reign of Queen Mary experienced the conflict which was inherent in the ambiguities surrounding the principle of *adiaphora*. The liturgical disputes between Ridley and John Knox during their exile in Frankfurt am Main revolved around beliefs which ‘severely narrowed the range of adiaphora’. Though both sides agreed on the existence of *adiaphora*, the defining characteristics of such indifferent things was never adequately established. While the prayer book and vestments continued to be points of disagreement well into the Elizabethan period, a certain degree of consensus about images was achieved by the 1550s amongst most English Protestants. Having thoroughly abandoned the opinion of Tyndale and Luther that images could be used for devotion, in a letter to

---

Queen Elizabeth early in her reign, Archbishop Matthew Parker explained, ‘And where it is commonly alleged that images in churches do stir up the mind to devotion, it may be answered that, contrariwise, they do rather distract the mind from prayer, hearing of God’s word, and other godly meditation’. 53 This was particularly true when images were decked and adorned by their admirers; not only were such images distractions to worship, they were visible evidence and reminders of a kind of devotion that had been twisted into idolatry by the centuries of Catholic proliferation of icons.

At least in England, this consensus was given the appearance of stability when in 1563 the bishops had printed, ‘An Homily Against Peryll of Idolatry and Superfluous Deckyng of Churches’, which went through six editions in the Elizabethan period. 54 This polemic against idolatry, with hints of John Jewel’s tone and style (and which bears his name in the subsequent editions), was intended for preachers and local ministers and was the most extensive English work on images in the Elizabethan period. Beginning with a compendium of Biblical passages and Church fathers, it focused on the decking and adorning of images. It exclaimed that when images were decorated ‘with golde and sylver, paynted with colours, set … with stone and pearle’, people were ‘more moved to the due reverence of the same’ being enticed to covetousness. Since the homily rested on the assumption that ‘Images in Temples and Churches be in dede none othere but Idols’, any decoration of such idols was considered an expression of idolatrous belief. 55

This highlights the separation between Reformed churches’ transcendent devotion and the more materialist workings of the Catholic Church. Decoration caused people to give more reverence to these images. Daniel Hardy explains that for Reformed Protestants, ‘The glory of God was such that he could be accessible only insofar as he

53 Matthew Parker, Correspondence of Matthew Parker, edited by John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne (Cambridge, 1853), p. 85.
54 Anon., ‘An homilie against perill of Idolatrie, and superstitious decking of Churches’, in Certaine Sermons or HOMILIES Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547-1571), facsimile edition by Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, FL, 1968), 2A6r-2G2v. The editions of the homily are: STC 13663.3; 13668; 13669; 13670; 13671; 13672.
55 Anon., ‘An homilie against peril of Idolatrie’, 2A6v, 2B4r.
freely and graciously “unveils” himself, and so, ‘images undermine god’s self-witness’, because, ‘they draw human attention downward rather than lifting human minds above themselves in admiration’.\textsuperscript{56} While graven and painted images as decoration beyond the church walls was often acceptable, such images within the churches were nothing short of idolatry, because the sole purpose of the church was to offer worship to God. To give any honour to anything not directly ordained by God, even when it was a representation of God, would be to strip God of glory.

Beyond this, the homily instructed the reader to make note of two negative products of medieval icons. First, the author describes a ‘sea of mischiefs the maintenance of Images hath brought with it’. The growth of the Ottoman threat was certainly at the forefront of such a fear, because God had allowed the Ottomans to ‘most cruelly vanquished, destroyed, and subdued … the whole Empire of Grece’ because of the sinful adoration of images in the Orthodox Church. If England and its Europeans neighbours were not careful ‘the lyke cause of Images and the worshyppyng of them’ could shape their destruction.\textsuperscript{57} God’s punishment, often in the form of an invading enemy as it had been in the Old Testament, was believed to be meted out to those people and nations who disobeyed his moral law.\textsuperscript{58}

Echoing Lollard belief, and iconoclastic voices in Zurich, another problem that the homily identified was the economic value of the image and the cost of decking the images. The poor were:

\begin{quote}
commended to us so tenderlye by our Saviour Christ, as moste deare to hym, stande naked, shyveryng for colde, and theyr teeth chatterying in
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{56} Daniel Hardy, ‘Calvinism and the Visual Arts: A Theological Introduction’, in Seeing Beyond the Word, pp. 1-19 (pp. 12-13).
\textsuperscript{57} Anon., ‘An homilie against perill of Idolatrie’, 2D1r.
\textsuperscript{58} See popular broadsheets like: William Birch, A warning to England, let London begin: To repent their iniqutie, & flie from their sin (London: A. Lacie, 1565), STC 3080; John Norris, A warning to London by the fall of Antwerp to the tune of Row wel ye mariners (London: J. Allde, 1577), STC 18656. Also, small books such as: I.A., The great wonders that are chaunced in the realme of Naples with a great misfortune happened at Rome and in other places, by an earth quake in the moneth of December last past (London: H. Denhman & T. Hacket, 1566), STC 18358 and the controversial work by John Stubbes, The discoverie of a gaping gulf whereinto England is like to be swallowed by another French marriage (London: H. Singleton f. W. Page, 1571), STC 23400.
theyr heades, and no man covereth them, are pined with hunger and thirst, and no man geveth them a penye to refreshe them, where as poundes be redy at all tymes to decke and trymme dead stockes and stones, whiche neyther feelre colde, hunger, ne thirst.\(^{59}\)

Such an argument was common amongst the iconoclasts who argued that the money spent on creating and decorating idols would be better spent on charity to the poor, as a true expression of religion. In Zurich, an entire genre of books and pamphlets emphasised the aiding of the impoverished, not as if they were images of Christ, but rather ‘In caring for the poor, the community in Zurich mirrored Christ’. Such useless displays as images were consuming necessary commodities that could otherwise be used in more practical applications (e.g. wood for fire, stone for buildings, etc.). As such, they became more than useless popery and lavish displays, they were a financial parasite, as well as a threat to the political sovereignty of England.\(^{60}\)

Nevertheless, the homily did not abandon the principle of *adiaphora*. In confuting the arguments of Catholics and others who used images in devotion, the homily returned to the view that some images were indifferent:

> For wee are not so superstitious or scrupulous, that wee doe abhorre either flowers wrought in carpets, hangings, and other arasse, either Images of Princes printed or stamped in their coyness, which when Christ did see in a Romane Coyne, we reade not that hee reprehended it, neither doe wee condemne the artes of paynting and image making, as wicked of themselves. But we woulde admit and graunt them, that Images used for no religion or superstition rather, we meane Images of none worshipped, nor in danger to be worshipped.\(^{61}\)

Here, the homily explicitly labelled the two extremes in this debate, carefully avoiding the superstitious Catholics on the one side and the overly scrupulous legalists who seek out knots in rushes on the other. However, while the homily laid out more specific criteria for what was and was not indifferent, there continued to be a certain amount of ambiguity. Though it recognized particular examples of acceptable images (e.g. rulers, rulers,

\(^{59}\) Anon., ‘An homilie against perill of Idolatrie’, 2G1v.

\(^{60}\) Lee Palmer Wandel, *Always Among Us: Images of the Poor in Zwingli’s Zurich* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 177, 100-1; also, see: Eire, *War Against the Idols*, ch.4.

\(^{61}\) Anon., ‘An homilie against perill of Idolatrie’, 2D4v.
flowers, coins, etc.), it did not describe how to determine if an image had been
‘worshipped’ or was ‘in danger to be worshipped’. Though it held to adiaphora when it stated that the arts of painting and image making were not ‘wicked of themselves’, it did not specify how they could become wicked. Nevertheless, the homily offered a standard of sorts concerning imagery. Also, it was both detailed enough in its arguments and theological moorings as well as ambiguous enough its practical application to satisfy the wide range of English Protestants. Though it was much more aligned with Bucer than Luther, it confirmed the underlying tone of adiaphora, approving both the destruction of religious imagery within many contexts and permitting images outside the churches.

**Images and the Boundaries of Acceptability**

Thus far, this chapter has examined three of the major discourses which defined the Protestant theology of images in England. This provides us with a backdrop with which to discuss the boundaries within which printed images were allowed to exist. Adiaphora, though not as apparent in the later Reformation, is an important principle in the developing theology of images. Most English reformers would have willingly said along with Calvin, ‘I am not, however, so superstitious as to think that all visible representations of every kind are unlawful’.62 As has already been discussed, alongside the zealous cleansing of churches, Protestants were equally adamant about the necessity of Christian liberty.63

Many divines, both Catholic and Protestant, had pointed out that such extreme views like Karlstadt’s could not be sustained if other material objects were retained. While Protestants generally condemned decking and adorning images, they also had images carved from wooden blocks and metal plates for their books and for other

---

domestic, political and cultural purposes. Though most reformers felt such criticisms were seeking a knot in a rush, they also recognized the need to clarify their views concerning visual depiction. However, it was at these boundaries and intersections of acceptability that most disputes occurred. The changing of the context of the image could alter the nature of the issue dramatically. Ridley expounded the principle of *adiaphora*, saying, ‘for the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumstances, oftentimes alters the nature of the thing’. 

The specifics of how this alteration took place and what needed to be done to successfully alter an image remained uncertain. Three of the most pertinent boundaries of images, and the three which will be discussed in further detail below, are the intention, subject and history of an image. Though it was to the place or location of an image that reformers most often referred, the subject, intention and history were the components of place, the aspects which informed this tell-tale sign of good or bad images. Within these aspects, we can glean a clearer understanding of the theology of images as it evolved in Elizabethan England and how printed images found an acceptable niche in which to be displayed.

*Intention*

Since the Lollard movement, the intended use of images had become increasingly more suspect. In the context of *adiaphora*, it was the intended use of an image which ultimately determined its moral worth. Calvin posited limited acceptable intentions for images, including the ‘historical, which give a representation of events, and pictorial, which merely exhibit bodily shapes and figures’. Beyond this, he believed images were either excessive, which was precarious, or idolatrous, which was sinful. Unlike Karlstadt,

---

Calvin demonstrated a deep appreciation of the material world’s ‘vast and beautiful fabric’, which depicts an ‘immense weight of glory’.\textsuperscript{66} For Calvin, the material world and in particular human beings were the true images of God. But in terms of worship, images were not to be revered or used, because the ‘worship of God must be spiritual, in order that it may correspond to his nature’.\textsuperscript{67}

Concerning images as tools for the illiterate, or laymen’s books, where many early reformers permitted this justification, he responded, ‘It is not enought that men bee taught by eare: but their eyes also must have some instruction too … But if they will needes that there must be visible images: our Lord hath given us as many of them as he knewe to be for our behoofe’.\textsuperscript{68} So then, if someone believed images could be used to aid in the dissemination of the Gospel, Calvin had set up the argument in such a manner that this was actually challenging the effectiveness of God’s work. Hooper takes this one step further, asking why someone would use a ‘dead post’ to represent the resurrection and ‘why doth not he teach them by the grain of the field that is risen out of the earth, and cometh of the dead corn that he sowed in the winter?’\textsuperscript{69} This idea of nature, as Ann Nichols identifies, becomes a sort of reformed laymen’s book wherein the unlearned may find an avenue to devotion.\textsuperscript{70} To demand more images than those already provided is to say that God’s provision is insufficient. Neither Hooper nor Calvin, however, continued this line of reasoning to its logical extreme of \textit{iconophobia}.

In the 1560s, in his debates with Catholic apologists, the Bishop of Salisbury John Jewel recognised at least three intentions for images: pragmatic, devotional and memorial. Each of these has particular dangers, which Jewel outlined and argued that while these are legitimate intentions, they are ‘no very handsome way, to teach the

\textsuperscript{66} Calvin, \textit{Institutes}, I, v, p. 51.  
\textsuperscript{67} Eire, \textit{War Against the Idols}, p. 201.  
\textsuperscript{68} Calvin, \textit{The Sermons ... Deuteronomy}, p. 137.  
\textsuperscript{69} John Hooper, \textit{A Declaration}, p. 46.  
\textsuperscript{70} Nichols, ‘Books-for-Laymen’, pp. 469-70.
people’. It would seem that if any English divine was to fully explicate the boundaries of imagery during this period, it would have been Jewel. However, Jewel was unable to accomplish this, as he was otherwise engaged in a war of words. His enemy was a troop of no less than thirteen Catholic theologians producing over thirty volumes of text in an effort to refute Jewel’s theology (and ipso facto the theology of the Elizabethan religion). Catholics like Nicholas Sander and Thomas Harding picked apart Jewel’s arguments, each focusing on a single strand of the debate.

In one convincing paragraph, after methodically unhinging Jewel’s previous arguments, Harding challenged Jewel, ‘And if it may like you to have this matter tried by doctors, we assure you, that we can allege more evident sentences for Images out of the auncient fathers, then in this place of Epiphanius ye have syllables’. The 1560s English Catholics, recently ousted from their ecclesiastical roles in England, were not willing to acquiesce to Protestant policy mildly. Instead, they set the young Elizabethan church on the defence. In the face of such challenges, Jewel was forced to devote much of his career in the 1560s as Bishop to parrying attacks and attempting to preserve the integrity of the Elizabethan church. In such a context, a systematic theology was untenable for Jewel since many of his writings were consumed with polemic and apologetic, rather than a fully articulated exposition of images.

Rather than focusing on the leading early Elizabethan apologist, however, it is more informative to turn to three European theologians (John Calvin, Peter Martyr Vermigli and Theodore Beze) whose views on images greatly influenced English

---

71 John Jewel, A replie unto M. Hardinges answere by perusinge whereof the discrete, and diligent reader may easily see, the weake, and unstable groundes of the Romaine religion, whiche of late hath beene accompted Catholique (London: H. Wykes, 1565), STC 14606, pp. 510-512 (p. 510).


Protestants. Vermigli was a professor of theology at Cambridge in the 1540s, and subsequently became a mentor to many English clergy in exile like John Jewel in the 1550s. Beze, as Calvin’s successor in Geneva, was an influential voice in Elizabethan theology, particularly its Calvinist and Puritan strands. Although all three men had differing opinions and approaches, all believed that the location of images was of primary importance to its moral value. After Bucer’s treatise, religious images in churches, except those in Lutheran churches, became more and more suspect. Since the church was the place of worship, to set up images in such ‘an honourable place’ would be to invite idolatrous worship. The intriguing exception to this rule, which often goes undefended or unexplained, was printed images. Since in 1559, each parish was made to have at least one large Bible, which was almost without exception full of images, everyone had at least limited access to those pictures of Biblical narratives and representations of God.

Along with Catholic critics like Stephen Gardiner, even Martin Luther acknowledged this as a possible dilemma:

> I have myself seen and heard the iconoclasts read out of my German Bible … Now there are a great many pictures in those books, both of God, the angels, men and animals, especially in the Revelation of John and in Moses and Joshua. So now we would kindly beg them to permit us to do what they themselves do. Pictures contained in these books we would paint on walls for the sake of remembrance and better understanding, since they do no more harm on walls than in books.

Luther’s challenge is poignant for many reasons. Not only does it condemn this seeming contradiction often overlooked in Protestant thought, but it also assumed a blurred distinction between book illustration and other pictures. This would make sense in the

---


75 *VAT, vol. III*, pp. 10, 81, 88, 101, 170, 210, 225, 283, 301, 303, 340. A collection of essays edited by Patrick Collinson and John Craig has highlighted more specific examples of the use of printed books in the churches during the period [*The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*, edited by Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Basingstoke, 1998)].

76 Luther, ‘Against the Heavenly Prophets’, pp. 99-100.
context of the early sixteenth century when many reformers still recognised pictures as laymen’s books.\textsuperscript{77} Even if they criticised them and condemned Catholic laymen’s books as poorly made books, opinions were based upon common assumptions about images. However, many reformers believed that it was these circumstantial differences, such as place and appearance, between types of images which was most important. The location of an image was integral in understanding its intent, and images in churches implied a worshipful intent. As the homily explained:

Do men I pray you, when they have the same bookes at home with them, runne on pilgrimage to seke lyke bokes at Rome, Compostella, or Hierusalem, to be taught by them when they have the lyke to learne of at home? ... Do men kneele before theyr bookes, light candels at none tyme, burne incense, offer up golde, and sylver, and other gyftes to theyr bookes? Do men eyther faine or beleve miracles to be wrought by their bokes? ... yet none of all these thynges be done to that booke or Scripture of the Gospell of our Saviour, whiche be done to Images and pictures.\textsuperscript{78}

Even here where the polemic against images was strongest, Protestants recognised that not all images derive idolatrous devotion from the people. There was a recognition that idolatry was not in the image but in the one who gave devotion. Such a point is not far off from Calvin’s sermons on Deuteronomy, where he corrected those who ‘being too simple’ would ‘say, it is not lawfull to paint any storie or to make any protrait’.\textsuperscript{79}

Even in this, there were degrees of separation amongst Reformation theologians. Vermigli (a contemporary of Calvin) and Calvin’s successor Beze vary from Calvin’s limited field of intention for visual imagery. Although more philosophical and less systematic in his approach than Calvin, Vermigli had an extensive influence on the English Reformation. Not only was he professor to several key figures (including John Jewel), Vermigli’s writings, as Patrick Collinson surmised, ‘represented the center of

\textsuperscript{78} Anon., ‘An homilie against perill of Idolatrie’, 2G1r.
\textsuperscript{79} Calvin, \textit{Sermons of … Deuteronomy}, p. 138.
theological gravity of the Elizabethan church'. Vermigli’s book, *The common places of Peter Martyr* (1583), exceeded even Calvin’s *Institutes* in its popularity and usage. Many of Vermigli’s letters and sermons were popular decades before, and the publication of *The common places* extended his influence into a new generation of students and clergymen. Thus, it is important at least in the context of the English Reformation to take note where Vermigli deviates from Calvin’s thinking.

While they lived during the same period and shared many theological points, Vermigli approached images more contemplatively than Calvin. Vermigli had the freedom Calvin did not to consider in a more nuanced manner the questions of religion. As to the intention of such images, Vermigli seemed more open to a wider range than Calvin. Images ‘may be good, for the keeping of things in memorie, for the garnishing of houses, and also to serve for some honest pleasure, wherewith men sometime may both delight and recreate themselves’. Such allowances for decoration and delight, for which Calvin makes very little acknowledgement, are some of the types of images which found a home in Elizabethan culture.

Theodore Beze extended the intention for images in a different direction, inclined partly by his humanist proclivities for poetic and aesthetic expression. His drama *Abrihams sacrifice* (1577) was printed in London by the Huguenot Thomas Vautrollier with several woodcuts. Another of Beze’s texts, *Icones* (Geneva, 1581), opened each chapter with a portrait of a Protestant reformer, like so many saints before the Reformation. This provides an example of how blurred the distinction could be between

---

82 This is an aspect of Beze’s life that is often overlooked by many scholars. However, his early poetry and his continued use of literary forms speak to a rich and cultivated creativity in the reformer. Richard Rolt mentioned that Calvin, though desirous of Beze’s scholarship in the 1530s, exhorted him to forego his literary exercises and focus on theology and ecclesiastical endeavours [*The Lives of the Principal Reformers* (London, 1759)].
memorable and idolatrous picture. Allowing images to decorate and inform his work, Beze emphasised the printed image not merely as permissible but also as potentially good and useful. After accusations of hypocrisy on his part, he defended himself by claiming there was ‘nothing in common between the placing of images in churches on the grounds they were books for laymen and the pictured presence of departed doctors alongside their words’. Such critics were again seeking knots where they could not be found. Beze was convinced that printed images would not lead viewers into temptation. Echoing the traditional Catholic belief that people would actually worship Christ in the image and not the image itself, Beze could not imagine someone would confuse a portrait in a book with an image in a church.

Beze’s defence of this practice rested on two key points, which shaped his belief about the intent of images. First, as he identified, these images were not in churches but in books. Like the English homily, Beze denied the possibility of printed images being idolised, as they were not in a worshipful setting nor did they possess a history of undue adoration. Secondly, and much more implied than stated, the images of martyrs and reformers in these pictures were not created with any miraculous or mystical tales about them. However, it seems slightly naïve to presume that everyone would make this distinction. What can be said rather is that Beze certainly felt assured that printed images of martyrs and other examples of Christian faith, placed into a context of memory and commemoration, would not be mistaken or misused as things to be adored. Moreover, there was in Beze’s use and discussion of images the belief that these depictions were fruitful and could be used to enhance one’s religious life.

86 Brad Gregory, Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe (London, 1999), pp. 146-159. In this he comments that one the martyrologist had to walk a fine line between ‘exalting the new martyrs without attributing to them intercessory powers’, (p. 147).
Interestingly, it was Beze’s letters to Bishop Edmund Grindal in the mid-1560s which became a rallying point for the Puritan movement, condemning the dangerous ceremonies and vestments that had been instituted in the English church. In 1566, he wrote, ‘there are many things, which of themselves being indifferent, yet for an opinion of worshippe annexed unto them, can skarsly or not at all be eschued, ought to be counted amongst superstition’. Later attached to the Puritans’ admonitions to Parliament in 1572, Beze stressed this change of context concerning things indifferent. However, Beze did not include printed images among those things which had fallen or could fall into superstition, as the Puritans would. Amongst the objects which the Puritans included in their complaint to Parliament were the images of God the Father printed in the 1568 Bishops’ Bible. These were described as ‘a sight of blasphemous pictures’ that were ‘against the scriptures’. While the images had already been removed for subsequent editions, there were plenty more examples of possible idolatrous material in Elizabethan visual culture. It is important to keep in mind that with the exception of those images of God the Father nothing more was said about printed images by the Puritans. Nevertheless, Beze’s example demonstrates that even within the Reformed camp of Protestants, *adiaphora* remained a determining principle, although it was continually being reworked and reassessed.

While some believe that Beze evaded the issue of images, he did partly explain his thinking, when he wrote, ‘God teaches eternal and spiritual things to us inwardly by his Spirit, nevertheless it seems that he has prescribed as a rule that this teaching is accompanied by the senses, except when he wills to set forth something extraordinary’. Stuart Clark has recently demonstrated that Protestants did not entirely oppose sense experiences in religious devotion. Certainly, the superstitious aspects of Catholic belief needed to be removed, but they still recognised a ‘form of religious seeing that was non-

---


88 *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. 118. This matter is addressed in more detail in chapter 5.
sacramental’. Beze manoeuvred around much of Calvin’s analysis of images, by focusing his attention on this possibility of how the visible, material things can lead a person to the invisible and eternal. Toeing the proverbial line by condemning images in churches, Beze allowed for images as intellectual aids to stimulate the mind and senses in other less sacramental contexts.

While Calvin was pleased to meditate upon the image of God in nature, Beze widened this to include an image made by man, but intended to stir people’s minds to think on God. Jeffrey Mallinson compares Beze’s thinking in this matter to St. Anselm’s dictum, *fides quaerens intellectum*, writing, ‘Just as the preached Word is confirmed by the visible sacraments, so the faith of hearing seeks a final knowledge of sight’. Beze saw the use of images as a visual stimulus to the invisible realm of truth. The visible was not an end in itself, nor was it even equal to the invisible; however, one must move through the realm of the visible to arrive at the invisible. Softly echoing the terminology of *adiaphora*, he explained that the material image could play a role in ‘forming mental images of it in my heart’.

This had everything to do with the boundary of intent. The images which Beze had in mind had not been imbued with miraculous tales or sacramental quality. They were merely intended to prick the senses, directing a person’s mind and spirit toward godliness. Beze wrote, ‘But do our outward senses serve no purpose? I say contrariwise that two outward senses of ours are thereunto not only profitable, but ordinarily altogether necessary, to wit the hearing especially, and after that the eyes’. Protestant thinking on this matter, as John Coolidge described, was a balance of tension between Christian liberty and Biblical adherence. A person was believed to be free from the

---

91 Luther, ‘Against the Heavenly Prophets’, p. 100.
92 Quoted from Mallinson, *Faith, Reason, and Revelation*, p. 164.
93 Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance*, pp. 1-22
trappings of sin and the legalistic ceremony of Catholicism, but this freedom came through an adherence to scripture. In Elizabethan England, the difficulty of this balance manifested itself in the Puritan movement. Later in the 1570s, John Whitgift responded to the Puritans, depending heavily on Beze’s writings, which spearheaded his argument based on *adiaphora* and the legitimacy of royal mandate in ecclesiastical matters.\(^{94}\)

Subject

Another important boundary in the theology of images was the subject. This topic more than anything reveals the discontinuity to be found in the Reformed theology of images. Certainly, things like the positive portrayal of Catholic Mass were forbidden. However, reformers often had very different opinions about what was considered an acceptable subject. Calvin seems to have laid down the primary principle for Reformed belief when he said, ‘The only things, therefore, which ought to be painted or sculptured, are things which can be presented to the eye; the majesty of God, which is far beyond the reach of any eye, must not be dishonoured by unbecoming representations’.\(^{95}\) Even the images of God had been a point of contention. Luther, along with other early reformers, permitted anthropomorphic images of God. Bucer, Calvin and later Vermigli permitted only the Tetragrammaton, the visible letters of God’s name to represent the Father, as an image that was not ‘unbecoming’ to God’s majesty. But the image of God was in some sense only the tip of a very large iceberg of disagreements concerning what should and should not be depicted.

One of the most interesting examples of this discontinuity was portraits of martyrs and reformers. Protestants drew a deep line of distinction between martyrs and Catholic saints, attempting as Brad Gregory says, ‘to peel away the witness to the truth

---


\(^{95}\) Calvin, *Institutes*, I, ix, p. 100.
from the wonder-working intercessor’ Christ. Most Protestants, like Beze, gave martyrs a
great deal of devotional attention. The best known work of this kind in Elizabethan
England was John Foxe’s *Actes and monuments*, but this was only the hallmark of an
entire genre of martyrologies and printed images celebrating these religious heroes.96 As
such, the images of martyrs and reformers could easily become a bone of mild contention
for fear of being idolised. In one instance, gentleman and friend of the reformers, Sir
Christopher Hales, attempting to collect six portraits of reformers, was forced to assure
Zwingli’s successor Heinrich Bullinger, ‘I will defend, as far as lies in my power, the
fame and reputation of you all; which I know to be entirely pure from any of those things
which can in any way impair the glory and praise of God’.97 Though Hales obtained most
of the portraits, it was not without sufficient wrangling, assuring the reformers that their
likenesses would not be unduly revered. Of course, like the printer who does not know
the intent of all his readers, Hales’s assurances were somewhat empty because unless he
intended to be the only viewer of these portraits, he could not possibly control the
thoughts and feelings of all who gazed upon the images.

Rather than discuss the various discrepancies and examples of disagreement, it
will be more fruitful in this chapter to tease out the theology of Vermigli, who offered a
great deal on the subjects of images. Donald Fuller expounds on Vermigli’s thought,
saying, ‘Vermigli’s Word-centered theology results in two principles that guide his
reform of Christian worship: The first states that God communicates His salvific intent

---

96 Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, pp. 139-187, (p. 140). In this, Gregory continues, ‘As Christians were to
pray directly to Christ, Protestants evinced a narrower, more etymological understanding of martyrs as
witnesses … By God’s grace the martyrs had witnessed to scripture’s saving truth, freshly rediscovered
after centuries of clutter and distortion. The essence of this truth was the experience of justification by faith
alone in the crucified and risen Christ … The martyr-saints of Christian hagiography bequeathed an
ambiguous legacy. Protestants had to distance themselves from customs that compromised the relationship
between Christians and their savior without diminishing the importance of those who had died for that
relationship and everything for which it stood’ (p. 141).

97 Letter 100, ‘Christopher Hales to Henry Bullinger, June 12, 1550’, *Original Letters Relative to The
English Reformation*, vol. I, edited by Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1846), pp. 188-189; Aston, ‘Gods,
Saints, and Reformers’, pp. 187-188. For the most recent work on portraits of reformers, see: Pamela
Tudor-Craig, ‘Group Portraits of the Protestant Reformers’, in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of
87-104.
intelligibly by ‘the words of God’ in each and every aspect of the service of worship'.
Like Beze, Vermigli emphasised the mind’s ability to seek after God. Intelligibility was
the key to worship for Vermigli, and like Beze, he believed that one of the means of
communicating intelligibility was through the senses. God’s Word, the sacraments, the
hymns and other aids were used so that people may partake in this intelligible religion.
The second principle follows, ‘that God’s words are communicated and received in
worship by activities that encompass the whole human person such as thinking, speaking,
hearing, seeing and doing’. This view of devotion which encompassed the whole
person was explained by Vermigli saying, ‘we give a testimonie of this mind of ours, by
prostrating the bodie, and bowing the knee, by uncovering the head, by speaking, and by
exercising rites and ceremonies by God appointed. And this is an outward worshipping or
adoration’. While this was not a direct deviation from Reformed theology, the stress on
this other type of worship apart from the mental adoration of the divine is important. It
opened the door for the beneficial use, in study and meditation, for images and physical
demonstrations untainted by Catholicism.

Where Calvin strictly limited the subject and intent of images, Vermigli permitted
a wider range of subjects that underpin these principles of his theology. In this, however,
it must be remembered that Vermigli ultimately depended upon the Calvinistic
visible/invisible paradigm as a point of reference. Even so, he devised interesting
allowances for those things which are naturally invisible to be visually depicted.
Vermigli allowed for ‘angels … as they have shewed themselves unto men’, as well as
‘men…pictured and counterfeited’, and ‘virtues … [which] do belong to the mind’.
Though the images of angels were not necessarily forbidden in Elizabethan
Protestantism, they ‘remained an uncomfortable reminder of the proscribed Catholic

98 Donald Fuller, ‘Sacrifice and Sacrament: Another Eucharistic Contribution from Peter Martyr Vermigli’,
in Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations, p. 216.
100 Vermigli, The common places, p. 335
past’. However, unlike many who condemned an image simply for its connection to Catholicism, Vermigli seemed unaffected by this. Concerning the image of the cross, which was continually attacked by Protestants, he said, ‘it is lawfull also, to forme and picture foorth’. His standard for all of these subjects was either that they were physical objects or had taken physical form (with the exception of virtues, which Vermigli considered to be physically displayed in people’s actions). Nevertheless, this could be taken only so far. As he warned, to ‘put a confidence in them, to love them, to call upon them, to offer them incense, and to burn candles to them’, was still idolatry. This is the same line of reasoning which informed his understanding of the Eucharist, in which the importance of the bread and the wine was subsumed by his emphasis upon the Word of God, of which the sacraments are visible manifestations. As a signa (a visible word of God) to teach and instruct the believer, these images whether sacramental or in printed books were not the focal point of one’s attention but they were a way into a greater understanding of God.

What is perhaps most important here is Vermigli’s reasoning, which showed a strong proclivity to engage the mind via the senses. The stress on the usefulness of images, beyond their decorative quality, implies a more adiaphoric theology for visual imagery than has often been considered of Vermigli. Though he died before the language of adiaphora was fully revived in the debates later in the sixteenth century, Vermigli seemed to be subtly drawing upon such a concept (though he never uses the language directly). This is made apparent, again, in his discussion of the sacrament, when he stated, ‘touching our cognitions of the mind and comprehension of faith, we confess that as touching the thing itself, the nature of the bread and wine go away, and that our mind

102 Vermigli, The common places, p. 341.
only cleaves to the things signified’. In effect, the materials of the sacrament became things of an indifferent nature, ultimately fading before the importance of the truth revealed through the sacrament. Other images, certainly those outside the church walls, could be used in a similar manner to stimulate a believer’s mind and thoughts toward the things of God. These of course should not be considered equivalent to the elements of the sacrament, as they were neither authorised nor condemned by scripture. However, their place in the godly life was useful nonetheless.

With other subjects, however, Vermigli was not so straightforward. Discussing images of Christ, Vermigli faltered, or rather moved away from a stern line of demarcation on whether or not the subject was acceptable. He recognized that ‘among these things, which be created we place even Christ himselfe as touching his humanitie. This being set downe, it seemeth meet to be determined, that all creatures may be represented by images’. However, further on, he argued that since Christ’s humanity is not eternal and invisible, it is possible and perhaps permissible to portray it. But it may not be doctrinally sound to attempt to distinguish, or imply a distinction between, the two natures. Though he contended that it ‘is not against the nature of the thing; seeing he was verie man’, he concluded that ‘the lawe standeth in ambuguitie’ on the matter. Ultimately, Vermigli never firmly closed the debate; to portray Christ is technically permissible, but it might ultimately prove imprudent.

But with the exception of images of Christ, Vermigli prompted a shift in the theology of images. Where Beze focused on the intent of images, Vermigli subtly kept open the boundaries of the subject. Many earlier reformers like Bucer would rather ‘let us say adue & farewell for ever to these trifling & unprofitable helpes which ar rather hinderers of true faith & godly lyvyng’. Remaining within the major boundaries of

---

104 This is discussed in more detail in chapter 6.
106 Bucer, *A treatise declaring*, B7r.
Reformed theology on images, Vermigli and Beze offered a somewhat more amenable conceptualisation that corresponded with many of the practices in Protestant culture.

*Historical Use*

The final boundary to be discussed is the history of the image. One of the most problematic features in understanding the theology of images is that reformers often considered any single image distinctly and separately from other similar images. Since every image was unique, having both a unique use, composition and history, many images, particularly more popular ones, were judged independently, even from those of similar construction and design. The Cheapside Cross of London survived the iconoclasm of both Henry VIII and Edward VI. The cross stood until the eve of the Civil War, and was only attacked by illegal iconoclasts in the 1580s and 1590s. However, crosses like the highway cross of Coggeshall fell in 1533, and other crosses of stone, metal, wood and paint were destroyed throughout the English Reformation.107 Was this inefficiency or something else? Why should one popular cross have survived where others were destroyed? The fact of the matter was that images, though perhaps similar in subject and construction, were not the same. A rood was not simply a rood, it was the Dovercourt rood or the rood of St. Mary’s. The treatment of most images depended upon how it had been previously used. There were events of generalised destruction of items such as roodlofts, which Elizabeth identified specifically in her Royal Order of 1561.108 However, this was because such images were seen as either integral to or completely corrupted by Catholic worship. They were grouped by their collective history of Catholic abuse.

The image in itself was certainly nothing, and any godly person could consider it with indifference. Images, however, possessed a history and an intent, which could be

---

manipulated. This Protestant suspicion can be seen in how Protestants meticulously
mapped out the history of image worship, outlining a heritage of Catholic corruption and
idolatry. Bucer described the idolatry as a virus that slowly devoured true worship,
saying, ‘For in suche wyse by lytell & lytell/ this syperstityon must nedes crepe in:
lykewyse as other thynges did/ which have corrupted the puryte & perfection of the
churche’. The Elizabethan homily went into more detail outlining the progression.
Identifying several church fathers such as Ambrose and Gregory the Great, it explained
that this process first began in ‘paynted clothes and walles’. In this, it should be noted
that the principle of adiaphora, though not emphasised, is apparent. Both Bucer and the
homily recognised a point at which the historical use of the image turned idolatrous and
in so doing assumed that images were not inherently idols.

Sergiusz Michalski demonstrated the importance of the history of the image in his
local studies of the German and Dutch ‘iconoclastic revolution’. He states, ‘Works of art
connected with such [Catholic] rituals were to receive an inordinate amount of
iconoclastic attention’. Such an attitude dominated the theology of images, particularly
the writings of Calvin who stated:

> It hence appears that men do not fall away to the worshipping of images
until they have imbibed some idea of a grosser description: not that they
actually believe them to be gods, but that the power of divinity somehow
or another resides in them … It makes no difference whether they worship
the idol simply or God in the idol.

As the Lollards had first posited, idolatry comes not from the image but from the
deceptive stories and decorations given to deceive people into believing the image was
divinely empowered. Elizabeth’s injunctions required the clergy to report whether they
‘know any that keep in their houses undefaced any images, tables, pictures, paintings, or
other monuments of feigned and false miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and

---

superstition'. Here, even the place of the image, the prime characteristic of idolatry, was superseded by the history of the image. If the history of an image has proven it to be idolatrous, then it was evil regardless of where it was kept, whether in a market square or a private closet.

William Perkins emphasised the importance of the history of image abuse. In *A reformed catholike*, first published in 1591, Perkins explained that, ‘in the daies after the Apostles, men used privately to keep the pictures of their friends departed: and this practise after crept into the open congregation, and at last superstition getting head, images began to be worshipped’. Perkins was not arguing that images of religious things were irreconcilably evil. In fact, in both *A reformed catholike* and *A warning against the idolatrie of the times* (1601), Perkins goes to great lengths to demonstrate the distinct differences between acceptable imagery and the images that could be easily, or had been, abused. In many ways, his writings serve as a theological bookend to the Elizabethan discourse on images, and as his popularity increased in the early seventeenth century, influencing the next generation of English divines and godly readers.

It is perhaps within this boundary of historical use that the Protestant declared use of images can be understood most clearly. Ultimately, the printed image had suffered less abuse and had less of a history of Catholic use than other forms of imagery. This can be seen by noting several criticisms of Protestant images. First, the Catholic priest Robert Chambers in 1606 exclaimed, ‘The images of Wiclif, Luther, Hus, Melancthon, Calvin, & of such Apostata condemned companions’ which ‘may be painted, sold, and hanged up in every ones hows to be tooted upon … without any peril of Idolatrie, or breache of

---

114 *Perkins’ Works*, vol. I, pp. 558-620, 672-715. Subsequent chapters (particularly 5 and 6) draw upon Perkins theology in more depth.
Gods commandments’. In the Elizabethan period, Gregory Martin raised the issue of the Queen’s cross and of Lutheran printed images:

When the cross stood many years upon the table in the queen’s chapel, was it against this commandment? ... Or do the Lutherans, your pune-fellows, at this day commit idolatry against this commandment, that have in their churches the crucifix, and the holy images of the mother of God, and of St. John the evangelist?

William Fulke responded to Martin, stating simply, ‘Touching the cross … it is not by and by idolatry … neither is the having of any images in the church (which are had in no use of religion)’. Again, the idea that the location of the image was an absolute tell-tale sign was not the absolute indicator of idolatry that several polemics made it out to be. Those images condemned had a clear lineage of abuse, and without this abuse one could have images of non-religious use, even inside the church. As for the Lutherans, Fulke followed the same line of reasoning, arguing, ‘we will not accuse the Lutherans of idolatry, neither can we, because they worship no images’. Even though Lutherans continued to adorn churches with rich iconography, Fulke was unwilling to condemn them of idolatrous worship on the basis of the location of their images alone.

Criticism of Protestant images was fully crystalised in 1604 when William Bishop assaulted Perkins’s theology, saying, ‘flat against his [Perkins] own second conclusion, where he holdeth it lawfull to present to the eye in Pictures, any histories of the Bible in private places … which cannot be truly done without you doe represent God in the same likenesse, as there hee appeared’. Bishop’s argument was much more systematic than other critiques, clearly spelling out the apparent hypocrisy in these

---

115 Robert Chambers, ‘Translator to the Reader’, in Miracles lately wrought by the intercession of the glorious Virgin Marie, at Mont-aigua, nere vnto Siché in Brabant Gathered out of the publik instruments, and informations taken thereof (Antwerp: A. Conings, 1606), D6v. In this, Chambers also condemned the hypocrisy of Protestants who wilfully destroy images of God and Christ but condemned William Hackett for attacking a portrait of Elizabeth (D5v).


117 On his attack against Perkins’s image theology, see: William Bishop, A reformation of a Catholike deformed (English secret press, 1604), STC 3096, pp. 44-57 (p. 49); Milward, Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age, pp. 139-143.
printed images. Certain principles of the Elizabethan theology of images seem to contradict each other, or at least collide in this instance. Narratives of Old Testament history were permitted and were heavily used in decoration. Second, such depictions were required to be accurately portrayed, for as the 1563 homily stated, ‘Images which cannot be made without lyes, ought not to be made’.\footnote{‘An homilie against peryll of Idolatry’, f. 44v.} However, images of God were never to be permitted, at least in theory. So then, Bishop criticised the Protestant duplicity in printing pictures of Old Testament stories that are inaccurate because they do not fully portray God as he appeared, which created an image of lies.

What Bishop does not deal strongly with is Perkins's simplistic distinction between images in churches and images in Bibles. At the end of the passage, Bishop quoted Perkins: ‘And the case is otherwise with such representations of the histories as are found in sundry Bibles, because there is not the like occasion of Idolatrie’.\footnote{Perkins' Works, vol. I, p. 685.} The implication was that books, unlike churches, had not been the focal point of idolatrous beliefs. While the location of the image returns to the forefront of Protestant reasoning, it was informed by the history of the image’s general use. Beliefs, specifically false beliefs in miracles, pilgrimages, relics, divine power and papal authority, were the ultimate targets of iconoclasm. The history of the image and its relationship to false beliefs structured how Protestants perceived the value of an image. Because of this negation of Catholic dogma, the iconoclastic destruction was vast.

Images inside the churches remained threatening, as they had been the most obvious subjects of worship, but they were not to be condemned absolutely. In this regard, historians must proceed with caution when describing Protestant mentalities. For, the images destroyed were simultaneously being remade in books. On the one hand, to declare an image idolatrous was a moral obligation. On the other hand, when it came to printed images and visual depictions not connected with Catholicism, to condemn them
was seeking a knot in a rush. It was in woodcuts, etchings and portraits that Protestants found visual media that had not been thoroughly tainted by Catholic piety. The reasons for why this was the case cannot be known with absolute certainty, however, a few points do seem to be highly relevant. The printed images’ relationship to the printed word offered images a place alongside a medium (i.e. print) that reformers often glorified. Also, the images’ transitory nature and role in the printing process placed it with other domestic and non-sacred items of the material culture that were less associated with piety. Finally, images did not possess the perceived tradition of abuse that Protestants saw in altars, icons, relics and other items of Catholic worship. As such, printed images provided a means to depict religious images visually without posing as much of a threat to Reformation perceptions of idolatry.

**Conclusion**

This acceptability of certain types of images became increasingly important at the end of Elizabeth’s reign. As Puritanism and the Church of England grew more estranged, in part because of the emergence of visible forms of piety in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart churches, divines like John Donne and Lancelot Andrewes elevated many of the underlying ideas in the use of printed images. As Donne stated, ‘there is no necessity of pictures; but will not every man add this. That if the true use of Pictures be preached unto them, there is no danger of an abuse’. One of the most prominent examples of this is the emblem book trade initiated in England with Geoffrey Whitney’s *A Choice of Emblems* (1586) and popularized throughout the seventeenth century. The emblem/text symbiosis depended upon a type of devotion which engages the ‘eye of the soul’ and required both the sensual and the intellectual faculties to interact in a process of

---

meditation and spiritual exhortation. The difference between this and Catholic idolatry it seems was that Protestants hoped to distinguish their images by instructing the people on what images were and how they should be properly utilised. In such an educated environment, the criticisms of the radical Puritans and the papists would be only seeking knots in rushes, as the English clergymen would have enlightened their parishes to the reality of images and their proper uses. However, this trend in the theology of images would last only as long as the compromise between moderate Calvinism and the official church could be sustained. Though Reformed theology infused most of English thought in the early seventeenth century, this balance between traditional views of piety and Puritanism was maintained. Nevertheless, shortly after the crowning of Charles I in 1625, English religion shifted to a more visible and ceremonial piety. By the 1630s, as Peter Marshall has explained, the central ecclesiastical policies were ‘to restore the wealth and status of the Church, and to insist upon a great reverence and order in worship, to rediscover “the beauty of holiness”’. For the time being, in Elizabethan England, visual images had been placed into a context that was manageable, albeit often ambiguous. In many ways, while recusants and traditional parishes resisted it, the period of removing the threat of idolatry had not been entirely surpassed. Rather, what was needed was an explanation of how one should respond and live in a world which continued to be extremely visual in both the pious and secular spheres. What John Dillenberger has described as a ‘Concentration ... on the word alone in the medium of words, not the medium of sight’ is not congruent with the

picture of Protestant thought discussed in this chapter.\footnote{124} Certainly, the destruction of visual icons was extensive and at times even pandemic. However, to identify this loss with an elimination of all visual aids and a complete negation of the importance of visual media is hyperbole. What is clear in this examination is that many reformers from Bucer to Perkins were conscious of the distinctions between types of imagery and art.\footnote{125} While aesthetic theory was far from fully developed in England, particularly in distinguishing religious images and artwork of religious subjects, the reformers seem very much aware of a distinction between art for enjoyment and images for devotional use.\footnote{126}

Instead, there were transitions in the understanding of what images were. Protestants not only permitted images to be used but also adopted the technologies of woodcutting and engraving to fashion new images. Nor was there a completely progressive evolution of iconoclastic attitudes moving from Lutheran \textit{adiaphora} to white-washed Calvinism. Instead, while the theology of images fluctuated in emphasis and boundaries of acceptance, there was a general trend toward recognising that visual images directed readers to the Word. While Catholic icons were banished, these images were replaced by different kinds of printed imagery with a different emphasis. Images were no longer the focus of adoration and worship; they were soon forgotten in many places as points of reverence but they continued to thrive as points of reference.

Chapter 4: Good and Evil Angels in Elizabethan Printed Images

If evil spirits disturb the air we breathe, the seas, the lands and the fires; if they terrify people with lightnings, thunders, storms, whirlwinds, gapings and tremblings of the earth, and by unexpected meetings with monsters and prodigies; if they obey the wishes of God and even the commands of men; in a word, if they govern and overturn empires, cities, towns, and families; and finally, if each person were to have one of them to protect or defend him; think of how many angels and evil spirits there must be on high, below, and in every place in the world, if you could assign a place to each of them.¹

The world that the French jurist and philosopher Jean Bodin described in the 1590s was one teeming with angelic and demonic powers.² It was a world in which angel and devil seemed almost intertwined, and it was often necessary to discuss devils along with angels. The two were believed to be of the same substance and nature, creating a dualistic paradigm of good and evil. Both theological treatise and popular pamphlet discussed these forces together as opposites. The connection was so close that Protestant divines like John Calvin, John Bale and Thomas Becon referred to devils as ‘wicked angels’.³ From the Old Testament through to John Milton’s epic Paradise Lost, the Christian narrative depicted Satan (Lucifer) and his minions as fallen angels at war with God.⁴ As the Reformation took shape in England, this conflict of spiritual beings became a dominant motif, discussing them as angels, good and evil. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the printed images of these angels in both scriptural and non-scriptural contexts as they appeared in Elizabethan England and to offer insight into how these pictures both informed and represented beliefs about angels in early modern England.

² A preliminary version of this chapter was presented at the Reformation Colloquium at the University of York (April, 2008). I am indebted to everyone there for several insightful comments, and particularly to Thomas Freeman and Peter Marshall for their suggestions about portions of this chapter.
⁴ Scriptural references to this include: Genesis 6.2; Amos 5.26; Romans 12.4.
Along with the familiarity with angels that Bodin expressed, there was also a degree of uncertainty surrounding the angelic and demonic realms. While good and evil angels were at work in the world, they remained for the most part invisible, making them complicated figures to describe or depict. However, as the previous chapter has demonstrated, the invisibility of a religious figure did not completely exclude its depiction. With angels, this line was even more ambiguous as there were several Biblical and historical accounts of angelic visions and appearances. Surprisingly, though angels were an active and influential force in the early modern cosmology, the historiography of early modern belief has lacked much extensive discussion of angels.

In 1971, Keith Thomas’s acclaimed *Religion and the Decline of Magic* sparked a discourse on witchcraft, demonism, and magic. A flurry of work over the next two decades culminated in the thorough analysis of works like Stuart Clark’s *Thinking with Demons* and Nathan Johnstone’s *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England*. Other scholars have initiated discourse on good angels, often concentrating on the appearances of angelic beings, opening an untapped mine of insight into early modern mentalities and religion.\(^5\) Such studies highlight the reality of angels in early modern culture, not merely as a remnant of the medieval past, but as something the reformers and counter-reformers believed to be of real significance. Much scholarly attention, perhaps too much, has been paid to the physical appearances of spiritual beings (whether ghosts, spectres or angels), which can lead to assigning too much importance to angelic and demonic manifestations. Certainly, the scriptural appearance of angels, such as Jacob’s wrestling match with an angel, angels visiting prophets, the shepherds’ vision of the singing choir of angels and the numerous annunciations in the New Testament influenced

---

how people understood angelic activity. In this, there is no distinct correlation in either the medieval or Reformation period between seeing and believing in angels.⁶

In fact, while Protestants attempted to suppress belief in many contemporary angelic sightings, they were adamant about the constant invisible activity of good and evil angels. It is vital to keep in mind that Protestants never questioned the existence of angels or their influence in people’s lives. Although rationalists like Thomas Hobbes and others in the seventeenth century challenged the veracity of the spiritual world, most people still considered invisible things to be among the most important and most powerful. Instead, in the sixteenth century, questions arose about how angels involved themselves with humanity.

The value of things did not directly correspond to their appeal to the senses, so subsequently the importance and place of angels cannot be measured merely by how often they appeared or were believed to appear.⁷ Additionally, in much of the historiography, there remains a fairly strict delineation between angels and devils. Because of their distinct characteristics and roles as good and evil angels, the two have been divided into different areas of study. This arbitrary divide, however, is not present in early modern discourse on angels, which tends to fracture and limit the historical understanding of angels. Only by studying the interaction between good and evil angels, particularly in their spiritual warfare, can their place in the culture be fully understood.

This chapter will demonstrate that both text and image were often absorbed with this conflict, which generally defined their roles in the human world. The focus of this chapter will be on these angels as they were pictured in Elizabethan printed images and how these depictions informed and influenced English culture.⁸ The medieval period saw

---

⁸ Darren Oldridge has attempted to synthesise the beliefs and doctrine with that of the printed images of the late Tudor and early Stuart periods. Based mainly on Batman’s A christall glasse of Christian reformation, Oldridge argues that such images could be ‘potentially misleading’ because Protestant theology could not
an increase in the portrayal of angels, particularly as figures of iconic devotion, such as the cults of angels and the text *An Hours of the Guardian Angel* in the fifteenth century. In late medieval England, depicting good and evil angels in printed images became popular, particularly in images of the life of Christ and the saints. While Protestant theology attempted to deviate as much as possible from the corruption of Catholicism, especially the Dionysian hierarchy of angels, it retained many traditional beliefs as well as a willingness to depict these non-corporeal beings. The consensus from both Reformed theologians like Peter Martyr Vermigli and later Puritans like William Perkins was that the depiction of angels was acceptable, so long as they were not adored or intended for religious use. Also, Protestants continued to use traditional depictions of good angels. Protestants used images which mirrored ancient visualisations of angels as robed and winged humanoid figures, acting as messengers and trumpeters of God’s will. They also were disposed to using late-medieval and Renaissance cherubs and child-like depictions, indicating a wider range of iconographic influence than some might assume.

Though a large number of images were placed in the borders and margins as decoration, this was by no means the only use for angels in Protestant printing. Like any religious pictures at this time, printed images of angels derived from Biblical narratives such as the Old Testament. Among the most popular of these scenes were the sacrifice of

---


Isaac, the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary and the Last Judgement. Though angels decorated the scriptural page throughout the sixteenth century, these scenes could be found in non-scriptural contexts and were refashioned to create non-scriptural and even contemporary scenes. The great number of printed images with angels in Elizabethan England far outstretches the limits of this chapter. Rather, the emphasis here will be on the images of spiritual conflict, which united images of good and evil angels under a single theme.

The visual depiction of angels in print demonstrates a different aspect of early modern belief and practice, which is concerned with the public understanding of these spiritual beings. The visualisation of angels was not confined to the ephemeral experience of a few people or to the discourse of theological texts. Both cheap and expensive print pictured angels, allowing for a more expansive study of the allegorical and realistic conceptualisations of angels, distributed amongst various levels of society. This chapter will demonstrate how the printed images both support and complicate the current historiographical conceptualisations of early modern angels. These images often depicted angels in many more ways that one might expect, but they also raise many fresh questions that deserve further enquiry. First, the Protestant beliefs surrounding the depiction of angels will be discussed, as a backdrop for analysing the images. Second, the images of good and evil angels appearing separately will be discussed, illustrating how these figures were depicted interacting with humanity. Finally, this chapter will

explain how and when good and evil angels were pictured in the same scene and what can be understood from the various sorts of depiction. For this chapter, the question of whether or not angels appeared is not as important as how the angels were depicted and seen, which offers far more insight into the mentalities and beliefs of early modern culture. Following this, the chapter will demonstrate how Protestants navigated and incorporated images of angels around and within the discourse of Biblical and extra-Biblical appearances.

**Seeing and Believing in Angels**

In Protestant England, it was clear that angels existed, but the depiction of angels raised many questions. It was unclear whether or not angels still appeared to people, how they appeared, and what they looked like when and if they appeared.13 While Protestants agreed that angels existed and were active in the world, they disagreed as to the details of this belief. The ambiguities of this realm were elucidated by the Swiss divine Ludwig Lavater in his work *Of ghostes and spirites walking by nyght*, which was translated into English in 1572. Describing the variety of experiences within which a person could perceive a celestial or spectral being, he remarked:

> If it be not a vayne persuasion proceding through weakenesse of the senses through feare, or some suche like cause, or if it be not deceyte of men, or some naturall thing, wherof we have spoken much in the firste parte, it is either a good or evill Angell, or some other forewarning sent by God.14

---


With such apparitions, a messenger from God should not be the first conclusion. Lavater believed it was quite the opposite. It was more likely that what one saw was either evidence of mental instability or demonic deception. As the devil was once a good angel, he retained the ability to transform himself not only into the figure of a divine messenger but also into ‘the shape of a Prophete, an Apostle, Evangeliste, Byshoppe, and Martyr, and appeare in their lykenesse: or so bewitche us, that wée verily suppose we heare or sée them in verie déede’. With such uncertainty surrounding the distinction between ghostly, spectral, and angelic forms, not to mention the evil angels’ proclivity to disguise themselves as good angels, discussion of appearances was a convoluted one.

This chapter, however, is only concerned with appearances in so far as they are linked to the question of depicting angels. While the two questions overlap, they exist in two separate spheres of Protestant theology. Appearances of angels, for all their ambiguity, were matters of time, place and person, distinguishing between the present and the Biblical past, between the godly and the charlatan or the deluded. An equally pressing issue was how to manage the visual depiction of these invisible creatures. Though angels had been ‘badly compromised by their collaboration’ with Catholicism in the late medieval period, they were integral figures in Protestant belief. To eliminate angelic presence and discourse completely without any Biblical justification was as dangerous as the Catholic overemphasis on angels. Even though Protestants remained uncertain, they recognized that angels ‘daily deserve, that we speake and judge of them with great reverence and godlinesse, and also that with a godly thankfulnesse of minde, and reverence to the prayse and glorie of God, we eftsoones celebrate and renewe the

---

15 Lavater, Of ghostes, p. 163.
memory of them’.¹⁸ Far from encouraging people to ignore the matter of angels, there continued to be a strong emphasis on the place of angels within religion.

Not only did Protestants depict Old Testament images of angels, but also the traditional scenes of the New Testament, such as the Annunciation of the Virgin.

Though few images of the Virgin could claim wide popularity in the Elizabethan period, the image of the Annunciation was amongst those which found a place in Protestant iconography. Between 1536 and 1603, twenty different printed images of the Annunciation were created in England, and seven more were recycled from pre-Reformation works.¹⁹ The Annunciation image printed by Thomas Purfoote in A dialogue between experience and a courtier (1566) illustrated the typical iconography of the scene, with Gabriel standing over the kneeling Mary [Plate II]. Copied and reduced from another woodcut [Plate I] used by John Mayler and John Wayland in 1539, this scene also indicates a certain degree of iconoclasm, as there is no evidence of the Godhead present (either as a man or a dove) which had been present in the 1539 image as well as most traditional depictions. Several other Annunciation images were printed in

---

¹⁸ Rhegius, A homely, A1r-v.
surviving pre-Reformation texts like the *Kalender of Shepherds* and the *Knight of the swanne*.\(^{20}\) Many were recycled from the prayer books and psalters that were popular in the late 1530s and early 1540s. Interestingly, the scene of the angel Gabriel appearing to the Virgin, though steeped in Catholic tradition, was not completely unacceptable in Elizabethan printing.

Instead, the position of the Annunciation as the commencement of the life of Christ offered it a significant role in print as well as in the Protestant calendar.\(^{21}\) Like other Biblical scenes adopted by Protestants, the Annunciation allowed for a doctrinal message of reform. The preacher Edward Dering explained that in thinking about the Annunciation, one should not focus on the Virgin but rather on Christ, because ‘in his humane nature he hath this virtue and power, to make us holie, not taking his nature suche from the virgin Marie but making it such by pouring into it the fullnesse of his spirit’. William Fulke echoed these sentiments when he expressed the importance of celebrating the Annunciation and the Purification, for it ‘is the conception, [and] the other the presentation of Christ’.\(^{22}\) The Annunciation was the genesis of the Virgin's importance in Protestant theology, discarding the traditional idea of her sinless nature at birth, leaving a godly woman through whom God assumed human form. The appearance of God’s messenger confirmed this interpretation, and the depiction of the angel reaffirmed in the readers’ memory the importance of this event.\(^{23}\)

Another pre-Reformation woodcut of the scene was recycled into one of John Calvin’s sermons printed in 1581 by Robert Waldegrave. In the scene, the Holy Spirit as

---

\(^{20}\) In its many editions in the sixteenth century, the *Kalender of Shepherds* (STC 22407—22419) underwent a variety of title spellings. For purposes of clarity and to distinguish it from Edmund Spenser’s work of a similar title, within this thesis these editions will be identified as ‘Kalender of Shepherds’ or ‘Kalender’.


\(^{23}\) The extent to which Protestant employed Marian imagery is discussed in Diarmaid MacCulloch, ‘Mary and Sixteenth-Century Protestants’, in *The Church and Mary*, edited by R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 191-238.
a dove is depicted, which, as subsequent chapters will demonstrate, was not entirely unusual in Elizabethan print [Plate III].

The woodcut itself was first printed in a Book of Hours by Richard Pynson in 1522. It was then found amongst the materials of Nicholas Bournman and Richard Kele who used it in several traditional primers in the 1540s. The image then disappeared from the record until finding its way into Waldegrave’s stock.24

What is most intriguing about this particular woodcut is that its early printings in popular Catholic works did not permanently attach the image to traditional devotion. By 1581, the printer Waldegrave had already proven his Puritan leanings and would in seven years time aid in the printing of the non-conformist Marprelate tracts, which mocked the ceremonial nature of the English church, particularly the hierarchy of bishops, in favor of a more Puritan church structure.25 Thus, this image cannot be seen as a Catholic attempt to infiltrate Protestant works with traditional imagery. Like other Annunciation scenes, this communicated a message about the humanity of the Virgin and the arrival of Christ. This seems to be the very message Waldegrave had intended, because he used the image nowhere else, and in this sermon it follows Calvin’s exultation of the martyrs who, ‘forsake their present life for such a reward and to be assured of this inestimable benefite,

24 *English Woodcuts*, #1371; *GEIB*, vol. I, p. 270.
let them always have before their eyes the conformity which they have with our Lord Jesus, to behold life in the midst of death’. Waldegrave puts before the eyes of the reader a visual reminder of Christ’s humanity, drawing the reader into this intimate connection between the martyr and Christ.26

The depiction of angels in such scenes was in keeping with the Biblical narrative. However, the purpose of the image was not to emphasise the visual appearance of an angel, but instead, it was intended to establish a mental image of the Biblical description of this appearance. Though Vermigli stated that angels ‘cannot be expressed’ in their spiritual forms, nevertheless he believed, ‘it is lawfull sometimes to picture them in such wise, as they have shewed themselves unto men; for they be not, as God is, infinite; but are bounded and limited’. As Walsham explains, in this manner, Protestants were able to categorised the depiction of angels as ‘acceptable allegorical signs’.27 Though true angelic substance was invisible, they could be pictorially represented in the same manner as they had appeared. Allowances were made for the moments when it was indisputable, that angels had appeared either in a vision or otherwise. This was buttressed by Calvin’s own explanation that the winged creatures of the Bible were metaphorical in appearance:

It is certain that spirits have no bodily shape, and yet Scripture, in accommodation to us, describes them under the form of winged Cherubim and Seraphim; not without cause, to assure us that when occasion requires, they will hasten to our aid with incredible swiftness winging their way to us with the speed of lightening.

The traditional depiction of angels with wings, as well as contemporary descriptions of the devil as having cloven feet and horns, was nothing more than the expression of a literary device.28 There seemed to be only mild hesitation, at least for Protestants like Vermigli, in making these visual devices. Even so, such images were not without their importance. Like the descriptions of angels in the Bible, the printed images offered a

26 John Calvin, A sermon of the famous and Godly learned man, master John Calvine (London: R. Waldegrave, 1581), STC 4439.5, C4v.
28 Calvin, Institutes, I, xiv, p. 147.
means of conceptualising and memorialising these important figures. This was true of evil angels as well. Rhegius declared that it was vital that, ‘we would diligently ponder in minde, the Epithets and names observed, and with which the holie Ghost, blaseth and paynteth out satan, in the Scriptures: we should much more earnestly and more circumspectly beware of him’. Such justifications provide insight into how these images were intended to be seen and read. The Biblical naming and describing of angels offered credence to their continued visual depiction, not necessarily as something that actually was what it appeared to be but as something symbolised by the form and figures in which it was represented.

Where medieval theologians went into great detail hypothesising about the nature of the angelic orders and the abilities of angels, Protestants were more content simply to keep closely to Biblical descriptions. That is not to say that Protestants were above speculation. Both Vermigli and Calvin were of the mind that discourse on angels did not occur often enough. Since ‘in the new testament it is spoken of’, these reformers felt more at ease discussing angels, with the intent of clarifying what was a good angel and what was not. Theodore Beze contended that ‘two Angels should definitively not be in one and the same place together’. Vermigli discussed whether angels could and do imbibe sustenance, stating, ‘The Angels did trulie eate, yet not for need, but to procure conversation and familiritie’. In most cases, however, it was not such scholastic questions which concerned sixteenth century Protestants. To focus on these matters was not only to reach beyond what was scripturally obvious, but also to distract from the matter of salvation. Vermigli explained that such trivial matters were a mere ‘curiositie’ that served only to whet the intellectual appetite. Instead, what was immensely important was the fact:

29 Rhegius, An homely, C3r.
30 Vermigli, The common places, p. 111; Calvin, Institutes, I, xiv, p. 143.
32 Vermigli, The common places, pp. 118-119.
that there be certeine Angels appointed about our affaires; for by that means we perceive the goodness of God towards us. And on the other side also it is profitable to knowe, that there be some evil spirites, by whom we be continualie assaulted; both, that we may beware of them, and that we may implore the helpe of God against them.\textsuperscript{33}

**Evil Angels and Their Accomplices**

What was most important about these spiritual beings was how they interacted with humanity. While the relationship of good and evil angels has often been overlooked, interactions between angels and humans has been well researched. In this, there are several correlations between medieval and early modern studies of angels. David Keck explains that in the medieval period, ‘Theoretically, the most regular frequent contact between Christians and the angels came when the angels protected them against the temptations of their malign counterparts. But Lucifer and his minions seem to have generated far more concern and interest’.\textsuperscript{34} In the printed images of the sixteenth century, one can see both the dominance of the conflict between good and evil and the overwhelming pictorial dominance of evil angels. Both their fallen nature and the lack of any concern that they might become the focus of religious devotion permitted a much larger framework within which evil angels could appear.

Firstly, the role of evil angels was that of the tempter, the persecutor of the faithful and the torturer of the damned. Devils were allegorised as roaring lions and serpents and believed to be the archenemy of Christ. The printed images were used to remind and continually reemphasise the presence of these invisible monsters. This was all the more important when one considered the state of humanity. John Calvin explained, ‘Original sin, then, may be defined as a hereditary corruption and depravity of our nature, extending to all the parts of the soul, which first makes us obnoxious to the wrath of God, and then produces in us works which in Scripture are termed works of the

\textsuperscript{33} Vermigli, *The common places*, p. 121.

\textsuperscript{34} Keck, *Angels and Angelology*, p. 168.
In such a state, humanity was much nearer to the evil angel in character and immoral proclivity than to God.

As the catalyst for this fallen nature, the temptation of Adam and Eve continued to be an essential depiction, reminding readers of their accursed birthright of sin. Thomas Hariot’s account of the native Americans of Virginia in 1590 contained an engraving of the fall of Adam and Eve by the artist Theodor de Bry [Plate IV].

Printed in Frankfurt am Main by John White, this engraving was similar in decorative quality to the more popular woodcut of the Fall in the Geneva Bible (1583), which was reprinted seven times in the 1580s and 1590s. Ever since this calamitous event, evil

---

35 Calvin, Institutes, II, I, p. 217.
36 GEIB, vol. I, pp. 144, 425-426; Thomas Hariot, The true pictures ... of the people of Virginia, 2pts. (Frankfort: T. de Bry, 1590), STC 12786, p. 37. Other Eden temptation images include: Roger Rawlyns, A consort of the creatures with the creator (London: T. Orwin f. W. Young, 1591), inside front; Christopher Sutton, Disc Moris: Learning to Die (London: J. Windet f. J. Wolfe, 1600), STC 23474. The latter image was recycled in: 1601 (STC 23475), 1602 (23475.5), 1602 (23483).
angels had significant power to influence humanity and were often portrayed, as in de Bry's engraving, as having human-like features (a face, hands and breasts). Particularly, in this engraving as in several other woodcuts from the period, the serpent appeared with feminine features, indicating a familiar (though not necessarily sexual) closeness of the devil with Eve. This was also evident in similar woodcuts, such as the recycled woodcut in Leonard Wright’s *The pilgrimage to paradise* (1591), printed by John Wolfe [Plate V]. For the text, Wolfe had assembled images from the *Coverdale Bible* (where the image of the Fall originated), a book printed by John Day, and two of Wolfe’s own design for this work. Though this image lacks the obvious feminine qualities of the engraving, the facial similarity between Eve and the serpent are unmistakeable. This nearness in spiritual nature and physical appearance was echoed by Martin Luther who said that humans were, ‘always inclined toward evil to such an extent that except for the grace of God he could not be moved to anything good’.\(^{37}\) While there may not have been a devil in every bush, there was one in every human heart.

Moreover, humanity shared a common bond with evil angels, for both had been separated from God through disobedience. Thomas Dekker put this in terms of a legal trial:

\(^{37}\) *GEIB*, vol. I, p. 752. Martin Luther, ‘Lectures on Romans’, in *Luther’s Works*, vol. 25, edited by Hilton Oswald (St. Louis, 1972), p. 222. There is evidence of at least one godly reader of Wright’s *The pilgrimage to paradise*. The British Library copy [call number 4407.f.6.] has several handwritten notes in Latin (B4r, D1v and F2r) which either engage or copy the accompanying text.
In what lamentable condition therefore stands the unhappie prisoner; his inditement is impleadable, his evidence irrefutable, the fact impardonable, the judge impenetrable, the judgement formidable, the torments insufferable, the manner of them inutterable: he must endure a death without dying, torments ending with worse beginnings.38

The printed images reasserted this condemned state, picturing evil angels having intimate relationships with humanity. Protestants believed, as medieval Catholics had before them, that humanity’s guilty verdict had already been issued. Because of this, evil angels were more likely to be depicted closer to humans in intimacy and propinquity. One image displaying this intimate relationship was printed in Raphael Holinshed’s *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (1577), depicting the tale of a ‘Gentlewoman’ of Scotland who was discovered lying naked with a ‘wicked sprite’. The woodcut originated in Germany and was printed by Henry Bynneman. In it, there is no mistake on the part of the woman, for she is reclined and relaxed in the monster's arms; she has embraced this evil for carnal pleasure [Plate VI]. The story tells that the gentlewoman had thwarted several marriage proposals.

![Plate VI: ‘Devil in bed with a Woman’ in Holinshed’s Chronicles](image)

When she suddenly became pregnant, she confessed to fornication with a stranger who often visited her chamber. The text recalled, ‘Hir parentes not greatly crediting hir wordes, layde diligent watche’ and when the time came ‘making faste the dores, they enter the chamber with a great maignment of torches and lights, where they find in their

daughters armes, a foule monstrous thing, right horrible to beholde’. After a wise priest recited words from John’s gospel, the devil departed taking the roof of the house with him. The Chronicle recited similar stories including a young man’s seductive torment inflicted upon him by an evil spirit disguised as a beautiful maiden, which echoed fears of such devilish fellowship. Also, these sorts of scenes heightened the fear of an evil angel's power, being able to invade the most intimate and private areas of life, upsetting what people saw as a sacred order not only of the bedroom but of the entire household.

Furthermore, as the woodcut was created in Germany, it is important to note the visual overtones of the fear of incubi and succubi, which were popular themes in European witchcraft. Incubi and succubi were those evil angels which took on the form of beautiful ladies or handsome men seeking sexual intercourse with either willing witches or the lecherous. Closely associated with the temptation of lechery and fornication, these lewd devils had been discussed by Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, and become prominent figures in the European witch crazes of the sixteenth century.

Both the Malleus maleficarum and Reginald Scot’s The discoverie of witchcraft spoke at length about the nature and aspects of these sexual demons. The incredulous Scot explained that ‘Heretofore (they saie) Incubus was faine to ravish women against their will, untill Anno. 1400: but now since that time witches consent willinglie to their desires’. It seems that the Scottish lady was of this second sort, welcoming the evil angel into her bed.

A similar instance of witchcraft was the medieval tale of the birth of Robert the devil, supposedly Robert I Duke of Normandy and father of William the Conqueror,

---

39 Raphael Holinshed, The firste volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande, 3pts. (London: H. Bynneman f. J. Harison, 1577), STC 13568, vol. I, part 2, H4v. It should also be noted that this event happened in the history of Britain, as such sexual congresses between human and devil were uncommon reports in early modern English tales of witchcraft: Marion Gibson, Reading Witchcraft: Stories of Early English Witches (London, 1999), pp. 124-125.


which was reprinted by Wynkyn de Worde in 1517. In the tale, Robert’s mother being without child from her husband prayed to the Devil to give her a child. In a sort of inversion of the Old Testament story of Samuel, Robert’s mother then promises to dedicate the child to evil who was afterward granted immense strength by his demonic patron. While there is no reference to any spirit having intercourse with Robert’s mother, the Devil’s influence in the child’s birth was tantamount to a sexual relationship. This is further indicated by the fact that in 1525 de Worde used the same woodcut for another text in which evil angels oversee the conception of Antichrist.\(^{42}\) While seventeenth-century Catholics and Protestants denounced the idea of evil angels having generative powers, in the sixteenth century the idea that Antichrist and a host of demonic hybrids could be created by such unholy unions continued to persist.

The discourse on incubi and succubi was fairly limited in England, but Charles Zika has demonstrated sexual witchcraft was particularly popular in early sixteenth-century Germany, which is exemplified in the artwork of Hans Baldung Grien.\(^{43}\) Zika argues that it is the witch in the image who is transformed into the unnatural siemann (or She-man) by her illicit and ungodly activities which receives the historical analysis. However, there are several implications for the figure of the evil angel as well, namely his own unnatural transformation into human form and his ability to sexually interact with humans.

At least two reasons are evident for the depiction of this particular scene in Holinshed’s work. Primarily, it was a visualisation of the common warning that the devil’s influence was vast. Secondly, there is something in the figure of the evil angel itself which suggests a deeper reading of the image is needed. While the idea of evil angels appearing in human form has been present in Christian belief since the early

\(^{42}\) For the image of Robert the devil, see: _English Woodcuts_, #755; Anon., _Here begynneth the byrthe and lyfe of the moost false and deceytfull Antechryst_ (London: W. de Worde, 1525), STC 670, A2v. More on the Antichrist will be discussed later in this chapter.

Church, this particular creature is somewhere between a man and a beast. This is not like the apocalyptic, Dante-esque monsters that were so popular in late medieval iconography. There is no overt implication of hellish destruction and damnation, until of course the priest casts him out of the house. This evil angel is almost civilised in his posture and repose. He is clearly male, but with distinguishing traits such as his horns and elongated fingers, which act as visual clues of his true nature. This is the evil angel as tempter, offering human nature something it desires. Whether it is a child for Robert the devil’s mother or sexual pleasure for the Scottish gentlewoman, it is the subtlety and insidious characteristic of the devil to use people’s own sinful desires against them.

Though the two examples posed here are depictions of women, men were also vulnerable to the temptation of witchcraft.

Protestants believed that understanding how evil angels tempted people was of vital importance. Temptation was the way in which evil angels seduced humanity into disobedience, leading to sin, corruption and eventual death. James 1.14-15 explained, ‘but each one is tempted when, by his own evil desire, he is dragged away and enticed. Then, after desire has conceived, it gives birth to sin; and sin, when it is full-grown, gives birth to death’. Temptation was like a seed that overtook the body and soul from within, corrupting and killing the person. According to Calvin, ‘the infection of sin’ was present in everyone and overtook many. One broadside printed in 1603 prayed to God, ‘Clear us from the contagion of sinne … which cleaveth as an infection upon the whole face of this land’.

Stephen Batman explained why he had included so many allegorical images of temptation in *A christall glasse of Christian reformation*:

---


46 John Calvin, *A harmonie upon the three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke with the commentarie of M. John Calvine* (London: T. Dawson, 1584), STC 2962, pp. 207, 296; Anon., *A Praier very comfortable and necessary to be used of all Christians every morning and evening, amongst their families* (London: T. Panyer, 1603), STC 20192.5.
Herein is plainly shewed unto all, the estate of every degree by order of picture and signification, to the intent, that therby every christian Reader may the better see the disordred abuses which daily raveth amongst us, and also the state of obedience by every picture in like sorte signified…that neither pardon nor mumming, massinges or any other popish ceremonies, can any thing avayle as touching salvation.\textsuperscript{47}

Since temptations came when one was mentally and emotionally vulnerable, it was paramount that people should be on guard. Keith Thomas exhorts historians to keep in mind that, ‘There is no reason why we should doubt the reality of such temptations’.\textsuperscript{48}

Such fears and the psychological affects were all too real, being preached from the pulpit, read from the text and amplified in the printed image.

Part of this responsibility was to identify the vilest individuals of society, who were believed to be nearer to evil angels than the average person. Rhegius declared that, ‘Wee cannot see Satan in hys substaunce, because hee is a spyrite’, but ‘after a sort wee may know and see hys members: that is, in ungodly persons, who be void of the feare of God’.\textsuperscript{49} Like the gentlewoman caught in the act of demonic fornication, each of these ungodly people was like an appendage of Satan.

Perhaps the most popular images of these ungodly people were the depictions of witches.\textsuperscript{50} With the exception of a few rationalists, most Elizabethans were convinced of the reality of witchcraft. Witches were caricatured as having been in league with evil angels. In \textit{A discourse on the damned art of witchcraft}, William Perkins established this pact or agreement as ‘The Ground of all the practices of Witchcraft’ wherein ‘they doe mutually binde themselves each to other’.\textsuperscript{51} In the cheap pamphlets of the late sixteenth century, the witch was often empowered by evil angels. As one pamphleteer stated, ‘The

\textsuperscript{47} Batman, \textit{A christall glasse of christian reformation}, A2v.
\textsuperscript{49} Rhegius, \textit{A homely}, A7r.
witch beareth the name, but the devil dispatcheth the deeds, without him the Witche can contrive no mischief’.52

This theme of demonic empowerment was visualised in several printed images.53 In the front of James Carmichael’s work, the evil angel is pictured as a dragon, standing above a montage of scenes, as a conductor or puppet-master, dictating his purposes to the witches [Plate VII]. While it was printed by Edward Alde in 1592, the text and the woodcuts probably belonged to the bookseller William Wright.

Plate VII: ‘Activities of Witchcraft’ in Newes from Scotland

In the image, the victim, a sleeping merchant, was depicted as innocent and unaware while the witches prepared their devilry at a table and over a fiery cauldron. Also, they were depicted as gathered together in rapt attention gazing up at the dragon, as though they were an audience for his preaching which is underpinned in the text. Even though the tale goes into great detail about the interaction of the Scottish group of witches and the evil angel who empowered them, ultimately the malevolent being remains a creature

52 Anon, A rehearsal both straung and true, of heinous actes committed by Elizabeth Stile (London: J. Allde, 1579), STC 23267, A3r. Commentary and insightful notes can be found in Marion Gibson, Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing (London, 2000), pp. 33-40.
53 James Carmichael, Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of doctor Fian (London: E. Allde f. W. Wright, 1592), STC 10841a; Anon, A rehearsal...Elizabeth Stile; Anon., The apprehension and confession of three notorious witches (London: E. Allde, 1589), STC 5114, B1r-v. Also see: Gibson, Early Modern Witches, pp. 129-137.
of ‘great subtiltye’ who gave power to these witches to do his will without him being made visible to any spectators.\textsuperscript{54} Even though the evil angel does not appear in the other woodcuts in the pamphlet, his depiction on the frontispiece demonstrates that he is the ultimate source of direction and power. The demonologist, Dr. Stephen Bradwell, explained, ‘The Devil is a spirit of darkness, he deals closely and cunningly; you shall hardly find any direct proofs in such a case, but by many presumptions and circumstances you may gather it’.\textsuperscript{55}

Again, often to find evidence of evil angels, one needed to look to their human members. Here, the evil angel corrupted humanity but kept himself hidden without any wonderful or dramatic appearances. What is more, the devil had chosen the stereotypical group of women to do his bidding. However, unlike the depictions of witches in Germany in the early sixteenth century where ‘Rarely … do the artists lay emphasis on the devil as the source of the witches’ power’, this woodcut clearly depicts the evil angel separated but in control of the group.\textsuperscript{56} Nevertheless, while the reports of interaction between witches and evil angels abounded, there was little expectation of evil angels actually appearing in the presence of witnesses. With scenes like those in Holinshed’s \textit{Chronicle} aside, as the descriptions of angels were intended to be allegories of a spiritual reality, the printed images acted as figurative depictions, in order to remind the reader of the invisible world behind such events.

In other cases, evil angels appeared in the form of familiars. The pamphlet \textit{A rehearsal both straung and true} (1579) was a confession of the witch Elizabeth Stiles, displaying the infamous witches of Windsor. The work contained four woodcuts and was printed by John Kingston, who had connections with influential stationers like Richard Grafton. On the frontispiece was the image of a witch with hauntingly darkened eyes,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{54} Carmichael, \textit{Newes from Scotland.}, C1v.
\item \textsuperscript{55} British Library Sloane MS. 831: Dr. Stephen Bradwell, ‘Marie Glovers late woefull case, together with her joyfull deliverance written upon occasion of Doctor Jordens discourse of the Mother, 1603’ (unpublished) [cited in Rosen, \textit{Witchcraft in England}, p. 315.].
\item \textsuperscript{56} Zika, \textit{Exorcising Our Demons}, p. 289.
\end{itemize}
lifeless and soulless, accompanied by a dragon-like evil angel, frightening another woman [Plate VIII]. The evil angels discussed in this pamphlet act as familiar spirits (depicted as frogs, lizards, and cats), giving the witches power to inflict pain and even death on other villagers. These types of familiars were popular in English witchcraft, as one of the dominant themes in both pamphlets and demonology treatises. In the witchcraft trials overseen by justice Brian Darcey in St. Osyth, Margaret Grevell was said to have sent her spirit familiar named Jack to suck the blood from her victim.

Plate VIII: ‘Revenge for a Quarrel’ in A rehearsal both straung and true

Other woodcuts of familiars were used by William Powell in his printing of John Philips’s account of the witches in Essex in 1566 [Plate IX]. This was the first witchcraft pamphlet of its kind to be published in Elizabethan England, retelling the terrible lives of the three accused witches Agnes and Jone Waterhouse and Elizabeth Frauncis. In the woodcut below, one of the familiars, a cat named ‘Satan’, was bequeathed from one witch to another, in a sort of transfer of demonic power from one generation to the next. Clergyman Richard Bernard explained the nature of such familiars: ‘For these

---

58 John Philips, The Examination and confession of certaine wytches at Chensforde in the countie of Essex (London: R. Johns, 1566), STC 19869.5, A6v. For commentary and modern editions of this pamphlet see: Gibson, Early Modern Witches, pp. 10-24; Rosen, Witchcraft in England, pp. 103-105, 138-139. Also, the idea of familial bonds in English witchcraft (particularly in dysfunctional families) is discussed by Marion Gibson in Possession, Puritanism and Print: Darrell, Harsnett, Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Exorcism Controversy (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), pp. 120-122.
[spirits] they call, when they would doe harme, as farre as the these spirits have power to
doe hurt, and then bid them doe this or that for them.59

Plate IX: ‘The Cat Satan’ in A rehearsal both straung and true

Elsewhere, familiars came in the form of black dogs that would wreak havoc on a
community without any identifiable witch to whom to connect the familiar spirit.
Pictured in cheap pamphlets, these dogs were described in almost spectre and wraith-like
ways. In the pamphlet A straunge and terrible wunder wrought very late in the the
parish church of Bongay (1577), a black dog is depicted, and the text was reported that
such a creature began attacking people in the churches of two East Anglian towns
(Bungay and Barnby), killing several and wounding many others. Since no witches were
discovered, these were assumed to have been, ‘A Spectacle no doubt of Gods judgement,
which as the fire of our iniquities hath kindled, so by none other meanes then by the
tears of repentance it may bee quenched’.60 The image of the dog was recycled in
another pamphlet in 1585, and similar images of a black dog were used elsewhere.61
These images echoed the continual fear that evil angels could appear as something
benign or even celestial, underpinning the idea that what a person sees with their physical
eyes was not necessarily to be trusted. Though most people were not witches, all were

59 Richard Bernard, A guide to grand-jury men divided into two bookes (London: F. Kingston f. E.
Blackmore, 1627), STC 1943, p. 159.
60 Abraham Fleming, A straunge and terrible wunder wrought very late in the the parish church of Bongay
(London: J. Allde f. F. Godlay, 1577), STC 11050, A4r. This was recycled for Thomas Law, A most rare &
true report, of such great tempests, straunge sights, and wonderfull accidents, which happened by the
providence of God (London: T. Law, 1582), STC 20889.5.
61 Anon., A True discourse of such straunge and woonderfull [sic] accidents as hapned in the house of M.
George Lee of North-Aston (London: E. White, 1592), STC 15353.7, front, B2r. In another pamphlet,
[Anon., A true and most dreadfull discourse of a woman (London: J. Kingston, 1584), STC 5681]the evil
angel appears on the frontispiece as a headless bear-like beast.
sinners, having finite and corrupted bodies, deserving of God’s punishment. The black
dog, or hell hound, could be unleashed by the witch or by God’s judgement. One used
the hound to invoke wickedness, and the other used the hound to punish sinners.

In the same way, evil angels were given a powerful place in the discussion and
imagery of murder. The Biblical narrative of Cain and Abel, and God’s utter rejection of
Cain after he killed his brother, inspired a particularly loathsome relationship between
murderers and evil angels. The pamphlet literature in the late sixteenth century often
stressed that the murderer like the witch was seduced into the act by an evil angel who
‘commonly appeared as an opportunist’.62 In Arthur Golding’s pamphlet on the murder
of George Saunders, the accused wife Anne Saunders, who was caught in a web of
temptation and the love of two men, stated, ‘the devil kindled in my heart, first the
hellish firebrand of unlawful lust, and afterward a murderer’s intent’.63 Again, the
similarity between evil angels and humanity links the two in a destructive relationship.

The image of the devilish looking man first appearing in Sundrye strange and inhumaine
murthers (1591) illustrated the story of an unnamed father in Warborne, Kent who hired
another man to kill his three children [Plate X]. While there is no mention of devils'
temptations in the story, the image of the father embodied the blackness and deformity of
evil. As the hired murderer wields an axe over the dead family, the father, with a
blackened body and claws for hands and feet, stands behind him.

---

62 For Cain and Abel, see: Genesis 4; Johnstone, The Devil and Demonism, pp. 153-159. Among the
pamphlet literature, there are: Anon., A briefe discourse of two most cruell and bloudie murthers committed
bothe in Worcestreshire (London: R. Ward, 1583), STC 25980, A4r-A5r; Anon., Sundrye strange and
inhumaine murthers, lately committed the first of a father that hired a man to kill three of his children
neere to Ashford in Kent, the second of Master Page of Plymouth, murthered by the consent of his owne
wife (London: T. Scarlet, 1591), STC 18286.5; Anon., A most horrible & detestable murther committed by
a bloudie minded man upon his owne wife (London: J. Danter, 1595), STC 17748, A3r; Anon., Two
notorious murthers one committed by a tanner on his wives sone nere Horne-church in Essex, the other on
a grasier nere Ailsburie in Buckinghamshire (London: J. Wright, 1595), STC 18289.
63 Arthur Golding, A briefe discourse of the late murther of master George Saunders (London: H.
Byneman, 1573), STC 11985, D2v.
As the evil angels could take on human aspects, so humans could become more like the evil angels in their appearance. Similar descriptions of the devil are documented by James Sharpe in his examination of the Matthew Hopkins witchcraze in the 1640s. In later pamphlets of the seventeenth century, this figure of the devilish man was replaced by dragon-like evil angels standing behind the murderer in the same fashion as this image.

Interestingly, the second story of this pamphlet discussed the powerful demonic forces influencing the murderer. Master Padge is reportedly killed by his wife and her lover because ‘Sathan who is the author of evill, crept so farre into the dealings of these persons’. Not only is Satan blamed for the murder but also for the circumstances of an arranged and loveless marriage between Padge and his wife, which gave opportunity for

---

64 James Sharpe, The Devil in East Anglia: The Matthew Hopkins Trials Reconsidered’, in Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief, edited by Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester and Gareth Roberts (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 237-256. Though unique among images in murder pamphlets, this picture was printed again in the early Stuart period for Two most unnaturall and bloudie murthers (STC 18288). In the text, there is no mention of evil angels by the author and no allusion to his tempting the murderer. Also, the Yorkshire gentleman Master Caverley, convicted of killing his wife and children, does not hire anyone to kill them as the image implied. Nevertheless, the image remained, seemingly less as an illustration but more as a recognised symbol of devilish murder.

the murder.\footnote{Anon., \textit{Sundrye straunge}, B2r.} Again, the evil angels are puppet masters pulling the strings of their human pawns and coordinating circumstances to fit their malicious intentions. However, it should be noted that evil angels only begin to take a pictorial shape in murder pamphlets in the 1610s. However, to see in this an externalization of temptation is perhaps ‘to see too much’ into the image, as Scribner warns against. Neither the reality of the devil nor the danger of the sinful nature, as scholars like Johnstone and Gibson have demonstrated, was never in doubt in early modern Protestantism. Instead, it seems more likely that the lucrative business of murder pamphlets which developed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries precipitated a more sensational and tangible representation of evil. Such an external depiction served to call to the reader’s mind both forces of inner temptation and the devil.\footnote{A similar emphasis appears in the discourse of witchcraft pamphlets in the 1590s (Gibson, \textit{Possession, Puritanism and Print}, p. 120).}

We should also take note that in these pamphlets, and elsewhere in cheap print, there was a degree of independence between the text and image. As Ruth Luborsky has demonstrated in her study of romance literature, far from depending upon the text to explain the image to the reader, an image such as the murder scene often appeared in altogether unrelated texts.\footnote{Ruth Luborsky, ‘Connections and Disconnections Between Images and Texts: The Case of Secular Tudor Book Illustration’, \textit{Word and Image}, 3 (1987), 74-85.} The continued use of the image in 1606 in an unrelated murder pamphlet enhances the idea that this image came to be related to the generic murderer, the everyman overcome by tempestuous wrath. That such images directly illustrated a specific text did not inhibit the recycling of the image in a variety of contexts, and because of this strong habit in English printing, scholars should not attempt to assert a static interpretative model upon the images. Within each image, there were more general themes which often transcended specific texts. What we are presented with in these printed images are pictures of those who have succumbed to temptation. The visual presence of demonic forces seems to be a pictorial indicator of their fall into
temptation as well as a reminder of the source and power of these temptations. Though these people were seen as the cruellest and most sinister figures in early modern society, people were continually warned that it was only by God’s grace that they too did not suffer the same fate.

**Antichrist and the Destruction of Everyman**

Unlike witches and murderers, the image of the Antichrist was one of willing, total corruption and conscious animosity toward God. Neither the witch nor the murderer was necessarily imbued with this level of inherent treachery, though they could be associated with it. 69 The tradition of apocalyptic and millenarian literature was deeply embedded in the English Reformation by the 1560s, when Thomas Becon penned ‘A Prophecy of Antichrist’ as an introduction to his anti-Catholic work, *The reliques of Rome* (1563). In it, he described the Antichrist:

> He shalbe replenished with ye devill in his mothers wombe. He shalbe nourished with spirituall evils and mischiefes. He shal rule over the whole world … His comming shall be by the working of Sathan, with al lying power, signes and wonders, and in all deceavablenesse of unrighteousnes among them that perish. 70

The idea of Antichrist had informed much of Christian history and thought, often as a theological abstraction or a type of immoral behaviour. For sixteenth-century Protestants, however, the obvious and most popular suspect was the Pope and the Catholic Church. Lollards had identified the Mass as the abomination that causes desolation spoken of in the book of Daniel. Following suit from the Lutheran propaganda of the 1520-30s and the sermons of Heinrich Bullinger, more radical English Protestants produced an entire genre of apocalyptic literature identifying the Catholic Church and particularly the

---


papacy with the figure of the Antichrist. Though, as Margaret Aston has pointed out, Elizabeth ‘unlike her father, does not seem to have promoted anti-papal visual propaganda’, many others in England believed such propaganda to be essential to the Reformation cause.

Echoing Becon’s prophecy, Stephen Batman had printed twice an image depicting a winged, seven-headed beast (with the legs of a goat or ram) representing Satan or the Antichrist, giving birth to the Pope [Plate XI]. Below the beast, former popes are roasted over the flames of Hell as devils stoke the inferno. While Batman attributed the image to an eleventh century prophecy against the Pope, it is very similar to both a Calvinist broadsheet image and an earlier woodcut published by the artist Lucas Cranach in 1545. The image of the birthing of the Pope was popular in Germany in the 1520s, and the seven-headed beast was a popular allusion to the figure written about in the Revelation of St. John. Images of the woman riding the beast in Revelation could be found in most Bibles and in extra-Biblical works like Hugh Broughton’s A concent of scripture (1590). The engraving in Broughton’s work [Plate XII] identified the woman, wearing a papal crown, on the seven-headed beast (named ‘Empire’) as ‘the empire of Rome’, and the pope as the horned ram below, all of which ‘serveth Satan’. In Batman’s image, the themes of the female gender, the beast and the pope are compiled into a more grotesque scene. There are no obvious spatial or textual distinctions drawn between the

71 Parish, Monks, Miracles, and Magic, pp. 120-125; Robert Scribner, For the Sake of the Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation (Oxford, 1994), chs. 2, 3. Some of the more popular of these titles include: John Bale, The image of both churches (Antwerp: S. Mierdman, 1545?), STC 1296.5; John Bale, The epistle exhortatorye of an Englyshe Christiane unto his derelye beloved contreye of Englande against the pompouse popyshe bysshoppes therof, as yet the true membres of theyr fylthye father the great Antichrist of Rome (Antwerp: widow of C. Ruremond, 1544), STC 1291; Rudolph Gwalther, Antichrist, that is to saye: A true reporte, that Antichriste is come wher he was borne, of his persone, miracles, what tooles he worketh withall, and what shalbe his ende (Emden: E. van der Erve, 1556), STC 25009; Thomas Naogeorg, The popish kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist (London: H. Denham f. R. Watkins, 1570), STC 15011; John Bale, The pageant of popes conyaininge the lyves of all the bishops of Rome, from the beginnynge of them to the yeare of Grace 1555 (London: T. Marsh, 1574), STC 1304.

72 Margaret Aston, The King’s Bedpost: Art, Reformation, and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait (Cambridge, 1993), p. 145. I am particularly grateful to Adam Morton for his insights on this particular topic.

beast, the woman or the papacy. Reinforcing the stereotypical assumptions about the female connection to evil, which extended back to Eve’s sin, Batman’s image also demonstrates how malleable Biblical imagery could be.  

Such images, as Joseph Koerner describes it, were a part of a larger Protestant ‘anti-aesthetics of the crude’ that was a direct assault on the visual sacredness of Catholic piety. By picturing such a grotesque figure, the image did not celebrate the subject but rather reminded the people of the vulgarity of papal corruption.  

In Anno. 1046 as histories relate, Benedictus, the ninth Pope, after his burial, he was, or the devil in his likenesse, seen in an horrible figure, having the body of a Beare, the tayle of an Asse, clothed in his pontificall vesture. And being asked why he was so deformed, should answer,

---

74 For more on these images, see: Scribner, For the Simple Folk, pp. 85-95; Broughton, A concent of scripture, end page. The image of the virtuous and virgin woman is discussed in John King, ‘The Godly Woman in Elizabethan Iconography’, Renaissance Quarterly, 38 (1985), 41-84.

because without lawe he governed, and as a cruel tyrant used oppression.\textsuperscript{76}

The use of the image alongside the prophecy reinforced the message. While the picture was a metaphor, it was referring to something that Protestants believed existed in the medieval past, which Batman related in the literary text. In both text and image, the devil and the Pope are so closely linked that the author makes little effort to distinguish between the two. It seems to make little difference whether it was the Pope or an evil angel appearing in such a terrifying form, as the former is the progeny of the latter.

This reality of Satanic domination via the papacy was depicted in Henry Bynneman’s folio printing of Pierre Boaistuau’s retelling of various tales of monsters and amazing occurrences translated as \textit{Certaine secrete wonders of nature} (1569). However, unlike the images in Batman’s and Broughton’s works, the evil angel depicted here is rather ambiguous, seeming to have body parts of both male and female [Plate XIII]. Rather than an androgynous Satan, Bynneman’s woodcut depicted an evil that transcends and upsets the balance of the sexes, manipulating both for his own devices. In such a fantastic and unnatural world, the image of the Devil opens the book, enthroned and surrounded by worshippers wearing a papal crown. The signification follows that, ‘Albeit Sathan since the creation of the world hath performed his tyrannous raigne in most provinces and places of the erth, with sundry subtilities and sophistical sleights to draw unto him an honour of the people’.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{76} Batman, \textit{The arrival of the three gracis}, E4r-v. Interestingly, a similar story is told as an addendum to the previously discussed murder pamphlet \textit{Sundrye strange and inhumaine murthers}. As a means of solidifying the devilish involvement, the writer speaks of two appearances of ‘an ugly thing formed like a Beare, whose eyes were as it had been fier’, (Anon., \textit{Sundrye strange}, B4v).

\textsuperscript{77} Pierre Boaistuau, \textit{Certaine secrete wonders of nature} (London: H. Bynneman, 1569), STC 3164.5, A1r.
In such texts as Boaistuau's apocalyptical tome, these images are not merely depicting the reality of Satan's reign over a sinful world, but they also serve as anti-aesthetic horrors intended to unhinge the dominion of Catholic idolatry and superstition by displaying its vulgarity. As the opening scene of the text, it set the tone, providing a visualisation of the unseen reality of demonic rule over the world.

Among the less expensive images in this genre were those in Walter Lynne’s *The beginning and endynge of all popery* (1548, 1588). Originating in the Lutheran texts *Eyn wunderliche Weysagung von dem pabstumb* (Nuremberg, 1527) by Andreas Osiander and *Practica der Pfaffen* (Strasbourg, 1535), it had nineteen woodcuts depicting the demonic corruption of the papacy. Such imagery was important in Elizabethan England because it reminded people of the reasons for the Reformation. The writer pointed out, ‘Now that the Pope through his owne falsehood and subiltie hath gotten the reigne of this world by helpe of the devil (for no true Christian ever aspired to such a kingdome) hee, keepeth himselfe therin’.  

In the first image, the papacy makes a pact with an evil angel (in the shape of a roaring lion) [Plate XIV]. Carrying a book under his arm, the Pope could be alluding to Sylvester II who as John Bale claimed stole a book from a necromancer and ‘having ye

---

78 Walter Lynne, *The beginning and ending of all poperie* (London: W. Lynne, 1588), STC 17116, F4v.
booke … gave himselfe to the devill’. While the imagery of the roaring lion is most easily attributed to 1 Peter 5.8 (‘Your enemy the devil prowls around like a roaring lion looking for someone to devour’), it also alludes to several Old Testament verses, condemning those who abuse political and religious authority. A similar image, from Lucas Cranach’s workshop, appeared in the Dutch text *Den sack met die stucken* (1568) printed in London by Henry Bynneman, where Satan emerges from Hell to hand the kneeling pope a sealed charter [Plate XV]. The medieval Faustian tradition of pacts with the devil was often associated with witches. In Protestant lore, however, it was also believed that one of the late-tenth or early-eleventh century popes (perhaps Sylvester II or Gregory VII) had committed this fateful deed, condemning the papal crown forever.

The following image in Lynne's book depicts the pope handing over the keys of authority to Satan, while a sword protrudes from the pope’s mouth to stab the Lamb of God [Plate XVI]. Similarly, in Batman’s *A christall glasse*, a cardinal is depicted riding a dragon that stands atop a lamb, and a monk slits another lamb’s throat. These excoriations of the papacy demonstrated the pope’s bloodlust in an ongoing quest for worldly power [Plate XVII].

---

80 Psalm 22.13; Proverbs 28.15; Ezekiel 22.25; Zephaniah 3.3.
In Batman’s image, the keys of power are substituted with the dragon-steed, which becomes both the means and representation of papal corruption and totalitarianism. In Nathaniel Woodes’ popular play *The conflict of conscience*, this visual imagery was expounded by the figure of Satan, who says of the papacy, ‘in my stead to rule with force and might, / I have assigned the Pope, whose match I no wher found, / His hart with love, to mee, so much abounde’.\(^\text{82}\) While swords were an obvious symbol of both cruel power and domination, the significance of these images was not in the blade itself but the offering of power via the usurpation of divine authority.

---

The fact that it is the clergy and not an evil angel slaughtering the lambs underpins both the almost indistinguishable connection between Antichrist and Satan and the idea that evil angels work through their human agents.

Finally, in Lynne’s work, a good angel appeared to wrestle the keys away from the pope, giving justification for the Protestant denunciation of and rebellion from papal authority [Plate XVIII]. Not only had the papacy corrupted God’s church, but God had sanctioned angels to strip the papacy of any true authority. Together, these images work as a visual polemic, moving within and alongside the text, to justify both the Reformation and the continuing struggle in England against the recusant threat. In the 1580s, not only were there recusant communities across Wales, the South-West and the North, but also Jesuits like Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons were attempting to establish stronger Catholic communities. As such, it was imperative that true Christians separate themselves from this corruption and take up the fight with the good angels against the Antichrist of Rome.

The angels in these images act as visual cues, representing the specific forces of good and evil, of redemption and temptation. Also, it is important to keep in mind that in these images while evil angels were much more intimate with depraved groups, everyone was considered to be at risk. The apocalyptic scenes depicting the corruption of the papacy were not something completely external. Reformers believed that the Catholic pact with evil had infected all of society, ultimately influencing everyone. While Darren Oldridge believes such images give the impression, ‘that only the most obviously wicked individuals were likely to fall prey to the devil’s wiles’, this fails to account for the wider visual and religious culture. Certainly, figures such as witches, murderers and Antichrists were visually attached to evil angels. However, everyone was a target for temptation, because everyone was infected with the same desire for sin. Most importantly, these

---

images acted to buffer against this sort of belief, that the temptation of evil angels was a problem only for the reprobate. Protestants were concerned that, as Nathan Johnstone explains, Satan might ‘persuade them that he was absent from their everyday lives’.84

Few images served this intention more precisely than Hellish torture scenes, like those in the six reprints of the *Kalender of Shepherds*. The early sixteenth-century translation of the *Kalender* became one of the most popular illustrated quartos in England.85 The one-hundred and one woodcuts were well known in pre-Reformation France and England. However, the text lay dormant for almost forty years, until it was reprinted by William Powell in 1556 during Mary’s reign and was henceforth revived by the bookseller John Walley for five printings in Elizabethan England.86 Amongst a calendar series of Biblical characters, saints and Catholic dogma appeared a typical discussion of the seven deadly sins with seven large corresponding woodcuts, picturing evil angels tormenting souls in Hell.

---

Both the image of evil angels with faces covering their privy parts and the use of the seven deadly sins were easily recognisable motifs in late medieval and early modern piety [Plate XIX].

Images of evil angels covered with crude faces served to retain at least on a limited basis the medieval tradition of the physical intimacy between witch and devil (the faces being where the witch was to kiss the devils), as well as the association of the privy as ‘the haunt of demons and evil spirits’

Plate XX: ‘Devils force-feed souls’ in Kalender of Shepherds

Though this facial motif was often directed toward witchcraft, and the filthy unnatural activity of witches, these images do not condemn witchcraft per se. Instead, they speak to the deadly sins and all sin in general. The sins were established in medieval culture first by the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas and then in literature like Dante’s Inferno in Europe and Geoffrey Chaucer’s The Parson’s Tale and William Langland’s Piers Plowman in England. They were also used by Protestants like Stephen Batman who structured his work A christall glasse around the seven virtues and vices. In the late

88 Batman, A christall glasse, B1r, Q2r; Boaistuau, Certaine secrete wonders of nature, A1r, 2M4r. Quote from: Scribner, For the Sake of the Simple Folk, p. 184.
89 For medieval references to the sins, see: Dante Alighieri, La divina commedia: Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso, translated by Laurence Binyon (London, 1933), cantos v-viii; William Langland, Piers the
Elizabethan play *Dr. Faustus*, Christopher Marlowe seemed to refer to the *Kalender* images with precise detail in his description of Hell:

> There are furies, tossing damned souls / On burning forcks; their bodies boil in lead: / There are live quarters broiling on the coals, / That ne’er can die [Plate XIX]: this ever-burning chair /…These that are fed with sops of flaming fire [Plate XX] / Were gluttons and lov’d only delicates.  

Because of their history, the sins certainly carried heavy Catholic overtones. However, like angels, the sins were an important part of Christian belief and practice, not only in Christian tradition but also in the Bible (Psalms 6.16-19; Gal. 5.19-21). While the teaching of the sins, like that of angels, was critiqued by the reformers, their continued use in literature and even theology was not inherently offensive. Also, the assignment of specific punishments for each sin that was carried out by certain evil angels continued to have cultural currency. In these images, these concepts create a powerfully visual and literary lesson on the destruction wrought on those who indulge in the seven sins.

Working in tandem, the images and text augment one another, providing a multi-sensory display of what an individual could expect for their wrongdoings.

Though the continued publishing of such a text as the *Kalender* was uncommon in Protestant England, it was not completely unique. Certainly, as studies on censorship have demonstrated, both the fact that this was a well established reprint and that it was a translation provided the *Kalender* with a degree of freedom that it would not have otherwise enjoyed. Also, its history of being printed in the early 1500s by established stationers such as Richard Pynson and Robert Redman (both of whom also printed

---


John Calvin laid out the pre-eminent criticism of the teaching of the seven deadly sins as one of distinguishing between ‘venial’ and ‘deadly’ sins in Catholic dogma, which he believed neglected his key doctrine of election, in that, ‘The sins of believers are venial, not because they do not merit death, but because by the mercy of God … their sin being not imputed, but effaced by pardon.’ As such, if a Christian can commit a ‘deadly’ sin, one that leads to condemnation, then he cannot be assured of his or her salvation (*Institutes*, III, iv, p. 559).

reformed and evangelical works) would have bolstered the Kalender’s reputation.93 However, after Pynson and Redman, the text is silent for forty years, being passed from two minor printers: William Middleton and William Powell (both of whom married Redman’s widow Elizabeth).94 After Powell’s 1556 printing of the Kalender, it comes shortly thereafter into the hands of John Walley, and it is to his career that one must look to get at the Kalender’s future in England. Though he was a minor name in the print trade, archival evidence indicates that Walley’s business dealings stretched from Exeter to Ipswich.95 Little else is known about him (he appears only sparingly in official records), but what is clear is that Walley could play religious favourites with his business dealings. He sold the Protestant works of John Frith, Henry Bullinger, and Thomas Becon in Edward’s reign, he printed Catholic books when it served him during the mid-1550s, including the works of Thomas More in 1557, a joint venture with the conservative printers Richard Tottell and John Cawood.96 What Walley found in the Kalender was a pre-Reformation catechetical text full of traditional iconography which was not only acceptable but widely popular in the Elizabethan period.

At least one of these images is known to have been recycled for other works during the period. In Valentine Simmes’s 1597 printing of the pamphlet The most wonderfull and true storie, of a certaine witch named Alse Gooderige of Stapenhill, one scene of the tortured souls was transformed into the damnation of a group of witches.97 As Simmes had possession of the Kalender images by this time, it seems reasonable to conclude that the popular woodcut was an easily accessible addition to a popular pamphlet he wished to decorate. As such images could be generalised to take on different

meanings in various contexts, there is no reason to assume that Simmes intended to visually link witchcraft and the deadly sins, but only to demonstrate the obvious damnation of witches. What such recycling did however was to categorise those groups caught up in the deadliest vices into one condemned body of eternally suffering souls, which were symbolised by their nearness to and acquaintance with evil angels.

This also appeared in the torturous scenes of the medieval image of hellmouth. In the late sixteenth century, continuing in the tradition of the *Kalender* images, an image of hellmouth appeared in several books printed by John Wolfe and Adam Islip [Plate XXI].

![Plate XXI: ‘Hellmouth’ in *The sanctuarie of the troubled soule*](image)

First printed in John Hayward’s *The sanctuarie of the troubled soule* (1601), it occurs two more times in Elizabeth’s reign. Though this early modern hellmouth was not the great picture of damnation that it had been in the medieval period, it retained an obvious symbolic and cultural appeal.98 Such images were the visualisation of Rhegius’s description: ‘within those evill Angels there is a poysonfull and endlesse crueltie … with

---

certaine horrible and beastlie cruelty, they exercise and sharplie use against mankinde universally’.\textsuperscript{99} The explicit tortures coupled with the grotesque figures provided a vision of the eternal future for those who chose to disobey God. The evil angels in \textit{The sanctuarie of the troubled soule} were depicted as ravenous dogs, like the hounds of hell, Cerberus and Orthus, devouring and maiming the condemned souls for eternity. As Shakespeare’s Dromio in \textit{The Comedy of Errors} exclaimed when asked about his master, ‘A devil in an everlasting garment hath him; / … A hound that runs counter and yet draws dryfoot well; / One that before the judgement carries poor souls to hell’.\textsuperscript{100}

It must be noted that these evil angels were not seen in the same way as the classical figures of mythology. In early modern England, evil angels were not a fable of ages past or even spiritual abstractions of evil. While the printed images served as visible metaphors and allegories, these were not fantastical displays, but rather they indicated a believed reality. Theologians encouraged people to be on guard against demonic assault and temptation. While printed pictures of their malice served to support this reality, they also suggest a strong visual culture which continued to exert a powerful compulsion to see how the evil angels interacted and moved about within early modern society.

\textbf{Justice and Defence: Good Angels in the World}

Depicting the common heritage of disobedience that linked devilish spirits and humanity was much more common in the printed image than the appearance of good angels. However, that is not to say that good angels were completely out of the picture in Elizabethan England. These godly spirits were considered to be servants of God, ambassadors sent to aid the godly and condemn the wicked. The depictions of them were done in a more passive, or less obtrusive, manner than their evil counterparts. ‘Even so’, as Walsham explains, Protestants believed ‘true believers should never fail to

\textsuperscript{99} Rhegius, \textit{A homely}, A4r.

acknowledge the mercies God bestowed upon them by means of these excellent creatures’.101 Though good angels often seemed more distant from humans than evil angels and more ambiguous in their appearances, these celestial beings were no less real and deserved their due acclaim. While good angels often served merely as decoration around the margins of a frontispiece, the idea of angelic protectors and enforcers of God’s providence retained a niche in Protestant images and continued to be depicted into the late sixteenth century.

One of the most prominent roles of good angels was to act as agents for both the protection and punishment dealt out by God toward humanity.102 Where evil angels found their Biblical foundation in the Fall, good angels first interacted with humans when they expelled Adam and Eve from Eden. The image of an angel brandishing a sword above the two original sinners was often depicted in Elizabethan England. This was not only the breach between humanity and the divine but also the initial connection between evil angels and humanity. The image, which has often been attributed to the early Elizabethan printer John Tisdale, first appeared during Edward’s reign in the Ipswich printer John Oswen’s issue of The booke of common prayer (1552), alongside six other Biblical images [Plate XXII].103 This woodcut was used again by Oswen for a collection of Edwardian statutes in 1552, in his role as the King’s printer. Then it came into the possession of Tisdale for The firste syxe bokes of the Zodiac of life (1561) and Jean Veron’s The huntinge of purgatorye to death (1561).

While the expulsion clearly illustrated portions of the common prayer book, it had little to do with the later texts. While mildly related to the Veron text, arguing against the existence of purgatory, the image seems to have been used more often as a more universal message of humanity’s fall from God’s grace and God’s providence in punishing their wickedness. The woodcut’s position on the frontispiece allowed for this sort of independent meaning.

The Biblical foundation of providence continued in Richard Day’s *Christian prayers and meditations* (and subsequently in all the editions of *A booke of Christian prayers*) where an angel with a sword menacingly hovers over the Old Testament prophet Balaam, ordering him with a pointed hand in the direction the belligerent prophet must go [Plate XXIII].
The prophet seems to contrast with other faithful Old Testament figures who as the text explains ‘have repented and believed thy gospel.’ Reflecting this scene was the more ominous image printed by William Barley (or Barlow) in a cheap pamphlet in 1598. The image pictured a crude and poorly edited scene of devastation with four black horsemen wreaking havoc as a crowned angel with a sword hovers over a Flemish town, representing both Flanders and Worcestershire [Plate XXIV]. It illustrated the divine devastation that God had brought upon sinful people, as ‘God did shew them a fearful example’. The Flemish had supported the Spanish in the recent wars of religion, and it seems the image implies a similar fate for the English who might similarly act against God’s elect (Protestant) nation.

It is interesting that in this image the figure of Christ has been removed (leaving only his feet standing atop a globe to the left of the angel). As subsequent chapters will show, many images of Christ were widely printed in this period; however, in this instance, the printer decided to remove Christ as the judgement figure, leaving the winged spirit to exact God’s vengeance. This is an interesting example of censorship, likely religiously motivated. It is interesting because it is a fairly unique example of the removal of a religious figure from a printed image even in the 1590s. Also, this woodcut is interesting

104 Day, Christian prayers and meditations, e4v.
for what was not removed. First, Christ’s feet and a cross remain for no apparent reason other than to acknowledge Christ’s presence without actually depicting him. This sort of removal without completely extinguishing a figure from the image is interesting for it indicates a desire to recognise Christ visually without having to picture him fully. The introduction of more abstract religious symbols like the Tetragrammaton in the sixteenth century also served as means of establishing divine presence and power without becoming entangled with questions of idolatrous depiction.106 Second, the removal confirms a sense of uncertainty about portrayals of Christ, as discussed in Vermigli’s theology. However, the iconoclast who has removed Christ felt no similar iconoclastic sentiment toward the good angel, revealing an equally insightful point about the godly person’s perceptions of these images.

The continued visualisation of the angel is all the more important when one considers that this is not a Biblical scene but a contemporary vision of divine retribution. In the Protestant world, these good angels were not faeries or genies, standing ready to grant people’s wishes. They had in many ways lost the niceties surrounding the angelic cults of the medieval church. However, not all images of sword-brandishing spirits spoke to the reader of God’s wrath. They were also used to advocate God’s protection. The frontispiece printed by John Day for John Dee’s General and rare memorials (1577) demonstrated this [Plate XXV]. Designed by Dee himself, the frontispiece and book were printed no more than one hundred times, as a sort of private text for Dee’s circle of friends.107 Elizabeth as navigator of the ship sits in the stern as the archangel Michael, above with sword and shield, goes before the Queen’s ship (which is marked as God’s elect ship with the Chi-Rho on its masts). While used only once in this limited printing, the image demonstrated several aspects of depicting angelic protection.

106 More is said about these religious symbols in chapter 5.
First, the Latin motto above the image reads ‘Plura Latent Quam Patent’ (‘More things are concealed than are revealed’), telling the reader that such images did not visualise reality completely. Second, the image is deeply symbolic and allegorical, containing Biblical and mythological figures (the figure of Opportunity stands atop a pinnacle) with Greek and Hebrew banderoles throughout, indicating that a full understanding of the image was to be found in reading the text. As Dee prays in the text, ‘we beseche our
HEAVENLY PROTECTOR, with his GOOD ANGELL to Garde us, with SHIELD AND SWORD, now, and ever. Amen. 108

The importance of using Elizabeth to demonstrate angelic protection was to represent both a true and reformed church in conjunction with Dee’s ideal of the international commonwealth, both of which were instituted by Elizabeth’s Protestant reign. Theodore Beze in his commentary on the book of Job explained that Elizabeth was one ‘whom Gods singular providence hath delivered from the infinite entrappings of Satan, Antichrist and the Pope of Rome … and whome we may trulie call the common sanctuarie & refuge of the afflicted Church’. 109 Michael was not merely protecting the Queen but her entire ship, the English nation, which had become a promised land for many Protestants.

Angelic protection also extended to the individual as well, for even though Elizabeth was considered a godly Queen, every person was still under the same burden of sin and a target for temptation. Some of the last images of Elizabeth’s reign depict this sort of protection. In 1597 and 1603, the image of the angel reaching down to touch the praying man was printed by Gabriel Simson and Richard Reade respectively [Plate XXVI]. 110 Both texts relate the scene back to the Old Testament when angels appeared to godly prophets. For Simson, it is the prophet Daniel, and for Reade, the text explained that angels ‘often descend to minister unto them on earth that shall inherite eternall salvation’. The image was most likely from an earlier period, perhaps created in Richard Jugge’s workshop, for whom Simson was an apprentice until 1583. 111 Also, it replicated
the popular theme from various images of angels aiding Biblical figures, like the image of Micah in the Harrison Bible (1562) and the widely dispersed image of Matthew writing the gospels. In the image of Micah, as in other Old Testament scenes of prophets, the angel carries a scroll signifying the word of God commissioned to be spoken [Plate XXVII].

Plate XXVI: ‘Angel and kneeling prophet’  Plate XXVII: ‘Angel holding scroll for Micah’

These angels were messengers and comforters for those faithful to God. As Rhegius expressed, ‘[Christ] hath placed his Angels for our saveguarde’, so that people could overcome their own sinful natures and the attacks of evil angels. The position of these protective figures reflected a tertiary and subtle role, often appearing around the border areas as a ‘saveguarde’. While the humans in the scene are often depicted gazing toward the angels, this is only in recognition of their presence and not intended as a demonstration of devotion. One of the more popular verses about angels, Revelation 22.

prophet Isaiah receiving his vision of heaven and that the angel holds a piece of coal in its right hand with which to touch the prophet’s lips. However, I see no reason for this, particularly as other images of this scene are always clear about the prophet’s identity, and the angel carries the piece of coal with a pair of tongs or pincers [see the image of Isaiah’s vision in chapter 6]. More likely, the object in the angel’s hand is a book or scroll, as in the image of Micah, which was a common symbol of God’s word being delivered to the prophets.


113 Rhegius, A homely, B3r; Perkins’ Works, vol. I, pp. 148-149.
9, cited by Protestants was that moment after St. John has received his revelation when he begins to worship the angel. Refusing John adoration, the angel exclaimed, ‘Do not do it! I am a fellow servant with you and with your brothers the prophets and of all who keep the words of this book. Worship God!’

Angelic protection of God’s faithful was a generally accepted notion amongst Protestant divines. Nevertheless, it continued to be unclear as to whether or not there were single angels assigned as guardians. Many Protestants believed that the stories in the Bible where angels had given aid to individuals were evidence enough.\(^{114}\) Several printed images of the period suggested the continuation of this medieval guardian tradition. In *A christall glasse of Christian reformation* (1569), two pictures of good angels stand in the role of guardian.\(^{115}\) In the first, the angel helps defend the good Christian against the attacks of Envy which is supported by Death [Plate XXVIII]. The sentiment is described in the words of Gabriel Harvey writing to his friend the printer John Wolfe, ‘Hope … is a white Angell sent from Heaven, a swell to enkindle Vigorous Zeale, as well as to awaken lazie sloughth’.\(^{116}\)

---

\(^{114}\) Daniel 9.21; Acts 12.6; Revelation 1.1.
\(^{115}\) Batman, *A christall glasse*, H1r, I1R; *GEIB*, vol. I, p. 60.
\(^{116}\) Grabriel Harvey, *A new letter of notable contents With a straunge sonet, intituled Gorgon, or the wonderfull yeare* (London: J. Wolfe, 1593), STC 12902, B1r.
The good angel stands behind the faithful Christian and supports his upraised sword, sparking religious fervour and devotion. Unlike the intimacy of evil angels and humans, there is a subtle implication of a strong bond between the faithful Christian and the good angel. While the angel is in no position to fight the battle for the man, his assistance is crucial. This is followed by a more symbolic woodcut wherein an invisible battle between a good angel on one side and a devil (with a gun and the tail of a peacock) and a knight defending popish ceremony [Plate XXIX]. In this, the human figure has fallen into the trappings of popery and pride (the sin which the image illustrates) and has turned against the good angel, who parries the shot of Catholic icons and devotional paraphernalia. Though no faithful Christian is present, the message implies that this good angel fights on their behalf against the onslaught of superstition.

Another such image was that of Queen Elizabeth in a carriage, heralded by an angel identified as Fate blowing a trumpet, as Death (Thanatos) is staved off in the background [Plate XXX]. This image first appeared in Henry Denham’s printing of *The travailed pylgrime* (1569). While nineteen other images, copied from the Spanish *El Cavallero Determinado*, accompanied the image, this woodcut was commissioned by Denham.\(^\text{117}\) Since the text is a late fifteenth-century poem, the Queen is only mentioned in a signification above the image, ‘Let all true English harts, pronounce while they still have breath, God save and prosper in renown, our Queen Elizabeth’. After this printing, the image appeared again at least two more times in Elizabethan England, first in John Charlewood’s printing of Anthony Munday’s translation *The fountaine of fame* (1580) and then in a contemporary portrait by William Teshe based on the woodcut.\(^\text{118}\) Like the archangel going before Elizabeth's ship, this image symbolised angelic protection of the English monarch, a sign of divine approval for all of England.

\(^{118}\) Anthony Munday, *The fountaine of fame* (London: J. Charlewood, 1580), STC 18283, E1v.
A trumpet, rather than a sword, in the angel’s hands speaks to the divinely ordained crowning of Elizabeth as ruler, announced by the angel even unto Death, which had attempted to claim the Queen’s life several times.

Interestingly, the figure of Death was cleanly erased from the image in Charlewood’s 1580 printing [Plate XXXI]. Unlike the removal of Christ from the earlier pamphlet, however, religion was not the motivation here. First, as the image was printed earlier in Elizabeth’s reign without any royal denunciation, it is possible that the figure of Death was damaged in the woodcut and a simple, inexpensive solution of erasing the figure from the scene was devised. For printers like Denham and Charlewood, who were not in the business of creating hoards of woodcuts, this is altogether possible. However, if we accept that the removal was a planned augmentation, rather than a makeshift patch, the question of why becomes very prominent. First, it should be noted that the image of Death enthroned was also removed from another woodcut in the same text, which had also appeared in the 1569 printing. Both examples are fairly careless removals, without
any effort to insert another figure in the blank space, and it does seem at first glance that someone found Death enthroned a repugnant representation.\footnote{Munday, \textit{The fountaine of fame}, F4r, N1r.}

These removals were entirely unusual, as death and dying were some of the most popular topics to be discussed and depicted. Another possibility might have to do with the position of Death enthroned and directly above the Queen's carriage. Between the years of the two printings, Elizabeth's monarchy had been assailed by rebellions, plots, Catholic excommunication, and growing tensions with Spain. As David Loades has stated, 'The realm seemed threatened by invasion from abroad and conspiracy at home'.\footnote{D.M. Loades, \textit{Politics and the Nation, 1450-1660: Obedience, Resistance, and Public Order} (London, 1974), pp. 280-300 (p. 286); Richard B. Wernham, \textit{The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1558-1603} (London, 1980), pp. 45-56.} While the religious establishment in England had become more stabilised than in the early 1560s, Elizabeth's position amongst the great powers of Europe was growing more precarious. Also, it should not be forgotten that by 1580, the opportunities for Elizabeth's marrying and childbearing were diminishing, which encouraged the idea of the Virgin Queen in English culture. Elizabeth's statutes around 1580 reveal a particular obsession with silencing any foul words (e.g. John Stubb's \textit{The discoverie of a gaping gulf}, 1579), about the Queen's uncertain future in marriage or possible death, banning any printed work that would speak of it.\footnote{TRP, \textit{vol. II}, #642, 672.} Though it should not be immediately assumed that this erasure was Charlewood's doing, a printer like John Charlewood (or Denham before him) would have understood that such an image could be wrongly interpreted within such a sensitive context.\footnote{For more on anti-Elizabeth images and literature, see: \textit{Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana}, edited by Julia M. Walker (London, 1998).} Nevertheless, even after Death's removal, the trumpeting spirit was retained, offering an image of guardianship and protection to the ruler of England and by default to her realm.

Such images certainly were able to take advantage of the altogether ambiguous Protestant theology on guardian angels. In the early Reformation, Heinrich Bullinger
failed to commit either way on guardian angels. Calvin explained his position, saying, ‘Whether or not each believer has a single angel assigned to him for his defence, I dare not positively affirm ... indeed, I hold for certain, that each of us is cared for, not by one angel merely, but that all with one consent watch for our safety’. While he is not absolutely uncertain, Calvin would avoid ‘positively’ affirming the existence of guardian angels and would err on the side of caution against the belief. However, William Perkins was more explicit against ‘the common opinion, that every man hath one good Angel, and one bad’, but his critique is aimed more at the idea that people could not receive aid from more than one.123 Ludwig Lavater went so far as to remind his readers that, ‘Our savioure witnesseth in the gospell, that children have their good angels.’ But then he carefully retraced his steps declaring, ‘whether that every one of the elect have hys proper Angell, or many Angels be appoynted unto him, it is not expresly sette foorth’.124

As we have seen, the image of the archangel Michael was in many ways the prototype for this sort of imagery, as he was the defender of Israel and God’s elect. The 1549 Edwardian primer made reference to him, and even in the late sixteenth century, there continued to be a strong imagery of guardianship connected to Michael. Barnabe Barnes, who was a poet cohort of Robert Devereaux, Earl of Essex, wrote, ‘What Champion Michaell my soule to defend, / Will lend his puissant and victorious crosse, / To conquere that olde Serpent, which assayles / My feeble soule entombde in earthly drosse?’125 In the printed image, Michael was portrayed in his Biblical role as the one who locked Satan in Hell at the conclusion of the Apocalypse.

123 Calvin, Institutes, I, xiv, p.146. I am indebted to Peter Marshall for allowing me to read his article on guardian angels before its publication, see: Peter Marshall, ‘The Guardian Angel in Protestant England’ (forthcoming). His references to Bullinger and Perkins, as well as several other Elizabethan and Jacobean divines, have been indispensable. See: Bullinger, ‘Of Good and Evil Spirits’, pp. 327-348; Perkins, A combat betweene Christ and the Devil, in Perkins’ Works, vol. III, p. 408.
124 Lavater, Of ghosts, pp. 160-161.
125 Richard Johnson, St. Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend (Woodbridge, 2005); Barnabe Barnes, ‘Sonnet XLVII’, A divine centurie of spirituall sonnets (London: J. Windet, 1595), STC 1467, lines 8-11. For Barnes’ life, see: John D. Cox, ‘Barnes, Barnabe (bap. 1571, d. 1609)’, ODNB [accessed 10 May 2007]
Both pre-Reformation religious books as well as Catholic texts during the Elizabethan period portrayed Michael as the angelic hero of the faithful. The image of Michael made several appearances. In the images here, he was depicted in John Day’s prayer book of 1578, and a recycled woodcut first printed in a 1549 Tyndale New Testament was reprinted in the 1575 *Bishops’ Bible* and Thomas East’s edition of Bale’s *The image of both churches* (1570) [Plates XXXII-XXXIII].

As the angel who is given the responsibility of locking away Satan, Michael acts as a symbol of the ultimate expression of both God’s providence and protection.

However, Michael was never attached to any particular person, like other guardian angels, and in the latter half of the sixteenth century, many English divines were more forthright in their denial of guardians. As early as 1577, Edward Dering criticised the idea, saying ‘but let this goe an errour as it is, had it never so great patrones: and let it appeare more manifest by the errour which it draweth with it, that likewise everyie man hath an evill Angel: for what reason hath that when we know that into one was a Legion entred?’

In 1581, John Merbecke ascribed the concept of each person having a good and evil angel on their shoulder to the pre-Socratic, Greek philosopher Empodocles, tainting the idea with a non-Biblical and pagan source. Puritan divines like Elnathan Parr

---


127 Dering, *XXVII lectures*, G3r.
further tainted the idea dismissing it as folklore and Catholic fantasy. It was not that these Protestants did not believe in angelic protection, but rather they were opposed to the idea of individualistic protection advocated in the concept of guardians. Also, it is possible that these later Protestants were responding in part to the Jesuit discourse on guardian angels, which was becoming more popular among Catholics as the counter-Reformation grew.

In the following century, certain English Protestants would revert back to guardian angels, somewhat in response to Enlightenment rationalism. Keith Thomas reports that it was not until 1642 that the image of Michael over the south door of Canterbury cathedral was pulled down. The survival of this image at the seat of the archbishop should not go unnoticed. Walsham has highlighted several other cases where angelic images remain standing in Protestant churches well into the seventeenth century. The printed images of the sixteenth century certainly kept the visualisation of these invisible creatures in the minds of the people. Their importance as both protectors and punishers in Protestant England is obvious by their continued visual presence. Rather than a clean progressive break with the traditions and ‘superstitions’ of the past, the English Reformation fluctuated over its beliefs concerning angels. The ambiguous nature of angels and their recognised necessity in Protestant living allowed these spirits a degree of permissibility in Elizabethan visual culture.

**Seeing the Invisible Battle**

Even when these spiritual beings appeared without their moral counterparts, their activities implied that their counterparts either were or would soon be involved. Thus,

---

130 Bayly, *Two sermons The angell guardian*, p. 10.
when good and evil angels are not pictured together, there is a sense that they very easily could have been. While their interactions with humans are important, the visual culture of printed images as a whole communicated a grander scene of conflict between opposing angelic forces. In the early sixteenth century, the printer Wynken de Worde echoed the reality of this conflict in a prefatory poem to the English edition of Desiderius Erasmus’s *Handbook of the Christian knight:*

The mortall worlde a felde is of batayle
whiche is the cause y styfye dothe never fayle
Agaynst man / by warrynge of the fleshe
with the dyvell / that alway fyghteth fresshe
The spryte to oppresse by false envy
The whiche conflyte is continually.132

While guardians were a heavily disputed topic, no one questioned either evil's temptations and tortures or the ongoing celestial battle.133 In the printed images, this battlefield was represented in several works.

First, it could be seen in the image of the Old Testament patriarch Asher (with images of the other eleven patriarchs) printed in seven octavo editions of *The testaments of the twelve patriarchs.*134 Printed by Day and then by Peter Short, Asher was depicted as having an almost split personality, holding up the two faces of vice and virtue, with good and evil angels on either side [Plate XXXIV]. Coinciding with popular culture references to an angel on either shoulder, the text proclaimed, ‘there are two myndes in our brestes, which make us eyther to honestie or dishonestie’.

---

135 Grosseteste, *The testaments of the twelve,* IIr. For more on the text and its European provenance, see: IJla Veldman, ‘The Sons of Jacob: The Twelve Patriarchs in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints and Popular Culture’, *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art,* 15 (1985), 176-196. Interestingly, it is altogether possible that the idea of the two angels, one on either side of a person, originated in Islam with the idea of the Kiraman Katibeen (two angels, good and evil, who sat on one’s shoulders and recorded a person’s deeds). The Qur’an states, ‘Not a word does he / Utter but there is / A sentinel by him, / Ready (to note it)’ [Surah 50.18].
The wide readership of this translation from the Dutch should not be neglected. Its smaller size and numerous reprintings between 1576 and 1601 demonstrate its prominence in late Elizabethan culture. Another image of angelic conflict was depicted in Wright’s *The pilgrimage to paradise* (1591) in one of two woodcuts that John Wolfe had created for the text [Plate XXXV]. In the image, the Christian with a cross over his shoulder is tempted by the World (a man holding out a bag of money), the Flesh (a woman) and the Devil, as he prays toward a good angel in the clouds. Though smaller and cruder in quality than the image of Asher, this image and text were cheaper to purchase. Wright’s pamphlet summarised the message in the image saying, ‘The Passage to paradise is aptly compared to a warfare’.136

Although the Christian in Wright’s text seems resolute in his praying, Asher’s indecisiveness was that of every person, the witch before becoming a witch and the faithful before trusting in God. It was this point of decision, this moment caught between the two minds inside everyone, that so concerned the Protestant faithful. Though salvation could not be earned by penance or good works, one could reject salvation in the choices they made, as the image of the praying Christian printed by Wolfe demonstrates.

Even for those who were prayerful and rejected temptation, there remained a level of individual uncertainty, for all of one’s life was a battle to be fought. No Protestant denied that each person had been predestined by God, but this future was unknown and would only be revealed in a person’s choices. The angelic battle for human souls correlated with these decisions, and it should not be overlooked that when good and evil angels were depicted together in the same scene, more often than not the outcome of the conflict was implied. The evidence of a person’s election was apparent in the scene, as they could be identified as either one of the faithful battling against evil or a soul that had fallen into temptation.¹³⁷

This sort of conflict, where angels appeared together after the outcome had been decided, was depicted in Thomas Vautrollier’s printing of Theodore Beze's popular drama *A tragedie of Abrahams sacrifice* (1577). The popular image of Abraham’s temptation had at least a dozen different depictions in Elizabethan England.¹³⁸ While it is usually only pictured in a single image of an angel reaching down to stop Abraham’s knife from killing Isaac, the English translation of Beze's work had four images. The Huguenot printer Thomas Vautrollier acquired the text in its French edition, which had no images, and added these pictures to the English edition, translated by Arthur Golding. Moreover, these cuts are unique in their picturing of Satan dressed in a monk’s habit, as a reminder of Catholic corruption, tempting Abraham as he travels with Isaac toward the place of sacrifice [Plate XXXVI].¹³⁹

---


¹³⁸ *GEIB, vol. II*, p. 165. Though this number also includes a Catholic text by Richard Whitforde, it is reasonable to assume that this text was circulated on a limited basis in England. For its use in mid-sixteenth century drama, see: Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1955), p.364.

¹³⁹ *GEIB, vol. I*, pp. 82-83.
Since Protestants were wary of pictures that dramatised the truth of scripture, because they were considered to be a lie, one must question how such images were seemingly acceptable. The old English cycle plays were all but eradicated in the 1570s, and by the late sixteenth century, even Protestant dramatists avoided Biblical topics. As discussed in the previous chapter, Beze was persistent in his belief that such imagery and dramatic aid could offer insight into the Biblical narrative.\footnote{140} Also, since the images were created well after the text was written, it is certain that Vautrollier's woodcuts followed the example of Beze's text, which has given the evil angel extra-Biblical dialogue and presence. Beze defended such dramatisation in his letter to the reader, saying, ‘in writing such matters in verse, not onely of intent to consider and remember them the better, but also to praise God by all meanes I could devise’.\footnote{141}

Though it was common knowledge that nothing should be added or subtracted from scripture, Beze justified this unorthodox method by claiming how much better it gave instruction to the reader.

\footnote{140}{Murray Roston, \textit{Biblical Drama in England, from the Middle Ages to the Present Day} (London, 1968), pp. 108-111.}
\footnote{141}{Theodore Beze, \textit{A tragedie of Abrahams sacrifice} (London: T. Vautrollier, 1577), STC 2047, A2v.}
In the text, Satan contrasted himself with God, saying, ‘God maketh peace, and I doe warres devize. / God reignes above, and I doe reigne belowe: / God causeth love, and I doe hatred sowe’. Thus, the image contrasted the evil angel with true religion by dressing him in a monk's garb. The language of inversion was common with early modern devils. Because of their fallen nature and their separation from God, these evil angels were defined by what they were not, by their contrariety to God. When Abraham finally overcomes this temptation by obeying God and deciding to sacrifice Isaac, he is also deciding not to side with this contrariety. So then, God responds by sending an angel to stop his hand, as Satan flees into the sky now revealed as a serpent with wings. The angel speaking on behalf of God says:

> ... sith that thow  
> Hast shewed thy self so willing now,  
> Me to obey, as to forbeare  
> Thine only Isaks life: I sweare,  
> That mawgre Satan to his face,  
> I will thee blisse and all thy race. 

The appearance of the angel, however, was not intended to protect Abraham from evil angels but rather to stop Abraham’s hand and to reassure him of his obedience. The good angel does not appear in order to defeat evil but to protect Isaac. Good and evil angels

---

143 For more on this theme, see: Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism*, pp. 41-58.
144 Beze, *A tragedie of Abrahams sacrifice*, D7r.
were depicted together, but their conflict was an invisible one. Abraham had overcome temptation when God's servant appeared to him, reemphasising the purpose of these celestial figures as agents of comfort and protection rather than as divine genies to grant wishes and save souls.

These images also illustrated the uncertainty inherent within early modern angel belief. The celestial spirits were very real and their conflict was equally real and dangerous. Nevertheless, this did not make it any more visible. Nor did it mean that angels interceded to sway human decision, unless they were ordered to do so by God. Though good angels had actually appeared in the past, their depictions were symbolic gestures which referenced their continued efforts against evil. Good angels were believed to be present. The image of a Christian woman in the broadsheet *A marvellous tydyngs of wonders both old and new* (1570) illustrated that the faithful Christian should not expect an angelic visitation [Plate XXXVIII]. In the image, a woman is alone against the temptations of an evil angel. Though the three previous images across the top of the broadsheet displayed Christ’s victory over Satan's temptations, the reader is left in this last image with only the example of Christ and the contemporary reality of the human agent. She alone is responsible for overcoming temptation.

While the *Kalender of Shepherds* advised people to twice daily pray, ‘My good Angel I require thee to kepe me and governe me’, this was not to be interpreted as devotion to

---

145 Anon., *A marvelous tydynges both wonders old and new The Devyll is endited yf many mens wordes be tru.* (London: C. Woltrop, 1570), STC 24066; *GEIB*, vol. I, pp. 710-711.
angels or a dependence upon angelic intervention. This same mentality was also present in early modern Spain. As Maria Tausiet explains, ‘Divine Providence, understood as the care of God for his creatures, did not, however, preclude the essential freedom of mankind’. There was an understanding amongst Protestants and post-Tridentine Catholics that one could not rely upon angelic power to fight against temptation. The Book of Common Prayer (1559) taught people to pray against temptation with the words, ‘give unto us thy little sheep the strength of virtue of thy spirit, that being in our owne selves weake and feeble, and in thee strong and valiant, wee may withstand and over come all assaults of the divell’.

This emphasis on human agency in the discussion of angels became even more dominant at the end of Elizabeth’s reign in the work of theologians like William Perkins. Preaching at Cambridge on the topic of Satan's temptation of Christ, he explained:

during the time of Satans violent temptations he [God] concealed from him [Christ] the sensible assistance of the ministerie of his Angels, they shew not themselves till Satan is departed ... so many times with Gods deere children ... so wil the Lord leave his children to themselves & conceale from them the signes of his favour, suffering them to be buffered in temptation for a time.

Perkins and other Puritans permitted the portrayal of angels and even promoted the protection of angels in a person's fight against evil. However, people should not assume that this conflict would ever be made visibly apparent outside the printed image and the theological text. In fact, God often refused to reveal angelic protection to people so that they did not depend upon it. Nevertheless, Arthur Golding advised people suffering temptation to ‘Call to mynde ... the Angels that are appointed of God to shield us, the

shame and reverence of whom ought to restrayne thee always from wickednesse’.  

There visual appearance was less important to the suffering believer than the reality of their protective power against unseen temptation. It was important to know, believe and keep in mind that angels protected the godly.

Such an exhortation, however, cannot be interpreted as an appeal to people’s inherent righteousness. For Golding and other Protestants, no such righteousness existed. It was only by God’s grace that people were able to overcome such temptations. Even the Lutheran minister Rhegius confirmed this in his section titled ‘Gods protection of his elect by his good Angels’ where he preached, ‘God gardeth, preserveth, defendeth, and protecteth us from all dangers, whereunto we should otherwise runne headlong: were it not that God protected us with his Angels, …with howe greevous hazardshoulde wee bee ensnared and distressed, how little helpe in our selves’.  

Although people were not intended to pray to or look for angels, the good Christian was encouraged to believe that these invisible beings were present and active. Interestingly then, the conflict between angels could be made visible in the printed image, not because it was often apparent in a visible reality, but rather because it was not so apparent and needed to be reconfirmed through seeing the pictures. Depicting good and evil angels was a way to identify and separate the elected believer from the condemned sinner, reinforcing the strength of predestination. Moreover, pictured angels allowed Protestants to depict them as they saw fit, on the margins of scenes and in the role of divine servant and messenger, rather than as figures deserving of worship.

**Death: The Final Sting**

The last stage of this invisible conflict was at the deathbed. It was at the mortal end of life that each person was certain to confront angels. Together, the themes of death

---

and judgement could be found in many books from cheap pamphlets to devotional quartos. While the Last Judgement had been spelled out, albeit cryptically in Revelation, to have angels at one’s death was less Biblically grounded. Protestants dismissed the concept of Purgatory, but because of the prominence of angels in Revelation and in other portions of scripture they could not eschew the role of angels at death altogether.\textsuperscript{151} One of the most popular Protestant texts on death was Thomas Becon’s \textit{The sicke mans salve}. Becon encouraged the dying:

\begin{quote}
You know that to the unfaithfull it shalbe sayd, go ye cursed in to everlasting fire, whiche is prepared for ye devill and his angels. But to the faithfull, it shalbe said on this maner: Come ye blessed of my father, possesse the kingdome, whiche was prepared for you, from the beginning of the world.\textsuperscript{152}
\end{quote}

The Protestant then should celebrate death and look forward to eternity. The emphasis on the presence of angels only served to magnify the extreme importance of the point of death. The recycling of the late medieval woodcut of four angels carrying the soul of Mary Magdalene to heaven was printed by William Gryffith in the broadside \textit{A newe ballade of a love extolling his ladye} (1566) [Plate XXXIX]. While the image portrays good angels ferrying a soul to heaven, the text plays the opposite role speaking of Satan as ‘the Lyon … with rygourus raggye teeth, / My fleshe to teare and gnawe’.\textsuperscript{153} Before death, one could not escape the uncertainty of their everlasting destination in either Heaven or Hell. Even late Elizabethan Puritans like William Perkins, who were predisposed to dismiss angelic appearance, taught that for the protection of the saints, at death, ‘certenly Christ will come unto thee with all his angels’.\textsuperscript{154}

\textsuperscript{152} Thomas Becon, \textit{The sicke mans salve} (London: J. Day, 1561), STC 1757, p. 189.
\textsuperscript{153} M. Osborne, \textit{A newe ballade of a love extolling his ladye} (London: W. Griffin, 1566), STC 18876; \textit{GEIB}, vol. I, p. 610.
\textsuperscript{154} Day, \textit{A booke of Christian prayers}, Q2r-v; Perkins quote from Peter Marshall, ‘Angels Around the Deathbed’, p. 98.
The appearance of good angels at death then indicated a person’s heavenly destination. Katherine Stubbes, wife of pamphleteer Phillip Stubbes, was the quintessential example of Christian piety at death. Stubbes’s deathbed account was the most popular text on death in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart period.

In it, the immediacy after death of one’s eternal destination was emphasised:

> Further, I beléeve and confesse, that my soule, and the soules of al the elect children of God, immediately after their departure out of their bodyes, doe goe into the kingdome of heaven, into the hands of God, being guided & conducted thither by the ministerie of the Angels of God, & not into Purgatorie, *Lymbo patrum*, or any other place whatsoever.\(^{155}\)

In scripture, Luke 16.22 and Jude 9 spoke of angels involved at death, providing a Biblical formulation for this popular motif. However, the somewhat limited number of references to angels at death diminished how much of the medieval tradition migrated into Protestant England. While there are numerous images of good and evil angels ferrying souls to Heaven and Hell, there are no images of these angels in the bedchamber before death. While Stubbes’s account was not unique, in general, the visual culture did not display angels until the final victory of death had been won.

Another popular series of angels at death were images in Richard Day’s prayer book, accompanied by the Biblical signification, ‘Two men shall be in a field, the one

received, the other shall be refused’. The woodcuts depict two scenes, one of two men and the other of two women who are separated at death by good and evil angels.

Plate XL: ‘Good and Evil Angels with Human souls’

Good angels had traditionally been considered the guides for human souls, where evil angels would drag the condemned to everlasting torture [Plate XL]. In the image here, the men are pulled apart by the angels. Even at this moment, good and evil do not directly come into conflict; it is only through the medium of humanity that they interact and do battle. Furthermore, Peter Marshall emphasises that angels were not merely ‘supernatural undertakers’, a Christianised form of the boatman ferrying people across to eternity. Death had long been considered the final temptation of each individual, as the Revelation was the last great clash between good and evil. Perkins explained that, ‘The last combate with the devil in the pang of death, is oftentimes most dangerous of all’. This did not undermine the doctrine of predestination, which Perkins strongly propounded, rather it strengthened the argument that no one could know who God’s elect were. The images of temptation by evil angels and comfort and protection given by good angels that could come throughout a person’s life were focused in this one final moment. As such, the individual must do everything possible to ensure they had a safe passage from life to death, from Earth to Heaven.

In Henry Singleton’s printing of Lloyd Lodowick’s *An Epitaph upon the death of the honourable, syr Edward Saunders* (1576), a good angel ‘VICTORIA’ stands upon a serpent ‘DIABOLUS’, while carrying a winged heart [Plate XLI]. The image of a winged

---

female figure holding a heart was a popular one, appearing as the charity of God in some contexts, standing upon sin and death.

Plate XLI: ‘Victoria as Angel carries soul’

This particular image was a calling card of sorts for the bookseller Henry Disle, used in several of the surviving texts printed for him.\(^{159}\) Though the broadsheet text makes no reference to angels, the prominent image was clear enough to affirm the activity of angels at death. It celebrated the reception of Edward Saunders into heaven, having overcome the final battle for his soul, being carried by the good angels that had protected him in life. Becon explained that Christ:

> will not suffer you to be devoured of that hellish Lion and cruel dog ye devill. He hath sent his holy Angels hether unto you, even into this your chambr. They are here presente for youre great comfort. They have pitched their tents round about you, that they may kepe you harmles and safe from the devouring tethe of Sathan. Thei wait upon you diligently for your defence, and wil never depart from you, till they receive your soule, and cary it up lovingly as a most precious relique into the kingdome of Heaven: and moste joyfully present it unto the glorious throne of gods majestie.\(^{160}\)

At the end of his text, Becon returned to the theme of conflict between good and evil. The reference of the soul as a ‘most precious relique’ resonates with the broadsheet image, as the angel carefully handles the human soul. While people must overcome the

---


final temptation at death, they should be comforted that good angels will be waiting for
them, standing ready to guide them to heaven.

Conclusion

While angels could be found in printed images throughout the Elizabethan period, it should be recognised that fewer images were created in the latter half of Elizabeth’s reign by comparison with the 1560s and 1570s, seeming to indicate a growing sense of iconophobia even toward these permitted spiritual creatures.  

Taken out of context, however, this fact can be misleading. What such numbers do not take into consideration is the fact that the images printed in the last quarter of the sixteenth century were generally recycled or copied from earlier printings, and that the late Elizabethan period lacked a dominant printer like a Wynkyn de Worde or a John Day to continue the tradition of woodcut production. Even in the 1580s-1590s, highly illustrated titles like A booke of Christian prayers, the Kalender of Shepherds, and The testaments of the twelve patriarchs were produced several times. Also, the latter half of Elizabeth’s reign saw the growth of metal engravings for printed images (as seen in Broughton’s A concent of scripture and Hariot’s The true pictures ... of the people of Virginia). Nor should such numbers blind the historian to the survival of printed images from the early Elizabethan and pre-Elizabethan periods which continued to influence the visual culture.

Jean Bodin’s quote which opened this chapter should be looked at alongside the reformers’ reservations and the rationalists’ disbelief to comprehend fully the complex strands of early modern thought. The visual presence of angels speaks to this point. Angels were no longer intended as foci for adoration, but their important role in early modern cosmology mandated that they receive substantial recognition. Twenty-five years after Elizabeth's death, John Donne preached a warning that:

161 Knapp, Illustrating the Past, p. 247.
The Angels of Heaven doe heare our Sermons, and hearken how the glory of God is communicated, and accepted, and propagated through the Congregation; … And therefore, let no man, though an Angell of the Church, though an Archangell of the Church, Bishop or Archbishop, refuse to heare a man of inferiour place, or inferiour parts to himself.\textsuperscript{162}

In Protestant culture, good and evil angels were a necessary aspect of the faith. The printed images demonstrate both this necessity and a degree of discontinuity in Protestant beliefs. Good and evil angels appeared as tempters, guides, agents of punishment, torturers, and sources of inspiration. They also carried with them a certain degree of religious ambiguity. Compounded with the generalised nature of the imagery, such images often appealed to differing theological opinions, which is why Protestants so adeptly reformed many Catholic images. Though the Protestant text could contextualise the image, the use and ultimate meaning of the images were in the minds of the readers, who could easily see into the image what they wanted. In this, Tessa Watt has surmised that ‘Protestantism should not be seen as a coherent set of doctrines that simply replaces older belief’.\textsuperscript{163} That Protestants made every effort to explain and establish the reformed place of angelic and demonic beings does not fix these beliefs in any sort of permanent cultural stasis. Nor does it absolutely ensure that even the Protestant reader took everything they were told about angels at face value.

Ideas about angels during the Reformation were a conglomeration, and not a stable or coherent conglomeration, composed of medieval tradition and evangelical exposition of scripture. The discourse about good and evil angels revolved around the struggle over humanity. Since this struggle was predominantly an invisible one, which was often perceived only in human actions, the study of angelic appearances only offers a limited understanding of these beliefs in early modern England. What this chapter has demonstrated is that much more can be surmised from the visual depictions of angels


\textsuperscript{163} Watt, \textit{Cheap Print and Popular Piety}, p. 328.
produced and recycled by Protestants. Interestingly, most images depicted interaction between humans and good or evil angels. Good angels accompany the prayerful Christians and good Protestants, while evil angels stand alongside the fallen sinners like antichrists, murderers and witches. That the actual conflict was rarely depicted indicates that when angels did appear in the printed images it was not to demonstrate the ongoing war but to illustrate a person’s predestined future. It seems in many ways, as Calvin’s explanation of the description of angels would suggest, that these visualisations were pictorial devices, depicting as much about the people as the angels.

Protestants were eager to move away from the Catholic past, they also found themselves needing to carry figures like good and evil angels with them. In the printed image, it is possible to see what remained of many of the beliefs and ideas about angels after the Reformation. Though a person might never see an angel, people were always a target for attack from the temptation of evil angels and a recipient of protection and possible chastisement from good angels. Evil angels would attempt to corrupt them into eternal damnation, and good angels would guide their souls to Heaven after death. It was in the image that such beliefs were expressed. The image allowed early modern readers to visualise something that most of them would never see.
Chapter 5: *With Visions and Symbols: Printed Images of God in Elizabethan England*

The visual image of God has often been a contentious matter in Christianity. Even putting aside the debates over the Decalogue, both God’s importance and his obscure nature suggest that he is beyond human ability to depict. Though God was at the centre of early modern belief and thought, he remained an indefinable being who transcended all human comprehension.¹ While it is true that the doctrine of God changed only slightly during the Reformation, it goes without saying that such a vital figure needs to be understood in the context of early modern culture. Unfortunately, studies on early modern belief and practice do not offer any comprehensive analysis of this ultimate figure. He is usually regarded as static and ever-present, though completely shrouded in mystery and uncertainty. Most scholars simply comment that he was the one thing the Reformed churches refused to depict visually.

This chapter will offer a more detailed understanding of the representations of God in early modern England, by charting how God was depicted in the Elizabethan printed image. God, the three person oneness of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, was still considered to be the source of all things, as an absolutely eternal, omnipotent, omniscient and ultimate Being. Protestants emphasised the importance of clarifying and understanding how God interacted with humanity over and above explaining the nature of God. Most divines followed John Calvin in dissuading attempts to comprehend God's nature. It was ‘incomprehensible, utterly transcending all human thought.’ The general trend of the Reformed confessions was to say less rather than more. The English

congregation in Geneva simply stated that God was ‘eternal, infinite, immeasurable, incomprehensible, and invisible, one in substance and three in persons’.¹

However, theologians were compelled to say something more substantive about this all-important Being. Bullinger summarised God as:

He, to whom nothing is lacking, in which all things and unto all things is sufficient to himself; who needeth no man’s aid, yea, who alone hath all things which do appertain to the perfect felicity both of this life and of the world to come; and which only and alone can fill and suffice all his people and other creatures.

Bullinger further explained that even though a person could never see God, they could apprehend knowledge of him through: his name, his Word, his works and the words of the prophets.² In his Institutes, Calvin was more intent upon exclaiming that it was nothing but vanity and idolatry to attempt to fully grasp the nature of God. By grasping, one begins to forge an understanding of God in one’s mind, and that in itself was idolatrous, as God was by definition incomprehensible. Instead, Calvin explained, it was better ‘to know what kind of being God is, and what things are agreeable to his nature.’³

Of primary importance was the affirmation that God had never been seen in his true form and thus could not be graven or depicted. Because of this, it became standard protocol to condemn any picturing of the divine. The exception was the Lutheran church, which permitted images of God as long as they did not lead to idolatry. By 1549, however, in England a much more rigid view, influenced by the Zurich reforms, condemned ‘all shapes and pictures, and other symbols by which the superstitious imagine they can bring him [God] near to them.’⁴ In 1548, Thomas Cranmer’s more conservative catechism had already adopted this language stating, ‘it is also forbide to

---

³ Calvin, Institutes, 1, ii, p. 41.
have any ymage of ye true lyving God.\textsuperscript{5} This perception hardened during the Marian exile. By the Elizabethan period, it seemed an \textit{a priori} principle that ‘Pictures of God as an old man or of the holy ghost as a dove were forbidden.’\textsuperscript{6} Edward Dering railed against divine images in a sermon, emphatically condemning, ‘if thou do make any similitude in the worlde, to represent God: \textit{Thou hast now turned the trueth of God into a lie, & changed the glorie of the incorruptible God, to the likenes of the image of a corruptible creature.’}\textsuperscript{7} The picturing of a subject brought that figure into the corrupted realm of the physical world. God was beyond picturing both because of his spiritual nature and his incorruptible glory. William Dyrness has explained that for most Protestants, with the exception of the Lutherans, ‘The arts of the eye cannot express the holy because … they are bound to time, which is an aspect of this world, a material thing.’\textsuperscript{8}

Having said this, however, one must begin to account for the different depictions of an anthropomorphic God appearing in Elizabethan print. This is more important when considering the symbolic images of God, which were considered to be more acceptable representations. Protestants were particularly taken with symbols of God such as the Tetragrammaton, the hand of God and the Holy Spirit as a dove.\textsuperscript{9} Although several studies have skimmed the surface of the use of these symbols, no attempt has been made to unearth the reasons for their continued depiction. Though the language of the

\textsuperscript{5} Thomas Cranmer, \textit{Catechismus, that is to say, a shorte instruction into Christian religion for the synguler commoditie and profyte of childre[n] and yong people} (London: N. Hyll f. G. Lynne, 1548), STC 5993, C8r.
\textsuperscript{7} Edward Dering, \textit{XXVII. lectures, or readings, upon part of the epistle written to the Hebrues} (London: H. Middelton f. L. Harison, 1577), pp. 33-34.
\textsuperscript{9} While I believe what Alex Walsham and others have said is true, that ‘For Calvinists hot under the collar about the perils of idolatry, this abstract symbol was the only acceptable way of signifying the transcendent presence of the Almighty’, I feel that little has been done to offer an explanation of this in the context of the vitriolic attack toward traditional images of the divine [Walsham, \textit{Providence in Early Modern England}, p. 253]. Christine Peters makes a similar assertion in that Calvinists advocated ‘an austere focus on a distant awesome God, who was only apprehendable as rays of light emanating from the mysterious Hebrew characters of the tetragrammaton’ [\textit{Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England} (Cambridge, 2003), p. 347).
reformers condemned any depiction of the Godhead, such depictions did appear in some of the most popular and devout texts of the period. The purpose of this chapter is not to outline a complete early modern conception of the divine, nor is it to demonstrate the incoherent structure of Protestant thought. Rather, the chapter seeks to understand how these pictures of God could be printed, looked upon and displayed.

To identify Protestants as hypocrites for permitting printed images of God while destroying others seems overly simplistic. Not only does it ignore the cultural nuances of the place, type and purpose of the image but it also neglects the fact that most religions and cultures exhibit similar idiosyncrasies. Instead of focusing too much upon this contradiction, this chapter will approach the topic more constructively, examining the divine images within their historical context to comprehend the images’ nature and purpose. In this, an effort has been made to plot a chronological process of printing divine images, both anthropomorphic and symbolic, remaining mindful of the fact that the different images of God were often interchangeable and were aspects of a religious climate that was continually undergoing reform.

**Depicting God in Books of Religion**

First, it is important to identify two key events in the early years of Elizabeth’s reign which can inform the historical understanding of early modern conceptions of divine images. The first occurred on 1 January 1562. The recently appointed dean of St. Paul’s cathedral Alexander Nowell placed a lavishly illustrated prayer book on the Queen’s cushion before Elizabeth arrived at the cathedral. John Strype recounted the events, saying:

And this book he had caused to be richly bound, and laid on the cushion for the queen's use, in the place where she commonly sat; intending it for a new-year's-gift to her majesty, and thinking to have pleased her fancy therewith. But it had not that effect, but the contrary: for she considered how this varied from her late open injunctions and proclamations against the superstitious use of images in churches, and for the taking away all such
relics of popery. When she came to her place she opened the book, and perused it, and saw the pictures, but frowned and blushed; and then shut it, (of which several took notice,) and after calling the verger, bade him bring her the old book, wherein she was formerly wont to read.\(^{10}\)

Afterward, the Queen confronted Nowell for the embarrassment he had caused her.

While it is uncertain how Strype was able to acquire a transcript of this conversation, it was reported that Nowell pleaded ignorance and was uncertain as to why the monarch was so infuriated. Elizabeth explained that the dean knew well that she had ‘an aversion to idolatry’ such as ‘the cuts resembling angels and saints; nay, grosser absurdities, pictures resembling the blessed Trinity.’ As one of the visitors who inspected churches on their conformity to the injunctions, Nowell assured her that he was familiar with the command against ‘paintings and images in wall, book, cope, banner, or elsewhere, of the Blessed Trinity or of the Father (of whom there can be no image made)’, and that these should all ‘be defaced and removed out of the church and other places and are destroyed.’\(^{11}\) The Queen’s reaction indicates that these words applied to all images, not simply Catholic ones. Nowell’s assumption, however, suggests that there were obvious exceptions to this rule. Nowell referred to his own ‘ignorance’ rather than his ‘opinion’ and could not tell her Majesty from where the images originated, only that a ‘German’ was responsible for them.\(^{12}\)

Of course, it would be remiss to accept either the account itself or the Queen’s actions at face value.\(^{13}\) The gift book was something akin to the Henrician prayer books

---


\(^{12}\) Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, pt. 1, ch. XXIII, p. 409. Like other popular clergyman of the 1560s, Nowell had a complicated relationship with the Queen. However, his relationship with her seems distinctly prickly, for though he ascended to the deanship at St Paul’s he was forever to be passed over for a bishopric and his catechism was continually denied the royal seal of approval. While Haugaard has referred to Nowell as the preacher who ‘tried to play John Knox at the court of Elizabeth’, I believe much more investigation into Nowell’s beliefs and loyalties needs to be done before his true character can be understood [William Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion* (London, 1968), p. 221.].

\(^{13}\) I have written further on this account: ‘How Came You by These Pictures?’: Idolatry and Gift Culture in Alexander Nowell’s Prayer Book for Elizabeth I’, (unpublished paper). The manuscript, which originally recorded the event, was a letter written by Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland; however, it is
or even the more traditional Books of Hours. Perhaps Nowell was attempting to assuage Elizabeth, who had already been criticised for her Chapel Cross and her requirement of clerical vestments, as well as to demonstrate to her where pictures could be of good use, in Protestant books. On the surface, this seems harmless enough. The gift book was a completely acceptable and popular gesture. In fact, gift books were often used to forge relationships and establish personal and social boundaries. Presenting the monarch with books such as the Bible or Foxe’s *Actes and monuments* became popular symbols of the sanctioning of Protestant print. Elizabeth Evenden has recorded several illustrated books created by Archbishop Parker’s circle of associates, specifically for presentation to the Queen.

But Nowell’s book was not accompanied by the same ceremonious production as other gift books. His actions were not those of a man presenting a gift to his monarch. This was a more subtle act directed at suggesting to the Queen certain religious policies and methods of devotion were acceptable. It seems reminiscent of Margaret Aston’s study of the painting *Edward VI and the Pope* and the suggestive implication that Elizabeth should take up the iconoclastic mantle like her brother. On the other hand, the Queen may have simply felt it a good opportunity to chastise this rather abrasive cleric, taking more offence at Nowell’s encroachment upon her prayer cushion and book than at the images themselves. Whatever the motivations behind Nowell’s and Elizabeth’s

unaccounted for. An earlier printing of the account was done by the anti-Catholic polemicist Robert Ware in the third part of his *Foxes and Firebrands*, though Ware was known for his forgeries and false documentation of many manuscripts from his father’s, Sir James Ware’s, vast collection of manuscripts. Nevertheless, both Strype and Ware reference Sidney’s letter, and it is unlikely that Strype would have taken Ware at his word, knowing full well of Ware’s reputation as a scathing polemicist. In fact, Strype seems convinced as to the validity of the event, even though it has been surpassed in historical verve by the infamous verbal altercation between Nowell and Elizabeth during Nowell’s Lenten sermon in 1564.

actions, the Queen’s use of idolatry to berate the dean demonstrates the vague gray area
which many images inhabited.

The second event occurred a decade later when the Puritan Thomas Cartwright
issued *A Second Admonition to Parliament* (1572), condemning, among other things, the
1568 publication of the illustrated *Bishops’ Bible* with ‘such a sight of blasphemous
pictures of God the father.’ Cartwright summarised his thoughts with a reference to the
margin note alongside Deuteronomy 4:15, which reads, ‘Meaning that plagues hang over
them that wold make any image to represent God.’ Interestingly, a woodcut on the
previous page of this note depicts King Josiah’s reform of the temple by burning the
idolatrous images.\(^{17}\) Although nothing about the Puritan indictment was said further in
the subsequent debates between radical Puritans and the clergy, it highlighted a myopic
corner of Protestant vision.\(^{18}\) While many of the original anthropomorphic images in the
*Bishops’ Bible* were removed after 1568, and all of them were replaced by the
Tetragrammaton in the 1572 edition, an image of the anthropomorphic God in Isaiah’s
vision was first printed in the 1572 edition and reprinted in 1574 and 1578.\(^{19}\) The Bible
of the Elizabethan church had been tainted by idols. The woodcuts themselves had been
used in Europe for several Catholic Bibles. However, Aston has dismissed the idea that
‘puritanical censorship’ was the dominant cause of the removal of the images, and rather
has suggested the primary cause was the inaccessibility of the woodcuts after 1568.\(^{20}\) If
this is true, then it would explain the insertion of the vision of Isaiah in the 1570s as well
as the removal of the earlier images. As this chapter will demonstrate, representations of
God in printed works did not cease in the 1560s with the *Bishops’ Bible*.

---

\(^{17}\) *Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt. with a Reprint of the Admonition to the

\(^{18}\) For more on these debates, see: Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey

\(^{19}\) For a full analysis of the history behind the woodcuts see: Margaret Aston, ‘The Bishops’ Bible
Illustrations’, in *The Church and the Arts, Studies in Church History*, 28 (1992), pp. 267-285, 284. For the
image of Isaiah’s vision see: *GEIB, vol. I*, p. 96.

If the Calvinist dean of St Paul’s and the Archbishop of Canterbury were willing to set up divine images in books, how are the staunch objections against images of God to be explained? Texts such as the *Bishops’ Bible* reflect the broader anxiety surrounding God pictured as a man and the acceptance of the less idolatrous image of the Tetragrammaton. Although the anthropomorphic images were condemned and the Tetragrammaton was thought to be the true representative form of God, both were printed in later sixteenth-century Protestant works. What must be assessed is both how God was portrayed and what this suggests about Protestant belief about the divine.

**Seeing God: Divine Visions in Scripture**

At the end of the sixteenth century, even the more radical reformers like William Perkins continued to permit the ‘historicall use of images to be good and lawfull: and that is, to represent to the eye the actes of histories, whether they be humane, or divine: and thus we thinke the histories of the Bible may be painted in private places.’ These private places would have included books, however, what Perkins intended by divine acts or how such things should be portrayed was never fully elucidated. Nor does he explain how one could and should illustrate these scenes properly. The attempts to eradicate the traditional forms of religious images did not completely inhibit certain Biblical scenes. From the evidence of the printed material, we can be certain that these acts of history included the important revelatory and visionary experiences of prophets and disciples in the Old and New Testaments.

In this lay a powerful dilemma. Calvin had warned the people not to press their minds too far when inquiring about the nature of God. He said, ‘Those, therefore, who, in considering this question, propose to inquire what the essence of God is, only delude us with frigid speculations.’ It is equally true, however, that the knowledge of God was revealed in his Word and in his creation, and one could only receive such revelation by

---

faithfully seeking after it.\textsuperscript{22} At the same time, to seek any knowledge of God without his revealing it would lead only to confusion, heresy and idolatry. As the reformer further chided, ‘For no sooner do we, from a survey of the world, obtain some slight knowledge of Deity, then we pass by the true God, and set up in his stead the dream and phantom of our own brain.’\textsuperscript{23} Therefore, one must seek God only in his Word, in which he is described appearing in many different forms, but one was not permitted to create a mental picture of God beyond the Biblical framework.

Needless to say, the appearance of God in a visible form in Biblical narratives became a complicated issue for reformers. Several Old Testament figures encountered the divine, including: Moses, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel. In the New Testament, most prominently Peter at the house of the centurion Cornelius, and John on the island of Patmos had similar visions.\textsuperscript{24} The reality of these events was beyond doubt, but it was ambiguous as to how those visions should be read and applied to early modern life. Bullinger assessed the value of these \textit{prosopopeia}, or mortal shapes of God. Examining Moses’ experience on Mt. Sinai, Bullinger explained that the shape of God appearing was that of a pre-incarnate Christ. For, ‘the Lord will not vouchsafe, so long as we live in this transitory world, to reveal himself and his glory any whit more fully … than in Christ his Son exhibited unto us.’\textsuperscript{25} Such an explanation aligned the Biblical appearances of God with what Protestants had preached about the divine nature. The Son, Christ, had been revealed and could be seen; the Father could not.

The method and means by which visions were seen also proved extremely important. Biblical visions were considered to be exceptional events, because the prophets themselves were exceptional individuals and during the vision they were

\textsuperscript{23} Calvin, \textit{Institutes}, V, xv, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{24} Exodus 19; Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 1; Daniel 7; Acts 10; Revelation 1-22.
\textsuperscript{25} Bullinger, ‘Of God’, p. 147.
disconnected from their physical senses, seeing directly with the eye of the mind. In his lectures on Revelation, William Perkins stated that they had been drawn ‘from fellowship with the bodie and all the senses, to have fellowship with God, that so the spirit of God may enlighten it with light and knowledge of things which are to be revealed to it. And so we see in other extasies and traunces.’ William Fulke likewise stated that visions ravished the person ‘from himselfe, and that his bodely senses in the meane time rested, that his minde might be more free in beholding those thinges which the Lorde shewed vnto him.’ Even the philosopher and occultist Cornelius Agrippa agreed with the reformers that in such dreams one has ‘illumination of the intellect acting beyond our soul; or through the undiluted revelation of some divine being after the mind has been cleansed and is tranquil.’

However, this theological manoeuvring did not completely explain or justify Biblical illustrations of these scenes, particularly when the Son and the Father were clearly delineated and the Father was anthropomorphised.

The tradition of Biblical illustration was established in the mid-fifteenth century by block books and the Biblia pauperum, which were replaced with more elaborate woodcuts and engravings by the end of the century. This tradition was adopted in the first sanctioned English Bible, translated and printed by Miles Coverdale in 1535. Both Catholic and Protestant divines allowed for Biblical pictures. By the 1560s, these images were a prolific aspect of early modern print (though less so in Calvinist Geneva).

Secondly, and more to the point, the appearance of God in the burning bush, as a pillar of cloud, and as a shroud of smoke, as well as in prophetic visions in the shape of a man,

---


were taken not only as incontrovertible facts but as a part of the perfect Word of God. They were more than miraculous; they were the events through which God had chosen to speak to his people. Moreover, these events structured people’s daily experiences and their understanding of their lives.

In 1560, the Geneva Bible, taken mostly from Calvin’s French Bible, was published by English exiles. It was complete with notes, tables, four maps and twenty-six woodcuts. Because of its more manageable quarto size, limited illustrations, and extensive margin notes, it was more accessible both intellectually and financially to the layman. Moreover, it seems to have been designed ‘for a wide stratification of literacy skills’, with particular attention being paid to the needs of the limited reader or the uneducated person. The letter to the reader described how the work has attempted to make the more complex points of scripture ‘easie to the simple reader … with figures and notes.’ Though literacy rates were still quite low, the authors were conscious of a variety of readers. Heidi Brayman Hackel’s recent work on various levels of readership in England demonstrates that these ‘imperfect readers’ were active ‘in the book market not just for the cheapest print and the most essential devotional works, but also for a range of genres and formats.’ Also, Femke Molekamp’s study has revealed the extensive uses and interactions between early modern readers and the Geneva Bible. These readers came in all shapes and sizes and possessed a wide variety of education and understanding. So adamant were many reformers that every person have access to such a Bible, that the minister Nicholas Bound suggested even the illiterate purchase a Bible so ‘that when any

---


come [into their houses] that can read, they may have it in a readiness’.

While the Bishops’ Bible was the scripture of the church, the Geneva Bible, particularly after the London stationer Christopher Barker began printing it in London, was the household Bible.

The Geneva Bible opened with a picture of Moses parting the Red Sea and with God represented as a pillar of cloud dominating the skyline [Plate XLII]. The symbolism of the cloud fits nicely with the Protestant conception of God as a Being both present but intangible and beyond anyone’s grasp. His works could be seen and appreciated but the essence of who he was continued to be distant and beyond definition. Three more editions printed in Geneva displayed the cloud, and seven were printed in London before 1603. The image was framed with three Old Testament verses Exodus 2.14, 14.13 and Psalm 34.19, and it illustrated the initial step of the Israelites’ journey to the Promised Land. Furthermore, the image symbolised the escape of the English church from Catholicism and the reader’s own step in faith. God led both nations through persecution, and the cloud reminded readers that God would guide them in the construction of a Protestant nation. The Geneva Bible with its clear translation and easy-to-read notes and illustrations led the way.

The homily ‘To the reading of Scripture’ explained, ‘These Bookes therefore ought to bee much in our hands, in our eyes, in our eares, in our mouthes, but most of all in our heartes.’ The book attempted to connect with as much of human perception as possible, to saturate it with scripture. The image initiated the eyes into this sensory submersion, and it engaged the eye of the mind by stressing the importance of the scene.

32 Molekamp, ‘Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices,’ 1-5; Ian Green, Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England (Oxford, 2000), pp. 77-80, 86-96. This is particularly true after Christopher Barker takes over the printing of the Bible in London.
Only through such total engagement in the message of the text did Protestants hope to learn to live as God’s people. As Richard Day wrote in his prayer book, ‘The meat that geveth life in deéde, is the knowledge of theé by thy holy Scriptures, and the grace of thy spirit, whereby we grow up in theé through dayly increase of vertue in the inner man’.  

But the *Geneva Bible* had promised more than mere symbolism; it had promised assistance in clarifying the darkest mysteries of scripture. One of the most dramatic of these reading aids was the picture of the prophet Ezekiel’s vision of heaven, with an anthropomorphic God enthroned above the host of heaven, angels and the four living creatures [Plate XLIII]. A letter key accompanied the image, briefly describing the various objects in the picture. This image, seemingly contradictory to staunch iconoclastic sentiments, appeared in all the Elizabethan editions of this Bible. The Bible’s letter to the reader explained the use of such an image:

> whereas certayne places in the bookes of Moses, of the Kings and Ezekiel semed so darke that by no description thei colde be made easie

---

to the simple reader, we have so set them forth with figures and notes for the full declaration thereof, that they which can not by judgement, being holpen by the annotations noted by the letters a b c &c., atteyn thereunto, yet by the perspective, and as it were by the eye may sufficiently knowe the true meaning of all suche places.  

This illustration was not intended as a laymen’s book, providing a visual text for the illiterate. Rather, it was intended as a visual exposition in order to clarify the written description.

While it is difficult to ignore the possibility that such an image would have attracted the illiterate and semi-literate alike, a reader could only understand the full meaning of the image with access to the description key. The ‘figures’ acted as a sort of ‘declaration’ that could not be understood by the illiterate. It should be noted here that in

---

the text God appeared to Ezekiel ‘like the appearance of a man.’ Such an image in word and picture established a precedent for Elizabethan illustration, for it gave a degree of
credence to the traditional imagery of God as an old man. As we have already seen, this was something many reformers despised. However, *A Second Admonition to Parliament*
reflected this seeming dual-mindedness toward the Geneva images. On the one hand, Puritans condemned the anthropomorphic images in the *Bishops’ Bible* as ‘blasphemous pictures of God the father’, but then the author touted the *Geneva Bible* asking, ‘why the Geneva translation and notes of the Bible finde so little favoure, althoughe to this day no translation is so good in England.’

This was not altogether two-faced. The 1568 *Bishops’ Bible* displayed seven images of God, in scenes such as Cain killing Abel, but the *Geneva Bible* limited the anthropomorphic pictures to a single divine vision. Because of this, Margaret Aston has briefly suggested that ‘the depiction of visionary or dream appearances could be seen as belonging to a different category.’ That is, they exist as exceptions to the rules against divine pictures in Protestant iconography. As these were visions recorded in the flawless Word and induced by the Spirit of God, they provided an indisputable record of the appearance of the divine. In his exposition of book of Revelation, Perkins wrote:

God giveth his visions not to all men, but to those which are most fit for them, such as be most holy men for life, indued with exceeding gifts of God, as knowledge, wisdome, constancie, zeale, pietie, and religion. So in the old Testament he delivered them to his Prophets, not to all, but his servants, men of singular gifts and graces, and of exceeding holinesse and pietie.

---

38 *Bishops’ Bible*, A3v.
Nevertheless, this proved to be a thin line that was easily crossed. Neither book met the standard set by the 1563 homily, which when using the example of Ezekiel stated, ‘no similitude can be made unto GOD, in gold silver stone, or any other matter.’\footnote{Anon., ‘An homilie against perill of Idolatrie, and superstitious decking of Churches’, in \textit{Certaine Sermons or HOMILIES Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547-1571)}, facsimile edition by Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, FL, 1968), 2D1v.}

Also, the image of Ezekiel’s vision was set apart from other narrative images by depicting the Roman god ‘AQUILON’, the god of the north wind. Ezekiel 1 described the event as having had come out of the North being in the form of a small whirlwind. The image depicts Aquilon literally spewing forth the vision, perhaps further suggesting to the reader that this image should not be taken as an accurate portrayal. It is rather intended as a simplistic representation of what Ezekiel had described. The awkward placement of the woodcut in the page, dividing the earlier verses of the first chapter, rather than as an introductory image of the book, underpins this intent. As the reader encountered the text, their reading would have been interrupted by this large image, which is introduced between verses four and five. Therefore, before the reader can attempt to discern within their own imagination what is going on in the scene, a visual display is provided to determine the image in the mind’s eye. Its didactic key accentuated this framing of the reader’s imagination by labelling and identifying each figure. Such strictures and framing kept the mind from constructing its own dangerous fantasies.

A similar image of the prophet Isaiah’s vision was printed in later folio editions of the \textit{Bishops’ Bible}, but it differed in several regards from the Ezekiel image [Plate XLIV]. Taken from the 1537 Coverdale Bible produced in Antwerp, its three appearances in the 1570s made it one of the longest lasting English Bible illustrations. In three printings in the 1570s, the image appeared at the beginning of the book of Isaiah, rather than alongside the actual vision (Isaiah 6). It marks and defines the book’s importance rather than illustrating the text of the vision.\footnote{GEIB, vol. I, p. 96.}
In the image, God is surrounded by angels in a cloud of smoke emerging from an altar. Below, Isaiah kneels before an angel carrying a burning coal to touch the prophet’s lips. What is most significant about this depiction is that it suggests that more than one person is seeing the vision. Though in the text the prophet seems to be alone, in the image godly and ungodly are physically affected by the divine appearance. The godly (on the left) kneel gazing up at the sight and the ungodly (on the right) flee in fear.

Other early Elizabethan examples come from the often overlooked stationer Richard Harrison and his unstudied folio Bible printed in 1562. Both text and stationer tend to suffer from the massive shadow cast in the 1560s by the Geneva Bible on the one side and the Bishops’ Bible on the other. But Harrison's Bible filled a niche in early Elizabethan Protestantism. It was a return to the glorified years of the Reformation in the 1530s and late 1540s, with images from the Bibles printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch and woodcuts created by European artists like Hans Sebald Beham, Hans Holbein, and Jacob Faber. The 1562 edition had seventy-nine images, seventy-five of which originated from the Coverdale Bibles of the 1530s, reminding people of the
years before the Marian regime. Ten of these images depict God in some form, either as an old man or the Holy Spirit as a dove, occurring in both the Old and New Testaments. First, the original frontispiece was printed by Ludwig Dietz of Rostock in his Low-German Luther Bible and copied for the 1536 English Bible printed in Antwerp.

Plate XLV: ‘Law and Grace’

The 1562 frontispiece retained the original iconography, depicting the major events of the Biblical narrative and summarizing the doctrines of Law and Grace [Plate XLV]. Six major scenes fill the page, beginning with God giving the Ten Commandments to Moses in the upper left corner and moving clockwise around as
follows: the Annunciation with an angel carrying a cross down to the Virgin, the
Crucifixion, the Resurrection, Death, and the Fall of Adam and Eve. The basic imagery
of the page can be read in several different ways, either individually, in pairs (on either
side of the title) or more linearly (clockwise or counter-clockwise). The intention was to
illustrate the retelling of the gospel message, represented by three men at the base of the
image, two standing (one of which holds a book in his right hand) and one sitting. All
three direct their attention toward the image of the Crucifixion. The men are not
actually looking at the Crucifixion with their physical eyes, but rather recalling it in their
mind’s eye so as to describe it in the gospels. Such a visual panorama was something
akin to a *Biblia pauperum*, a single-sheet summary of the Bible narrative. While readers
could engage with both the image and the text, the illiterate would have needed only this
page to view the entire Gospel message.

On the following page, the second image was a large image of the Garden of
Eden, a popular Elizabethan motif, showing God staring down on Adam and Eve before
their disobedience [Plate XLVI]. It was a demonstration of what had been lost during the
Fall, the unadulterated peace and purity of the world before sin. These two frontispieces
established the general tone of the Harrison Bible. The message was distinctly Protestant
both in keeping the Fall close to mind and in the emphasis on salvation through Christ.
However, this was not the Protestantism of Calvin’s Geneva. The Harrison Bible
represented a desire to return to the older reforms, in which God’s image could be
represented safely in the proper context.

Most of the following anthropomorphic images concern the appearances of God
to Moses, and these images are reused in the text for other prophets who had visions of
God [Plate XLVII]. These woodcuts became typological images, generalising the Old
Testament prophet that receives a revelation directly from the Godhead. Unlike those of

43 *GEIB*, vol. I, p. 96; McKerrow and Ferguson, plate 32; A.F. Johnson, *German Renaissance Title-Borders*
(London, 1929), plate 72.
the Old Testament, New Testament woodcuts depict inspiration rather than revelation; they are not seeing God but hearing his voice.

Among the more unique images in the Harrison Bible is an image of Peter’s vision of the unclean animals, with angels and God above [Plate XLVIII]. In the corresponding scripture in Acts 10, Peter is said to have ‘fell into a trance’, where he sees the vision and hears God’s voice. However, there is no mention in the text of God appearing in any form to Peter.
This sort of artistic licence was not completely uncommon in Protestant printed images either. A Bible (1549) printed by Stephen Mierdman and a Tyndale New Testament printed in Antwerp in 1542 contained similar scenes of Peter’s vision, including an anthropomorphic God.44

Although the Harrison Bible was never reprinted and its images paled in comparison with the popularity of those produced by Virgil Solis, they are very much a part of the early stages of Elizabethan iconography, echoing pre-Reformation and Edwardian traditions. It is interesting, however, that the Puritan criticisms in 1572 concerning anthropomorphic images of God were first stated by Thomas Cranmer during the Edwardian reforms when the Great Bible was the standard English scripture. With a copy of Coverdale’s Bible behind him on his bookshelf or perhaps even open upon his desk, Cranmer criticised the Catholic ‘ymage (as thei cal it) of ye Trinitie, where they portured God ye father lyke an olde man with a long hore berd. And what can symple people learne herby, but errore, and ignorance?’45 While Cranmer was specifically refuting the concept of laymen’s books, there remains a glaring question of how this tradition of Protestant illustration could be sustained alongside the sharp criticisms against depicting the divine.

45 Cranmer, Catechismus, D1r.
In the late sixteenth century, Perkins returned to the topic of images of God in *A reformed catholike*, wherein he addressed one of the main criticisms against the Protestant condemnation of images of God. He stated the traditional objection that since:

God appeared in the forme of a man to Abraham ... and to Daniel, who sawe the auncient of daies sitting on a throne ... Nowe as God appeared, so may he be resembled: therefore (say they) it is lawful to resemble God in the forme of a man or any like image in which he shewed himselfe to men.

The Puritan divine responded to this, saying:

God may appeare in whatsoever forme it pleaseth his majestie; yet doth it not followe, that man should therefore resemble God in those formes: man having no libertie to resemble him in any forme at all: unles he be commanded so to doe. Againe, when God appeared in the forme of a man, that forme was a signe of Gods presence onely for the time when God appeared and no longer: as the bread and wine in the sacrament are signes of Christs body and blood, not for ever but for the time of administration: for afterward they become againe, as common bread and wine. And when the Holy Ghost appeared in the likenes of a dove, that likenesse was a signe of his presence no longer then the holy Ghost so appeared. And therefore he that would in these formes represent the Trinitie, doth greatly dishonour God, and do that for which he hath no warrant.

Here, Perkins summarised the essence of the Puritans and Calvinists, stating that the images of God, unless commanded by God, are not to be reproduced. Whether these images were the anthropomorphic God, the holy sacrament, or the Holy Spirit as a dove—all of these signs were to be considered temporary, and they were not intended to be used as permanent representations of the divine. There are no stipulations of place or worship here. Perkins was stating a categorical ‘no’. Nevertheless, the images in the Elizabethan Bibles betray a more complex understanding of the position of such visual images in Protestant culture. The images were used outside the Bibles, long after those Bibles had ceased to be printed. Aston has demonstrated that the images from the 1572 *Bishops’ Bible* survived into the ballads of the 1620s. However, Aston explains that the images separated from the ecclesiastical context were merely used ‘to provide

---

atmosphere or, most prosaically of all, to promote sales.\textsuperscript{47} Perhaps this is true of the Stuart ballads, but the images during the Elizabethan period were used in a more effective way.

Before the end of the 1560s, other images of God similar to those appearing in Bibles began to appear in non-Biblical pages. Richard Grafton’s folio work \textit{A Chronicle at Large ... of the Affayres of Englande} (1569) was printed near the end of the reformer’s life and was Grafton’s final parry in an ongoing war of words with the chronicler John Stow.\textsuperscript{48} Though Grafton was in financial distress, the text had the support of Richard Tottle, Grafton’s son-in-law, and Henry Toye. Printed by Henry Denham, seven Biblical scenes divided the different ages of history. Six of these woodcuts came from the popular Solis series (further indicating the text’s cost and patronage). The printers chose to depict God the Father in the Creation scene \cite{Plate XLIX} and symbolically in the Crossing of the Red Sea.\textsuperscript{49} The only unique image to this text, not from the Solis series, was the Creation image. Dominating the picture, God the Father stands upon a serpent while breathing beams of life into the body of Adam. This is reproduced in the background for the later creation of Eve. Also, within the beams of light an indecipherable text has been inscribed.

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotenum{47} Margaret Aston, ‘Bibles to Ballads: Some Pictorial Migrations in the Reformation’, in \textit{Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy}, edited by Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 106-130 (p. 129). Though insightful in her analysis, I think Aston has bemoaned the separation of images from Bibles perhaps a bit too much. She describes them as, ‘Sliced into small autonomous units, they floated, contextually free, as unattached artefacts of a banished era, like the pieces of old vestments, quarries of church glass or fragments of church carving to be found in a world outside the church building that they had served. A kind of pictorial annulment inevitably took place, as what had been a carefully designed sequence of scriptural images, composed with a sense of narrative instruction, was cut into sections … With the obliteration of their original context these ballad woodcuts could only be read as disembodied icons, valued for a ornament rather than specific content … The Bible woodblocks were cut up to serve the ballads as reformers strove to cut the material and visual out of spiritual service.’ pp. 129-130
\end{footnotes}
Though the Solis images used in the Bishops’ Bible had a perfectly good Creation woodcut (with the Tetragrammaton), one or more of the stationers responsible for the text felt it necessary to have this image inserted. Luborsky has identified the unknown monogram ‘HM’ in the woodcut, and it bears a few similarities (though of lesser aesthetic and symbolic detail) with a German broadsheet printed with the same monogram later in the century. Though there is no evidence of the image being recycled either before or after, it is fair to assume that the woodcut is German in origin, or was produced by a European artisan residing in London. What is most interesting here is the stationer’s decision to use an image of God the Father when other non-anthropomorphic depictions were available.50

In the 1570s, this trend of using images of God the Father continued, even when another image or no image at all would have sufficed. While ‘reformers strove to cut the material and visual out of spiritual service’, some Protestants continued to use anthropomorphic images of God in other contexts. If the Biblical text can be considered a sacred space, then it is understandable why certain Protestants wanted to excise all such images from scriptural pages. The Bible, however, as a spatial object never received the

---

50 Grafton, A chronicle at large, A1r; Aston, ‘Bishops’ Bible’, pp. 275-277. The German broadsheet is an allegorical print of the Trinity (the Tetragrammaton, the dove and Christ) with similar beams of light radiating out from Christ toward a man trapped in a boat on a stormy sea. The man is surrounded by various threatening figures (Death with a bow and arrow; a monstrous horse with claws; a sea nymph with a scorpion’s tail; a serpent; and a sea monster). The Holy Spirit, carrying a Bible, sits in the back of the man’s boat, representing his holiness and faith. [Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, German XVIc Mounted Roy]
sort of iconoclastic attention that the rood loft, knave, altar or church wall had. It is almost always discussed as a purifying agent in itself. So, no longer sanctified by the perfect Word, these images continued to depict the invisible God in less sacred texts. In the 1570s and early 1580s, both the symbolic and the anthropomorphic representations of God were used, until the Tetragrammaton became the dominant and almost sole signifier of the divine. In that time, the different images of God took on specific and nuanced aspects of Elizabethan belief in God.

**Images of God Beyond the Bible**

With few exceptions, images of God appearing in non-scriptural texts present at least one of two difficulties. Either the intended use of the image is obscured because it was recycled from other works, or the origin of the image is unknown. In looking at these pictures, one understands why Alexander Nowell stammered in ignorance when confronted with an irritated monarch, demanding to know the meaning of such things. By 1572, the English ecclesiastical and political order had been relatively stabilised, if not to everyone’s satisfaction. Nowell’s ignorance before the Queen’s wrath may be justified, but after the Puritan condemnation of so many anthropomorphic images of God in the *Bishops’ Bible*, we cannot say the same for anyone producing similar images in the 1570s. There was a much clearer distinction between those who approved of such displays and those who did not.

This does not mean that images can be categorized strictly along confessional lines by their content. The 1560s and 1570s were a periods during which the anthropomorphic and symbolic images of God were often interchangeable, further blurring any distinction of acceptability. Similar images appeared with different representations of God. In an unusual image, a boy is caught between the world, in which one of his hands is firmly planted, and heaven, symbolised by a pair of wings on his arm.
while God beckons him from the clouds [Plate L]. The image first appeared in the role of a printer’s device in An Excellent Treatise of Gunshot Wounds (1563), printed by Rowland Hall, who worked in Geneva and London, for the surgeon and author Thomas Gale. Subsequently, it appeared four more times in two works printed by William Howe (1570, 1571) and two by Valentine Simmes (1597), who received Howe’s materials in 1594. McKerrow describes it as depicting ‘talent kept from rising by the burden of poverty.’ He fashioned it from a similar image printed in Alciati’s Book of Emblems, and it is likely that the image derives from the emblem imagery. Without the presence of the description motto, however, the image becomes a more general depiction, open to the interpretation of the reader.

Furthermore, it is difficult to see this as a printers' device, as it never clearly identified any single stationer for more than two printings. It acted less like a marketing ploy, as many printer’s marks are characterised, and more like a visual allegory, similar to another woodcut appearing in the 1560s. The picture of the 'Deliverance from Evil' was printed by Thomas Marshe in the Lutheran catechism A bryefe summe of the whole

---

Byble (1568), which was recycled from Anthony Scoloker’s edition (1548) [Plate LI]. In this picture, it is a foot, not a hand, caught in the small globe, and the human subject is tempted by a devil with a sword and the figure of Greed. But the most interesting difference is the divine symbol of a hand from heaven rather than the appearance of a full anthropomorphically God. While Lutherans were not antagonistic toward anthropomorphically images, the two woodcuts demonstrate an ambiguity about how God was depicted and the interchanging nature of different representations of the divine. The divine could be represented in both ways without any uncertainty or misunderstanding.

In another example, Henry Bynneman printed an octavo Dutch translation Den sack met die sticken voor den paus van Roomen (1568) of Philip Melanchthon’s polemic Passional Christi und Antichristi. Though Dutch translations were not in high demand in Elizabethan England, this was perhaps a special product of Bynneman’s handiwork for the Dutch exiles in London, which was a product of his connections with John Day and his desire to impress his would-be patrons. The original work came out of Lucas Cranach’s workshop in 1521 and was expanded in a Geneva edition in 1557. Though Bynneman’s edition seems haphazardly printed with

---

52 GEIB, vol. I, p. 207. A further discussion of this text and its images can be found in the following section of this chapter.
53 For a full report of the Dutch influence on 1560s English printing, see: Elizabeth Evenden, ‘The Fleeing Dutchmen?: The Influence of Dutch Immigrants upon the Print Shop of John Day’, in John Foxe At Home and Abroad, edited by David Loades (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 63-77; Evenden, Patents, Pictures and
large blocks of blank space between texts, as if more woodcuts were intended, two woodcuts from the earlier editions were recycled in the 1568 work. These images were printed on opposite pages from each other toward the end of the work, and they reflect the spirit of the text as a whole. The image of the pope signing a contract with the Devil, discussed in the previous chapter, was printed on one side, demonstrating the corruption of the authority of Catholicism. In the image here, Moses stands on the mountain surrounded in smoke and glory, receiving the Ten Commandments from the Tetragrammaton [Plate LII]. Together, these woodcuts created a visual dialogue that memorialised the genesis of both the true and false churches, demonstrating the divine ordination of the one and the demonic corruption of the other.

Interestingly, a similar image was printed the following year by John Day in his first prayer book. In a split scene, Moses discovers the idolatry of the golden calf, and, in the top corner, he receives the Ten Commandments from an anthropomorphic God [Plate LIII]. The accompanying prayer states, ‘Whatsoever therefore can be spoken or imagined of thy kingdom, of the clearenes, joy and felicitie of the same, is nothing in comparison’.

However, it seems odd that such an image would not have raised ecclesiastical eyebrows as Day commissioned the picturing not of God's kingdom but of God himself. While the picture of Moses receiving the Ten Commandments from God is moved to the background in Day’s woodcut, it remains a clear depiction of the Father as a man.

**Heavenly Visions: God Enthroned**

Other anthropomorphic images crossed several decades of the sixteenth century. Perhaps one of the longest surviving and most widely recycled of these images was the tiny picture of God enthroned with the Holy Spirit and a circle of angels below. This

---

*Patronage*, pp. 17, 26, 54-55, 95-96. In the German text, the figures are a contrast of Christ and the Pope, see: Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 149-161.

image was first printed by John Mayler in the *King’s Book* (1543) [Plate LIV]. Following this, it was recycled in twelve different editions of various texts by five different stationers until 1603. It appeared in editions of two octavo texts: Richard Grafton’s *A briefe treatise conteinyng many proper tables* (1573), which is an almanac of tide charts, planetary movements and other important dates and William Rastell’s *A table collected of the yeres of our Lorde God* (1564), a running chronology of the rulers of England since the Anglo-Saxon kings.

Though the image is tiny (28x30 mm), size did not always correlate with significance. One interesting point about this image is that there is no prophet or seer present. The reader is granted direct access to a display of the divine, without the intermediary influence of the visionary experience as described in scripture.

Interestingly, the *King’s Book* was a statement of the more conservative religious policy which dominated the late Henrician reign, and this edition was the only one to be illustrated. As one historian has described it, the book was ‘popery minus the Pope’, as it coincided with Henry VIII's restriction on the reading of scripture to only the well educated.\(^5\) The text also removed the evangelical innovations found in its predecessor the Bishop’s Book, including any condemnation of images of God. After this, John Day used the image twice. First, it was the only image in a 1547 Protestant manual compiled by Martin Bucer and Philip Melanchthon, and then it was reprinted in 1557 for a Catholic

Latin primer with twenty-seven other Biblical woodcuts.\footnote{GEIB, vol. I, p. 284.} By the 1560s, this small image had been passed across confessional lines so many times that it seems to have been sterilised of all ecclesiastical affiliation.

Beyond these doctrinal ambiguities, the meaning of this woodcut was also blurred. First, it appeared at random places within the various texts, often as a marker at the beginning or ending of the main text. Other times, it was printed near to the instructions or letter to the reader, indicating that it was a printer’s device. Second, the strange vision of this two-person image of the Trinity begs the question of where Christ is. In the \textit{King’s Book}, it appeared below the fourth article, concerning the life, death, and resurrection of Christ. The image is an extension of this article, acting as a visualisation of the heavenly throne. Thus, the Father and the Spirit were in Heaven while Christ was on Earth.\footnote{In the later Elizabethan editions, another woodcut usually accompanied this image of heaven. The strange image of a woman, carrying the cross of Christ, was often placed beneath the vision of God the Father and Holy Spirit, reaffirming the Trinitarian nature of the representation by establishing Christ’s location. It is identified by Luborsky and Ingram as the ‘Hellespontic sibyl’ who supposedly prophesied the crucifixion of Christ \cite[GEIB, vol. I, p. 642].} However, outside the \textit{King’s Book}, the divine image stands independent of the text, providing a correlating message of God’s sovereignty rather than merely expanding or illustrating the text. The tables of historical chronicles and almanacs linked Elizabethan Protestantism to England’s ancient past. Grafton’s \textit{Chronicle at large} (1569), discussed previously, demonstrated the trend of many Protestant chroniclers to connect the history of England with the Biblical narrative as one continuous providential stream of events.\footnote{D.R. Woolf, \textit{Reading History in Early Modern England} (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 11-78.}

Several other Elizabethan woodcuts represented this theme of direct heavenly visions. The obsession with such apocalyptic books as Daniel and Revelation went beyond the expectation of Christ’s return. They called to mind the promise by the prophet Joel, that ‘your sonnes and your daughters shal prophecie: your olde men shal dreame dreames, and your yong men shal se visions.’ Early modern readers studying the
Geneva Bible would have read the margin note connected with this verse, which said, ‘As they had visions, and dreams in old time, so shal they now have clearer revelations’. The margin notes in Revelation 10.7 even exhorted the reader to ‘understand and se this mysterie of the last judgement’ in terms of their own lives and experiences.\(^{59}\)

The rampant appearances of prophets and pseudo-messiahs in the 1570s until the end of Elizabeth’s reign demonstrate a belief that the visions of scripture were not merely intended to be read but also experienced. The vision experienced by Katherine Stubbes in which she rebuffed Satan, described in the previous chapter, is an example of how these texts may have informed and shaped pious experiences. Those readers who daily and rigorously searched the scriptures could find such experiences to be the actualisation of the truth described therein.\(^{60}\) Though Revelation was recognised as the most difficult book of scripture to comprehend, there was a powerful body of commentary and exposition to aid the unlearned. In The ruine of Rome, Arthur Dent argued, ‘If we be not exceeding dull, yea, even like stockes and stones, it must needs move us and stir us up.’\(^{61}\)

The power of such Biblical visions was found in the promise of the future and the fulfilment of God’s kingdom in an individual’s life and in the nation at large. Though some divines avoided Revelation and even encouraged preachers to dissuade the people from reading the book, others believed it was of extreme importance, particularly as political events took on prophetic significance.\(^{62}\) Also, many extra-Biblical texts alluded

\(^{59}\) Joel 2.28. Geneva Bible, 3Y3v, margin note k. 3G1v.
\(^{62}\) On the divisions among theologians on who should read Revelation, see: Kevin Sharpe, ‘Reading Revelations: Prophecy, Hermeneutics and Politics in Early Modern Britain’, in Reading, Society and
to and referenced Revelation, so it is understandable that so much of the book’s imagery became part of the visual culture.

Some of the most well known Revelation images were those printed in John Bale's apocalyptic commentary *The image of both churches*, which was produced six times between 1545 and 1580. Originally printed in 1545 by Stephen Mierdman, *The image of both churches* was popular with Edwardian and Elizabethan Protestants. Its final printing in 1580 was undertaken by Thomas East using fourteen of the original nineteen woodcuts, which had originally been copied from a Revelation series by Nuremberg printmaker Hans Sebald Beham. This image series was intended to be used for a 1549 printing of Tyndale's New Testament, and appearance in Bale's work demonstrates its importance. John’s revelation was more than a prophecy or a wonderful vision; it was God’s message on the future of his church. Bale’s text was popular not only because it explained a complicated part of scripture in plain language, but also because it related heavenly mysteries to the contemporary world.

The four small images discussed here, clearly depicting God, stem from the scriptural references to him in the text. Much like other descriptions of Biblical visions, Bale described John’s experience as something akin to an out-of-body journey into the heavens, separated from his sensory perception:

Suspende thyne owne wil, wit, studie, practise, and judgement.
Condemne yet thou hast of nature. Lift up thy self above thy self, ascend in soule by the spirite and power of God, and I will shewe unto thee thinges wonderfull ... I was in the spirit in deed, secluded from all carnal imaginations.

John did not see things with his carnal eyes, which were so easily deceived. This was an encounter of the soul and the mind. It is as though the eye of John’s mind was momentarily detached from his physical vision to see something clearly and directly.


64 Bale, *The image of both churches*, 52r.
Unlike the average believer who must continually overcome the barrier of the flesh, John surpassed this to experience something uncorrupted. This adds veracity not only to John’s vision but also to their visual display. For, the point was not to attempt a similar transcendental vision, but to fully grasp the nature and importance of what John saw. Interestingly, like the tiny image of God enthroned from the King’s Book, the reader did not see the prophet having a vision but instead saw the vision itself. Only when the images are read alongside the text was the reader given the understanding of seeing something in the prophet’s mind. Without this, the vision becomes a direct depiction of the scene in heaven.

Four images printed in Bale’s book clearly distinguish God as the Father, both in the text and in the image. The first is the destruction of Babylon from Revelation 17, wherein God the Father is enthroned and Christ is symbolised by the lamb being
worshipped (top right) above the destruction of a city [Plate LV]. In the second and third images, God again sits on the throne sealing the faithful and raising a scythe to harvest the souls of the earth [Plates LVI-LVII]. The text explains that these saints ‘stoode all before ye imperyal seate of God’ and ‘They stoode also in the presence of the poore Lambe.’ In the final image, God rescues the child delivered by the woman clothed in glory [Plate LVIII]. The entire series is similar to an image printed first by John Day and then by Henry Bynneman in Jan van der Noot’s *A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries and calamities that follow* (1569).

Because of the thirty year gap (1550-1580) between printings of Bale’s work, it is unclear how East acquired the images. It is possible that East’s connections to Bynneman allowed him access. However, this is only conjecture, because East continually demonstrated an uncanny ability to print images and books that had all but disappeared from circulation. Nevertheless, while the Beham images of Revelation were popular in New Testaments and Bibles, their appearance in extra-Biblical texts raises several questions. While Bale’s work contained the entire text of Revelation, the book itself was not a part of God’s infallible Word. The images of God, though a representation of John’s ethereal vision, lacked the security of scriptural inerrancy. This becomes even more evident with images appearing in works like van der Noot’s, where no scriptural text appears. Here, the image of God is accompanied by providential sonnets.

In non-scriptural printed images, visions became one of the last ways in which God was anthropomorphised in Elizabethan England. In 1580, John Charlewood printed

---

65 Revelation 7, 14.
66 Bale, *The image of the both churches*, N5r.
67 Jan van der Noot, *A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings as also the greate joyes and plesures which the faithfull do enjoy* (London: H. Bynneman, 1569), STC 18602.
68 GEIB, vol. I, p. 138. Richard Jugge (who along with John Cawood had acquired Mierdman’s printing stock in 1553) and Henry Bynneman had used many of the woodcuts, all except the fall of Babylon, in a joint printing of Tyndale’s New Testament in 1575.
the image of John on Patmos, receiving his revelation from God [Plate LIX], as a frontispiece for Thomas Twyne’s pamphlet *A shorte and pithie discourse, concerning earthquakes*. Twyne’s quarto pamphlet is a contemporary description of earthquakes and other natural phenomena and how God’s providence might speak through such events. The image connected the contemporary events, like the great earthquake that shook London in April 1580, with the apocalyptic themes of Revelation, illustrating the meaning and divine purpose of such things. In the epigram, Twynne reasserted this theme by quoting Revelation 22.20.

Plate LIX: ‘Revelation to St. John’

In the same year, Charlewood put the image to use again in a text he purchased from Henry Denham. In the romance adventure story, *The fountaine of fame*, Anthony Munday’s narrative about the travels of Zelauto Charlewood used the image of revelation amongst other woodcuts he bought from Henry Denham. The text stated, ‘I reveale such things unto you, as I have no doubt but you shall be comforted thereby, and I wyll helpe to mitigate your wounded conscience, by the sweet and blessed promises of our Lord and saviour Jesus Christe.’ Following the image, Zelauto rehearses an abbreviated

---

70 *GEIB*, vol. I, p. 586.
71 Most of the images derive from *The travailed pylgrime* (STC 1585) and three from *The morall philosophie of Domi* (STC 3053). While the *GEIB* has referenced this work (STC 1585) as the first to use the image in 1580, it is more than likely that Charlewood had the woodcut created for his other printing of it in 1580, *A shorte and pithie discourse, concerning earthquakes* (STC 24413). This latter text more so than *The fountaine of fame* draws on the book of Revelation for inspiration. For information on this woodcut purchase, see: *TRCS*, vol. II, p. 359.
version of the Biblical narrative, taking on the role of a prophet. Thus, Munday’s character seems to replace John in the role of the prophet receiving the truth from God.

Nevertheless, Munday foresees that many readers might believe that this book was motivated only by money, for, ‘The Printer (you will say) hath printed it full of Pictures, to make it bought the better.’ However, he countered this opinion by claiming that there was something ‘more meritorious’ about the text which caused him to write it and should encourage the reader to ‘buy it the sooner.’ 72 Certainly, John’s revelation, being the most well-known example of this sort of genre, was the perfect symbol to sell the book. The image’s importance, however, lay in the nature of divine visions and the purpose of representing them. In 1573, the preacher Thomas Cooper explained, ‘It is a vision, that is, a prophesie or revelation declared by almightie God: and therefore not to be esteemed as any mans devise.’ 73 This is why the soul of the visionary was separated from the senses, to ensure that human nature would not interfere with what was seen.

Such intimate and glorious experiences were reserved only for the most Christ-like of people. William Perkins described them as the ‘most fit for them, such as be most holy men for life, indued with exceeding gifts of God, as knowledge, wisdome, constancie, zeale, pietie, and religion.’ 74 One did not need to be a prophet, but one did need to have a strong faith in Christ. During her meditations late one night, Lady Grace Mildmay recalled one such vision:

And in the instant thereof there was the figure of the face of a man exulted and lifted up. Whereupon I settled the eye of my mind most fixedly, beholding well the countenance of that face which was so dolorous and so sorrowful as no heart can imagine. His hair black and his face as it were scorched … And in the very same instant of my beholding that face my heart was stirred up to apprehend with a deep impression, the sorrows of Christ’s death, hanging upon the cross,

---

73 Thomas Cooper, *A briefe exposition of such chapters of the olde testament as vsually are redde in the church at common praijer on the Sondayes set forth for the better helpe and instruction of the unlearned* (London: H. Denham f. R. Newbery, 1573), STC 5684, p. 2.
sweating water and blood in the garden, his stripes, buffets and spittings in his face, with a meditation thereupon.  

Interestingly, this meditation echoes the experiences of late medieval mystical devotions toward the passion of Christ. Perhaps due to her Calvinist upbringing, Mildmay never actually said this was an image of Christ. She, however, was not dismayed by the fact that none of her ‘watchers … saw anything’, and she remained confident in the meaning of the vision as a representation of the passion. While this sort of devotional vision became more popular in the seventeenth century, particularly amongst Puritans, it was rooted in this concept of divine revelation. William Dyrness has explained that such visions were the result of the Calvinist trend to force faith inward ‘into the deepest, recesses of the human spirit’, and by so doing, ‘religion was creating a space for the mind to operate—to picture a new world.’

It should be noted here that these printed images were not intended as visions themselves but rather ways of understanding the vision. They were mental projections of the scriptural texts. But in this, the images created something of a paradox within which what was not seen by the carnal eye, and only by the visionary’s mental eye, was displayed for the reader’s physical eyes. What is invisible for people in the picture was made visible to the reader. Rather than relying upon the descriptive qualities of the text to communicate the vision, the image was employed to imprint on the reader’s own mental eye a construction of what was intended. This is true whether the visionary is depicted in the scene or not. However, without the figure of the person having the vision, the picture becomes a direct representation of the vision itself. It is more of an inner glimpse into the mind, rather than an image of the visionary’s experience.

Other images exemplified this use of the divine vision. In 1576, Thomas Purfoote printed the theological treatise *The immortalitie of the soule* by John Woolton, the future bishop of Exeter (1579-1594). Purfoote, known for his large printer’s mark of a woman plunging a dagger into her chest, prospered on a diet of printing humanist and secular books, like those by Sir Nicholas Maltby. This treatise, printed in octavo, was one among several that Woolton had published in the 1570s while overseeing his rectories in Devon. What sets this text apart is the prominent image of the Trinity, which was placed opposite the title page [Plate LX]. Surrounded by angels, God the Father enthroned and the risen Christ to his right are depicted as if in a dialogue with one another. The Holy Spirit as a dove is below them. Printed opposite Woolton’s title, the depiction represented the intercession of Christ for the salvation of the godly believers.

![Plate LX: ‘God enthroned with Christ and the Holy Spirit’](image)

Woolton, whose ecclesiastical connections included Bishop Edmund Grindal and Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul’s, seems as if he would be the last person to permit such a picture in one of his religious texts. However, it is likely that the author did not have much authority over the text once it was in the printer’s shop, though he does not denounce it or comment on it elsewhere. Its unusual placement on the flyleaf opposite

---

the title, rather than on the inside cover of the title page or elsewhere in the text, indicates that it was probably a late edition to the print run. The provenance of the image points to the influence of John Shepperd, the publisher of the text, more than anyone else. Created by Hans Holbein, it first appeared as the top portion of a Lutheran Bible frontispiece from the Basel shop of Andreas Cratander in 1523, being recycled in several European texts, including the first complete Dutch Bible in 1526. As the apprentice of the Dutch immigrant Reiner Wolfe, Shepperd would have had more exposure than either East or Woolton to European printing stock.

While the entire frontispiece may have been ferried over to England, it is more likely that this image is a copy of the German original as the full frontispiece was printed again in the Dietenberg Bible (1582). Though Woolton does not address the woodcut itself, he does remark in the dedicatory epistle that, ‘Neither can we see with our bodily eyes almighty God.’ However, he continued on in his text to argue that through such contemplations as his treatise, the eye of the mind can be enlightened, for ‘the doctrine of the Soule then teacheth man, that god is the Creator of all things, that he is a substaunce, understanding, and everlasting.’ The same sentiments were embodied in Bale’s *The image of both churches*. Among the images of God, Bale reminded his readers, ‘Hee dwelleth not in Temples made by hand, he resteth not in houses of mans preparation. Is the kingdom of God any where els then within man? Hath God any Temple that hee more favoureth then mans faithfull harte?’ While God is depicted in the pages of books, these were not to be read as visualisations of God. He could not be found in pictures. Rather, people should seek him in the spaces of their minds and hearts alone.

---

81 John Woolton, ‘The Epistle Dedicatorie’, *A treatise of the immortalitie of the soule wherein is declared the origine, nature, and powers of the same* (London: T. Purfoote f. J. Sheppard, 1576), STC 25979, 5r, 6r.
82 Bale, *The image of both churches*, 52v.
Similar images originating in Europe came from early printings of the thirteenth-century philosophical encyclopaedia *De proprietatibus rerum*, which was reproduced in Elizabethan England by Stephen Batman and retitled *Batman upon Bartholome* (1582). Although Batman’s folio, printed by Thomas East, was the only edition during the Elizabethan period, it did have an ‘immense popularity’ with grammar schools and universities.\(^8^3\) Written by the Franciscan Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus* was probably discovered by Batman in the 1560s, while he collected manuscripts for Archbishop Parker’s library. The text had been printed in 1495 by de Worde with nineteen woodcuts; however, it is unlikely that this is the source of Batman’s edition. Instead, Batman’s woodcuts more closely resemble Jacobus Bellaert’s Dutch edition, printed in Haarlem (1485). While de Worde was inspired by Bellaert, his woodcuts demonstrate a greater level of originality, whereas East’s images were almost exact reproductions of the older Dutch images. Three of the images reproduced by East depict God the Father, and the first two are similar to the image in Woolton’s *The immortalitie of the soule*, depicting God enthroned.\(^8^4\)

The first of these full folio images, printed opposite the frontispiece, pictured God the Father alone, crowned and enthroned with a sceptre, looking forward [Plate LXI]. In the second, God is enthroned above with angels, as the evil angels are cast down from heaven [Plate LXII]. These were a part of a sequence of images depicting the scriptural narrative, from before Creation to the Creation of the world.

---

Like the woodcut in the Woolton treatise, these open the entire work, as visual introductions to the written material. In these images, however, God stares directly at the reader, creating a more iconic view of the divine, reminiscent of the late medieval devotional images. It is in this traditional form, within a text for the well-educated, that an anthropomorphic God the Father appears for one of the last times in Elizabethan print.

**In the Beginning: God at Creation**

Another popular scene in which God was anthropomorphised was various representations of the Creation event. The Creation and the Fall of Man were staples of early modern visual culture. The seven days of Creation played a devotional role in the late fifteenth-century Books of Hours, and the Creation was a key part of religious cycle plays and early Elizabethan dramas.\(^\text{85}\) It was the beginning of human history as well as the introduction of sin into the world, which initiated the divine laws against idolatry.

---

The image of Creation in Batman’s text depicted a walled and turreted Garden of Eden with God the Father in regal attire, wearing a crown, pulling Eve from the sleeping body of Adam [Plate LXIII]. Another figure of Adam stands outside Eden, with his stomach open, displaying his physical humanity. Though he was made in the image of God, he was very much a man. It was a message of the divine imprint in the first humans. The Protestant divine Henry Bull wrote in his prayer book, ‘O God my creator, preserver and everlasting defender, where first in my creation I was made like unto thine owne likenesse, the divell (alas) hath since by Adams fal made me ougly, monstrous, and like evill favoured to him selfe.’\(^{86}\) In his popular sermon on faith, William Fulke compared Adam to a son of God, saying, ‘for although man by his first creation was the most excellent of all creatures in the world, and indeed the sonne of God, yet by his fall and transgression, hee is become the basest and the vilest and no better then a dogge’.\(^{87}\) Such images reminded the reader of humanity’s glorious beginning. The anthropomorphic

---


\(^{87}\) William Fulke, *A comfortable sermon of faith, in temptations and affliccions Preached at S. Botulphes wythout Aldersgate in London, the .xv. of Februayre. 1573* (London: J. Awdely, 1574), STC 11422, F4r.
image of God underlines the special nature of the scene, a world without sin, where the human eye was not yet tempted by idolatry. John Woolton expounded, ‘Before the fall of our Parentes, when nature was innocent and uncorrupted, this light of wisedome, and intelligence of things divine and humaine, did shyne brightly in man: neither had he then only sparks and sedes, but a plentiful storehouse and flowing fountaine of all virtue’. 88

It was this light of the mind which salvation, at least partially, recovered. It promised a return to a pre-Fall state, where humans could be reformed into the image of God once again. Katharine Firth explains that there was a clear understanding in the early modern mind of a movement ‘from Creation to restoration or renovation, not to judgement and destruction.’ 89 With few exceptions, images of Creation appeared either at the beginning or ending of a text. The placement reinforced both the importance of the scene and its place in history, as a representation of the devastation of sin at the beginning of Creation or as an image of the promised restoration.

At least two other images of this scene depicted an anthropomorphic God. The first was printed in 1560 by the fairly unknown stationer John Tysdale (or Tisdale) in the *Preceptes of Cato*, with annotations by Desiderius Erasmus in a tiny sextodecimo. Tysdale was closely connected with the prolific stationer John Charlewood, particularly during the reign of Queen Mary, and he seems to have ceased all printing after 1563 [Plate LXIV]. 90 The philosopher Cato was popular in medieval Latin schools, as a source of morality and proverbial wisdom, appealing to the humanist’s desk rather than the devotional closet. As such, it seems strange that at the end of this edition there would be a single full page image of the creation of Eve, with God as a bearded man removing a rib from Adam. This more literal visualisation of the Genesis narrative has Eve’s head appearing from Adam’s rib, so that she quite literally was created from, or out of, the

bone. While Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram describe the image as an unprinted ‘additional

Plate LXIV: ‘Creation’ in Preceptes of Cato  Plate LXV: ‘Creation’ in Holinshed’s Chronicles

member of the Bible series’ of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer frontispiece, printed by Richard Grafton, this is the only known appearance of the Creation woodcut.91 Most interestingly, however, is the fact that the text of the Preceptes opens with the statement that ‘God is spyryte’, even though the image depicted him as a man. Erasmus follows this precept, explaining that because of this the ‘christen manne’ must ‘washe thou thy mynde’ so to ‘declare that thys spyrytuall worshyppe is to hym moste acceptable.’92

One of the last images of God the Father to be produced in Elizabethan England was the picture of Creation appearing in the illuminated letter ‘I’ at the beginning of Raphael Holinshed’s Chronicles (1577) [Plate LXV]. Printed by Henry Bynneman for a consortium of publishers, the Chronicles contained 211 woodcuts, illustrating the

91 GEIB, vol. I, p. 274. This is a unique occurrence in sixteenth century English printed images. There are many examples of a series of images being added to or subtracted from after the original printing. Also, there are instances, such as in the case of Bale’s The image of both churches, where the images were created for one text but first printed in another. However, this is perhaps the only instance where an image is left out of the original series to appear alone in a relatively unrelated title. Certainly, the half decade of Marian Catholicism fractured the continuity amongst the visual images and could have affected some physical hindrance (through damage, loss, etc.) of the reprinting of the other images.

92 Cato, Preceptes, E8r.
histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland. While much has been said about the text and the images, the first image has often been overlooked as it is both text and image. The giant letter ‘I’ which begins the preface to the first volume is decorated with Adam and Eve together, as God sits on clouds. Whether Holinshed knew of the image is uncertain, but it is mildly ironic that on the same page he described the work as being ‘without any Rhethoricall shewe of Eloquence, having rather a regarde for simple truth, than to decking wordes.’ The image appears again in the same tome at the beginning of part two, the history of Scotland, and again for the third and final volume of the Chronicles (1586), printed by Henry Denham.

Sarah Kelen has seen this image as a secular allusion to the censorship mechanisms in England. She writes of a ‘coextensive relationship of control and danger that concerns the preface’, for where Adam and Eve were commanded to obey God or perish, so the Chronicles were required to conform to Elizabethan commandments or be censored. Though it might allude on one level to censorship, the image was a popular picture which alluded to a much deeper tradition of chronicling. As has been discussed, the English chronicle traced history back into the scriptural narrative. Though Holinshed does not extend the text that far back in time, this image at the starting point of his work stands as a remnant and a reminder of that tradition. Like the other images, it precedes the text and speaks to a utopian world before sin coupled with the promise of salvation. While the early Elizabethan texts with divine images continued to be bought, sold, read,

---

93 Raphael Holinshed, The firste volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlaunde, and Irelande (London: H. Bynneman, 1577), STC 13568, 4r. Even the GEIB does not recognise it. One of the only studies of the image is: Sarah Kelen, ‘It is Dangerous (Gentle reader)’: Censorship, Holinshed’s Chronicle and the Politics of Control’, SCJ, 27(1996), 705-720 (p. 708). A possible source of inspiration for this image may be the contacts of the stationer Giles Godet with the French Fountainbleau School. Godet’s prints were well known in London, and at least one particular Fountainbleau print depicted a similar though more elaborate and decorative image [Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, pp. 179-185; Anthony Wells-Cole, Art of Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625 (London, 1997), pp. 35-36]. Interestingly, an early seventeenth century English cushion cover was richly embroidered with a picture of Creation with an anthropomorphised figure of God, which can be found at the Victoria & Albert Museum, number T.115-1928. 94 Holinshed, ‘The Preface to the Reader’, The first volume of the chronicles, 4r. 95 Kelen, ‘It is dangerous’, p. 708.
studied and gazed upon, no anthropomorphic images were to be created or reprinted after Holinshed’s third volume.

Even the pictures of the Garden of Eden show a marked shift toward a less traditional portrayal of the divine. In 1583, Christopher Barker removed the popular *Geneva Bible* frontispiece of the crossing of the Red Sea, and inserted inside the front page a more intricate and imposing scene of Adam and Eve's fall [Plate LXVI]. In the new image, the Tetragrammaton stands at the top middle of the scene, shrouded in clouds, as Adam and Eve stand next to the tree surrounded by animals.

Both figures hold an apple, as the serpent is entwined in the tree. The scroll work, or banderols, in this image is extensive. Eve’s scroll reads ‘By promis made restord we be’

---

96 *GEIB*, vol. I, pp. 143-144.
and Adam’s follows ‘To pleasures of eterniteye’. The scroll in the tree reads ‘Created Good and faire by breache of lawe and snare’. The one at the base of the tree ‘Desire to know hath wrought our woe / By tastinge this the exile of bliss.’ And the serpent’s scroll states, ‘Duste for to eate / must be my meate’. The Tetragrammaton began to be pictured in lieu of the traditional iconography of God. This is made obvious by its appearance between the sun and the moon, where the anthropomorphic God had usually been portrayed. Though this picture of Creation was first printed in the Geneva Bible, it was quickly transferred to the Bishops’ Bible for seven editions. It also was copied for a smaller octavo version of the Geneva Bible by Barker in 1586, which was recycled eleven more times.97

In a less intricate image, John Windet printed the scene of the Temptation of Adam and Eve for John Wolfe in Christopher Sutton’s devotional Disce Mori: Learne to die. Amongst three other images that signified death, this image was pictured as the genesis of death [Plate LXVII]. Adam reaches out his hand to take the fruit from Eve.

![Plate LXVII: ‘The Fall’](image)

The two humans have already been covered in shame for their disobedience. Again, the Tetragrammaton is pronounced and dominant, as an angry judge staring down upon the two criminals. Disce Mori in its tiny duodecimo edition was seemingly popular as it was printed two more times in the next two years. The image of the Fall appears again in

Sutton’s sequel *Disce vivere: Learn to live* (1602). While these images exemplify a growing anxiety about anthropomorphic images, there is no condemnation of the older anthropomorphised printed images.

Also, the Tetragrammaton had been popular long before it completely replaced the traditional images of God. Images of the Garden of Eden, both pre-fall and post-fall, like the two in the Lutheran catechism *A brief summe of the whole bible* pictured the Tetragrammaton and the hand of God in the 1560s. The images seen here demonstrate the many ways available to picture God in the late sixteenth century. The Tetragrammaton in the Creation woodcut was replaced by the hand of God for Adam and Eve’s marriage after the Fall [Plates LXVIII-LXIX]. Interestingly, the animals, which surround the two humans in the Creation scene, are depicted in the second image as being much more aloof and hidden, emphasising the corruption of their sin.

![Plate LXVIII: ‘Creation’](image1) ![Plate LXIX: ‘Marriage of Adam and Eve’](image2)

Furthermore, throughout the sixteenth century, images of the Garden appeared in England, including several that were printed in Europe, giving no image of the divine whatsoever. The divine figure was not an essential aspect of them, as demonstrated by the absence of any reference to God in the late sixteenth-century engraving of the

---


temptation of Adam and Eve in Thomas Hariot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1590).\(^{100}\)

Nevertheless, there does seem to be a stronger move in the 1580s towards avoiding anthropomorphic images of God. A likely influence of this was a new Catholic evangelism into England. While the recusant communities and more traditional-minded clerics had always been on the edge of sedition in Elizabeth’s reign, several factors increased animosities during this period.\(^{101}\) In the 1580s, Catholic missionaries to England increased, led by Edmund Campion and Robert Persons. By 1585, many of these missionaries would have had access to the newly translated English Catholic Bible and other popular Catholic texts printed in Europe. One broadside in 1580 concerning the Capuchin friars in Antwerp certainly aggravated anti-Catholic sentiments, which captured the fears of English Protestants. In his critique of Campion’s writings, William Charke explained that Catholic priests had been ‘repayring the ruines of Babylon’ by such secret incursions into the English countryside. Certainly, Jesuits did not make much of an impact in England until the mid and late 1590s, but Catholic priests were a definite presence in recusant communities. Nevertheless, the power of this image and discourse was much more about the perception rather than substance of the Catholic threat.\(^{102}\)

These fears are illustrated by the fact that during this period the Elizabethan officials clamped down on Catholic communities in England, focusing particularly on books and popish paraphernalia in households. The number of instances in which seditious books were discovered almost tripled in the last twenty years of Elizabeth’s

---

\(^{100}\) Thomas Hariot, *The true pictures…of the people in Virginia* (Frankfort: T. de Bry, 1590), STC 12786, p. 37. See Plate IV.

\(^{101}\) Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, pp. 47-49: Queen Elizabeth bans seditious books (*TRP*, vol. II, #672, STC 8146). It is interesting that the banderole lettering: ‘Let it be made’ in the Creation scene of *A bryefe summe* was not present in the earlier printing of *A dialogue betweene experience and a courtier* (B3r). Such alterations exemplify the fluid nature of the images as material objects, which could be altered and augmented to fit a specific need. *GEIB*, vol. I, p. 508.

reign compared to the twenty years before it. Also, by the late 1570s, many Catholic presses in Europe and secret presses in England, like that of William Carter, were producing a small but significant collection of Catholic images. Carter, in particular, offers an interesting example of the laxity of book regulation, as he was successful in printing heavily illustrated and obviously Catholic texts from 1579 to 1581. Richard Williams has demonstrated the extent of Catholic printing in 1580s France, including large martyrologies and cheaper single-sheet works. Such illustrated works would have been among those items frequently smuggled across the English channel into recusant hands.

Images like the coronation of the Virgin, depicting the persons of the Trinity, could be found in Carter’s printing of the Jesuit Gaspar Loarte’s *The misteries of the rosarie* (1579) [Plate LXX]. For Protestants, such imagery simply could not be tolerated. One of the Catholic Bible translators Gregory Martin mocked this hypocrisy in 1586, writing, ‘al other images and pictures … are lawful in England at this day, and their houses, parlours and chambers are garnished with them: onely sacred images, and representations of the holy mysterie of our redemption, are esteemed idolatrous, and have been openly defaced.’ Even though Protestants had used similar personifications of God in their printed images, the increased volume of recusant literature in England at this time coincided with a growing animosity that pitted recusants as traitors to their Queen and country.

---

103 See, Eric Nelson, ‘The Jesuit Legend: Superstition and Myth-Making’, in *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe*, edited by Helen Parish and William G. Naphy (Manchester, 2002), pp. 94-118. My own study of the *Calendar of State Papers of Elizabeth (Domestic)* has revealed a marked increase from eight cases discovering popish materials between 1560-1579 to more than twenty-five separate cases of smuggling and keeping popish material or persons into England between 1580-1603 (*CSPED*, Vols. 1-5).


105 I. Gadd, ‘Carter, William (b. in or before 1549, d. 1584)’, *ODNB* [accessed 11 March 2008]

Books had been censored and placed under heavy constraints before 1580. Elizabeth’s ban of a host of seditious books in 1581 not only highlighted a new threat, but it also certainly raised the question of printed images in many Protestant minds.

The images of Biblical revelations and visions, as well as those picturing the Garden of Eden, reminded the reader that humanity was created with, as John Woolton wrote, ‘the same senses and motions which god himself had: which things were so naturall in our firste parents, as mans eye doth see and behold objects’. This eye was ‘the sincere eye of the soule, always fixed upon, never dazeled or dimmed with errors.’ The reading of scripture and the hearing of sermons could reinstate, through salvation, these pure senses. However, for Reformed believers, even this pure sight should not be exposed to the image of God portrayed as a man. By the late-sixteenth century, the anthropomorphic images of God had been erased almost completely from Protestant print.

**God Spoken: Protestant Symbols of the Divine**

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, printed images of the divine tended to rely upon the Biblical symbols of his presence instead of his person. Symbols of God, though criticised by some, were found to be more palatable visual aids. It has already

---

been demonstrated how images like the pillar of cloud, the dove, and the Tetragrammaton were used in early Elizabethan illustration both in England and Geneva. Elsewhere, in non-scriptural print and artistic décor, one could find these symbols throughout the late-sixteenth century. Unfortunately, they have been overlooked by scholars, perhaps because of the mass production of these symbols and their subtle position in most images.

The glut of what have been seen as innocuous or purely decorative images has created overly simplistic assumptions about their purpose. However, these symbols were used in different types of images as both static and active representations. The different divine symbols were often interchangeable with each other, demonstrating a significance that has yet to be fully assessed. Although each figure depicted a specific person of the Triune Godhead, each figure could effectively stand for the entire divine Being. Furthermore, the symbols were often depicted together in order to distinguish the different persons of the Trinity, as in the frontispiece of the 1602 Bishops’ Bible [Plate LXXI]. Here, God is represented by the Tetragrammaton, the lamb, and the dove (from high to low), in an elaborate frontispiece which draws upon the iconography of the gospel writers and the twelve tribes of Israel.

For many people, such symbols were an accessible means to visualise the divine presence, not only for their representational value but also as a reminder of God’s ultimate incomprehensible nature. In his catechism, Thomas Cranmer explained that divine symbols declared, ‘thereby that no man can come to the parfite knowledge of God, as he is in him selfe.’ By depicting such symbols, the reader was not led to idolatry but rather in the opposite direction, to the realisation that ‘no similitude nor ymage, can be

---


made of him.' Calvin made a similar point, arguing that symbols of God in the Bible were true symbols, but they were intended as momentary representations. He wrote:

The Holy Spirit appeared under the form of a dove, but as it instantly vanished, who does not see that in this symbol of a moment, the faithful were admonished to regard the Spirit as invisible, to be contented with his power and grace, and not call for any external figure?

Calvin made a similar point, arguing that symbols of God in the Bible were true symbols, but they were intended as momentary representations. He wrote:

There was a sense that certain images stifled idolatry by signifying how unknowable God was. Calvin further explained:

all the signs he [God] ever employed were in apt accordance with the scheme of doctrine, and, at the same time, gave plain intimation of his incomprehensible essence. For the cloud, and smoke, and flame, though they were symbols of heavenly glory, curbed men's minds as with a bridle, that they might not attempt to penetrate further.

In many ways, these images were intended to be anti-iconic, to undermine not only the traditional imagery of God as a man but also the natural compulsion to mentally picture God. Expounding upon Luther's idea of the Deus absconditus, Joseph Koerner has described something similar to this in his analysis of Lutheran prints, saying, ‘Protestant visual polemics begins with a resounding “no”.’ The hidden God, invisible to the human eye, can only truly be seen through faith and the word of God. Those who destroyed idols also created images which halted the sacred gaze, attempting to freeze one’s vision, which stirred a person's faith to meditate upon God’s incomprehensible nature. These

---

110 Cranmer, *Catechismus*, C7v.
symbols of God were intended to halt vain imaginations. Rather than being an invitation to worship, such symbols were instead a warning against creating an idol in one’s mind. This is evident in the use of divine symbols not as centrepieces, but rather as intricate, and at times miniscule, details. The image of the dove is a most extensively used example of this. The dove appeared in such innocuous places that the figure is often overlooked in even the most thorough catalogues. For example, in John Hooper’s *An oversighte and deliberacion uppon the holy prophet Jonas*, printed by John Tysdale in 1560, the Holy Spirit appeared above the holy family in the illustrated letter ‘S’ [Plate LXXII].\footnote{John Hooper, *An oversighte and deliberacion uppon the holy prophet Jonas* (London: J. Tisdale, 1560), STC 13765.} Elsewhere, the dove could be seen in dozens of frontispieces atop the Stationers’ Company coat of arms, as if to demonstrate a divine anointing on both the Company and the text.\footnote{Devices, #77, 115, 118, 119, 121, 125, 143, 144, 152, 160, 163, 170, 171, 173, 204, 205, 216, 218. McKerrow’s catalogue is extensive but not exhaustive. Because of the lack of reference to many such symbols in various catalogues, one must quite literally view the extent of Elizabethan printing to attempt a thorough report on all such symbols. However, such an exercise is well beyond the bounds of this thesis.} However, the reader’s attention is not drawn to the image directly. The image remains subtle and inoffensive.

It is important to avoid assuming uncritically that these symbols were decorative and simplistic in their meanings. Elizabethan printed images affected how people imagined the divine.

By moving away from the image of God as an old man on a throne, the prints were altering traditional perceptions. Understanding the various ways the permissible figures of God were portrayed provides insight into these fluctuating mentalities. While it is easy...
to assume that these symbols were simply a small step from total iconophobia, much more was going on in the visual culture. What follows is an attempt to distinguish between at least two major categories of Protestant symbols of the divine, the providential and the devotional.

_Providence Symbolised_

When God was represented in printed images, one of the most popular themes was providence. Among the more prominent providential texts were the large judgement books abounding in late medieval and early modern Europe. One of Henry Bynneman’s first forays into illustrated printing was the English translation of a French judgement book _Histoires prodigieuses_ (1567) [translated as _Certaine secrete wonders of nature_], which continued with tales of monsters, marvels and natural disaster. The tradition of such works stretched back into the medieval period, and much of what was printed in England was adapted or even copied piecemeal from earlier Lutheran works. Bynneman’s quarto edition _Certaine secrete wonders of nature_ contained sixty-two woodcuts from the French version, which were copies from the German _Wunderbuch_. Among these were two images, which would appear again in the shop of Ralph Newberry in 1581 for Stephen Batman’s _The doome warning_.

In the first image, a prophet looks over the destruction of Jerusalem and a sword in the clouds hangs above the city [Plate LXXIII]. The destruction of cities or buildings, often associated with that of Jerusalem in AD 70 and Sodom and Gomorrah in the Old Testament, was attributed to the continual sinfulness of that community.

---


117 _GEIB_, vol. 1, pp. 61-62. Since Newberry was assigned _The doome warning_ by Bynneman, and both texts were highly interconnected both on the textual and visual level, it is understandable that they would share many of the same woodcuts.
In the 1580s, Beccles (Suffolk) was burned to the ground because of divine wrath. One ballad warned, ‘Say thus my good neighbours that God in his ire: / For sinne hath consumed pore beckles with Fire.’\textsuperscript{118} In the second image, a more allegorical image depicts a hand from the clouds clasping a sword, the tip of the sword touches a star and is surrounded by several disembodied heads and swords [Plate LXXIV]. The second image illustrated the Ottoman invasions into the Holy Roman Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In these instances, the symbol of the hand and sword represented the justice and wrath of God, often shown appearing from the clouds. Such events, the author described, were often ‘harolds, trumpetters, ministers and executioners of the Justice of God.’\textsuperscript{119}

Perhaps the most common symbol of providence, until the pamphlets of the early Stuart period, was the Tetragrammaton. Though a sixteenth-century invention, the four Hebrew letters representing God’s name JHVH (or YHVH) were rooted in the traditional concept of the \textit{Nomen Sacrum} (or the name of God). Many reformers, including Calvin,

\textsuperscript{118} Boaistuau, \textit{Certaine secrete wonders}, A4r; D. Sterrie, \textit{A brieve sonnet declaring the lamentation of Beckles, a Market Towne in Sufolke which was in the great winde upon S. Andreweves eve pitifullly burned with fire to the value by estimation of twentie thousande pounds} (London: R. Robinson f. N. Colman, 1586), STC 23259.

\textsuperscript{119} Boaistuau, ‘The Author’s Preface’, \textit{Certaine secrete wonders}, P1v.
had agreed with Heinrich Bullinger that the ‘first and chiefest way to know God is derived out of the very names of God … the most excellent which they call the Tetragrammaton.’ It was through this representation of Jehovah that people were reminded of God’s description of himself as, ‘I am that I am.’

Though the Tetragrammaton has received little historical consideration, its use in printed images was extensive. In 1575, William Patten’s Biblical dictionary, *The calendar of Scripture*, said the Tetragrammaton was written by Old Testament Jews, ‘In steed of the Lords proper name.’ The Israelites as well as the early modern Jewish communities would not utter or write the name of God, preferring instead to use the word *Adonai* (Lord). Though most Protestants believed this to be superstitious nonsense, they retained the Tetragrammaton in their iconography. Interestingly, the Tetragrammaton of the sixteenth century ‘was misread by Christians, and ... these letters (called the Tetragrammaton) were transliterated, especially by Protestants as “Jehovah”, a meaningless word.’ Nevertheless, as early as the 1530s, this mistranslation was effectively communicating the absolute and ultimate nature of God, representing God’s refusal to accept any human devised image. It was the symbol of a deity who was, in Bullinger’s words, ‘God in whom nothing is lacking.’

By the time the Tetragrammaton replaced the anthropomorphic figures of God in the *Bishops’ Bible*, the symbols of the *Nomen Sacrum* were well established in Elizabethan prints. In 1566, a folio edition of the Great Bible was funded by Richard Carmarden and printed in Rouen at the shop of Cardin Hamillon (for this reason, the edition is often termed the Rouen Bible). The Bible’s frontispiece depicted Queen Elizabeth enthroned surrounded by cherubim, with the figures of Moses on her upper

---

120 Bullinger, ‘Of God’, p. 130
121 William Patten, *The calendar of Scripture* (London: R. Jugge, 1575), STC 19476, C3r. John Strype explained, ‘the venerable word JEHOWAH was thought more aptly to be translated God, than Lord; for that it might savour of the Jewish superstition who were persuaded that this word JEHOWAH was not to be spoken or written.’ (Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, pt. 2, ch.5, p. 78).
right and Christ on her left (representing the Law and the fulfilment of the Law respectively). Above the image is the name of God (in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English) shining in glory with the banderole stating, ‘heare are the lawes which thou shalt set before them’ and ‘This is my deare son in whom I delite heare him.’

The image demonstrated the proper hierarchy of authority. There is no place for the papacy or the Virgin, as the presence of God dictated via the Word of God (the Mosaic law and the Gospels) establishes the supremacy of the monarch. The use of text with the image reverts back to the nature of the Tetragrammaton as the word-image.

123 Richard Carmarden, *The Byble in Englyshe* (Rouen: C. Hamillon, 1566), STC 2098, front; *GEIB*, vol. I, pp. 121-122. The scroll above Christ reads: ‘come unto me al ye that labor and are laden and I wil ease you’ and next to Moses: ‘These are the ordenances and lawes whiche ye shall observe and doe.’. The scroll reads above Jesus’ head reads: ‘come unto me al ye that labor and are laden and I wil ease you.’. The scroll above Moses reads: ‘These are the ordenances and lawes whiche ye shall observe and doe.’ Beneath both figures, the text reads: ‘The lawe was given by Moses, But Grace and truth, came by Jesus Christ. Jhon 1’.
Other examples of this sort include John Kingston’s Latin edition of Peter Vermigli’s *Loci communes* [Plate LXXVI]. The frontispiece depicts the image of the burning bush from Exodus, with the Tetragrammaton inside the flames (Exodus 3). This device directly links the Tetragrammaton to the story of Moses and the burning bush, where God first identified himself. It was accompanied by Psalm 46 and Matthew 16 in Latin. Elsewhere, the Tetragrammaton was translated into English, as in James Roberts’s printing of the tiny sextodecimo *Writing tables* (1578) by Edward White [Plate LXXVII]. The frontispiece for the work was a crude border with ‘Andre’ and ‘Mateas’ on either side and the word ‘GOD’ above, rather than the Tetragrammaton. Eight more editions of the work would be produced before 1604. In 1584, the two figures were replaced with Moses and Aaron.

What is more, images such as those in *Writing tables* and the Rouen Bible established an interchangeable relation between the word-image in any language. The name of God, in any tongue, signified the presence of God, as revealed in the Word. Early modern English texts commonly set off the words ‘GOD’ or ‘LORD’ or ‘JESUS’, in capital letters, indicating their significance. Concerning the word ‘GOD’, the emblem-writer George Wither explained, ‘I think there is no one word of any language, more significant to express the essence of the Deitie’. However, Wither was careful to make an exception for the Tetragrammaton which seemed to be of an even higher order for it contained ‘mysteries I am not able to search into’.

Even though English (or other languages) sufficed to represent the Godhead, the original Hebrew letters seem to retain a symbolic significance over and above other names. For people unfamiliar with Hebrew, the symbol would have acted similarly to any visual picture, as a pictorial representation of the divine Being.

---

124 Devices #197. Not found in the *GEIB*.
125 McKerrow, *Title-page Borders*, #189, 190.
Elsewhere, the use of the Tetragrammaton was much more contemporary in its setting. In chapter four, the picture of Elizabeth as the navigator of the ship sailing into the New World, protected by the archangel Michael, was also accompanied by the Tetragrammaton [Plate XXV]. Divine providence was protective as well as judgemental. It guided the godly person, as it condemned the unrepentant. On the eve of war with Spain one broadside prayer declared, ‘Thy providence hath prevented their purpose. All honor, prayse, with thanks in the congregation, and by every member thereof be given to thee. O God of grace, O Lorde of pittie, O father of mercie for ever and ever.’ 128 God’s presence, through his Word and symbolised by his name, offered hope to those who believed and were obedient to him.

Along with the images of a sword, the Tetragrammaton could also communicate foreboding and judgement. In 1578, Thomas East printed the Latin quarto pamphlet *Cometographia* [Plate LXXVIII]. This cheap pamphlet was among several works that John Walley and East jointly printed in the 1570s, including the 1570 edition of the

128 Jaques Bellot, *A Prayer meete to be sayd of all true subjectes for our Queene Elizabeth* (London: R. johns, 1586), STC 7549.5.
Kalender of Shepherds. Here, the relationship between the text and the frontispiece image of the Tetragrammaton is intriguing.

Plate LXXVIII: ‘Comet with Tetragrammaton’

As Latin was reserved for the educated, to find it in a pamphlet such as this raises questions about the intended audience. Moreover, in an English pamphlet printed by John Charlewood in 1580, a very similar comet appears on the frontispiece but without the Tetragrammaton. The text in both pamphlets concerned the appearance of a comet on the seventeenth of November 1577, which many Protestants believed was a sure sign of the apocalypse. Though Queen Elizabeth reportedly was completely indifferent to this particular comet, there was a sustained apocalyptic interest in astrology and such other astronomical portents. The Tetragrammaton assured the devout reader that this was a divine message, which is confirmed by the Hebrew phrase in the comet’s tail, translated, ‘I will bring to judgement’. The alteration of the divine order in the heavenly spheres could only be orchestrated by the Creator, and such a drastic intervention promised unseen change. These pamphlets suggest both that cheap print could be printed for the

129 GEIB, vol. I, pp. 55-56. Laurence Johnson, Cometographia quaedam Lampadis aeriae que (London: T. East f. R. Walley, [1577?]), STC 1416. An English pamphlet about the same event was printed by John Charlewood: Thomas Twyne, A view of certain wonderful effects, of late dayes come to passe and now newly conferred with the presignyfications of the comete, or blasing star (London: J. Charlewoode, 1578), STC 23629. Abraham Fleming believed this event to be the pinnacle of various apocalyptic signs in the sixteenth century signalling the second coming of Christ: Friedrich Nausea, A bright burning beacon forewarning all wise virgins to trim their lampes against the comming of the Bridegroome (London: H. Denham, 1580), STC 11037.

well educated and that divine symbols were not always intended as aids for the unlearned reader.

Other symbols were also used to represent divine providence. In 1570, John Cawood revived the late medieval text *Stultifera navis* (‘The Ship of Fools’) in folio, which was originally printed in England by Richard Pynson in 1509. Cawood recycled one hundred of the original one hundred and seven woodcuts.\(^{131}\)

![Plate LXXIX: ‘Wisdom teaching fools’](image1) ![Plate LXXX: ‘Fool in a burning house’](image2)

Two images in this work symbolised providence, both in the form of God’s hand. The first depicted the figure of Wisdom with wings, accompanied by the dove of the Holy Spirit, instructing a group of wise men and fools [Plate LXXIX]. Above, a hand from the clouds reaches down in blessing toward Wisdom.\(^{132}\) Only a few pages later, the consequence of ignoring Wisdom is displayed as a fool peers out of the window of his burning house, while the same hand taps on the roof with a mallet [Plate LXXX]. On the following page, the text explains, ‘That foole is sonne to the fiende abhominable / That foloweth riches and fortune that is blinde, / His Saviour lefte, and clean out of minde.’\(^{133}\)


\(^{132}\) Brant, *Stultifera navis*, h1r.

\(^{133}\) Brant, *Stultifera navis*, h3r (h4r).
The symbol of the hand of God, \textit{Dextera Domini (Dei)}, was among the oldest ways of representing God the Father. It was common in images of the Annunciation of Mary and the Baptism of Christ from antiquity to the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{134} Like the Tetragrammaton, it could be a blessing or a curse. It was the presence of God visualised, and so for the fool and the sinner, such symbols demonstrated God’s judgements.

In 1599, the printer Peter Short issued the first of two printings of John Dee’s quarto \textit{A letter, containing a most briefe discourse apologetical.} The pamphlet was a brief defence of Dee’s character and loyalty to both Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant faith, which was written in the face of several criticisms against Dee. The startling frontispiece depicts Dee kneeling on a cushion inscribed ‘Hope, Humilite, and Patience’ looking up at the apparition of God’s ear, eye, and sworded hand in the clouds. While many reformers briefly addressed the Biblical references to God’s physical body, Roger Hutchinson’s \textit{The image of God}, printed by John Day in 1560, devoted a healthy section to explaining what the scriptures meant.\textsuperscript{136} In this, Hutchinson went to great lengths to spiritualise the Biblical passages, explaining, ‘Whersoever scripture doth attribute unto God a head, eares, eies, eieliddes, nose, mouth, lips, tongue, heart, wombe, handes, right or left, fingers or a finger, an arm, hinder partes, fete, it is not to be understand litterally, but a spirituall sence is to be gathered of such wordes.’\textsuperscript{137} Although many of the symbolic meanings are mixed and several of God’s parts carry two or three meanings, Hutchinson’s exposition provides an insightful understanding of how Protestants wished such printed images to be seen. As for God’s hand, while other parts of God can symbolise his wrath and judgement, only his hand could be at times ‘taken … for his

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{136} Roger Hutchinson, \textit{The image of God} (London: J. Day, 1560), STC 14020, ch. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{137} Hutchinson, \textit{The image of God}, A8r.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
power.'Nevertheless, it seems for John Dee’s purposes, only a full representation of all the possible wrathful parts of God would suffice.

In the frontispiece, the hand is posed and prepared to strike at a many headed monstrous human, symbolizing Dee’s many critics [Plate LXXXI]. While the text is a defence of Dee’s works and his efforts on behalf of the Queen, the image both attacked his critics by subjecting them to divine judgement and also shamed them by picturing Dee as the good Christian who prays for his persecutors.

Plate LXXXI: ‘John Dee kneeling in prayer’

The introductory letter to the Archbishop of Cantebury echoes the sentiments of the image. It reiterates Dee’s true motivations and his hard work, which he explains was only intended ‘to knowe his [God’s] truth’, and as such, ‘proceeding and ascending, (as it were) gradatim, from things visible, to consider of thinges invisible: from thinges bodily, to conceive of thinges spirituall: from things transitory, and momentary, to meditate of thing permanent’. A similar sentiment is conveyed in a manuscript copy of the frontispiece of Dee’s General and rare memorials, which bears the inscription ‘More is

138 Hutchinson, The image of God, B1r.
139 John Dee, A letter, containing a most briefe discourse apologeticall (London: P. Short, 1599), STC 6460, A2v.
hid then Uttred.’ The image shown here became a visualisation of the pursuit to discover what was hidden. Dee is not merely kneeling in prayer; he is searching out the philosophical, theological, and scientific realms for divine truth. To depict this, the woodcut, decorated with Greek and French script in the banderols, depicts Dee gazing toward an image of God, as though he were peering at only small portions of God’s being. But in this limited view, there is still the suggestion that humans can have at least partial visions of God, even if they are only in the realm of the soul and mind.

What is more, in these images one begins to see the multi-layered dimensions of such divine symbols and the interactions which they could have with other figures in the scene. For the symbol was not merely a totemic, static sign.

Plate LXXXII: ‘Pope knocked to the ground’
Plate LXXXIII: ‘Saul’s vision of Christ’

Divine symbols were active and often portrayed having violent interactions. Though the incomprehensibility of the divine nature was the ultimate meaning embedded in these symbols, the printed image was not necessarily bound to this. Even polemical works such as Walter Lynne’s *The beginning and ending of all poperie* (1580) depicted the

---

140 Bodleian MS Douce 363, f. 3r.
Tetragrammaton and the dove as divine figures that compelled humans to action [Plate LXXXII].

The frontispiece of the text, reprinted by John Charlewood from its 1548 edition, depicted a disrupted Catholic procession as the Pope is knocked to the ground from his donkey by the power of the Holy Spirit (a dove) emanating from the glory of the Tetragrammaton. A similar image occurs in the popular anti-Catholic work *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, and the image also carried overtones of another common Biblical scene, the conversion of Saul. Popular in the Henrician and Edwardian periods, the image of Saul (Paul) falling from his mount with the Tetragrammaton above him appeared in the 1576 edition of the Geneva New Testament [Plate LXXXIII].

In the images of the pope and Saul, the Tetragrammaton exerts tangible, physical force.

Lynne’s text furthered this understanding of an interactive divine symbol. In the first image within the text, the dove appears over the Pope’s shoulder, as he throws money into the mouths of bears [Plate LXXXIV]. This represents the initial disobedience by the papacy in the medieval period. Two images later, God appears again, extending his hand from out of a bush to rebuke the Pope [Plate LXXXV]. The text explains, ‘so is here the hande of God, painted in a Bushe overagainst the Pope, sitting upon his knees, threatening and rebuking the Pope, because he doth wholly apply himselfe to the riches

---

141 Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk*, pp. 149-161; Barker’s New Testament image is: STC 2876, 2F3r. Another text with the conversion of Paul is the Great Bible New Testament (STC 2873.7, S5r), however this image depicts the figure of Christ rather than the Tetragrammaton. It is interesting to note here that the Tetragrammaton has replaced the figure of Christ, for it is the risen Christ and not God the Father who speaks to Paul in the story.
and dominion of this world.’

Relating this scene to that of the burning bush, the text connected and contrasted Moses, the leader of God’s people, and the papacy, the head of the corrupt church. While the pope, unlike Moses and Paul, failed to heed the warnings of God’s providence and eventually fell from power, it was pertinent for Protestants to depict the influence of God in these events. Rather than seeing the use of divine symbols as evidence for the diminished importance of religious images, these images demonstrate attempts to reform the image of God without completely eschewing his appearance in visual depictions. That is to say, Protestants sought ways to depict the divine without infringing upon the mandate against graven images of God.

The Devotional Symbol

There was also a much more devotional side to the images of the Tetragrammaton than has been recognised. It was reaffirmed that in the Old Testament the Tetragrammaton was imprinted upon the priests’ mitre and upon Moses’ forehead when he descended from Mount Sinai. In his Celestiall elegies, Thomas Rogers wrote, ‘That name which Moses on his forehead bare, / ... That name which Salomon upon his breast, / In his divine Pentaculum did weare, / ... That name which Aron wore upon his head’.

Because of its Biblical significance, the Tetragrammaton was also identified as a powerful symbol in cabbalistic and magical practices. The satirist and playwright John Stephens claimed that even witches depended upon the Tetragrammaton as it was among ‘her best preservatives’. However, the symbol continued to be a vital aspect of Protestant belief. The minister Thomas Jackson explained that the purpose of God’s name being displayed was to represent several things, including: the ‘person of God’, ‘the essential attributes of God’, ‘his works, creatures, and judgements’ and ‘the doctrine

142 Lynne, The beginning and ending, D3r, images appear on C4r and D2v.
of God’. While it was foremost a representation of the obscurity of the divine, the Tetragrammaton became a means by which Protestants could as truly as possible visually depict and describe what could be known about God’s nature.144

One of the most pronounced examples of this came from the Lutheran catechism *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble* printed by Thomas Marsh in 1568. The woodcuts were originally created by Lieven de Witte in Ghent in 1545 and recycled in English by Anthony Scoloker in 1548. Though reduced in number and quality from Anthony Scoloker’s original two volume English version in 1548, Marsh is able to summon twenty-two of the original sixty-one images for this octavo edition.145 While several of the images were first recycled in the Elizabethan period for Thomas Purfoote’s printing of *A dialogue between experience and a courtier* (1566), the images were intended for the Lutheran catechism and should first be understood within the context of the catechism and the surrounding images. Ten images contain a divine symbol, either the *Nomen Sacrum* or the *Dextera Domini*. Among them was a series of five images at the end of the work, representing the presence of God in everyday life. From praying in one’s bed, at morning and at night, to the work of the day, while travelling on the road and finally during meal times, the presence of God was always near.

The five woodcuts were interspersed amongst a group of prayers, generally at the beginning or ending of the prayer [Plates LXXXVI-XC]. These images were not only reminders of God's providence but also guides for readers, instructing them on when and how to recognise the divine.

---

144 Thomas Jackson, *David’s pastorall poeme: or sheepeheards song Seuen sermons* (London: T. Purfoote, 1603), STC 14299, pp. 101-104.
145 Cornelius van der Heyden, *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble* (London: T. Marshe, 1568), STC 3020, L1v, L4v, L5v, L6r, M7r; *GEIB*, vol. I, pp. 204-207; For Scoloker’s earlier printings, see: STC 3017 and 5199.7.
Plate LXXXVI: ‘Morning Prayer’  
Plate LXXXVII: ‘Evening Prayer’

Plate LXXXVIII: ‘Prayer while at work’  
Plate LXXXIX: ‘Prayer while travelling’

The prayer following the image of two travellers called upon our ‘heavenly father’ to send the Holy Spirit so that a person ‘inwardlye shall thinke or have in mynde’ the things of God.\(^{146}\) What is most interesting about these images is that most of the people look directly at the Tetragrammaton.

Plate XC: ‘Prayer at Meals’

In explaining the importance of seeing the knowledge of God in the world, Calvin stated, ‘the elegant structure of the world serving as a kind of mirror, in which we may behold

\(^{146}\) van der Heyden, *A briefe summe of the whole bible*, L6v.
God, though otherwise invisible’ and further that ‘the worlds are images of invisible things … by faith we understand that they were framed by the word of God.’ 147 The human figures staring at the Tetragrammaton reflected this belief. Representing people looking toward the Tetragrammaton was not intended to signify a divine vision, but rather it was a representation of understanding the ‘things’ of God.

This presents an interesting way of seeing in early modern culture. The people could not actually be seeing the invisible God; however, even though the Tetragrammaton is shrouded in clouds (representing God’s invisibility and incomprehensibility), the people all seem to look directly at it, whether they are praying or not. The reader then is presented with an interesting image that replaced the traditional anthropomorphic displays but retained a degree of the devotional significance. Further, Calvin’s paradigm of the Word framing people’s understanding of the world is inverted in these pictures. The roles are in fact reversed, so that it is the physical world and the border of the picture which ‘frame’ the word or name of God. While these images coincided with the Calvinist desire to redefine the space of the sacred so that God could be met with anywhere (even within books) the pictures also established specific parameters of how people could understand God.

The devotional interaction between human figures and divine symbols was prominent in other Elizabethan images. In 1569, woodcuts created by Marcus Gheeraerts were printed by John Day in Stephen Batman’s *A christall glasse of Christian reformation*, a Protestant exposition of the seven deadly sins. These contained one picture with the dove and two pictures with the Tetragrammaton. In the first image depicting wrath, the Pope orders the execution of a Protestant martyr as a group of believers in the background kneel in prayer, staring up at the Tetragrammaton [Plate XCI]. This image resembled the depiction of an execution scene printed in the Harrison

Bible, wherein Pharaoh orders an execution and Moses kneels before an anthropomorphic God in the background [Plate XCII].

Plate XCI: ‘Wrath as religious oppression’

Plate XCII: ‘Pharaoh orders execution’

This underpinned the motif of Protestants as God’s people and the Catholic Church as totalitarian. The second image, which was discussed in the previous chapter, depicted the male figure of Faith (more often pictured as a female) staring directly at the Tetragrammaton [Plate XCIII]. Not only does Faith overcome the Devil but he also personifies the only way to access the true knowledge, or mental sight, of God. In the final image, the Holy Spirit hovers over a house built on a rock, guiding shipwrecked sailors to its haven, which was a metaphor for Christ’s salvation (Matt. 7:25-27). The sailors only see the haven by the light given by the Holy Spirit [Plate XCIV].

Similar images of the dove included the many pictures of the Annunciation of the Virgin in late medieval and early modern manuscripts and prints. Though the picture of the Virgin staring up at the descending dove often suffered from Protestant fears of idolatry, there are several instances of it in the Elizabethan period. They reinforced both

---

the importance of the Annunciation in Protestant theology, as shown in the next chapter, and the devotional possibilities of such displays of God.\footnote{At least three Protestant, and several Catholic, scenes of the Annunciation were printed during the Elizabethan period: STC 2872c.5, L5v; STC 2873, K1r; STC 15676, A7r; STC 16432, Q2v; STC 16646, B3v; STC 17538, C5v; STC 17546, A3v.}

Interestingly, while both Biblical and iconographical representations of the dove abound and the Holy Spirit was known to be intimately involved with humanity, the Spirit remains the most remote and understudied person of the Trinity.

Another devout scene depicting the Tetragrammaton was portrayed on every page of John Day’s octavo collection of *Certaine select prayers* (1574), erroneously attributed to St. Augustine. This was a more compact book than Day’s own volume of prayers, but like Day’s book, it was also reminiscent of the traditional design found in Books of Hours. The frontispiece depicted Faith, Hope, and Charity all craning their necks, almost uncomfortably (particularly Charity), upward at the Tetragrammaton [Plate XCV]. Nineteen different sidepieces with Old Testament male and female characters and the gospellers are repeated throughout the text [Plate XCVI]. Each human figure is depicted kneeling in prayer and gazing up at the Tetragrammaton. Though not as popular as Day’s prayer book, the work proved to be a popular ‘commercial venture’, being reprinted by Day twice in 1575 and 1577, and then by John Wolfe in 1586. Such images visualised
Gervase Babington’s exhortation that, ‘The name of God is said to be hallowed, when it is confessed & published as holy, reverend, pure, and high’.  

More so than other divine symbols, this particular Tetragrammaton image allowed for a degree of devotional reading and gazing. The position of the images around the border framed the reading of the prayers. Occupying the space that was commonly used for margin notes, the images could be read as guides and models. The Biblical characters kneel in prayer and make a gesture of devotion as they gaze upon the Tetragrammaton. God’s mysterious presence had replaced the traditional devotional focus on saints and the Virgin. Such displays, however, seem contradictory to many reformers’ teachings about idolatry. Among others, Thomas Cranmer had argued that if such reverence was to Christ or God then ‘seing that Christ is in heaven, to heaven they shuld loke up, wher christ himself is, and not gase upon an ymage.’ This would be taken even further in the Elizabethan period to include any outward display of piety. Also, physical displays of religious affection had strong connections with the Protestant

---

anxiety toward the devotion given to the Holy Monogram, which will be discussed later on.\footnote{151} Nevertheless, it continued to be a popular theme. One of the most popular examples was Henry Denham’s printing of Thomas Rogers, \textit{A golden chaine taken out of the psalms} (1579). The duodecimo book of metric prayers was an easily accessible devotional text taken from the psalms and proverbs of the Old Testament. Before each section was an image of the author (Kings David or King Solomon) kneeling in prayer with an open Bible and staring up toward the Tetragrammaton [Plates XCVII-XCVIII].\footnote{152} Around David’s oval picture, the inscription reads, ‘Away fro me ye wicked; for I wil kepe the commandements of my God’. Inscribed around Solomon’s portrait are the words, ‘Blessed art thou, O lande, when thy king is the sonne of nobles.’ The two images were dispersed into over twenty editions from 1580 until the end of the Elizabethan period.

Other examples of this sort included the woodcut of King David kneeling before the Tetragrammaton in Richard Day’s \textit{Christian prayers and meditations}. Also, in 1601 and 1602, the image of a man kneeling before an open Bible and praying toward the Tetragrammaton appeared in three devotional books printed by John Windet and Adam Islip.\footnote{153} Whether in daily life, worship or martyrdom, the Tetragrammaton was continually depicted as the focus of devotion. More importantly, the symbol was depicted as having people kneel in prayer toward it. Thomas Becon encouraged his readers:

\begin{quote}
Where the name of God is diligently called upon, and most humble and harty thanks geven unto him for his fatherly and frendly giftes, there is hys blessing grace and favoure plenteous, there is the holy Ghost
\end{quote}

\footnote{151} Cranmer, \textit{Catechismus}, D7r-D7v\footnote{152} Thomas Rogers, \textit{A golden chaine}, London, 1579, STC 21235, A12v, L2v\footnote{153} \textit{GEIB}, \textit{vol. I}, pp. 315-319. Including STC: 23973, 2034, 23974, 13975, 23975, 13975.5, 13976, 21236, 23978, 13977, 2035, 13977.5, 23979, 23980.5, 13979.5, 23981. The image of David was copied for John Windet’s 1595 printing of the psalms (2490.4), which was recycled five times before 1603. It also appears in John Day’s prayer book, \textit{Christian prayers and meditations} (London: J. Day, 1569), STC 6428, b4r. For the image of the anonymous man praying, see: John Hayward, \textit{A sanctuarie of a troubled soule} (London: J. Windet f. J. Wolfe, 1601), STC 13003.5, I4v; the subsequent editions are STC 13048.5 and 13003.7.}
present, there is a mery conscience, ther al things prosper, there wanteth no good thing.\textsuperscript{154}

With the Tetragrammaton, which many believed was the only accurate portrayal of God, the name of God was made visual. But in this visualisation, the image referred back to the text, the written word. The picture was not a human embellishment of a description of God, but was the name of God spoken by the voice of God and made into a sign, which referred back to that perfect and absolute Word. In the late-sixteenth century, Thomas Bentley used this to encourage godly women to demonstrate outward devotion to God in prayer:

\begin{quote}
make it their whole worke to praie, meditate, and read Gods word with other such good booke, or at the least to allow to themselves some little portion or part of the daie and night, to prostrate themselves apart from all companie in praier and meditation before the Lord of heaven and earth their creator, redeemer, and saviour, and that in all christian perfection, and humble obedience to his word and commandements.\textsuperscript{155}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{154} Thomas Becon, \textit{The pomander of prayer} (London: J. Day, 1561), STC 1746, A2v-A3r.
\textsuperscript{155} Thomas Bentley, ‘To the Christian reader’, \textit{The monument of matrones containing seven several lamps of virginitie} (London: H. Denham, 1582), STC 1892, B1v.
It was this image of God, in his name, that should be the devotion and focus of worship. As Bullinger explained, ‘God is in the word of God exhibited to be seen, to be beheld, and to be known by visions and divine mirrors’. The Tetragrammaton represented to the reader the vastness of God’s nature, the humble position of humanity and the hope for future salvation.

Though this sort of devotion was acceptable, kneeling before the Tetragrammaton in pictures was another matter. Desiderius Erasmus had contested such outward shows of worship being done toward images, saying, ‘Now although the mind be pure from all superstition, yet it is not without the appearance of superstition, when one that maketh his prayers, doth kneel or fall down flat afore a … image, and hath his eyes fast set and looking upon it.’ Images of people kneeling before the Mass and at the elevation of the Host were popular scenes in late medieval iconography, and they were among the most distasteful displays for Protestant eyes. It reminded them of the corrupt Catholic priests and their mystification of the Eucharist as well as the idolising of material objects in the Mass.

The fact that the Tetragrammaton was not employed in Catholic prints, because Catholics were satisfied with an anthropomorphic God, made it all the more useful to Protestants. Bishop Gervase Babington explained the extent to which Protestants reverenced the name of God, when he wrote, ‘the name of GOD signifieth here that majestie of GOD, power and infinite vertue that shyneth, sheweth it selfe in every thing so wonderfully. Even as it is usually taken in the Scriptures, and for the most parte signifieth.’ This was probably the case for many clergy and parishioners in Elizabethan England, even though more radical Protestants favoured a tentative appreciation of such signs. The Admonition to Parliament, while appreciating the

159 Babington, A profitable exposition, pp. 127-128.
importance of God’s name, expressed contempt for such demonstrations of devotion at
the name of God:

When Jesus is named, then off goth the cappe, and downe goeth the
knees, with suche a scraping on the ground, that they cannot heare a
good while after, so that the word is hindred, but when any other
names of God are mentioned, they make no curtesie at all, as though
the names of God were not equall, or as thoughe all reverence oughte
to be given to the syllables.\textsuperscript{160}

At the end of the 1560s, in a letter to several reformers, the more radical cleric Anthony
Gilby encouraged the extirpation of these ‘knacks of popery’ like kneeling at communion
and before the name of Jesus\textsuperscript{161} Such demonstrations of devotion at a spoken name were
remnants of Catholicism, one which many conforming Protestants held to and other more
militant believers despised. As shall be discussed further in the next chapter, Susan
Wabuda has demonstrated how the name of Christ and the Holy Monogram (‘IHS’) took
on a supernatural quality in late medieval piety as a ‘stimulus for devotion’ and was used
in the early Reformation in England as a substitute for icons.\textsuperscript{162}

In their attack on the fraudulent exorcisms of John Darrell and the, as they saw it,
superstitious belief in physical possession in general, John Deacon and John Walker
decried the elevation of Jesus' name above the Tetragrammaton in these ceremonies:

for that also, by an execrable and blasphemous prophaning of that
sacred and unexpresable name of the Lord, tetragrammaton: they verie
pestilently pretended the powerfull establishment of their pestilent
practises. Yea, and which more is, so soone as the holy name of our
Saviour Christ began to be admirably and powerfully published
abroad: they eftsoones also, abused that glorious name, in every of
their said exorcisms, adjurations, or conjuring attempts. Imagining
the honorable name of Jesus, to be much more powerfull for that
speciall purpose: then the name tetragrammaton was ever before.\textsuperscript{163}

\textsuperscript{160} Puritan Manifestoes, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{162} Susan Wabuda, Preaching During the English Reformation (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 148-176 (p. 154).
\textsuperscript{163} John Deacon and John Walker, Dialogical discourses of spirits and divels declaring their proper
essence, natures, dispositions, and operations, their possessions and dispossessions (London: Eliot’s Court
Press, 1601), STC 6439, p. 238. For more on this text, see: Thomas Freeman, ‘Demons, Deviance, and
Defiance: John Darrell and the Politics of Exorcism in Late Elizabethan England’, in Conformity and
Orthodoxy in the English Church, 1560-1660, edited by Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge,
2000), pp. 34-63. For a succinct summary of the controversies between Darrell, Deacon and Walker see:
Marion Gibson, Possession, Puritanism and Print: Darrell, Harsnett, Shakespeare and the Elizabethan
Such expressions provide a clearer understanding of how the Tetragrammaton and the names of God were perceived and used. This was no mere simplistic or simplifying symbol. Though it served an iconoclastic purpose, in replacing the anthropomorphic pictures of God, it also took on significance and meaning already attributed to the Tetragrammaton. The *Nomen Sacrum*, as well as the other divine symbols, were believed to be full of power, which could be abused and manipulated. They too could become idolatrous. However, it is difficult to conceive that both Deacon and Gilby did not own either Richard Day's *Certain select prayers* or a book of Psalms with pictures of Biblical saints kneeling before the name of God. Unfortunately, there is no record of how the more radical reformers responded to these printed displays of devotion. Nor does it seem to have been much of an issue. Conformist and Puritan both read the Psalms diligently. Moreover, the Tetragrammaton is not the simple image that much of the historiography has assumed or described. Not only could the Tetragrammaton be used in various ways but it could also be a controversial topic amongst Protestants.

**Conclusion**

The use of the Tetragrammaton has been described by Scribner as a way 'to limit the acquisition of sacred knowledge merely to the printed word’, so that the depictions of the Tetragrammaton become ‘no more than desensualised images.’ Scribner is correct in saying that such symbols focused on how people could access the divine; however, I question to what degree the Tetragrammaton had desensualised the conception of God. These images underpinned and reasserted the basic mental constructs of God's nature and his relationship with the universe. Furthermore, they upheld the belief that God could be encountered, tangibly and truly, outside the spaces allotted by traditional religion. Though sacred icons were no longer permissible, people were encouraged to seek sacred

---

164 Scribner, ‘Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception’, p. 120.
knowledge within the printed text. There, God could be found in a variety of forms, both
textually and visually, as an illustration of providence and focus of devotion.

Moreover, God continued to be portrayed anthropomorphically. While most
images of God as a man appearing in Elizabethan England were created before 1560,
they continued to be printed throughout the period. Like divine symbols, these pictures
exemplified the lack of change in the perception of God’s nature from the medieval
period, as they retained many of the traditional modes of depiction which reformers
claimed were inherently idolatrous. The continued use of such images well into the late
Tudor period further undermines a rigid view of Elizabethan *iconophobia*. It also
indicates how prevalent the subtle continuities with traditional religion were that
permeated even the most Calvinist of contexts.

However, there is something to be said for this symbolism having a sanitising or
anaesthetising impact upon the devotional gaze.\(^{165}\) Divine symbols, particularly the
Tetragrammaton, replaced the traditional anthropomorphic God, and in so doing altered
what people saw and how they saw God. Also, the recurrence of these symbols in all-too-
often innocuous places within the printed page could easily have created a blind spot in
many readers’ eyes. Thus, it should be acknowledged that there is a degree of truth in the
idea that visual iconography, as it was known in the late medieval period, was being
pushed out of the traditional places of devotion. But, alongside this current of
iconoclasm, these devotional places were being redefined, unhinging the
conceptualisations of sacred space to allow for a greater access to the divine in the
everyday.

\(^{165}\) Scribner’s more elaborate discussion of the ‘cold’ (or didactic) gaze versus the sacred/devotional gaze
However, suffice it to say that I believe while Scribner’s categories of ways of seeing are useful, they are
not entirely adequate nor do they completely reflect the ways in which early modern people accessed
printed imagery. Further study, making thorough use of recent work on the history of the book and early
modern reading practices [cited elsewhere], would serve to nuance these simple categories.
In practice, divine images did not provide a boundary of what could or could not be portrayed. The retention of divine images in key works of religion, particularly the Geneva Bible and the Bishops’ Bible, suggests a wide recognition that this imagery was necessary if not completely desirable. Here, we have examined two major forms of divine representations: the anthropomorphic and the symbolic. Both of these had several different uses and ways of being seen and read in early modern England. Generally speaking, these images were not perceived as a threat to a reformed perspective. In fact, quite the opposite is true, for the purpose of the images was to establish a new way of thinking about God. This chapter has demonstrated the ways in which divine images, regardless of the theological injunctions against them, were put to use in Protestant print. While images of God continued to carry a strong odour of idolatry, it is evident that Protestants (even those schooled in the Geneva-Calvinist tradition) were intent upon carving out a place for a God that could be seen. Even those Protestants who may have balked at the idea of creating new woodcuts or engravings with divine images did not seem opposed to reading from older books with divine images, recycling older images in new editions or reforming the image of God with a symbolic form.
Chapter 6: The God-Man Displayed: Representations of Christ in Elizabethan Printed Images

In 1524, Martin Luther wrote to the church in Strasbourg concerning the right conceptualisation of Christ, against many of the more radical views of Andreas Karlstadt. Though it was among the first divisions between Protestants concerning the second person of the Godhead, it would not be the last. Luther’s remarks present key insights into how most reformers, including later English Protestants, believed Christ should be perceived and worshipped. Luther concluded with the warning, ‘The devil has as his main purpose to turn our eyes in this perilous night away from our lamp and lead us off our path by his flying brands and flames’. Luther wanted the people to follow Christ, ‘but not, as Karlstadt does, only to the work of Christ, wherein Christ is held up as an example, which is the least important aspect of Christ, and which makes him comparable to other saints’. Rather, Luther exhorted:

But turn to Christ as to a gift of God or, as Paul says, the power of God, and God’s wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and sanctification, given to us … They (the heavenly prophets) make for confused, disturbed, anxious consciences, and want people to be amazed at their great skill, but meanwhile Christ is forgotten.¹

This warning was aimed at what has been termed as the radical Reformation.² Much of this movement, led by reformers such as Karlstadt and Thomas Muntzer, directed its efforts at excoriating the material and physical aspects of religion to allow a purer, spiritual piety to flourish. In terms of Christ, this meant that his physical nature was decentralised and his transcendent divinity was emphasised. Some of these reformers went so far as to deny Christ’s humanity, saying that he brought his own body with him from heaven, and other

reformers like the Silesian Caspar Schwenckfeld taught that Christ’s flesh was a celestial or recreated flesh. Such heretical viewpoints were something that both Lutheran and Reformed theologians consciously avoided. However, while Luther saw Karlstadt and the radicals as a threat to the true conception of Christ, Calvinists and English reformers believed that the traditional Catholic understanding of Christ was equally limited and skewed.

The late medieval devotions to Christ in England emphasised the humanity and particularly the death of Jesus. He was the ultimate sacrifice as the lamb of God (the Agnus Dei), the bread and the wine in the Eucharist, the Man of Sorrows and the suffering Saviour depicted in the pieta. While other images and concepts of Christ were utilised, the Incarnation and Christ’s physical torment took precedence. The impetus behind these devotional works and images was ‘to bring that great story as close and as vividly to the mind of the reader as possible’. The large body of surviving Christological icons produced in the fifteenth century, along with the items which were destroyed in the Reformation, speak to the increasing preoccupation with this sort of direct access to Christ. Practices like the distribution of printed devotions to Jesus, the popular Masses of St. Gregory and the Holy Name of Jesus, as well as groups such as the Guild of the Holy Name in London were indications of novel devotional trends on the eve of the Reformation. Collections of prayers such as the fifteen Oes filled medieval devotion with a strong emotive quality, making prayers like, ‘Oh Jesus, true and fruitful vine…your delicate flesh faded and the moisture of

---

your bowels dried up and the marrow of your bones withered; by this most bitter Passion and most precious pouring out of blood’.  

In the Reformation, Protestants believed that such a focus narrowed one’s understanding of Christ, fashioning him into little more than a suffering body or an ethical imperative. Both radical and Catholic groups lacked a true understanding of the breadth of who Christ was. This limiting of Christ was believed to ‘dissect rather than distinguish between the two natures’, and confused people by devising ‘a double Christ’. The overemphasis upon one aspect of Christ, neglecting the totality of his nature, was too much of an omission. Calvin explained that Christ must be taught, ‘as God and man, possessing natures which are united but not confused, we conclude that he is our Lord and the true Son of God, even according to his humanity, though not by means of his humanity’. What the reformers saw in such flawed beliefs was both an emphasis upon the humanity of Christ over and above his divinity and the reduction of the potent meaning of the Incarnation by neglecting the divinity of Christ which empowered his physical body.

Protestants wished to firmly establish Christ as the God-man, not merely as a figure of continual suffering but as one whose suffering translated into an eternal mediation between God and humanity. Of all the topics which inspired the reformed ambitions, central and foremost was the place and person of Christ. If heresy began with a misunderstanding of the divine being, the epicentre of Catholic corruption could be found in the abuse of Christ’s nature. Protestants saw this in the most prevalent and significant signs of Catholic worship (e.g. the Mass and the Corpus Christi) which concerned the Passion, Crucifixion and

---


10 Calvin, Institutes, II, xiv, 4, p. 418.
Resurrection. To shift away from this corruption, the reformers were intent upon clarifying the differences between the two natures of Christ, which were simultaneously unified and distinct.\(^{11}\) Calvin was particularly adamant about the centrality of both the divinity and the humanity of Christ. He believed that ‘the foundation of all that Christ does through his humanity is who he is in his humanity’.\(^{12}\) The humanity of Christ could not be considered a means to an end anymore than it could be glorified as the primary symbol of Christ. Instead, both divinity and humanity, working together, were necessary, making any depiction of him all the more difficult to justify.

This chapter will attempt to map out how Protestants intended to represent Christ and how images of Christ were employed and depicted in Elizabethan England. While images of Christ were often considered to be the most susceptible to idolatrous abuse, Christ also continued to be the most important figure in the Christian religion and was essential to many New Testament pictures. More than one hundred different woodcuts and engravings were studied and catalogued for this chapter, many of which appeared in several different editions. Of these images, a small majority were created either in or for Elizabethan England (a large series having been created in Rouen); however, of this majority, most appeared in two volumes: Richard Carmarden’s Rouen Bible and Richard Day’s *Christian prayers and meditations*. While this is a smaller number of images of Christ compared to the previous forty years, there continued to be a strong market for scriptural and non-scriptural texts picturing Christ. Moreover, during this period, the possible uses of images and symbols of Christ increased. The devotional Christ of the late medieval period was retained to a lesser degree, but other equally valuable purposes for Christ’s picture were employed. Images of a

---


more didactic and pragmatic intent became popular. Christ could be seen in devotional and non-devotional contexts. He was a symbol of salvation and moral instruction. His image could be found in polemical cheap print and the large humanistic tome. Many of the traditional motifs like the *imitatio Christi* and the *Agnus Dei* continued to be used but new emphases and meanings were created. What is more, there is no obvious category for all the images of Christ. Some were narrative, others didactic and many were pictorial or iconic. While reformers made every effort to alter, erase or amend Catholic images of Christ, Elizabethan Protestants also demonstrated a desire to create their own Christological pictures.

**Christ and the Image of God**

As a preliminary discussion, it is vital to understand that the Protestant conceptualisation of Christ was also the thing that created serious doubts about the visible Christ. The strong desire to focus upon Christ as a unified, dual-natured person raised the question of how if at all Christ could be portrayed without depicting his divinity and thus breaking the second commandment. Traditionally, it was the human nature of Christ that provided justification for images made of him, and it was to this humanity that medieval Christians appealed. Even Henry VIII’s Ten Articles explained that it was good to have the image of Christ in churches, so that ‘we may be also many ways provoked to remember his painful and cruel passion, and also to consider ourselves, when we behold the said image, and to condemn and abhor our sin’. While later Protestants would agree with the intended purpose of such icons, they refused to accept that church images were a productive means of worship. By the reign of Edward VI, Thomas Cranmer moved away from the Articles which

---

he had helped to draft, stating, ‘And yf they dyd their reverence to christ and not to the image, seing that Christ is in heaven, to heaven they shuld loke up, wher christ him self is, and not gase upon an ymage’. The Elizabethan homilies went further, contesting that it was wrong to make images of Christ, particularly for churches, because, ‘no true Image can be made of Christes body, for it is unknowen now’. Because of Christ’s ascension, the homily against idolatry explained that his physical body was entirely separated from humanity, and so to imagine it was in effect ‘a lye made of hym’.

All of this turned on the idea that after the Ascension, Christ’s body was always present in heaven. However, this was not without its complications as was illustrated during the 1554 Oxford Disputations. Here, Nicholas Ridley defended the belief that Christ’s body was not to be found in the Eucharist, because his body resided in heaven. The Edwardian reformers believed that Christ’s body was continuously in heaven, whereas Catholics contested that the physical and spiritual natures are joined and cannot be separated during the sacrament. Foxe recounted the disputation between Ridley and Richard Smith, where Smith contested that Christ had appeared on earth in his physical form after his Ascension, so it was reasonable and in fact Biblical to assume he appeared physically in the Eucharist. Recalling the examples of Paul and Stephen’s visions of Christ in the New Testament, Smith surmised that ‘Christe hath bene both in heaven and in earth, all at one tyme. Ergo you are deceived in denying that’. Ridley was hard pressed to counter, agreeing that ‘He was seen reallye and corporally in dede’, so that the apostles saw Jesus with their eyes and truly without deception. But, ‘whether being in heaven or in earth, it is a doubte. And of doubtefull thynges wee muste judge doubtefullly: Howbeit you must prove that he was in

15 Thomas Cranmer, *Catechismus, that is to say, a shorte instruction into Christian religion for the synguler commoditie and profyte of childre[n] and yong people* (London: N. Hyll f. G. Lynne, 1548), STC 5993, D7r-v.
16 Anon., ‘An homilie against perill of Idolatrie, and superstitious decking of Churches’, in *Certayne Sermons or HOMILIES Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547-1571)*, facsimile edition by Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, FL, 1968), 2D2v.
heaven the same tyme, when he was corporallye on earth’. 17 While the debate over the Eucharist continued, it is important to understand that the appearance of Christ was integral to both Protestant and Catholic dogma. In printed images, these visions of Christ were available throughout the century.

Like the visions of God in the previous chapter, these appearances of Christ seemed to be a loophole in the relatively tight Calvinist knot tied around images of the divine. Their appearance in the New Testament not only gave permission for their reproduction, as a visualisation of the true Word of God, but they also provided a means of demonstrating the truth of Calvinist doctrine that kept Christ’s body in heaven. Foremost among the Elizabethan printings of such images were the pictures appearing in John Cawood’s last printing of the Great Bible translation of the New Testament in 1569. While most of the nine woodcuts used in this edition were recycled from earlier New Testaments also printed by Cawood, the two exceptions were these new images of the stoning of Stephen and the conversion of Saul (or Paul) [Plates XCIX-C]. 18 In fact, this seems to be their first

---

18 The newe testament in Englishe (London: J. Cawood, 1569), STC 2873.7, S1r, S5r. Luborsky and Ingram describe as “additions to the narrative series in STC 2852” (whether this means that they are from the same woodcutter is unclear), GEIB, vol. I, p. 200. Stephen had four different images created between 1534-1603, see: STC 2077, 2848, 2873.7, 5806. Saul/Paul had five, see STC 2077, 2832, 2848, 2873.7, 2876. For convenience, I will refer to Saul/Paul with his post-conversion name of Paul.
appearance in English printing, as they were probably created in Europe or by European artisans in London. In both images, which were printed alongside the appropriate text, Christ appeared in the clouds. In Stephen’s story, he is a comfort to the Christian martyr, and in Paul’s case, he is the providential judge. Interestingly, the image of Paul’s vision was altered in Christopher Barker’s octavo New Testament in 1575, so that it depicted the Tetragrammaton rather than the figure of Christ.

The interchanging of images, particularly the figures of divinity, is interesting. It offers further credence to the idea that the Tetragrammaton was more than a static, distant emblem signifying nothing more than the impenetrable nature of God. The four letters were not only a symbol of God the Father but also of the entire Godhead. Elsewhere it seems that the concern for depicting an anthropomorphic figure of God the Father permitted the depicting of Christ as Creator. In 1554, John Day printed *The fourth boke of Virgil* with three woodcuts of creation on the frontispiece [Plate CI].
By 1585, the image of the creation of the angels had been altered so that in Robert Waldegrave’s printing of a Latin grammar book the words ‘JESU CHRISTO’ have been inserted above the image to set the figure apart from the Father [Plate CIII]. It is perhaps telling that no New Testament visions of the resurrected Christ were depicted in English Bibles after 1570. However, at least one Elizabethan reader expressed his/her desire to see Christ specifically appearing in Paul’s vision, having pasted an engraving done by Jan Sadeler in a copy of John Merbecke’s *The lyves of the holy sainctes* (1574). As discussed in the introduction, such reader interaction and augmentation of the text indicates the importance of these visual images in relation to the reading experience.

These divine visions were often associated with John’s Revelation on the isle of Patmos. In 1566, Richard Jugge printed an image of John’s vision with Christ looking down from heaven to introduce not the Revelation but John’s gospel. Like the images of Moses seeing God discussed in the previous chapter, these could be substituted for various scenes. Again, not only were these illustrating the stories of divine revelation, they were also establishing the location of Christ’s body, as he remained always in the clouds distinctly separated from the human world. In his commentary on the letter to the Galatians, William Perkins explained that such visions were ‘not ordinarie, but extraordinarie, and that partly by vision, partly by voice, and partly by instinct … whereas Stephen in like manner saw Christ, he saw him not on earth, but standing at the right hand of God in heaven: for otherwise the opening of the heavens had bin a needles thing’.


expecting such visions of their own, concluding that the apostles’ experiences were miraculous events. Despite ecclesiastical concern, such visions, as Stuart Clark has demonstrated, were not necessarily dismissed out of hand. There was no inherent contradiction between seeing something in reality and seeing something of a non-corporeal nature.  

Reformers were more concerned with the implications of such revelatory visions, which people claimed to have experienced. Visions experienced by martyrs, the dying believers (such as Katherine Stubbes in the 1580s) and other examples of personal revelation were not as virulently denounced.  

The determining element was the type of person having the vision and why. For example, in the early 1560s, the godly woman Dorthy Wynnes was said to have been visited by Christ during her mortal illness, the experience of which was published after her death. Her Protestantism was established in that she had been derided by papists and she never again attended Mass after she had read the Bible.  

This visitation of Christ, though not elaborated upon, reads like an imitatio Christi work wherein the person by looking upon Christ begins to take on the attributes of him. In this, the emphasis is placed upon the godly life of the person and not the vision itself. A similar message was apparent in a woodcut from the Kalender of Shepherds, wherein a godly man sails the ship of life while looking up at Christ in the clouds, as the devil seizes the ship at the stern [Plate CIV].  

Again, there is a marked spatial separation between the Christian and the Saviour.

---


Also, no stress was placed upon seeing Christ in anything more than in the eye of the mind, for the subsequent verses simply request, ‘GOD guyde me right that I once myght / Come to the porte of peace’. Much like the image of the victorious Christian in Batman’s *A christall glasse*, who gazes up at the Tetragrammaton, here while Christ is present and before the believer, there remains an important distance between them.26

Even with these images that placed Christ’s body firmly in heaven, the visual figure of Christ could still prove to be a double-edged sword for many English Protestants. While these images presented little complication for Lutherans and followers of Tyndale in the early Reformation, this was an increasingly problematic issue in Elizabethan England. The problem hinged upon the difficulty of depicting the humanity without depicting the divinity, which could not be accomplished without depicting a lie, or worse, falling into the Nestorian heresy of separating the humanity and divinity of Christ. However, particularly when considering images in Bibles or in private houses, the figure of Christ was nearly essential

---

26 *The shepardes kalender. Here beginneth the kalender of shepardes newly augmented and corrected* (London: T. East 1570), STC 22415, F8v; Stephen Batman, *A christal glasse of christian reformation wherein the godly maye beholde the coloured abuses vsed in this our present tyme* (London: J. Day, 1569), STC 1581, M4r.
when depicting the Biblical narrative. Theodore Beze illustrated the problem in his
discussion on the book of Job by first stating that ‘that humanitie, which he tooke, is not
subsistent in it self, but in the person of the Word’. But:

the humanitie which the sonne of God took, cannot as a part be compounded
with the Godhead of the Word taking it: to which for the encreasing it,
nothing can be added, and from which, to the diminishing therof, nothing can
be taken, and with which as with the onlie infinite essence nothing can in that
manner be conjoined, which deitie, to conclude, cannot without great
absurditeit be called the forme of any creature.27

One could not separate the two, nor could one combine the two, as combining two physical
elements. This union, which Beze explained not even the angels understood, was therefore
so fixed in a static union that, like the Word of God, nothing could be added or taken away
from it. To depict one without the other was considered absurd, for one must in some sense
picture the divine in order to depict Christ at all. Even the renowned William Perkins
stumbled at explaining this distinction. In *A warning against idolatrie*, Perkins was
concerned with images of Christ becoming idols, arguing that Christ’s flesh ‘is received into
the unitie of the second person. But, how to be adored? Not directly as the Godhead: but in
oblique manner, by reason of the union with the godhead’. Christ’s humanity was to be
contemplated and shown reverence like any other symbol of a monarch’s authority (e.g. a
sceptre or a crown), as a representation of his power but not an actual part of his being. But
here Perkins was forced to retract somewhat to avoid the Nestorian heresy and explained that
while to worship the humanity on the level of divinity is idolatrous, the humanity is ‘not as a
garment, which may be put off and on, but inseperably as a part of the second person: so as
the Mediatour worshipped shall be God-man or Man-god in the unitie of one person’.28

Fortunately, in his *Common places*, Peter Martyr Vermigli offered one of the most
elegant answers to this issue. Firstly, Vermigli recognised that the humanity of Christ like all

physical subjects could properly be depicted: ‘he may be resembled, and painted out. For that is not against the nature of the thing; seeing he was verie man; neither against the art of painting, which may imitate bodies’. Following this, he assessed several complications in the depictions of Christ, the foremost being the accusation of Nestorianism. Though he noted its historical roots in the eighth-century iconoclastic controversy, he ultimately dismissed it, explaining:

if it were true, it should not be lawfull to picture anie man, bicause the soule, which is spirit, cannot be expressed. And they which describe the humane nature of the Lord, doo not exclude the divine nature from the understanding; neither doo they shew or allow, that the humanitie of Christ, either was, or is destitute of his godhead.

But Vermigli recognised that simply because this opposition was invalid, it did not necessarily indicate that one could lawfully picture Christ. Ultimately on this matter, there is a waffling tone within the Italian divine’s conclusion. He seemed to err on the side of caution concluding that ‘The lawe standeth in ambiguitie, which seemeth to signifie, that he should not be expressed in the pavement’. But then, in the same manner as his discussion of angels, Vermigli unexpectedly and ambivalently qualified this, saying, ‘as touching his humane nature, there are no firme reasons brought’ why Christ cannot be depicted.

Interestingly, a possible solution to this conundrum was not fully exploited in the Elizabethan period. Much like the Tetragrammaton in iconographic terms, the initials of Christ’s name, the Holy Monogram (I.H.S.), was a popular, almost talismanic, image in the fifteenth century being used in the decoration of jewelry, household items, manuscripts and prints. It also was employed by early reformers as a means of safely representing Christ. Susan Wabuda explains the Monogram ‘incorporated an advantageous measure of

---

abstraction, which appealed to Protestants needy of visual representation but wary of Catholic idolatry’. There continued to be a recognition of the power in Christ’s name during the Reformation, as people prayed, kneeled, cursed and believed in the name of Jesus.32 However, in the mid-sixteenth century, the newly formed Society of Jesus adopted the I.H.S. as their emblem, stamping it upon their rosaries, printed books, and other paraphernalia, which seems to have tainted the image for extensive Protestant use. In 1571, John Bridges bemoaned the misuse of Christ’s name by the Jesuits, saying, ‘Yea of what value do they esteme the death of Jesus Christe, but to take awaye the bare name of a thing?’ Fifteen years later, the controversial preacher William Charke in his debates with the Jesuit Edmund Campion complained that with the I.H.S., ‘they abuse the moste blessed name of Jesus, for a colour of their blasphemous practise, which is to roote out the Gospell of Jesus, and to bring in the heresie, and superstition of poperie’.33

Nevertheless, there were a few examples of the Holy Monogram in Elizabethan printed images. Thomas Bentley’s multi-volume devotional *A monument of matrones*, printed by Henry Denham in 1582, employed the I.H.S. for several of its border pieces [CV]. Like prayer book images of the Tetragrammaton, this image contained kneeling women gazing up at the divine symbol. Subsequently, these were copied by Peter Short who printed them in seven works during the 1590s and early Stuart period.34

---

33 John Bridges, *A sermon, preached at Paules Crosse on the Monday in Whitson* (London: H. Bynneman f. H. Toy, 1571), STC 3736, p. 127; William Charke, *[A treatise against the Defense of the censure, given upon the bookes of W.Charke and Meredith Hanmer; by an unknowne popish traytor in maintenance of the seditious challenge of Edmond Campion ... Hereunto are adjoyned two treatises, written by D.Fulke ... ]* (Cambridge: T. Thomas, 1586), STC 5009, p. 180.
34 McKerrow and Ferguson, #176, 177, 182. Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation*, pp. 175-177. It should also be noted that the Holy Monogram was also depicted in a Scottish banner carried at Carberry Hill on 15 June 1567. Margaret Aston has brought the image to light, as it depicts the young Prince James kneeling at the body of his dead father and praying up toward the Monogram asking God for vengeance: Aston, *The King’s Bedpost*, p. 24.
Elsewhere, the Holy Monogram was used in the frontispiece for the Jesuit martyr Robert Southwell’s collection of poems *Saint Peters complaynt* (1595, 1597, 1599). Printed by Gabriel Cawood and James Roberts, the top portion of the frontispiece contained two kneeling women on either side of the I.H.S., with the nails and thorns of the Crucifixion below. The images of Christ’s suffering reincorporated the more traditional modes of devotion associated with Catholicism.  

Also, the Holy Monogram was used in the border woodcuts of Richard Vennard’s *The right way to heaven*. In one copy of this work, a reader has painstakingly coloured the borders on each page and the several appearances of the Holy Monogram, as well as included a lavish illuminated drawing on the back cover depicting the crowning of Queen

---

Elizabeth by the angels. However, this reader’s enjoyment of the image does not seem to correspond with the general sentiment toward the I.H.S. during Elizabeth’s reign. Although there was a stronger use of the Holy Monogram in the early seventeenth century, it seems that because of the obvious Catholic connections, the symbol was seen as too tainted, particularly by the new threat of the Jesuits, to have any strong impact upon Elizabethan iconography.

**From Corpus Christi to Christ Displayed**

The early Elizabethan period saw the abolition of the *Corpus Christi* play and most other cycle dramas which had been important aspects of late medieval life. These visual celebrations, which had continually reinforced Christ’s importance, were uprooted from society in the sixteenth century. More importantly, as Miri Rubin has explained, these celebrations and performances ‘always retained a liturgical component’ and ‘a strong didactic orientation’. Likely because of these strong liturgical and didactic aspects, such representations of Christ’s life were considered unacceptable to Protestants. However, Protestants did find ways to use certain traditional images, like the I.H.S., to their advantage by augmenting the meaning associated with the picture. Since Christ and symbols of Christ were axiomatic to the Christian tradition, there continued to be a need for them in didactic images. One way of using traditional figures of Christ, which could be quickly assimilated into a reformed mentality, were images that were intended for civil purposes, like those created for identifying popery.

In an interesting example of this, the image of Christ could be made an example of Catholic idolatry to educate the godly believer. While anti-Catholic propaganda in England did not reach its zenith until the seventeenth century, the country certainly had its fill of such

---

37 Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 274.
vitriol during Elizabeth’s reign. Some of it, however, was better received by the monarchy than others. For example, in the same year as John Stubbe had printed *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf* (1579) condemning Elizabeth’s possible marriage to the Catholic duke of Anjou, another popular pamphlet *A newyeares gifte dedicated to the Popes Holinesse* was published, equally critical of Catholics. While Stubbe earned two years in the Tower and the banning of his book for his efforts, neither Bynneman (the printer) nor Bernard Garter (the author) were censored for *A newyeares gifte*. This was certainly because Garter did not challenge Elizabeth. In fact, the text of the pamphlet was a general condemnation of papal authority, positing the divine right of royal supremacy over that of the Pope. Rather than broaching the political turmoils of the late 1570s, *A newyeares gifte* focused upon the invasive Catholic plots from abroad, which were evidenced in the popish trinkets and objects of Catholic devotion.

Near the end of *A newyeares gifte*, ‘popes merchandize’ was displayed in a fold-out woodcut [Plate CV]. By the 1570s, fold-out woodcuts were a staple of Protestant visual propaganda. In *A newyeares gifte*, the image portrays fifteen different objects of Catholic merchandise (including the Agnus Dei, the crucifix, images of the Virgin and Crucifixion, the holy monogram, rosaries and profile images of Christ), which were being smuggled into England.

---


39 Alexander Lacy received a license to print Garter’s *A newyeares gifte* in 1565, though no surviving copy of this edition is extant (*TRCS*, vol. I, p. 302.).

40 Other examples include: Anthony Munday, *The English romayne life, discovering* (London: J. Charlewoode f. N. Ling, 1583), STC 18272 [This work contains a foldout woodcut of four scenes from the life of the martyr Richard Atkins in Rome]; I. L., *The birth, purpose, and mortall wound of the Romish holie League* (London: T. Orwin f. T. Cadman, 1589), STC 15106 [This contained a foldout woodcut of a drawn map of England and Europe with eleven different scenes (each identified by letters and corresponding descriptions in the text) of the political events of the period, including the Duke of Guise’s campaigns, Cardinal William Allen’s seditious libels against the Queen and the Spanish Armada].
Tessa Watt has noted several examples in the Low Countries and France of such merchandise being produced for foreign exportation. And Richard Williams recently highlighted several cases in the latter half of Elizabeth’s reign where such popish material was discovered in Catholic households.41 Though many of these reports are vague, making little distinction between the items discovered, several are more specific. In 1583, a search performed by the officials of Winchester at the house of Lady West discovered ‘two Agnus Dei, and many other popish stuff and relics’. In 1587, William Goodwyn and Bridette Palmer were reported to have had ‘pictures of the Virgin and Saviour’ along with several books printed at the Catholic college in Douai.42

The didactic use of *A newyeares gifte*, as a visual aid in identifying Catholic images, is obvious. Interestingly, many of the existing copies of the work lack the woodcut,
suggesting that it was often removed from the work either to be used as a practical tool or to be displayed in a more public setting.\textsuperscript{43} This strict educational use is buttressed by the fact that both the pamphlet and the woodcut lacked the grotesque mockery which could be found in European anti-Catholic prints. There are no allusions to devilry or allegories of the corruption and filth of Catholicism in the pamphlet. It is stridently determined to avoid the colourful trappings of propaganda to provide a useful display for the seizure of papal ‘merchandise’. Moreover, by identifying the objects as ‘merchandise’, the pamphlet attached certain economic connotations of greed and idolatrous materialism to the items, returning to the popular Protestant accusation that Catholic images were extravagant and a waste of money. John Bale had warned that Catholic clergy ‘have counterfeted Christes sufferinges, in crossinge one hande over an other, and in spredinge theyr armes abreode…[and in] hundred toyes more’.\textsuperscript{44} These toys were made visually evident in \textit{A newyeares gifte}.

Also, it should be noted that \textit{A newyeares gifte} employed a popular theme of early modern debate, to display in order to refute.\textsuperscript{45} Perhaps the most popular of such works was John Foxe’s \textit{Actes and monuments} which reprinted Catholic sermons, letters, and debates with the intent of displaying their faults, either in the accompanying writings of Protestant martyrs or in Foxe’s margin notes. Another anti-Catholic work using this theme was Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde, \textit{The beehive of the Romish church} (1579). Also, Reginald Scot’s work debunking magic and witchcraft \textit{The discoverie of witchcraft} (1584) recounted various spells and potions, along with woodcuts of magical signs and symbols, only to refute

\textsuperscript{43} The copy at the Bodleian Library has been bound with two other works in the late sixteenth century, one being a Catholic devotional, but the woodcut has been cleanly removed sometime before the binding (Bodleian Library. 4°.N.16.Th.).
\textsuperscript{44} See, David Hawkes, \textit{The Idols of the Marketplace: Idolatry and Commodity Fetishism in English Literature, 1580-1680}, (Basingstoke, 2001); John Bale, \textit{The apology of Johan Bale agaynste a ranke papist} (London: S. Mierdman f. J. Day, 1550), STC 1275, A8r-v.
their efficaciousness. In this tradition, *A newyeares gifte* demonstrated how the Catholic merchandise had been abused. Amongst the more popular images signifying Christ, Garter explained that Catholics believed a pendant with the Holy Monogram inscribed in it defended people ‘from theives, and all other daungers in travaile, either by water or lande’. Also, the *Agnus Dei* was believed to have ‘as gret vertue as the bloud of Christ’ and ‘it suppresseth thunder, lightning and tempest’. These explanations were necessary, because it was vitally important that such works clearly set out what was being refuted. It was not enough to know what these things looked like; a good Protestant needed to be informed as to exactly what false beliefs surrounded them.

However, even within this instructive framework there was also a possibility for the reader to use the image in ways not intended by the printer. Secret presses in England and European printers were distributing Catholic images of the rosary and other devotional prints throughout the Elizabethan period. There would be nothing to hinder someone from using these images which were intended for civil and practical use as objects of worship. This sort of reversal of intended use, when an image fell into the hands of someone of an alternative confession, was not uncommon. In one example, Bishop Jewel seems to have used an *Agnus Dei* in a derogatory fashion by displaying it during a sermon. He preached, ‘yet I will show you one of their night-birds, lately hatched in the nest of all superstition. It is the *Agnus Dei*: here it is. It was lately consecrated by the holy father and sent from Rome’. After explaining the miraculous powers of the charm to ward off storms and tempests, he exclaimed, ‘O merciful God! What hath the pope to do with lightning’. Produced by Catholics on the continent, the *Agnus Dei* was intended as a focal point of devotion; however, by making a

---

47 G., B., *A newyeares gifte dedicated to the Popes Holinesse, and all Catholikes addicted to the Sea of Rome* (London: H. Bynneman, 1569), STC 11629, H2r.
spectacle of it, Jewel altered its meaning from one of worship and adoration into one of scorn and contempt.

But with this, there lay a tense ambiguity. Particularly with images of Christ, the ability to alter the meaning and use of an image further complicated the issue of how to define and describe the parameters of what was acceptable and unacceptable. It is almost ironic that after Jewel’s death in 1584, an *Agnus Dei* woodcut was printed on the frontispiece of his *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, having little visual difference from the idolatrous picture displayed on Garter’s fold-out woodcut [Plate CVI]. In fact, both the *Agnus Dei* and the profile portrait of Christ, while objects of devotion, were also printed in Protestant texts in this period. While the *Agnus Dei* had been a central symbol of Catholic piety, it continued to occupy a minor place in Protestant printed images, separate from this theme of displaying idolatry. An elaborate border frontispiece created by the English artist Nicholas Hilliard appeared in fourteen Protestant theological texts between 1574 and 1602.

![Plate CVI: ‘Agnus Dei’](image)

Probably in the possession of stationer George Bishop, the border of pillars and vines contained the image of sacrificial lamb at the top. It appeared in highly popular works like the sermons of John Calvin, Peter Vermigli’s *Common places*, and the second edition of

---

50 McKerrow and Ferguson, #148.
Holinshed’s *Chronicles* (1587). Elsewhere, the lamb of God appeared in a medallion image at the bottom of a broadsheet written about the death of William Lambe in 1580. While the image of the lamb alluded to the deceased’s surname, its motto ‘Sacrifizio Angello Salvazione Mundo’ is a clear reference to Christ [Plate CVII].\(^{51}\) Finally, at the end of Elizabeth’s reign, two Bible frontispieces were produced depicting Christ as the Lamb of God, similar to the *Agnus Dei*, positioned between the Tetragrammaton and the dove, to represent the Trinity. This figure was surrounded by a larger frontispiece of images representing the twelve tribes of Israel [Plate CVIII].\(^{52}\) Certainly, one cannot assume a devotional intent from such imagery, at least not on the printers’ part; however, it is important to recognise that Protestants did not entirely dismiss such images as being associated with popery.

![Plate CVII: ‘Agnus Dei medallion’](image1)

![Plate CVIII ‘Agnus Dei’ 1602 Bible frontispiece](image2)

Another sort of image which received mixed reviews in Protestant iconography was the portrait of Christ. While often considered suspect, portraits of Christ were used by many Protestants as learning tools to counter the false images of Catholicism.\(^{53}\) Some of the more popular representations of the true appearance of Christ were distributed in coins, paintings and printed images during the sixteenth century. Popularised by the discovery of a fabricated

---

52 McKerrow and Ferguson, #231, 233
letter from Publius Lentulus (Pontius Pilate’s successor), which described the physical
countenance of Christ, the image and its description became a popular artefact amongst
godly believers. As Richard Williams has demonstrated, the Lentulus letter gave
authorisation for Protestants who required accurate portrayals of Christ.54 Though the image
was published four times in a seventeenth-century broadsheet, it first appeared in English
print in Stephen Batman’s translation, *The doome warning all men to the judgemente* (1581)
[Plate CIX]. Printed by Henry Bynneman in quarto, Batman devised a new woodcut to
illustrate the Letter of Lentulus, depicting the Virgin and child on one side of a coin and
Christ’s profile on the other.55 The textual context of the letter and the civic nature of the
coin provided a justifiable way in which to depict Christ without any fears of idolatry.

![Plate CIX: ‘Coin with Christ and the Virgin with Child’](image)

Like much of *The doome warning*, however, even this seemingly civil image offered
obvious anti-Catholic overtures. For such true appearances of Christ differed drastically
from those of the popular late medieval Veronica images, where Christ’s face was depicted
gazing back at the viewer. Here, Christ appears like any other face upon a coin, detached and
static, attempting to establish what Christ looked like, rather than how one can gaze upon
him. This image followed a description of the Letter of Lentulus, representing the good use
of images in pre-Catholic Christianity. More than seventy pages later in the same work, the

54 Williams, ‘The Reformation of an Icon’, pp. 73-74.
55 *GEIB*, vol. I, p. 63. It is possible that Batman used a popular woodcut that was circulating around Europe as a
model for his woodcut [Williams, ‘The Reformation of an Icon’, p. 85.].
dichotomy of true and false images becomes even more evident with a surreal profile of a head composed of popish materials, books, and symbols. This woodcut demonstrated close iconographic ties to Lutheran propaganda against the papacy that was distributed widely earlier in the century.\footnote{Scribner, For the Sake of the Simple Folk, pp. 90, 160.}

However, the image of Christ has none of the beauty and comeliness described by the Letter of Lentulus. It is instead an intentional display of gaudy popery and almost mechanistic composition, a religious Frankenstein, with the animal figures of the ass, fox, and rat (representing the papacy) appearing at the top [Plate CX].

The rubbish of the pope had taken shape and come alive. The parody of the simple and pure figure of Christ with that of the intricate, and grotesque, portrait of Catholicism was cemented in the image appearing below the Catholic profile. The figures of the Lion of Judah and the Dragon of Dan, two tribes of Israel and the two animals on Tudor coat of arms, are stood upon by Christ’s pierced feet which appear from the clouds above.
representative of the Ascension. The subsequent poem reminded the reader that it is Christ, not the trappings of the Pope, which should rightfully rule England:

If Juda did the Lion beare, and Dan the Dragon fel,  
Then judge who worthy ought to have, that rules them both so well,  
For he whose harte once pierced was, hath fixt his feete most sure,  
In right of Albions worthy grace, for ever to endure.

But even with this obviously Protestant image, Batman felt it necessary to explain his use of the imagery of Christ’s portrait:

I have caused this to be sette down, to none other ende, that as a worthye monument among diverse straunge effectes, of no lesse worthynesse, than other coynes of Emperors, which was supposed a coyne usuall among the Christians in the primitive Church.

This was an attempt to assure the reader that the image is nothing more or less than a visual memorial of a common item from antiquity. That it displayed the face of Christ and not the face of an Emperor should not, in Batman’s opinion, garner it any more or less attention.

Batman’s explanation seems to have been intended as a pre-emptive defence against the more iconoclastic Protestants. A similar explanation was given by John Bridges in his reply to Nicholas Sanders’s defence of images of Christ. Bridges attacks the worship of the Veronica, while defending displays such as Batman’s, saying, ‘ye worshipped the picture of the face of Christe, which yet by the auncient describers thereof, was nothing like his face. Neither can ye say, ye prayed not to it, but unto Christe, whom the face in the cloath represented: for even unto the paynted face it selfe ye prayed’.

Again, however, the ambiguous distinction between permissible and damnable images was made apparent. Protestants continued to find themselves in need of depicting images of Christ, while at the same time feeling pricked by their own convictions against

---

57 Similar representations of the Ascension in the fifteenth century were popular on carved panels of alabaster and wood. The Victoria & Albert Museum has two examples. See museum numbers: A.113-1946; A.144-1946.
58 Konrad Lycothestenes, The doome warning of all men to the judgemente, translated by Stephen Batman (London: R. Nuberry at the assignes of H. Bynneman, 1581), STC 1582, R7v.
59 Lycothestenes, The doome warning, I6v.
Catholic idolatry. This was most clearly demonstrated in the tempestuous life of crosses and crucifixes in sixteenth-century England. Here, a consensus was almost beyond reach. William Tyndale and Luther approved of the use of crosses, as long as they were not given miraculous qualities. But, because of its devotional nature, as a symbol of the divine, this permissiveness did not sit well with Calvinists. Calvin had preached ardently against the cross as the epitome of corruption as it was most of all likely to derive false worship from people. In his response to Thomas Harding, John Jewel’s concession that ‘The Crosse, I graunt, amonge the [early] Christians was had in great regarde’, demonstrated the difficulty many Protestants had with condemning the cross entirely. However, because of its symbolic importance in Catholicism, ‘the best remedie and most agreeable with God’s Worde is utterly to abolish’ the image. John Jewel conceded the point that ‘they were ancient and goodly monuments’, but because of the corruption of Catholicism, ‘it is to the great honour of God that they should be despised, defaced, burned’. William Perkins added insult to the injuries of iconoclasm against the cross when he retorted that ‘by the same proportion of reason, Judas and the Jewes, spears, & thornes are to be worshipped: because they were instruments of the death of Christ: yea spittle and clay is to be worshipped, because Christ used them sometime in working miracles’.

---


62 John Jewel, *A replie unto M. Hardinges ansvweare by perusinge whereof the discrete, and diligent reader may easily see, the weake, and unstable groundes of the Romaine religion, whiche of late hath bee accompted Catholique* (London: H. Wykes, 1565), pp. 500, 501, 517. See also, Giuseppe Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius* (New York, 1992), ch. 5. Here, Scavizzi makes the argument that Calvin believed the cross to not only be an object of idolatry but the source of many superstitious beliefs (p. 206). This is probably true, as Calvin attributed superstition to material objects elsewhere. However, I must contest Scavizzi’s claim that ‘Protestants ceased to be interested in the issue of the cross after the year 1600’ (p. 210). Though certainly not of prime importance in the early Stuart years, the issue of the cross was resurrected during the Civil War and proved to be a stereotypical example of image abuse: *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, edited by Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 16, 24, 25, 82, 84, 90, 93, 98, 100; Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 86-87, 159-163.

Crosses were often removed from places of worship, though not systematically. They also continued to appear in printed images such as John Cawood’s 1570 printing of *The Ship of Fools*. The heavily illustrated folio depicted a fool pulling at the beard of the traditional figure of Christ as the *Salvator Mundi* [Plate CXI], which continued to be found in European prints. Picturing the sin of mocking God, the foolish person is warned ‘He geveth not thee his beard to drawe and brass, / For every sinne be punished first or last’. Taken from the Old Testament prophecy of Christ’s suffering in Isaiah 50.6, the ritual act of pulling at one’s beard in mockery or accusation appeared in Foxe’s *Actes and monuments* and Batman’s *A christall glasse*. In the image of the fool, it is the salvation and authority of Christ over sin which is being mocked. The image which had been the focal point of devotion, here becomes a warning against those who would tempt the awesome power of God’s wrath by believing he will not punish sin. A few pages later, in a second image, the figure of Christ crucified is attacked by a fool with a three-pronged spear, re-enacting the crucifixion [Plate CXII]. The text describes the scene in these words:

Against Christ they cast and throwe great othes,  
Blaspheming against divine commaundment,  
Wordes of envy which God almightye lothes,  
They throwe against him as trayters violent.  
The one blasphemes by Christes head and brayne,
Grutching and grenning for simple thing or nought:  
...By all his holy members to sweare hath little thought:  
Another by his bloud wherewith he hath us bought,  
His face, his heart, or by his crowne of thorne,  
Wherewith (for them) his skin was rent and torne.  

Though specifically targeted at those who vainly swore by the name of God, or by any part of Christ, such an image and explanation could be expanded into several interpretations. The scriptural basis for the image is probably Hebrews 6.6. Directed at those who turn away from believing in Christ, the Bible stated, ‘they are crucifying the Son of God all over again and subjecting him to public disgrace’. It was common to describe sins against God and against Christ, particularly blasphemy, as if the person were attacking Christ. This motif of re-crucifying Christ was also popular from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries in the anti-Semitic tales of Jews attacking the Eucharist.  

The English metamorphosis of this narrative was dramatized in the Croxton Play of the Sacrament, which was still being performed in the mid-sixteenth century. The text of the Ship of Fools even alluded to the medieval tradition saying that these ‘new tormentours’ attacked Christ ‘worse then Jews’.

However, in the context of the 1570s, it is possible for text and image to be interpreted in terms of the Catholic abuse of images, creating idols out of the figures of Christ, perverting the truth and blaspheming the reality of his suffering. The Catholic abuse was to be found in the fact that they had turned away from the truth by forming the image of God with their own hands. This was illustrated in the Lutheran catechism A bryefe summe of

---

64 Sebastian Brant, Sultifera navis or The ship of foole, wherin is shewed the folly of all states, with divers other workes adioyned vnto the same, very profitable and fruitfull for all men (London: J. Cawood, 1570), STC 3546, 2F5r.
66 Brant, Sultifera navis, 2F4r-v.
the whole Byble, reprinted in 1568, with an image of a hooded man praying before a crucifix [Plate CXIII].

While at first, the image appears to represent devotion to Christ and holy living, the text demonstrates that this is in fact not the case. The text itself simply states, ‘Pure devocion and undefiled before God the father is this. To visite the friendless and widdowes in their adversitie, and to kepe him self unspotted from the world’. However, the margin clarifies the distinction between the devotion put forth in the text and that in the image, that ‘This is a pure religion ordained by God, other religions as in cotes, girdles, vot[iv]es ar fained’. The crucifix is part and parcel with this ‘fained’ devotion of Catholic materialism that put stock in the physical displays of religion without, as Protestants contested, producing the true fruits of devotion. While the crucifix was displayed in similar albeit more revered printed images, such as the images of the gospel writers popular in Elizabethan Bibles and New Testaments, here the crucifix is a prop, like the images in A newyeares gifte, in a visual lesson of what not to do.

---


Reforming the *Imitatio Christi*

Much has been said concerning the distinction that Puritans made between imitating Christ and doing what Christ commanded. The work of J. Sears McGee and more recently Elizabeth Hudson on the fifteenth-century devotional text by Thomas Kempis *De imitatione Christi* has promoted this distinction. The general conclusion has been that while the imitation of Christ was a popular theme in late Elizabethan and Stuart England, it did not appeal to Puritans as a means of becoming like Christ.\(^\text{68}\) With concerns that most lay people could not properly distinguish between Christ the man and Christ the God, Puritans were intent upon promoting the virtues of Christ without attempting to become Christ-like. In her study of several other Elizabethan and early Stuart devotionals, Hudson surmises that the same virtues in Christ’s life that Kempis extolled were encouraged by Puritans, but not as a way of imitating Christ. Though useful in understanding the Puritan refashioning of a late medieval devotional theme, this does not fully elucidate the impact of the *imitatio Christi* upon early modern Protestantism. First, as Hudson explains, more conservative Protestants and later adherents to Arminianism were much more amenable to structuring their life to reflect that of Christ’s. Also, one must keep in mind Helen White’s insight that even after the Reformation was well established in England, Protestants continued to use traditional Catholic frameworks and themes to give shape to their devotional writings, particularly concerning the life and death of Christ.\(^\text{69}\) Thus, in a cultural milieu wherein Christ is foremost in terms of godliness and righteousness, such a distinction between imitating Christ and obeying Christ, while useful, does not offer a complete perspective of the culture at large.

---


The following two sections of this chapter will demonstrate how various types of images of Christ illustrated different aspects of the *imitatio*, not only in encouraging an imitation of Christ in one’s life but also in one’s ministry and devotion. For, the image and imitation of Christ extended beyond the confines of a late medieval form of piety. Not only did it inspire Protestant ministers and martyrs to conform to the model set out by Christ’s preaching, it also gave substantive form to the Calvinist God that became more aloof as the Reformation progressed.\(^{70}\) In terms of numbers and quantity, the *Imitatio Christi* was one of the most popular devotionals printed in Elizabethan England. Six editions of the traditional translations by Bridgettine monk Richard Whitford (two editions) and Edward Hake (four editions) were printed by Henry Denham and John Cawood between 1566 and 1575, and a more reformed edition (without any reference to the Mass) was translated by Thomas Rogers in 1580.\(^{71}\) The readership of the three translations are uncertain, but the number of editions matched and surpassed most other devotional books of the Elizabethan period, leading Ian Green to describe the ‘English fascination’ with Kempis as ‘remarkable’. Three Latin versions of Kempis were found in the private libraries of Elizabethan scholars in Oxford. One English edition (probably one of Hake’s translations) was owned by Sir Roger Townshend. In Cambridge, a much higher number of eleven copies have been catalogued during the period.\(^{72}\)

Nevertheless, the debate over the impact of the Kempis devotional, and others like it, has tended to overlook a larger culture informed by the idea of imitating Christ, which had permeated Christianity for almost two centuries. Also, the debate has neglected a wealth of


\(^{71}\) STC 23969-23971.

cultural interconnections between the teaching and the person of Christ, which were reinforced in early modern religion. As Arthur Dent stated, ‘No preaching, no faith; no faith, no Christ; no Christ, no eternall life … If we will have heaven, we must have Christ. If we will have Christ, we must have faith. If we will have faith, we must have the word preached’. This idea of the close relations between Christ as both the ideal teacher as well as the subject of the godly sermon was scattered throughout the printed images of the period.

*Christ as Shepherd*

The idea that preachers and teachers of God’s Word were representatives and therefore reflections of Christ was deeply embedded in the early modern world. Though the Reformation had stripped ministers of their priestly identity, it had hefted upon them the responsibility of expositing and administering the Word. For a generally unlearned body of clerics who were more accustomed to ceremonies and liturgy, the mandate to preach and teach was a tall order. The royal injunctions in 1559 required that ministers be the rearguards against ‘the vice of damnable despair’ by always being ready to offer ‘such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons’.

It was common in Europe and England for reformers to express this example in terms of to ‘preach Christ’, which became a sort of shorthand for true teaching and preaching the primary responsibility of the Protestant minister. As one ballad illustrated:

… the Preachers: so this understand,

---

Which doo preach Christ truly: in every land.
Without Pope or popery, our soules for to save,
By faith in Christ onely, of whom we it crave.76

The sermon of truth had replaced the mass of idolatry, and the truth always returned to Christ. Particularly, the preaching of Christ crucified, the phrase Paul used in his first letter to the church at Corinth (1 Corinthians 1:23) was the quintessential form of preaching Christ. Susan Wabuda explains that to “preach Christ” meant literally to keep the sermon’s focus…narrowly fixed upon the person and words of Christ to promote the right scriptural understanding of justification by faith alone.77 Here it is vital to recognize a two-fold meaning in the phrase. The focus was upon Christ, whether in imitation or preaching, not merely to replicate the virtues of Christ’s life but also to present a model for administering the Gospel. Alex Walsham explains that, ‘preaching occupied a unique position in the Protestant economy of salvation’. It had replaced the sacrament as the focus of the church service and as the primary means of gaining access to God.78 The image of Christ not only as suffering Saviour and glorified moral ideal but also as the perfect preacher became an integral feature of Protestant iconography.

This is most aptly seen in one of the most widely distributed pictures of the period, Christ as the Good Shepherd [Plate CXIV]. As the first chapter has already discussed the provenance of this image and much of its transition, we need not recount all of the facts here.79 However, there are several key features about the image of the Good Shepherd which are intriguing. First, at least three different manifestations of it were produced, ranging in size and detail, which were printed more than two dozen times altogether.

76 Anon., *A new ballad intituled, Daniels siftyng in these our dayes aptly applyed to the true preachers of the Gospell* (London: R. Johns, 1572), STC 6235.
77 Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation*, p. 86.
79 Chapter 1, pp. 79-83.
Moreover, there is no evidence to suggest that these alterations were made for religious reasons but instead that they had more to do with the ownership of the woodcut and perhaps the size of the text in which it was to be printed. Second, while this has been considered a printer’s device by most scholars, there is good reason not to treat it as a mere logo or emblem. The figure of the Good Shepherd was extremely important in Reformation circles, as it was popular in the late medieval works of William Langland and Geoffrey Chaucer. It offered not only the comfort of Christ’s role as saviour and protector but also the allusion to the preacher as a shepherd, leading people to the true Shepherd through the Word. Miles Coverdale called the image ‘one of the most loving and comfortable similitudes’, for in this figure Christ, ‘not only provide for his sheep pasture, and other more things that belong thereto, but defendeth them also, that no harm chance unto them’. Calvin exhorted people to pray ‘to receive our Lord Jesus Christ for our guide and shepheard, and to heare him as our

---

80 Devices, #153, 202, 207.
teacher and master, like as hee speaketh to us daylie by his worde. With only two exceptions, the image was printed only with theological texts, particularly Biblical commentaries, sermons, and Protestant polemics, confirming its imagery in the role of the preacher. Therefore, the image of the Good Shepherd was bound fast to a certain type of text and therefore would most likely have been seen by a specific readership, in particular the preacher and the godly reader, reinforcing the idea of the shepherd.

Finally, the meaning of the image has much to convey. Its Biblical source is John 10, where Christ announces himself as the good shepherd:

The man who enters by the gate is the shepherd of his sheep. The watchman opens the gate for him, and the sheep listen to his voice. He calls his own sheep by name and leads them out. When he has brought out all his own, he goes on ahead of them, and his sheep follow him because they know his voice. But they will never follow a stranger; in fact, they will run away from him because they do not recognize a stranger's voice.

Within this, several themes become apparent, which are rehearsed in many other images of Christ as Teacher. Firstly, the image of the Good Shepherd was a mark of Christ’s good teaching, leading the reader in the way of truth. Further, in the Biblical passage, Christ described himself not only as the shepherd but also as the gate for the sheep, ‘I am the gate; whoever enters through me will be saved’ (10.9). Thus, the image of the Good Shepherd, which either was placed on the frontispiece or on the last page of the text, marked the boundaries of the good teaching found in the text. Second, there is an obvious dichotomy created in the image between good and evil shepherds, between Christ and Antichrist.

82 John 10.2-5.
This motif, as Patrick Collinson has demonstrated, was also a popular rhetorical device in distinguishing good preachers from bad ones, which were termed ‘hirelings’. A poor shepherd, particularly a malicious one, was a most dangerous figure, for he threatened the spiritual well-being of an entire parish. Thomas Becon explained that, ‘Antichrist saith, that he is a good sheepeheard, and yet he pollet and pilleth, hee sheareth and scrapeth the sheepe so neare, that he leaveth not one locke of wolle on their backes’. One image created by Hans Holbein depicted such immoral shepherds (or hirelings) fleeing as the sheep are devoured by the wolves [Plate CXV]. It was first printed in England by Walter Lynne in 1548 on the frontispiece of a pamphlet written by Urbanus Rhegius contrasting true and false worship, and it appeared again in a judgement pamphlet in 1566 printed by William Pickering. Whereas Christ gave salvation and life through his own death and resurrection, the antichrist plundered the sheep for his own gain and abandoned them in tribulation. It was vitally important that the people were led by good shepherds who modelled themselves after Christ by holding to right theology. These hirelings were ministers who did not defend the

flock against the wolves of popery. Following this, a final point is that the Good Shepherd image in turn depicted the good minister and pastor, as they were Christ’s workmen and ministers. Richard Bernard’s popular manual for preaching exemplified this in its title *The faithfull shepherd* (1621). With the image, then, the reader was not only given a visualisation of Christ, but also a reminder of the relationship between the preacher and the people. As the preacher was expected to preach Christ, guide people to the truth, and care for his flock, the people had a responsibility to the preacher to support, obey, and pray for him.

*Christ as Teacher*

As reminders of this relationship, images of Christ as teacher and preacher were among the more common pictures of him outside the scriptural texts. Like the image of the Good Shepherd, they were often used as an opening scene to a text that wanted to assure the reader that what was printed was the truth. In Batman’s *The doome warning*, the introduction concludes with a rectangular woodcut of Christ inviting a crowd of people to ‘come unto me’. This was a popular woodcut in the 1540s, printed sixteen times by John Mayler in various devotional works, including *The manuall of prayers* by the Catholic Bishop John Hilsey.

In Batman’s work, it opens up the warning of a judgement book, providing a visual display of salvation for those who wish to escape what was described in the subsequent pages [Plate CXVI]. Also, the image reflects the verses on the opposite page:

Imagine that thou seest, the thing is not in sight,
Faith shal teach thee then to understand aright.
What ever here thou finde, give God the prayse not me,

---

85 The concern that people had good ministers can be seen in the examples of non-conformist ministers (not necessarily hirelings) who were suspected of leading their people into false belief in: Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 41-45.
His only grace it is, that bestoweth this on thee.\textsuperscript{88}

Plate CXVI: ‘Christ preaching “come unto me”’

Detached from its Catholic past, the image became the starting point of an anti-Catholic polemic, which gives visual testimony that it is of God. Interestingly, this image was intended to direct the reader not to the visible image but the invisible truth of faith in Christ, which could be accessed in the following pages. One image of Christ recycled from pre-Reformation editions was this two-scene frontispiece of Christ teaching (in the top border) and Christ commissioning his disciples (in the bottom) [Plate CXVII]. Originally from Europe, it was first printed in England by Peter Southwarke in 1530, and then by William Rastell for several works including a collection of sermons by Cardinal John Fisher. Another printing was made by Richard Toye in 1550 and again by William Copland in 1560. Also, in that same year, Owen Rogers used an altered version of the image for Francis Newport’s \textit{An epythaphe of the godlye constant and counfortable confessor mystres Darothye Wynnes}.\textsuperscript{89} In the original image, Christ has handed the key of the kingdom of heaven to Peter, as he walks away with the other disciples [Plate CXVIII]. But in Owen’s image, which may have been a close copy, the key has been removed. Though there is quite a bit of damage to the woodcut, the intentional removal is obvious, as are the motivations behind it. The image of the key had long been the standard symbol of the papacy, as the progeny of St. Peter’s headship over all the bishops and clergy of Christ.

\textsuperscript{88} Lycosthenes, \textit{The doome warning}, 1v.
\textsuperscript{89} McKerrow and Ferguson, #17.
In Matthew 16.19, Christ tells Peter, ‘I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven’, which Catholics believed granted Peter and his papal successors the power to expunge sin, allowing people to enter heaven.

However, one of the most important aspects in an image of Christ the Shepherd or Teacher for Protestants was the message of Christ’s sole pastorship and ministry over all the Christian church. William Fulke preached, ‘while the church is dispersed in diverse places of the world, as that there is one flocke and one shepheard over all Jesus Christ’.  

As the godly lady Dorothy Wynnes had long ago renounced the Catholic faith, such a change to the image is understandable. Owen’s image demonstrated an attempt to distance the picture, and the text it illustrated, from such popish claims while retaining the truth within the image.

---

An equally curious image of Christ which conveyed both a warning and an exhortation to follow him was printed on the frontispiece of *The examination and confession of certaine wytches at Chensforde* (1566) [Plate CXIX]. Printed by William Powell at the commission of the bookseller William Pickering, the witchcraft pamphlet had four other illustrative woodcuts, but this opening picture of Christ washing his disciples’ feet seems out of place. In fact, there is no similar image in any witchcraft pamphlet of the period that might indicate a trend for such images.

![Plate CXIX: ‘Christ washing the disciples feet’](image)

The image was certainly created in the early sixteenth century, probably in England, but there is no earlier record of the image being printed. Christ is mentioned in the formulaic manner common to such pamphlets, but the scene is neither described nor directly alluded to in the text. While we cannot be certain, it is likely that the image was understood in the context of the Biblical narrative that complemented (instead of illustrating) the pamphlet. The image’s place on the frontispiece, rather than within the text, allows for such an alternative theme. Christ as Teacher, after washing the disciples’ feet, commissioned and commanded them to go and do likewise to others. In opposition to this scene, the witches were disciples of Satan and had refused Christ’s teaching. The pamphlet explained they, ‘Be

---

Sathans owne, for Jesus Christe, / for his deny them wyll. / Sith Christ in heaven will them 
forsake, / which him in earth denye’. 92 The believer had forsaken Satan, and like the 
disciples, were given the responsibility to ‘preach Christ’ to others as well as listen to the 
truth when it was preached.

Another example of Christ as Teacher is in Sir David Lindsay’s *A dialogue betweene 
experience and a courtier* (1566) [Plate CXX]. Here, the same image of Christ teaching to a 
crowd with an empty scroll above him was used twice, first introducing the chapter ‘An 
exhortation to the reader’ and second before the section entitled ‘Howe God made the 
diversitye of Langauges’. In both the woodcut’s appearances in Lindsay’s text, the scroll 
next to Christ is empty, which was a common means of removing the textual place of the 
image, so to create a factotum woodcut that could be placed in a variety of contexts. 93 This is 
not to say that the image lost all meaning, but rather that its meaning was no longer bound to 
any single text such as the 1548 Lutheran catechism in which it was originally printed. As 
has already been mentioned, the woodcuts used by Thomas Purfoote in Lindsay’s *A dialogue

---

92 John Philips, *The examination and confession of certaine wytches at Chensforde in the countie of Essex* (London: R. Johns, 1566), STC 19869.5, A5r.

betweene experience and a courtier were of the same collection that went into the printing of *A briefe summe of the whole byble*. In the latter text, the same image was printed with Christ teaching the *pater noster* [Plate CXXI]. In this image, the scroll contained the words ‘Teach us to pray’. In Lindsay’s text, the meaning though less explicit is not unimportant. While there is no direct mention of Christ in either section, it is obvious that the message is the same as that appearing in *The doome warning*, that what follows is the truth.

The image of Christ teaching his disciples how to pray was popularised by a woodcut from Antoine Verard’s workshop in Paris. The image first appeared in Richard Pynson’s 1506 edition of the *Kalender of Shepherds* [Plate CXXII]. It was then printed in all five editions of the *Kalender* in the Elizabethan years, as well as appearing once in Thomas East’s printing of Hugh Rhodes *The booke of nurture for men servauntes, and children* (1568). Rhodes’s book of good manners was a staple of early modern courtesy training, and there is little mystery as to why the *pater noster* would be an aspect of this education. At first glance, such texts as a calendar and a manners book seem like literature for the uneducated and the young reader. Certainly, the image of Christ teaching the basic prayer of

---

the New Testament, the formula for all Christian prayer, would fit this mould. However, at least in France, Natalie Zemon-Davis has questioned the assumption that readership was limited, arguing instead that the Kalender seemed much more an aspect of educated and even gentry culture. While important both as an almanac and a spiritual primer, the Kalender also offered the elites a more nostalgic view of the countryside, similar to that of Piers Plowman. 95 However they were read, such texts cannot be dismissed as culturally peripheral. The desire to illustrate such texts implies not only a perceived market for these illustrations but also a desire to visualise what was being read.

Furthermore, we should not assume that images of the basic tenets of the faith were overlooked and ignored by the educated, simply because they could recite them. Even though Puritans moved away from formulaic prayers, such Biblical forms of devotion remained a vital part of Protestant culture. One’s ability to partake in the Lord’s Supper depended on the ability to recite the catechism. And from this, the maintenance of uniformity, so important in the Elizabethan religion, hinged upon the people’s ability to learn the basic tenets and liturgy of the church. The homily ‘A fruitfull exhortation to the Reading of Holye Scripture’ questioned, ‘If we professe Christe, why be we not ashamed to be ignoraunt in his doctrine, seyng that every man is ashamed to be ignoraunt in that learning whiche he professeth?’ 96 This doctrine for most people was summarised in things like the catechism, the pater noster and the Book of Common Prayer. Particularly by the 1580s, significant numbers of cheap works were being published to help the ignorant in this endeavour. 97 The images of Christ reflected this weighty responsibility to learn from Christ the Teacher. They reminded the reader that even the simplest things in life like ‘our daily

---

96 ‘A fruitfull exhortation to the Reading of Holye Scripture’ in *Certaine Sermons or homelies*, p. 64.
97 Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 290-293.
bread’, to the most important such as the forgiveness of sins were instructed and taught by Christ. To overlook them or shun them would be in effect to shun the Word of God.

Plate CXXIII: ‘Christ giving the Gospel’

A final image of this type depicting Christ as Teacher is the popular scene where Christ hands his disciples a book with the word ‘Gospel’ written upon it and says ‘Receive the holy ghost’ [Plate CXXIII]. Again, this image appeared in the catechism *A briefe summe of the whole byble*, but had many printings in the Edwardian years by the Dutch immigrant Anthony Scoloker.98 The image here introduced the text on instructing prelates and ministers with basic excerpts from scripture about the function, duty, and responsibility of a preacher. What is most interesting about this image is that it displayed the dual meaning behind the notion to ‘preach Christ’. As Christ is the Teacher, he is also what Protestants should be teaching. The importance of preaching was wrapped up in this idea that Christ the Word was giving the Word, himself, to those that believed. Alexander Nowell’s catechism summarised this point succinctly, saying that people should hear the Word preached, ‘Even as the Lord himself if he were present … which himself witnesseth, saying, “He that heareth you, heareth me”’.99

---

98 *GEIB, vol.1*, pp. 207, 284.
This chapter has thus far discussed the printed images of Christ as they appeared in an obviously Protestant and oftentimes anti-Catholic context. Even traditional figures like the I.H.S. and the Agnus Dei could be used in a positive manner. The image of Christ in contexts of worship and adoration was never completely eradicated in sixteenth-century England. The devotional theme of the imitatio Christi did not stop at Christ the Shepherd and Teacher. The importance of the life and death of the God-man was often depicted in early Elizabethan scriptures. In this, we must re-examine Tessa Watt’s claim, that:

When the human figure of Christ was shown, potentially devotional scenes like the crucifixion or virgin and child were generally avoided, at least until the influence of the anti-Calvinist movement of the 1620s. Printers’ devices portrayed Christ in emblematic roles which illustrated the central doctrines of Protestantism: Christ as the Good Shepherd … Christ triumphing over death, emerging from a grave with one foot on a skeleton.100

Though Watt’s general assertion is accurate, it does not thoroughly account for the entire range of printed images of Christ, particularly images of Christ’s suffering. There is no question that these images diminished in number during the period, but this reduction was not a complete elimination nor was it necessarily a cultural devaluation of the theme of the Crucifixion. Although fewer in number, the suffering Christ and the life of Christ continued to be seen in Biblical and non-Biblical texts and were emphasised in Protestant teaching.

The imitatio Christi, at least for Kempis and his followers, was much more about godly living than godly preaching. Certainly, the example of Christ was integral to the role of the minister. Kempis noted as much in another of his devotionals, that Christ ‘hath both instructed mee oftentimes with profitable sermons, and confirmed mee in his word’.101

Nevertheless, both Kempis and the general devotio moderna movement stressed each

---

100 Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, p. 161
individual’s need to imitate Christ in daily living. Though historians like Hudson and McGee have perceived a shift away from this type of imitation in late sixteenth century Puritanism, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that even if this were true it does not reflect a general trend in Elizabethan culture. Most importantly, all believers were a part of the body of Christ, which implied a degree of participation in and following of the head of the body.

One of the clearest examples of this can be found in the recent studies on Protestant and Catholic conceptions of martyrdom in the sixteenth century. While medieval mystics attempted to become as familiar with the suffering and torment of Christ’s passion as possible, many martyrs and martyrologists attempted to simulate their imitation of Christ in the retelling of the executions. Thomas Freeman comments that, ‘even the most iconoclastic and radical Protestants sought, with considerable ingenuity and effort, to imitate, and to emphasise the imitations by their co-religionists, of Christ’s passion and death’. In Europe, the influential Swiss reformer Pierre Viret followed Kempis’s ideals when describing the suffering of the European martyrs. This typological standard was also extended to the godly people who were still alive. The austere Tudor homilies recognised the importance of the imitation of Christ in being a member of the church body. ‘An Homelie against Contencion and Braulynge’ exhorted the people, ‘Thou canste be no member of Christ, if thou follow not the steppes of Christ, who, as the prophete saieth, was led to death like a lambe, not openynge hys mouth to reviling, but opening hys mouth to praiynge for them that crucified hym’, emphasising not Christ’s death but his life as a model for imitation.

Even in the early Elizabethan period, Christ continued to be the highest standard for both the living and the dying Christian. Particularly in Queen Elizabeth’s early years, this

\[\text{References:}\]

102 Freeman, “‘Imitatio Christi With a Vengeance’”, pp. 35-69. See also: Brad Gregory, Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 158-162; Susannah Monta, Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 121-122


example was made visible in several different Bible illustrations. First, there are several examples of woodcut series depicting the life of Christ printed in the 1560s. In the previous chapter, the frontispiece for the 1566 Rouen Bible printed by Carmin Hamillon in France and funded by the Englishman Richard Carmarden was discussed. Here, the images within that text will be examined as they present a fairly unique example of Biblical illustration in this period [Plate CXXIV]. Like the pictures of Christ the Teacher, Carmarden’s woodcuts were placed as introductions to each of the four parts of the Bible (Old Testament, Apocrypha, New Testament, and Revelation).\(^{105}\) However, on each illustrated page, the printer arranged twenty-four images in a frame around the title. Twenty-six images were printed (in seventy-two occurrences), fourteen of which depicted the life of Christ. Strangely, there is no obvious order of placement. Images of Christ’s life are interspersed with Old Testament scenes, creating a collage more than a pattern. Earlier editions of the Great Bible printed by Grafton and Whitchurch also adopted this sort of illustration. However, neither of these Bibles equalled the number of woodcuts nor the seemingly haphazard arrangement of the Rouen Bible. A similar collection of images occurred in the 1572 Bishops’ Bible where eighteen scenes of Revelation are placed onto one page rather than printed throughout the chapter in their respective places. However, the Bishops’ Bible’s woodcuts, unlike those in the Carmarden Bible, follow the set order of chapters in a left-right, top-bottom format so that the reader would examine the images in the same manner as they would read the text.\(^{106}\)

The images in the Carmarden Bible, though they had structured borders for each woodcut and set boundaries for the different scenes, could be read in many different ways.

\(^{105}\) *The Byble in Englyshe* (Rouen: C. Hamillon, 1566), STC 2098; *GEIB, vol. I*, pp. 121-122.

\(^{106}\) For earlier Bibles with this sort of illustration, see: *GEIB, vol. I*, pp. 96-100, 109-110. For the *Bishops’ Bible*, see, pp. 136-137.
The seconde parte of the Byble, containing these boothes.

The booke of Josua.
The booke of the Judges.
The booke of Ruth.
The fyfte booke of Samuel.
The ixth booke of Samuel.
The ixth booke of the Rynes.
The ixth booke of the Rynes.
The ixth booke of the Chronicles.
The ixth booke of the Chronicles.
The fyfte booke of Elymas.
The ixth booke of Elymas.
The booke of Teller.
The booke of Hivv.

Plate CXXIV: Frontispiece in Rouen Bible
Thus, depending upon how one reads the images, Old Testament scenes of King Solomon shift to the Resurrection and Christ’s miracle of multiplying loaves and fishes shifts and then on to St. John’s vision on the island of Patmos. This disjuncture between many of the scenes demonstrates more connection to the *Biblia pauperum* tradition than anything else, offering a montage of scenes that communicated the basic message and narrative of the Bible that could be seen in any number of different ways. Furthermore, because of this disjointedness between the scenes, there is no single way of reading the images, nor, because of the clean and straight borders, is there any reason why the images needed to remain in the page. They could just as easily have been removed from the page, as were some smaller woodcuts of Christ, and pasted into some other book or place.\(^{107}\)

As the early Elizabethan tradition of decorating Bibles, culminating in the *Bishops’ Bible* (1568) has already been discussed in the previous chapter, there is no reason to doubt why this Bible was printed. Thomas Becon had fully expressed the importance of such imagery, saying if such scenes ‘were well printed in us’ that ‘The only gloriusse sight and contemplation of the humanitie of Christ our God, wold so chere us and replenishe us with joy, yet we should never be angry with any man’.\(^{108}\) Though Richard Carmarden, the man behind the Rouen Bible, remains somewhat of an enigma in the printing trade, he seems to have been, like most Bible publishers, a man of business and religion. What little biographical information there is about him suggests that he was a part of the Elizabethan customs administration, which would explain his access to printing and printers in France.\(^{109}\) However, he had no other illustrated work to his name, so it is likely that these images, most

---


\(^{108}\) Thomas Becon, *A new postil containing most godly and learned sermons upon all the Sonday Gospelles* (London: J. Day, 1566), STC 1736, 32r.

\(^{109}\) For further details on Carmarden and his dealings in the customs office, see: John U. Nef, ‘Richard Carmarden’s “A Caveat for the Queene” (1570)’, *The Journal of Political Economy*, 41 (1933), 33-41; Howell A. Lloyd, ‘Camden, Carmarden and the Customs’, *EHR*, 85 (1970), 776-787
of which were signed ‘I.M.’, were from Hamillon’s shop in France. Also, with this Bible, Carmarden sought the approval of the Protestant bishops and of Queen Elizabeth. As he suggests in the title, it was printed, ‘according to the translation apoynted by the Queenes Majesties Injunctions’. While it was not the only English Bible being printed abroad at that time, as the Geneva Bible was still printed in Switzerland until the mid-1570s, it contained far more illustrations than the others.

While Carmarden’s Bible produced a series of images original to England, other printed Bibles and New Testaments used recycled images from earlier Henrician and Edwardian texts. Among the works depicting recycled images are fourteen woodcuts in Richard Jugge’s printing of the Tyndale New Testament, which were first printed in two different New Testaments by Stephen Mierdman for Jugge in 1548 and 1552. The 1561 edition had images of Christ’s life and his teachings, with six woodcuts of his parables and miracles and several of his birth and the Annunciation to Mary. Four images depicted the Passion and post-Resurrection narrative (the Last Supper, Christ before Pilate, Christ before Caiaphas, and the Ascension) [Plates CXXV-CXXVII].

---

110 The Byble in Englyshe, frontispiece.
Similar series of Christ’s life were popular in Europe; however, these woodcuts focused much more on the Passion of Christ than did the images in Jugge’s New Testament. Other images of Christ in England reflected this trend by highlighting the Passion. All of the woodcuts in Cawood’s 1561 edition of the Great Bible in quarto were of Christ’s life, and three of those six images were of the Passion (the Last Supper, the Arrest of Christ, and the Crucifixion). The image of the Last Supper was printed three more times in the 1560s and the Crucifixion was reprinted by Cawood on the frontispiece of his 1569 Bible.112

When Calvin warned against ceremonious outward actions in imitating the life of Christ, he admonished the people to take care that, ‘we must take heed that our ceremonies, expresse no more then is in the minde’. As human beings were only like Christ in the flesh (and not in his divinity), people could not, and therefore should not attempt, to comprehend Christ’s nature.113 While certainly many Puritans followed his lead, and in fact, few books illustrate the life of Christ to such a degree as these early Elizabethan scriptures did, this does not indicate a general consensus about the need to avoid images of the Passion. In fact, in the 1590s, William Perkins expressed in great detail how the believer in daily life ‘must learne to imitate Christ’. In his An exposition of the symbole or creed, he explained that the godly must imitate firstly the crucifixion for ‘as he as he suffered himselfe to be nailed to the

---

crosse for our sinnes, so answearably must every one of us learne to crucifie our flesh, and
the corruption of our nature, and the wickednesse of our owne heart’. In the burial of Christ,
the Christian should be ‘continually occupied in the spiritual burial of our sins’. Also, in the
humiliation which Christ suffered in the Passion, believers ‘learne to become nothing in our
selves, that we may be all in all forth of our selves in Christ’. Even with the Calvinist fear
of creating an idol of Christ’s body and flesh, there remained a necessary focus upon and
need to depict the narrative of his death and suffering as a learning tool for the godly
believer.

This, however, is not completely straightforward. As there was a tenuous consensus
upon the relationship of Christ’s nature to the images of him, so there was an ambiguous
understanding of how one should relate to Christ’s sufferings. Calvin’s warning echoed
throughout the Reformation, but this echo sounded alongside the textual and visual
descriptions of the Passion. In prayer books of the first twenty years of Elizabeth’s reign,
there are a startling number of references to Christ’s passion and particularly to the late
medieval Catholic formats for prayer. Helen White’s analysis of these works identifies an
obvious residual effect of Catholic prayers being refashioned to conform to Protestant
demands throughout the Reformation. In particular, White points to the work and career of
John Bradford as a ‘halfway stage in this development’ from Catholic to Calvinist.

However, as we shall see in the next section, the completion of this transition was arguably
never realised until the seventeenth century. Throughout the Elizabethan period, in prayer
and image, the life and death of Christ was remembered and focused upon as an impetus to
imitating Christ. Even in 1601, Christopher Sutton utilised the Catholic prayer format of the

---

115 White, The Tudor Books, pp. 147-150 (p. 147).
fifteen Oes, referring continually to Christ as ‘O good and gracious Jesus’ for his prayer, ‘Certain short meditations upon the passion’.116

Seeing and Living Christ’s Life

Perhaps the most obvious starting point for discussing images of Christ’s life outside the scriptural texts is Richard Day’s series of quarto prayer books, first issued in 1569, then edited and reprinted three more times after 1578. In Day’s prayer book, the woodcut borders printed on every page of the text displayed thirty-seven separate images from the life of Christ, which were cycled several times. Like many of the Bible woodcuts, the emphasis in these images was upon the early years of Christ’s life (the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Flight into Egypt) and upon the Passion and Resurrection. Though small in size, these images were intended to be read, as they told a story alongside, though not illustrative of, the prayers. While the prayers revolved around the concerns of the ardent believer, the pictures reflected these themes in the stories from the Bible. The two created a tandem discourse, linking the person praying with Christ’s life. As Murray Roston and others have explained, English Protestants ‘began to see their daily struggles, both physical and spiritual, in terms of a biblical archetype’. This is indicated in the Protestant visualisation of Christ’s life within the domestic sphere, in architecture and interior design as well as in books.117 In Day’s prayers, with the beginning of the images of Christ, the reader is intended to pray, ‘O good Christ, our most gracious redeemer, as thou doost mercifully rayse up now this my body, even so I beseeche thee rayse up my mynde and harte to the true knowledge and love of thee’. The connection with Christ was made even more pronounced when several pages

116 Christopher Sutton, Godly meditations upon the most holy sacrament of the Lordes Supper (London: J. Windet, 1601), STC 23491, pp. 214-223.
117 Murray Roston, Biblical Drama in England, from the Middle Ages to the Present Day (London, 1968), p. 71. While Roston argued that there was a limiting of the number of New Testament themes being performed upon the stage, this did not hold completely true for the printed images. Though a diminished number can be identified, New Testament scenes continued to be printed into the Stuart period. For Christ in the domestic interior, see: Wells-Cole, Art of Decoration, pp. 108-112.
later, a prayer concludes ‘geve me to take my rest in thee: and bring to pass that thy goodnes may be even in sleepe before mine eyes, that slepyng I be not absent from thee’. In both waking and sleeping, and throughout the day, the praying person’s attention was to be drawn to the person of Christ.

The Virgin and Child

Also printed at the beginning of the prayer book were several pictures of the Virgin. Most prominent was the image of the Tree of Jesse on the frontispiece [Plate CXXVIII]. Arthur Watson’s work on the Tree image has shown that it had been popular in England since the eleventh century. Subsequently, it appeared in manuscripts, church walls, baptisteries and printed Books of Hours. Tara Hamling has recently illustrated how the image of the Tree continued to be displayed well into the Stuart period. The image here bears a close resemblance to the popular images created by the Parisian printer Antoine Verard for his Books of Hours. However, Day's prayer book, though employing Catholic formats, had a clear Protestant message. In the image, the Virgin and child are supported by several iconoclastic kings of Israel like Hezekiah and Josiah, to whom Edward VI and Elizabeth were often compared. Furthermore, as Duffy has argued, these texts were an attempt by Day to produce a Protestant version of the popular books of hours, a sort of ‘Trojan horse’ sent into the heart of traditional English piety. While it is possible that Day’s intentions were a conscious manipulation and undermining of traditional Catholic

---

120 For the Day frontispiece, see McKerrow and Ferguson, #128. For the Verard image, see, John MacFarlane, *Antoine Verard* (London, 1900), #52.
iconography, there is nothing in the prayer book that would suggest these images were not intended for meditative use. Unlike the displayings of Catholic popery, this employment of imagery was intended to instruct the reader in prayer.

Plate CXXVIII: Frontispiece of *Christian Prayers and Meditations*

Plate CXXIX: ‘Virgin and child in Glory’

A similarly iconic image of the Virgin in Elizabethan England was the woodcut of the Virgin and child in glory, standing atop a crescent moon printed in every Elizabethan edition of the *Kalender of Shepherds* [Plate CXXIX]. In the text, the image introduced the teaching on the *pater noster* and the Annunciation of the Virgin. Such iconic pictures were a traditional staple of Catholic piety and would not have been questioned when the image was first created in the late fifteenth century. At least one reader found this image inspiring, as they wrote in the margin of the 1570 edition, ‘my honored Lady’. Also, it

---

122 It has been suggested to me that these sorts of images could be read as the woman clothed in glory from Revelation. Though this is an honest possibility, in the context of the work and within the visual culture of the early modern period, it is difficult to see how someone could mistake this figure for the woman in Revelation.
should be noted, that aside from images of the Virgin with Christ, woodcuts, tapestry and
other artwork of the Annunciation continued to have a place in Elizabethan iconography.\footnote{The shepardes kalender (1570), F4v [Folger Shakespeare Library. Deck B-STC Vault]. It is very likely that this is evidence of a Catholic devotee, well into the Elizabethan period, expressing his/her pious devotion to the Virgin, which is particularly evident in the use of the traditional word ‘Lady’. Wells-Cole, Art of Decoration, pp. 232-233.}

Though little has been made of the place of the Virgin in English piety after 1558, there was a clear place for her in printed images.\footnote{Recent works on the Virgin in the Reformation include: Bridget Heal, The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648 (Cambridge, 2007); Diarmaid MacCulloch, ‘Mary and Sixteenth-Century Protestants’, in The Church and Mary, edited by R.N. Swanson (London, 2004), pp. 191-238; Thomas Freeman, ‘Offending God: John Foxe and English Protestant Reactions to the Cult of the Virgin Mary’, in The Church and Mary, pp. 228-238.} Images of the Virgin’s role as Christ’s mother were fairly common, as she often appeared in either a Nativity scene or other narrative image with the Christ child. Scenes like the adoration of the magi and the adoration of the shepherds, shown here, were recycled from a 1552 printing of Tyndale’s New Testament. They were then copied separately in Elizabeth’s reign for Richard Grafton’s folio, A chronicle...of the affayres of England (1569) [Plate CXXX] and a much smaller octavo work, The ABC with the catechism (1601) printed by Thomas Purfoote [Plate CXXXI].\footnote{GEIB, vol. I, pp. 1, 410; Richard Grafton, A chronicle at large (London: H. Denham f. R. Tottel and H. Toye, 1569), STC 12147, G2r; The ABC with the catechism that is to saie, the instruction...to be learned of everie child (London: T. Purfoote f. assigns of R. Day, 1601), STC 20.7, B8v.} As I have argued elsewhere, these woodcuts demonstrate a place for the Virgin in Protestant iconography. As the obedient woman and example of true faith, her image always relates back to the coming of Christ. Her role in both the visual and literary texts is
subordinate to that of her son. She was the bearer of Christ, the one through whom God came into the world. 126

These pictures of the holy family, while more narrative than iconic, could easily have been destroyed if they had been painted in a church window or carved in a rood-loft. In another example, the catechism *A briefe summe of the whole Bible* depicted the Virgin, with an open book and the Christ child at her side, as an example to other virgins and widows. Though no reference is made to the Virgin in the surrounding text, her place as the standard for all women was evident. While Diarmaid MacCulloch is certainly correct in saying that there was not ‘any widespread impulse to draw on the traditional web of imagery around Mary for alternative Protestant purposes’, it is also difficult to deny that there are certainly minor examples of this impulse within Elizabethan England. 127 Reformers could be entirely intolerant of the Virgin, but they could not dismiss her presence altogether.

*The Last Supper*

While several random pictures from Christ’s life were printed in various religious texts from this period, such as an image of the baptism of Christ printed in the 1560 edition of the Book of Common Prayer, it is difficult to ignore the predominance of images of Christ’s passion within the Protestant devotional work of the period. 128 Interestingly, they are not the scenes of the Passion narrative that one would expect from a Protestant culture. Amongst the most obvious examples, the Last Supper seems heavily under-depicted during this period in light of its importance. Why this is the case is uncertain. It is possible that the

---

126 David Davis, ‘Images on the Move: The Virgin, the *Kalendar of Shepherds*, and the Transmission of Woodcuts in Late Tudor England’, *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 12 (2009), 100-132
doctrinal controversies over the nature of the bread and the wine that were so prevalent in the 1540s had discouraged too much use of such pictures.

However, the act of communion continued to play an important role in Protestant life. For Elizabethan divines, the sacrament of communion was pivotal in distinguishing Protestant from Catholic, redeemed from recusant. John Jewell described communion in terms of a divine vision, in which people are ‘exhorted … to lift up their hearts, and to direct their minds to heaven ward, because he is there, by whom we must be full fedde and live’. At communion, the faithful believer could participate in a fellowship with God that was similar to the experiences of the prophets and apostles had with divine visions.

Nevertheless, the few images printed in the scriptures and in Day’s prayer book were among the only visual examples of the scene printed in Elizabethan England. In fact, the only other image of the Last Supper was printed by Roger Ward on the frontispiece of two editions of Christopher Carlisle’s quarto pamphlet, *A discourse on Peters life* (1580, 1582) [Plate CXXXII]. The image was printed as a frontispiece border composed of four compartments, with the Old Testament Pascal Lamb being eaten (at top), Moses’ striking of

---

the rock with his staff on one side, the manna raining down from heaven on the other side, and the Last Supper with Christ in glory with his disciples around him (at bottom). The frontispiece was first printed in the early 1550s by Reinar Wolfe in three editions of Thomas Cranmer *A defence of the true and catholike doctrine of the sacrament*. It is highly likely that whoever created the image for Wolfe was following the design for the frontispiece on Ulrich Zwingli’s *On the Lord’s Supper* (1526), wherein the four scenes take on an interpretative quality that visually develops Zwingli’s theology.\(^\text{130}\)

Here, the image takes on a more nuanced meaning, rather than simply reflecting the text directly as in Cranmer’s work. It seems to be in more of a dialogue with the words, as it complements rather than illustrates the message of the text. Carlisle’s work was an anti-Catholic polemic rebutting the primacy of the Pope by undermining papal heritage in proving ‘Peter was never at Rome’, and therefore was never the bishop of Rome. The frontispiece on the other hand demonstrated the primacy and Old Testament heritage of Christ’s sacrifice as the lamb of God. The text explained ‘for God elected Christ, who in his humane nature should redeeme us, and bring us to salvation, even so doth the divell choose a verie man’ as his Antichrist.\(^\text{131}\)

While the text focused on why the Pope is not Peter’s apostolic successor but is instead the Antichrist, the image set out for the reader in what ways Christ’s authority and pre-eminence was established clearly in the Old Testament. These images visually displayed the tales wherein God fed the Israelites, which prefigured the ultimate provision for human sin in the incarnation of God in Christ. The signs of the Paschal Lamb and the manna were put in place as reminders before Christ, just as the sacrament of communion was intended to remind all believers of his sacrifice and resurrection. However, the Zwinglian reforms made


much greater use of the Pascal Lamb imagery. Furthermore, as Lee Palmer Wandel has highlighted, such an image puts the humanity of Christ back into the historical context of the Bible. No longer was Christ to appear in the transubstantiated host or in contemporary images of communion, such as in the Mass of St. Gregory. After the ascension, the human body of Christ belonged always in heaven, even though his spirit communed with believers. The more popular image in Protestant iconography was that of the actual communion ceremony, which was also depicted in Day’s prayer books. But this spiritual rather than physical communion with Christ was not to take away from the importance of the sacrament. In fact, it was in this act of communion where even the most radical Calvinists perceived a degree of imitatio. For Christ had not only commanded them to eat and drink, but in so doing they became members of Christ’s body. As Calvin explained, ‘That sacred communion of flesh and blood by which Christ transfuses his life into us, just as if it penetrated our bones and marrow, he testifies and seals in the Supper’. So then, the image critiqued false belief and reaffirmed the importance of the sacrament not only as a sign but also as a partaking of true religion.

The Suffering Christ

While the Last Supper went underrepresented in the printed images, other pictures of the Passion continued to receive attention. As demonstrated in the pictures from scripture, it was not beyond Protestant orthodoxy to depict the suffering of Christ. In Day’s prayer book, it is a dominant theme, not only to display what Christ endured but also to teach how the believer held a deep connection to his suffering. As the images of the Passion begin, the text turns to the readers’ own wickedness and moral corruption [Plates CXXXIII-CXXXVIII].

---

133 Maltby, Prayer Book and People, pp. 46-52; plates 2.1 and 2.2 (pp. 48, 51).
134 Calvin, Institutes, IV, xvii, 10, p. 563.
To eschew his sin, the prayer asked Christ to send the believer through an emotional and spiritual torment, so to ‘pull them up by the rootes out of my hart’ so that ‘we shal finde enough to do when more bitter and weighty crosses come’. In the second cycle of the Passion images, the prayers turn to bodily illness and disease, reflecting the bodily suffering of Christ. Other prayer books of the period, however, were even more passionate about the wounds and passion of Christ.

Reminiscent of the late medieval prayers created by the Augustinian order, the popular volume Certain selecte prayers first printed by Day in 1574 emphatically stated:

When any foule thought assaulteth me, I runne to the woundes of Christ. When my fleshe presseth me downe, I rise up agayne by remembryng the woundes of my Lord. When the devill layeth wayt for me, I flée to the bowels of the mercy of my Lorde, and he departeth away from me.136

135 Day, Christian prayers, c1r-c2r, I1v-K2r.
136 Augustine, Certain select prayers (London: J. Day, 1574), STC 924, A5r. For the background of the Augustinian order, see: Eric Saak, High Way to Heaven: The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation, 1292-1524, (Leiden, 2002). Though Saak does not make the connection with these prayers, his study of the work of Jordan of Quidlinburgh, in particular his Meditationes de Passione Christi, resonate with the prayers in the Elizabethan collection, (Saak, pp. 477-480).
Also Henry Bull, friend of John Foxe and Thomas Cooper, wrote in his popular book of prayers:

Thy bodie was racked to be nayled to the tree, thy handes were boared through, and thy feete also, nailes were put through them to fasten thee thereon: thou wast hanged betweene heaven and earth, as one spued out of heaven, and vomited out of the earth, unworthy of any place.137

These passages lack the emotional passion which filled the late medieval prayers with a pained and tormented tenor. Nevertheless, they reflect a continuing appeal to Christ’s passion, which can also be seen in several of the printed images.

Images of the crucifixion are of particular importance in this regard. The crucifixion was a highly suspect picture, as it continued to be printed in most illustrated Catholic devotionals. Along with the image of the crucifixion in Day’s prayer book [Plate CXXXIX], at least two different images were printed in the Elizabethan editions of the Kalender of Shepherds [Plates CXL-CXLII]. A smaller one first appeared in works printed by Julian Notary in the early sixteenth century and was reprinted by John Walley in the 1559 Kalender. The second was a popular image from Richard Pynson’s shop, printed fourteen times before 1540. Then it was recycled in Thomas East’s 1570 edition of the Kalender.138

Plate CXXXIX: ‘Crucifixion’  Plate CXL: ‘Crucifixion’ in Kalender of Shepherds (1559)

---

137 Henry Bull, Christian prayers and holy meditations as wel for private as publique exercise (London: H. Middleton, 1574), STC 4030, p. 266.
138 GEIB, vol. II, p. 51; English Woodcuts, #1475.
Plate CXLI: ‘Crucifixion’ in Kalender of Shepherds (1570)

One copy of this image [Plate CXLI] in Wynken de Worde’s printing of Contemplacyon of synners (1499), a pre-Reformation Catholic prayer book, was seemingly reformed by its being bound with Bernard Garter’s anti-Catholic A newyeares gifte sometime after 1595. Though the two texts make strange bedfellows, this does offer a level of insight into how certain images could survive the fear of popery. In the series of the Kalender printings however, both images were eventually removed, perhaps due to wear but more likely because of the heavy Catholic overtones that increasingly were associated with the scenes of Christ’s death.

The Catholic use of the Crucifixion, and its continued appearance in Catholic prints, is not surprising. Despite the Reformation, Christ’s sufferings continued to play an important role in Catholic devotion. The popular early Elizabethan works of John Martiall, defending images and replying to Protestant divines, were printed with images of the Crucifixion. Early in Elizabeth’s reign, the Catholic gentleman Sir Thomas Stradling of Glamorgan reported that a crucifix had appeared in the stump of a fallen ash tree. The miraculous appearance was published in English and Welsh, and pilgrims appeared at the tree in 1561.

140 John Martiall, A treatise on the crosse gathred out of the scriptures (Antwerp: J. Latius, 1564), STC 17496, 2A6v.
After being arrested and taken to the Tower of London, Stradling confessed to the Queen that he had ‘four pictures’ of the cross fashioned as gifts for friends and family.\textsuperscript{141}

In the 1570s, the brief years of William Carter’s press in London, which has been discussed in the previous chapter, also relied heavily on the image of the Crucifixion in his printings of continental devotional works. However, there is evidence that this association of Catholic print with the image of the Crucifixion intensified in the later years of Elizabeth’s reign. Devotionals by Luis de Granada were printed in Paris in 1582, intended for the English market, with four engravings of Christ bearing the cross and the Crucifixion. Less expensive works of de Granada’s were printed by English secret presses in 1599 depicting Christ’s death. Also, at the end of the century, the popular \textit{The rosarie of our ladie}, often associated with the Jesuits, usually depicted the image of the Crucifixion, along with extensive images of the Passion.\textsuperscript{142}

Though images of the Crucifixion began to disappear from Protestant print, other pictures of the Passion were retained. Elsewhere, in the late sixteenth century, the instruments of the Passion were printed, something that had not been done since the beginning of the Reformation in England. First in 1568 and again in 1582, Thomas East reprinted the fourteenth-century romance tale of Sir John Mandeville’s travels. In both editions, two different images of the Passion were used as well as a separate image of the cross. Originally printed by de Worde in 1499, the text and image explain where different relics of the passion, displayed in the pictures, could be found in Constantinople and Paris.\textsuperscript{143} Then, in 1598, Adam Islip printed a frontispiece with twelve instruments of the Passion around the title of Samuel Rowlands’s collection of poems \textit{The betraying of Christ} [CXLII].

\textsuperscript{142} \textit{GEIB}, vol. I, pp. 543-546, 551-554, 569-572.
The quarto collection of verses, like the collection *The Song of Mary the Mother of Christ* printed by Edward Allde, echoed the late medieval devotion of participation in the Passion. Rowlands wrote, ‘Bring all thy thoughts, fix them on meditation, / weep drops of tears, for streams of blood christ’. The image closely resembled late medieval depictions of the *pieta*, which often were sold as printed pardons for whoever purchased them.\(^{144}\)

Here, again, there are mixed doctrinal messages in the printed images. Watt has rightly explained that most *pieta* (i.e. the image of pity, which depicted Christ’s dead body in the Virgin’s arms) images were destroyed in the early years of the Reformation. Illustrating

---

\(^{144}\) *English Woodcuts*, #381, 2513.
this, even John Day found printing the *pieta* to be a bit too close to the Catholic mould, particularly the cult of Mary. After printing two different images of the *pieta* in the 1569 prayer book, Day removed the images for his subsequent printings.\(^{145}\) On the other hand, upon examining Islip’s woodcut, one might conclude that here is evidence of a renewal of that sort of devotion, which many reformers adamantly opposed. While this is possible, another scenario seems more likely. Though it is often overlooked, even the pre-Reformation prints of the instruments were not always destroyed. At least in the case of printed images, including the model for Islip’s woodcut, the text usually suffered defacement while the images remained relatively untouched.\(^{146}\) As the *pieta* figure of Christ was absent in Islip’s image, leaving only the symbols of the Passion to convey the meaning, we might better understand this not as a revival of late medieval devotion but as an example of attempts at reforming traditional imagery.

A final image of this sort was printed by Thomas East in 1601 for the financially insolvent author Richard Vennard’s second edition of *The right way to heaven*. Though accused of fraud many times in his career, at the end of Elizabeth’s reign, he seems to have attempted to make recompense for his wrongdoings.\(^{147}\) In this Protestant devotional, Vennard’s poem of ‘The Lamentation of the Lost Sheep’ was concluded with an original image in East’s collection of Christ as both the Good Shepherd and the Man of Sorrows [Plate CXLIII]. With a lost lamb over his shoulders, Christ is portrayed with a wounded side, a robe, and a crown of thorns, all evidence of the Passion which he suffered for his sheep. As in the image, the poem blended these two images of Christ into one figure:

Two in thy Hands, two in thy Feet remain’d,
One in thy Side: those bought that heavenly food,
That feeds the Soule with his eternal good.
Laie mee downe then, sweet Christ and let me feed,

\(^{146}\) Driver, *The Image in Print*, pp. 206-208.
On that for which I sigh, and thou didst bleed.

As the Teacher was also the message of the teaching, so the Shepherd was also the supper with which to feed his sheep. Demonstrating its popularity, the image was recycled in the early Stuart period in the single-sheet print *The map of mortalitie* (1604) by Ralph Blower.148

![Plate CXLIII: ‘Christ as Good Shepherd and Man of Sorrows’](image)

Such images of the suffering of Christ recalled to the mind’s eye the prayers which exhort the reader and God to ‘Look upon thy deere sonne, whose whole body is stretched forth. Mark ye harmles and pure hands whiche doo drop and distill down innocent bloud … Consider his bare and naked side, being thrust thorow cruelly with a spear, and renue and wash me with the holy fountain’.149

What Christine Peters has said about Catholic piety seems in some ways to still hold true of the late Elizabethan religion. That, ‘The wounds of Christ’s body were, therefore, marks of human failure and of divine assistance. Although welcomed by the laity as

---


149 Thomas Becon, *The pomaunder of prayer, newly made by Thomas Becon* (London: J. Day, 1561), STC 1746.5, 54v-55r
emblems of hope, they chastised as well as comforted.\textsuperscript{150} This interpretation was echoed in Calvin’s commentary on Paul’s letter to the Philippians where Calvin encouraged the godly that all ‘lyfe must be made conformable to his death’. Further on, he explained that such images of Christ were not only to remind the believer of what exactly Christ suffered but also to demonstrate the spiritual sufferings that each Christian must undergo. For, ‘This is the continual meditation of the faithfull … our whole life should represent unto us nothing but an image of death, until it bring forth death it selfe’.\textsuperscript{151} Protestants emphasised this didactic quality within the Passion narrative. Such images were not meant to evoke emotion necessarily or conjure a mystical experience. The meditation of the godly should not rest solely on Christ’s death but should move from that to the death of sin.

The Resurrection and Return of Christ

As in the late medieval period, the wounds and sufferings of Christ were not only points of connection but also evidence of judgement. Certainly, at the end of the fifteenth century, this judgement was absorbed into the writings on the Passion. However, for Protestants, though the life of Christ was important, it was the reality of the post-Passion world, the one in which Christ is Saviour and Judge, which most concerned them. Helen White explains that there was a tangible ‘shift in emphasis…from the humanity to the divinity of Christ, or to be more exact, from the human implications to the redemptive function of Christ’s life on earth’.\textsuperscript{152} Images and discussions of the Resurrection led logically to the importance of Christ’s return and his judgement of humanity. Protestants looked for signs of this coming in both the natural and supernatural world. They interpreted natural events as portents of the Last Judgement and categorised events and issues according

\textsuperscript{150} Peters, \textit{Patterns of Piety}, p. 89.
\textsuperscript{151} John Calvin, \textit{A commentarie of M. John Calvine uppon the Epistle to the Philippians} (London: J. Windet f. N. Lyng, 1584), STC 4402, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{152} White, \textit{The Tudor Books}, p. 226.
to eschatological themes. This was discussed, preached, stereotyped and elaborated upon in dozens of pamphlets and cheap print, on the stage and in verse, all echoing the nearing of Christ’s return when he would judge the sinner and the godly. Samuel Edgerton has demonstrated how scenes of the Last Judgement were often placed in courtrooms in Renaissance Italy as reminders and reflections of obedience to the laws of man and God.¹⁵³ Most of these things have been discussed elsewhere, and there is no need to rehearse what has already been said, however the importance of these two scenes in the context of images of Christ deserves further examination.

Though few images of the Resurrection were printed in scriptural books, it was commonplace elsewhere, as both Watt and Tara Hamling have demonstrated in their studies of visual culture.

Most poignantly, the frontispiece image of Christ Jesus Triumphant, first printed by John Day in 1579, became the most widely printed image of Christ in the period [Plate CXLIV]. While McKerrow’s catalogue has documented six printings of the image, I have located over twenty different printings of the image, usually by John Windet to introduce some of the most important theological treatises of the period. Created by Hans Holbein for the titlepage of a New Testament (1536), the image of Christ stands astride an empty grave with one foot on a serpent and one on death. The Latin and English text surrounding the oval border declare Christ’s majesty spoken of in the New Testament. A similar frontispiece printed eight times in the 1570s and 1580s depicted the resurrected Christ holding a banner, as his apostles Peter and Paul point to him from below [Plate CXLV]. Though this image decorated fewer monumental titles of theology than that of Christ Jesus Triumphant, it remained a hallmark of Protestant theological work such as sermons given at Paul’s cross and Bishop John Woolton’s The castell of Christians (1577). Both images also share the verse from John 16, ‘Confidete ego vici mundum’ (Have confidence for I have overcome the world), which is displayed in the prominent wounded side which the image portrays.

The power of this event was everywhere writ large in Protestantism. It was through this event that Christians found their hope and belief in the possibility of an eternal paradise. However, the image was not simply a reminder of this hope through Christ’s resurrection, it also carried the reformed understanding of the resurrection, that each individual should follow Christ’s example in dying to sinfulness to be raised to life in Christ. Calvin referred to Christ’s resurrection as an assured representation of each believer’s own rebirth into eternal life. In a sermon preached in 1573, Richard Curteys followed suit by describing the

---

154 Appendix C.
156 McKerrow and Ferguson, #154.
sacraments of communion and baptism as ‘the images of our Resurrection’. Foxe explained that it was for this very reason that people should not only be devoted to the Crucifixion but also to the Resurrection and the return of Christ. For, ‘we rest not here onely, as in the chief ground of Religion: but rather take it as a steppe, or degree too a farther matter…the Crosse of CHRIST was not therefore erected that thou shouldest be onely a beholder thereof, but rather a follower’. A person could not properly separate the Resurrection from the Crucifixion, for the one necessarily followed the other. Foxe compared this to the believer’s death to sin and the material world. Continually, he called his readers to look with the eyes of their mind upon the risen Christ, and even returned to the suffering Christ in this exercise, saying, ‘What man is this whom I behold all bloudy, with skinne all too torne with knubs and wales of stripes … crowned with a garland of Thornes … and nayled to a Crosse?’ He concluded this prayer, ‘Open thou the eyes of my mynde. Bring thy Divine light nearer untoe mee, and give mee power too looke more wistly upon thee’. But in this more complex meaning, the Resurrection was only half the story of the post-crucified Christ. Most important for the early modern believer was the return of Christ at the Last Judgement. As mentioned earlier, the Judgement of Christ and the Passion of Christ were intimately related events for both late medieval and early modern England. So much so, that the Last Judgement was often depicted separately from the events in Revelation, as an event set apart both in the context of scripture and cultural importance. Sixteenth-century prints made a clear distinction between John’s Revelation and the singular event of Christ’s return. Eamon Duffy explains the relation between judgement and passion saying, ‘for it was believed that when Christ came as Judge he would display his Wounds, to

---

157 Calvin, Institutes, II, xvi, p. 448; Richard Curteys, A sermon preached before the Queenes Majestie, by the reverende Father in God the Bishop of Chichester, at Grenewiche, the 14. day of Marche. 1573 (London: H. Byneman f. F. Coldocke, 1573), STC 6135, B6v. John Foxe, Christ Jesus triumphant A fruitefull treatise (London: J. Day, 1579), STC 11231, 16v.
158 Foxe, Christ Jesus triumphant, E6v.
the elect as pledges of his love for them, to sinners as bitter reproach'. In this, like the Protestant display of Catholic merchandise discussed earlier, Christ’s demonstration of his wounds became an indictment of idolatry and every other sin.

The image of the Last Judgement first printed by Peter Treveris in *Christmas Carols* (1528) [Plate CXLVI] demonstrated this popular theme, as Christ sits on a rainbow with the stigmata and his pierced side clearly displayed for the reader. This particular woodcut was copied closely for the Elizabethan stationer Cornelius Woltrop’s printing of a broadside ballad *A marvelous tydynges* (1570) [Plate CXLVII].

In this, it was transformed from an image that introduced traditional Catholic songs dedicated to saints and Christ to a Protestant single sheet, warning people of the coming

---

159 Duffy, *Stripping of the altars*, p. 246
judgement and that they must conform to godly living by believing ‘that Christes passion / Christes wordes and myrakels, all be most surely true’. 160

Though, perhaps the key event in the Protestant eschatological calendar, the Last Judgement did carry some traditional visual connotations. First, though it was an event set in a future time and so therefore had never been seen, it continued to be treated like any other Biblical narrative, as a true and historical event that could be properly depicted.

Also, like the Crucifixion, it was a popular image in Catholic iconography, which for Protestants could possibly taint the image with popish corruption. Third, Protestant prints throughout the sixteenth century perpetuated the late medieval model of Christ displaying his wounds upon his return, more in keeping with the focus on Christ’s sufferings and physical body. However, these facts had no apparent impact upon the Elizabethan printing of Last Judgement images. For, elsewhere in the early Elizabethan period, this connection between passion and judgement persisted. Another image of the Last Judgement was printed three times in Sir David Lindsay’s *A dialogue betweene experience and a courtier* (1566) [Plate CXLVIII] and also once in the catechism *A bryefe summe of the whole byble* (1568).

The text in Lindsay’s poem illustrated the image, saying, ‘And for our consolation, /

---

160 GEIB vol. I, p. 711; Anon., *Christmas carols* (Southwark: P.Treveris, 1528?), STC 5204.3, A1v; Luborsky and Ingram have catalogued this image as its first appearance in English print in the broadsheet (STC 24066). However, the resemblance to the image in *English Woodcuts* is uncanny if not an exact copy or in fact the same image.
Appeare shall in his handes and feete, / And in his side the print complete, / Of his fyve
woundes precious,…to reprobate confusion’. 161 Here, the model which became the
Protestant benchmark for the Last Judgement was portrayed, with Christ sitting atop a
rainbow with angels around him, dividing the damned souls on his left from the godly
kneeling before him on his right. This same model was used earlier in the same decade for
the elaborate frontispiece in Foxe’s Actes and monuments. It continued to be popular even in
the late Elizabethan period when it was printed by John Windet and John Wolfe several
times in the tiny devotional works of John Hayward and Christopher Sutton. 162 Also, the
Last Judgement was engraved by William Rogers in a single-sheet Ramist style broadside in
1600 [Plate CXLIX].

Plate CXLIX: Broadsheet ‘A godly meditation day and night to be exercised’ (1600)

161 Lindsay, A dialogue between experience and a courtier, M4v.
In this, the Judgement is pictured above with the damned in hellmouth below. Between them, on either side, is the living saint, kneeling before the Tetragrammaton, and the sinner with his materialistic vices. The table of text in the middle of these scenes is a meditation upon right living and death, demonstrating the purpose of these Protestant woodcuts, as aids in learning how to think and meditate on right and godly living. Though Watt seems to believe that this depiction of Christ was some sort of ‘slip’ in the normative trends of Protestant visual culture, as Christ was eventually replaced by the Tetragrammaton, this interpretation does not seem to reflect the general understanding about images of the Last Judgement during this period.\(^{163}\)

Two variations of this model came from the print shops of John Day and Henry Denham. First, Day printed an image of the Last Judgement in Batman’s *A christall glasse of reformation* [Plate CL]. In it, the saints are removed from the scene so that Christ the Judge in his typical position condemns the devil, the pope, and a bishop into a gaping hellmouth below.\(^{164}\)

---


\(^{164}\) Batman, *A chrestall glasse*, Q2v. Another Last Judgement scene was created for another of Stephen Batman’s works in the 1580s, *The new arival of the three gracis* (London: T. East, 1580), STC 1584, D4r.
Where other images depicted the division between saint and sinner, this woodcut leaves this distinction to the text, which explains how to avoid the fate of the papist. Condemnation is engraved in the image and the description of the saint as those who ‘cleave to all truth’ and ‘deny all supersticions enormites and imaginations of man’ must be read in the text. In Denham’s woodcut which was printed in Thomas Bentley’s *The monument of matrones* (1582), it is the saint who was pictured. In an elaborate scene, mildly reminiscent of the frontispiece in *Actes and monuments*, saints including Queen Elizabeth and Katherine Parr kneel before Christ the Judge [Plate CLI].

The image has been fully described and studied elsewhere. Though this image carried heavy visual overtones of the traditional Catholic scene of the crowning of the Virgin in heaven,

---

the text framing the scene explained that this was a picture of every person, for ‘We must all appeere before the judgmente seat of Christe’. To ensure one’s successful passage through the Judgement, the motto continued, ‘Be thou faithful unto death: and I wil give thee a crowne of lyfe’, which is reinforced by the figures of Kings David and Solomon in the background of heaven.

In scenes of the Last Judgement and the Resurrection of Christ, there is an obvious sense of a specific Protestant iconography. Recognizing the connections with earlier Catholic images (and the recycling of Catholic iconography) is essential, but this occurred in order to depict Christ in ways which appealed to the Protestant understanding of who he was. Martha Driver has explained this saying, ‘Even with images that are strongly associated with the old faith … an emphasis on history, however apocryphal, rather than on the miraculous, may permit a picture (and sometimes the text too) to continue to circulate in Protestant contexts’. I would perhaps even go further than Driver to say that to a large extent it was the apocryphal nature of many images of Christ which enticed the Protestant mind. Certainly, the historical remembering of who Christ was and is was paramount in the intended use of these images. But for those popular images during the Elizabethan period (the Resurrection and the Last Judgement), their message transcended the past and present, looking toward the future of Christ’s return.

It is not surprising that within a theological framework which emphasised an ideal of Christ as both God and man, a figure that should not be limited to one image or theme, there would be a wide variety of types of images being printed. The most popular were those that turned the readers’ eyes toward Christ’s return, but these were by no means the only important images of Christ in Elizabethan England. Christ was depicted both within the Biblical narrative and separate from it in more allegorical contexts. Also, certain iconic

\footnote{Driver, The Image in Print, p. 214.}
images of Christ continued to receive support. Though an anxiety about depicting Christ
continued to prevail, the evidence presented here suggests that the image of Christ, far from
being a popish relic, was both recycled from earlier works and rendered anew by Elizabethan
Protestants in contexts and ways which they deemed proper. Furthermore, it is important to
keep in mind that these tendencies were not static, even within the years of Elizabeth’s
England. The image of Christ was all but eradicated from printed Bibles by 1575, though the
1560s reflected the tradition of depicting him in the New Testament. However, the late
sixteenth century saw the increasing ways in which images of Christ could be implemented
outside the scriptural texts, as a godly exhortation to the reader, an example to ministers, a
warning against popery, and a symbol of spiritual sacrifice.
Conclusion

The introduction explained that one of the most difficult aspects of printed images is accessing how an image was received by people. This thesis has suggested the various themes and general ways of understanding these images based upon their placement, size, relation to the text, symbolism, themes and characters. What is apparent throughout is that the lines of demarcation between traditional and reformed religion pertaining to visual pictures are not nearly as clear as has often been assumed. Although one can argue that there are distinct differences in subject matter, materials and placement between Catholic and Protestant images, it is difficult to speak of a strict divide of visible / invisible separating the two religions. And, as we have seen, many images were capable of traversing the doctrinal divide to appear in both Protestant and Catholic texts.

Furthermore, the Protestant use of printed images demonstrates an effort to visually represent religious belief. Elizabethan texts exhibited a proclivity for certain representations and Biblical stories as well as movements towards and away from particular pictures (e.g. moving away from the anthropomorphic God toward the Tetragrammaton). This thesis has made an effort to describe and explain many of these proclivities and movements with regards to images of angels, God and Christ. Part of the reason for these movements was the theological and social implications of particular pictures at various times. It should be noted that images of the Last Supper or communion were almost non-existent after 1558. Also, portions of images, like the image of Elizabeth’s carriage with Death enthroned in Batman’s *The travayled pilgrime* (1569), were removed, and entire images went missing from popular series of images because of changes in religious and socio-political contexts.

The title of this thesis described the printed images as ‘religious’ rather than identifying them with a confessional descriptive. This is not intended to be vague or to suggest that the use of the images was not firmly grounded in confessional frameworks.
Many images were indeed placed within Lutheran, Reformed and Catholic texts, and other images like the Tetragrammaton seem to indicate an established form of Protestant representation. Instead, the purpose of the title was twofold. First, it was a means by which to emphasise the often ignored cultural continuity between the late medieval and early modern periods that these images provided. Printed images crossed confessional boundaries, and they themselves (along with what they visualised) became part of the continuity between traditional and reformed, Lutheran and Calvinist. As images depicted certain themes in certain ways, they served to continue traditional religion beliefs as well as promote the Protestant views of those beliefs and of visual depictions in general.

Second, the title suggests the importance of these images both as representations of figures that received religious attention as well as objects that served religiously-oriented functions. These functions include: reminders of Biblical truths, focal points of meditation and commemoration, visual polemic, illustrations of religious texts and visualisations of beliefs. Though, as we have seen, understanding how particular readers engaged with the visual images is often beyond the historian’s ability, there are indicators in the image itself, its relation to the wider text and any evidence of readership (e.g. margin notes, removal, pasting an image in another text, copying or drawing an image and destroying or marring the image). Also, it must be kept in mind that the use of the same image in different contexts did not imply the same meaning or intent. Images like the Agnus Dei could quickly become objects of scorn and derision as much as adulation and devotion. Koerner explains that such

1 Several caveats of readership have been mentioned throughout this thesis [Introduction, footnote 75; Chapter 5, footnote 121]. Though these are only suggestive, and by no means systematic, they do provide interesting details about the function of printed images and their interaction with early modern culture. Protestants made every effort to strip images of sacred qualities, but it seems that this did not entail excluding images from any and all roles of religious practice or cultural importance. Also, see: David McKitterick, Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450-1830 (Cambridge, 2003), p. 61; Tessa Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640 (Cambridge, 1991), ch. 6; Roger Chartier, ‘General Introduction: Print Culture’, in The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe, edited by Roger Chartier (London, 1989), pp. 1-7.
images were ‘materialized for display’ in a ritual of derision that carried as much religious purpose in its motivation as the act of praying to the same image.²

What is more uncertain is how to characterise these images along confessional lines, or even if they can be so characterised. The continued proliferation of religious images throughout the Elizabethan period lends itself to a view of the Reformation that jettisons oversimplified confessional lines. This view recognises degrees of both continuity and discontinuity with traditional religion and strives to identify the various types of Protestants and Catholics and ‘to recover the contemporary sense’ of these terms ‘beneath the encrusted layers of ... Enlightenment values.’³ In the sixteenth century, rather than Protestant vs. Catholic or Calvinist vs. Lutheran, one must account for reform-minded Catholics, conciliarist reformers and evangelicals in the 1530s and 1540s, as well as Calvinists, anti-Calvinists, recusants, church papists and separatists in the Elizabethan period.

This complexity is demonstrated in chapter three in the development of the theology of images alongside the need to destroy idols, where there was a justified allowance for certain types of imagery. The language of Lutheran adiaphora was employed both directly and more subtly in an ongoing effort to explain the parameters of image use. The influence of Lutheranism upon the English Reformation, as Alec Ryrie has explained, effectively dwindled as a viable confession in 1547.⁴ However, there is some indication as discussed in chapter three that the footprints of English Lutheranism (in both personal devotion and the visual culture) were not completely erased in Elizabethan England. Even if this was not a conscious effort on the part of any particular religious group, many Lutheran texts (including

Bibles and catechisms) and printed images were still appearing at the end of the 1570s. This suggestion becomes even more evident when one considers both Queen Elizabeth’s personal inclination toward the Augsburg Confession and Tyacke and Fincham’s recent investigation into *avant-garde* conformity, which promoted greater ceremonialism and was an established element of English religion by the 1590s.\(^5\) This is not to suggest a direct progression from the English Lutherans of the 1530s and 1540s to *avant-garde* conformists and finally to the Laudianism of the Stuart period. They each, however, do represent a tendency within early modern English religion, beneath the deep veins of iconoclastic austerity, to allow for and at times promote visual and material forms of religious expression. In the context of printed images, this tendency extended even into the theology of many Calvinists such as William Fulke and William Perkins, both of whom denounced any religious imagery in churches but categorically permitted Biblical images in print.

Such discussions of confessionalism, however, can only be taken so far in this thesis. Alongside this debate, it is important to bear in mind that printed images were placed in the public domain of the book (in both cheap and expensive, Latin and English print) and were widely diffused. Chapter two argued that the stalwart censorial mechanisms of English printing were rarely directed at the printed image, particularly when the image was printed by a Protestant stationer. This is not to suggest that the English government turned a blind eye to heterodoxy, but rather it seems that we should revise our historical conceptions of how visual images were considered heterodox. Elisabeth Salter has demonstrated that English censors were adamant about regulating devotional literature as they saw it ‘to be a powerful force in forming the beliefs of the population’. Thus, we must take note when such stringent measures were not enforced upon the slew of printed images.\(^6\) Though similar

---

images had been stripped from the churches, these images continued to serve religious and devotional functions in printed works.

Beyond understanding the various ways of depicting figures like Christ, the Virgin or angels and the semiotic codes within these depictions, the images can offer insightful views into the construction of early modern belief. The placement of images in books provided readers with much more than a visual aid or illustration of the text. The importance of these images, as Lee Palmer Wandel notes, lay not in their aesthetic quality or representational value so much as in their interactions with the text and how the reader accessed this relationship.7 Printed images offered an alternative experience from the text, providing the eye of the mind a way of framing and understanding what was being read. The purpose of this thesis has been to examine how these relationships developed when a predominantly Protestant print culture depicted some of the most important, and invisible, beings in the early modern worldview. Koerner’s emphasis on the simplicity of Reformation art is informative here, particularly his discussion of the combination of images with words, and words as images, employed by reformers.8 These images remained essentially basic in their visual elements, providing a simplified representation of either contemporary reality or Biblical truth. Clarifying and representing the text rather than evoking a sacred aura was the reason many of the images were printed.

In this study, it has become clear that there needs to be a reassessment of early modern _iconophobia_ and deeper reconsiderations of the Calvinist mindset toward religious depictions. Collinson identified printed images as one of the most salient examples of _iconophobia_, saying, ‘Nothing demonstrates more forcefully’ the prevalence of _iconophobia_

---

than ‘the pictures which are missing’ from the late Elizabethan and early Stuart books.\(^9\) The evidence collected in this thesis calls into question one of Collinson’s key examples (the printed images). As such, historians must begin to look beyond the idea that religious images disappeared in the late Tudor period as a response to idolatry. The lack of many prominent English illustrators or English printers willing to and capable of creating new images are two key reasons why fewer new images appeared in the 1580s and 1590s.\(^10\) Furthermore, there was a steady flow of images continually being recycled from earlier works, and the influx of European printed images was constantly increasing. In one example at the end of Elizabeth’s reign, Roger Ward’s provincial bookshop in Shropshire contained ‘20 pictures not colored’, which would have been folio woodcuts probably imported from Europe, and over six hundred broadsheets.\(^11\) On any given day, the shops in St Paul’s churchyard and around London would certainly have equalled and surpassed Ward’s stock of pictures. Elizabethan print shops, though not regularly creating images themselves, were awash with recycled and imported woodcuts and engravings.

Nevertheless, I do not wish to quash the iconoclastic spirit altogether. Images within the church walls were the most obvious victims, and the fact that we know so much about the exceptions to this standard (like Elizabeth’s Chapel Cross) speaks as much to the historian’s enjoyment of identifying inconsistencies as anything else. There is also evidence of attacks upon printed images of the Pope and St. Thomas Becket, indicating a virulent

---


\(^10\) One could argue that the limited number of English engravers and artists in general during this period suggests Collinson’s *iconophobia* did hold sway over English visual culture. However, there were artists such as Nicholas Hilliard and his apprentice Rowland Lockey who dabbled in engraving, but were never as proficient as their European counterparts. As we have seen in chapter two, even before 1548, England was heavily reliant upon European imports and emigrant artists (e.g. Hans Holbein) to produce the bulk of the printed images. Also, there are certainly many goldsmiths, limners and miniaturists in England who were not strictly printmakers but who were anonymously commissioned to create woodcuts and engravings for which there is no known artist. For more on the English artists during the period, see: Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London, 1999).

animosity toward these particular figures. But, again, these were more the exception than
the rule, as both St. Thomas and the papacy were eliminated from the Henrician religion in
the 1530s. That is not to say that printed images were absolutely and completely acceptable,
without any contentious objections. The Puritans condemnation of the images in the
Bishops’ Bible, as discussed in chapter 5, is evidence of this. Nor do I want to ignore the
very likely possibility that some reformers, in the tradition of Karlstadt, would be satisfied
with doing away with all religious imagery. Calvinist theology could lead in such an extreme
direction, and certain radical separatists like Henry Barrow do tend toward this extreme.

However, there is no indication that the Puritans in the 1570s were opposed to all religious
printed images, only those containing the figure of God. Also, more radical voices that were
willing to embrace iconophobia would have needed to take issue with the most Calvinist of
English books, the Geneva Bible and its many illustrations (including that of God the
Father). Furthermore, such opinions would be forced to contend with Calvinist theologians
like William Perkins, William Fulke and Theodore Beze, who consented to and even
encouraged certain types of imagery.

Rather than a rampant iconophobia, the chapters here describe characteristics of a
visual culture in Elizabethan England that was particularly Protestant. Even those images
that were often identified as precarious because of their connections to traditional forms of
worship (like images of God, Christ and the Virgin) found inroads into post-Reformation
visual culture. Instead of a complete obliteration of traditional visual piety, there seems to
have been a fragmentation of these forms, diverted out of traditional sacred spaces and into
many different, less worshipful, arenas. Though the Reformation was redrawing many of the

---

12 Often it was the prayers to St. Thomas and remarks about the Pope that were removed. However, attacks on
printed images have been described by Eamon Duffy in Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers,
1240-1570 (London, 2006), ch. 9, p. 164. Also, similar images in windows were removed [Margaret Aston,
13 Patrick Collinson, ‘Barrow, Henry (c.1550–1593)’, ODNB.
boundaries of acceptable means of religious devotion and belief, printed images by and large remained within the permissible limitations of what most Protestants believed was useful expression. While terms like Protestant, Catholic, Calvinist and Lutheran clearly defined particular groups in the Elizabethan period, the cultural milieu within which people defined themselves was much more amorphous and ambiguous in its boundaries. That is to say, while a text could be identified as Protestant or Catholic, Lutheran or Calvinist, the pictorial images used to illustrate, interpret and visually frame the texts could not be so easily categorised. What is indicative here is that while Protestants were wary of many visual depictions, they seized upon other ways of depicting religious belief and employed these images in ways they saw fit. The Reformation did not eliminate religious imagery from Protestant piety. Instead, the Reformation redefined both the relationship of visual images to religion and how visual images could and should inform early modern culture.
## Appendix A: Illustrated books printed by Thomas East

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>STC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Rhodes</td>
<td><em>The booke...for men servauntes</em></td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>20956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Copland</td>
<td><em>The shepardes kalender</em></td>
<td>1570</td>
<td>22415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Bourne</td>
<td><em>A regiment for the sea</em></td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>3425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Spenser</td>
<td><em>The shepheardes calender</em></td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>23090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Styward</td>
<td><em>The pathwaie to martiall discipline</em></td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>23413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Styward</td>
<td><em>The pathwaie to martiall discipline</em></td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>23413.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Bourne</td>
<td><em>A regiment for the sea</em></td>
<td>1584</td>
<td>3425.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Clifford</td>
<td><em>The schoole of horsemanship</em></td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>5415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Clowes</td>
<td><em>A...necessarie treatise, touching the cure of the disease...morbus Gallicus</em></td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>5448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Norman</td>
<td><em>The magnes or loadstones challenge</em></td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>18648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Spenser</td>
<td><em>The shepheardes calender</em></td>
<td>1586</td>
<td>23091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Bourne</td>
<td><em>A regiment for the sea</em></td>
<td>1587</td>
<td>3426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Arcaeus</td>
<td><em>A...method of curing woundes in the head</em></td>
<td>1588</td>
<td>723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Machiavelli</td>
<td><em>Thearte of warre</em></td>
<td>1588</td>
<td>17166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Mascall</td>
<td><em>A booke...how to plant and graffe...</em></td>
<td>1590</td>
<td>17577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Bourne</td>
<td><em>A regiment for the sea</em></td>
<td>1592</td>
<td>3427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Mascall</td>
<td><em>A booke...how to plant and graffe...</em></td>
<td>1592</td>
<td>17578.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Mascall</td>
<td><em>A booke...how to plant and graffe...</em></td>
<td>1592</td>
<td>17578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Heresbach</td>
<td><em>Foure bookes of husbandrie</em></td>
<td>1596</td>
<td>13199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Bourne</td>
<td><em>A regiment for the sea</em></td>
<td>1596</td>
<td>3428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Mascall</td>
<td><em>A booke...how to plant and graffe...</em></td>
<td>1599</td>
<td>17579.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Group II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. Mandeville</td>
<td><em>The voyag[e] and travayle, of syr John Maundevile knight</em></td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>17250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Malory</td>
<td><em>The storye of ... kynge Arthur</em></td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>805d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ortunez</td>
<td><em>The mirroure of princely deedes</em></td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>18859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.B.</td>
<td><em>An epitaph... Benedict Spinola</em></td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>1057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Mandeville</td>
<td><em>The voyag[e] and travayle, of syr John Maundevile knight</em></td>
<td>1582</td>
<td>17251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anon.</td>
<td><em>Syr Bevis of Hampton</em></td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.R.</td>
<td><em>A most friendly farewell...Sir Francis Drake</em></td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>21084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Cataneo</td>
<td><em>Most briefe tables...footmen</em></td>
<td>1588</td>
<td>4791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Whythorne</td>
<td>Canuts. <em>Of duos</em></td>
<td>1590</td>
<td>25583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Speed</td>
<td><em>A description of the ciuill warres of England</em></td>
<td>1601</td>
<td>23037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group III</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Fulbeck</td>
<td><em>Ouranomakhia</em></td>
<td>1571</td>
<td>11445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Johnson</td>
<td><em>Cometographia</em></td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>1416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Melanchthon</td>
<td><em>Of two woonderful popish monsters</em></td>
<td>1579</td>
<td>17797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Batman</td>
<td><em>The new arival of the three gracis</em></td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Bale</td>
<td><em>The image of both Churches</em></td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>1301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erra Pater</td>
<td><em>A prognostication for ever</em></td>
<td>1582</td>
<td>439.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erra Pater</td>
<td><em>A prognostication for ever</em></td>
<td>1598</td>
<td>439.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Venner</td>
<td><em>The right way to heaven</em></td>
<td>1602</td>
<td>24638</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Appendix B: Illustrated Books printed by Henry Bynneman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>STC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group I</td>
<td>Denakol (pseudo.)</td>
<td><em>Den sack met die stucken voor den paus...</em></td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>6581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. van der Noot</td>
<td><em>A theatre wherein be represented as wel the Miseries and calamities...</em></td>
<td>1569</td>
<td>18602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. Boaistuau</td>
<td><em>Certaine secrete wonders of nature</em></td>
<td>1569</td>
<td>3164.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S. Batman</td>
<td><em>The doome warning all men to the judgemente</em></td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>1582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group II</td>
<td>T. Walsingham</td>
<td><em>Historia brevis Thomae Walsingham</em></td>
<td>1574</td>
<td>25004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. Stow</td>
<td><em>A summarie of Englyshe chronicles</em></td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>23325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R. Holinshed</td>
<td><em>The firste volume of the chronicles of England Scotlande, and Irelande</em></td>
<td>1577</td>
<td>15368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. Stow</td>
<td><em>The chronicles of England</em></td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>23333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group III</td>
<td>M. Parker</td>
<td><em>The holie bible</em></td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>2110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Neville</td>
<td><em>Alexandri Nevulli Angli</em></td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>18478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pope Innocent III</td>
<td><em>The mirror of mans lyfe</em></td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>14092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pope Innocent III</td>
<td><em>The mirror of mans lyfe</em></td>
<td>1577</td>
<td>14094</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pope Innocent III  
*The mirror of mans lyfe*  
1576  
14093

Pope Innocent III  
*The mirror of mans lyfe*  
1580  
14094.5

S. Pembroke  
*A most strange and rare example of the just Judgement of God*  
1577  
19593

G. Harvey  
*Gabrielis Harveii gratulationum Valedinensium*  
1578  
12901

G. Harvey  
*Gabrielis Harveii Valdinatis...pro obitu T. Smith*  
1578  
12905

L. Digges  
*An arithmetical militare treatise*  
1579  
6848

E. Digby  
*Theoria analytica*  
1579  
6843

B. Garter  
*A newyeares gifte, dedicated to the popes holinesse*  
1579  
11629

J. Ravisius  
*Ravisii Textoris Nivernen*  
1581  
20761

S. Verro  
*Sebast. Verronis...physicorum libri X.*  
1581  
24688

**Commissioned Works**

L. Mascall  
*A booke...how to plant and graffe...*  
1567  
17573.5

Polybius  
*The histories of the most famous...Polybius*  
1568  
20097

L. Digges  
*A geometrical practice, named Pantometria*  
1571  
6858

W. Bourne  
*A regiment for the sea*  
1574  
3422

T. Hill  
*A most briefe and pleasaunte treatise...*  
1574  
13493

G. Turberville  
*The booke of faulconrie or hauking*  
1575  
24324
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. Turberville</td>
<td><em>The noble arte of venerie or hunting</em></td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>24328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Gascoigne</td>
<td><em>The steele glas</em></td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>11645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Hill</td>
<td><em>The gardeners labyrinth</em></td>
<td>1577</td>
<td>13485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Best</td>
<td><em>A true discourse of the late voyages of discoverie</em></td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Hill</td>
<td><em>The...arte of gardening...newly added</em></td>
<td>1579</td>
<td>13494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. de Serres</td>
<td><em>The fourth parte of commentaries concerning</em></td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>22243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The state of religion</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Miscellaneous</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Bomelius</td>
<td><em>A prognostication</em></td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Emery</td>
<td><em>A very rich lotterie generall, without any blanckes</em></td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. B.</td>
<td><em>A letter sent to I.B. gentleman unto maystet R.C....</em></td>
<td>1572</td>
<td>1048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Gossenne</td>
<td><em>A prognostication</em></td>
<td>1571</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Moore</td>
<td><em>A prognostication</em></td>
<td>1571</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Record</td>
<td><em>Now of late overseen and augmented</em></td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>20801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Record</td>
<td><em>The ground of artes teaching...arithmeticke</em></td>
<td>1579</td>
<td>20801.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Record</td>
<td><em>The ground of artes teaching...arithmeticke...</em></td>
<td>1582</td>
<td>20802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Afterwards augmented by J. Dee</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C: Editions with Christ Jesus Triumphant woodcut (1578-1603)

[Those marked * are recorded in Ronald B. McKerrow, Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485-1640 (London, 1913)]

*STC 1492—Peter Baro, Petri Baronis Stempani, Sacrae Theologiae in Academia Cantabrigiensi Doctoris ac professoris, in Jonam prophetam praelectiones 39 In quibus multa pié doctéque disseruntur & explicantur (London: J. Day, 1579)

*STC 11231—John Foxe, Christ Jesus triumphant A fruitefull treatise (London: J. Day, 1579)

STC 12594—Walter Haddon, Against Jerome Osorius Byshopp of Siluane in Portingall and against his slaunderous invectiues (London: J. Day, 1581)

*STC 15280—Hugh Latimer, Fruitfull sermons preached by the right reuerend Father, and constant martyr of Jesus Christ M. Hugh Latimer (London: J. Day, 1584)

STC 12752.5—Sir William Herbert, A letter written by a true Christian Catholike, to a Romaine pretended Catholike (London: J. Windet, 1586)

*STC 3599—Stephen Bredwell, The rasing of the foundations of Brownisme (London: J. Windet, 1588)


STC 24339—Richard Turnball, An exposition upon the canonicall Epistle of Saint James with the tables, analysis, and resolution, both of the whole epistle, and everie chapter thereof (London: J. Windet, 1591)

STC 24339.5-- Richard Turnball, An exposition upon the canonicall Epistle of Saint James with the tables, analysis, and resolution, both of the whole epistle, and everie chapter thereof (London: J. Windet, 1592)

STC 13466—Adam Hill, The defence of the article: Christ descended into Hell (London: J. Windet, 1592)

*STC 13712—Richard Hooker, Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall politie Eyght books (London: J. Windet, 1593)

STC 2486--The whole booke of psalms collected into English meetre (London: J. Windet f. R. Day, 1594)

*STC 2490--The whole booke of Psalms Collected into English meetre, London, 1595, ibid.

STC 2492--The whole booke of psalms (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day 1597)

STC 2494--The whole booke of Psalmes collected into English meetre (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day, 1598)
STC 2497.5--*The whole booke of Psalms. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day 1599)

STC 2500--*The whole booke of Psalms. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day 1600)

STC 2500.3--*The whole booke of Psalms. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day 1600)

STC 2506--*The whole booke of Psalms. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day 1602)

Bibliography of Primary Sources

Manuscripts


British Library, Sloane MS. 831--Dr. Stephen Bradwell, ‘Marie Glovers late woefull case,’


Bodleian Library, Douce MS. 363: Cavendish’s Life of Wolsey and other MS Miscellaneous.

Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. D.403.f.1.v.: ‘Image of Pity’


Bibles


The byble in Englyshe. (London: J. Cawood, 1560). STC 2094


The byble in Englishe [Gt. Bible version], (Rouen: C. Hamillon, 1566). STC 2098

The holie bible. Conteynyng the olde testament and the newe. [Bishops’ version.], (London: R. Jugge, 1568). STC 2099


The holie bible [Bishops’ version] (London: R. Barker, 1602). STC 2188

New Testaments

The newe testament dylygently corrected by W. Tindale (Antwerp: M. Crom, 1536). STC 2832

The newe testament dylygently corrected by W. Tindale. Whereunto is added an exhortacion of Erasmus (France?, 1536). STC 2835

The newe testament of our savyour Jesu Christ. Faythfully translated, & lately correcte. [Coverdale version] (Antwerp: G. Montanus,1538). STC 2840


The newe testament yet once agayne corrected. Wheare unto is added an exhortacion of Erasmus [Tyndale version] (Antwerp: M. Crom, 1548). STC 2848
The newe testament of oure savyour Jesu Christ [Tyndale version] (Antwerp: S. Mierdman for R. Jugge, 1548). STC 2852

The newe testament. Diligently tr. By M. Coverdale and conferred with the translacion of W. Tyndale (London: R. Wolfe, 1549). STC 2858

The newe testament of our saviour Jesu Christ...aucthorised [Tyndale version] (London: R. Jugge, 1561). STC 2872c.5

The newe testament of our saviour Jesu Christ...aucthorised [Tyndale version] (London: R. Jugge, 1566). STC 2873


Other Primary Sources

A.B.C., The ABC with the catechism that is to saie, the instruction...to be learned of everie child (London: T. Purfoot f. the assignes of R. Day, 1601). STC 20.7


Anglicus, Bartholomaeus, Batman uppon Bartholome his booke De proprietatibus rerum, newly corrected, enlarged and amended: with such additions as are requisite, unto every severall booke: taken foorth of the most approved authors, the like heretofore not translated in English (London: T. East, 1581). STC 1538

Anno primo reginae Elizabethe at the Parliament begonne at Westmynster, the xxiii. of January in the fyrste yeare of the reigne of oure soveraigne ladye (London: R. Jugge & J. Cawood, 1559). STC 9458.7

Anon., Antichrist. Here begynneth the byrthe and lyfe of the moost false and deceytfull Antechryst (London: W. de Worde, 1525). STC 670

Anon., The apprehension and confession of three notorious witches (London: E. Allde, 1589). STC 5114

Anon., A briefe discourse of two most cruell and bloudie murthers, committed bothe in Worcestershire, and bothe happening unhappily in the yeare 1583. The first declaring, how one unnaturally murdered his neighbour, and afterward buried him in his seller. The other sheweth, how a woman unlawfully following the devillish lusts of the flesh with her servant, caused him very cruellly to kill her owne husband (London: R. Warde, 1583). STC 25980

Anon., Christmas carols (Southwark: P.Treveris, 1528?). STC 5204.3


Anon., The great wonders that are chaunced in the realme of Naples with a great misfortune happened at Rome and in other places, by an earth quake in the moneth of December last past, translated by J. A. (London: H. Denham f. T. Hacket, 1566). STC 18358
--, [Here begynneth the byrthe and lyfe of the moost false and deceitfull Antechryst] (London: W. de Worde, 1525). STC 670
--, A marvelous tydynges both wonders old and new The Devyll is enditied yf many mens wordes be tru. (London: C. Woltrop, 1570). STC 24066
--, A most horrible & detestable murther committed by a bloudie minded man upon his owne wife (London: J. Danter, 1595). STC 17748
--, A new ballad intituled, Daniels siftyng in these our dayes aptly applyed to the true preachers of the gospell (London: R. Johns, 1572). STC 6235
--, A newe secte of friars called Capichini , (London?: S.n., 1580?). STC 4605
--, A Praier very comfortable and necessary to be used of all Christians every morning and evening, amongst their families (London: f. T. Pauyer, 1603). STC 20192.5
--, A rehearsal both straung and true, of heinous actes committed by Elizabeth Stile (London: J. Allde, 1579). STC 23267
--, Sundrye strange and inhumaine murthers, lately committed the first of a father that hired a man to kill three of his children neere to Ashford in Kent, the second of Anon., Master Page of Plymouth, marthered by the consent of his owne wife (London: T. Scarlet, 1591). STC 18286.5
--, A true and most dreadfull discourse of a woman (M. Cooper) possessed with the Devil: on the fower and twenty of May last. 1584. At Dicht in sommersetshire (London: J. Kingston f. T. Nelson, 1582). STC 5681
--, Two notorious murders one committed by a tanner on his wives sonne nere Horne-church in Essex, the other on a grasier nere Ailsburie in Buckinghamshire (London: J. Wright, 1595). STC 18289

Ariosto, Ludovico, Orlando Furioso in English heroical verse, translated by John Harrington (London: R. Field, 1593). STC 746

Augustine, Saint, Certaine select prayers gathered out of S. Augustines meditations, which he calleth his selfe talke with God (London: J. Day, 1574). STC 924


--, The epistle exhortatorye of an Englyshe Christiane (Antwerp: widow of C. Ruremond, 1544). STC 1291
--, An expostulation or complaynte agaynste the blasphemyes of a frantcke papyst of Hamshyre (London: S. Mierdman f. J. Day, 1552). STC 1294
--, The image of both churches, after the revelacion of st. Johan the evangelyst (Antwerp: S. Mierdman, 1545?). STC 1296.5
--, The image of both Churches after the most wonderfull and heavenly Reveulacion of sainct John the Evangelist (London: T. East, 1570). STC 1301
--, The pageant of popes containinge the lyues of all the bishops of Rome, from the begininge of them to the yeare of Grace 1555. (London: T. Marsh, 1574). STC 1304

Barnes, Barnabe, A divine centurie of spirituall sonnets (London: J. Windet, 1595). STC 1467

--, *A christall glasse of christian reformation wherein the godly maye beholde the coloured abuses used in this our present tyme* (London: J. Day, 1569). STC 1581

--, *The travayled pylgrime, brining newes from all partes of the world* [A verse translated of Le chevalier delibere by O. de la Marche] (London: H. Denham, 1569). STC 1585


--, *A new postil conteinyng most godly and learned sermons upon all the Sonday Gospelles* (London: T. Marshe & J. Kingston, 1566). STC 1736


--, *The sicke mans salve* (London: J. Day, 1561). STC 1757

Bellot, Jacques, *A Prayer meete to be sayd of all true subjectes for our Queene Elizabeth, and for the present state* (London: R. Johns, 1586). STC 7549.5

Benham, Edward, intro., *The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, 1559: To Which are Appended Some Occasional Forms of Prayer Issued in Her Reign* (reprinted: Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1909)

Bentley, Thomas, *The monument of matrones conteining seven severall lamps of virginitie, or distinct treatises; whereof the first five concerne prayer and meditation: the two last, precepts and examples* (London: H. Denham, 1582). STC 1892


Beze, Theodore, *Icones, id est verae imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium ... additis eorundem vitae et operæ descriptionibus; quibus adiectæ sunt nonnullæ picturæ, quas emblemata vocant* (Geneva: J. de Laon, 1580)

--, *Job expounded by Theodore Beza, partly in manner of a commentary, partly in manner of a paraphrase* (Cambridge: J. Legatt, [1589?]). STC 2020

--, *The popes canons wherein the venerable and great masters of the Romish Church are confuted in these ten discourses following* (London: G. Robinson f. J. Perin, 1587). STC 2031


Boccaccio, Giovanni, *A treatise...shewing the falles of sundry most notable princes* (London: R. Tottell, 1554). STC 3177


Bradshaw, William, *A Treatise of the nature and use of things indifferent. Tending to prove that the ceremonies imposed upon the ministers in England, in present controversie are unlawful* (London: W. Jone’s secret press, 1605). STC 3530


-- *The supremacie of Christian princes over all persons throughout their dominions* (London: H. Bynneman f. H. Toy, 1573). STC 3737


-- *Daniel his Chaldie visions and his Ebrew* (London: W. White, 1597). STC 3852

Bucer, Martin, *A treatise declaring and showing that images are not to be suffered in churches*, translated by W. Marshall from the Latin translated by J. Bedrote (London: T. Godfray, 1535). STC 24238


Bullinger, Henry (Heinrich), *The Decades of Henry Bullinger, 4 vols.*, translated by H.I., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1852)


-- *A harmonie upon the the three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke with the commentarie of M. John Calvine* (London: T. Dawson, 1584). STC 2962


-- *A sermon of the famous and Godly learned man, master John Calvine, conteineing an exhortation to suffer persecution for followinge Jesus Christe* (London: R. Waldegrave, 1581). STC 4439.5

Carmichael, James, *Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of Dr. Fian* (London: E. Allde f. W. Wright, 1592). STC 10841a


Charke, William, *A treatise against the Defense of the censure, given upon the booke of W.Charke and Meredith Hanmer, by an unknowne popish traytor in maintenance of the seditious challenge of Edmond Campion ... Hereunto are adjoyned two treatises, written by D.Fulke ...* (Cambridge: T. Thomas, 1586). STC 5009

--., *An aanswer to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroade by a Jesuite* (Cambridge: T. Thomas, 1581). STC 5006


--., *A goodly prymer in englyshe, newly corrected and printed, with certeyne godly meditations and prayers added to the same, very necessarie [and] profitable for all them that ryghte assuredly understande not ye latine [and] greke tongue* (London: J. Byddell, 1535). STC 15988


Cooper, Thomas, *A briefe exosition of such chapters of the olde testament as usually are redde in the church at common praier on the Sondays set forth for the better helpe and instruction of the unlearned* (London: H. Denham f. R. Newbery, 1573). STC 5684

--., *The cry and revenge of blood Expressing the nature and haynousnesse of wilfull murther* (London: N. Okes f. J. Wright, 1620). STC 5698


Cranmer, Thomas, *Catechismus, that is to say, a shorte instruction into Christian religion for the synguler commoditie and profyte of childre[n] and yong people* (London: N. Hyll f. G. Lynne, 1548). STC 5993

Curtseys, Richard, *A sermon preached before the Queenes Maiestie, by the reverende Father in God the Bishop of Chichester, at Grenewiche, the 14. day of Marche. 1573* (London: H. Bynneman f. F. Coldocke, 1573). STC 6135


Deacon, John and John Walker, *Dialogicall discourses of spirits and divels declaring their proper essence, natures, dispositions, and operations, their possessions and dispossessions* (London: Eliot’s Court Press, 1601). STC 6439

Dee, John, *General and rare memorials pertayning to the perfect arte of navigation annexed to the paradoxal cumpas, in playne* (London: J. Day, 1577). STC 6459

---, *A letter, containing a most briefe discourse apologetical* (London: P. Short, 1599). STC 6460


Denakol, *Den sack met die stucken voor den paus van Roomen, syn cardinaalen* (London: H. Bynneman, 1568). STC 6581


Dering, Edward, *XXVII lectures, or readings, upon part of the Epistle written to the Hebrues* (London: H. Middelton f. L. Harison, 1577). STC 6727


Edgeworth, Roger, *Sermons very fruitfull, godly, and learned, preached and sette foorth by Maister Roger Edgeworth* (London: R. Caly, 1557). STC 7482


Fleming, Abraham, The diamond of devotion cut and squared into sixe severall points (London: H. Denham, 1581). STC 11041
--. An epitaph, or funerall inscription, upon the godlie life and death of the right worshipfull maister william lambe (London: H. Denham f. T. Turner, 1580). STC 11038
--. A straunge and terrible wunder wrought very late in the the parish church of Bongay (London: J. Allde f. F. Godly, 1577). STC 11050

Fiske, John, An abridgement of the booke of acts and monments (London: J. Windet at assignment of T. Bright, 1589). STC 11229
--. Christ Jesus triumphant A fruitefull treatise, wherin is described the most glorious triumph, and conquest of Christ Jesus our saviour, over sinne, death, the law, the strength and pride of Sathan, and the world, with all other enemies whatsoever agaynst the poore soule of man (London: J. Day, 1576). STC 11231

Fraunce, Abraham, The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch Containing the affectionate life, and unfortunate death of Phillis and Amyntas: that in a pastorall; this in a funeral (London: T. Orwin f. W. Ponsonby, 1591). STC 11340


Fulke, William, A comfortable sermon of faith, in temptations and afflictions Preached at S. Botulphes without Aldersgate in London, the xv. of Februarye. 1573 (London: J. Awdely, 1574). STC 11422
--. D. Heskins, D. Sanders, and M. Rastel, accounted (among their faction) three pillers and archpatriarchs of the popish synagoge (utter enemies to the truth of Christes Gospell, and all that sincerely professe the same) overthrownne, and detected of their severall blasphemous heresies (London: H. Middleton f. G. Bishop, 1579). STC 11433
--. Praelections upon the sacred and holy Revelation of S. John, (London: T. Purfoote, 1573). STC 11443
--. A retentive, to stay good Christians, to true faith and religion, against the motives of Richard Bristow (London: Thomas Vautroullier for George Bishop, 1580) STC 11449


G., B., A newyeares gifte dedicated to the Popes Holinesse, and all Catholikes addicted to the Sea of Rome (London: H. Bynneman, 1569). STC 11629


Golding, Arthur, A briefe discourse of the late murther of master George Saunders (London: H. Bynneman, 1573). STC 11985
--. The warfare of Christians concerning the conflict against the fleshe, the world, and the devill (London: H. Bynneman f. J. Sheppard, 1576). STC 5206


Grime, John, Here begynnethe the lanterne of light (London: R. Redman, 1535). STC 15225


Gwalther, Rudolph, Antichrist, that is to saye: A true reporte, that Antichriste is come wher he was borne, of his persone, miracles, what tooles he worketh withall, and what shalbe his ende (Emden: E. van der Erve, 1556). STC 25009


Heyden, Cornelius van der, A briefe summe of the vvhole Bible (London: T. Marshe, 1568). STC 3020

Hariot, Thomas, The true pictures...of the people of Virginia, 2pts., (Frankfort: T. de Bry, 1590). STC 12786

Harvey, Gabriel, A new letter of notable contents With a straungue sonet, intituled Gorgon, or the wonderfull yeare (London: J. Wolfe, 1593). STC 12902

Hayward, John, Gods universal right proclaimed A sermon preached at Paules Crosse, the 27. of March 1603. being the next Sunday after her Majesties departure (London: R. Reade f. C. Burby, 1603). STC 12984
--. The sanctuarie of the troubled soule (London: J. Windet f. J. Wolfe, 1601). STC 13003.5

Holbein, Hans, The images of the old testament, lately expressed (Lyons: J. Frellon, 1549). STC 3045


Hooper, John, Early Writings of John Hooper, edited by S. Carr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1843)
--. An oversighte and deliberacion uppon the holy prophet Ionas: made, and uttered before the kinges majestie, and his most honorable counsell (London: J. Tisdale, 1560). STC 13765

--. The Works of Roger Hutchinson, edited by John Bruce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1842)
Jackson, Thomas, *David’s pastorall poeme: or sheepeheards song Seven sermons* (London: T. Purfoote, 1603). STC 14299


--. *An apolgie or answere in deffence of the Churche of Engleonde with a briefe and plaine declaration of the true religion professed and used in the same* (London: R. Wolfe, 1564). STC 14591

--. *A replie unto M. Hardinges answeare by perusinge whereof the discrete, and diligent reader may easily see, the weake, and unstable groundes of the Romaine religion, whiche of late hath beene accompted Catholique* (London: H. Wykes, 1565). STC 14606


Kempis, Thomas, *The imitation or following of Christ and the contemning of worldly vanities* (London: H. Denham, 1568 [1571?]). STC 23971


La Primaudaye, Pierre de, *The second part of the French academie Wherein, as it were by a naturall historie of the bodie and soule of man, the creation, matter, composition, forme, nature, profite and use of all the partes of the frame of man are handled* (London: G. Bishop, 1594). STC 15238


Law, Thomas, *A most rare & true report, of such great tempests, straunge sitehes, and wonderfull accidents, which happened by the providence of God* (London: T. Law, 1582). STC 20889.5


Lyly, John, *Sapho and Phao played before the Queenes majestie on Shrove-tewsday* (London: T. Orwin f. W. Broome, 1591). STC 17087


Martin, Gregory, *A discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the heretikes of our daies specially the English sectaries* (Rheims: J. Fogny, 1582). STC 17503


--, *The fountaine of fame* (London: J. Charlewood, 1580). STC 18283


Nausea, Friedrich, *A bright burning beacon forewarning all wise virgins to trim their lampes against the comming of the Bridegroome* (London: H. Denham, 1580). STC 11037

Newport, Francis, *An epytaphe, of the godlye constaunt, and coumfortable confessor mystres Darothye Wynnes whiche slepte in Christ* (London: O. Rogers, 1560). STC 18499
Noot, Jan van der, *A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings as also the greate joyes and plesures which the faithfull do enjoy* (London: H. Bynneman, 1569). STC 18602


Osborne, M., *A newe ballade of a love extolling his ladye* (London: W. Gryffith, 1566). STC 18876

Paradin, Claude, *The true and lyvely historyke purtreasures of the woll Bible*, translated by Peter Derendel (Lyons: J. de Tournes, 1553). STC 3043

Parker, Matthew, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, edited by John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1853)


Patten, William, *The calender of Scripture* (London: R. Jugge, 1575). STC 19476


Rawlyns, Roger, *A consort of the creatures with the creator* (London: T. Orwin f. W. Young, 1591). STC 20588


Rickey, Mary Ellen and Thomas B. Stroup, eds, *Certaine Sermons or HOMILIES Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547-1571)* (Gainesville, FL: Scholars’ Facsimiles & Reprints, 1968)


Rogers, John, *A godly and fruitful exposition upon all the first epistle of Peter* (London: J. Field, 1650). Wing R1803B


---, *A golden chaine, taken out of the rich treasurehouse the Pslames of King Dauid* (London: H. Denham, 1579). STC 21235

Rogers, William, *Meditation. A godly meditation day and night to be exercised* (London: engr. W. Rogers, 1600). STC 17773.5


Salkeld, John, *A treatise of angels. Of the nature, essence, place, power, science, will, apparitions, grace, sinne, and all other prosperities of angels* (London: T. Snodham f. N. Butter, 1613). STC 21621

Sander, Nicholas, *A treatise of the images of Christ and his saints: and that it is vnlauffull to breake them, and lauful to honour them* (Louanii: Apud Ioannem Foulerum, 1567). STC 21696


---, *The tragedie of King Richard the second* (London: V. Simmes f. A. Wise, 1597). STC 22307

*The shepardes kalender. Here beginneth the kalender of shepardes newly augmented and corrected* (London: W. Powell, 1556). STC 22412

*The shepardes kalender. Here beginneth the kalender of shepardes newly augmented and corrected* (London: T. East, 1570). STC 22415


Sterrie, D., *A briefe sonnet declaring the lamentation of Beckles, a Market Towne in Sufolke which was in the great winde upon S. Andrewes eve pitifully burned with fire to the value by estimation of tweentie thousande pounds* (London: R. Robinson f. N. Colman, 1586). STC 23259


Stubbes, Phillip, *A christal glasse for christian women containing, a most excellent discourse, of the godly life and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubs, who departed this life in Burton upon Trent, in Staffordshire the 14. day of December. 1590* (London: T. Orwin f. R. Jones, 1592). STC 23382

--. *Godly meditations upon the most holy sacrament of the Lordes Supper* (London: J. Windet, 1601). STC 23491


Twyne, Thomas, *A view of certain wonderful effects, of late dayes come to passe and now newly conferred with the presignyfications of the comete, or blasing star* (London: J. Charlewoode f. R. Jones, 1578). STC 23629

Touris, William, *Contemplacyon of sinners* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1499). STC 5643


Vennard, Richard, *The right way to heaven* (London: T. East, 1601). STC 24637

Wither, George, *Exercises upon the first Psalme Both in prose and verse* (London: E. Griffin f. J. Harrison, 1620). STC 25902


Walsingham, Thomas, *Historia brevis Thomae Walsingham* (Londini: apud H. Binneman, 1574). STC 25004


Woolton, John, *A treatise of the immortalitie of the soule wherein is declared the origine, nature, and powers of the same* (London: T. Purfoote f. J. Shepperd, 1576). STC 25979

-- *A newe anatomie of whole man aswell of his body, as of his soule* (London: T. Purfoote, 1576). STC 25977


**Bibliography of Secondary Sources**


Bing, Gertrude, ‘*Nugae Circa Vertatem*: Notes on Francesco Anton Doni’, *Journal of the Wartburg Institute*, 1 (1938), 304-312


--, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion, 2001)


--, *Christopher Plantin* (London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1960)
--,'Thomas Vautrollier,’ *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 35 (1960) 223-228


Craig, Hardin, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955)


Davies, David, Dutch Influence on English Culture (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1964)


--, ‘How Came You by These Pictures?’: Idolatry and Gift Culture in Alexander Nowell’s Prayer Book for Elizabeth I’, (unpublished paper)


--. *The English Provincial Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders to 1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912)

--. *Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906)


Fincham, Kenneth, ed., The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642, (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1993)


Fleming, Juliet, Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England (London: Reaktion, 2001)


Gasquet, Francis, *The Eve of the Reformation* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1900)


Gibson, Marion, *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing* (London: Routledge, 2000),
--*, Reading Witchcraft: Stories of Early English Witches* (London: Routledge, 1999)


--*, ‘Review: Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion’, *EHR*, 121 (2006), 602-604


Hackett, Helen, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995)


Hoppe, Harry R., ‘John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579-1601,’ *TL*, 4th series, 14 (1933), 241-287


Hoppe, Harry R., ‘John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579-1601,’ *TL*, 4th series, 14 (1933), 241-287


Keck, David, Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Kelen, Sarah, “It Is Dangerous (Gentle Reader)”: Censorship, Holinshed’s Chronicle and the Politics of Control, SCJ, 27 (1996), 705-720


King, John N., Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)


--., ‘Connections and Disconnections Between Images and Texts: The Case of the Secular Tudor Book Illustration’, Word and Image, 3 (1987), 74-83


MacFarlane, John, Antoine Verard (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1900)


Muller, Richard, *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Durham, N.C.: Labyrinth Press, 1986)


Nef, John U., ‘Richard Carmarden’s “A Caveat for the Queene” (1570)’, *The Journal of Political Economy*, 41 (1933), 33-41


Overell, Ann, Italian Reforms and English Reformation, 1535-1585 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)


Owst, G.R., Preaching in the Later Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926)


Parish, Helen, Monks, Miracles and Magic: Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church (London: Routlege, 2005)


--, Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)


Plomer, Henry, ‘Henry Binneman, Printer, 1566-83’, TL, New Series, 9 (1908), 226-244

--, ‘An Inventory of Wynkyn de Worde’s Shop House “The Sun in Fleet Street” in 1543,’ TL, 3rd series, 4 (1915), 228-234

--, Wynkyn de Worde & His Contemporaries: From the Death of Caxton to 1535 (London: Grafton, 1925)


Raymond, Joad, Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Reader, F. W., ‘Tudor Domestic Wall-Paintings’, Archaeological Journal, 92 (1936), 243-286

--, ‘Tudor Domestic Wall-Paintings, 2’, Archaeological Journal, 93 (1937 for 1936), 220-262


Roston, Murray, Biblical Drama in England, from the Middle Ages to the Present Day (London: Faber and Faber, 1968)

Rubin, Miri, Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Rublack, Ulinka, Reformation Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
Rupp, Gordon, ‘Andrew Karlstadt and Reformation Puritanism’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, New Series, 10 (1959), 308-26

--. ‘Paths Not Taken in the British Reformation,’ *The Historical Journal*, 52 (2009), 1-22


Scavizzi, Guiseppe, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992)


--. *Religion and Culture in Germany, 1400-1800*, edited by Lyndal Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2001)


--. ‘Review: Reformation and the culture of persuasion’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 57 (2006), 603-605


--. *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993)

--. ‘“Domme Preachers?” Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print’, *P&P*, 168 (2000), 72-123

--. ‘“The Fatall Vesper”: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London’, *P&P*, 144 (1994), 36-87


--, Always Among Us: Images of the Poor in Zwingli’s Zurich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
--, ‘Envisioning God: Images and Liturgy in Reformation Zurich,’ SCJ, 24 (1993), 21-40
--., The Eucharist and the Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)


Watson, Arthur, The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934)


Wright, Louis B., ‘Translations for the Elizabethan Middle Class,’ *TL*, 4th series, 13 (1932), 312-331

Zapalac, Kristin Eldyss Sorenson, “*In His Image and Likeness*: Political Iconography and Religious Change in Regensburg, 1500-1600” (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)
