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Between the Altar and the Pulpit

The (New?) Materiality of the Spiritual

EDITED BY RAINGARD ESSER AND ANDREA STRÜBIND

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Cover image: Ten Commandments panel, Leiden, c.1572-1625, photo archive Regnerus Steensma.

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The (New?) Materiality of the Spiritual

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Between the Altar and the Pulpit: The (New?) Materiality of the Spiritual

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The Luther commemorations of the past decade, culminating in 2017, have undoubtedly opened new approaches, but also rekindled old discussions, on the character of the Reformation. Many of these debates, particularly in the public sphere, have focused on the role of Martin Luther himself, but much scholarship has also used the wider interest in the topic to address all-too-dearly-held assumptions about confessional differences and their expressions in the Reformation era. One of these “myths of the Reformation“ centers around the root-and-branch-dismissal of images in Protestantism, whose supporters preferred the word and the Word over the visual and material representations of the sacred in Christian worship. This perceived dichotomy has been much contested in recent years. Bridget Heal, for instance, has convincingly argued that the traditional distinction between “the Catholic Eye and the Protestant Ear” no longer captures more recent scholarly interpretations of the spiritual practices of the different confessions and their changes in the Reformation period (2013, 2016). Heal supports her arguments with an analysis of the church furniture and decorations in Lutheran churches in the Holy Roman Empire (2017). Lutheran churches were and remained exuberant with images of traditional Catholic sacred iconography. In many of these churches, for instance in Nuremberg, the first Imperial city to adopt the Lutheran faith in 1525, the Catholic interior with rood screens, statues, altars and altarpieces, tabernacles, and

paintings remained intact and unchanged. Heal's studies are complemented by similar investigations into Lutheran churches elsewhere in Europe (for instance, Spicer 2012). They bring together scholarship of the Reformation, which investigates the perception and use of sacred space as one arena in which confessional difference, change, or continuity was most poignantly visible. Church buildings, as focal points of Christian worship, have thus become a key topic of this scholarship. Investigations into church interiors have profited from new scholarly approaches to "space" and the challenges to perceived dichotomies between the sacred and the profane, the public and the private. Key themes that have been and are explored in this context concern the hierarchies of the sacred and the demarcation of social power among the clergy, church patrons, and ordinary people in churches, as well as the liminality of these spaces (Coster and Spicer 2005; Hamilton and Spicer 2005). While altarpieces or particular monuments have traditionally been and still are intensely studied, often by art historians but also by Reformation historians (Heal's own study is particularly focused on church art), the (re)arrangement of these pieces of art as well as other church furniture within the complex composition of their built environment has raised further academic interest. Rather than focusing on one particular object and its creator, as has often been the case in art history, its embeddedness within its spatial context is now further explored. This is not an easy task. How churches were (re)arranged in the sixteenth century and thereafter is often difficult to trace. The enigmatic and much-discussed seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings of "church interiors" by artists such as Pieter Saenredam, Hendrick van Vliet, and Emanuel de Witte often painted an idealized, rather than an accurate, version of the "cleansed" Reformed churches of the Netherlands (Pollmer-Schmidt 2013; Vanhaelen 2012; Helmus 2002). Moreover, the timeline of changes to the interior could be and often was blurred: what was left,

for instance, by the English reformers under King Edward VI would suffer from further iconophobic attacks by the Puritans during the English Civil Wars and their aftermath. Contemporary accounts further muddied a clear chronology of destruction and rearrangement. For early modern responses to the English Reformation, Philip Schwyzer has detected the use of the peculiar temporality of “lateness”, especially as witnessed in its destructive impact on buildings and monuments. “Persisting through much of the seventeenth century and into the early Restoration era”, he argues, “the perception of a ‘recent Reformation’ seems to have been equally prevalent among Catholic sympathisers and conventional, even militant, Protestants” (Schwyzer 2016). The destruction of Bishop Grandisson’s tomb in Exeter Cathedral provides a striking example of this observation. Probably destroyed in the 1530s, its desecration was referred to in a series of texts from the 1580s through the 1660s as a “late” event. Accounts could and did conflate the initial destruction of the tomb and later assaults during the English Civil Wars, in 1643, when Exeter Cathedral was again subject to iconoclasm. Those observations, as well as Heal’s interpretation of the “preserving power of Lutheranism,” raise further questions about the role of contemporary perceptions of and attitudes towards objects in churches (Fritz 1997). The sheer “survival” of traditional Catholic artwork and church furnishings in Lutheran churches, Heal argues, should not in itself be understood as an indication of the survival of the practices and belief-systems associated with them before the Protestant takeover. The role and the spiritual meaning of the altarpieces and other artworks that were kept in place changed and were “neutralized” by the focal points of the Lutheran liturgy of the word. Traditional practices, such as processions with statues or the burning of candles on altars or in front of sacred images, gradually disappeared. They were replaced by an emphasis on the sermon and the quiet contemplation of individual churchgoers. However, it is not always

easy to support this argument with contemporary evidence. Analyzing the English 1552 inventories of church goods, Eamon Duffy (2012) argues that these rich documents reveal that the orders of the Edwardian commission to inventorize what was still left in English parish churches at the time were obeyed. But this does not necessarily imply that these lists demonstrate the parishioners' enthusiastic embrace of reforms to their church space. Alexandra Walsham further elaborates on the theme by introducing the concept of "recycling" into the study of the material memories of—in her particular case—the English Reformation. She convincingly argues that converted objects, often taken from their initial church space into private households, "served to perpetuate and complicate social and cultural memory" (2017, 1121). It thus remains difficult to assess the enduring or renewed role and meaning of objects that had sacred connotations for generations. Luther's and Calvin's approach to statues and other church furnishings—and, to some extent, images—as adiaphora, i.e. indifferent or non-essential, was not shared by all reformers or their followers (Encyclopaedia Britannica Online; Friedrich 2007; Jonckheere 2012). Moreover, Luther himself conceded the beauty of images, their role in creating a solemn sphere necessary for Christian worship, and their didactic role in reminding the viewers of a Christian life (Heal 2005). Studies produced around the 450th anniversary of the Iconoclastic Fury in the Low Countries in 1566 have emphasized the disruptive power of iconoclasm, which was much criticized by contemporaries as an assault of the established social order, rather than hailed as a dawn of a new confessional regime expressed in the rearrangement of the very heart of the Catholic church: its buildings. For the Low Countries, 1566 remained an exceptional year, and much of what had been destroyed was subsequently restored and further embellished (van Bruaene et al. 2016). Likewise, many of the newly built Calvinist temples in places such as Leiden, Gorcum,

and Haarlem were destroyed once the Habsburg regime had regained full power (Spicer 2007, 106–118, 134–147).

As Caroline Bynum has recently alerted us, “periodization of religious change is complicated by attention to objects, which often carry practice into a future untransformed by assertions of new doctrinal interpretations” (Bynum 2016, 101). Objects themselves—statues, church furniture, vestments—often tell a different and much more nuanced story than that conveyed by texts. Moreover, objects that seem to be firmly embedded in the realm of the sacred, such as relics, can acquire (or perhaps always had) multi-layered meanings. David de Boer has carefully analysed the role of the skull of the city’s patron saint Rombout, which was dramatically rescued in the Iconoclastic Fury of 1580 in Mechelen’s main church, dedicated to the saint. In the later accounts of the events and the eventual restoration of the relic into the church after the return of the Catholic order, Saint Rombout’s role—and, by extension, the meaning of the relic for the citizens of Mechelen—had shifted from sacred to civic space, symbolizing civic identity in the besieged and eventually rescued city (de Boer 2016).

The following essays address these issues. They are based on papers presented at the international conference “Zwischen Kanzel und Altar. Die (neue) Materialität des Spirituellen” held at the Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek, Emden in April 2016. Continuity and change in church interiors were key concepts addressed at the conference. The studies presented here analyse the impact of confessional change on church interiors and intentionally move away from the cathedrals and parish churches in the political and religious centres of early modern Europe. They argue that church spaces have different, multi-layered meanings. Their descriptions were embedded in local or regional discourses which often went beyond the realm of the religious. (Re-)Arrangements of church spaces responded to local needs and requirements. The cases presented here cover what might be labelled

the peripheries of confessional change by focussing on border areas and/or churches in villages and small towns, which are often overlooked in scholarship. They draw attention to the local specificities in which changes within church spaces were realized or rejected.

Steven Ellis investigates the Collegiate Church of Saint Nicholas in Galway, Ireland, thus addressing a much under-studied area of the Tudor Reformation. In comparison to our knowledge of the English Reformation, which has kindled much debate and ground-breaking research into the impact of confessional change on the material culture of church interiors, sacred space and its transformation has so far not been the topic of thorough research on Tudor Ireland (Duffy 1992; 2001). Here, attempts to instigate worship according to the requirements of the Book of Common Prayer as the cornerstone of the rituals of the Elizabethan (and later Anglican) church were half-heartedly introduced and lacked the financial backing required, for instance, to train ministers for the new service. Ellis combines a detailed investigation into the orders of the new liturgy, including the role of psalm singing, with the rearrangement of space in the church or the failure to adequately accommodate the requirements for change in St. Nicholas. The changes in the church interior were not fully undertaken—there was not sufficient personnel to implement them—and, eventually, the church services lacked the support of the local population, who preferred Catholic alternatives which were still available. Here, as in England, later developments under the Stuarts and particularly during the Commonwealth of Oliver Cromwell added an additional political layer to confessional change. Here, as in England, the chronology of the changes to the "scenic apparatus of divine worship"[1] is difficult to disentangle. In

1 Thus the much-quoted letter of Bishop John Jewel to Peter Martyr from 1559, *The Zurich Letters or, the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian Reformers during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1558-1579* (Robinson 1842, 23).

St. Nicholas, as in other Irish churches, layers of destruction and renewal were interwoven in later descriptions. A particular lack of sources for the Irish scenario makes research into these changes very difficult, but not impossible, and certainly would reward further investigation.

Equally complicated, and perhaps comparable, is the scenario in the Dutch border regions of the Generality Lands in the seventeenth century. In ‘s Hertogenbosch, as in Galway, the administrators of the new Reformed church were confronted with a predominantly Catholic population. In ‘s Hertogenbosch’s Sint Jan’s Cathedral, as in St. Nicholas in Galway, confessional change had a very political undertone with (mostly) unwanted outsiders representing the new church and failing to receive sufficient support to maintain the building and its service at the desired standards. Raingard Esser’s study also addresses the recent academic call to investigate the sensory elements of sacred space and the attempt to capture contemporary experiences of this space, which are also implicit in Bynum’s appeal to take contemporaries’ approaches to (formerly) sacred objects seriously. In the Low Countries, a richer heritage of sources describing church interiors and their changes in chorographies, travel accounts, and diaries enable us to catch a glimpse of what mattered to people at the time, and what could be neglected. Jacob van Oudenhoven’s surveys of the Sint Jan in ‘s Hertogenbosch again highlight the temporality and the hierarchies of church art and church furnishings—and the meaning ascribed to them by one informed commentator, at least.

The following two contributions specifically focus on the iconographic programme of particular genres in church furnishings. Jacolien Wubs discusses the subtle accommodation of visualizations and decorations in Dutch Calvinist text boards in the seventeenth century. She convincingly argues that the traditional perception of the rejection of images in Dutch Calvinism must be further nuanced and presents a series of striking images

of the prophet Moses on the popular and widespread depictions of the Ten Commandments, which often replaced traditional altarpieces in converted churches. She points out that the use of the figure of Moses, which was recognizable through both his description in the Old Testament and through printed texts, was palatable and acceptable in Dutch Calvinist circles. With the rejection of crucifixion scenes in Calvinist churches, Moses could have served as a fitting replacement of Christ. Striking and very fitting in this present context is the wealth of material that Wubs has unearthed, particularly for smaller, provincial churches in the Netherlands.

Piotr Birecki presents a, so far, unique ensemble of images in a small Lutheran church in early modern Ducal Prussia. What makes his example remarkable is not only the emphasis on this, otherwise often neglected, geographical area in the study of confessional change and sacred space. He also convincingly argues for the close link between confessional change and its political message, as exemplified in the rich paintings in Rodowo's Lutheran church. His study contributes to our understanding of the Lutheran appropriation of church space as an image of the social hierarchy and order represented by the *Landesherr*, the territorial ruler, his clergy, and the parishioners under their guidance. Not only is the iconographic programme in Rodowo a colourful illustration of the leadership qualities of the territorial ruler; in conversation with biblical role models, it also served as a visualized *aide-memoire* for the minister, who could relate to the messages of a Christian social order as represented in the paintings of the church. Birecki also carefully reconstructs the various spaces in the church allocated to the respective messages and their relationship to each other. Both Wubs' and Birecki's contributions, therefore, address Lutheran art as "verba visibilia" in its different forms and expressions. The paintings in Rodowo were commissioned and executed in the mid-eighteenth century; therefore, they transgress the traditional focus of research into church

interiors beyond the confessional age. The Lutheran agenda of the just ruler is entangled with Enlightenment perceptions of quiet prayer and contemplation as well as rulers' qualities taken from French examples of the iconographic programme developed in praise of the Catholic ruler Louis XIV.

The present collection therefore not only addresses the entanglement of religious objects in different confessional and political agendas. It also alerts us to the different "paces" of change beyond the textual landmarks which have so often been used to press the confessional age into a distinct chronology.

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Sacred Space and "True Religion": The Irish Reformation and the Collegiate Church of St Nicholas, Galway

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Sacred Space and “True Religion”: The Irish Reformation and the Collegiate Church of St Nicholas, Galway

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ABSTRACT This paper looks at the impact of religious reform in Tudor Galway, focusing on how the use of sacred space in the collegiate church of St Nicholas, Galway, was reshaped during the Reformation. The Elizabethan Settlement of Religion was, by European standards, quite conservative, permitting the retention of choral foundations and pipe organs and, in Ireland, even the traditional Latin offices, sung from the chancel. Unofficially, even some images and ornaments survived. Alongside these conservative survivals, the corporate worship of the new prayer book was also enhanced by regular sermons in English, Irish, and Latin by graduate preaching ministers, which were a popular innovation initially attracting large groups of people. Later, however, financial difficulties and the lack of a preaching minister for regular sermons undermined this local compromise: Galway merchants mostly drifted back to Catholic worship, which had remained freely available outside the town.

KEY WORDS Reformation; prayer book; common prayer; sermons; vicars choral

This paper looks at the organization and use of sacred space in one of the less successful theatres of the European Reformation, the Church of Ireland. Focusing chiefly on the impact of religious reform in the town of Galway, the paper assesses how the internal appearance and furnishings of Irish churches changed at this time, indicating a reformation of the idea of the church as sacred space. How sacred space was organized and used across Reformation Europe is a subject which has, until recently, attracted relatively little attention, despite the possibilities of this approach. It is also a subject which demands different sources from those traditionally used for the history of religious ideas, using churchwardens’ accounts,

parish registers, wills, and court records, in particular, as well as the visual and structural evidence provided by archaeology, art history, and architecture (see especially Coster and Spicer 2005, 2–3). To date, however, the concept of sacred space during the Irish Reformation has hardly been considered, perhaps in part because these types of sources are thought not to be available in any quantity to show how churches and cathedrals were adapted for worship across the Church of Ireland.[1] Certainly, aspects of this topic will necessarily remain somewhat obscure in default of fuller records, with many of the changes, and also their precise chronology, remaining largely conjectural. As the following account focusing on the Collegiate church of St Nicholas, Galway, will demonstrate, however, it is nonetheless possible, in some cases, to offer rather more than a sketch of this topic, fleshed out in part from the experience of Tudor reform elsewhere, both from the better-documented Church of England, but also from the scanty surviving records from other parts of Ireland.[2]

The Medieval Church and the Onset of Reform

The remodelling of Irish churches to meet the demands of Protestant reform broadly followed European lines. As elsewhere, reform involved a radical transformation of sacred space to accommodate the religion of the

1 There is, for instance, only one surviving set of churchwardens’ accounts for an Irish parish for the Reformation period (Empey 2009).

2 The surviving records relating to Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, would almost certainly allow a more detailed account of the remodelling of sacred space there than has yet been attempted. See especially Gillespie 1996; Gillespie 1997a; Milne 2000; Murray 2009. More generally, see also Gillespie 1997b; Lyttleton 2008, 80–104.

Word, with its markedly different, biblio-centric presentation of Christianity, in place of the more visual focus and traditional ceremonies of the pre-Reformation church. The major steps of this magisterial Reformation also followed—albeit with some delay—broadly along English lines. In brief, the characteristically Anglican contribution to the Reformation, the royal supremacy, was first enacted by the Irish parliament in 1536, with some common prayers in English introduced shortly thereafter. The first English prayer book followed in 1549, with further doctrinal changes following along more continental lines until the death of Edward VI in 1553. Finally, after a short-lived Catholic reaction under Mary, the Irish parliament re-enacted the royal supremacy in 1560, followed by a revised prayer book and royal injunctions, and a confessional statement, the Twelve Articles, in 1567 (Jefferies 2010; Ford 1995, 57). Remarkably, the cornerstone of this Elizabethan Settlement, the *Book of Common Prayer*, has survived with relatively minor changes down to the present. The Church of Ireland, which this legislation established, was by no means a straight copy of its English counterpart, and the political and cultural context in which it operated was very different; but even so, the resemblances were also very apparent.

The Collegiate Church of St Nicholas is the largest medieval parish church in Ireland still in constant use. It was built about 1320 by the wealthy merchants of the important seaport town of Galway, then an isolated English colony on Ireland's western seaboard, and it is dedicated to St Nicholas of Myra, patron saint of sailors. In 1484, the archbishop of Tuam released the town from his jurisdiction, erecting St Nicholas's church into a Collegiate church, governed by a warden and eight vicars appointed by the mayor and corporation. The town then successfully petitioned Pope Innocent VIII for confirmation of this grant, the townsmen representing themselves as a "modest and civil people" surrounded by savages raised in woods and mountains, unpolished and illiterate, who disturbed the townsmen in the

exercise of their religious duties according to the English rite and custom.[3] In 1551, these privileges were confirmed to the warden and vicars by royal charter. As Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, King Edward VI also restyled the church as the King’s College of Galway, and for the augmentation of divine service there, he granted them the profits of certain rectories, vicarages, and dissolved monasteries on the outskirts of Galway (for the 1551 charter, see Hardiman 1820, 240, appendices III and IV, vi–xxix; English translation in Berry 1989, 97–107).

During the Reformation period, the sense of civic pride in the church was also registered by various rebuilding projects, which resulted in its considerable enlargement. This involved the widening of the aisles to the north and south of the nave, and the extension of the south transept. The south aisle was enlarged between 1508 and 1535 (Fig. 1[4]), while the enlargement of the north aisle was completed in two stages. The north part, as far as the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament (Fig. 2), was built in 1538, the chapel itself being erected sometime between 1538 and 1561, and the rest of the north aisle was finished by 1583. The south transept was also extended by Nicholas Lynch FitzStephen when he was mayor in 1561 (Fig. 3), making it twenty-six feet longer than the north transept (Leask 1936, 2–23). By 1583, therefore, all the main structural changes to the church as it is today had been completed. Moreover, quite exceptionally for a Tudor parish church, these extensive alterations were also being undertaken at almost the same time as the introduction of the radical liturgical changes

3 The charter of the archbishop of Tuam, exempting the town from his jurisdiction, and the papal bull confirming this, are printed in Hardiman 1820, appendices I and II, pp i–vi. Throughout the sixteenth century, the warden was elected annually by the mayor and council; the eight vicars held office during good behaviour, and there was also a clerk and a sexton, plus four boys to assist the singing of the offices daily, all subject to the correction of the mayor and council (cf. Berry 1989, 19–22, 32, 35–6, 42).

4 All photographs have been taken by the author.

associated with the Reformation, although they probably had little to do with it.

FIGURE 1 South aisle of the Collegiate church, looking towards the Chapel.

FIGURE 2 View into the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament from the nave.

The Elizabethan Settlement of Religion

In 1560, the introduction of prayer book services as authorized by the *Book of Common Prayer* prompted a radical reordering of "the scenic apparatus of divine worship".[5] Out went Mass, a Eucharistic liturgy said or sung in Latin by the priest apart in the chancel (Fig. 4), separated by a rood screen from the nave where the congregation stood or knelt as passive observers.

5 The phrase originated in Bishop John Jewel's letter to Peter Martyr, 1559 (Robinson 1842, 23).

In its place came prayer book services in English, with a liturgy emphasizing “common prayer”, interspersed with scriptural readings, and, on Sundays and holy days, including a homily or sermon. Priest and people worshipped together, with the congregation now expected both to understand and to participate.

FIGURE 3 View of the south transept, with ikons of the Romanian Orthodox church.

FIGURE 4 View of the chancel from the nave with modern communion table.

FIGURE 5 Chancel with high altar and choir stalls.

In regard to these new services, the rubrics of the Elizabethan prayer book provided that common prayer “shall be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel” (Booty 2009, 48). No doubt in Galway this often meant in the nave, with a reading desk positioned just outside the chancel for the minister to read the service. The enhanced status of the offices, or common prayer, in public worship was also underlined by a revised clause in the preface to the *Book of Common Prayer* which explained that, while priests and deacons should daily say Morning and Evening Prayer either privately or openly, “the curate that ministreth in every parish church or chapel ... shall say the same ... where he ministreth,

and shall toll a bell thereto, a convenient time before he begin, that such as be disposed may come to hear God's word, and to pray with him" (Booty 2009, 17). Weekday services for small congregations could also be accommodated in one of the side chapels.

In addition, two special provisions of the settlement which were relevant to prayer book services in Galway also had an impact on what may be described as the soundscape of the Reformation, ensuring an important continuing role for the organ, bells, and choristers in the post-Reformation Irish church. First, the Elizabethan injunctions included a clause permitting the common prayers in "a modest and distinct song … that the same may be as plainly understanded, as if it were read without singing"—in other words, singing in Reformation style (Frere and Kennedy 1910, iii, 23).[6] The clause was particularly aimed at the cathedrals. The Tudor Reformation retained these choral foundations, with pipe-organs and a large staff of clergy, which had no parallel elsewhere in Protestant Europe; but this choral exploitation of the prayer book also extended to collegiate churches such as Galway, where vicars choral had also been retained. Mayor Lynch had also provided the church with "an organ and great bell" in 1561 (Leask 1936, 9; cf. O'Sullivan 1942, 77; Yates 2008, 72). The erection of a belfry in the tower followed in 1590, a chime of new bells being provided to summon the town for communal worship, perhaps to still toll a solemn funeral knell, and no doubt also to alert the townsmen in case of a possible attack (Hardiman 1820, 243).[7] The choir continued to sing the services daily, and no doubt continued to use the chancel for sung services (Fig. 5).

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6 For the impact of the Reformation on the soundscape of churches, see Smith 2004 (esp. part II on early modern England); McDermott 2012, 177–198.

7 According to the Elizabethan Injunctions, however, only "one bell was at convenient time to be rung or knolled before the sermon": Frere and Kennedy 1910, iii, 15. One of this chime of bells still survives in the church.

A reference to the boys in the 1580s shows that the choir was still assisted by four poor boys supported by the church as choristers and trained by the clerk (Hardiman 1820, 243; Berry 1989, 20, 36; MacLysaght and Berry 1944, 15). By contrast, parish churches elsewhere heard very little music at all after the Reformation beyond the congregationally sung metrical psalms (cf. MacCulloch 2005, 90–92; Whiting 2010, ch. 11; Heal 2003, 298–302).

Also very relevant in shaping the services in Galway was a special clause inserted into the Act of Uniformity as it applied in Ireland, which provided that “in every such church or place where the common minister or priest had not the use or knowledge of the English tongue, he might say or use … common and open prayer in the Latin tongue”, as prescribed in the *Liber precum publicarum* (Statute, 2 Elizabeth c.2: Butler 1786–1801, i, 284–90). In England, the *Liber precum publicarum* had been published for use in college chapels and collegiate churches, as indeed Galway was (cf. Haugaard 1968, 113–17). In Ireland, however, rather than providing an Irish translation of the prayer book, which would have undermined the government’s anglicizing strategy, its use was greatly extended. Formally, the *Liber precum publicarum* was a Latin translation of the English prayer book, but the latter was, in turn, mostly an English translation of the pre-Reformation Sarum Use. In effect, therefore, this clause waived the almost universal insistence on the use of the vernacular in reformed churches by permitting the more general use of this Latin prayer book in Ireland.[8]

8 Even in parts of the English Pale, the slack enforcement of the Irish Uniformity clause permitted the public use of the *Liber precum publicarum* instead of the English prayer book (Murray 2009, 257, 277–8).

Sacred Space and the Reformation

Galway was supposedly an English outpost, but in both 1551 and 1615 over half the vicars were “mere Irish” and might plausibly have claimed ignorance of English (Hardiman 1820, app. iv; Berry 1989, 101; Leslie with Crooks 2008, 81). Even the chapels of Moycullen, Oranmore, and Roscam, served by the College just outside the town, were in Irish-speaking districts, and here the offices were presumably said by the vicars in Latin. At any rate, the effect of these two provisions in the settlement was to create an anomaly in Galway whereby, for some time after the Reformation, the soundscape of the Collegiate church remained largely unaltered. The traditional offices continued to be sung in Latin from the chancel by vicars choral in the choir—and no doubt to traditional settings, too—thus reinforcing the impression of continuity with the Catholic tradition.

In place of the Mass, however, the celebration of Holy Communion became an occasional aspect of prayer book services after the Reformation, mainly on major feast days. Probably its frequency in Galway lay somewhere between practice in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, where Communion was celebrated on a monthly basis, and in St Werburgh’s parish there, for which Ireland’s sole surviving set of churchwardens accounts suggest that Communion was celebrated only at Easter, and possibly also Whitsun (Gillespie 2000, 177). Paradoxically, however, the infrequency of lay Communion reflected pre-Reformation practice, when the laity had been “shriven and houseled” just once annually, at Easter. The reformers later complained that many of those who resorted to church would not receive Communion,[9] but reluctant conformists found it fairly easy to frustrate the

9 On the reluctance to receive Communion, see, for instance, Canny 1979, 431, 433, 443, 445.

reformers’ original intention for frequent lay Communion. The prayer book rubrics required those who “intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion” to “signify their names to the curate overnight … or immediately after” (Booty 2009, 247) Morning Prayer, also specifying that “there shall be no celebration of the Lord’s Supper … except four, or three at the least, communicate with the priest” (267). Otherwise, the priest was to say “all that is appointed at the Communion” as far as the prayer for the church militant, and then add one or two collects, a practice later known as the Ante-Communion (266–267).

In terms of the use and appearance of the chancel, however, the infrequency of Communion again tended to obscure the differences between pre-Reformation practice and prayer book services. During the Communion, the Lord’s Table was to be moved so as to stand “in so good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard”, with “the priest standing at the north side of the Table”; at other times, “the holy table” was to be “set in the place where the altar stood”, that is, against the chancel’s east wall, leaving the chancel largely free, as before, for the vicars choral in the choir (Frere and Kennedy 1910, iii, 27–8).[10] By contrast, during his travels through Ireland in 1635, Sir William Brereton noted that in St Peter’s, Drogheda, where the Primate, Dr. James Usher, preached every Sunday morning when in residence, “the communion table is placed lengthwise in the aisle” in “the body of the church”, which was “kept in good repair”, “over against the pulpit”; but “the chancel, as no use is made of it, so it is wholly neglected and in no good repair” (Brereton 1844, 135). The prayer book rubrics had ordered that “the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past”, but since

10 The injunctions amended the prayer book rubric that the holy table was to stand in “the body of the church, or in the chancel, where Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer be appointed to be said” (Booty 2009, 248).

they were now seldomly used in parish churches, they were frequently neglected, like St Peter's (Booty 2009, 48).[11] Post-Reformation churches in poor rural parishes were, in any case, often simple oblong buildings, lacking a structural chancel despite the conceptual division between nave and chancel (Lyttleton 2008, 82). Responsibility for the chancel's maintenance normally fell on the incumbent, and so the little-used chancels suffered severely in the dilapidations which followed the Reformation. In 1576, the bishop of Meath and Clonmacnois reported that, among the 224 parish churches of his diocese, there were "very fewe chauncells couered" (The National Archives [TNA], SP 63/55, f. 129).

In other respects, the adaptation for prayer book worship of the Collegiate church focused more on the removal or downgrading of traditional furnishings. Indeed, the progress of the Reformation in Ireland was characterised by periodic campaigns of iconoclasm and purges of church space, extending through much of the seventeenth century. Little is known about the precise chronology of Tudor reform in Galway, but in Dublin, within weeks of the legislation being passed by parliament in 1560, orders went out to "newe paynt the walls of Christ Church and St Patricks and in sted of pictures & Popish fancies to place passages or texts of Scripture on the walls" (White 1941, 235). The most prominent feature of traditional church furnishings was the rood loft and screen before the chancel. In Galway, even the screen was removed. In Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, the rood screen itself survived, but the rood and figures of Christ, Our Lady, and St John had been removed by 1564, when "all the peyntyd bords that was in the great arche oure the rode, wher the story of the passion was peyntyd" were taken down. Instead, the

11 Brereton was more interested in the provision of sermons, but he occasionally remarked on the use of sacred space in churches.

workmen put up new boards in the arch (Gillespie 1996, 38–9). Sir William Brereton noted in 1635 that “only the chancel is made use of, not the body of the church”, but that “the chancel is but plain and ordinarily kept”. He thought, by contrast, that Dublin’s second cathedral, St Patrick’s, was “in best repair and most neatly whited and kept of any church I have seen in Scotland or Ireland, and especially in the chancel, wherein it is curiously and very artificially arched and whited overhead” (Brereton 1844, 138). This arch was normally the location for the only picture not to attract official disapproval, a set of the royal arms of the queen. In St. Werburgh’s parish, Dublin, the churchwarden’s accounts included an entry in 1592 for the cost of painting the queen’s arms and the Ten Commandments (Empey 2009, 132; cf. MacCulloch 1999, 161). These must also have figured in Galway, the Ten Commandments usually being displayed on boards on the east wall of the chancel (MacCulloch 1999, 158; Yates 2008, 73).

At the same time as the rood loft and figures disappeared, the effigies of the saints and other “graven images” were also removed—as likely to confuse the ignorant and lead people into idolatry. In Galway, some images and ornaments which were allegedly the subject of popular abuse had already been removed when Lord Deputy Grey visited the town in 1538 (McNeill 1922, 11–37 [which prints William Brabazon’s “account of jewels, ornaments, crosses and images confiscated”]; Hardiman 1820, 239; cf. Bradshaw 1974, 103–4). Fearing further spoliation, the churchwardens made an agreement with James Lynch, merchant of Galway, in 1546, whereby he received “the juelles of y^{e} chyrche”—its “grete crose of shylver”, four silver candlesticks (two bracket, two freestanding), a pyx for the sacrament, and four silver chalices—in pledge for £60 sterling outlaid by him for a lectern of brass, candlesticks and wax, plus glass, lead, and bricks for repairs to the church (O’Flaherty 1846, 230). Some of these jewels would have been subject to confiscation during the short-lived Edwardian Reformation

anyway, but two silver pyxes, retained initially by the College for, most probably, use as communion cups, were purloined sometime after 1576 by the bishop of Elphin, John Lynch, when he was warden (Hardiman 1820, 243).[12] As for any remaining images, these should all have been removed in 1560 in line with the Queen's Injunctions, but clearly they weren't. On their first circuit through Connaught in late 1569, Lord President Fitton and the council found the clergy and people generally "very cold in religion & to muche enclyned to suppersticion". Thus, both in Galway and elsewhere, they "viseted sundry & many of y^{r} ydolls and ymages in ther churchez & comytted them to the ffyer", also reforming "the churche of Galway" in particular "in sondry other necessary articlez according to the quenz iniunconz" (TNA, SP 63/30, no. 4, f. 9r-v. See also Canny 1976, 111).

Despite this, a few instances of decorative carvings attached to walls, pillars, and tombs survived this purge in the Collegiate church. The angel high in the archway at the junction between the south aisle and south transept (Fig. 6) is now the only angel to have survived unscathed, but others escaped the earlier Tudor purges, only to be decapitated in the iconoclasm by the Cromwellian army in 1652.[13] A surviving wall tomb (Fig. 7) in the south transept includes a carving, also now defaced, of a crowned figure of Christ with upraised hands and open robe showing his five wounds (Higgins and Heringklee 1991, 214–17; Fig. 8). The Lynch window and another altar tomb with a carving of an angel, also now defaced, is also

12 In England, Elizabeth's bishops increasingly insisted on parishes purchasing a specially designed communion cup for the wine now received by the laity at communion, but initially, in 1559, a traditional chalice, or sometimes a pyx, was used (Whiting 2010, 63–6).

13 Galway was surrendered to the Cromwellian army in 1652 after a nine-month siege, and the Collegiate church was then converted into a stable. It is thought that the defacement of the remaining decorative carvings took place during the Cromwellian occupation (Berry 1989, 37–8).

found in the south transept (Fig. 9); and up high in the north transept is a corbel with a Tudor carving, apparently of a Biblical Joshua holding two bunches of grapes (Fig. 10). Some traces of dark paint survive on some of these carvings, which, when first erected, would have been elaborately painted.

FIGURE 6 Intact angel high in the archway at the junction between the south aisle and south transept.

FIGURE 7 The ‘flamboyant’ wall tomb in the south transept.

FIGURE 8 Detail showing the five wounds of Christ on the ‘flamboyant’ wall tomb.

In place of ornaments and images, the church was to purchase both a poor box and a copy of “the whole Bible of the largest volume in English … and the same set up in some convenient place” (Frere and Kennedy 1910, iii, 10, 16–17) in the church, perhaps on the brass lectern acquired in 1546. In Dublin, two large bibles were set up in the cathedrals “for the instruction of those whoe pleased to hear them read” (White 1941, 235). The poor box was an official reminder that charity should be directed to needy people made in God’s image in place of offerings to graven images. The money collected from fraternities and guilds attached to the church’s now redundant side chapels (discussed below) was also to be placed in the poor box. These days, the one item of church furnishing from the late Tudor

period which remains in regular use is the beautifully carved baptismal font located at the back of the south aisle between the west door and the south porch (Fig. 11). In England, canon 81 of 1604 ordered the provision of a stone font for baptism, and Galway's font must have been provided about the same time (Yates 2008, 73).

FIGURE 9 The Lynch window and altar tomb, with the carving of an angel, now defaced, in the south transept.

FIGURE 10 Corbel in the north transept, a biblical Joshua with a bunch of grapes.

FIGURE 11 The stone baptismal font towards the rear of the south transept, between the west door and the south porch.

Another prominent feature of medieval churches which fell into disapproval during the Tudor reform were the various side chapels with their altars. The Collegiate church once had no less than thirteen of these, but only two enjoyed an attenuated existence into modern times (Fig. 12). The chapel of Christ holds the oldest tomb in the church, known as the Crusader's tomb. The most recent, the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament built between 1538 and 1561, attests to the popularity of traditional belief in the Real Presence on the eve of the Reformation, at just that time when the Eucharistic doctrine, which its name implies, fell under

FIGURE 12 The Chapel of Christ, in the south transept.

disapproval (Hardiman 1820, 246; Leask 1936, 2–23). Assuming it once housed the reserved sacrament, its originally intended use must have been short-lived. Also of early Tudor date is the holy water stoup now in the north aisle (Fig. 13). Although likewise soon redundant in its original role, it is of a rare and costly freestanding type, which presumably explains its survival.[14] Given the expense of providing a replacement if, as was widely expected, Catholicism should be restored, even bulky “monuments of superstition” were illicitly dismantled and buried rather than destroyed. In Kilkenny, for instance, when Queen Mary’s proclamation permitting the celebration of Mass reached the town in summer 1553, the cathedral clergy of St Canice’s “suddenly set up all the altars and images in the cathedral church” during a short absence by their fervently Protestant bishop, John Bale. Earlier, they had likewise “brought fourth their copes, candelstickes, holy waterstocke, crosse and sensers [and] mustered fourth in generall procession” chanting the old Latin Litany (Parke 1810, 452. Cf. Ellis 1984, 290).

FIGURE 13 The Holy Water stoup, north transept.

14 The Collegiate church’s holy water stoup was eventually converted into a flower pot in a lady’s garden, from which it was rescued by the rector in Victorian times.

In Galway, when Sir Henry Sidney first visited the town as lord deputy in April 1567, the liturgy, furnishings, and ornaments of the Collegiate church were in the throes of transition to prayer book worship, but there was still visible continuity with traditional forms. Sidney was received by the mayor and aldermen on arrival, but he then “wente vnto the churche and in the churche yarde the bishop [Christopher Bodkin, archbishop of Tuam] received hime in his powntiffisaylles acompenid withe dyveres prestes and clarkes in copes singing”. Thereafter Sidney “enterid the churche of our ladye” just outside the town “and theare remained vntill tedium [*Te Deum*] was sowng in Laitin, and after prayares he wente to his loginge” (Trinity College Dublin [TCD], MS 581, f. 96v; Collins 1746, i, 28; as cited in Ronan 1930, 224).

Word and Sacrament in Elizabethan Galway

What Sidney had encountered at the Galway churches was hardly what had been envisaged by the Elizabethan Settlement; but it broadly accorded with the law, which permitted the singing of what were in effect the traditional Latin offices—in this case, Matins with *Te Deum laudamus*—in what was supposedly a reformed setting. Archbishop Bodkin, a known conservative, had nonetheless taken the Oath of Supremacy promptly in 1560. He was a native of Galway and later supported, with the revenues of some benefices in his diocese, the education of clerical students at Oxford (Nicholls 1970, 151–7; Digges LaTouche 1994, ii, no. 199; Hardiman 1820, 235). The Ornaments Rubric of the Elizabethan prayer book stated that “the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use … in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth” [viz. 1548–49] (Booty

2009, 48). In England, a compromise had in practice soon been worked out whereby priests wore copes for Communion and surplices at other services; but strictly, the rubric meant the continued use of traditional clerical vestments, which is what Sidney encountered; and with the continued use of the chancel for singing the offices in Latin, this also implied that the use of sacred space was unaltered (Haugaard 1968, 183–200, 205–15).

Lord Deputy Sidney had been much more impressed the following Sunday, when he attended the Collegiate church. He heard there

> averye godly sarmound prechid by apriste of Ierland wiche was swmtime a ffrieare. He made his preface in Latin and after deliuerid vnto the lorde deputie he declaride in Inglishe a verie godlye lesson to the comffowrte of a greate number that harde. The sarmound endid, the lorde deputie cawled ffor [the] said prechare in thawnking hyme ffor his good sarmound, promising hyme that he wold be his good lord and m[aste]r. (TCD, MS 581, f. 96v)

The preacher was possibly Rowland Lynch, later bishop of Kilmacduagh, who was brought up by Francis Martin, from one of the town’s oldest families and a mainstay of Protestantism there. Latin featured in the worship once again, which probably took the form of Morning Prayer, Litany, and Ante-Communion as one continuous rite, then the normal Sunday service (Ford 1997, 43; Yates 2008, 72). Had it been a Communion service, the liturgy of the Eucharist and the distribution of communion would have meant a long delay after the sermon, but once the sermon ended, Sidney called for the preacher.

For some time after 1560, therefore, despite changes in the liturgy and to ornaments and church furnishings, the sights and sounds of worship in the Collegiate church, and so the use of sacred space there, were

perhaps closer to the Catholicism of Queen Mary's reign than what had been envisaged in the Elizabethan Settlement, at least until 1568, when there was a formal prohibition on the public celebration of Mass in Galway (Hardiman 1820, 85). In part, this was because most of the existing clergy had chosen to stay on following the Settlement, but the transition to prayer book worship also meant that they were, in effect, mostly downgraded to reading ministers who could not preach but only read the service. The warden at this time was Patrick Blake, who was the warden specified in Edward VI's charter of 1551. When he failed to appear before the queen's commissioners, however, he was arrested by the mayor and duly appeared before them in November 1563 at the archbishop of Armagh's residence at Termonfeckin. Presumably, he then took the oath of supremacy and satisfied the commissioners (MacLysaght and Berry 1944, 13; Hardiman 1820, 241).

Meanwhile, the College's possessions were gradually alienated by the warden and vicars to their friends and kin (MacLysaght and Berry 1944, 10, 13–14, 100; Hardiman 1820, 241–2). The College had earlier been endowed with eight rectories and vicarages, mostly in surrounding parishes in the Tuam diocese, plus the churches of three dissolved monasteries just outside the town walls. Their value was small, however: the vicarage of Kilcommon (Hollymount, Co. Mayo), for instance, was worth no more than ten shillings a year when assessed for First Fruits in 1585/86, although twenty years earlier it had been used to support Conla O Kennayn, then a student at Oxford. Most of these livings, in fact, were miserably poor and hardly provided an adequate income for the warden and eight vicars choral (Nicholls 1970, 153, 155; Hardiman 1820, 240; *Valor beneficiorum* 1741, 22–3). Once the College was in more reliable hands, however, Queen Elizabeth leased various dissolved abbeys, rectories, and tithes in Co. Galway to the College in 1578 to augment its income so that "the warden and vicars might

better continue together” and maintain “a godly and learned preacher” among them (Digges LaTouche 1994, ii, no. 3466; Morrin 1862, 14). By then, the College’s income amounted to around £80 a year, although the very least amount needed to maintain a graduate (i.e. preaching) minister was a benefice worth £30 a year (O’Flaherty 1846, 214 (prints the return for the College of Galway, Regal Visitation, 1615); Ellis 1990, 254). The wardenship’s surviving records also show that the warden and vicars increasingly resorted to law under Elizabeth to protect income now being withheld from rents, vicarages, and also the offerings and dirges which were traditionally paid for commemorative Masses for deceased family members. Thus, even as its liturgy, ornaments, and church furnishings were gradually adapted to meet the demands of prayer book worship and theology, the collegiate church still clung to traditional sources of income underpinned by a supposedly outmoded theology. The College’s finances continued to decline, eventually prompting the warden and vicars to lodge a lengthy petition to the mayor and corporation, around 1596, seeking to recover twenty-three separate amounts of income. These included dirges (items worth £1 15s. 8d.), tithes (worth £8 5s. 0d.), two vicarages (£1 15s. 0d.), the provision of two salmon weekly, and offerings of 8d. each due from diverse persons at Christmas and Easter (MacLysaght and Berry 1944, 10–18, 100).

Nonetheless, by the time of Sidney’s next visit to the Collegiate church, in 1576, a more consistent effort was being made to establish “true” religion in Galway, in particular through the regular provision of sermons. On the occasion of the earl of Clanrickard’s sons submitting to the lord deputy, Sidney was again impressed by a sermon given by “a countryman of their own, called Lynch”, who preached in Irish, English, and Latin. This was John Lynch, the recently appointed warden of the College (1576–83). He had been educated at Oxford in Mary’s reign, and was “sometime a friar

in Greenwich", but after reading Calvin's *Institutes*, he became "a reformed man, a good divine and preacher". Hearing good reports of "his sufficiency, endeavour and travail in preaching", Queen Elizabeth later appointed him bishop of Elphin (1583–1611) (Brady 2002, 88; Morrin 1862, 66; Ford 1997, 43).

The provision of regular sermons was one of the more popular innovations of prayer book worship, if not precluded by the shortage of graduate preaching ministers, which were then something of a rarity among Church of Ireland clergy. In Elizabeth's early years, the Collegiate church had clearly made a special effort on Sundays and holy days to include sermons rather than to fall back on readings from the Book of Homilies; and regular sermons were a major reason for the full attendance at services there. During the early 1570s, when Lord President Fitton was resident in Galway, "the mayo^{r}, his brethren & many of the towne both men & women more orderly repayred to church then in eny towne in Ireland"; and after Fitton's departure "the people contynewed their said goeng to church" by "the meanes of one Walton", a preaching minister who "came into Galwaye & laye there" (TNA, SP 63/131, no. 64, f. 203). As the Jesuit missionary Fr. David Wolfe admitted, fifteen young men in the town had accepted reformed doctrines as early as 1574, and in 1577 another hostile source thought that Galway was the town "where dwell the greatest heretics of that realm" (Rigg 1916, 1926, ii, 161, 337). An inquiry was instituted in 1585 as to whether members of the corporation there abstained "from church to here God's dyvyne service, according to Her Majestie's proceedings" or whether they "do use any other servise prohibited by God and her majestie's lawes", but it supposedly found no evidence of this. The warden, vicars, and priests were, however, enjoined that they "do use only God's divine service daylie, according to her majestie's injunctions, and do there minister sacraments and sacramentalls accordinglie" (Hardiman 1820,

243). Despite the implication that some aspects of traditional Catholic rites had hitherto survived illicitly, the orders suggest the use of the English prayer book, with Morning and Evening Prayer as the regular daily services. In 1586, Sir Richard Bingham, the president of Connaught, reported that the inhabitants of Galway were “for the moste parte, very well affected in religion alredy and more geven to ymbrase the doctrine off the Gospell generally then any people in Ireland” (TNA, SP 63/122, no. 45).

Regular sermons at prayer book services also presupposed both the provision of a pulpit at this time and congregational seating in the nave. Elizabeth’s injunctions had stipulated “a comely and honest pulpit … for the preaching of God’s word” (Frere and Kennedy 1910, iii, 16). The present pulpit is Victorian, commemorating the last warden of Galway, but it may occupy the same position as its predecessor, at the juncture between the north wall of the chancel and the north transept. If a sermon was included, then the regular Sunday morning worship of Morning Prayer, Litany, and Ante-Communion as a continuous rite would rarely have lasted less than two hours, even longer if there was also a Communion; hence the need for seating.

The tradition of regular sermons in Galway perhaps also helps to explain the preponderance of Galway-born clerics appointed under Elizabeth to bishoprics in the west. Besides Archbishop Bodkin and Warden John Lynch, who later became bishop of Elphin, Stephen Kirwan was appointed bishop of Kilmacduagh (1573–82), and then of Clonfert (1582–1601). His successor there, the Cambridge-educated Rowland Lynch, bishop of both Kilmacduagh (1587–1625) and Clonfert (1602–25), was described as “indeed a right religiouse man for sincere professione & private life”, but he “wanteth coradge freely to preach the Word” (TNA, SP 63/161, ff 118v–19; Canny 1979, 444–5). Finally, there was Nehemiah Donnellan, archbishop of Tuam (1595–1609), who prepared a translation of the New Testament into Irish

(Ford 1997, 107–8). These Galway-born clergy were all clearly Protestant, a rare thing in the west of Ireland for this period, and they helped to establish Elizabethan Galway as a Protestant centre.

The Decline of “True Religion”

By 1591, however, Sir Turlough O’Brien wrote “touchinge y^{e} greate declination of y^{e} towne of Galway from their former zeale … concerning y^{e} profession of y^{e} truth of y^{e} Gospell”. The town, he thought, had once been “the paradisse of Ireland in nomber and zeale of professors of the Gospell”; whereas now, through “the negligence of the magistrates” and through Romish flatterers, it was “exceedingly fallen away” and “very few of their men, and not of the cheefest, wilbe seene to frequent” the services (TNA, SP 63/161/52, ff 151r–v). Civic solidarity was breaking down and the townspeople were withdrawing from common prayer.

In part, this was because the Collegiate church no longer had a preaching minister. Critical support for the Collegiate church under Elizabeth was provided by the Galway merchant Francis Martin. In 1586, Martin had asked President Bingham to write in favour of Rowland Lynch, then student of divinity at Cambridge. If Galway had “agoode preacher, beynge so well bent alredye, it wold come in shorte tyme to very good perfection both in town and cuntrye”; but the following year, Lynch had been appointed bishop of Kilmacduagh, just to the west of Galway (TNA, SP 63/122, no. 45). During a visit to Galway in 1595 on a Sunday morning, Lord Deputy Russell and the council “went to church, before whom the bishop of Kilmcdowe [Kilmacduagh] preached both in English and Irish”. In the afternoon, Russell’s chaplain, Mr Graves, also preached, as he did the following Sunday morning, prompting the mayor to request Russell’s

assistance “for establishing a preacher for the town” (Edwards 2014, 235; Brewer and Bullen 1867–73, iii, 239). In response, William Daniel, educated in Cambridge and recently appointed a fellow of Trinity College Dublin, resigned his fellowship and came to Galway in early 1596, remaining until 1601, when he returned to Dublin to steer the New Testament and then the Irish prayer book through the press before being appointed archbishop of Tuam in 1609 (Ford 1997, 106–11). Daniel was briefly succeeded in Galway by another preaching minister, Abel Walsh, also fellow of Trinity and previously Daniel’s student there, but he left in 1602 (Ford 1997, 110).

Gradually, the Reformation in Galway lost ground through the shortage of preaching ministers and of the financial resources to pay them. When Lord Deputy St John visited Connaught in 1611, he concluded that throughout the province, apart from Archbishop Daniel and his aged predecessor, Archbishop Donnellan,

> there is indeede noe ministry at all, noe churches standing, & very fewe places where those that are well affected in religion can assemble; & w^{ch} is worst of all, the levenges left so small as scarcely in the province out of the cheif townes any othe benifice can be founde worth x ^{li} *per annum* (TNA, SP 63/231, no. 31)

This had been the position for some time; when the Connaught dioceses of Tuam, Elphin, Clonfert, Killala, and Achonry were eventually assessed for First Fruits and Twentieths in 1585–6, none of the benefices was worth as much as £10 a year, except for the bishoprics themselves, the deanships of Elphin and Clonfert, and the rectories of Athenry and Loughrea. And only the bishoprics of Tuam and Elphin were worth the £30 minimum seen as necessary to support a graduate preaching minister (*Valor beneficiorum*, 22–6).

The regal visitation of the province of Tuam, which followed in 1615, found that in Galway itself the corporation was firmly recusant, and little effort had been made to provide the city's churches with reformed clergy (O'Sullivan 1942, 111; Hardiman 1820, 218; Brewer and Bullen 1867–73, v, 145). The Collegiate church had, in practice, only two of its complement of nine clergy, and one was of dubious reputation and scarcely of good living ("homo lesie fame, et vix probate vite"); he had been promoted by the corporation and elected warden just before the visitors' arrival. The other was a pluralist absentee with livings in various other dioceses ("vagus, undiquaquam cursitans et alias in diversis diocesibus beneficiatus") (O'Flaherty 1846, 214; entry for the College of Galway, Regal Visitation, 1615). In theory, there were, at the time of the visitation, four more clergy with the title of vicar at the Collegiate church, but all five vicars had Irish names and were also vicars choral of Tuam cathedral; two of them also held other livings, no doubt because their livings in Galway and Tuam were worth so little. And whereas the College's income had formerly amounted to £80 yearly, previous wardens had alienated properties without authority, so reducing its income to £40 a year. This was barely sufficient to support even one preaching minister. Thus, the visitors concluded, in the same city they live for the more part without divine service and almost without God on earth ("quod in eadem civitate vixissent pro maiore parte sine servitio divino et pene absque deo in terris") (O'Flaherty 1846, 214; Leslie with Crooks 2008, 81, 136, 327, 499, 501–2, 521, 551; British Library, Add. MS 19,836, f. 97 (as cited in Ford 1997, 111).

Across Tudor England, where the authorities had been able to reform the use of sacred space and enforce the provisions of the prayer book in line with the Elizabethan settlement, "the love and due reverence of God's true religion now truly set forth by public authority" had developed promptly enough once the sights and sounds of "idolatry and superstition" had

been “utterly extinct and destroy[ed]” (Frere and Kennedy 1910, iii, 16, 21, quoting The Elizabethan Injunctions). In Elizabethan Galway, early success had ensued from a more conservative remodelling both of sacred space and of the church’s soundscape, combined with a focus on a more popular aspect of prayer-book services, regular sermons. An attenuated form of the traditional sung Latin liturgy, with choristers, organ, and bells, had long competed with the sound of corporate worship according to the English prayer book. The minimalistic remodelling of sacred space had disguised the extent of the theological changes; and the appeal of regular sermons was further enhanced by an imaginative use of language – preaching in Irish, or bilingually, was clearly not unusual. Later, however, the preaching of the Word was only intermittently provided in sermons and homilies, and for some at least “in a tongue not understanded of the people”. Once the more novel and dynamic aspects of this local compromise were reduced, the majority of the Galway townsmen drifted back into traditional Catholic worship, which had all along remained freely available outside the town.

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Contested Space in a Contested Border Area: The Sint Jan in ‘s Hertogenbosch

Or: From Bosch to the Ten Commandments

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Contested Space in a Contested Border Area: The Sint Jan in ‘s Hertogenbosch

Or: From Bosch to the Ten Commandments

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ABSTRACT This article investigates contemporary perceptions of church space in the border town of ‘s Hertogenbosch in the aftermath of the Peace of Westphalia. Through a close reading of two chorographies, the study sheds light on ways in which historians can try to grasp contemporary views on what mattered in a church interior in the contested border areas of the Generality Lands, regions in the Dutch Republic, where the Calvinist political elite remained a minority. The study alerts us to the temporality of changes to church interiors and its embeddedness in local and regional circumstances.

KEY WORDS church interiors and confessional change; art and the confessional soundscape; border areas; chorographies

Introduction

Medieval and early modern churches were not only houses of worship; they were complex, multifaceted social spaces. They were “nodes” of social life, as well as, at times, trading places for goods (Hamilton and Spicer 2005, 1–26). This multifunctional use of church space was particularly prominent in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, where Calvinist church buildings also served as public spaces to entertain and educate, to meet, and to remember. The distinction that historians have made between the “preekkerk” (preaching church) and the “wandelkerk” (strolling

church) gives testimony to this interpretation, which was also shared by contemporaries, even if the terms themselves were only coined in the eighteenth century (Pollmann 2002, 177–189). Matters in Dutch churches were complicated by the fact that magistrates and other local authorities reserved the right to nominate ministers and other church personnel. They were also formally in charge of the church building. While much research has been undertaken in recent years on the church interiors of European Lutheran churches, less is known about the Calvinist church interiors in the Netherlands (Spicer 2012, 2007). Here, research into the rearrangement of church space, church furniture, and changes in the course of the Reformation has so far been dominated by art historians with an interest in the often enigmatic and always intriguing genre paintings of “church interiors” (Vanhaelen 2012; Mochizuki 2008; Brusati 2009; Pollmer-Schmidt 2016). Interpretations often focused on either the mastery of perspective and architectural know-how of Dutch artists of these interiors, or they assumed iconoclasm as an inevitable step towards the secularization of the seventeenth-century art market and its marketable topics.[1] However, the historicization of the Iconoclastic Fury as a step towards the sober Calvinistic church space painted by artists such as Hendrick van Vliet and Emanuel de Witte is, as more recent investigations into the topic have argued, an anachronistic approach to seventeenth-century media addressing the subject of church interiors (Heal 2017). Certainly, for regions that had only recently, i. e. after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, been added to the Dutch Republic, such as the Generality Lands, church

1 A notable exception to this is Almut Pollmer-Schmidt’s nuanced investigation into the paintings of church interiors in Delft by the artists Gerard Houckgeest, Hendrick van Vliet, and Emanuel de Witte around 1650 (Pollmer-Schmidt 2013).

spaces and their presentation in contemporary media were far more than debates over the past or art expertise. They were “agents” in a discourse on religious diversity and identity. The confessional statements that could be read from paintings, and also from descriptions, travel accounts, and other contemporary media, were often deeply embedded in the local circumstances and discourses in which they were created and which they addressed. They might have changed over time, thus allowing for the perception of churches and their interiors to transform from a contested confessional space to a memory site musealizing art works, from former objects of devotion to high-quality craftsmanship, from places of worship to exhibition halls of civic pride and identity. It is the aim of this article to trace these interpretations and changes for ‘s Hertogenbosch, a border city that, after the siege and surrender to the Orangist forces in 1629, became incorporated into the Dutch Generality Lands of States Brabant. Its main church, the Sint Jan’s Kerk, which had only in 1559 been elevated to the see of a bishop and decorated accordingly, was turned into a Reformed house of worship, displaying the above-mentioned multi-functionality as a space to take a stroll, listen to sermons, serve as a tourist attraction, but also allow for the continuous, if contested and concealed, practices of Catholic worship. Through a close reading of two chorographical texts written by ‘s Hertogenbosch’s most prominent seventeenth-century chorographer, Jacob van Oudenhoven, this article also addresses recent calls to investigate contemporary images and imaginations of the Eighty Years’ War and its consequences.[2] Van Oudenhoven’s books (of which the second and later volume was marketed as a re-edition of the first text) can provide fascinating insights into these contemporary perceptions of

2 These questions were raised, for instance, in the recent workshop on the visual language and representation of the Eighty Year’s War at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam on 16 and 17 September 2016.

a Catholic church which had been converted into a Reformed house of worship in 1629, in a city which remained demographically overwhelmingly Catholic, but politically ruled by Calvinist magistrates. Van Oudenhoven’s surveys not only grant us a rare glimpse of the arrangement of the newly claimed Reformed space, but also present a contemporary comment on continuity and change of what mattered in this building and how this space was used over time. As will be seen in the following investigation, church spaces were less confessionally homogenous than most of the genre paintings so frequently used as evidence for the Calvinist “purification” of churches seem to indicate. At the same time, they also served as a stage for intra-confessional discourse of the various stakeholders with a claim to the church both as a public and as a sacred space.

“schoon”, “cierlijck”, “konstich” and “kostelich”: Descriptions of the Church

In 1649, Jacob van Oudenhoven presented his first historical-topographical survey of his native town of ’s Hertogenbosch (van Oudenhoven 1649). In good chorographical fashion, he also covered the architectural features of the most prominent buildings in the city. These included, as the first on his list, the Sint Jan’s Kerk, the former Catholic cathedral and seat of the bishop of the diocese of ’s Hertogenbosch.

Chorography was a popular genre in the seventeenth-century Low Countries (Esser 2012). The texts often covered a survey of the interiors of churches and other eminent buildings. The Jesuit Daniel Papebroch, for instance, carefully recorded the church furniture and artistic decorations in the churches that he visited on his journey from Antwerp to Rome in 1660 (Kindermann 2002). In a detailed description of his home town, Antwerp,

from 1700, he even included a church plan outlining the altars, statues, and elaborately carved pillars of the interior in his survey of Antwerp's Cathedral dedicated to Our Lady (Mertens and Buschmann 1848, 339–359, Esser 2014). However, the detail of what van Oudenhoven described was rather exceptional for chorographies written from a northern Netherlandish perspective.

In the introduction to his survey of the building, van Oudenhoven used the assessment of an earlier commentator on the church: the Carthusian historian Laurentius Surius and his comment on the Sint Jan, set down in his *Historische Commentarien*. Under the date of 22 August 1566, the day after the first iconoclastic destructions had begun in the Cathedral and were continuing, Surius gave a description of the Sint Jan and of the iconoclastic assault on the church (1586, 691). Not only did van Oudenhoven insert the original Latin text of Surius' assessment, he also included his own, Dutch translation: "Dat haar tot den hoochsten glants, ende ongeloofelijcke schoonheyt, ende wonderlijcke verciersel niet en scheen te ontbreken." (That nothing was missing in her highest splendour, incredible beauty and wonderful decorations, RE) (van Oudenhoven 1649, 21). He then continued with his own, detailed description of the exterior and the interior of the church, which covered no less than five pages of the overall 107 pages of the book published in Quarto format (21–26). It was abundant with descriptors such as "schoon", "cierlijck", "konstich", and "kostelich".

Van Oudenhoven had a keen eye for detail; he was known and respected as a thorough chorographer and historian. What makes his description of the Sint Jan so special for the present purpose is the fact that he was a Calvinist minister. He was born in 1601 in the Brabantine town of Vessem but grew up in 's Hertogenbosch. He was baptized in the Catholic Church and entered the nearby Williamite monastery of Baseldonk. In 1620, he left the monastery and the Catholic Church and

took up the study of Reformed Theology in Leiden. From 1625 to 1626, he continued his study with private tuition by the eminent Reformed theologian Gisbert Voetius in Heusden, a border town in Brabant. In 1629, during and after the siege of ’s Hertogenbosch, he translated and reedited the Latin history of the city written by his former Williamite mentor, prior Simon Pelgrom (Pelgrom 1629). The book, which came out under the title *Oorspronck van ‘s Hertogenbosch,* was published in Amsterdam and became an instant success due to the great media coverage of the siege and surrender of the city. It was republished three times in the same year and laid the foundations of van Oudenhoven’s fame as an historian. From 1626 onwards, he served as minister in a number of Holland parishes until his retirement in 1665, when he moved to Haarlem. There, he continued his writing and died in 1690. He published not only two versions of his history of ’s Hertogenbosch, but also of studies of Heusden, Haarlem, and of the province of Holland (Haitsma Mulier and van der Lem 1990, 317–318). Van Oudenhoven’s text on ‘s Hertogenbosch was re-edited and republished in ‘s Hertogenbosch in 1670 with significant changes and amendments to the original volume (van Oudenhoven 1670).

After the surrender of 1629, ’s Hertogenbosch remained in the hands of the United Provinces. Calvinism was the official religion required by magistrates and other office holders, but according to Brabantine law, these posts could only be given to men of Brabantine origin. Catholics were tolerated as long as they practiced their religion quietly and out of sight. The *Meierij van ‘s Hertogenbosch*, the region around the city, which was later to become the Generality Land of States Brabant under direct government of the States General, remained a contested border area. Until the signing of the Peace of Westphalia, many local parishes practiced a form of compromise by using their churches as *Simultaneum,* whereby the church could be used for services by both confessions at different times. In

many instances, these arrangements outlasted the peace and continued for the next two centuries (de Mooi 2009).

The following observations are devoted to this complicated scenario, which, upon closer inspection, might not be as unique as it seems. Historians such as Eamon Duffy have convincingly argued that Catholic traditions and religious practices remained deeply embedded in the popular culture of early modern societies and that changes were often more gradual than radical (Duffy 2001). Judith Pollmann and Willem Frijhoff have alerted us to the resilience of Catholicism in an environment that was dominated by Reformed politics and ideas (Pollmann 2011; Frijhoff 2002). Whether these observations were also reflected by contemporary authors, such as van Oudenhoven, remains to be seen.

’s Hertogenbosch was also one of the contested new bishoprics created by the diocesan reforms of Philip II in 1559. Its establishment encountered much resistance from the local population, directed against the re-arrangement of ecclesiastical order and, consequently, power in their region. It took some years before the first bishop, Franciscus Sonnius, could appropriate the church as a Cathedral. The Catholic Church authorities invested heavily into the implementations of the new reforms, which went hand in hand with the requirements of the Council of Trent. ’s Hertogenbosch also suffered from the Iconoclastic Fury in August (22–25) and again in October 1566, which led to heavy losses of church decoration. In 1584, parts of the church interior and its landmark, the great middle tower, whose original size is unknown but whose contemporary depictions and descriptions likened it to the spire of Antwerp’s Our Lady’s Cathedral, fell victim to a great fire. Bishop Clemens Crabeels, then in charge of the diocese, arranged for a massive redecoration programme to replace the destroyed images and artwork in the Cathedral (Boekwijt et al. 2011).

What were the highlights in this renewed church that van Oudenhoven presented to his readers twenty years after the Reformed takeover?

Firstly, he not only referred to the Cologne native, Laurentius Surius, as a witness of the beauty of the church. He also explicitly mentioned and cited Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, Catholic royal historiographer at the Court of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in Brussels, who had covered the church in his chorographical survey *Taxandria* in 1610 (Gramaye 1610).

Gramaye, as van Oudenhoven explained in his dedication to the magistrates of ‘s Hertogenbosch, had been given access to the city archives for his research (van Oudenhoven 1649, n.p.). His book was therefore a trustworthy source, but Gramaye’s chronology ended in 1609. The following, dramatic forty years were not covered in his book, which is why van Oudenhoven deemed a new version of the past necessary. It is interesting to note that he did not refer to the earlier version of Prior Pelgrom, which he had translated himself. It might be that he felt Pelgrom’s work to be more tarnished with Catholicism than that of the humanist and much respected intellectual Gramaye.

From Gramaye, van Oudenhoven might have taken the detailed measurements of the church space, the number and the architectural style of the highly decorated columns that he included. He might also have copied some information about the iconographic programme of the images on display at the fifty altars that were mentioned. Of those, the Bosch tryptics at the High Altar and at the Altar to Our Lady in the Marian Chapel of the powerful Marian sodality in the city were explicitly mentioned by both authors. Little is known about the history of these tryptics depicting the biblical stories of the Creation, of the History of Abigael before David, and of Solomon and his mother Bethsheba. In a Catholic Church visitation in 1515, they came under severe criticism for the abundance of nude figures in potentially compromising positions.

Gramaye's description of the whereabouts of the various parts of the tryptics remained vague. He only mentioned them as "still existing" (Büttner 2012, 21). Van Oudenhoven, however, simply stated that they "had been at the High Altar" (van Oudenhoven 1649, 25). The only other trace of these images can be found in 's Hertogenbosch's city archives, in which the treasurer recorded on 4 January 1671 that the city had paid the sexton of the Sint Jan the sum of 75 guilders for one of the wings of the Bosch altarpiece of the High Altar (Büttner 2012, 21). While art historians are still struggling to reconstruct the story of these pictures, what is relevant in the present context is that both authors, the Catholic humanist Gramaye and the Reformed minister van Oudenhoven, recognized the artistic value of Bosch's tryptics—in spite of the verdict of the Catholic Church and in spite of van Oudenhoven's own critique of other scenes of nudity in the church's architecture, which he deemed "more suitable for the temples of the heathen idols Venus or Priapus" than for the House of God (van Oudenhoven 1649, 22). In his 1649 edition, van Oudenhoven mentioned the replacement of Bosch's images by the "Ten Commandments in Great Golden Letters", thus ignoring Abraham Blomaert's *God with Christ and the Virgin as Intercessors*, which had been installed on the High Altar in 1615, apparently after the removal of the Bosch tryptic, and had been dismantled and moved to Antwerp after the city's surrender in 1629 (van Oudenhoven 1649, 25; Fig. 1). Van Oudenhoven must have known this—for Calvinists—highly offensive painting from his time in the city but preferred not to mention it in his survey. The Ten Commandments were installed in 1633, at a time when the High Altar was already out of sight for visitors to the church (de Hond et al. 2013, 25).[3]

3 At the same time, the two altars of the rood screen facing the community were replaced by text boards with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.

While he ignored this, he mentioned another highly contentious piece of Sint Jan’s church furniture, the tabernacle or *Sacramentshuysken*, which had been attacked by the Iconoclasts in 1566 and which had been restored by Jacob Matthijsen in 1614. Again, he praised the high artistic calibre and the precious materials—and listed the price of the artwork at 5000 guilders. By 1649, however, it had fallen victim to the magistrates’ initiatives of “purification”. Ten years earlier, in 1639, they had provided a budget of 75 guilders for its removal by two masons and a joiner, overseen by a military captain, who supervised the destruction against the protest of the local population (Vos 2007, 357; Hezenmans 1866). Some of the artwork could be rescued through the immediate intervention of Prince Frederik Hendrik, but after his death in 1647, the construction was completely dismantled, and the remaining alabaster sculptures were sold.

FIGURE 1 Abraham Bloemaert, God with Christ and the Virgin as Intercessors, 1615.

Further highlights of this eclectic and chronologically selective ensemble presented in the book are the baptismal font made by Aert van Triecht for the sum of 2.500 guilders in 1492, which was praised as a highly valuable piece of art (Fig. 2).

Significantly, van Oudenhoven informed his readers that this font was still present in the south aisle of the Church (van Oudenhoven 1649, 24). It was no longer in use, however; Reformed baptisms were performed in the newly-created *dooptuin* under the pulpit. Likewise, the massive and elaborate rood or choir screen, carved from wood and marble, which

had proved impossible to remove in 1629, was mentioned as an artistic masterpiece (van Oudenhoven 1649, 24). The Renaissance-style rood screen made by the carver Coenraed van Norenborch had been installed in 1610. It was subsequently decorated with alabaster sculptures, one of which was made by Amsterdam's top-sculptor and architect Hendrick de Keyser (Fig. 3).[4] Some scenes in the woodcarving and some alabaster images were attacked, but the monument itself served as a convenient partition of the old, Catholic heart of the church—the chancel, which was closed off for further use—and the new centre of worship around the pulpit. Sint Jan's pulpit also dated back to the sixteenth century and was highly decorated with exquisite woodwork. In van Oudenhoven's text, however, this centrepiece of Reformed worship only received cursory mentioning with reference to its artwork (some of which had also been attacked after the Reformed takeover of the Church) (van Oudenhoven 1649, 26).

FIGURE 2 Baptismal font in the Sint Jan's Cathedral, 's-Hertogenbosch, 27 February 1929.

Most of what he described was, thus, in the part of the church that was not relevant for the Reformed service and was also physically sealed off from the community, first by the rood screen and later by a wooden construction fortified with copper spikes; the church council had additionally commissioned to bar the entrances to the former side-chapels around the

4 The artists of the other sculptures are unknown.

choir. So although most of what van Oudenhoven described was no longer there, it was regarded by him as significant—if not for the present, then for the history of the church and the city.

FIGURE 3 Carved marble choir screen, by Coenraed van Norenberch, ‘s-Hertogenbosch, Netherlands, 1600-13.

Church Descriptions and Confessional Controversies

What also mattered for van Oudenhoven was the soundscape of the church. Much coverage was devoted to a clock with moving figures of the Virgin, the adoration of the magi, and the full scenario of the Last Judgement with Jesus and his angels blowing their trumpets on top and the devils grappling for lost souls at the bottom. This instrument had been installed in 1513 but, as van Oudenhoven mentioned, was no longer functioning (van Oudenhoven 1649, 23). The same clockwork had already been mentioned by Gramaye. He, however, emphasized the celestial constellations which were shown, rather than the scenario of the Last Judgement (Gramaye 1610, 23). Van Oudenhoven also gave very detailed descriptions of the numerous bells in

the Sint Jan, of the grant carillon with 26 bells installed in 1641, and of an elaborate clockwork, installed in 1647/48, which played to the tune of Psalm 16 every hour and of Psalm 116 every half-hour (van Oudenhoven 1649, 23). Church bells were regarded as suspicious by the Reformed Church, not least because many of them were inscribed with Catholic prayers and texts whose content was offensive to the Reformed faith. While initially associated with Catholic practices, the ringing of the bells at funerals was gradually also adopted in some Dutch Reformed Churches, for instance in Utrecht. They rang to summon the worshippers to the church, and continued to ring for secular purposes, for instance in times of emergency. The Sint Jan was famous for its bells and carillons. ’s Hertogenbosch itself boasted of a number of well-known bell-founder dynasties, including the Vechels, the van Wou, and the Moers. The city hall was adorned by a carillon made by the famous Hemony brothers from Zutphen in 1649.

FIGURE 4 The Organ, Sint Jan, at ’s Hertogenbosch, organ pipes by Florens Hocque, completed 1634.

The second bone of contention in the soundscape of the churches, the organ, was also covered to some extent in van Oudenhoven’s book (van Oudenhoven 1649, 25). Here, he mentioned the two organs in the church: a smaller organ, which, he added, was now used to train the students of the city’s *Illustre School* and was therefore mostly no longer in the church itself; and a second, larger organ, an enormous instrument which had been very costly and had only

been completed after the Reformed takeover, and was regarded as one of the finest of its kind (Fig. 4).

The organ pipes were made by Florens Hocque from Cologne, whose name is also mentioned by van Oudenhoven, together with the spectacular price of the whole construction, which amounted to 14.700 guilders. In 1641, a public dispute about the use of organs in Reformed Church services had flared up, in which van Oudenhoven’s erstwhile mentor, Gisbert Voetius, who was also a member of the first Reformed church council in ‘s Hertogenbosch, took a radical stand against the instrument—and against proponents of organ music in Reformed services, such as Constantijn Huygens (Luth 2001). The reference to the organ in the Sint Jan might have been a statement of approval by van Oudenhoven, who did not belong to the more radical wing of the reformers.

What can we learn from this survey about the perception of church space in a contested border region? Firstly, even those who embraced the Calvinist religion were not immune to the beauty and value of Catholic (medieval) artwork (Bynum 2016). Van Oudenhoven specifically wrote his text, so he set out in his dedication to Prince Willem of Orange Nassau, to support the recruitment of more Reformed ministers in ’s Hertogenbosch and its environment (“op dat de voornaamste Plaetsen met goede ende ghetrouwe Predikanten mochten bekleedt worden”) (van Oudenhoven 1649, v).[5] Had he deemed the visual remains of the old faith a stumbling

5 Van Oudenhoven refers to the recruitment efforts of the Synod of Den Bosch to muster sufficient candidates for positions in States-Brabant. He himself had been approached to take over the parishes of Helvoirt and Cromvoirt but, after some deliberation, rejected the offer. As a reason for his negative reply he cited his wife’s disapproval and outright refusal to move to States Brabant. The couple might have come to a different conclusion had van Oudenhoven been offered a more attractive parish, for instance in ’s Hertogenbosch itself. In both the *Beschrijvinge* and in the later edition of 1670, he emphasized his attachment to his native Brabant. During the negotiations about his appointment, van Oudenhoven

block to attracting Reformed personnel to the city and its main church, he might have been even more, or differently, eclectic in his descriptions. He himself was not a “hardliner” when it came to the “purification” of Catholic space. He wrote critically about the Iconoclastic Fury in the Sint Jan in 1566, calling the iconoclasts “verscheyden sectarissen ende quaetdoers” (some sectarians and evil-doers; van Oudenhoven 1649, 100–101). In a *byvoegsel*, an addition, he also critically mentioned the graffiti that “een slechte man” (a bad man) had scribbled with coal on the walls beneath a lead-in-glass window depicting the Virgin, Jesus, and the late Bishop Gisbertus Masius in the Sint Pieters Kerk, the second church in ‘s Hertogenbosch, during the Twelve Years’ Truce (van Oudenhoven 1649, 81). Secondly, with his extensive survey of the bells, clocks, and carillons in the Sint Jan, he might have wanted not only to appeal to local pride in bell-foundry craftsmanship, but also to state his support for the practices associated with bell-ringing, which remained contentious in Reformed circles. The same might apply to the coverage of the organ in the church. Thirdly, there is also a clue in his dedication to the Prince of Orange. In his chronological account of events, van Oudenhoven mentioned the surrender of the city and the takeover by the forces of Frederik Hendrik, who heard the first Reformed sermon in the Sint Jan on 19 September 1629. Frederik Hendrik prevented the greatest “purifications” of the church and ordered and supported the safe conduct of the Catholic clergy out of the city. They were allowed to take the church treasures with them into exile. The members of ’s Hertogenbosch’s guilds could reclaim their furniture and paintings, while other works were entrusted to leading citizens for safe keeping. Historians have argued that this lenient policy towards the Catholic citizenry was based on the

spent some time in ‘s Hertogenbosch in 1648. He thus certainly used the opportunity to revisit the sites that he then covered in his text.

prince’s hope to keep further antagonism of the defeated Boschenaers at bay (Gaskell 1990). It might also have been his response to the more radical voices of the Calvinist church on his and his family’s adherence to the traditional and powerful Catholic Marian sodality in the city, which counted men of the high aristocracy as its lay members, the so-called Swan brothers. In the end, the sodality was the only Catholic institution in the city that remained (more or less) intact after the takeover. William the Silent had been the first member of the Orange family to be admitted to the Swan brothers, and the privilege was extended to his offspring. Van Oudenhoven was certainly aware of this special relationship between the family and the Sint Jan (Gaskell 1990). Frederik Hendrik also specifically mentioned the tabernacle, as well as the rood screen and the tomb monument of Bishop Masius, which he wanted to protect against the measures of the Reformed church council (Hezenmans 1866, 280–286). Maybe this was also a reason for van Oudenhoven to highlight this piece of unmistakably Catholic Church furniture in his survey, which had disappeared without a trace in 1647. He was much more guarded but nevertheless did mention the Swan brothers and the confraternity of Our Lady in his 1649 edition. Here, however, he drifted into one of his rare polemics against Catholic Church practices, listing the sale of the indulgences and the pilgrimages to the so-called miraculous Virgin of ‘s Hertogenbosch among the sources of income that the church could generate to finance the costly building (van Oudenhoven 1649, 26). ‘s Hertogenbosch’s citizens had been “blind” before the Reformed takeover, but they were nevertheless pious and generous with the support of their faith.

Van Oudenhoven’s description thus served several purposes and addressed several recipients. It transformed the church space of the Sint Jan into a public space adorned with precious artwork, most of which, however, was no longer avaible to the visitors. It highlighted the highly

valuable and much-acclaimed products of local craftsmanship—the bells, clocks, and carillons in the church—even if some of them were now defunct. Given that the text was also meant to attract potential new ministers to the area, it remained very moderate in its sketches of the “preekkerk”, mentioning its Reformed church furniture, and the—albeit contested—instruments of Reformed church service, such as the organ. At this level, one can state that van Oudenhoven contributed to an argument within a Reformed dispute, siding with a more lenient interpretation of the use of bells and music. In this respect, van Oudenhoven also sided with the city council, whose members were responsible for the purchase and the use of the bells and appointed and paid for the organist in the church (Vos 2007, 370–371). Van Oudenhoven received a gift of 120 guilders from the city council when his book was published (Beermann 1938, 127 fn 3). The officials in the city hall were obviously satisfied with his version of events and his interpretation of the use of the church space. Much research has been devoted in recent years to the role of tomb monuments in the description of churches as memorial sites and the different interpretations of these monuments in times of confessional change (Meys 2009; Schwyzer 2016; Walsham 2017). In the Dutch context, scholars have been particularly interested in the tomb monuments of national heroes, such as for Willem the Silent in Delft and for the great admirals of the Dutch Republic in Amsterdam (Scholten 2003; Mörke 2005). The reference to and emphasis on these monuments has added the dimension of national memory sites to the many functions of the churches. However, tomb monuments also played a role in the confessional conflicts of the period, and this is also the case in their coverage in van Oudenhoven’s text. Burial places in churches themselves became contested spaces. Neeske de Greef, an early supporter of the Reformation in the city, who had expressed her beliefs on her deathbed in 1582, and, consequently, had not

been buried in hallowed ground, was ceremoniously reburied at the High Altar of the Sint Jan in the presence of the church council, high-ranking members of the military, and other citizens in 1631 (Vos 2007, 357). Van Oudenhoven covered this event in his text under the rubric “byvoegsel” on page 82. On an earlier page of these “byvoegsel”, on page 79, he also mentioned the tomb monuments of the three bishops who had been buried in the church during its status as a Cathedral: Bishop Clemens Crabeels, Bishop Gisbertus Masius, and Bishop Nicolaus Zosius were all buried in the choir of the church. Masius’s tomb monument, probably erected in 1618/19 by the sculptor Hans van Mildert, who had also been responsible for the redecoration of the High Altar, continued to be a significant object in the church, symbolizing both the past Catholic regime and its mutilation. It featured in Pieter Saenredam’s enigmatic painting of the choir of the Sint Jan of 1646 (Wheelock Jr., n.d.; Fig. 5 and Fig. 6). In this painting, the accessories signifying the bishop’s status, the mitre and the crozier, were still intact, but in 1663, the English traveler William Lord Fitzwilliam, who visited the Sint Jan, noted: “several tombs, the chiefest is a bishop’s of this place, all cut out in stone, on his knees and formerly he had a mitre on his head and his hands crossed together. But at the taking of the town [1629], some over-zealous soldier did cut off his mitre and arms” (Strien 1998, 208). Interestingly, he also added: “Had he been caught, the Prince of Orange had bestowed a rope in him for his recompense.” It was thus known to later travelers that Frederik Hendrik had been the protector of the church and its interior—even including a memorial to a bishop, whose role he would contest. While either the memory of or the interest in the tomb seems to have faded away in later years, travelers still seemed to find it relevant to take note of them in the accounts of their visit. In August 1671, Richard Holford noticed that he had seen the “effigies of a priest and archbishop [sic], with this inscription”, but the space of the inscription is left

blank. Whether he intended to include the rather long biographical sketch of Masius, which was inscribed in Latin, at the front of the tomb monument or his more poignant motto, “omnia mors aequat” (death is the same for everyone), on top of it, remains unknown (Strien 1998, 210).

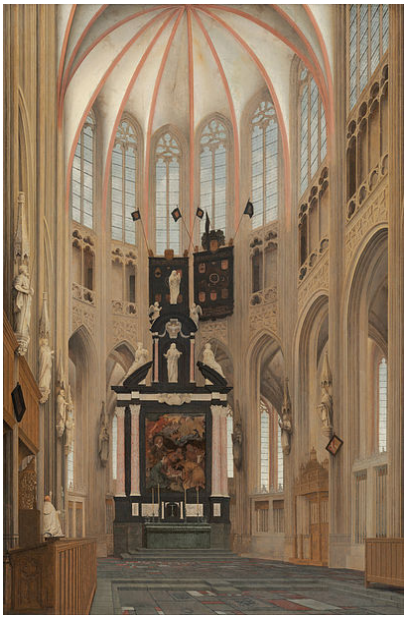

FIGURE 5 Pieter Saenredam, Cathedral of Sint Jan at ‘s-Hertogenbosch (1646).

FIGURE 6 Tomb Monument Bishop Gisbert Masius, drawing Pieter Saenredam 1632.

Changes Over Time

One year earlier, van Oudenhoven published his second, updated version of the *Beschrijvinge*. His “Silva-Ducis aucta et renata of een nieuwe ende gantsch vermeerdere Beschrijvinge van de Stadt van ‘s Hertogenbossche” appeared in ‘s Hertogenbosch in 1670, five years after van Oudenhoven’s retirement from the ministry, after which he devoted himself fully to the writing of history. In the preface to the text, he emphasized his own Brabantine origins and love of his fatherland (van Oudenhoven 1670,

n.p.). The book was dedicated to Govert van Slingelandt and Adriaen van Blyenburg, both members of the States General who had had earlier careers in Dordrecht’s City Council.[6] With rising international tensions and an increasing threat of French expansionism, it was perhaps not a coincidence that van Oudenhoven wished to remind members of the States General of the importance of ‘s Hertogenbosch, which, as a border city near the Spanish Netherlands, would be on the front line of attacks from the South. The region had been regarded with distrust by the States General ever since its incorporation into the Dutch Republic. It was feared that its predominantly Catholic citizens would not be loyal to the Republic in times of emergency and would have preferred to be under the rule of the Spanish Netherlands. With the threat of the Catholic French, this fear was fueled even further. Van Oudenhoven also addressed the city magistrates of ‘s Hertogenbosch as the recipients of his book. Highlighting the former and the (proposed) new glory of the city might have reminded them that ‘s Hertogenbosch was worth fighting for. In his description of the church, the ensemble of the interior of the Sint Jan roughly resembled the survey of the earlier volume with a particular emphasis on the bells, clocks and carillons, which had already featured prominently in the first edition (van Oudenhoven 1670, 95). The altar pieces and images received a somewhat shorter coverage, but their themes as well as the name and mastery of Hieronymus Bosch were mentioned. The baptismal font, the rood screen, and the organ were mentioned again, each with their respective creator and their costs. The tomb monuments of the bishops and their position in the church were also listed again, with particular emphasis on Masius’s alabaster tomb and the dedicatory text on the monument (van Oudenhoven

6 Moreover, van Blyenburg’s oldest son, of the same name, was in charge of the States General’s financial support for the Meyerij van ‘s Hertogenbosch sometime in the 1670s or 80s.

1670, 17). The mutilation of the bishop's statue was not addressed. However, there are distinct differences between this and the earlier text which reveal a stronger historicization and, one might argue, nostalgia for the city's former glory. The most striking reference to this is the cityscape printed on the frontispiece of the book (Fig. 7). Here, the Sint Jan featured prominently as the heart of the city. The church that was depicted, however, was a construction which showed the remarkable middle tower that had been destroyed by fire in 1584.[7] The spectacular tower, adorned with a silver statue of Saint John in 1529, had been much praised and certainly represented the city and the church at the height of its glory, but was far removed from 's Hertogenbosch's economic and political position in 1670 (van Oudenhoven 1670, 95). In the text itself, the construction history of the tower was extensively covered. Extensive coverage was also given to the Marian sodality in the city, a real bone of contention after the Reformed

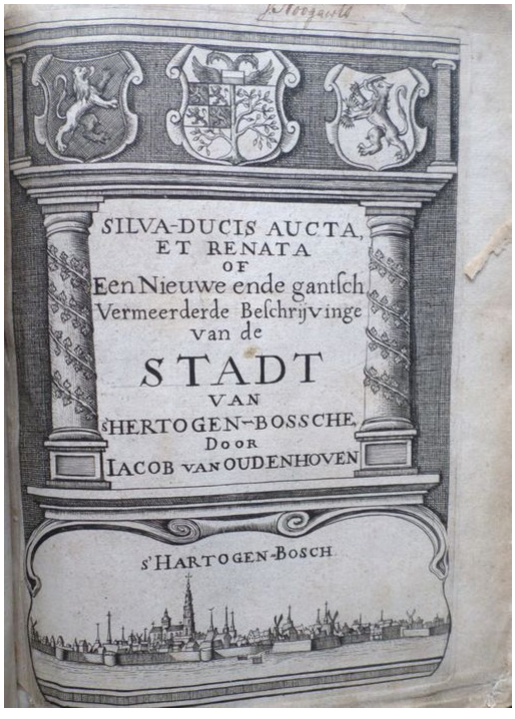

FIGURE 7 Frontispice Jacob van Oudenhoven, 's Silva-Ducis aucta et renata of Een nieuwe ende vermeerderde beschryvinge van de Meyerye van Hertogen-Bossche etc., 's Hertogenbosch: Ian Scheffers, ende Iacomina van Oudenhoven, 1670.

7 The image of the church does not particularly resemble the only known sketch of the Sint Jan, prior to the fire, by Anton van den Wyngaerde. It might have been made well after 1548 to resemble Antwerp Cathedral rather than van den Wyngaerde's version of the Sint Jan.

takeover. Van Oudenhoven devoted seven pages, with various sub-headings, to the topic, outlining the establishment of the confraternity, its regime, and the devotional practices at the Lady Chapel at the heart of the Marian devotion in the city (van Oudenhoven 1670, 99–109). The *Illustre Vrouwenbroederschap* had been reorganized to accommodate an even number of eighteen Catholic and eighteen Calvinist members in 1642. However, the heyday of its influence and international calibre were over, and, once again, it seems that van Oudenhoven’s detailed account, including the procession route of the annual devotional festival, created an image of a golden past. The anti-Catholic polemics of the previous edition had disappeared, and van Oudenhoven included extensive references to Augustinus Wichmans’ *Brabantia Mariana Tripartita* of 1632, outlining the history and practice of the Marian cult in ‘s Hertogenbosch. For his account of the Iconoclastic Fury in the city, he relied verbatim on the account of a Catholic eye-witness, the Carmelite Dominicus Beyens, who actively intervened and rescued the treasures of Our Lady’s Chapel during the first assault on the church in August 1566. Although van Oudenhoven alerted his readers to the confessional bias of the account, he nevertheless gave the Catholic commentator a voice, which condemned the iconoclasm in the city and its agents (van Oudenhoven 1670, 135f).[8] In this second version, the confessional distinctions or nuances of interpretation were not at stake. What van Oudenhoven created, instead, was an account of a city which had once been glorious, prosperous, and influential—attributes that were encapsulated in his description of the Sint Jan and the devotional practices around the church and its main spiritual centre, the Chapel of Our Lady.

8 Much of the vocabulary that Beyens applied to the iconoclasts had already been used in van Oudenhoven’s previous description of the Iconoclastic Fury. He might have already used Beyens’ account for the 1649 edition, but he deemed it unwise to rely explicitly on this source.

The boundaries, however, between the glorious past and the less glorious present of the city were blurred, thus leaving it to the reader to draw comparisons between the past and the present of the city.

Conclusion

Jesse Spohnholz (2011) has recently encouraged us to rethink the narrative of the reformation of church spaces in the Dutch Republic that has informed much of the scholarship on church interiors. He has also called for further nuance in the distinction between "public" and "private" places of worship. For areas with an overwhelmingly Catholic population, such as States Brabant, which proved rather immune to the reforming efforts of the ministers selected to preach in the *Meierij van 's Hertogenbosch* in 1648, "it was the few isolated Calvinists in the supposedly 'public' church, who were really isolated" (71). In 's Hertogenbosch, the official possession of the Sint Jan proved to be something of a poisoned chalice. The small Reformed community was unable to maintain the upkeep of the enormous building, which had also suffered extensively from the bombardments of the siege. Even after massive sales of the artwork of the Cathedral, the church council was in debt with 1500 guilders in 1659. After further sales of pictures and sculptures taken from the other churches in 's Hertogenbosch (St. Barbara, St. Anna, and St. Cornelis), the church council incurred debts of 2000 guilders in the two consecutive years following 1684 (Hezenmans 1866, 393–294). Instead of presenting the triumphantly sober, whitewashed, and excellently maintained church interior of the seventeenth-century genre paintings, the Sint Jan degraded into a building with masonry which was at risk of collapse and was only provisionally repaired with cheaper materials, and whose many windows could no longer be maintained in their original

form (Boekwijt et al. 2011, 242–259). At the same time, what was seen as the “public” space of the church was still and persistently used by Catholic worshippers. Time and again, the city council received complaints about Catholics burning candles in those places where their former altars stood (Vos 2007, 358). They knelt and prayed in empty niches. They disturbed Reformed services by singing, or by processing in the public space of the church. It was these practices that led to the assault and destruction of the tabernacle, not the existence of the tabernacle itself.

Incidents of disturbances of Reformed worship were not restricted to the Sint Jan. In Boxtel, also in States Brabant, the Reformed church was visited by a Catholic crowd on the Sunday after Saint Crispin’s day, 25 October 1648. The crowd, mainly cobblers, claimed to celebrate the feast day of their patron saint and did so with pipes, dancing, and songs during the Reformed service (de Mooi 2009). Neither the increasing dilapidation of the building nor the confessional tensions found room in van Oudenhoven’s description. He repeated the comments of the dysfunctional clocks that he had already mentioned in the first edition. Otherwise, his description focused on the former glory of the church. True to the title of his text, he created a picture of the reemergence of old beauty. Significantly, where he mentioned the collapse of the middle tower and the melting of the bells in the fire of 1584, he reminded his readers that much of the molten material was used for the foundry of new bells, whose ensemble of 26 was completed in 1647 (van Oudenhoven 1670, 95–96). There was no longer room for anti-Catholic polemics. On the contrary, where, in 1649, van Oudenhoven had ridiculed the miracle stories around the Virgin of ‘s Hertogenbosch, he now simply stated her miraculous powers, which, before 1629, had brought many people into the city and supported the costs of the church. Church spaces thus served many and different purposes for their beholders. The case of van Oudenhoven’s description of the Sint Jan has demonstrated

that ways of viewing and describing church interiors were multi-layered and changed over time—even over a seemingly short period of 21 years. In the Netherlands, rather than following seemingly simple patterns of desacralization and public appropriation, church spaces could be presented as places of civic pride and craftsmanship, and their description was embedded in local or national discourses. They were not nearly as confessionally homogenous as their city and church councilors might have implied. Moreover, there was also local dissent about the nature of Calvinist church furniture and the use of accessories for worship, which found its way into van Oudenhoven's comments. If they served as vehicles to historicize the past, then which past was invoked, rejected, or glorified? Caroline Bynum has recently challenged the standardized chronological landmarks for the Reformation and its implementation, which, she argued, have traditionally been based on texts, such as the introduction of Lutheran (or Reformed) church orders and the installation of Lutheran (or Reformed) ministers. Instead, she alerts us to a different chronology, based on the "lives" of things, church furniture, vestments, and other items used in church services. She argues that many of these not only survived but continued to carry meaning in their local contexts of piety and devotion, but also as representations of prestige and power (Bynum 2016). Van Oudenhoven's survey of the Sint Jan's church interior supports this claim, and it is this nuance and this diversity that is worth further investigation.

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Fig. 1 Abraham Bloemaert, God with Christ and the Virgin as Intercessors, 1615. Public Domain: creativecommons, CC-BY-3.0, Sailko.

Fig. 2 Baptismal font in the Sint Jan’s Cathedral, ‘s-Hertogenbosch, 27 February 1929. Public domain, http://www.bossche-encyclopedie.nl/overig/sint%20jan/Doopvont.htm Author: Fotopersbureau Het Zuiden.

Fig. 3 Carved marble choir screen, by Coenraed van Norenberch, ‘s-Hertogenbosch, Netherlands, 1600–13, Victoria and Albert Museum no. 1046–1871.

Fig. 4 The Organ, Sint Jan, at ’s Hertogenbosch, organ pipes by Florens Hocque, completed 1634. Public domain: CC-BY-SA 1.0, Zanaq, met dank aan MaanMeis.

Fig. 5 Pieter Saenredam, Cathedral of Sint Jan at ‘s-Hertogenbosch (1646). source: Wikimedia commons (google arts project).

Fig. 6 Tomb Monument Bishop Gisbert Masius, drawing Pieter Saenredam 1632. Noordbrabants Museum, Digitale Collectie. Objectnummer 12129.

Fig. 7 Frontispice Jacob van Oudenhoven, ‘s Silva-Ducis aucta et renata of Een nieuwe ende vermeerderde beschryvinge van de Meyerye van Hertogen-Bossche etc., ’s Hertogenbosch: Ian Scheffers, ende Iacomina van Oudenhoven, 1670 (public domain: google books).

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Presenting the Law: Text and Imagery on Dutch Ten Commandments Panels

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Presenting the Law: Text and Imagery on Dutch Ten Commandments Panels

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ABSTRACT Many Dutch Calvinist churches house a Ten Commandments panel, installed in the late sixteenth or seventeenth century as part of the Reformed adaptation of the medieval Catholic church interior. In this article, the characteristic design of Ten Commandments panels is analyzed as a form of Calvinist visual culture. It suggests that these panels were primarily made to be viewed rather than thoroughly read. The remarkably figurative Moses imagery on panels points at a divergence between the rigid Reformed theological image prohibition and the practice of the adaptation of the church interior. The placement of Ten Commandments panels in the Reformed church interior highlights their symbolic value: It signified the need for self-examination of the participants in the Lord's Supper. The original spatial setting of Ten Commandments panels also shows how the newly Reformed furnishing and use of church space was rooted in its late medieval Catholic past.

KEY WORDS Ten Commandments panels; Reformed visual culture; church interior

Introduction

Dutch Calvinist churches used to be known mostly as sober and serene, their interiors characterized by whitewashed walls. Iconic seventeenth-century paintings of church interiors, such as those by Saenredam, De Witte, and others, have provided a blueprint for this image. The Reformation indeed brought about drastic changes in the interiors of the Dutch medieval churches. Catholic art and furnishings were removed or destroyed in the process of the 'purification' of the churches in the late

sixteenth century, in which the iconoclastic fury of 1566 was a landmark event (Spicer 2017). Particularly after the recognition of the Calvinist church as the public church of the Dutch Republic in 1578, church interiors were adapted to accommodate Reformed worship. Following the removal of objects bearing a strong association with Catholic devotion, churches were redecorated in a manner fitting and appropriate for Reformed use, which was centered on the Word. Typical elements of the newly Reformed church interiors were the so-called 'tekstborden' or 'tekstschilderingen'. Texts were painted on panels, walls, and church furniture, displaying a variety of texts ranging from practical ordinances to passages from Scripture and other pious texts that were of crucial importance in Reformed theology. The most commonly found text panel installed in Dutch Calvinist churches is the panel displaying the Ten Commandments, a central tenet within Reformed thought and liturgy. This article discusses the characteristic design of a Ten Commandments panel to highlight its visual impact within the Reformed church space and its liturgical use.

This article presents the first results of a larger research project which aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of text decoration in Dutch Reformed churches by uniting approaches from various disciplines and including a broad range of material. To do justice to the complex nature of text panels, it aims to examine its material and visual aspects, the theological content of texts, as well as its embeddedness in the church space and its newly Reformed use. It covers text decoration preserved in the smaller village churches in the most peripheral areas of the Dutch Republic as well as in the larger and better-known city churches. The heyday of the installation of text panels and text paintings, as part of the Reformed adaptation of the formerly Catholic, medieval church interior, lies in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, which is the main focus

of this project. Rarer eighteenth-century examples are also included, while the limit of its scope is marked by the French period.[1]

Recent decades have witnessed increasing scholarly attention to Reformed visual and material culture, debunking the 'myth' of the austere Calvinist church interior. This project builds on the existing literature on this topic. A pioneering study is Van Swigchem, which is still a reference work on the Dutch church interior (1984). It pays attention to (the arrangement of) the furnishing of the church space in connection with its Reformed use, and briefly points to the design and role of text panels within the church interior. In Steensma's recent and posthumously published book *Protestantse Kerken. Hun Pracht en Kracht*, a chapter is devoted to texts as part of the Reformed church interior (2012). It gives a broad overview of the various kinds of text panels and text paintings, discussing their material aspects as well as theological and other themes present in texts.[2] Mochizuki has made a significant contribution to the understanding of the phenomenon of text decoration as an innovative form of Dutch Calvinist visual culture 'in the wake of iconoclasm' (2005; 2007; 2008). It is based mainly on the study of the panels in the Grote of St. Bavokerk in Haarlem, supplemented by examples from other churches.[3]

So far, this research project has resulted, among other things, in a catalogue of preserved Ten Commandments panels, some of which are embellished in a surprisingly lavish manner. Here, I will argue that the texts on these panels were not primarily meant to be read, but that the panels

1 This is the PhD project 'To Proclaim, to Instruct, and to Discipline, the Visuality of Texts in Dutch Calvinist Churches', which I am carrying out at the University of Groningen.

2 Steensma repeatedly emphasizes that a broader and more systematic approach is needed for a better understanding of Protestant text decoration (2012, 164, 184).

3 Very recently published is a study of the Reformed text painting that covers a medieval depiction of the mass of St. Gregory in the Utrecht Jacobikerk, see Bueren and Dijk 2017. On Calvinist visual culture, see also Finney 1999.

had the effect of an easily recognisable image or signal. That is what a closer look at the typical design of the texts as well as the various types of frame decoration suggests. Moreover, a significant number of panels is decorated with an image of Moses holding the two stone tablets. Whereas the anthropomorphic depiction of God was abandoned, the depiction of Moses stands out as a motif with a figurative character. This is remarkable, given the Reformed image discourse in which particularly images of human figures were deemed as potentially idolatrous. The iconography of the 'Moses panels' and their place and function in the Reformed church space therefore receive special attention. The wider range of material allows for a revised interpretation of the Moses imagery on Ten Commandments panels. Besides the undeniable changes brought about by the Reformation, the particular placement of these panels also points to some degree at continuity in Dutch church interiors and their use before and after the Reformation.

The Dutch Calvinist Handling of the Question of Images

In Protestant theology, images belonged to the 'adiaphora': they were neither helpful for nor a real threat to true faith. With regard to religious imagery, Reformed tracts primarily focus on the Reformed objections to the role of imagery within the Catholic church and within Catholic devotion. Imagery was strongly associated with the invocation of saints, denounced by the Reformed as superstition and idolatry. The Reformed division of the commandments, starting the second commandment with "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness of anything that

is in heaven above or in the earth beneath" (Ex.20:4[4]), added weight to the prohibition of making images, compared to its Catholic phrasing. The Reformed view on imagery is clearly articulated in the Heidelberg Catechism from 1563, which was translated in that same year and became one of the most widespread polemical Reformed tracts in the Netherlands. In discussing the first and the second commandment, questions and answers 94–98 admonish the believer to "flee all idolatry, sorcery, enchantments, invocation of saints or of other creatures". The same section states that God can and should not be portrayed, and should "not be worshipped" in any other way than he has commanded in his Word (Freedberg 1988, 32–38). Whereas Reformed ideology clearly states what is forbidden, namely depicting God and worshipping (through) images of man and other creatures, it does not prescribe what kind of imagery could or should be made (Jonckheere 2012, 31–42).

Decorated text panels are located in this void between the more theoretical image discourse and the practice of adapting church space for Reformed worship after the removal and destruction of Catholic art and furnishings. Synod reports provide insight into the more practical debate concerning the refurnishing and redecoration of church space in the early phase of the Dutch Reformed church. Remarks on the church interior in general and text decoration in particular are usually scarce; the practical implications of the new Reformed doctrine for and the order within the congregation were of primary concern for the authorities of the early Reformed church, rather than the furnishing of the 'temple'. However, one of the rare comments on text panels illustrates the handling of the question

4 For all English quotes from the Bible, the King James translation (KJV) is used, available on biblegateway.com.

of images within the Dutch Calvinist church. The following statement is found in the report of the synod of Rotterdam held in 1581:

> Just as it is praiseworthy that churches are decorated with phrases from the Holy Bible, it is good that frames are made with prudent moderation, and most of all it is regarded as offensive for the weak, slanderous for the opposition and disturbing for the papists, to paint images of human beings next to those inscriptions, as can be seen now in Rotterdam. Therefore, let the ministers of Rotterdam now be admonished to do their duty in this, and let everyone make sure that these things do not occur in their own region.[5] (Reitsma and van Veen 1893, 210)

In this note, the practice of adorning the church building with texts from the Scriptures remains undisputed; in itself, it is worthy of praise. Besides that, it comments on two key elements in the decoration of text panels. First, the practice of making decorated frames is addressed. Just as it is praiseworthy to decorate a church with passages from the Scriptures, it is also praiseworthy when decorated frames are made—with a certain degree of moderation. This seems to have been more a matter of tolerance than frank enthusiasm: the importance of modesty and sobriety in the making of decorated frames is emphasized. Secondly, the depiction of human beings is mentioned. This was a crucial matter, as the depiction of human beings

5 "Gelyck het pryselick is, dat men de kerkcken becleedet met heerlicke sententien uut der heyligen schrift, alsoe ist goet, dat men in de randen te maecken voirsichtige matigheyt houde, ende voornemelick acht men ergerlick voir de swacke, lasterlick voir de tegenparthye ende sorgelick voir de Papisten, dat men beeldnissen van menschen schildere by deselve schriften, als men nu gesien heeft in de kerkcke van Rotterdam Syn daeromme de dienaers van Rotterdam vermanet hierinne heur debvoir te doen ende sal een yegelick in synen classe waernemen, dat sulex nyet en geschiede." Translation by the author.

was particularly associated with the former Catholic image ‘abuse’ and idolatry. Therefore, a clear line is drawn at this point: human figures should not be depicted, as it would be ‘offensive for the weak’.

This can be understood as a reference to a passage from the first letter of Paul to the Corinthians. In 1 Cor. 8:7–13, Paul explains how the freedom of a Christian should not become a stumbling block for the weak. He uses the example of eating food that had been offered to idols. Those strong in faith would not believe in the power of idols and could, therefore, eat the sacrificial food with a clean conscience. One might, however, consider not eating the food, to the benefit of a weaker brother or sister in faith who could be confused by this act. Similar to Paul in his day and age, the seventeenth-century Calvinists dealt with former ‘idolatrous’ habits. Paul’s principle could easily be transferred to the religious imagery and the accompanying practices; although images, belonging to the ‘adiaphora’, were irrelevant for those strong in faith, because they did not believe in the power of idols and did not engage in idolatrous practices, they could be confusing and disturbing for those weaker in faith.

The exact panel discussed by the Rotterdam synod in 1581 is, in all probability, lost.[6] However, there are numerous other examples that highlight the way in which the image prohibition was dealt with in the Reformed furnishing of church interiors with text panels.

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6 The Laurenskerk in Rotterdam was heavily damaged in the bombardment of 1940. Although many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century paintings and prints of the interior of the Laurenskerk depict text panels, they do not show any text panels clearly decorated with human figures. See also A. de Lorme ‘Gezicht in de Laurenskerk te Rotterdam’ 1669, Museum Boymans van Beuningen, Rotterdam. This painting is reproduced in Van Swigchem 1984, 62–63.

The ‘Visuality’ of Text

The Ten Commandments were among the central texts in Reformed doctrine and Reformed liturgy. The churchgoers were familiar with this text as well as with the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed. These texts were recited during church services, they were an important part of catechism teaching, and were even used to teach children how to read (Spaans 2004, 456n173).

FIGURE 1 Ten Commandments panel, Bovenkerk Kampen, 1634, photo by author.

A Ten Commandments panel is often part of an ensemble consisting of these three texts, known as the typical set of ‘geloof, gebod, gebed’ (Steensma 2012, 164–174).

Panels displaying the main text of the Ten Commandments were likely not primarily intended to be carefully read—there was little need to *inform* the churchgoer of these well-known words—but the panels rather served a decorative and symbolic purpose.[7] Depicting Scripture was a fitting and “praiseworthy” way of decorating a Reformed church, in which the Word played such a dominant role. The calligraphy and the arrangement of the texts on Ten Commandments panels point to such a visual function. A characteristic design is observable on nearly all Ten Commandments panels, of which the panel in Kampen (1634) is an illustrative example (Fig. 1). The text of the Ten Commandments is

7 Gray argues similarly with regard to texts as part of medieval murals in English churches, stating that texts added weight to murals, rather than helping the viewer to identify the painted scenes. She advocates an understanding of the act of reading that differs from the present-day practice (2011).

divided into two columns, shaped by a red contour resembling the arched shape of the two stone tablets of the law. This division recurs on almost all Ten Commandments panels. The calligraphy itself serves here as an embellishment of the panel: the white and gilded gothic lettering contrasts with a black background and is decorated with subtle scrollwork in a similar pallet of colors. The Roman numerals, the decorated initials, and the first line of each commandment are inscribed with golden characters, emphasizing the structure of the text. Although the text itself was often legible from a close distance, such characteristics ensured that a Ten Commandments panel could easily be recognized without a close look at the content of the text.

The nature of a Ten Commandments panel as an object to be looked at could be further enhanced by means of an embellished frame. Frames consisted mainly of non-religious and mostly non-figurative painted or wood-carved ornamentation, which did not bear the risk of idolatry. Modesty was at stake here, as the Rotterdam synod pointed out. Precisely because of its non-idolatrous nature, decorating the frame was a suitable way in which to adorn a panel within a Calvinist church. It could underline the visual nature of a panel by creating an illusion of rich materiality to heighten its beauty and prestige.[8]

Frames were adorned in the Northern Renaissance style that was in vogue at the time. Stylistically, roughly two branches can be distinguished in the design of text panels.[9] Among the most commonly found forms of decoration are the classical architectural elements, such as cannelured pilasters, friezes, and tympanums. The Ten Commandments panel of Beusichem (1627) is a prototype of a panel with classicist features (Fig. 2).

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8 On the pictorial use of text and on frames, see also Mochizuki 2007, 78–83.

9 Various forms of frame decoration were already noted by Van Swigchem (1984, 273–275).

FIGURE 2 Ten Commandments panel, Beusichem, 1627, photo archive Regnerus Steensma.

FIGURE 3 Panel with the Creed, Geervliet, 1599, photo archive Regnerus Steensma.

It is, similarly to many other panels, shaped as an ‘aedicula’, resembling temple architecture. This aedicule, or temple shape, was ubiquitous in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in a variety of different media. Within the church space, it was a familiar way of framing other categories of panels, such as epitaphs. In print, it often recurs on title pages of Bibles, most notably on the title page of the seventeenth-century Dutch ‘Statenvertaling’ (1637).[10] Its appearance in this authoritative Bible translation may illustrate the weight or status this design could add to a panel.

10 Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap “Titelpagina Statenvertaling 1637.” Accessed 6 October, 2017. http://www.bijbelsdigitaal.nl/view/?bible=sv1637.

The frames of the panels in Geervliet (1588 and 1599) are typical examples of illusory scrollwork painted on wooden frames in a way that is reminiscent of the prints of Hans Vredeman de Vries (Fig. 3). The frames are lavishly decorated with painted flowers in baskets and shimmering stones attached to the frame. The colorful scrollwork is painted in such a way that an illusion of depth and substance is created, aided by tangible relief of the added stones. This type of scrollwork can often be found as frame decoration, ranging from more sober and simple to exuberant forms, aimed at catching the eye of the churchgoer.

Suggesting God

God the Father is one of the main characters in the Biblical narrative about the Ten Commandments, together with Moses. It is described in the Old Testament how God inscribed the commandments on two tablets with his own finger before handing them down to Moses (Ex. 31:18, Deut. 9:10). God is represented on Ten Commandments panels as the lawgiver from above, in either a textual or symbolic way. The anthropomorphic image of God, depicted as an elderly man even on the most prestigious medieval altarpieces, had been mostly condoned in the late medieval church, but the notion that God should not and could not be adequately depicted gained much importance with the Reformation.[11] Joachim van den Heuvel's seventeenth-century 'Interior of a village church' contains—conspicuously,

11 One of the best known and illustrative examples is the history of the 'Last Judgement' altarpiece by Lucas van Leyden (1526–1527). The altarpiece was removed from the church in 1566 to protect it from rioters. In that same year, the figure of God the Father as an elderly man was overpainted, as was ordained by the city government (Filedt Kok, Leeflang, Veldman 2011, 322n7).

FIGURE 4 Joachim van den Heuvel, Interior of a village church, c.1640-1650, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, RMCC s28.

in the form of a depicted text panel—the Reformed explanation of the problem of depicting God (Fig. 4). As part of this intimate church interior, a text panel is depicted which says: "GODT IS GEEN / VLEESCH GOD / IS EEN GEEST / SOO GELDT DER / SIELEN DIENST / OOCK MEEST". This inscription is based on John 4:24: "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." It highlights the core problem in depicting God: He is a transcendental being and should be worshipped as an immaterial spirit. It is simply impossible to truly depict God, the argument runs, and his—by definition—deficient image could wrongly suggest his immanent presence and lead to unjust worship.

The emphasis on his spiritual nature recurs in the way God is represented on Ten Commandments panels. God is never depicted as a human figure, but his presence is suggested through a text or by means of the symbol of the Tetragrammaton. In Exodus 20, the verse preceding and announcing the Ten Commandments mentions how "God spake all these words". Precisely this verse, saying "Godt sprack alle dese woorden" is inscribed on many of the Ten Commandments panels (Ex. 20:1). This phrase can be found in the upper area of a panel, typically in between the space left by the arches of the two tablets, as well as in the upper beam, or the tympanum, of the panel. In the same location, we also find the

Tetragrammaton, which was widely used as the symbolic representation of God in this period. It came to replace the physical depiction of God as an elderly man (Wilkinson 2015, 365–381). The Tetragrammaton consists of Hebrew characters, which were used to spell the name of God. In the Jewish tradition, the Name remains unspoken. The fact that the Name of God, as indicated by the characters forming the Tetragrammaton, traditionally remained unvocalised and unsaid as a matter of principle may have made it even more suitable as a symbolic representation of God on a Reformed Ten Commandments panel. Just as it was impossible for Calvinists to grasp God as a spirit in an image, it was impossible and unjust for Jews to put into earthly words the very holy nature of the heavenly God.

The design of the Tetragrammaton follows the description of the appearance of God in the Old Testament. The book of Exodus describes how God appeared as a cloud during the day and as a pillar of fire during the night to lead Moses and his people through the desert. Ex. 40:38 says, “For the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their journeys”.[12] When Moses ascends Mount Sinai to receive the Ten Commandments, God appears in a thick cloud, and as a fire on top of the mountain; his presence was accompanied by thunder and lightning (Ex. 19, Ex. 24). This cloud of fire recurs in the depiction of the Tetragrammaton on Ten Commandments panels, which is often surrounded by a radiant cloud. The Tetragrammaton on a panel in Sneek (1632) is an illustrative example (Fig. 10, see below).[13] A slightly different, alternative representation of God

12 This description recurs in Deut.1: 33: “Who went in the way before you, to search you out a place to pitch your tents in, in fire by night, to shew you by what way ye should go, and in a cloud by day.”

13 The Grote of Martinikerk in Sneek possesses a set of two panels, dating from 1632. One is inscribed with the Ten Commandments and is adorned with Moses scenery, while its

can be seen in the upper area of a panel in Bourtange (1611, Fig. 5), where an illuminated cloud contains the phrase “Hoort Isarel de Heer onsen Godt is een eenig Heere” (Deut. 6:4).[14]

FIGURE 5 Detail of text triptych in Bourtange, 1611, photo by author.

Depicting Moses

Moses is portrayed in the Old Testament stories about the Ten Commandments as a messenger between God and the Israelite people. The books of Exodus and Deuteronomy describe how Moses ascended Mount Sinai, to which God descended from heaven to hand over to Moses the two

pendant, bearing the Tetragrammaton, is inscribed with additional texts from the New Testament.

14 ‘Isarel’ must be a misspelling of ‘Israël’. Deut. 6:4 “Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord”. On the Bourtange panel, see also Steensma 2000. “Twee protestantse drieluiken” in Jaarboek voor Liturgie-onderzoek 16: 219–233.

tablets inscribed with the Law. Moses then brought the tablets down to his people, who had been commanded to stay at the foot of the mountain. The verses directly preceding the Ten Commandments in Deuteronomy 5 relate the voice of Moses himself*:* "The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount out of the midst of the fire (I stood between the Lord and you at that time, to shew you the word of the Lord: for ye were afraid by reason of the fire, and went not up into the mount)" (Deut.5:4–5). Other passages narrate how Moses' brother Aron gave in to the complaints of the Israelites when Moses stayed on Mount Sinai for a long period of time. Aron melted their gold into a golden calf, an icon to replace the invisible God and their absent leader Moses (Ex. 32).

Following this Biblical narrative, the figure of Moses is portrayed on a number of Ten Commandments panels. Some panels depict only the bust of Moses, in some cases accompanied by his brother Aron. Others are adorned with more elaborate Moses scenes filling the background on both sides of the bust of Moses. These typically include a depiction of Moses receiving the tablets of the Law on Mount Sinai and the worship of the golden calf. Despite the controversy around depicting human figures within the church, as was underlined by the Rotterdam synod cited above, panels with figurative Moses imagery were apparently installed and tolerated on a considerable scale in the Reformed church interior. Mochizuki has suggested that the depiction of Moses with the Ten Commandments should be seen primarily as a pre–iconoclastic phenomenon, which was gradually supplanted after the Reformation by the depiction of the text of the Ten Commandments (2005, 193; 2009, 235). The continuous appearance of Moses on panels in the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth

century—on rare occasions, even in full length[15]—casts doubt on this hypothesis.[16]

An explanation of the appearance of Moses on Ten Commandments panels can nevertheless be sought in the pre-Reformation iconographical tradition. Moses depicted as an Old Testament prophet was not so much associated with the condemned saintly figures with an intercessory role in Catholic devotion, but highlighted his status as an exemplary figure, as is demonstrated by Veldman (1995). Veldman gives an overview of the late medieval iconographical tradition of depicted scenes from the Old Testament accompanying the Ten Commandments as moral exempla, mainly in illustrated Bibles and other prints. The depictions of Old Testament scenes served as prefigurations, i.e. foreshadowings of stories from the New Testament or as moral exempla with the Ten Commandments, showing either the desired or the unwanted behaviour. While the earliest examples date from the fourteenth century, the popularity of scenes from the Old Testament as moral exempla of the Ten Commandments increased with the rise of the Reformation. This included images of Moses with the Ten Commandments, appearing first in German prints and reaching the Netherlands in the course of the sixteenth century.

The rare pre-Reformation (and preserved) depictions of Moses in Dutch church interiors must also be included among examples of typological and exemplary pictures, similarly to prints. The Zuiderkerk in the Dutch town of Enkhuizen contains a series of typological paintings on its wooden vault,

15 The Ten Commandments on a panel in Rhenen are flanked by the full-length depiction of Moses and Aron, with Old Testament scenes painted in the background (c.1575–1650).

16 A characteristic Moses figure can also be found in some eighteenth-century examples. A typical eighteenth-century Ten Commandments panel with marbled columns and depicting a Moses figure can be found in Wadenoyen (1711). Later examples include a panel in Bruchem (1749) and Spannum (c.1750–1775).

one of them depicting Moses receiving the tablets of the Law on Mount Sinai (1485). The composition of this scene is clearly indebted to the depiction of Moses on Mount Sinai in the Biblia pauperum (Henry 1987, 116).[17] Filedt Kok describes a depiction of Moses on Mount Sinai and the worship of the golden calf painted on the wooden vault of the church in Warmenhuizen as one of four scenes from the Old Testament which are combined with the depiction of the Last Judgement (c. 1530) (2008, 13–15). The depiction of the worship of the golden calf functions here as a moral exemplum; eternal judgment is the consequence of such misconduct.

FIGURE 6 Ten Commandments painting, c.1600-1625, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, RMCC s13.

A painting found in Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, is one of the most skilfully painted examples of a Reformed depiction of the Ten Commandments with the typical and more elaborate Moses imagery (Fig. 6).[18] A bust of a bearded Moses is depicted above the tablets of the Law, with both of his hands on top of the tablets and his rod in his right hand. He holds his other hand open and looks at the beholder as if he is presenting the Ten Commandments to the viewer. The background scenery covers other elements of the Biblical stories: the top right corner shows how Moses received the stone panels inscribed by God on Mount Sinai. The gathering of the

17 Zuiderkerk “De gewelfschilderingen.” Accessed October 6, 2017. http://www.zuiderkerk-enkhuizen.nl/?p=gewelfschilderingen.

18 This concerns not a wooden panel, but a painting on canvas.

people is depicted at the foot of a mountain, above which light appears behind clouds. A closer look reveals a tiny Moses figure in the middle of the fiery cloud, in which God himself is present, holding the two stone tablets. In front of the encampment, indicated with a few tents on the left side, a golden calf is visible with people gathered around it. This depiction of the worship of the golden calf can be understood as a warning against the risk of idolatry: although God himself cannot be seen with the physical eye, one should not worship any graven image, or, in other words, make the mistake of replacing the invisible God by a visible idol. Here, the golden calf is placed on an altar-shaped base, whereas a classical column is usually depicted in this scene on other panels, as well as in print; this may therefore be understood as an implicit reference to the Catholic church altar.[19]

FIGURE 7 Johann Sadeler (I), after Crispijn van den Broeck, Moses with the Tablets of the Law, 1575, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

An Antwerp print by Johan Sadeler (I), based on a design by Chrispijn van den Broeck (1571) and depicting Moses with the tablets of the Law, demonstrates the close iconographical relationship of Moses scenery in print and on panels (Fig. 7). Its subject matter and composition is very similar to the Utrecht example. Moses is depicted as the central figure above the two stone tablets of

19 So far, I have not encountered any other examples of this altar-shaped base, neither on prints nor on church panels with the Ten Commandments.

the Law. On the left, Moses receives the tablet of the Law on Mount Sinai, while the kneeling people pray at the foot of the mountain. A thick cloud hovers over the mountain, on which a tiny Moses figure with the tablets of the Law is visible. The Biblical passage also mentions the loud voice of a trumpet: several horns appear in the godly cloud (Ex. 19:16). On the right side of the central Moses figure, the Israelites' encampment is depicted with the worship of the golden calf in front of it. The tents bear a striking similarity to those on the Utrecht canvas. The golden calf on the Antwerp print is placed on a more customary, antique-looking column. A noteworthy difference to Ten Commandments panels is that the text on the Antwerp print is inscribed in Latin, whereas on church panels, the text is always in

FIGURE 8 Ten Commandments panel, Lunteren, c.1575-1615, photo by author.

FIGURE 9 Ten Commandments panel, Joure, 1648, photo by author.

the vernacular, in accordance with the Reformed conviction that Scripture

should not only be accessible for the learned but also for the common people.

Other contemporary Ten Commandments panels with Moses imagery show a strong similarity to the discussed Utrecht Ten Commandments painting. A similar composition, the same subject matter and design for the background scenery, and even similar colours, recur repeatedly. Very similar to the Utrecht canvas is, for instance, the Ten Commandments panel currently located in a church at Lunteren (c.1575–1650, Fig. 8).[20]

FIGURE 10 Panel with texts from the New Testament, Sneek, 1632, photo archive Regnerus Steensma.

FIGURE 11 Ten Commandments panel, Sneek, 1632, photo archive Regnerus Steensma.

Its imagery and composition is (although inverted) almost exactly the same as on the Utrecht painting: the bust of Moses, bearded and dressed in red cloth, is centrally depicted above the two tablets, while he holds his rod in his right hand and lets his left forearm rest on the other panel. Several Frisian panels are adorned with very similar imagery. A panel in

20 I am grateful to drs. Tanja Kootte for drawing my attention to this piece. There is no documentation known concerning its provenance and dating, but it probably dates from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (c.1575–1650), given its scenery, composition, and style. This panel is currently located in a twentieth-century church building.

Joure, dating from 1648, strongly reminds us of the Utrecht and Lunteren pieces (Fig. 9). The Martinikerk in Sneek possesses a Ten Commandments panel with similar Moses imagery (Fig. 11) that has a counterpart with texts from the New Testament, adorned with the Tetragrammaton (1632, Fig. 10). The same imagery and composition also recurs on the earlier panel in Bolsward (1580–1592), although in a more simplified version (Fig. 12). Besides Ten Commandments panels characterised by figurative and narrative Moses imagery, a number of other Ten Commandments panels exist that bear a typical bust of Moses but lack the elaborate background scenery. Examples can be found in Tricht (c.1575–1650, Fig. 14) and in the church of Herveld (1697, Fig. 13).[21] The Moses scenery on Ten Commandments panels stands out because of its distinct religious, figurative, and, in several cases, narrative character. The archetypal image of Moses must have been familiar to churchgoers, as it had long since appeared in prints and paintings with a typological or exemplary character. The same scenery repeatedly recurs on Ten Commandments panels, which enhanced its symbolic function: Moses and the two tablets of the law could easily be recognised. Moses' figurative depiction might have been tolerated in the Reformed church interior because he was known and portrayed according to his Biblical description

FIGURE 12 Ten Commandments panel, Bolsward, 1580-1592, photo archive Regnerus Steensma.

21 This panel was originally part of the village church in Slijk-Ewijk. This dating is provided on Reliwiki "Monumentomschrijving Rijksdienst." Accessed October 6, 2017. http://reliwiki.nl/index.php/Slijk-Ewijk,_Dorpsstraat_70_-_Hervormde_Kerk.

FIGURE 13 Ten Commandments panel, Herveld, 1697. Collectie Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, object no. 43.342.

FIGURE 14 Ten Commandments panel, Tricht, c.1575-1650, photo archive Regnerus Steensma.

and as an exemplary, rather than a saintly, figure. However, Moses appears in a mediating role on Ten Commandments panels, presenting the tablets of the Law to the beholder, following the biblical narrative in which he fulfils a role of an intermediator between God and people. This role pleads for a further analysis of the possible place and function of ‘Moses panels’ within the Reformed church interior and its liturgical use, compared to the former medieval Catholic use of the church.

Church Space

The original placement of Ten Commandments panels that bear elaborate Moses scenery is, in many instances, difficult to reconstruct. The provenance

of the panel in the possession of Museum Catharijneconvent can be traced back no further than to a twentieth-century private collection.[22] The Lunteren panel can currently be found in a small church that is much younger than the panel itself; it must have been part of another church in the late sixteenth or seventeenth century. Although the panels in Sneek and Joure are preserved in the church, the ways in which they are now attached to the wall most likely differ from their original placement.

There are several other examples of Ten Commandments panels, albeit without an image of Moses, of which the original placement within the church is known. Placed on top of or as an integral part of the choir screen, these panels often marked the border between choir and nave. A Ten Commandments panel, in many cases accompanied by the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, either on the same or on separate panels, was used to replace a medieval crucifix or a complete medieval Calvary group (Steensma 2012, 166; Van Swigchem 1984, 279). An eloquent example can be found in the Pieterskerk in Leiden (c.1572–1625, Fig. 15).[23] Its Ten Commandments panel is inscribed on both sides, which indicates that it was meant to have a freestanding position. It is situated on top of a retained medieval choir screen, where a Calvary group must have stood prior to the Reformation (Kroesen 2011, 238). Ten Commandments panels in similar settings can be found in village churches as well as in larger city

22 Private collection of S.B. Slijper, Blaricum; 1975 (12 mei) auction Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, cat. 242, nr. 123; 1975 Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum Utrecht; 1976 Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent. Digital collection database Museum Catharijneconvent. Accessed on 6 October, 2017. https://www.catharijneconvent.nl/adlib/31231/?q=Tien+geboden&page=2&f

23 The exact date of the Leiden panel is unknown. The consecration crosses on the frame of the panel indicate that a pre-Reformation panel was used as the carrier for this text panel. This points to an early date, soon after the occupation of the Pieterskerk by the Calvinists in 1572.

churches. In the village church in Noordwijk, a Ten Commandments panel is placed on the choir screen, flanked by two panels with the Creed and the Lord's Supper, all of them inscribed on both sides (1624; Fig. 16). A choir screen with a Ten Commandments panel is part of the Reformed interior of the church in the Frisian village of Kimswerd (1695; Fig. 17).

FIGURE 15 Ten Commandments panel, Leiden, c.1572-1625, photo archive Regnerus Steensma.

FIGURE 16 Text panels on top of the choir screen, Noordwijk, 1624, photo archive Regnerus Steensma.

FIGURE 17 Ten Commandments panel, Kimswerd, 1695, photo archive Regnerus Steensma.

The emphasis placed on the border between nave and chancel by means of a Ten Commandments panel in some ways mirrors the pre-Reformation structure of the church space. The chancel was the liturgical centre of the

church, where the main Mass was celebrated before the Reformation. It was a sacred area in the medieval church, where the consecration and the transformation (or transubstantiation) of bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ took place. It was a place set apart from the rest of the church. The rood screen, closing off the choir space, accentuated this structure. On top of or above the rood screen, a crucifix might have been installed. This tangible presence of the suffering body of Christ on the cross filled the vertical space between the arch and the choir screen. Without exception, these crucifixes were removed from churches in Dutch Calvinist territory during the Reformation. A Ten Commandments panel could substitute a crucifix after the Reformation, as is illustrated by the Leiden example (Steensma 2012, 66; Van Swigchem 1984, 279).

It was not unusual for the choir space to remain the location for the celebration of the Lord's Supper after the Reformation (Pollmann 2002, 184–185). The text panels that are inscribed with texts on both sides indicate that this might remain a customary practice. Inscriptions on the back of a Ten Commandments panel often contain the Words of Institution, the phrase from the New Testament whereby Christ is believed to have laid the foundation for the sacrament of Communion (1 Cor.11:23–27). This is the case both in Noordwijk and in Leiden.

As we have seen, a Ten Commandments panel was designed in such a way that it was easily identifiable by a passing churchgoer. Placed on top of the choir screen, it could function as a warning sign. The churchgoer saw the panel on his or her way to Communion, walking from the nave of the church to the chancel, where the Lord's Supper was celebrated. It was essential for the faithful to be aware of one's sinfulness first. The Apostle Paul points to this importance of self-examination before participating in the Lord's Supper: "But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth

and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body" (1 Cor. 11:28–29). Depicting the Ten Commandments, the panel pointed at the sins of the beholder and signified that every believer needed to be redeemed. Subsequently, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper itself, taking place in the chancel space, pointed to the meaning of Christ's suffering, as was emphasized by the Words of Institution on the back of the panel. Before the Reformation, the crucifix referred to the transformation of the bread and the wine into the body and blood of Christ: his suffering body was depicted as a clear reference to the sacrament of the Eucharist. The replacement of the crucifix by a text panel demonstrates a shift from the immanent bodily presence of Christ in the Catholic Eucharist to an emphasis on the more transcendental meaning of the Reformed Lord's Supper for the churchgoer.

The role of Moses, depicted as the presenter of the Ten Commandments to the churchgoer and as a mediator between God and people, becomes more apparent when we take into account the position of the panels within the church interior. Such panels were usually installed not at eye level but higher up; people literally had to look up to them. Although the exact original location of the discussed Moses panels is unknown, it is possible that we have to imagine these, too, atop a choir screen, replacing a crucifix. This brings to light a similar parallel between the medieval Catholic church interior and the Reformed situation. The Catholic crucifix was an image of Christ as a mediator between God and the faithful. The role of the image of Christ on the cross as "hanging" in between heaven and earth was underlined by its elevated position in the church, above the rood screen. Moses, presenting the Ten Commandments to the churchgoer, seems to take up the intermediary role of the pre-Reformation crucifix within the church space, in an elevated position between the choir screen and the vaulted ceiling; this could be interpreted as being between heaven and earth, between God and the people, and between God and the churchgoer.

Before the Reformation, Moses was present in this mediating position in prints, following the Biblical narrative. On Reformed Ten Commandments panels, he remains present in this position as some sort of Reformed equivalent of the medieval Catholic depiction of the suffering Christ.

Conclusion

The late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century were marked by an ongoing process of ‘purification’ of the interiors of Dutch medieval churches from the vestiges of Catholic worship. The drastic demolition and removal of church art and furnishings could lead one to believe that the Reformation put a definite end to religious visual culture within the church space, and that the Word completely eradicated the image. In fact, innovative forms of religious imagery were found, displaying the Word, presenting Scripture as an image. While text was the key element, Ten Commandments panels have a markedly visual character. Fashionable and colorful modes of decoration were chosen to frame texts, adding weight and prestige to the installed panels. This enhanced their visual impact in a way that was not necessarily sober or modest. Particularly the panels with the more elaborate Moses imagery may have diverged from what would have been seen as acceptable imagery within a Reformed church space. In this way, the panels discussed show how the theologically limited—albeit undefined—space for religious imagery was exploited and perhaps stretched in the more concrete process of the adaptation of the church space. Shifting the focus from the panels themselves to their position and function within the church interior also elucidates the ways in which the furnishing and structure of church interior, tailored to Reformed thought and to Reformed worship, still echoed some of its medieval Catholic past.

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The Lutheran Church in Rodowo as a Place of the Spiritual Meeting of Three Social Strata

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RUHR UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM RUB CERES DYNAMICS IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS KÄTE HAMBURGER KOLLEG

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The Lutheran Church in Rodowo as a Place of the Spiritual Meeting of Three Social Strata

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ABSTRACT The article presents the hitherto unknown decoration of the furnishing of a little Protestant church in Rodowo in Ducal Prussia, founded by the local aristocratic family of the Schack von Wittenaus. After firstly providing an overview of the complicated confessional history of the region, the church, and its patrons, the second part of this article presents the emblematic decoration of church benches based on the "Four Elements," with models for tapestries designed by Charles Le Brun and published in Paris in 1668 (and later in Germany). The original emblems, with descriptions by Charles Perrault, refer to King Louis XVI as the ideal ruler, but in Rodowo they emphasize the position of the Prussian nobility as the most important social group in the country. The second part of the article presents four unknown easel paintings on the church walls, with a symbolic presentation of Lutheran piety connected with Pietism in Ducal Prussia. The entire artistic ensemble in the church refers to the role of noblemen as leaders in the social and religious life of Ducal Prussia.

KEY WORDS Protestant art; Ducal Prussia; emblems; Louis XIV; Claude Perrault; Charles le Brun; Pietism

This article investigates the artistic programme of the eighteenth-century Lutheran church in Rodowo (now situated in the Northern Polish voivodeship, or administrative unit, of Pomerania) as an idealized image of the order of the three estates (peasants, clergy, and nobles) in Ducal Prussia. It argues that a rather unique set of paintings still visible in the church today had been commissioned and executed as the visualization of the relationship between the clergy, the peasants, and, above all, the Lutheran ruler of the village. The following considerations can only serve as the first attempt to

analyze the topic. The research presented here is still very much a work-in-progress. The article makes some tentative suggestions regarding the visualization of power relations in a village in Ducal Prussia and the influences of popular Western European texts and emblems on this agenda. It contributes to current research on the use of Lutheran church spaces and the iconographic programme commissioned by Lutheran rulers to express their version of the order of society within them. While much recent research has particularly focused on analyzing the redecoration of formerly Catholic churches in the early phase of confessional change, the Lutheran church decorations presented here were commissioned and executed in the mid-eighteenth century (Spicer 2012; Heal 2017: Harasimowicz 2017). The chosen programme therefore sheds further light on the themes employed by patrons and their artists in the age of Pietism and the early Enlightenment. The author hopes to further develop the ideas presented in the following pages through more comparative research in the future.

The History of Rodowo in the Context of Confessional Change in Ducal Prussia

The Lutheran church in Rodowo, its furnishing, and its iconographic programme have not been the subject of scientific study so far. One of the first aims of this paper must therefore be to present its unique interior to a wider readership. It is unfortunate but symptomatic for many villages in Prussia that we do not have enough sources to write a full history of them, Rodowo included. The village (Ger. Gross Rohdau or Rodau), which was a part of the Prabuty estate, has its roots in medieval times. A first settlement was founded around 1285 and initially belonged (as *Radowe*) to the Teutonic knight Dietrich Stange and his heirs (Perlbach 1902).

Other references to the settlement appear in 1323 on the occasion of the demarcation of the neighbouring Gonty village boundaries, and then in 1361, when Bishop Nicholas of Cammin gave a settlement privilege to the village leader, a man named Segehardow, and to the residents of *Rodow*. The privilege included the right to crop 70.5 fiefs of ground. Rodowo and the church were mentioned in local records concerning land use and land transaction in 1336 and 1361. The site was subsequently destroyed during the Polish-Teutonic wars (1409–1411 and 1454–1466) and, as a consequence, the village and its surrounding area became increasingly depopulated (Kaufmann 1937, 178).

The Reformation was formally introduced in Prussia in 1525 and the Lutheran confession became the confession of the state, which was hence officially called Ducal Prussia. Ducal Prussia was a part of the Teutonic Order's state, divided into two parts: Royal Prussia and Teutonic Prussia (after the war with the Kingdom of Poland in 1466). The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Duke Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach, supported by the bishop of Pomesania, Erhard von Queis, who had professed the Lutheran confession even at his installation as bishop in 1523, ordered the secularization of Catholic church lands, including the diocesan headquarters in Prabuty castle (Ger. Riesenburg). Rodowo fell under the rule of Duke Albrecht in 1525. During the Protestant Reformation, Albrecht secularized the order's Prussian territory and, by doing so, also became Duke of Prussia. The Lutheran church established in his duchy was the first Protestant state church to be founded. From then on, Lutheran services were held in the Rodowo parish church. In 1530, the 'Statuta synodalia', a compendium of rules and regulations considered a textbook for the Lutheran confession, was published for the whole territory of Ducal Prussia and the 'Confessio Augustana' was adopted as obligatory (Małłek 2012, 233–247).

On 13 February 1561, Duke Albrecht issued a new ‘Kulmer Law’, including a privilege for a certain Jacob Rosteck for 61.5 fiefs of ground, including Rodowo. This privilege was eventually transferred to the next owners of the village, the (probably Lutheran) family of Wenzel Schack von Stangenberg (i.e. from Stążki). The family subsequently changed its name to Schack von Wittenau, i.e. Witenowo in Prussia. From that time onwards, the number of inhabitants in the village and its surrounding properties under the rule of the new owners gradually increased.

Over the following century, the Schack von Wittenaus extended their influence in the area. In 1700, the author of the visitation report of the Catholic Bishop of Chelmno Diocese, Teodor Potocki, who ignored the Protestantization of the country and still claimed spiritual leadership over the territory, noted that Margaretha Schack von Wittenau (1636–1702) had in 1691 incorporated the villages of Balewo, Linki, Cieszymowo, Stążki, Perklice, and Dworek “to the church in Lutheran Rodowo in the Duchy of Prussia”. This entry may be indicative of the fact that while the family’s primary residence was situated in the neighbouring town of Susz (Ger. Rosenberg), Rodowo was the religious centre of the Schacks’ territorial possession.[1] The Schack von Wittenaus accrued revenues from various positions in the ducal administration and in the Prussian army. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the family had extensive political, economic, and cultural connections both in Prussia and outside the duchy. Wilhelm Albrecht Schack von Wittenau served as Major General in the armies of the king of Denmark and Norway, Frederick IV, and acted as Colonel of the guards in the army of Denmark. He took part in the wars against Sweden and Holstein on the side of King Frederick IV, probably

1 Visitation of Diocese, Bishop Teodor Potocki, Diocesan Archive in Pelplin, signature 33; the page is not numbered.

between 1700 and 1720, and fought in Lille, Stralsund, Bonn, and Namur. He highlighted his military successes on his funerary banner in the parish church of Susz, where he displayed fragments of weapons and other military panoply (Kozina and Ostrowski 1992).[2] The church also showed the painted banners of the Swedish crown and the Duchy of Holstein-Gottorp. Susz parish church, where a gallery of the family's coats of arms are still on display, is a poignant example of the ownership that the new Lutheran rulers had taken of their churches. Wilhelm Albrecht died on 22 May 1731, and from the detailed epitaph inscription in Susz church, we learn that he also fought in the war of Louis XIV against the so-called 'coalition of Augsburg', in the War of Spanish Succession, and in the Third Northern War.

He married Countess Henrietta Sibyl Truchsess von Waldburg, with whom he had five sons: Louis Magnus, Wilhelm Henry, Jan Grzegorz, Fryderyk Benjamin, and Karol Albrecht. The latter, staying mainly in Prussia, founded the new church in Rodowo and invested in the furniture of the church, which was built by his great-grandfather. Karol Albrecht donated the liturgical vessels to Rodowo (Szczepański 2017, 56–58; Klemp 1994, 90). He served as colonel and as major, later as Major General, in the Polish and the Prussian armies. He signed the dissidents' confederation in Torun, and was then elected a delegate to the Polish parliament in 1767/1768. On 14 May 1777, he received the Order of St. Stanislaw established by the Polish king Stanislaw August Poniatowski.

2 A picture of Wilhelm Albrecht Schack zu Wittenau's funerary banner is reproduced in Kozina/Ostrowski 1992, 242. The article provides a rare glimpse into this fascinating display of Lutheran piety in early modern Prussia and Poland.

The Church in Rodowo

The new owners of the village took care of the first Catholic and later Protestant wooden church in Rodowo while at the same time investing in church decorations in Susz. In Rodowo, an earlier church building had been attacked during the invasion of Polish troops fighting near Prabuty during the so-called “war of starvation” in 1414. In 1543, the church was described as completely destroyed. We have no information about its appearance or its church furniture, and can only assume that there were fairly long periods when the village had no church at all. No further details are known of the next, probably wooden, church from 1624, mentioned in the Prabuty city financial account books edited in the years 1689/1690 (Kaufmann 1937, 178). The next church, which is the focus of this investigation, was built in 1754 (Fig. 1). In all likelihood, it was of similar shape and had the same dimensions as the previous church. The date of the construction of the new building is preserved on the inscription above the south portal of the church. On the balustrade of the choir, one can read the name “Johann

FIGURE 1 Rodowo Church exterior. This and all the following photos were taken by the author.

Heinrich Selcke", the signature of either the local minister or the carpenter who probably worked on the construction of the church. The originally towerless building was adorned with a tower in 1859, thanks to the efforts of an unknown local parish priest.

FIGURE 2 Rodau pulpit J. Doebel, Johannes Soeffrens

The architect of the church in Rodowo may also be the architect of a church erected at the same time near Gdakowo. This building was constructed between 1753 and 1755, according to the plans of Bogumił (Gottlieb) Haselbacher, a resident of Gdakowo. He used the plans drawn up by the Royal Prussian master builder Garlineg from Gdańsk (Schmid 1906, 198–201).

The church furniture had not been made for the new church in 1754, but was, in all likelihood, commissioned for the former church and subsequently transferred to the new building. The pulpit, dating back to 1690, was created in the workshop of the sculptor Johannes Soeffrens the Younger (Ulbrich 1932, 186; Wardzyńska 2014, 141–156; Fig. 2). The hanging baptismal angel can also be traced to his workshop. It must therefore be assumed that the furnishing, which includes the altar, the baptismal font with the baptismal angel, the pulpit with a kind of canopy in the form of a sculpture of the resurrected Christ, and the benches were moved to the new building from the former church. The new gallery was built and the new organ, crowned with figures of Moses, the archangel Michael, and John the Baptist, was perhaps also transferred from the previous galleries in the old church. The family's coat of arms (not retained today), indicating that the church

furnishing was commissioned by the Schacks, was initially attached to the church benches and was decorated with emblems (Schmid 1906, 197). Additionally, liturgical vessels, ordered in Elblag, indicate by their inscriptions the Schack family's patronage of the church equipment and their role as the guardians of the church. This coat of arms can also be found on the funeral banner in Susz for Albrecht Wilhelm Schack von Wittenau, showing a deep red and blue chessboard and a wolf placed on the red background (Schmid 1906, 197–198; Fig. 3).

FIGURE 3 Portrait of Schack von Wittenau

The Founders of the Decoration

Presenting and analyzing the paintings in the interior of the church in Rodowo, we should start with the fact that the ensemble is not completely preserved in its original form. An unknown number of panels with emblematic paintings were presumably stolen. One of them was found in a church in Pasłęk (Preussisch Holland) in the property of the local parish. Given the unique character of the emblem paintings, we can assume that such characteristic decoration benches were made particularly for the church in Rodowo (Fig. 4, 5, 6). So far, the decoration benches have not been discovered in any other churches in Ducal Prussia. Therefore, we will discuss only the panels present there and four oval paintings located in the western part of the church. The decoration of the church in Rodowo can be considered as a visualization of the relationship between the clergy, the peasants, and, above all, the owners of the village. These tiers are represented through different artistic styles and motives, and through the

different spaces within the church where they were arranged. The piety of the local landlords is visualized in the emblematic decoration, while the paintings refer to the devotion of the rural residents of Rodowo. Each emblem was modified and contains only lemma and imago, without an epigram. The use of emblems in the decorative programme of Lutheran churches has received some scholarly attention in recent years. Mara R. Wade, following the groundbreaking studies of Katarzyna Cieślak, for instance, has carefully analyzed the emblem programme in Lutheran churches in Gdańsk. She and Cieślak diagnose a strong presence of

FIGURE 4, 5, 6 Decoration Benches.

emblematic decorations in the city churches starting in 1639 and persisting until 1694, when the last documented cycle was executed. Thereafter, emblem decorations were occasionally executed in the first two decades of the eighteenth century (Wade 2006; Cieślak 1995).

Far less is known about emblem decorations in smaller village churches, such as Rodowo. Here, both sets of images are exceptional artworks. While emblematic decorations were, and still are, present in Lutheran churches of Ducal Prussia (in Stare Miasto, for example), paintings showing the power of prayer and visualizing the strong personal contact between man and God, as seen in Rodowo, are rare.

The Painted Decoration of the Church Emblems

What did the Schacks wish to show by commissioning the emblematic decoration of the church benches, and what was the model for these emblems? In the Duchy of Prussia in the present day, due to the absence of studies on Protestant church interiors, paintings with similar themes are unknown. Many of the paintings in larger or smaller towns and villages were destroyed or painted over during the re-Catholicization of the churches after 1945. Epitaphs, paintings of biblical scenes on the galleries, inner ceilings polychrome (Prabuty, Górowo Iławeckie, Rychnowo painted by Gottfried Hinz), splendid altars (for instance, in Księży Lasek by Isaac Riga), and painted and decorated carved and sculpted pulpits (Lwowiec, Pasłęk) tend to dominate. Emblematic paintings in small towns and villages are very rarely represented. Besides Rodowo, the Protestant church of Domnovo in Kętrzyn and Bartoszyce parish church are also decorated with emblems. However, these are exceptions. In the churches of former Ducal

Prussia, other themes dominated in the iconographic programme. These include paintings of personifications of Faith, Hope, and Charity (Sępopol) and images of Luther and Melanchthon (Dźwierzuty, Kętrzyn), but not emblematic images. In line with trends elsewhere in Lutheran churches in early modern Europe, an important detail of Lutheran church decoration were heraldry boards, which were also found in Ducal Prussia churches, for instance in the church in Łabędnik (Birecki 2017). Against the background of local art decorations, both benches and easel paintings in the church in Rodowo are unique in terms of subject matter as well as concerning the graphic patterns used by the artist.

Graphic prototypes, although not yet fully covered in the still incomplete research on Lutheran churches in the Duchy of Prussia, indicate that the creators of the decorations used graphics by Jan Sadeler, Christoph Schwarz, Maarten De Voss, Cornelis Cort, and Maarten van Heemskerck, which were then well-known in Royal Prussia. In Rodowo, at least for part of the compositions, prototypes are based on illustrations taken from the *Tapisseries du roy, ou sont representez les quatre elemens et les quatre saisons : avec les devises qvi les accompagnent & leur explication = Königliche französische Tapezereyen, oder* überauss *schöne Sinn-Bilder, in welchen die vier Element, samt den vier Jahr-Zeiten, neben den Denckspr*üchen *und ihren Ausslegungen, vorgestellet*. The book, first edited in French by André Félibien in 1670, contained the engravings of a series of famous tapestries made for the court of Louis XIV with accompanying texts, such as poems and mottoes.[3] The first German editions appeared in Augsburg in 1687 and 1690 by Jacob Koppmayer for Johann Ulrich Krauss. So far, there are no written sources available that might explain the choice

3 A detailed description of the royal tapestries and their interpretation is provided in Bertrand 2007.

of these prototypes for the Rodowo programme. The commissioners, the Schack family, might have chosen these engravings because they were influenced, as was a great part of the nobility in Ducal Prussia, by the court culture of Louis XIV and might have wanted to display a political and social programme with their choice.

The illustrations were re-engraved (and reversed) from those of Sébastien Le Clerc for the French editions. The two series of four tapestries, each after designs of Charles Le Brun, are depicted in eight double-page engravings. Those for the “Quatre elemens” are signed by Johanna Sybilla Krauss. The thirty-two emblems in the book taken from the tapestry borders were designed by Jacques Bailly. Each is depicted in an engraving after Sebastien Le Clerc, preceded by explanations in French and German prose, and followed by the French verses of Charles Perrault, Jean Chapelin, and others, with German verse translations. In addition to the illustrations, there are added emblems, frontispieces to the two sections on the “Quatre elemens” and the “Quatre saisons”, two headpieces, and two decorated initials. All are engraved after Le Clerc. The added emblems are signed by Johann Ulrich Krauss. Apart from the engraved ornaments deriving from the French edition, the book contains woodcut tailpieces and decorated Gothic initials.

The emblems identified among the paintings in the panels of the Rodowo church benches are copies of the interpretations offered by the authors of “Quatre elemens”. Taking emblematic designs from the French book describing the four elements and the four seasons shows extra-biblical sources of inspiration present in Lutheran art in Ducal Prussia which move away from the traditional reservoir of forms derived from the Merian Bible and from the Dutch graphic art (Cieślak 1988; Birecki 2009). We can detect, therefore, a new tendency in the iconographic programme, which might have taken place in the eighteenth century.

The emblems of the “Quatre elemens” indicate the qualities of an ideal ruler. In Rodowo, they emphasize the qualities of the local landlords, the Schack von Wittenaus. The element emblem of “Fire” (Fig. 7), showing the censer of burning fire, refers to the sacred fire burning before God. It represents salvation and the “Holiness of the Lord” (“Gottseligkeit”), who is “a consuming fire” (“Das Heilig Feuhr verzehr”—“Et Sacro capitur igni”). This emblem is associated with the other emblem of “Goodness” or “Gütigkeit”, which was explained with the phrase, “My light illuminates the way so that you can sail safely,” and was given the motto “In Publica Commod Fulget (pleasantly radiant in public)”, indicating that God kindly sends the beacon light to lead man through life’s difficulties. “Air” (Fig. 8) is associated with an emblem showing bees flying out of the hive, referring to the explanation of gentleness and grace as qualities that characterize the good ruler: “Gelindigkeit und Gnad, des Königs Zeichen hat”. The Lord, as indicated by the explanation, is known by his subjects and by the fact that the king is, analogous to a queen bee, a king bee devoid of a sting. It indicates that he is full of grace and goodness. “Water” is related to the emblem with the motto and explanation of Charles Perrault, “Facit omnia laeta”, an illustrated presentation of a water current and figures of frogs, which, in Rodowo, were turned into more serious sirens. The explanation of the emblem placed below the image clearly shows that the majesty of the king will bring good luck and wealth to all who obey him. We can find two examples related to “Earth” in the group of emblems in Rodowo. The first depicts a sunflower in bloom, underlined by the motto, “Wie sich der Himmel regt, so werd ich auch bewegt”, explaining to the reader that the power of the king directly affects the subjects, who must follow him just like the sunflower follows the sun. The other emblem says, „Et regit, et Servat,“ described „Er leitet hin und her, und ist der Schäflein wehr“. Charles Perrault explains that the pastoral staff is to watch over the herd

and, if necessary, to defend it against wolves. The king, therefore, not only governs his people, but also protects them against all enemies.

The emblem ensemble in Rodowo and its particular motifs are unique in Ducal Prussia. In other churches, the nobility preferred to represent themselves and their leadership virtues through a display of their coat of arms. This was easy for the reviewers to read. The Schacks followed this practice in their main church in Susz, but why they preferred this intellectually more ambitious programme of emblems, initially designed

FIGURE 7 Depiction of emblem “Fire”.

FIGURE 8 Depiction of emblem “Air”.

in praise of Louis XIV to decorate their small and remote village church in Rodowo, remains unclear.

Pietism and the Spiritual Meeting of Three Social Strata

Another very important element of the interior of the church are the four oval paintings (formerly on the ceiling) mentioned above, placed in broad

frames and hung directly under the galleries in the western part of the church. So far, we have no information about the artist and the workshop where they were made, but it is worth analyzing their content. Three of the paintings relate to prayer as an important element of spiritual life, in which the worship of God stands central. The first painting shows King David at prayer before the Ark of the Covenant (Fig. 9). His prayer is the announcement of the New Testament prayers that go directly to heaven: *quia tu, Domine exercituum Deus Israël, revelasti aurem servi tui, dicens: Domum* ædificabo *tibi: propterea invenit servus tuus cor suum ut oraret te oratione hac*.—Reg. 7: 27 / II Samuel 7: 27 /—(For thou, O LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, hast revealed to thy servant, saying, I will build thee an house: Therefore hath thy servant found in his heart to pray this prayer unto thee). What is important in this context is the fact that it is prayer through which those praying receive from God's abundance the grace needed to live: "Petite, et accipietis, ut gaudium vestrum sit plenum" / (Ask and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full; John 16: 24,27). The use of the archer (as a symbol of powerful praying) toward the shining clouds appears to be an incentive to strive consistently towards the grace of God. As the verse quoted here, *Ecclesiasticus Oratio humiliantis se nubes penetrabit,* comes from the non-canonical book of Sirach, it does not disclose its source. Maybe the prayers of the New Testament are as effective as the one uttered by King David, talking about the construction of sanctuary in Jerusalem, the earthly house of God.

FIGURE 9 The power of prayers.

FIGURE 10 The spiritual freedom of man.

The second painting directs our attention to spiritual life, evoking the Old Testament prophet Daniel's prayer and grace received from God (Fig. 10). In the Old Testament, God's grace is received through good deeds; in the New Testament, it is obtained freely, by grace through faith. The texts attributed to Daniel (from the book of Daniel chapter 9, v. 9) talk about this: "Tibi autem Domino Deo nostro misericordia et propitiatio, quia recessimus a te" (To the Lord our God belong mercy and forgiveness, for we have rebelled against him); and also v. 24: "Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatae sunt super populum tuum et super urbem sanctam tuam, ut consummetur paevaricatio, et finem accipiat peccatum, et deleatur iniquitas, et adducatur justitia sempiterna, et impleatur visio et prophetia, et ungatur Sanctus sanctorum" (Seventy weeks are decreed about your people and your holy city, to finish the transgression, to put an end to sin, and to atone for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal both vision and prophet, and to anoint a most holy place). The message here is clear: man can expect mercy and forgiveness if he repents. On the left is Jesus, advancing with the cup, encouraging with words of the Song of Songs "Comedite amici bibite et inebri animi charissimi" (Cant: 5:1) his Bride (Anima Christiana?) to eat Supper, who dethroned in her heart the reign of the king, symbolizing the fleshly manners of the "old man".

The third painting indicates the power of the prayers of the saints (orationes sanctorum), true believers in Christ, whose prayers, usually

praising God, are carried straight toward heaven (Fig. 11). Prayer for divine power is naturally pronounced by the minister, from the hand-held book, reading: “Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, Deus Sabaoth” (Isaiah 6:3). The abortive prayer is spoken in turn by the spouses, whose words, as a thin thread, follow toward earthly matters—expenditure and revenue books and objects of everyday use, including those used to play cards or musical instruments (the scene explains the inscription under the picture: *The true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and truth*, John. 4:23–24, and *You ask and receive not: because you ask amiss*, James 4:3).

FIGURE 11 The right and wrong pray.

FIGURE 12 The visual structure of society.

In the church in Rodowo, we are dealing with the efforts of wealthy and educated patrons to present not only the most important truths of the faith (the Lutheran principle of “fides ex auditu” was written on one of the paintings) to their tenants and their guests. The programme of the decorations shows the salvific role of Christ crucified. For Lutheran clergy, these images had a high homiletic potential, allowing the

visual display of multiple biblical and social threads in the sermons. The emphasis is put on the power of prayer, the grace to meet the Anima Christiania, and, as shown in the fourth painting, the advantages of a stable social order (Fig. 12). The reference to Solomon's triple cord—*et si quispiam praevaluerit contra unum duo resistent ei funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur* (*and if one prevail against him, two shall withstand him; and a threefold cord is not quickly broken*, Eccl. 4: 12)—refers to the strong relationship between a man and a woman and points to the lasting effects of the cooperation between those who defend, who feed, and who pray in the Lutheran church. All these, connected in a cord, will form a durable and permanent community. Therefore, more broadly, the liturgical space of the church in Rodowo consists of three interrelated elements: paintings of prayers, addressing those who work in the fields, i.e. the rural residents (peasants); decoration of the benches, addressing those who defend, i.e. the Schacks; and a unique pulpit, pointing to those who exercise spiritual care (Fig. 13, 14, 15, respectively). That the physical space of the church should also represent a stable social order was already recognized by Martin Luther in his sermon at the opening of the chapel of the castle in Torgau in 1544. The many "Kirchenstuhlordnungen" of the sixteenth

FIGURE 13 The peasant: "Nutricio".

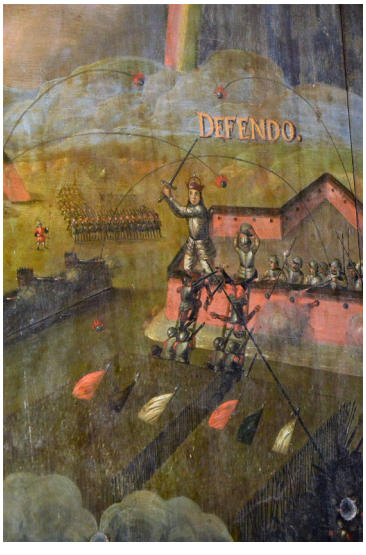

FIGURE 14 The landlord: "Defendo".

and seventeenth centuries, regulating the seating arrangements of the parishioners and their lords in the church, are visible evidence for the regulatory attempts of the territorial rulers and their Lutheran ministers, which were intended to manifest the leading position of the lords, who were also the spiritual leaders of their flock (Meys 2009, 50–56). The painting programme in Rodowo is vivid evidence of this Lutheran tradition in the use of church space.

A talented, unknown painter (perhaps from the artistic centre of Königsberg) created this cycle of four prayer paintings in Rodowo. He positioned the subtitles freely, rather than within the frames. Subtitles "imprisoned" in frames were very popular in the sixteenth century, in which medieval tradition was maintained (Michalski 1982, 173–174). Positioning inscriptions outside of frames and positioning them directly in the image's background is not unusual in medieval art in the Netherlands up to the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century (Johann Krell, Anti-Calvinistic Allegory, 1590–1595, Museum of State History, Leipzig), but the paintings in Rodowo are probably the only example in Ducal Prussia (Michalski 1982, 194). The iconographic source of inspiration is also important. In the case of easel paintings, it is noticeable that the artist based his composition on unknown graphic examples, which may have been amended by the unknown (local?) priest or the patrons of the church. Their visual message, supported by the minister in his sermon, enabled the uneducated people of Rodowo and neighbouring villages belonging to the Schacks to soak up the content of the Bible more easily.

FIGURE 15 The pastor: "Doceo".

This is the case with paintings placed on the benches, where the source of inspiration was precisely written emblems and their message was directed toward the most educated members of the parish, that is, the founders or the noble guests of the Schacks visiting the church.

The easel paintings of the church in Rodowo fit into the image of Lutheran art as “verba visibilia” of that religion (Michalski 1982, 173). The emblematic structure is arranged in a very original ensemble, in which the image is completed by the Word. Combining a biblical quotation with a picture is, of course, part of a much older tradition, associated with medieval art, for instance (the words on the bands). In Lutheran art, the coexistence of the image and the written word was realized by inserting biblical verses in medieval paintings, thus literally overwriting the traditional cult of the veneration of sacred images. The last step was giving the words the new confessional narrative. Luther recommended, for instance, the visual representation of the Last Supper “with large golden letters described around, so that the eyes could see, a heart could remember it, and for the reading eyes to praise and thank God” (Michalski 1982, 173–174). Paintings combining inscriptions with images were intriguing iconographic puzzles offering a way to develop multiple biblical threads in preaching on part of the local clergy in Rodowo. An example of this could be a painting showing the king in chains, which might refer to the inner “I”, “the old nature” of St. Paul, which, as a king, reigns in humans and must be suppressed in accordance with the accompanying inscription—the will of God.

The tradition of combining images and text in Lutheran culture reminds us of the altar of Gotha by Matthias Gerung from 1530 or the Triptychs of Luther from 1572 by Veit Theim. It draws on the pamphlets criticizing the excesses of the Catholic Church and praising the renewed Lutheran Church (Harasimowicz 1996, 9–19; Burkhardt 2009). There are well-known paintings presenting Lutheran church services, often combining images

with inscriptions. Important examples of this tradition include the altar in Windsheim from 1601 and the 'Evangelical Sermon and Sacraments' from the epitaph of Johann Jetřich von Žerotína in the church of Holy Trinity in Opočno, (now) Czech Republic, from 1575 (Harasimowicz 1996, 21). We observe the example of combined text and image in the picture directed against Calvinists from the City Museum in Leipzig (painting of John Krell the Younger) from 1590 to 1595 and in the scenes explaining biblical events, such as the scene of Christ's meeting with the Samaritan woman and the rich man and Lazarus from the altar of Mömpelgard (paintings of Heinrich Füllmaurer) from 1540, which shows 157 biblical scenes with appropriate inscriptions. Verses flowing from the mouths and pointing toward heaven can be seen in the textbooks on honorable dying.

In the seventeenth century, emblems were important motifs of decoration in Lutheran church interiors. We find emblems of Daniel Cramer in Pruszcz Gdański and in the iconography of churches in Gdańsk, in St. John and St. Mary, and in Königsberg (Tragheim church, emblems of Daniel Cramer). The use of emblems has also been traced in Lutheran churches in other countries around the Baltic Sea, including in Denmark, Saxony, Thuringia, Schleswig-Holstein, Sweden and Silesia (Höpel and Larsson 2016). In both parts of Prussia, the high period of emblem decorations ends at the same time as it does in other European countries, namely at the end of the seventeenth century; the emblems in Rodowo from the eighteenth century are the last examples of this kind of decoration in Royal and Ducal Prussia (Cieślak 1994, 205–219).

In the small towns in the Duchy of Prussia, the combination of texts and pictures can frequently be seen in pulpits, where biblical verses were placed on the stairs along the railings (e.g. in Łabędnik or in Lwowiec). The paintings with representations of prayers in Rodowo, however, are exceptional both in Prussia and in Protestant Europe. It should be noted

that paintings depicting of the fervour of prayer and their intended effects, as well as depictions of effective and ineffective prayer, encouraged understanding on part of uneducated Protestant inhabitants of Rodowo and the surrounding area. These images resemble the illustrations of 'True Christianity', the famous four pietistic volumes by Johannes Arndt, whose later editions, such as the 1678/79 print from Riga, were richly illustrated with emblematic images (Wisłocki 2005; Harasimowicz 2017, 236–238).

The book's first chapters are devoted to fervent prayer and its meaning in connecting with God and participation in Christian spiritual transformation. In this case, the paintings are a very good example of fiery spiritual life. Their message was supported by the church architecture itself, which, in its pietistic directory, determined plans for buildings unlike Catholic churches, built on a Latin cross plan. Is it possible that Rodowo was an undiscovered centre of Pietism in the Duchy of Prussia (Harasimowicz 2017)?

Conclusion

To provide further evidence for the spread of Pietism in Ducal Prussia, more research needs to be undertaken, for instance on the artistic relationships with the pietistic iconography of the paintings in the Old Town near Dzierzgoń, where the decorations of the balcony were based on *Pia Desideria* of Herman Hugo, and in the cemetery church in Pasłęk (Preussisch Holland), whose paintings were based on Otto van Veen's *Amori divini emblemata* (Chrzanowski 1994). In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Koenigsberg was one of the centres of expanding Pietism. The Lutheran pastors educated at the Albertina University worked in the parishes of Ducal Prussia. The analysis of the connection between the interior decoration of

the Rodowo church is the next step for a better understanding of the range of influence of Pietism on this area. On the other hand, the decoration in the church in Rodowo is an interesting example of the influence of French culture in Ducal Prussia and among the local nobility, too. This influence is only apparent in the architecture of the greatest palaces in Prussia, in Drogosze (Jean de Collas), Friedrichstein, and Finckenstein (both projects of Jean de Bodt) (Gawthrop 1993, 200–269; Wójcik 2000; Lorck 1965, 106–107; Dohna 1995, 93).

The images on the benches and on the four great paintings are the kind of message sent by the owners of Rodowo village to the peasant population about their respective status in life: the rulers should follow the rules as set down in the emblems, and the peasants should learn how to pray properly; they also received a visual model of social structure. The preachers had reminders of their sermons written on the walls. The images demonstrate the relationship between the Lutheran lord, his peasants, and the local pastor. In Ducal Prussia, only in Rodowo did the local nobles create such strong lines of communication.

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